

[9. Marvels of Hodu]

He wrote a letter²³¹ to his teacher Aristoteles; he wrote to him all that had happened to him in the land of Hodu, saying: "When I arrived in the land of Prasiakin,²³² this is a city in the land of Hodu, I found the land strong and hard, and it is in the midst of the sea; I went there and beheld men seeming like women, and they were eating fish,²³³ speaking the Yavani language.²³⁴ I asked them about the place, and they said to me: 'Look, this island in the midst of the sea is the burial of an ancestral king²³⁵ and there is much gold aplenty.' After they related this fact to me, they went and beached²³⁶ their twelve boats. And I saw there huge beasts in the sea; we shouted at them and they fled and caused my men to sink in the sea. And from much worry, I remained there for eight days.

"After I had conquered Darius and had subdued all the land, I marched about until I came to a city in the midst of the river; there were there reeds²³⁷ three hundred cubits long, and the city was established upon the reeds, and the waters of the river were bitter. Some of my men entered the river to go into the city, and beasts called ippopotami²³⁸ went forth from the river and snatched 44²³⁹ of my men.

"I went from there and toward evening came unto a place and found there a spring of water, sweet as honey, and I spent that night there. My men burned a fire, and all the beasts from the forest came to drink water: there were among them scorpions about a cubit,²⁴⁰ white and red and black and horned,²⁴¹ also crocodiles and lions and tigers and buffalo²⁴² and pigs and ivory tuskers²⁴³ and men with six hands; they killed many of my men. And my men burned the forest with fire, and the creeping things²⁴⁴ ran to the fire. There came against us one huge beast; the beast roared and killed of my men 26 veterans: others of my veterans killed the beast, and with strength 300²⁴⁵ of my men dragged and pulled the beast. And there were there bats²⁴⁶ huge as doves and possessing teeth like a man. We hunted and ate ravens²⁴⁷ to sustain us.

"From there we went into the land of Kaspiakin²⁴⁸ and, at the ninth²⁴⁹ hour of the day, a great and very strong wind blew so that we could not stand on our feet; immediately we fell upon our faces to the ground until the wind abated.

"After this I conquered the city of Kaspiakin;²⁵⁰ it is a city in the kingdom of Hodu. The inhabitants of the land said to me: 'We can show you wonder and wisdom befitting your honor;²⁵¹ come and see for yourself trees speaking like men.'²⁵² They led me to a certain garden, and there was sun and moon; I saw there trees like the trees of Mitsrayim called *mirobalanon*²⁵³ and their fruit was like *mirobalanon*, and they were male and female: the male tree had the sense²⁵⁴ of a male and the female tree had the sense of a female, and the name of the male was sun and the name of the female was moon, and the trees were saying: 'MUTU EMAN OUSAH.'²⁵⁵ And at the time that the sun arrives, a voice went forth from the tree in the language of Hodu, and those who knew the language of Hodu did not wish to interpret for me, for they were afraid of me

until I swore to them that I would not harm them. And they said: "Know ye Alexandros that you will be quickly destroyed by your men and your relatives!" At the time that the moon arrives, I prayed if I would hence see my mother, my brothers, and my loyal friends in the land of Makedonia. And with the setting of the sun, a voice went forth from the tree in the Yavani language: 'Know that you, Alexandros, will die in Bavel by the hand of your men and your relatives, and you shall not see your mother nor the land of Makedonia!' With the setting of the sun, I prayed again if I would hence see my wife and my mother in the land of Makedonia and if the days of my life would finish and end. And a voice went forth from the tree: 'Your years have finished and the days of your life have ended, and finally you shall die in Bavel! And after your death, your mother will be destroyed²⁵⁶ and your sister and brothers in a wicked and harsh destruction by the hand of their relatives. Do not question further, for you shall hear nothing.'"

[10. Alexandros at the side of Kandaki the Queen]

"I went from there and left at evening time from the land of Prasiakin;²⁵⁷ I went into the land of Paras and went into the kingdom of the land of Semiramis. And there²⁵⁸ was there a woman of exceeding beauty:²⁵⁹ she was a queen and her name was Kandaki; I sent letters to her, saying: 'Send me my god Amon²⁶⁰ and I shall sacrifice before him, for I have heard that during the years that you subdued the land of Mitsrayim, you took my god Amon from there—and if you do not send him to me, I will come against you to fight.' And she too sent a letter to him, saying: 'We cannot send to you my god Amon, rather his priests²⁶¹ are sending to you 100 bricks²⁶² of gold and 500 Ethiopian youths without beard²⁶³ and 200 fine pearls, and the crown of my god Amon made of precious stones valued at 100 liters of gold and four pierced pearls, 80 giant ones and 80 unpierced pearls, 30 boxes of ivory bone filled with elephants' tusk,²⁶⁴ 13 leopards²⁶⁵ and buffalo,²⁶⁶ 14 panthers which are beasts, 90 man-eating dogs,²⁶⁷ 40 bullocks who know to quarrel and strive,²⁶⁸ 4 tusks of *pilim* which are elephantim,²⁶⁹ 300 tiger skins, 8000 branches of the tree *ebanos*²⁷⁰ which is a tree black like the horn of goats and pure.²⁷¹ Send messengers and they will bring you this gift, for I, too, know that you have conquered every bit of the world.'"

Then Alexandros turned to go to her²⁷² and whereas Kandaki had heard of his habit of acting in theft and deceit to capture kings, she sent forth to sketch and engrave in secret²⁷³ the image of Alexandros so that it be in her hand, and she took the image and put it in her room.²⁷⁴

Kandavlis²⁷⁵ ben Kandaki the queen went to Alexandros' camp, whereupon the guards took him and brought him to Iphtolomaïos²⁷⁶ King Alexandros' second in command.²⁷⁷ He said: "Son of Kandaki the Queen and I have come with my wife and a small army, for I had an important secret²⁷⁸ from the women called Amazones; a prince²⁷⁹ seized me and killed many of my men."

Then Iphtolomaïos went and reported to Alexandros all these things. When Alexandros had listened, he said to Iphtolomaïos: "Take the crown of my kingdom²⁸⁰ and my clothes²⁸¹ and become king in my stead and act cleverly and call me by another name and say: 'Call to me Antigonos, a loyal messenger like me!'²⁸² And when I come, pretend to tell me the words of the youth before you and say to me: 'What do you suggest to me that we do concerning the matter of this queen's son?'"

Then Iphtolomaïos donned garb in the image of Alexandros and Kandavlis beheld him and feared lest he command to kill him. And Iphtolomaïos said: "Summon to me Antigonos my loyal messenger!" And in deceit they summoned Alexandros to him, and Iphtolomaïos related to him all the words that he had put in his mouth. And Alexandros called out and said: "Give me an army and I will go and rescue the woman from that prince."

When Kandavlis heard, he rejoiced over his words.²⁸³ He went into the tent²⁸⁴ and embraced Alexandros and said to him: "If you trust me²⁸⁵ and come with me to my mother, I will give you great gifts." Then Alexandros said to him: "Go and ask for me from the king for I, too, crave to see your mother." Whereupon Kandavlis went to Iphtolomaïos and requested him from him. Iphtolomaïos said to him: "Look Kandavlis, I will send my messenger with you with a letter to your mother. See to it that you honor him and restore him to me whole just as he will restore you and your wife to your mother." Whereupon Kandavlis said: "I take upon myself the responsibility to honor this man."

They went together,²⁸⁶ and he approached the queen;²⁸⁷ his mother and brother met him and ran to kiss Kandavlis. Then Kandavlis said to them: "Don't kiss me! First kiss this man who delivered me and my wife, for this one is Antigonos, he is a loyal messenger²⁸⁸ of King Alexandros." When they asked him how, he related to them all that had happened to him. Whereupon his mother and brother kissed him; and they led Alexandros to eat bread in the evening.

In the morning,²⁸⁹ Kandaki donned royal garb, took Alexandros and brought him to the room which was built of precious stones and gold, and its tiles were gold; and beds were there covered with Shin'ar spreads woven with gold and silken thread,²⁹⁰ and the beds were of onyx and diamonds²⁹¹ with serpents of onyx²⁹² and arts of precious stone—porphyry²⁹³ with horses and weapons of war; and at the feet of the chariot were horses—elephants²⁹⁴ of precious stone; and facing them was a river of gold and golden trees with their fruit. And they ate there together with Kandavlis' brother.

On the following day, she took Alexandros and showed him rooms built of chalk stone which is *aeritos*,²⁹⁵ and it appeared like the sun from the brightness of the stone within the room. Alexandros said to her: "All this glory is more fitting to Yavanim than to you." She replied and said in anger: "What's with you, Alexandros?" And it came to pass when Alexandros heard

his name from her mouth, he answered her: "My name is not Alexandros but rather Antigonos, and I am a messenger sent from Alexandros."²⁹⁶ Whereupon she said to him: "You are Alexandros!" Then she took him, brought him into the room, showed him his image, and said: "Do you not recognize the image of your face?"²⁹⁷ Why are you frightened and shaking? Are you not the subduer of the land of Paras and Hodu, the one who ends the wars of Medai and Paras²⁹⁸ and all the nations—and now by neither sword nor battle you are in the hand of a woman so that you may know no matter how wise a man be there is another like him who is wiser than he."

Then Alexandros got angry, gnashed his teeth²⁹⁹ and desired to kill himself and her. And she said to him: "Don't gnash your teeth, for what can you do? Only because you rescued my son and daughter-in-law will I save you, too, from the hand of the barbaron,³⁰⁰ and I will summon you before them by the name of Antigonos. Know that you killed Poros king of Hodu, and this one, the wife of my youngest son, she is the daughter of Poros, and I will not expose you that you are Alexandros."

Then Kandaki went out³⁰¹ and said to her son Kandavlis and his wife: "If Alexandros had not saved you through his messenger, I would not be seeing your faces. Now we shall honor him and give him gifts." And her son, son-in-law to Poros, said to her: "It is true that Alexandros saved my brother and his wife; yet my wife wanted to make Alexandros worry³⁰² and be sad by killing this messenger of his in atonement for the blood of her father." Whereupon his mother answered: "For what benefit?"³⁰³ If this one were to die, she would not be victorious over Alexandros."

Then his brother Kandavlis said: "I will send forth his messenger whole in his body and you and I will fight." And the two brothers began to strive and quarrel³⁰⁴ with each other. Then Kandaki took Alexandros and brought him to her room and said to him in private: "Where indeed is your wisdom? It's up to you to give advice and speak suitably, for it is because of you that my sons desire to kill one another!"

Alexandros went forth and said to them: "If you should kill me, it will not grieve Alexandros,³⁰⁵ for my lord has men greater and better than me; and if you desire to fight Alexandros, give me gifts and I will go and bring him to you, and you may do unto him according to your will." And they heeded him and allowed him (to live).

When Kandaki heard, she said: "True it is that from an abundance of wisdom you did conquer all the lands!" And they gave him a crown of emery worth many talents of gold³⁰⁶ and a breastplate studded with onyx and diamond³⁰⁷—and onyx is called in the language of Yavan *ounion* and diamond is called *berylon*—and a cloak of purple and gold,³⁰⁸ and sent him off in peace with his men. And Alexandros went to his army;³⁰⁹ they put the crown of his kingdom upon his head and dressed him in the garb of his royalty.

[11. Alexandros' journeys of marvel]

He went to the Amazonas,³¹⁰ the women, and he sent them a letter, saying: "Have you not heard that I have conquered all the land; if you desire, give me a tax and pray for me before the god and I shall leave you alone in your place; but if not, I shall come and destroy you!"

She sent him a letter in return saying: "Don't you know that we too are trained in fighting; and we live on the river Amazonikon;³¹¹ in the midst of the river is a large island and a circumambulation of the island is a full year; and around the island is a great river surrounding (it) on every side, and the river has no source.³¹² There is one pathway; 270,000 virgins bearing arms³¹³ garrison it. There are no males among us for the males live across the river with the cattle and sheep they herd. And we sacrifice horses for 30 days annually to Zeus and Poseidon;³¹⁴ and only once in every seven years the males come to us to ravish his wife, and when the woman becomes pregnant the males go their way. And when they come against us to fight, 120,000 of us ride horses; the rest stand to guard the island, and our males as infantry pursue after us. If we win the battle, we get praise and a great reputation—but if our enemies defeat us, they get no praise for this at all, for the one who defeats women, what praise does he get? You look out, Alexandros, that such things don't happen to you! If you want peace, we shall give you a tax as you wish. As you desire, send us back a reply. If you do not wish peace, be informed that you will find us ordered for battle in the mountains."

When Alexandros had read the letters,³¹⁵ he laughed a lot and then sent them another letter, saying: "If you desire that I destroy you and your country, stand in the mountains, drawn up in an army—and if you desire that I have mercy on you, cross the river and come to me, and I shall not destroy you. And send me some of you riding on horses; I will give to each one five jars full of gold."³¹⁶

They sent him another letter, saying: "Come with our permission³¹⁷ and behold our country, and we shall give you 100 talents of gold;³¹⁸ we have sent 500 young girls bringing you gold and 100 horses. And if the young girls take husbands for themselves from among your men, let them be with you; and we shall send you others in their stead."

Alexandros went to them³¹⁹ and beheld them very, very beautiful; and their clothes were like the garb of Yavanim, like the daughters of Evyeines;³²⁰ and he took a tax from them³²¹ and went unto the Red Sea.³²²

From there he went to the river Atlanta;³²³ and many nations of many varieties live there; and he saw there *kynokephalous* who have a head like a dog³²⁴ and others without a head, and their eyes and mouth are in their chest.

From there he went to another land, and that land was seven miles in the midst of the sea; he came there and found the city Ilios³²⁵ which is 'city of the sun';³²⁶ the measure of the city was 120 miles³²⁷ and her citadels 14, studded with gold and precious stone which are *ismargos*;³²⁸ the priest of the temple was an Ethiopian,³²⁹ and Alexandros sacrificed there to the sun.

brought the books of the Jews into the land of Elada and put them in Alexandriah;³⁵³ and then Elazar brother of Shimon was made high priest. Then the Jews who were captives in the land of Mitsrayim went forth free. Then this king sent to Jerusalem and took Elazar the priest to translate and interpret for him all the books of the Jews into the language of the Yavanim.

And 26 years of Olympiados³⁵⁴ the Romans subdued Kalabriah and seized the city of Messene; this was the fourth exile of Messene.³⁵⁵ In that year arose Ieron the lord who was in Sikiliah,³⁵⁶ and he seized Sarakusa.³⁵⁷ At that time Valerianos Ipatos³⁵⁸ acted to make Sikiliah subject to the Romans. In those days was Aratos the sage; then was Phainomena;³⁵⁹ and then they first counted silver coins³⁶⁰ in Rome. In 129 of Ilympiados,³⁶¹ the Romans fought in Sarakusah, and Karkhedonin³⁶² came against the Romans in Sikiliah. And Iphtolomaios, called Evergetes, ruled in Mitsrayim for 26 years. Then the king Nikodemon³⁶³ built the city of Bithynin from its beginning and called its name Nikomediah. Then³⁶⁴ the Romans fought in Sarakusah and conquered the city Karkhedoni and returned³⁶⁵ 100 cities. Then³⁶⁶ Antigonos let the sons of Athenes³⁶⁷ free and built the city Kalamagnos which is on the river Orontin.³⁶⁸

In 134 of Olympiados³⁶⁹ was Yosiphos the Jew and he wrote books.³⁷⁰ And then Romans killed 40,000 of Galatiah.³⁷¹ In 135 of Ilympiados was Yehoshua ben Sirakh³⁷² the Jew among Jews. In 140 of Ilympiados ruled Iphtolomaios, called Philopator, in Mitsrayim and he ruled 17 years. In 141 of Olympiados ruled Markilos king³⁷³ of the Romans; they captured Sarakusa and Kapuah a large city³⁷⁴ and subdued Sikiliah under them. And Antiochus the Great,³⁷⁵ King of Aram, conquered Philopator and captured him. In 144 of Olympiados³⁷⁶ Antiochus Epiphanes ruled 36 years.³⁷⁷ This one instigated the Jews to lead them from their faith to believe in the faith of Yavanim, but the Jews did not want to obey him. Antiochus got angry at them and brought forth against them a great army; and he killed many Jews and destroyed Jerusalem; this was the third galut.³⁷⁸ He took the wealth of the Temple and conquered Jews, and he killed of its men 88,000.³⁷⁹ Then he went from there to the land of Plishtim to enslave them under him.³⁸⁰

In 150 of Olympiados,³⁸¹ fighting erupted in Sikiliah by their slaves; the Romans sent there Lukhoulos,³⁸² general of the army; he conquered and enslaved them under him, and the fighting quieted. In that year,³⁸³ Horkanos high priest fought the city of Shomron,³⁸⁴ called in the language of Yavan Sebastin,³⁸⁵ and destroyed her to the foundation; afterwards it was rebuilt by the hand of Herodos and called Sebastin; and then Kapitoleon in Roma was burned.³⁸⁶ Then Digranes³⁸⁷ king of Armeniakon took the daughter of Mithridatos³⁸⁸ as his wife; he brought forth a great army and conquered Antiochus the Great of Aram,³⁸⁹ forced him from his kingdom, and subdued all the land as far as the land of the Plishtim.³⁹⁰ And from that year, Armenoi³⁹¹ began to give tax to the Romans. In 177 of the Olympiados,³⁹² the

city of Pompeia was built by Pompeios. In that year,³⁹³ Romans enslaved³⁹⁴ Albania and Iberiah and Kolosos and the sons of Arav under them. And Romans conquered Jerusalem through Pompeios their king without fighting, for he had compassion on the Jews;³⁹⁵ he took the king Aristobulos³⁹⁶ alone³⁹⁷ as captive because he had rebelled³⁹⁸ against the Romans, for he had trusted in Mithridatos after the death of his father,³⁹⁹ and because of this the kingdom of Aristobulos was transformed; this was the fourth exile of Jerusalem.⁴⁰⁰

In the year 5470⁴⁰¹ from the creation of the world, in the calculation of the gentiles in 184 of Olympiados,⁴⁰² Kleopatra, daughter of Antiochus king of Aram,⁴⁰³ ruled for 22 years in Mitsrayim. In those days,⁴⁰⁴ Kasios king of Romans destroyed the cities of Asiah,⁴⁰⁵ fought the Jews, captured Jerusalem, and looted the Temple; this was the fifth exile of Jerusalem.⁴⁰⁶ He also destroyed⁴⁰⁷ the island called Rodos and many other islands and many cities.⁴⁰⁸ And when Iphtolomaïos who was king of Karenen died,⁴⁰⁹ he willed his kingdom to the Romans.

In 185 of Olympiados⁴¹⁰ Antonios loved Kleopatra, and Antonios ruled in the land of Paras; and as he approached Kleopatra, Kleopatra heard and went out to greet him; they went to the land of Tarsos, and he married Kleopatra in Alexandriah; from there he took her to Rome; and he banished his first wife Octaviah, sister of Kaisar, with her sons from his house. And they made war between them, Agustos and this Antonios, because he was angry about his sister; Agustos Kaisar killed Antonios and Kleopatra and her sons Gaios and Kaisaros.⁴¹¹ And this Agustos set⁴¹² Kornelios over Mitsrayim and sent Galos⁴¹³ to Rome.⁴¹⁴ Then occurred the battle of Kritim, that is the island.⁴¹⁵ And the kings of Mitsrayim 295 years.⁴¹⁶

In 190 of Olympiados,⁴¹⁷ Hirodis ben Antipatros the Askeloni became king over the Jews; Agustos seized him,⁴¹⁸ imprisoned him, and sent him to Rome. Agustos went out and seized the land of Kantabros.⁴¹⁹ In 192 of Olympiados,⁴²⁰ Tiberios, commander of the army of Roma, built the city of Tavromani and Tyndarin.

The first king⁴²¹ who ruled in Roma was Ioulios, and he was Gaios; from this one the Romans were strengthened in their kingdom to be mistress of kingdoms.⁴²² And from this one all the kings of Romi were called Kaisaroi, for Romi was a kingdom twice:⁴²³ once in the days of Latinos and a second time⁴²⁴ in the days of Ioulios king of Romi; and Ioulios the king made the calendar of gentiles.⁴²⁵ And this one⁴²⁶ called (the month) Ab (by) a new name, Ioulios, after his name; and he ruled four years and four months.⁴²⁷ Agustos Kaisar ruled 56 years⁴²⁸ and Hirodis ruled⁴²⁹ at Agustos' command for 37 years; he built the Temple⁴³⁰ which was in Jerusalem which Antiochus Epiphanes had destroyed; and Hirodis built it twofold in its beauty, in width, breadth, and height. He also built the city of Shomron anew⁴³¹ and called its name Sibastin,⁴³² and its meaning is Kaisaria.⁴³³

[14. (Fragment from a treatise on Hodu and a passage from the Talmud)]

...knows her⁴³⁴ in the bedding of women. And if a woman is barren, her husband visits her for five years;⁴³⁵ after five years he sends her out if she has not conceived. For this reason, the nation of Bragmanoi⁴³⁶ are not so numerous. When the time comes for them to pass over, in great fear and trembling they pass over, for they say that in the same river are creatures so huge that the elephant can enter their throats and also huge crocodiles⁴³⁷ whose length is sixty cubits,⁴³⁸ and I saw one with my eyes, and also ants as huge as a man's hand and scorpions almost a cubit. From fear of these animals, they tremble in their crossing, but in the same place they are not seen, rather in other places. Many elephants are found there. And this is the way of the Bragmanoi and their homeland and their creatures according to the words of Alexandros via Thebaios.⁴³⁹

And again Alexandros said:⁴⁴⁰ "As I was going, I arrived at a certain spring, ate bread, and had with me salted *gildana* (fish); and, as they were being washed, a sweet smell emanated from them. I said: "This shows that this well comes from Eden." Some say he took some of the water and washed his face. Others say he went with that spring until he came to the opening of Gan Eden and raised his voice: "Open the gate for me." They said to him: "This is the gate of the Lord, the righteous shall enter into it." He said: I, too, am a king and am considered of some account." They gave him a skull (eyeball). He went and weighed all his gold and silver against this but it was not equal to it. He said to the rabbis: "How is this?" They said to him: "A skull of flesh and blood (a man) is never sated as long as it lives." He said to them: "And how do you know this?" They took a little dust and covered it (so it could not see), and immediately it was weighed down by this weight as it is written: "The Netherworld and Destruction are never satisfied, so the eyes of man are never satiated."⁴⁴¹

DONE

**Blessed is the One who gives strength to the weary; and to him without
might he increases strength.⁴⁴²**

COMPLETED

NOTES

- ¹ Cf. Introductions to Albert Mugrdich Wolohojian, *The Romance of Alexander the Great by Pseudo-Callisthenes* (New York, 1979) [in Armenian]. Israel J. Kazis, *The Book of the Gestis of Alexander of Macedon* (Cambridge, MA, 1962) [in Hebrew]. E.A.W. Budge, *The History of*

Alexander the Great (Cambridge, England, 1889) [in Syriac]. Budge, *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great* (London, 1896) [in Ethiopic]. E. H. Haight, *The Life of Alexander of Macedon by Pseudo-Callisthenes* (New York, 1955); trans. of Greek *alpha* text, ed. by W. Kroll, *Historia Alexandri Magni*, 1 (Berlin, 1926; reprint 1958).

² *Yosippon*, Ch. 10.

³ *Sefer Yosippon*, Ch. 60, lines 58-60, D. Flusser, ed., Vol. I, (Jerusalem, 1978), p. 280. (The Jewish mysteries of pre-modern India are apparently still to be opened as a quick look at the *Encyclopedia Judaica*, sub: India, Cochin, Benei Israel, would indicate.)

⁴ On the absorption and reuse of Hellenistic materials, see Erich S. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism. The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition* (Berkeley, CA, 1998).

⁵ David Flusser, "The Fourth Empire - An Indian Rhinoceros?", in *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity* (Jerusalem, 1988), pp. 345-54. This collection of essays expands Flusser's reading of Indian and Persian sources on hellenistic and medieval Jewish texts. Van Bakkum's edition of the Jews' College ms preserves the Greek as *odonteron* (p. 130) and in the Paris ms as *iro nterokhen* (p. 90).

Both mss are translated from an Arabic *Vorlage* and in each the word is prefaced by "in the language of the men of India". This suggests that the translators did not recognize the Greek original of the term and gives support to my suggestion that these two translations were controlled exercises by youthful translators in training; cf. my review in *JJS* (Spring, 1997).

⁶ Hans Lewy, "Aristotle and the Jewish Sage according to Clearchus of Soli," *The Harvard Theological Review*, XXXI (1938).

⁷ Luitpold Wallach, "Alexander the Great and the Indian Gymnosophists in Hebrew Tradition," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, XI (1941), pp. 60ff. Kazis, *The Book of the Gestes of Alexander of Macedon*, p. 14. John Gager's two works on Hellenistic-Roman attitudes toward the Jews: *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism* (Nashville, TN, 1972) and *The Origins of Anti-Semitism*.

⁸ The most convenient summary of the Talmudic and Midrashic material and its scholarly discussion is contained in Israel Kazis's 1962 edition and translation of *The Book of the Gestes of Alexander of Macedon* with additional and updated discussion by Wout Van Bakkum in his introduction to *A Hebrew Alexander Romance According To MS London, Jews' College*, 145 (Leuven, 1992). For earlier scholarship cf. Wallach, *op.cit.*

⁹ Morris Epstein, ed. and trans., (Philadelphia, 1967). In the collection of rabbinic and medieval lore contained in *The Chronicles of Jerahmeel* (Moses Gaster, trans., with Prolegomenon by Haim Schwarzbaum, New York, 1971), there are hardly any references to India of note save for the odd renaming of Eldad HaDani as Elhanan the Merchant from India.

- 10 *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders* (Princeton University Press, 1973), pp. 62-71, 175-229, 335-38. Goitein also lists there a more complete collection called the *India Book* (*non vidi*). India continued to be a source for wisdom during the middle ages, and Shabbatai Donnolo (10th century southern Italy) lists Indian astronomy among his accomplishments.
- 11 Wout Van Bekkum, ed. and trans., *A Hebrew Alexander Romance According to MS Hébr. 671.5 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale*, (Groningen, 1994) [#2]; idem, *A Hebrew Alexander Romance according to MS London, Jews' College*, 145 (Louven, 1992) [#3]; Rosalie Reich, ed. and trans., *Tales of Alexander The Macedonian* (New York, 1972) [#4]; Flusser, ed., Parma de Rossi ms. in *Sefer Yosippon*, I (Jerusalem, 1978) [#5]; Kazis, ed. and trans., Paris, BN, Ms. Heb. 750 Cambridge, MA, 1962) [#6]. The complex literary tradition and scholarly discussion of the Alexander Romance in *Yosippon* as summarized by Kazis is now superseded by recent scholarly editions of these manuscripts and Flusser's edition of *Yosippon* (1978); cf. Van Bekkum's introduction to his edition of MS London, Jews' College, no. 145 [#3], 16-21 for latest guide to the literature and its problems.
- 12 Discussed by Kazis (note 7), Ch. II and Van Bekkum (see previous note).
- 13 Cf. Van Bekkum (Leuven, 1992), pp 15ff. For this reason, it is not necessary in this study to compare the text to the other translations. That task can be reserved for a fuller study of the Alexander Hebrew tradition. Rather the Parma text is more properly to be compared with the Armenian version. The importance of the Parma version, as Van Bekkum emphasizes following Flusser, is "for the reconstruction of the Alexander text in *Sefer Yosippon*." The *Historia de Preliis*, is a 10th century translation of a Greek text found and transcribed in *Constantinople*, by Leo Archpresbyter of Naples. A comparison of the Latin *Historia* to the Hebrew translation presented below is now possible. One question is immediately obvious: Do the Hebrew and the Latin translations go back to the same or similar Greek text? This question has not been addressed directly in the scholarly literature, but the proximity in date (10th-11th centuries southern Italy) is not of little interest in this respect. What has hindered pursuit of this question is the argument that the *Historia* is derived from a postulated *delta* rescension of Pseudo-Callisthenes (which represents an elaboration of the *alpha* tradition), while the Parma version is derived from a version of the *alpha* rescension which underlays the *delta* rescension. As yet no detailed analysis of the two texts has been made. The present translation may stimulate such a project.
- 14 *The Byzantine Chronicle* was copied independently and included by Immanuel Bonfils in his mid fourteenth-century Alexander Romance (Kazis, ed., pp. 107-9, Hebrew section).
- 15 Cf. RE *sub* Tauromenion, Tyndaris. Flusser argues that Tiberius resettled his veterans from the Dalmatian and Panonian campaigns in these two

- colonies (*Tarbiz*, p. 184). Kazis includes the Hebrew version of the chronicle in his edition with no translation or discussion.
- 16 Cf. David Flusser, "An "Alexander Geste" in a Parma MS," *Tarbiz* 26 (1956-57), pp. 165-184, English summary V; this is summarized in Kazis, pp. 35-37; David Flusser, *The Yosippon* [Josephus Gorionides], Vol. II (Jerusalem, 1980), pp. 215-260. Cf. Van Bakkum (Louven, 1992), pp. 17f.
 - 17 Since the Parma ms has never been translated, the literalness is justified for scholarly purposes. Cf. Flusser's discussion of the text and its language [*The Yosippon*, Vol. II (Jerusalem, 1980), pp. 233ff]. Flusser gives the following example to show that the manuscript used by the translator already contained scribal corrections from the text on which the Armenian version was based as well as the *alpha* version: "the beasts...their mouths and bodies were burned" (Ch. 7 before note 9). The *alpha* version has "bodies" while the Armenian translation and the *beta* version have "mouths" while the Hebrew translator's text has both.
 - 18 A comparison of the Hebrew version in Kazis with that of the Armenian in Wolohojian displays the tendency of the Hebrew tradition to tone down the miraculous sensualness of this episode.
 - 19 Cf. Flusser in *The Josippon* II, 248ff. Immanuel Bonfils, on the other hand, does include the story of Nectabenus and Olympias in his Alexander Romance, but he lived some three to four centuries later in Catholic France with its high medieval literary tastes which included such themes. The two texts edited by Van Bakkum also include the Nectabenus episodes, while Reich's edition of the Bodleian ms is an imaginative *arabesque* whose details are far removed from the original Greek tradition.
 - 20 This is not in the Armenian version (Wolohojian, p. 116) or the Hebrew version (apud Kazis) and differs from the legends in *Talmud Bavli*, *Tamid* 32 a-b (for trans. and discussion, cf. Van Bakkum (Louven, 1992), pp. 8ff). In the *Talmud*, the Mountains of Darkness are in Africa which here is geographically out of place. In *Yosippon* (Ch. 10, line 76 in Flusser's edition) the Mountains of Darkness are listed just after India which may suggest why the translator gathered all his material at this location.
 - 21 Most recently translated by J. H. Charlesworth, "History of the Rechabite" in James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, Vol. 2 (Garden City, NY, 1985), pp. 450-461. The core of this text (Chs. 8-10) has been assigned to the first century prior to the destruction of the Temple; cf. Elbert Garrett Martin, "The Account of the Blessed Ones. A Study of the Development of an Apocryphon on the Rechabites and Zosimus (The Abode of the Rechabites)," Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University 1979, especially pp. 205ff.
 - 22 This question can only be resolved by further scholarly investigation based upon a more thorough edition of the Pseudo-Callisthenes than was available to the editor or translator of the present edition.

- ²³ See above note 16.
- ²⁴ Eli Yassif, *The Tales of Ben Sira in the Middle Ages. A Critical Text and Literary Studies* (Jerusalem, 1984) in Hebrew, suggests that the Rechabites in Christian sources parallel the descendents of Moses in the tradition of Eldad ha-Dani and Muslim legend. The *Chronicles of Jerahmeel*, Moses Gaster, trans., with Prolegomenon by Haim Schwarzbaum (New York, 1971), Ch. LXIff and pp. 69ff. In a teasing aside, Cecil Roth, *The History of The Jews of Italy* (Philadelphia, 1946), p. 61 suggests an Italian provenance for the text.
- ²⁵ Cf. text in J. D. Eisenstein, *Ozar Midrashim I* (New York, 1956), p. 50 and comments in Yassif (previous note), pp. 104ff; cf. *Yalkut Shimoni*, Ezekiel 28.
- ²⁶ Cf. Discussion in Yassif (note 11), pp. 109f.
- ²⁷ Cf. Ben Zion Wacholder and Steven Bowman, "Ezechielus the Dramatist and Ezechiel the Prophet: The Identification of the mysterious Zoon in Ezechielus' *Exagoge*," *The Harvard Theological Review* 78:3-4 (1985), pp. 253-87.
- ²⁸ Cf. Flusser, *The Yosippon II*, pp. 248ff.

Notes to Ch. 1

- ²⁹ This text is preserved in MS de Rossi 1087 in Parma which contains three translations, most likely from the Greek: a) the Greek romance on Alexander of Macedon; b) an unknown Byzantine chronicle from Alexander to Augustus; c) the end of Palladius' Book on the Brahmins. The later interpolations of the first two translations are somewhat confused; thus the following translation is from the original in the Parma ms with occasional corrections from *Yosippon*. Also folio five of the Parma ms has been lost and its translation has been supplied from *Yosippon*. Cf. David Flusser, "An 'Alexander Geste' in a Parma MS," *Tarbiz* 26 (1956-7), pp. 165-184, Eng. sum. V. (The original text occasionally has the form Alexandros which seems to be a local tradition; the name has been standardized for this edition.)
- ³⁰ The Romance (I,23) speaks of Mothone (SW Peloponnesos) against which Alexander fought. The confusion perhaps stems from this name.
- ³¹ Medieval Constantinople which Philip besieged in 340 B.C.E.
- ³² Romance I,23 has Philip send Alexander against a city in Thrace.
- ³³ Romance I,24 has Pausanias of Salonika.
- ³⁴ Olympias.
- ³⁵ Follows Greek word order.
- ³⁶ So in source.
- ³⁷ Follows Romance I,13.
- ³⁸ Source names other teachers.
- ³⁹ Renders Greek *katophere*.

- 40 Not in other versions.
41 Comparison varies in other versions.

Notes to Ch. 2

- 42 Romance I,26.
43 Figures vary in different versions.
44 Also in source.
45 Scythians also in source.
46 Renders Greek *prodromous*.
47 Romance I,29.
48 Romance I,29.
49 Renders Greek *stephanon ek chrysou kai margariton kataskeuasmēnon*.
50 Romance I,30.
51 Transliterates Greek *Lybie*.
52 Romance II,7 has barbarians which the translator understood as Berber Land in North Africa. Thus he connects this story with the above on Libya.
53 Romance II,8 has *Okinios* instead of *Kyndos* which flows in Anatolian Cilicia.
54 Renders Greek *ou to hydor katharon esti kai diaugestaton*.
55 Renders Greek *elgese ten kephale kai chalepos diekeito*.
56 Renders Greek *to posimon pharmakon*. The Hebrew formulation also appears in Shabbetai Donnolo, *Sepher ha-yakar* (Muntner, ed., Jerusalem, 1949, I,7).
57 Romance II,9.
58 Added by author.
59 On Great Armenia, cf. *Yosippon*, Ch. 88, note 66.
60 Euphrates.
61 Romance II,10 has *Baktriani chora*; var. *Baktrianon chora* (Land of the Baktrians).

Notes to Ch. 3

- 62 Romance I,40.
63 Cf. Daniel 6,1; 11,1.
64 Renders Greek *oi theoi tetimekasin kai synthronon eauton ekrinan*.
65 Renders Greek literally.
66 Renders Greek *kolasomai se thanato anaklateto*.
67 Renders Greek *omnumi de soi Dia megiston patera*.
68 Romance I,41.
69 Renders Greek *paroxynthe*.
70 Not in sources.
71 Source has 60 stades.
72 Renders Greek *ten Dareiou skenen* (tent).

- 73 Renders Greek *tous androdestatous kai eugeneis ton Person*.
 74 See above Ch. 2, note 11.
 75 Romance I,42.

Notes to Ch. 4

- 76 Romance I,42.
 77 Greek Skamandros.
 78 Romance I,44. Greek has, 'And he arrived in two days at Bottia and Olynthon and destroyed all the land of the Chaldaians.' Bottia and Olynthos are two cities in Greece.
 79 The source has 'land of the Chaldaians' (Hebrew '*eret ha-Kasdim*'), but there it is a confusion for 'land of the men of Chalkis' which is in Greece. The Hebrew translator rendered Kasdim as Canaan.
 80 Greek has *pros Maiotida limen* (Maiotis harbor is the Sea of Azov today). Author's ms had Maiotin.
 81 Romance I,45.
 82 Greek has *eis Lokrous* (to the men of Lokris).
 83 In one of the sources, the scribe must have written instead of 'one day' perhaps 'day 1' which is Sunday in Hebrew or *kyriakin* in Greek. The Hebrew author in turn saw *kyriakin* and understood it to be another name for Lokris.
 84 Renders Greek *hieron Apollonis*.
 85 See note 8.
 86 Renders Greek *tous Akragantinous* (to the men of Akragas); the latter is Agrigento in Sicily. Cf. A. Ausfeld, *Der griechische Alexanderroman*, p. 57.
 87 Added by author who knew this perhaps because he came from southern Italy; see below Ch. 13, note 29.
 88 Romance I,34 has him go to Egypt at this point.
 89 Greek has *ta liverna*, a type of boat.
 90 Source refers to Tripolis in Syria but the author was thinking of Tripolis in North Africa and so added the data from his source (Romance I,31) on Carthage.
 91 See Romance I,31; figures differ in various mss.
 92 Author follows Romance I,39 where Alexander reaches Tyre. His ms mistakenly had *eis Tigrin* for *eis Tyron* perhaps.
 93 Romance I,39 has him in Syria; Ausfeld (note 11) suggests an error in the Greek version. Perhaps this had already been corrected in the ms which the author used since Alexander passed from Tyre to Egypt at this point.

Notes to Ch. 5

- 94 Cf. Romance I,39 and II,11-12.
 95 Romance II,13.