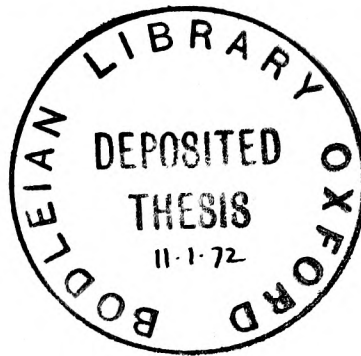


"BIRTH, EXPLOITS AND DEATH OF
ALEXANDER THE MACEDONIAN IN VERSE":
A CRITICAL EDITION WITH
INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY.



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ABSTRACT

By way of introduction a survey is made of the various versions of the Alexander Romance. The Romance, falsely attributed to Callisthenes, has its origins in the 3rd century B.C. The surviving versions, however, can only be traced back to an original of about 300 A.D. This original version (α) is represented by only one complete manuscript in Greek (A), and by a number of translations: Latin, Armenian, Syriac and Ethiopic. Later Greek versions, generally known by the letters β , γ , ε and λ , constitute wholesale revisions of the text of the Romance.

Two versifications of the Romance exist in Greek both of which seem to depend on both the α and the β traditions, though they are independent of one another. These are the Byzantine Alexander poem and the Modern Greek poem in rhyme (the Rimada) which is the subject of this study.

A further group of prose texts may be classified together as the late-Byzantine prose romance. Its origins are to be dated some time between the 13th and 16th centuries. Related to this group is the so-called Φυλλάδα του

Μεγαλέξαντρον which underwent a lengthy series of printed editions, the first appearing at about 1680. The interrelationships of these texts are illustrated by means of a diagram.

The second chapter discusses the tradition of the text of the Rimada. It survives in a single manuscript and a series of 14 Venetian chapbooks. A comparison of the manuscript and the edition princeps reveals that the differences between the two are mainly restricted to minor matters of linguistic taste. A number of points at which both share errors which must be typographical in origin indicates that the ms. must be a copy of a printed edition, and indeed of the first edition since many of the errors in question are removed in the later editions. The ms. is, therefore, almost valueless for the establishment of the text of the poem.

The printed editions of the poem exhibit a process of gradual deterioration of the text; mainly as a result of an increasing number of misprints, but parallel to this various deliberate attempts have been made to "improve"

the text linguistically. As each edition is dependent solely on its immediate predecessor only the first need be taken into account in any attempt to establish the original text.

In Chapter 3 is discussed the question of to which version or versions of the Romance the Rimada is related. Its source was a Greek ms. of the pseudo-Callisthenes which has not, apparently, survived to the present day. So far it has always been believed that the Rimada was more closely related to the β version of the Romance except in the last section where it was thought to follow α -type text. There are, indeed, many points at which the Rimada's text agrees with the β version against A but often this is merely due to the bad state of the text of A; other α witnesses in the form of translations frequently agree with the Rimada and β against A as is shown in a detailed table. On the other hand there are numerous features of the Rimada which are shared only with A and other α witnesses. An analysis on the basis of episodic content also reveals more similarities with A than with β (allowing for the lacunae of both A and the Rimada's ancestral manuscripts). It is thus concluded that the source of the Rimada was a version of the

of the pseudo-Callisthenes intermediate between α and β but closer to the former. The direct model of the Rimada was a translation of this version into the vernacular, which was also followed in part by the scribe of Bodl. misc. 283 (P) the text of which exhibits many striking verbal similarities with the Rimada. Similarities between the Rimada and the Phyllada, however, are due not to the use of a common source, but to direct borrowing from the versified text at some stage in the transmission of the Phyllada.

Chapter 4 discusses the problem of authorship. Early students of the Rimada assumed from its Epilogue that Dimitrios Zinos was the author of the work. But it is clear from the comparison of the relevant passage with the epilogues or colophons of other early printed books that the role indicated is that of editor. This conclusion is borne out by stylistic differences between the Rimada and Zinos' translation of the Batrachomyomachia into Modern Greek.

Little is known of Zinos' background, except that he came from Zakynthos and may have been related to the Alexander Zeno, who was Professor of Greek letters at Padua University. Dimitrios' activities are first documented in 1524 when he edited and published the first edition of Πένθος @ανάτου. Many other editions of liturgical and modern Greek books followed, in which Zinos' contribution was

either as editor-corrector or as financial backer. All these editions were printed by the da Sabbio family.

Zinos is also known as a copier of manuscripts; one of his manuscripts survives in the Escorial Library, while two others are now in the Bodleian Library. In 1540 we find him in France, where he supplied Francis I's librarian with a number of Greek manuscripts which he had collected in Corfu, Zakynthos and neighbouring areas.

As far as the Rimada is concerned it seems that Zino's editorial role was restricted to minor improvements or corrections, for the unscholarly character of the work must be attributed to the versifier, not to Zinos. One suggestion which has been made as to the identity of this versifier, is Markos Defarinos, also of Zakynthos. However, the style and tone of his works, which are comparatively more sophisticated than the Rimada, render the hypothesis highly improbable. Thus the Rimada must remain an anonymous work. Zinos's failure to identify the author may perhaps be construed as a deliberate punishment for the latter's lack of co-operation.

The date of composition of the Rimada may be located in the period 1490 to 1520. The initiative for its publication seems to have come from Damiano di Santa Maria, who is named in the colophon of this and several other Greek works

of this time. Zinos was charged with the task of obtaining an autograph manuscript of the poem from the author, but as this never arrived he was forced to base the edition on the only available dilapidated manuscript copy. His contribution seems to have been slight for even the chapter headings and the proverbs which are found in the printed text were, in all probability, in the text composed by the anonymous versifier.

The 14 woodcut illustrations are in fact clichés borrowed from a set of illustrations in the Iliad, with the exception of one which depicts Alexander riding Bucephalus. Their original commissioning for the 1526 edition of Loukanis' Iliad was due to Damiano, and it was probably he who selected and arranged the woodcuts used in the Rimada.

Chapter 5 presents a discussion of some literary aspects of the Rimada. It is difficult to speak of "style" when talking about a popular versification of a prose text such as the Rimada is. It seems that the work is a fluent and quite faithful adaptation of its model, though frequently sense is sacrificed to metre and rhyme. That metre was all-important to the versifier is shown by the frequent use of certain adverbial expressions in order to pad out the verse. This is a survival of oral technique, which may also be observed in

the use of certain formulaic expressions. Another metrical expedient used by the versifier is a wide range of forms of proper names - a phenomenon which may be observed throughout the history of Greek poetry.

Little has been contributed to the narrative by the versifier himself: just occasionally moralising comments on such subjects as sin, death, folly and fate are inserted, which must probably be attributed to the versifier. Otherwise the style of the work is flat and prosaic.

There are certain echoes in the work of the poem of Georgios Choumnos on the Genesis and Exodus, which make it highly likely that the latter work was known to the versifier of the Rimada. There are some verbal similarities with a few other works of medieval Greek literature - which are probably no more than coincidence.

A detailed analysis of the language of the poem is made in Chapter 6. The material is arranged under the headings Phonology, Morphology and Syntax. Some other characteristic features of the language are discussed: the frequent use of archaising elements, "barbarisms" (produced by a desire to archaise based on inadequate knowledge of the ancient language), the identification of certain didialectal elements, and the loanwords of the poem. In the same chapter

a study is made of the author's techniques of versification, which is on the whole fluent but some imperfect lines may be noted. The fifteen syllable lines in which the work is composed are rhymed in pairs. Imperfect rhymes are comparatively few in view of the length of the poem.

The edition of the text, which follows, is based on the Venetian editio princeps, since the only manuscript has been shown (in Chapter 2) to be a mere copy of a printed edition. Since all the later editions are dependent ultimately on the the first, they are of little value for establishing the text. The principle of reverence for all phonetic variants has been followed, while orthography and punctuation have been regularised in accordance with the rules of the Νεοελληνικὴ Γραμματικὴ (τῆς Δημοτικῆς).

In the Commentary a detailed analysis is made, chapter by chapter, of the relationship of the Rimada to the Pseudo-Callisthenes. In addition problems relating to the text, interpretation, language, versification and style are discussed. A Glossary lists all words which exhibit phonological, morphological or semantic interest and finally there is an index of proper names occurring in the edited text. Two Appendices provide: (I) a list of elements in the Rimada which do not derive from the α or β versions of the Romance; and (II) a study of the wordcents which illustrate the first

edition of the poem and documentation of their appearance
in various other printed books.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Versions of the Alexander Romance and related texts:

- A W. Kroll, Historia Alexandri Magni
(Pseudo- Callisthenes) Volumen I,
Rezensio vetusta, Berlin 1926
(reprinted 1958).
- β (mss B, M, P, K, V, L) L. Bergson, Der griechische Alexander-
roman. Rezension β, Uppsala 1965.
- γ (mss R, D, C) U. von Lauenstein-H. Angermann-F.
Parthe, Der griechische Alexander-
roman, Rezension γ, 3 vols.,
Weissenheim am Glan 1962-9.
- λ (mss C, W, H, K,) H. van Thiel, Die Rezension λ des
Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bonn 1959.
- Arm. R. Reabe, 'Ιστορία 'Αλεξάνδρου,
die armenische Übersetzung der
sagenhaften Alexander-biographie
(Pseudo-Callisthenes, auf ihre
autmasslichen Grundlagen zurück-
geführt, Leipzig 1896.
- A.M. Tolchojian, The romance of
Alexander the Great by Pseudo-

- Callisthenes translated from the
Armenian version with an Introduction,
 New York 1969.
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Polemiores gestae Alexandri Macedonis...
 Leipzig 1888.
- Epist. (Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem)
 B. Kübler, ibid. pp. 190-221.
- Leo F. Kiister, Der Alexanderroman des
Archipresbyters Leo (= Sammlung
mittellat. Texte VI, Heidelberg 1913.
- Epit. P. A. Thomas, Incerti auctoris :
epitoma rerum gestarum Alexandri
Magni cum libro de morte testamentoque
Alexandri, Leipzig 1966.
- Barb. (Excerpta Barbara Latina) C. Frick,
Chronica Minora 1, Leipzig 1892,
 pp. 183-370.
- Syr. F. A. W. Budge, The History of
Alexander the Great, being the
Syriac Version of the Pseudo-
Callisthenes....., Cambridge 1889.
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Exploits of Alexander the Great

being a series of Ethiopic texts.....

2 vols. London 1896.

Byz.

S. Reichmann, Das byzantinische
Alexandergedicht, nach dem Codex
Marcianus 408 herausgegeben,
Weissenheim am Glan 1963.

late-Byz. A

L. Besselovsky, "Die Wunderepisode
der mittelgriechischen Alexandreis",
Archiv für slavische Philologie 11,
1888, 327-343.

late-Byz. G

K. Μητσάκης, "Διήγησις περὶ τοῦ
Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῶν μεγάλων πολέμων",
BNJ 20, 1968, 228-302.

late-Byz. H

K. Mitsakis, Der byzantinische
Alexanderroman nach dem Codex Vindob.
Theol. Gr. 244 (Miscellanea Byzantina
Monacensia 7), Munich 1967.

Phyllada

A.A. Πάλλης, Ἡ φυλλάδα τοῦ Μεγαλ-
ξάντρου, Athens 1935 (reprinted
1961, 1968).

Rimada

Γέννησις, κατορθώματα καὶ θάνατος
Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνα διὰ στίχου.

Other abbreviations used:

- Achel.** H. Pernot, P. Gentil de Vendosme et Antoine Achélis, Le siège de Malte par les Turcs en 1565,... (Coll. de mon. 3^e série, 2), Paris 1910.
- Achill.** D.C. Hesselring, L'Achilléide byzantine, publiée avec une introduction, des observations et un index, Amsterdam 1919.
- AG** Ancient Greek
- AJP** American Journal of Philology
- Alosis Konst.** ('Εμμανουήλ Γεωργιάλλε ὁρθός της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως) G. Wagner, Medieval Greek Texts..... Part 1, London 1870, 141-170.
- Andriotis Lex.** Ν.Π. 'Ανδριώτης, 'Ετυμολογικὸ Λεξικὸ τῆς κοινῆς νεοελληνικῆς (2nd edition), Salonika 1967.
- Apokop.** Στ. 'Αλεξίου, "'Απόκοπος", Kr. Chron. 17, 1963, 183-251.
- Ath.** 'Αθήναι
- Batrach.** F. Mullach, Demetrii Zeni Paraphrasis Batrachomyomachiae vulgari Graecorum sermone scripta....., Berlin 1837.

BBA

Belis.

Berlin Byzantinische Arbeiten

R. Cantarella, "La Διήγησις ὁρασιώτης τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ ἐκείνου τοῦ λεγομένου Βελισσάρου (di anonimo autore). Testo critico, con una Appendice: Sulla fortuna della leggenda di Belisario", Studi Bizantini e Neocellenici 4, 1935, 153-202.

Belis. (Georg.)

('Ιστορικὴ Ἐξήγησις περὶ Βελισσάρου)
CGMA, 322-347.

Belth.

(Βέλθανδρος καὶ Χρυσόαντζα)
E. Legrand, Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire Vol. I, 1880.

BH XV/XVI

E. Legrand, Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés en grec par des grecs aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles, 4 vols., Paris 1885-1906.

BH XVII

E. Legrand, Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des grecs au dix-septième siècle, 2 vols., Paris 1894.

BI

E. Legrand-H. Pernet, Bibliographie Ionienne. Description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par les grecs des Sept-îles ou concernant les îles du quinzième siècle à l'année 1900, 2 vols., Paris 1910.

Blass-Debrunner

F. Blass, Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch, Bearb. von A. Debrunner, Göttingen 1959 (reprint).

BNJ

Boun. Kr. Pol.

Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher (Ζῳνας Μαρίνος Μπουνιαλής) A. Ξηρουχάκης, 'Ο κρητικός πόλεμος, 1645-1669, ἡ συλλογὴ τῶν ἐλληνικῶν ποιημάτων 'Ανθίμου Διακροῦση, Μαρίνου Ζῳνα, Trieste 1908.

BZ

Cacav.

Byzantinische Zeitschrift
F.R. Marshall, The Siege of Vienna by the Turks in 1683. Translated into Greek from an Italian work published anonymously in the year of the siege by Jeremias Cacavelas, Cambridge 1925.

Call.

M. Pichard, Le roman de Callimaque et Chrysorrhoe (Collection byzantine publiée sous le patronage de l'

- Association Guillaume Budé), Paris 1956.
- CGMA Guilielmus Wagner, Carmina Graeca Medii Aevi, Leipzig 1874.
- Chasis 'Ο Χάσης. Κωμωδία ποιηθεῖσα τῷ 1786 ὑπὸ Δημητρίου Γουζέλλη Ζακύνθου κατὰ τὸν τότε Ζακύνθιον ἰδιωτισμὸν, Zakynthos 1860.
- Choumnos M F.H. Marshall, Old Testament Legends from a Greek poem on Genesis and Exodus by Georgios Choumnos....., Cambridge 1925.
- Choumnos ms Mss. British Museum Addit. 40724 and Sinaiticus 1187 (the numbering is that of F.H. Marshall, Glossaries to the Greek Translation of Boccaccio's Teseide and to the poem of Georgios Choumnos on Genesis and Exodus [unpublished, mimeographed]).
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βυζ. καὶ νεοελλ. φιλολ. Πανεπ. Ἀθηνῶν ,
Athens 1958.
- Cor. Pret. Introduttore nuovo intitolato
Corona Preciosa.....cōpilato p lo
ingenioso huomo Stephano da Sabio.....,
Venice 1527.
- Cypr. Erot. Th. Siarkaras-Pitsillides, Le pétr-
arquisme en Chypre, poèmes d'amour
en dialecte chypriote d'après un
manuscrit du XVI^e siècle, Athens 1952.
- Def. Log. Did. (Ἀῶγοι Διδασκτικοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς πρὸς
τὸν υἱόν) S. Karaiskaki, "Das Lehr-
gedicht von Markos Deopharinos",
Λαογραφία 11, 1934/7, 1-66.
- Def. Sus. (Μάρκου Δεφαράνα, Ἱστορία ἐκ τῶν
τοῦ Δανιήλ περὶ τῆς Σωσάννης)
E. Legrand, Bibliothèque grecque
vulgaire Vol. 1, Paris 1880, 269-280.
- Dellap. (Λεονάρδος Ντελλαπόρτας) Α. Πολίτης,
Ποιητικὴ Ἀνθολογία - Βιβλίο Πρῶτο.
Πρὶν ἀπὸ τὴν ἄλωση, Athens 1967,
168-171.
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βυζαντινὸν ἔπος αἰνιγματώδες ἐπιτιθε-
μενον διηγηματικῶς παραβολὴν τινα",

Λαογραφία 1, 1909, 567-573.

Dig. Akr. (AND)

Π. Καλονάρος, Βασίλειος Διγενής

Ἀκρίτας. Τὰ ἔμμετρα κείμενα Ἀθηνῶν,

Κρυπτοφέρρης καὶ Ἑσχοριδῆ...., Athens

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Dig. Akr. (ESC)

Π. Καλονάρος, ibid. vol. 2, 127-200.

Dig. Akr. (GRO)

J. Mavrogordato, Digenes Akrites

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lation and Commentary...., Oxford 1956.

Dig. Akr. (OAF)

Sp. Lambros, Collection de romans

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Paris 1880, 111-237.

Dig. Akr. (TRE)

C. Sathas-M. Legrand, Les exploits

de Digenis Akritas. Épopée byzantine

du dixième siècle, publiée pour la

première fois d'après le manuscrit

unique de Trébizonde [Coll. de mon.

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dim.

diminutive

Dimitrakos Lex.

Δ. Δημητράκος, Μέγα Λεξικὸν ὅλης τῆς

ἐλληνικῆς γλώσσης, τόμ. Α' - Θ',

Athens 1958.

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Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et
infimae graecitatis duos in tomos
digestum, Leyden 1688 (reprinted 1891).
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- EEBS Ἑκτηρικὴ Ἑταιρεία Βυζαντινῶν
Σπουδῶν
- Einh. G. Hatzidakis, Einleitung in die
neugriechische Grammatik, Leipzig 1892.
- Ell. Ἑλληνικά
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du XIV^e siècle en vers octosyllabes
par Constantin Hermoniacos, publié
d'après les manuscrits de Leyden et
de Paris (Bibliothèque grecque
vulgaire Vol. 5), Paris 1890, 1-443.
- Erof. Στ. Βανθουδίδης, Ἑρωφίλη, τραγῳδία
Γεωργίου Χορτάτζη (1600) ἐκδοιδομένη
ἐκ τῶν ὁρίστων κηγῶν μετ' εἰσαγωγῆς
καὶ λεξιλογίου (Texte und Forschungen
zur byz.-neugr. Philologie 9),
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- Erot. Στ. Βανθουδίδης, Ἑρωτόκρετος.
Ἑκδόσεις κριτικῆς...., Iraklion 1915.
- Erot. Gloss. pp. 477-744 of the preceding.

Ful. Erot. Enyphn.

(Ἐρωτικὸν Ἐνύπνιον) Γ. Ζώρας,
"Ὁ Ποιητὴς Μαρτίνος Φαλιέρος",
Kr. Chron. 2, 1948, 7-46.

Flor.

D.C. Hesselring, Le Roman de Floride
et Placidiophore, publié avec une
introduction, des observations et un
index, Amsterdam 1917.

Fort.

Στ. Ξανθουδόδης, Μόρχου Ἀντωνίου
Ψωσκόλου (1669) Φορτουνάτος,
Athens 1922.

Fort. interm.

(Ἰντερμέδια) pp. 183-218 of the
preceding.

Gad.

Λ. Ἀλεξίου, "Ἡ φυλλάδα τοῦ γαδάρου,
ἦτοι γαδάρου, λύκου καὶ ἀλουποῦς
διήγησις ὥραϊα", Kr. Chron. 9, 1955,
81-118.

Georg. Phan.

(Τὸ Θανατικὸν τῆς Ρόδου) CGML, 32-52.

Ger. Kor.

(Περὶ γέροντος νὰ μὴν πάρῃ κορίτσι)
CGML, 106-111.

Gramm. Dem.

[Μ. Τριανταφυλλίδης,] Νεοελληνικὴ
Γραμματικὴ (τῆς Δημοτικῆς),
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Hist. Lex.

Ἱστορικὸν Λεξικὸν τῆς νέας ἐλληνικῆς,
τῆς τε κοινῆς ὁμιλουμένης καὶ τῶν
ιδιωμάτων [Ἀκαδημία Ἀθηνῶν], τόμ.

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Athens 1933-1953.
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ξένη τοῦ Ἱμπερίου θαυμαστοῦ καὶ
κόρης Μαργαρώνας) Ε. Κριαρᾶς,
Βυζαντινὰ ἱπποτικὰ μυθιστορήματα
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βιβλίον ἐστὶ Ἡ παλαιὰ τε καὶ νέα
διαθήκη, ἦτοι τὸ ἄνθος καὶ ἀναγκαῖον
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Θυέστης, Κλαυμὸς Πελοποννήσου,
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παροιμιῶν κ.λ.π. τοῦ Ἀντ. Κομοῦτου",
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Konomos Lex.

Ντ. Κονόμος, Ζακυνθινὸ Λεξικολόγιο
[Ζακυνθινὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 1] Athens 1960.

Koron.

(Τζάνης Κορωνάτος) Κ.Ν. Σάθας,
Ἑλληνικὰ ἀνέκδοτα Α', Athens 1867,
1-153.

Kr. Akath.

Κ. Μητσάκης, "Ἐνας λαϊκὸς κρητικὸς
Ἀκρόθιστος τοῦ 18ᾶ Ἰαῶνα", Βυζαντινὰ
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Kr. Chron.Κρητικὰ Χρονικὰ

Kriaras Lex.

Β. Κριαρᾶς, Λεξικὸ τῆς μεσαιωνικῆς
ἑλληνικῆς δημόδους γραμματείας 1100-
1669, τόμ. Α', αἰονικά 1968.

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Μ.Ι. Μανούσσης, "Ἀνέκδοτα Ἰντερ-
μέδια τοῦ κρητικοῦ θεάτρου", Kr. Chron.
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arii Barbaro-Graeci Compendium...,
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- p.p.p. past participle passive
- Preisigke Lex. F. Preisigke, Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden mit Einschluss der griechischen Inschriften, Aus-schriften, Ostraka, Mumien-schilder usw. aus Ägypten, 4 vols., Heidelberg-Berlin 1924-1966.
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μεταγλωττισμένος ἀπὸ τὸ ἔκωμα τὸ
ἱταλικὸν παρ' ἑμοῦ Μιχαήλ Σουμμάκη
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καὶ τιμιωτάτων ἀρχόντισσων)
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Philological Association
- Thes. Θησάρος καὶ γάμοι τῆς Ἑλλάδας,
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of F.H. Marshall, Glossaries to the
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Hist.

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Vedram. Fil.

Vedram. Gyn.

Vosk.

Len.

Linon

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μετὰ τῆς κερηφανίας", EEBS 24, 1954,
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PART ONE: INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1 : THE ALEXANDER ROMANCE

Alexander the Great died in Babylon on 13 June 323 B.C., not yet thirty-three years of age.¹⁾ During his brief reign he had profoundly influenced the history and cultural development of many of the peoples with whom he had come into contact. Legends about his exploits, which must have come into existence even during his lifetime²⁾, flourished, multiplied and diffused rapidly after his death.

These legends, both oral and literary, were eventually woven together into some sort of connected whole. This original compilation, or Urroman, must have been written down some time between the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 1st century B.C., most probably during the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes (205/4 B.C.).³⁾ Its author is generally believed to

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- 1) W.W. Tarn, Alexander the Great, Cambridge, 1948, Vol. I p.120.
 - 2) E. Mederer, Die Alexanderlegenden bei den ältesten Alexanderhistorikern, Stuttgart, 1936.
 - 3) A. Ausfeld, Der griechische Alexanderroman, Leipzig, 1907, p.237ff. The existence of this Urroman is, however, denied by D.J.A. Ross, "Olympias and the Serpent", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes XXVI, 1963, p.2 : "the romance can hardly be earlier than the third century A.D."

have been a Hellenised Egyptian of Alexandria.¹⁾

The Urroman has not survived, but many later remodellings of the story, which are directly dependent on it, are extant. These versions generally go under the name of the "Alexander Romance of pseudo-Callisthenes", although the work cannot be described as a romance²⁾, nor has it any connection with the writings of the historian Callisthenes of Olynthos, who accompanied Alexander on his expedition but was put to death for alleged treason.³⁾ The mistaken attribution to Callisthenes derives from the fact that several 15th century manuscripts of the work name him as the author in their titles.⁴⁾

The sources from which the pseudo-Callisthenes was assembled have been thoroughly and conclusively in-

1) Ausfeld, op.cit., p.234ff.

2) B.E. Perry, The Ancient Romances, California, 1967, pp.35, 83, excludes the Alexander Romance from consideration as a genuine romance.

3) On the history written by Callisthenes see Pearson, The Lost Histories of Alexander the Great, 1960, p.22ff.

4) See D.J.A. Ross, Alexander Historiatus. A Guide to Medieval Illustrated Alexander Literature (= Warburg Institute Surveys, 1), London 1963, p.5 and note 2; for the titles of the manuscripts see L. Bergson, Der griechische Alexanderroman. Rezension B, Uppsala 1965, pp.X-XI, XIV-XV.

vestigated by R. Merkelbach.¹⁾ From his researches it appears that two principle sources are present: a romanticised history of Alexander, based on the Cleitarchan tradition, from which all the historical elements of the Romance derive, and an Epistolary Romance (Briefroman) dating from the 1st century B.C. Other secondary sources include Egyptian legends of Nectanebus, letters describing the fabulous adventures of Alexander in India, an account of Alexander's last days, including his will, and the conversation between Alexander and the Indian Gymnosophists. This analysis is made possible by the fact that many of the individual elements have survived separately, used as sources by various authors, or in papyri, or in translations.²⁾

Once the Alexander Romance had been crystallised into a definitive form, the processes of accretion,

1) R. Merkelbach, Die Quellen des griechischen Alexanderromans (= Zetemata 9, 1954).

2) For a stemmatic representation of the interrelationships of all the relevant texts, see Merkelbach, op.cit., p.192.

modification and revision did not cease.¹⁾ Nearly two dozen Greek manuscripts exist containing prose texts of the Romance, no two of which are identical; to them may be added other Greek versions which must be postulated on the evidence of translations into other languages. Classification of all this available material has generally taken the form of postulating a number of different "versions": α , β , γ , δ^* (known only through translations), ϵ and λ . Such a method, however, has certain hazards, as had been pointed out by Veloudis.²⁾ The tradition of the Alexander Romance is quite different from that of classical texts: almost every scribe took it upon himself to rework the text in some way, linguistically, or by adding or removing

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- 1) Brief accounts of the tradition of the Romance have been given (with varying degrees of reliability) by, amongst others: F.P. Magoun, The Gests of King Alexander of Macedon, Cambridge Mass. 1929, pp.22-62; Merkelbach, op.cit., pp.61ff., 171ff.; F. Pfister, "Studien zum Alexanderroman", Würtzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft 1 (1946), p.33ff.; G. Cary, The Medieval Alexander, Cambridge 1956 (reprinted 1967), p.9ff.; D.J.A. Ross, op.cit., pp.5f., 41ff.; K. Mitsakis, "Διήγησις περὶ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῶν μεγάλων πολέμων" BNJ 20 (1968), p.228 ff.
- 2) G. Veloudis, Der neugriechische Alexander. Tradition in Bewahrung und Wandel (= Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 8), Munich 1968, pp.20-22.

episodes, or by conflating two variant texts into a single one. In this sense every manuscript is itself a "version", so that, in Veloudis' opinion, it would be preferable to speak of "text-groups". Valid though this criticism is, it is useful in practice, when speaking of the overall development of the Romance, to be able to refer to the hypothetical "versions" α , β etc., provided that the reservations mentioned above are always borne in mind and that the "versions" are not thought of as identical with any of the extant texts which represent them.

The original version (α)¹⁾ from which all the extant witnesses are ultimately descended may be dated between the 2nd and 4th centuries A.D., most probably in the region of 300 A.D.²⁾ The nearest surviving text to this hypothetical α version is

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- 1) The dangers implicit in any attempt to reconstruct this original version (as Ausfeld in fact tried, op. cit., p.29ff.) have been underlined by Merkelbach, op. cit., pp.69-70. At many points it seems probable that β has preserved the correct text in common with translations such as Arm. and Val., and α is at fault. In practice, therefore, Merkelbach abolishes the siglum α and refers only to A.
 - 2) Ausfeld, op. cit., p.249f., Merkelbach, op. cit., p.59 etc.; but Pfister, op. cit., p.45, dates the original version of the Romance in the 1st century A.D.

generally agreed to be that of the 11th century Codex Parisinus gr. 1711 (A)¹⁾; another manuscript (L) offers a text very close to A, but for the first ten chapters only.²⁾ Unfortunately manuscript A contains many lacunae, as well as other textual shortcomings, so that it would be impossible to obtain a complete picture of the original contents of the Romance from it alone. However, there exist several non-Greek texts which appear to be closely related to A: two translations into Latin, one ascribed to a certain Julius Valerius Alexander Polemius (4th century)³⁾, and one made by Archpriest Leo of Naples (10th

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- 1) Edited by W. Kroll, Historia Alexandri Magni (Pseudo-Callisthenes). Vol. I. Recensio vetusta, Berlin 1926 (reprinted photomechanically 1958).
 - 2) Edited by H. Meusel, Jahrbücher für class. Philologie, Suppl.-Bd. V, 1871, p.701ff.
 - 3) Edited by B. Kühler, Iulii Valerii Alexandri Polemi res gestae Alexandri Macedonis..... Leipzig 1888. For its importance as a source of many European vernacular versions, see Cary, op.cit., p.24ff.

century)¹⁾, one in Armenian (ca. 5th century)²⁾, one in Syriac (in or before the 6th century)³⁾, and one in Ethiopic (of uncertain date, perhaps 14th century)⁴⁾.

The Latin translation of Leo and the Syriac and Ethiopic versions are sometimes classified together as the * δ recension, because they have in common certain features which distinguish them from the other texts

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- 1) Two recensions exist: (1) the older, edited from the Bamberg manuscript by F. Pfister, Der Alexander roman des Archipresbyters Leo, Heidelberg 1913 (see also D.J.A. Ross, "A new Manuscript of Archpriest Leo of Naples", Classica et Mediaevalia 29, 1959, pp.98-158); (2) the so-called Historia de preliis, edited by O. Zingerle, "Die Quellen zum Alexander des Rudolff von Ems", Germanist. Abhandl. IV, 1885, p.127ff. For the importance of Val. for the transmission of the Romance to Western Europe, see Ross, Alexander Historiatus, p.47 and Cary, op.cit., pp.11, 38-58.
 - 2) There is a retroversion into Greek by R. Raabe, 'Ιστορία Ἀλεξάνδρου, Leipzig 1896. A translation into English has recently appeared: A.M. Wolchojian, The Romance of Alexander the Great by Pseudo-Callisthenes, New York 1969.
 - 3) Translated into English by E.A. Wallis Budge, The History of Alexander the Great, Cambridge 1889. There is also a German translation by V. Ryssel, Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen 90, 1893. That the Syriac version derived from a Persian and not, as Budge thought, from an Arabic one was shown by Nöldeke, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans", Denkschriften der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien XXVIII, 1890, p.11.
 - 4) Edited by E.A. Wallis Budge, The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great, London 1896; see also id. The Alexander Book in Ethiopia, London 1933.

of group α .¹⁾ This classification has tended to be abandoned by modern scholars²⁾, and all these texts are now generally grouped together under the heading α .

The second "version" of the Romance (β) is much better represented in Greek than the first. There are six principal manuscripts, identified by the letters, B, M, F, K, V and L, and three secondary ones (S, Q, P) which either contain only a part of the text or are contaminated with elements of other traditions. These β -type manuscripts range in date from the 11th to the 16th century, and though their texts are basically similar they nonetheless exhibit some important differences. They have been conflated to produce a single text of the " β version" by L. Bergson.³⁾ The characteristics which distinguish the β -type manuscripts from

1) For a list of similarities between Leo and Syr. see Ausfeld, op.cit., pp.17-20.

2) For example Merkelbach, op.cit., p.66, ^{L. Bergson,} Der griechische Alexanderroman. Rezension β , pp.V-VI. On the other hand the δ version is still referred to by Ballaira, "Frammenti inediti della perduta recensione δ del Romanzo di Alessandro in un codice vaticana", Bollettino del Comitato per la prep. della Ed. Naz. dei Classici Greci e Latini N.S. XIII, 1965, pp.27-59; K. Mitsakis, op.cit., pp.6-7; G. Veloudis, Alexander der Grosse. Ein alter Neugrieche, Munich 1969, p.11 and by others.

3) L. Bergson, op.cit. See the criticisms of G. Veloudis, BZ 60, 1967, pp.87-90.

A and the translations related to it are: a general attempt to make the Romance more readable and complete, and to bring it more into line with historical truth (which involved the addition of some episodes and the expungement of others), the removal of some of the Alexandrian colouring of the earlier version, and a thorough stylistic revision with much linguistic simplification and modernisation. This revision can only be dated with the aid of the Armenian translation which, it has been shown, contains some elements which are not otherwise witnessed in the α tradition and which seem to be characteristic of the β tradition.¹⁾ The Armenian version dates from the silver age of Armenian literature (450-572).²⁾ The β version, on which it seems to be partly dependent, must therefore

1) A. Ausfeld, op.cit., p.14; R. Raabe, op.cit., p.VI.

2) So Bergson, op.cit., p.X, who cites as his authority V. Inglisian, Handbuch der Orientalistik I:7, 1963, p.163. But H. Thorossian, Histoire de la Littérature Arménienne, Paris 1951, p.49, uses the term "silver age" to refer to the 12th century and according to him (p.48) the 5th century constitutes the golden age of Armenian literature. He, however, dates the Armenian translations of the pseudo-Callisthenes in the 6th century (p.69).

be dated, according to Bergson¹⁾, between 300 and 550 A.D., but probably not earlier than the 5th century.

Two other versions of the Romance, both in verse, appear, like Arm., to be dependent on both the α and β traditions. The first of these is the Byzantine poem 'Αλέξανδρος ὁ Βασιλεὺς in unrhymed political verse.²⁾ It is basically a versification of a prose text very similar to the surviving β -type manuscripts, but with the addition of some elements of the α tradition e.g. chapters I 45 - II 2 (=vv.2156-2913).³⁾ There are also some episodes borrowed from

1) L. Bergson, op.cit., p.X.

2) First edited by W. Wagner, Trois poèmes grecs du moyen-âge inédits, Berlin 1881, pp.56-241, and again recently by S. Reichmann, Das byzantinische Alexandergedicht, Meisenheim am Glan 1963. Important studies of the sources and language of the poem were made by H. Christensen: "Die Vorlagen des byzantinischen Alexandergedichtes", Sitz.-Ber. der bayer. Akad. der Wissenschaften 1897, p.33ff.; "Die Sprache des byzantinischen Alexandergedichtes", BZ 7, 1898, pp.366-397.

3) Merkelbach, op.cit., p.64. K. Mitsakis has clarified the question of the sources as follows: neither α nor β served as the direct model of Byz., but a text closely related to both, which offered a more complete, independent tradition ("Beobachtungen zum byzantinischen Alexandergedicht", JOBQ XVI, 1967, pp.119-126 esp. p.125). Earlier Christensen had suggested that Byz. was based mainly on β but also used a text of group α as far as II 22 ("Die Vorlagen....." p.113).

~~episodes borrowed from~~ the Chronicle of George the Monk.¹⁾ Much discussion has surrounded the question of the date of composition of the poem. The only extant manuscript (Codex Marcianus 408) has the following three verses at the end of the Alexander poem:

Ἐργάσθη δὲ πρὸς ἑταροὶ τοὺς ἑξακισχιλίους
 ἔξ οὖν τοὺς ἐνενήκοντα καὶ τοὺς ὀκτακοσμούς,
 Ἰνδολιπιδνός ἐν αὐτοῖς τρεχοῦσης ἐνδεκάτης.

The question is, does the date mentioned here (A.M. 6896 = 1388 A.D.) refer to the composition of the poem or only to the copying of the manuscript? Adherents of the second view²⁾ place the composition of the poem in the 13th century, mainly on linguistic evidence, while many other scholars continue to believe that 1388 is the date at which the Byzantine Alexander poem was

1) Christensen, "Die Vorlagen....." pp.89-102.

2) For example Christensen, "Die Vorlagen....." pp.33 n.1 and 43, and id. "Die Sprache....." p.366 places it between 1200 and 1350; Pfister, "Alexander der Grosse in der byz. Literatur und in neugriechischen Volksbüchern", Probleme der neugr. Literatur III, Berlin 1960, p.127 dates it first half of 13th century; Mitsakis, "Beobachtungen....." pp.119-121, relying on the absence of Frankish loanwords in the poem, dates it second half of 12th century or, at the latest, beginning of 13th.

composed.¹⁾

The other metrical version of the Alexander Romance in Greek is the subject of the present study: the poem entitled Γέννησις, κατορθώματα καὶ θάνατος Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνα διὰ στίχου, consisting of 2948 rhymed political verses and first published in Venice in 1529. Like the Byzantine poem (with which it is not, however, directly related) it has affinities with both the α and β traditions. Its sources will be discussed at length in Chapter 3.

The α - and β -type texts certainly represent the oldest surviving forms of the pseudo-Callisthenes.

1) The first evidence that 1388 cannot have been the date of copying of Cod. Marc. was provided by J. Morelli, Bibliotheca manuscripta graeca et latina, Bassano 1802, p.278, who dated the manuscript as belonging to the beginning of the 15th century on palaeographic grounds. 1388 as the date of composition is supported by Reichmann, op.cit., p.IV and by A. Gonzato, "Il codice Marciano greco 408 e la data del romanzo bizantino di Alessandro con una ipotesi sull' autore", BZ 56, 1963, p.248ff. The most persuasive arguments are those of J. Trumpf, "Zwei Zitate aus dem byz. Alexandergedicht im Codex Vindob. phil. gr. 241" JOBG 14, 1965, pp.79-80, who on the basis of the quotation of these and other verses of the poem in another manuscript shows that 1388 cannot be the date of Cod. Marc. but of the poem itself. But Mitsakis, op.cit., p.120 suggests that 1388 could easily be the date of the manuscript from which Cod. Marc. was copied. So the problem has not yet been completely solved.

Dependent on them are three more recent versions or reworkings which modify them considerably and add new elements of their own. The earliest of these seems to be version ϵ , which is extant in only one manuscript - the Bodleian Barroccianus 17 (Q) - and whose origin has been dated to the 6th century.¹⁾

Dependent on both ϵ and β is version γ , represented by three manuscripts (C, D, R), which has been assigned a date in the 7th century.²⁾ Its principal characteristic is the superimposition of a Jewish atmosphere on the whole work.³⁾ Its author may have been a

1) J. Trumpf, "Alexanders kappadokisches Testament", BZ 52, 1959, p.253 n.1. The text has not been edited but excerpts were published by Meusel, Jahrbücher für class. Philologie, Suppl.-Bd. V, Leipzig 1871, pp.794-805. Parts of the ϵ recension are also found in two other manuscripts (K and H); see Bergson, op.cit., p.VIII. Trumpf is preparing an edition.

2) The text is edited in three volumes: U. von Lauenstein, Der griechische Alexanderroman. Rezension γ . Buch I, Meisenheim am Glan 1962; H. Engelmann, Der gr. Alex. ... Buch II, Meisenheim 1963; F. Parthe, Der gr. Alex. ... Buch III, Meisenheim 1969. The date of the recension is fixed by the description of a 7th century chariot race; see von Lauenstein, op.cit., p.47.

3) The original composition of some of these Jewish passages, in particular that referring to the foundation of Alexandria, is dated by Pfister in the first century A.D.; see F. Pfister, "Eine jüdische Gründungsgeschichte Alexandrias", Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften V, 1914, 11. Abhandlung.

patriotic Alexandrian Jew, but this hypothesis is denied by Trumpf.¹⁾ One important element of γ is the mention of the colours worn by the factions in the Byzantine hippodrome.²⁾

The last version of this group is represented by five manuscripts (O, W, H, N and P), which have been classified together as λ .³⁾ Its origins are datable to the end of the 7th century⁴⁾; it is based on a manuscript of the β -type into which were interpolated: 1) a collection of apophthegmata; 2) a text of pseudo-Methodius; 3) a different version of the second letter of Alexander to Aristotle (replacing that in β).

After the λ version it is not for another 600 years or more that further revisions of the Romance are known to have been made. But this gap certainly does not indicate that the Alexander Romance was no

1) J. Trumpf, review of H. Gleixner, Der Alexanderbild, in BZ 55, 1962, p.85.

2) See H. Gleixner, Der Alexanderbild der Byzantiner, Dissertation, Munich 1961, p.64 and references given there.

3) The parts of it which diverge significantly from β have been edited by H. van Thiel, Die Rezension λ des Pseudo-Kallisthenes, Bonn 1959.

4) H. van Thiel, op.cit., p.21.

longer popular reading matter.¹⁾ It is merely that no datable evidence for new reworkings of the text during the intervening period is available today. In the 13th century the evidence reappears in the form of the Byzantine Alexander poem already mentioned (that is, if it is to be dated in the 13th century). A further group of texts, which may collectively be referred to as the late-Byzantine prose Alexander Romance²⁾, makes its appearance some time between the late 12th century and the beginning of the 16th century. The date has not yet been firmly established, but the end of the period mentioned would seem to be nearer

1) See K. Mitsakis, Der byzantinische Alexanderroman nach dem Codex Vindob. Theol. gr. 244 (Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 7) Munich 1967, pp.5-7.

2) The terms "byzantinische Alexanderroman" and "Mittel-griechische Prosa-Alexander" (used by Mitsakis and Trumpf respectively) could both be thought to refer to the earlier versions. There can be no confusion if the term "late-Byzantine prose Alexander" is employed.

the mark than the beginning.¹⁾

The late-Byzantine prose romance is extant in 9 primary and 2 secondary manuscripts, according

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- 1) The early date - late 12th or early 13th century - was suggested by Pfister, but without any positive evidence being adduced (op.cit. p.127). K. Mitsakis accepted that date (op.cit. pp.7-8), as does J. Trumpf ("Zur Überlieferung des Mittelgriechischen Prosa-Alexander und der Φυλλάδα τοῦ Μεγαλέξαντρου", BZ 60, 1967, p.4) but G. Veloudis, Der neugriechische Alexander, 1968, pp.36-7, proposes 1430 and 1453 as termini post quem and ante quem respectively. L. Politis accepts 1430 as the terminus post quem but rejects 1453 and would date the late-Byz. version on linguistic grounds to the late 15th or early 16th century (review of Veloudis in Ell. 23, 1970, pp.388-390). He also notes that, with the exception of Frankish-inspired Cypriot texts, the demotic was not cultivated at all in prose until the end of the 15th century. H. Gleixner, Der Alexanderbild der Byzantiner p.67, thought that the kernel of the late-Byz. version could be traced back to the reign of Heraclius (610-641), but based his argument on a mistaken interpretation of a passage in one of the manuscripts (Vindob. 244) which refers to Heracles (see Veloudis, op.cit. p.35f.). More recently Mitsakis has suggested that late-Byz. is the result of a continuous process of revision of the ϵ version, which culminated in the extant manuscripts of the 16th and 17th centuries (K. Mitsakis, "The Tradition of the Alexander Romance in Modern Greek Literature", Ἀρχαία Μακεδονία, Salonika 1968, p.53).

to the latest reckoning¹⁾, all of which stem from the 16th and 17th centuries. The primary manuscripts all offer a more or less complete narration of the Romance (though two of them - G and H - have rather the character of an epitome), while the secondary ones relate only fragmentary episodes of the Romance.²⁾ As far as its sources are concerned, the late-Byzantine prose romance constitutes a popular reworking of a text quite similar to that of manuscript Q, that is of

1) 8 primary and 4 secondary manuscripts are listed by K. Mitsakis, Der byz. Alexanderroman.... pp.8-9. Two of the secondary ones are declared by J. Trumpf not to be connected with the Romance (BZ 62, 1969, p.80). On the other hand, one further manuscript must be added to the primary category: Meteorensis (Barlaam) 197 (J) (see K. Mitsakis, "The Tradition of the Alexander Romance in Modern Greek Literature", Ἀρχαία Μακεδονία, Salonika, 1968, p.55ff. The texts so far published are: excerpts from Laurentianus 1444 by A.N. Wesselofsky, "Die Wunderepisode der mittelgriechischen Alexandreis", Archiv für slavische Philologie 11, 1888, 327-343 (an analysis of the whole text, in Russian, by V. Istrin is to be found in Vizantijskij Vremennik 6, 1899, pp.97-130); Athos 3309 (= Koutloumousi 236) by K. Mitsakis, "Διήγησις περὶ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῶν μεγάλων πολέμων", BNJ 20, 1968, p.228ff.; and Vindob. theol. gr. 244 by A.N. Veselovskij, Iz istorii romana i povjesti St. Petersburg 1886 (= Sbornik otdelenija russkago jazyka i slovesnosti imperatorskoj akademii nauk 40.2) Supplement pp.1-64, and again by K. Mitsakis, Der byzantinische Alexanderroman nach dem Codex Vindob. theol. gr. 244 (= Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 7), Munich 1967.

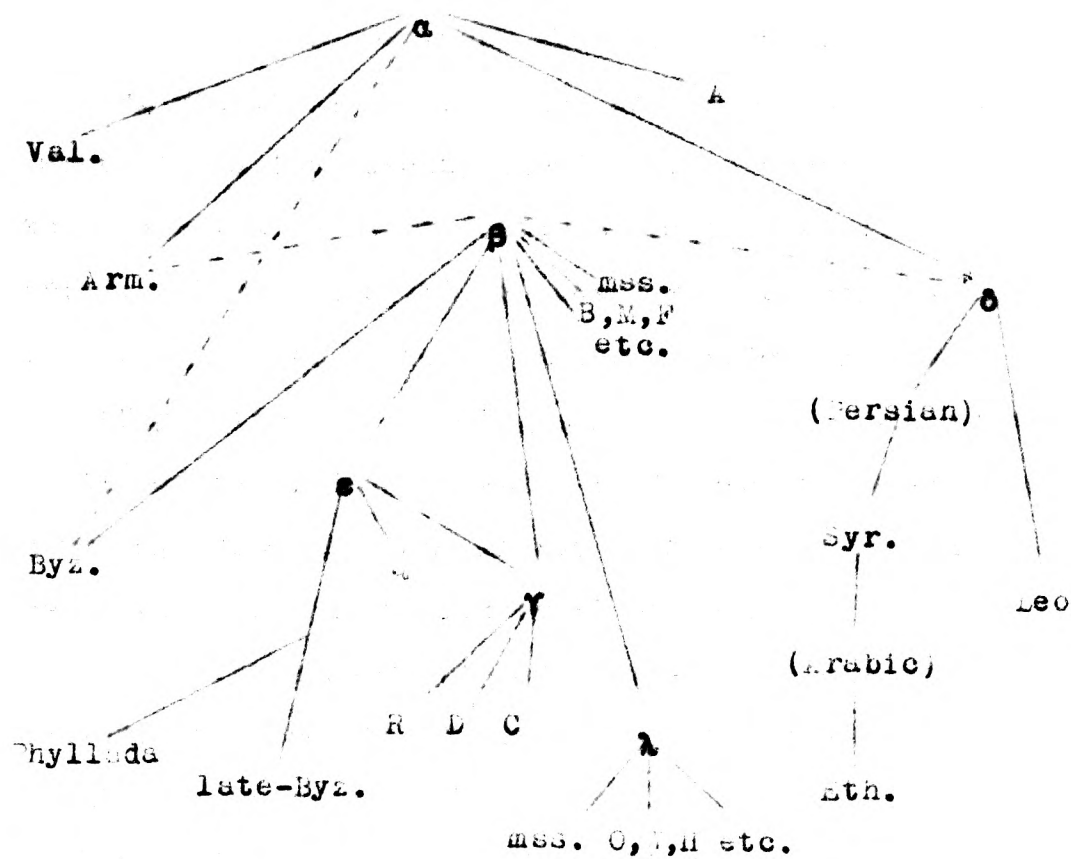
2) K. Mitsakis, op.cit., p.9.

version ε.¹⁾

Finally, a manuscript of this group²⁾ served as the basis of a printed work, the so-called Φυλλάδα τοῦ Μεγαλέξαντρου, which appeared in Venice for the first time about 1680 and was printed at least 43 times, the last being in 1926.³⁾

The following diagram shows schematically the relationships between the various versions and translations mentioned in the course of this chapter.⁴⁾

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- 1) J. Trumpf, "Zur Überlieferung des Mittelgriechischen Prosa-Alexander und der Φυλλάδα τοῦ Μεγαλέξαντρου", BZ 60, 1967, p.4.
 - 2) K. Mitsakis, "Διήγησις περὶ τοῦ 'Αλεξάνδρου....", pp.243-4, suggests that the editions of the Phyllada may not all derive from a single manuscript of the late-Byz. prose Romance, but from two or more similar manuscripts.
 - 3) For a complete list of all the known editions see Veloudis, op.cit., pp.13-19. The text has also been reprinted with an introduction by A.A. Pallis in 1935, republished by "Galaxias" in 1961. These editions do not of course belong to the series of "chapbooks", being intended for an altogether different public.
 - 4) Adapted from the stemma of G. Ballaira, "Sul Romanzo di Alessandro", Bolletino del Comitato per la prep. della Ed. Naz. dei Classici Greci e Latini N.S. XVI, 1968, p.5.



CHAPTER 2 : THE TRADITION OF THE TEXT

The Modern Greek Alexander Romance in rhyming political verse (which will hereafter be referred to as the Rimada) survives in a series of fourteen Venetian chapbook editions and in a single manuscript. The manuscript in question is Meteora Codex 445, which is to be found in the Monastery of the Transfiguration (Μεταμορφώσεως). It was first mentioned by N. Bees¹⁾, and a full description has been given by Veloudis²⁾ and in the catalogue of Meteora manuscripts compiled from Bees' papers.³⁾

The manuscript dates from the sixteenth century and consists of 80 leaves, with approximately 20 lines to a page. The script is neat and legible, with only a small number of abbreviations. The initial letters are written in red ink. The title on f.1^r is the same as that of the first printed editions, and reads as follows:

1) Ἐκθεσις παλαιογραφικῶν καὶ τεχνικῶν ἐρευνῶν ἐν ταῖς μοναῖς τῶν Μετεώρων κατὰ τὰ ἔτη 1908 καὶ 1909,

Athens 1910, p.42.

2) Der Neugriechische Alexander, p.48.

3) Τὰ Χειρόγραφα τῶν Μετεώρων, Α', Athens 1967, pp.452-3.

Γέννησις, κατορθώματα, καὶ θάνατος, Ἀλεξάνδρου
τοῦ μακεδόνα, διὰ στίχου.

The manuscript is incomplete, for f.80^V ends with
the verse:

κοῦρον ἀφῆνο ἀρχηγόν, νάχη σαυτῇ νὰ κἀνη
which corresponds to v.2906 of the printed editions.
Thus 38 verses, which would fill approximately one
leaf, and the Epilogue of the printed editions are
lacking.

At various points in the manuscript blank
spaces have been left for the future execution of suit-
able illustrations - which were never in fact supplied.¹⁾
The gaps correspond almost exactly to the points at
which woodcuts appear in the first edition: f.1^V after
v.20b (in edition after 20c); f.5^V after v.152 (in
edition after 152a); f.10^V after v.306a (as in edition);
f.11^V after v.332a (as edition); f.15^R after v.452a
(as edition); f.25^V after v.842a (as edition); f.26^R

1) Similar gaps occur in other mss. connected with the
Alexander Romance: Cod. Marc. gr. 408 which includes
the Byzantine Alexander poem (see A. Gonzato, "Il
codice Marciano greco 408 e la data del romanzo bizan-
tino di Alessandro..." *BZ* 56, 1963, 249ff.), Cod. Bodl.
Barocc. 17 which contains ms. Q (see Merkelbach, *op.*
cit., p.176) and Cod. Laurentianus Ashburnensis 1444,
containing one of the late Byzantine prose versions
(K. Mitsakis, *Balkan Studies* 9, 1968, 278).

after v.864 (as edition); f.34^r after v.1146 (as edition); f.36^r after v.1210 (as edition); f.36^v after v.1226 (as edition, but only a small space is left); f.37^r at top of page (a larger gap, obviously intended for the illustration which belongs after v.1226); f.39^v after v.1324 (as edition); f.53^v after v.1858 (as edition); f.54^v after v.1874 (as edition).¹⁾

Thus there are thirteen gaps which were clearly intended to hold suitable illustrations.²⁾ These correspond exactly to the thirteen woodcuts of the editio princeps (i.e. excluding the frontispiece), except that those on ff.1^v and 5^v occur before a chapter heading instead of after it, as in the edition. The relationship between this manuscript and the printed editions will be discussed below.

No other manuscript of the Rimada is known to have survived, but it is possible that one existed formerly in the Library of the Escorial. According

1) Veloudis, op.cit., p.48, but the folio numeration there is sometimes inaccurate.

2) The small space left at the foot of f.36^v may be discounted as the illustration was obviously to be set at the top of the following leaf. A similar small space is found at the foot of f.25^r, and there, too, a larger gap follows immediately on the next verso.

to d'Aristarchi¹⁾ a manuscript of a fabulous history of Alexander the Great in verse, copied by Dimitrios Zinos, existed in the Escorial "à côté d'une traduction 'en lengua castellana' sous la rubrique 'Libro de los hechos de Alexandro Magno en letra, lengua y poesía profana'". The Spanish poem is recorded by Zarco Cuevas in his list of manuscripts which had disappeared from the Escorial since the fire of 1671²⁾; his information derives from the catalogue of Haenel³⁾, so that it would appear that the "Libro de los hechos de Alexandro Magno" was still in existence in 1822 (the date of the Spanish section of Haenel's catalogue) but that it had disappeared by 1929 (Zarco Cuevas' catalogue). Whether d'Aristarchi actually saw the manuscript or, as is more probable, abstracted the information from Haenel, is not known.

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- 1) S. d'Aristarchi, "Les Grecs à l'Escorial", Πεντηκονταετηρίς τοῦ ἐν Κωνσταντινῇ Φιλολογικοῦ Συλλόγου (1861-1911), Supplement to Vol. 34, 1913-21, p.372.
 - 2) P. Fr. Julian Zarco Cuevas, Catálogo de los Manuscritos Castellanos de la Real Biblioteca de el Escorial, Vol. III, 1929, p.558 no.51.
 - 3) Gustavo Haenel, Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum qui in Bibliothecis Galliae, Helvetiae, Belgii, Britanniae M., Hispaniae, Lusitaniae asservantur, Leipzig, 1830, col. 962.

It should be noted that both the references to this manuscript are found in catalogues of the Castilian manuscripts - it is only d'Aristarchi who links it ("à côté de....") with the Greek poem which bears Zinos' name. On the face of it, however, it is not impossible that a manuscript of the Rimada found its way to the Escorial. Other manuscripts copied by Zinos, probably for don Diego Hurtado de Mandoza, one of the Library's great benefactors, were to be found in the Escorial.¹⁾ Zinos, as editor of the Rimada²⁾, must have written out a fair copy of the work, correcting the faults of the only available copy (Epilogue vv.7-10, 19-22), for the use of the composers. Just as the manuscript which was used for the printing of the Greek version of Boccaccio's Theseid in 1529 has been preserved in the Palatine Library³⁾, so it is

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- 1) d'Aristarchi, op.cit., p.372. The only surviving ms. which bears Zinos' name is a paraphrase of the Nicomachean Ethics, ms. 157 (formerly T. II. 18). See below Chapter 4, p.113.
 - 2) See below, Chapter 4.
 - 3) Ms. Palat. gr. 426; see E. Follieri, "La versione in greco volgare del Teseida di Boccaccio", Studi Bizantini e Neocellenici, 7, 1953, (= Atti dello VIII Congresso Internat. di Studi Bizantini) p.67ff. It is almost certain that this ms. was in fact written by Zinos; see below Chapter 4, p.116 n.1.

possible that Zinos' copy of the Rinada was amongst the manuscripts which Mendoza collected and were later transferred to the Escorial.¹⁾ (Against this hypothesis, it must be admitted that for manuscripts used by printers during this period to survive at all is an extremely rare occurrence). At all events the manuscript can no longer be traced.

Two other manuscripts of the Alexander Romance are reported to have existed in the Escorial Library, with the catalogue marks B II 5 and B VI 13 (formerly 27 VI 12 and Ⓜ VI 30).²⁾ According to Barvoetius' catalogue³⁾ they contained "Callisthenes de Rebus gestis Alexandri magni". He describes them in disparaging terms: "Sed uterque ἀποβολιματος ; stylus quippe recentior, ac subinde barbarus; adeo ut neotericus nescio quis Graeculus potius videatur, quam

1) On Zinos' work as a manuscript copyist see Chapter 4.

2) G. de Andrés, Catálogo de los Codices Griegos desaparecidos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial, 1968, pp.44, 77.

3) See S.B.N. Cyrrilli Archiepiscopi Alexandrini Homiliae XIX in Ieremiam Prophetam.... a Balthasare Corderio...., Antwerp, 1648, pp.xxi-xxxviii, esp. pp.xxxi-41. The catalogue is reprinted by E. Miller, Catalogue des Manuscrits Grecs de la Bibliothèque de l'Escorial, Paris 1848, pp.511-528, see esp. p.521.

antiquus ille Scriptor". Neither of these manuscripts exists today - most probably they were destroyed by the fire of 1671 - so it is not possible to say with certainty what they contained, or even whether both contained the same work. From Barvoetius' description, however, one may suppose that they contained texts of the late Byzantine type - related either to the group from which the Phyllada is descended¹⁾ or to the prose model of the Rimada.²⁾ || Printed editions. Copies of fourteen editions of the Rimada survive, all of them published in Venice; they are dated 1529, 1553, 1600, 1603, 1620, 1654, 1690, 1729, 1738, 1747, 1778, 1794, 1804 and 1805.³⁾ For the present study copies of five of these have been consulted, and a sixth was accessible via photographic copies. These editions are described in detail below:

1529:⁴⁾ O' A'AE'EANAPOC O' MA-|KEAE'N.|

1) See Chapter 1, pp. 16-19.

2) See Chapter 3.

3) For a full description of all these editions, see Veloudis, op.cit., pp.53-5 and notes 7-19, pp.76-7.

4) BH XV/XVI, Vol. I, p.205, No.83; J.-Ch. Brunet, Manuel du Libraire et de l'amateur de livres, Vol. I, Paris 1860, col. 165.

(Mark of Kounadis - a marten on a shield); on f. α1^v
 Ο' βασιλεὺς νεκτεναβδς. | Woodcut. α11^r
 ornament, (title) ΓΕ'ΝΝΗCIC, ΚΑΤΟΡΘΩ'ΜΑΤΑ, |
 ΚΑΙ' ΘΑ'ΝΑΤΟ C Α'ΑΕΒΑ'Ν-|ΑΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ' ΜΑΚΕΔΟ'-|
 ΝΟC ΑΙΑ' ΟΤΙ'ΧΟΥ. |

(Incipit) κοφία τῶν αἰγυπτίων..... On verso of
 last page of text (η11): Finito Alexandro Magno
 Stampato in Venetia | per Giovan Antonio & Fratelli
 da Sabbio. | ad instantia di M. Damiano de Santa | Maria,
 nel MDXXIX. On f. η111 Epilogue, (incipit)
 Εποῖτο τὸ βιβλίον.....

Collation: α-ζ⁸ (= 6 signatures), η⁴, in 4⁰, 104
 pp. unnumbered. 14 woodcuts. Three copies exist:
 British Museum G. 10 797 (a handsome exemplar, in the
 red morroco binding of the Hon. Thomas Grenville¹))
 and two copies in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, numbered
 Mason F.F. 451 and Byw. J. 3.5. The last mentioned
 lacks the first leaf; otherwise the only difference
 observed is that the Bywater copy exhibits a "pulled"
 type wrongly replaced: v.1210 κη'φείραν.

1) J.Th. Payne and H. Foss, Bibliotheca Grenvilliana,
 Vol. I, 1842, p.19.

1600:¹⁾ Ο' Α'ΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ | Ο' ΜΑΚΕΔΩΝ. | Ornament. |
Ε'νετίησι, παρὰ Δομινίω | τῷ Ντεκολωνίω. | Τύποις
τοῦς τοῦ Σπινέλλου. | Ε'ται τῷ ἀπὸ τ' ἐνοδρικού οἴκοι
νομίως τοῦ Ι'ῦ Χρ. .αχ'.

Collation: A-E⁸, Z⁶, in 4⁰, 92pp. unnumbered. 9
woodcuts. Sole known exemplar: Bodleian Library,
Oxford, 4⁰ A. 31. Art.

1603:²⁾ Ο ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ | Ο ΜΑΚΕΔΩΝ. | Pine-tree emblem. |
ΕΝΕΤΙΗΣΙΝ. Παρὰ Μάρκω τῷ Πινέλλω. | .αχ'.

Collation: α²⁴, β²², in 4⁰, 92pp. unnumbered. 9
woodcuts. One copy in the Bodleian Library, Oxford,
4⁰ H. 11. Art; another in the University Library,
Leyden.

1654:³⁾ Ι'ΣΤΟ'ΡΙΑ | ΩΡΑΙΩΤΑΤΗ | ΕΙ'Σ ΤΗΝ Ο'ΠΟΙ'ΑΝ |
περιέχεται, ὁ βίος & ἀνδραγαθεῖαι | τοῦ περιβοήτου
Βασιλέως | Α'ΛΕΞΑ'ΝΔΡΟΥ τοῦ ΜΑΚΕΔΩ'ΝΟΣ, | υἱοῦ τῶν
θαυμαστῶν Βασιλέων Φιλίππου, | καὶ Ο'λυμπιδόρος :- |
CON PRIVILEGIO. | (Woodcut emblem) | Ε'Ν ΒΕΝΕΤΙ'ΑΙΣ,

1) Lambros, NE 16, 1922, 268; Brunet, op.cit., col. 165.

2) BH XVII, Vol. I, p.28ff. No.16; Lambros, loc.cit.,
p.269; Kondosopoulos, Ath. 68, 1954, 303; Brunet,
op.cit., col. 165.

3) Brunet, op.cit., col. 165.

.αχνό'. || Παρὰ Ἰωάννη Ἀντωνίω τῷ Ἰουλιανῷ : - |
 Πουλίζεται κοντὰ εἰς τὸν Πόντε τοῦ ἁγίου Φαντίνου.
 Collation: A-D¹⁶, in 8^{vo}, 128pp. unnumbered. 8
 woodcuts, two of which appear twice. One copy only,
 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Byw. U 9 26(2), bound
 together with the first edition of Erophile (1637).

1794: ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ | Εἰς τὴν ὁποῖαν περιέχεται ὁ Βίος, |
 καὶ ἡ Ἀνδραγαθία τοῦ | περιβοήτου Βασιλέως |
 ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ | ΤΟΥ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΟΣ, | Υἱοῦ τῶν θαυμαστῶν
 Βασιλέων | ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ, ΚΑΙ ΟΔΥΜΠΙΑΔΟΣ. | Νεωστὶ
 τυπωθεῖσα, καὶ μετ' ἐπιμελείας διορθωθεῖσα. |
 Emblem | αἰνός. ΕΝΕΤΙΗΣΙΝ, 1794. |||

Παρὰ Νικολάῳ Γλυκετ τῷ ἐξ Ἰωαννίνων. |
 CON LICENZA DE' SUPERIORI.

Collation: A-G⁸, in 8^{vo}, 112pp. numbered. No illus-
 tration. One copy in the Bodleian Library, Oxford,
 29196 f. 5; another copy in the Library of the Monas-
 tery of Vatopedi, Mt. Athos.

The edition of 1553 has been consulted by
 means of photographic copies made available by the
 Library of the Ecole des langues orientales vivantes.
 The copy possessed by that library - numbered R. VI

149 - apparently lacks four leaves: 17-18 and 35-36 i.e. two pairs of conjugate leaves (for the book consists of 52 leaves bound as one signature), containing vv. 837-932 and 1875-2010. There is a colophon on the recto of the penultimate folio, reading: In Vinegia, per Francesco Rampazetto: ad Instantia | di M. Damian di Santa Maria. | M D LIII. The pagination follows that of the 1529 edition exactly, except on f. 8^r where a smaller woodcut is used to replace that depicting Bucephalus in the 1529 edition, and part of the text is transferred to that page from the following verso. With that sole exception the woodcuts are the same as those of the editio princeps. There is another copy of the 1553 edition in the Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

Comparison of Cod. Met. 445 and the editio princeps:

Three possibilities exist for the nature of the relationship between the manuscript and the first edition:

a) the manuscript is a copy of the first edition (or of a later edition dependent on it¹⁾);

1) As the ms. is dated 16th century only the first two printed editions need be taken into account.

- b) the edition was based on the manuscript;
- c) the edition and the manuscript have no direct relationship with one another, but are descended from a common archetype.

The evidence offered by the gaps in the manuscript has already suggested that the first possibility is the correct one; in particular, the two cases where the text of the manuscript stops before the end of a page and a large space is left blank for illustration on the following page¹⁾, imply that the scribe was at pains to fit the illustrations in the same places as in the text from which he was copying.

Before, however, this hypothesis can be confirmed or rejected, it is necessary to proceed to a detailed comparison of the texts of the manuscript and the ed. princ. Such a comparison has already been made by Veloudis²⁾, but as he overlooks certain very important pieces of evidence he finally comes to the wrong conclusion. The following observations emerge from a comparison of the two texts:

1) See above p.23,n.2.

2) Op.cit., pp.49-52.

- a) the most widespread difference between the two is in the distribution of final -v in the accusative singular of nouns and the 3rd person plural of verbs. Its use is much more frequent in the manuscript, often with the result that metre, rhyme or grammatical canons are violated - but the edition is not entirely blame-free in this respect. Puristic tendencies (perhaps unconscious) on the part of the scribe or the printer are responsible for this predilection for final -v.
- b) the manuscript sometimes omits syllables, words and whole lines which are in the edition e.g. 149 κ', 205 τὸ ², 932a τῆς μεσοκοταμίας , 795 νᾶ , 817 πῶς - 819' Ἀλξάνδρε (2nd hemistich of 817, whole of 818 and first hemistich of 819 omitted because of repeated 'Ἀλξάνδρε), 1018 γιᾶ (instead of γιᾶτι), 1028 γιαννακῆω (for γιᾶ νᾶ πανήσω), 1254 τι , 1722-3 (two whole lines omitted), 1980 τὸ (for τόπον), 2245 ἄν , 2397 δὲ , 2770-1 (two lines omitted) etc.
- c) the manuscript sometimes has chapter headings not in the edition: before 1147, before 1859 and after 1874; sometimes the wording of the headings is different: 2472a, 2552a (see apparatus criticus);

d) the manuscript often prefers forms which are more puristic or less dialectal e.g. 97 ἀνάπτει for ἀνάφτει, 143 ἐκ (ὀκ), 222 ἀποθάνη (ἀπεθάνει), 250 ἐβλέπασιν (ἤβλέπασι), 261 ἐφώναξε (ἀφώναξε), 267 ἤξευρες (ἤξερες), 286 (σοῦλεγε (σόλεγε) (the crasis of the two vowels ou and ε is

regularly avoided in this way by the manuscript,) 299

κράγματα (κράματα), 308 ἐγύρευσε (ἐγύρεψε), 359 πανδρεῦθη (πανδρεῦτη) etc.;

e) the manuscript has readings inferior to those of the edition and often clearly incorrect e.g. 26

στοῦς for 'κ τοῦς, 33 τους (του), 41 ἔγριππον (Αἰγυπτον), 74 βρίσκω εἰς (ὥς λέγουν), 232 ὅλοι τὴν ἀθιβάνουν (νᾶ τὴν ἀναθιβάνουν), 297 θέλειορισει (ὀπ' ὀρίση), 321 ἄρματα (ἄλογα), 343 ὁ ἀλέξανδρος (ὁ Νικόλαος), 635 καὶ διέβηκε στὴν τύρο (στὴν Τύρο κ' ἐδιέβη), 636 ἐ τύρο (γυρεῖται), 681 τὸν ἐκανισκίζ (τόνε κανακίζη), 756 τὸ λοιπὸν (μετ' αὐτὸ), 802 στὸν πόλεμον (στὸν τόπον μου), 878 ἐφόβησε (ἐβόθησε), 911 νᾶ πολεμοῦμε (διὰ νᾶ μποῦμε), 1169 ὅτι (ἔτσι), 1243 καλὰ (ψηλὰ), 1263 τὸ λοιπὸν

(ἐκ ψυχῆς), 1332 φόβος (φόνος), 1374 βλέπω
 (βλέπεις), 1609 τὸ λοιπὸν (μὲ σκουδῆν), 2057
 τὸ λοιπὸν (φοβεροί), 2453 στρατιγῇ (ἀρχηγοί),
 2476 ἀκόνου μας (σὸν τόπον μας), 2562 λέγουσι
 (λέγω σου), 2811 οἱ ζωντανοί (συζῶντανοι)
 etc.;

f) in a small number of cases both the manuscript
 and the edition contain errors of a sort which can
 only be described as typographical: 22 οχαρτερῆς
 (a broken α used in the typesetting, resembling ο),
 775 ὀλόγυρο ms, ὀλόγυρο ed. (inverted α), 940
 νικοῦνεμας (misprint for νικοῦνεμας), 967 πᾶγω
 (misprint for πᾶρω), 1108 στρόγγαλον ms, στρόγγαλον
 ed. (for στρόγγαλον - broken α), 1639 ἔλεγάν μου ms,
 ἔλέγανέ μου ed. (the third ε is printed very faintly),
 2151 μόν (misprint for μου), 2614 ἐβλάπταμε ms,
 ἐβλάπταμε ed. (misprint for ἐβλέπαμε).

All the differences listed above in sections
 (a) to (e) can be explained on the hypothesis that the
 manuscript was copied from the edition. Particularly

telling are the omissions of syllables, words and lines, due to careless copying, which entirely exclude the possibility that the edition was based on the manuscript. The few instances of chapter-headings found only in the ms. (section (c)) are slightly puzzling; the explanation lies in the fact that the frontispiece and the first six woodcuts of the edition are all preceded by chapter-headings which in fact describe the scene illustrated. The three headings which occur only in the manuscript all immediately precede or follow a space left blank for illustration. They were, therefore, intended by the scribe to serve as a guide for the illustrator when he came to perform his part of the work, at which time the edition would probably no longer be available for consultation as to the scene which was required to be depicted. Furthermore, the language of the three headings in question is verging on the illiterate - a further indication that they were extemporised by the scribe and not copied from his model.

The most conclusive argument in favour of the priority of the printed edition is, however, the series of misprints, listed above in section (f),

which were naively copied by the scribe from the edition. There can be no other conclusion but that Codex Meteorensis 445 is a copy of a printed edition of the Rimada¹⁾, and indeed of the editio princeps of 1529, since many of the misprints listed in (f) are removed by later editions. In the few cases where the readings of the manuscript are superior to those of the edition²⁾ - vv.492, 2254 and 2418 (see app. crit.) - it is merely a question of the correction of obvious typographical errors.

Rather more space has been devoted to what is a relatively straightforward question than would have been necessary, but for the failure of Veloudis to clear up the matter once and for all in his collation of the manuscript and the edition. The conclusion put forward by him is that the manuscript and the edition were not directly dependent one on another,

1) A similar case is Cod. 49 of the Benaki Museum, Athens, which is a copy of an 18th or early 19th century edition of the Phyllada; see Veloudis, op.cit., p.12.

2) Veloudis, op.cit., p.51.

but were descended from a common archetype.¹⁾ Since this view has been proved erroneous, the manuscript must now be relegated to a position of very meagre significance.

The printed tradition. The typographical history of the Rimada covers almost three centuries - beginning in 1529 and ending in 1805. By the last date the language of the poem had become considerably antiquated and difficult for the average reader - or listener - to understand; modernisation of such a text in verse and rhyme presented grave problems and, besides, a prose text of the story of Alexander - the Phyllada - was also available and much more amenable to linguistic modification to keep it up to date. All these factors combined to bring about the demise of the Rimada at the beginning of the 19th century.

In the course of its printed history the Rimada underwent remarkably few and slight changes.

1) Ibid., p.49. The typographical evidence for the priority of edition over ms. was first mentioned in my review of Veloudis, Balkan Studies 10, 1969, 183-8. The same conclusion was reached on purely textual grounds by J. Trumpf, reviewing the same work in BZ 62, 1969, 348-350.

The epilogue, which properly belongs only to the first edition, is reprinted in all editions until 1620, but disappears from the 1654 edition onwards. In general each successive edition is based on its predecessor, correcting some of its mistakes (but introducing others of its own) and, to a greater or lesser extent, "touching-up" the language to make it more "correct" or more intelligible. To illustrate these changes and, at the same time, the orthographic conventions (or rather, the lack of them) of the early printers, a short passage is given below in the editions of 1529, 1553, 1600, 1603, 1654 and 1794:

1529: Γύπτιοι διαλογίζονταν, ἑκτεναβος τέγλνη,
 ἐκάμασιν του πιστολή, γιανατουπέψουν κελνοι.
 Ε'γράψαν καὶ τὰ λόγιατους, καὶ ὁ θεὸς νάκοῦση,
 τ'ἀφέντητους τοῦ κτεναβοῦ, ὁπίσω νὰ γυρίση.
 Ο'κτεναβος ἐγένετον, εἰς τὴν μακεδονίαν,
 περὶφουμος ἤκουσθηκε, κτὴν τέχνη τὴν μαγίαν.
 (Vv.49-54)

1553: Γύπτιοι διαλογίζονταν, ἑκτεναβος τέ ἐγλνη,
 ἐκάμασίντου πιστολή, γιανατεπέχουν κελνοι.
 Εγράψαν καὶ τὰ λόγιατους, καὶ ὁ θεὸς νάκοῦση,

τ' ἄφέντητους τῷ κτεναβῷ, ὀπίσω νὰ γυρίσῃ.

Ὁ κτεναβὸς ἐγένετο, εἰς τὴν μακεδονίαν,
περίφουμος ἤκουσθηκε, κτὴν τέχνη τὴν μαγίαν.

1600: Γόγκτιοι διαλογίζονταν, ἐκτεναβὸς τί ἐγίνη,
ἐκμάσιντε πιστολῇ, γιανατεπέψουν κελνοί.
Ἐγράψαν καὶ τὰ λόγιατους, καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς νᾶκούσῃ,
τ' ἄφέντητους τῷ κτεναβοῦ, ὀπίσω νὰ γυρίσῃ.
Ὁ' κτεναβὸς ἐγένετο, εἰς τὴν μακεδονίαν,
περίφουμος ἤκουσθηκε, κτὴν τέχνη τὴν μαγίαν.

1603: identical with 1600 except :
Ἐ' γράψαν καὶ τὰ λόγιατες, καὶ τῶς θεῶς νᾶκούσῃ,
τ' ἄφέντηςτες τῷ κτεναβῷ....
περίφουμος....

1654: Γόγκτιοι διαλέγονταν, ἐκτεναβὸς τι ἐγίνη,
Ἐ' κμάσιν του πιστολῇ, γιανατουκέψουν κελνοί.
Ἐ' γράψαν καὶ τὰ λόγιατους, καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς νᾶκούσῃ,
τ' ἄφέντηςτους τῷ κτεναβοῦ ὀπίσω νὰ γυρίσῃ.
Ὁ' κτεναβὸς ἐγένετο, εἰς τὴν μακεδονίαν,
Περίφημος ἤκουσθηκε, κτὴν τέχνη τὴν μαγίαν.

1794: Λιγύγκτιοι διαλέγονταν, Ἐ' κτεναβὸς τί ἐγίνη,
ἐκμάσιντε ἐπιστολῇ, γιὰ νὰ τῷ πέψεν κελνοί.
Ἐ' γράψαν καὶ τὰ λόγια τῶς, καὶ τῶς θεῶς ν' ἀκούσῃ,
τ' ἄφέντη τῷ Ἐκτεναβῷ, ὀπίσω νὰ γυρίσῃ.
Ὁ' κτεναβὸς ἐγένετο, εἰς τὴν μακεδονίαν,
Περίφημος ἤκουσθηκε, εἰς τέχνην τὴν μαγίαν.

The following observations may be made:

- 1) There are very few differences, misprints apart, among the first four editions.
- 2) Punctuation is strictly formalised: a comma at the half-verse and at the end of the first line of the couplet, and a semi-colon or full-stop at the end of a couplet, irrespective of whether the sense continues over the caesura or verse-end. In later editions more flexibility is permitted.
- 3) A chance misprint, ἀφέντης, in the 1603 edition still remains uncorrected in the edition of 1654.
- 4) The 1654 edition bears several signs of linguistic "improvement" e.g. διαλέγονταν, ἔγραψαν, λόγιότους, περίφημος.
- 5) The process of purification has reached a more advanced stage by the 1794 edition e.g. ἀλγύπτιοι, ἐπιστολὴν, κέμψαν, ν' ἀκούσῃ, νὰ γυρίσῃ, ἐγένετο, ἤρξασθηκε.

Such differences could be noted throughout the text. From a more extensive comparison of the available editions and from the comments of Veloudis¹⁾, the following conclusions emerge about the typographical history of the Rimada:

1) Op.cit., p.96 and notes 63-66.

- 1) The editio princeps is carefully and conscientiously produced, with very few misprints but with all the orthographic peculiarities of its period - confusion of "itacised" vowels, frequent lack of word division, sporadic attention to accents and breathings, formalised punctuation etc. A Greek speaker must have been present and supervised the printing throughout, though it is possible that, as was not uncommon, the compositors who actually set the type were Italians with no knowledge of Greek.
- 2) The second edition of 1553 is virtually an exact reprint of the first edition, except that some corrections, with the intention of improving rhyme or metre, have been made, presumably by a Greek-speaking editor, and some literal errors have crept in. Otherwise the pagination and style of the edition imitate those of the editio princeps.
- 3) In the 1600 and 1603 editions again some attempt has been made at editorial "improvement", but to a limited extent. The edition of 1600 is dependent on that of 1553 and retained many of its misprints while introducing a considerable number of its own. The 1603 edition is similarly based on that of 1600; while

some of the latter's misprints are corrected the majority are not, and many others are introduced. In the case of both these editions it seems that the task of "editing" the text i.e. a copy of the preceding edition, was given to a native Greek-speaker, who performed it without much apparent dedication. The work of type-setting was probably performed by Italian compositors with no knowledge of Greek - hence the high degree of inaccuracy. Furthermore, it is hard to believe that any proof-reading took place at all. These two editions are vastly inferior to their predecessors from every point of view.

4) The edition of 1620 continues the process of deterioration of the text; its main contribution is to introduce a new kind of error; part of a line is sometimes repeated through carelessness in the following line, so that the text becomes in places quite incomprehensible.¹⁾

5) With the edition of 1654 the first serious attempt to "purify" the language of the poem may be perceived.

1) Veloudis, op.cit., p.96 and n.63. The other errors noted there by Veloudis derive from the 1603 edition (which he cannot have seen) on which the 1620 edition is based.

It takes the form largely of adding final -v to the accusative singular of nouns and augments to verbs, as well as replacing some outdated words with more intelligible ones, without regard to the damage caused thereby to metre or rhyme.

6) The edition of 1690¹⁾ carries on the processes of purification and modernisation, which continue until the very last edition of 1805.

7) Each successive edition is dependent solely on its immediate predecessor, as far as can be ascertained. No external intervention may be detected, as for example any recourse to the manuscript tradition of the poem in an attempt to restore the original text. Thus, only the first edition need be taken into account for any critical edition of the poem. The conjectures of later editions are on a par with those of the contemporary editor, except insofar as they were nearer in point of time to the linguistic form of the original.

1) Many of the changes in the 1690 edition listed by Veloudis, op.cit., p.129, are already present in the edition of 1654.

CHAPTER 3 : THE SOURCES

The Modern Greek Alexander poem is based on a manuscript of the pseudo-Callisthenes which was in existence in the 15th or early 16th century, but is no longer, to the best of our knowledge, extant. Unquestionably this manuscript was in Greek, although it was believed by J.-Ch. Brunet that the poem was translated from an Italian version of the Romance.¹⁾ This hypothesis has, however, been refuted by Veloudis, who by comparing the contents of the first canto of the popular Italian poem Alessandreida in rima with the corresponding passages of the Rimada revealed the numerous differences between the two versions.²⁾

That the model of the Rimada was in fact a Greek version of the pseudo-Callisthenes is proved by the presence of several close verbal similarities between it and the Greek prose texts of the α and β traditions, particularly where archaisms which cannot have been current in the 16th century have nonetheless

1) J.-Ch. Brunet, Manuel du Libraire et de l'amateur de livres, Vol. I, Paris 1860, column 165.

2) G. Veloudis, Der neugriechische Alexander, pp.67-71.

been taken over bodily into the poem e.g.

305 "Χαίροις," τοῦ λέγει, τὸ λοιπὸν,

"Ἀλέξανδρ' αὐτοκράτωρ" cf. pseudo-Callisthenes

I 17 "Χαίροις κοσμοκράτωρ" (Α), "Χαίροις Ἀλέξανδρε
κοσμοκράτωρ" (Β);

943-4 ὁ πόλεμος γὰρ οὐ φελλὶ δύναι τῶν φευγόντων,

μὰ τιμημένος βρίσκεται πῶναι τῶν διωκόντων.

cf. II 9 οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ πόλεμος τῶν (om. Β)

φευγόντων ἀλλὰ τῶν (om. Β) διωκόντων.

(The ready-made rhyme was too much of a temptation
for the versifier!)

1303 Γράφει καὶ Πάρω βασιλεῦ cf. II 19 καὶ γράφει

Πάρω (Α), καὶ γράφει Πάρω βασιλεῦ (Β);

2286 τὰ ᾧδε οἰκητήρια, οἴκοι θεῶν καλοῦνται cf.

III 21 τὰ ᾧδε θεῶν οἰκητήρια καλεῖται (Α), θεῶν

οἰκητήρια τὰ ᾧδε καλοῦνται (Β).

But to which version, or text-group, of the
pseudo-Callisthenes is the Rimada most closely related?
According to Merkelbach¹⁾, the poem is based primarily
on a version of group Β, but from chapter III 17 to

1) R. Merkelbach, Die Quellen des griechischen Alexander-romans, p.64: "Es liegt ein Text der Rezension Β zugrunde; aber in III 17-III 33 folgt er einem Text vom Typ Α."

the end it follows a text of type A. Pfister¹⁾ also adopts the view that the β version is the principal source. J. Trumpf, on the other hand, remarks that the poem is important for the older Romance and is based on a tradition related to A, but produces no evidence other than Merkelbach's statement.²⁾ (Presumably he means simply that the text of the poem from III 17 to the end is important for the older tradition of the Romance.)

The only detailed examination of the sources of the Rimada which has been published so far is that of Veloudis³⁾; this investigation leads him to substantially the same conclusions as Merkelbach viz. that the author of the Modern Greek poem employed a later prose version of the Alexander Romance which he put into verse; and that this version was itself a

1) F. Pfister, "Alexander der Grosse in der byz. Literatur und in neugr. Volksbüchern" (Probleme der neugr. Literatur III, 1960), pp.128-9.

2) J. Trumpf, BZ 55, 1962, p.85: "Das von.....Demetrios Zenos, herausgegebene Gedicht ist ein auch für den älteren Roman wichtiger Text. Es basiert auf einer mit A verwandten Überlieferung, so richtig Merkelbach, Quellen S. 64." For Merkelbach's exact words see above.

3) G. Veloudis, op.cit., pp.57-71.

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 compilation of texts of group β and (from III 17 to the end) group α of the pseudo-Callisthenes.¹⁾ Furthermore Veloudis believes that there is a closer relationship between the poem and one particular manuscript of group β (Cod. Vatic. Gr. 1556 $\nabla 7$), and consequently the writer of the prose model of the poem must have used a manuscript similar to V.

The search for the source or sources of the Rimada must certainly be concentrated on the available versions of groups α and β . None of the distinctive features of the later Greek versions is found (for example, the Jewish characteristics of group γ) and, moreover, there are no lengthy passages of any significance which cannot be traced to one or other of the available Greek versions of groups α and β .²⁾ Although the so-called β "version" is well represented by six principal mss. and a few secondary ones, the α "version" is only extant in Greek in a single

1) Ibid., p.61.

2) The short passages which are not found in either A or β are listed in Appendix I with, wherever possible, references to other versions in which they occur.

ms.¹⁾ - the Cod. Parisinus 1711 (A) - and that lacunose and in other respects imperfect. Therefore, in order to be able to consider the points of contact, if any, between the Modern Greek poem and the α version of the romance, it is necessary to have recourse to other witnesses of that tradition - in particular the Latin translations of Julius Valerius (4th century) and Archpriest Leo of Naples (10th century), and the Armenian version, which preserves an excellent and full text, but also the Syriac and Ethiopic versions and papyri and mss. which preserve fragments of texts of the tradition.²⁾ Only with the aid of these is it possible to build up a complete picture of the α tradition, in the same way that a β "version" can be compiled by assembling the common features of a number

1) Ms. L has a text very close to that of A only as far as I 11.

2) These are: Pap. Hamb. 129 (see R. Merkelbach in Griechische Papyri der Hamburger Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek, Vol. 4, 1954); Cod. Vat. gr. 1700 (see G. Ballaira, "Frammenti inediti della perduta recensione δ del Romanzo di Alessandro in un codice vaticana", Bolletino del Comitato per la prep. della Ed. dei Classici Greci e Latini, N.S. XIII, 1965, 27-59); and Paris Nat. Bibl. ms. suppl. gr. 689 (see J. Trumpp, "Eine unbekannte Sammlung von Auszügen aus dem griechischen Alexanderroman", Classica et Mediaevalia 26, 1965, 83-100).

of very similar mss.

The following table has been drawn up to show where the Modern Greek poem seems at first sight closer to the β group than to ms. A, including not only readings of a particular passage but also whole episodes common only to the poem and group β . But as A is a far from perfect witness of the α tradition, the other witnesses of that tradition have also been consulted in order to establish whether a particular feature of the Modern Greek poem is typical of that tradition or alien to it. Thus in the right-hand column of the table will be found references to other witnesses of the α tradition which agree with both the poem and group β against ms. A.

POINTS AT WHICH THE RIMADA AGREES WITH B AGAINST A

Line of Rimada and Chapter of ps-Call.	Feature	β (ed. Bergson)	A (ed. Kroll)	Other witnesses agreeing with Rimada
30-33 I 2	Nectanebus compares enemy to sheep attacked by wolf	εἰς, ἄρκος πορφύρας ἀγέλης πομπῶν ἐδυνάμενεν.	—	L I 2 Arm. 3 Syr. p.3 Eth. p.8
47-48 I 3	A new king will conquer <u>Persia</u>	τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἡμῶν πύρσας ὑποτάξει.	ἐχθρῶν ὑποτατῆν δίδους ἡμῶν.	Arm. 5
65-6 I 4	Seeing the disc Olympias ordered all to leave	θεωροῦσα δὲ ἡ Οὐλ- πιδίς τὴν τοῦ Πύρσας πομπὴν ἐκείνην παρεκ- ῆλθεν τῇ Ν. κελεύουσα πάντας ἀποστῆναι.	—	Arm. 9 Val. I 3
69 I 4	Nect. asked her Philip's date of birth	ὁ δὲ Ν. εἶπε πρὸς αὐτὴν. "θὲρ τὴν ἐν γένεσιν, θὲρ καὶ τοῦ φ."	—	Arm. 9 Val. I 3

* References are given either to pages (Budge's translations of Syr. & Eth.) or to the Chapters with which texts are customarily divided (Arm., Val., Leo.). A reference in brackets indicates that only part of the relevant feature is found in that text; the abbreviation "cf." indicates that there is not complete agreement between the Rimada and the text quoted.

93-100 I 5	Nect. extracts juice from herbs and moulds candle- wax in the shape of Olympias	pp.7.15-8.3	—	Arm. 10 Eth. p.15 Val. I 4
125-144 I 7	Nect.'s visits to Olymp. disguised as Ammon (told at greater length)	pp.9.10-10.14	pp.7.16-8.4	Arm. 13-14 Eth. p.17 Val. I 4
167 I 8	He replied, "Your dream is true"	ἀγνοῖς ἔστιν ὁ ὄνειρος σου (8) ἀγνοῖς ἔστιν ὅτι εἶδες ἐν ὄνειρῳ (KV)	...καθὼς ἐθεώρω...	Arm. 17 Val. I 4 Eth. p.22
194 I 10	The dragon was transformed into a hawk	μεταβάλλει ἑαυτὸν ὁ δράκων εἰς ἀετὸν καὶ ἵπταται.	...ἀφάνης ἐγένετο	Arm. 21 Val. I 4 Eth. p.25 cf. I, I 10
197-8 & 201-4 I 10	Philip was terrif- ied...and said, "The gods aid Ol." She told him that it was the god of Barbary	pp.14.13-15.1	—	Arm. 22 Eth. pp. 25-6 Val. I 4 (Epit.)
253 I 14	When Olympias heard it, she dis- approved	Λυπηρὰ δὲ πάντων πάντα τῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐτύχοντο.	—	cf. Arm. 32 cf. Leo I 14

279 I 14	Alexander was sorry he had killed his father	ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος... πεν- θείς, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν ἴδιον πατέρα τελευτήσαντα κατενόησεν.	Μαθὼν τὸν Ἀλέξ. αὐτοῦ, πᾶντα τὸν τελευτήσαντα εἶναι ἐφοβήθη αὐτὸν ἀφέναι...	
349-350 I 19	Nikolaos was killed	τελευτᾷ ὁ Ν....	ὁ Ἀλέξ. τελευτᾷ , ἀνέθηκε τὸν Ν.	Arm. 54 cf. Syr. p.27
365 I 20	So saying Alex. turned and sat down	καὶ τὰντα εἰπὼν ὁ Ἀ. ἀνέκειθ' ἐναντίον Φίλιππου....	—	Arm. 57 Val. I 13 Syr. p.28
367 I 20 & 21	Lysias is Philip's Kinsman	τὸν δὲ Φ. ἤρμαντα τὸν ἀδελφὸν Λυσίου Κλεο- πύτταν τὸννομα.	χαμῶντα δὲ τούτων τὴν ἀδελφὴν Ἀλέξαν- δρου ... ἦν δὲ τις νεώτερος τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς Λυσίου.	
381 I 21	Philip became sick with grief	βαρύνοντες δὲ οἱ δορυ- φόροι Φίλιππον.... κατέκ- ιναν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ κινῆτος ἐλάτῳς ἔχοντα.	—	Arm. 59 Val. I 14 Leo. I 22 cf. Syr. p.29
385-6 I 22	"I leave matters here - go and be reconciled with my mother"	καὶ ῥῆθον διαρῆν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις, καὶ δε παρακαλέσω ὁμοθυμῶν τὴν μητέρα μου διαφθαρμένην.	—	Arm. 61 Val. I 14 (Syr. p.29)

415-8 I 23	They returned and told Darius, and painted a portrait of Alex.	p.35.1-4	—	(Syr. p.31) (Eth. p.35)
422 I 23	Revolt of <u>Thrace</u>	Πάρις δὲ ἑτέρως πύργους ἀτεκτονόους τῶν Θρακίωνων...	καὶ δὴ ἑτέρως πύργους ἀτεκτονόους...	Arm. 66
443-4 I 24	Alex. let fly and killed Pausanias	ἔκτανεν αὐτὸν τῇ λόγχῃ ἣ κατεῖχεν.	—	Arm. 68 cf. Syr. pp.32-3
451 I 24	"Now I die happily - do not be sad"	οὐ θυποῦμαι ὅτι τελευτῶ	—	Arm. 69 Val. I 18 Syr. p.33
646 I 35	Alex. calls himself King of <u>Egypt</u>	Αἰγύπτου	—	
657 I 35	All will submit to Alexander	πτήξουσι ὑποτασσόμενοι ἡμῖν	—	
667 I 35	In <u>three</u> days Tyre surrendered	καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας τρεῖς....	μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρας...	
675 I 36	They brought Alex. gold in a chest	...καὶ κιβώτιον χρυδαίου.	...καὶ κιβώτιον.	Arm. 103 Leo. I 36 Syr. p.46

782 I 39	"...to go to the red sea in <u>iron</u> s"	στρατηγὸν δέ... ὁδορ- ώσαντες ἀναπέψατε ἡμῖν. τοὺς δὲ φοιτοῦν... εἰς τὴν ἑρυθρὰν θαλά- σσαν οἰκῶσαι.	στρατιώτας δέ... ἀναπέψατε εἰς ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν οἰκῶσαι.	Arm. 109 Val. I 41 cf. Eth. p. 59 Pap. Hamb. 129
871-3 I 41	The Macedonians could not be rec- ognized; the per- sians were obscured (?) and frightened. Infantry & cavalry could not be dis- tinguished	οὐκ ἦν δὲ διακρίνει οὐδὲ Πέρσων οὐδὲ Μακεδόνων... οὐτε πεζὸν οὐτε ἵππεδ...	καὶ οὐκέτι ἦν δια- κρίναι οὐτε Πέρσων τοῖς ὅτιν οὐτε Μακε- δόνων στρατιωτῶν οὐτε ἵππεδ	Arm. 115
891-2 I 44	They were nearly dead with hunger	"Ἐξείψατε δὲ τοῖς Μακεδόσι τὰ ἐπιτηδεύ- σων τροφῶν, ὥστε ἡμῶν πάντας τελευτῶν."	—	Arm. 124 Val. I 49 Leo. I 44 Syr. p. 55
924 II 9	He said, "Let the <u>wagons</u> and tents pass over"	κέλευε τὰ κτήνη καὶ τὰ κάρηα καὶ τὰς τροφὰς πάντων πρώτων διαπεράσαι	κέλευε τὰ κτήνη καὶ τὰ πρόβατα καὶ τῶν πρώτων πρώτων διαπεράσαι	Arm. 158 cf. Leo. II 9

941-2 II 9	"I destroyed the bridge that you might fight eagerly and not think of retreat"	διὰ τοῦτο οὖν ἐκέλευσα ἐκκοπῆαι τὴν γέφυραν, ἵνα πολέμοι οὐκ ἐκείνητε καὶ ἡττηθῆναι μὴ φύγητε	αὐτὸ οὖν ἐρῶ ἐποιῶ, ἵνα ἡ πολεμοῦντες νικῶμεν ἢ ἡττηθῶμεν.	Arm. 160
1009 II 10	"Suppose my daughter was not born"	τὰ δὲ τέκνα μου μὴ γεννηθῶσι	—	Arm. 165 Val. II 25
1031 & 1033 II 11	Alexander wrote to the satraps of <u>Frangia</u>	...φρυγίας	...Συρίας	Val. II 25 Arm. 167
1040 II 11	"Send (the camels) quickly to me"	ἵνα ἀκριβοτέρως τὴν ὑποβρίαν ὠρῶμεν, ἐν στουδίᾳ οὖν παραγίνεσθε πρὸς ἡμᾶς.	τῶς τὴν ἐπιχειρῶν πᾶσαν βυνάσταν.	Arm. 167 cf. Val. II 25
1110 II 14	He left two horses which Armeios guarded	ῥέξει αὐτῷ Ἀλέξ. ὥδε μείνον μετὰ τῶν δύο πύλων...	...εἴπε. "Σὺ μένε"	Arm. 176 Val. II 26 Leo. II 14
1115-8 II 14	They asked him, "What are you doing here?" Alex. answered, "I want to be taken to Darius as I am an ambassador"	ἐπυνθάνοντο περ' αὐτοῦ τίς ἂν εἴη. εἴπε δὲ αὐτ. ὡς Ἀλέξ. "τῷ βασιλεῖ Δ. παραδίδίκετε με., αὐτῷ γὰρ ἀπαγγέλω τις εἶμι."	ἐπυνθάνον δὲ ἐγγεγον Ἀλέξ. ἀνδρὸς αὐτοῦ ὄντα.	Arm. 177 cf. Val. II 26 cf. Leo. II 14

1133-4 II 14	When Darius heard it he was angered by Alexander's words	ὁ δὲ Δαρείος ὀργισθεὶς...	—	Arm. 178 Val. II 26
1139-40 II 14	"My messengers were greatly honoured by Alex- ander"	... διότι καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξ. δεῖπνον ἐποίησε τοῖς ἀποστέλλουσιν ἡγεμενοῖς	καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξ. <.....> (lacuna)	Arm. 178 Syr. p. 73 Leo. II 14
1190 II 15	When they told Darius he was greatly grieved	ὁ δὲ Δαρείος ἐλυμήθη πάνυ.	—	Arm. 184 Syr. p. 74
1194-5 II 16	They came to the army and Alexander ordered them all to arm	ἔλαβον δὲ εἰς τὴν παρεμβ- οήν τῶν στρατευμάτων εὐθέως ἐκέλευσε τὰς φάλαγγας τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔξ ὀνόματος καθοπλισθῆναι καὶ εὐτοίμως παρεδόναι Δαρείῳ.	Ἀρχαίων δὲ ἐαυτὸν καὶ ἔωθεν συναθροίσας τὴν στρατὶν	Arm. 185 Val. II 27 Syr. p. 75
1202 II 16	"(One of you) could crush a thousand of Darius' men"	τῶν ἀντιμάχων χιλίου ἀνδρῶνδε.	τῶν ἀντιδίκων.... ὕπερ τοὺς ἑκατὸν χειρώδεται.	Arm. 185
1207 II 16	The Persian army encamps near to the Macedonians	ὁ δὲ Δ. ἀνταρτίων τὴν δυναμὴν αὐτοῦ ἔθηκεν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων.	—	Arm. 186 Leo. II 16 cf. Val. II 28

1215 II 16	The two sides hurled arrows and lances	οἱ μὲν ἄθροισ' ἐβέβαλλον, οἱ δὲ τόξα ---- ἔπεροι δὲ βολίδας ἐδεδυνόντων.	καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄθροισ' ἤρουν αὐτοὶ, οἱ δὲ τοὺς βέβηκιν ἐδεδυνάσαν τὸν ἀέρα, ἄλλοι δὲ βολίδας ἐξουδένοντο.	Leo. II 16
1224-5 II 16	He and the rest passed over, but for the other Persians the ice broke	αὐτὸς μὲν καὶ οἱ οὖν αὐτῶν διεπέρασαν ---- τὸ δὲ πηλὸς τῶν Περσῶν καὶ βεβήκων ---- ἐρήθη..	αὐτὸς μὲν διεπέρασεν ---- τὸ δὲ ἄλλο πηλὸς ---- κατεσθεν διερήθη..	Arm. 188
1255 II 17	Xerxes lost his possessions and his people	πορὸν χυρόν καὶ πορὸν ἀργυρίον καὶ πηλὸν δανάς ἀποήσας.	—	Arm. 190 Val. II 29 Pap. Hamb. 129
1271 II 17	Alexander <u>laughed</u> and said to Parmenes	μεδιδόδας δὲ Ἀλέξ. εἶπε πρὸς αὐτόν ----	πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπεν ὁ Ἀλέξ.	
1292 II 18	Twelve-storess high	δωδεκάστορος	δωδεκάστορος (ex corr.)	
1295-6 II 18	I saw Xerxes' tomb	εἰς τὸν τάφον ἐξέρχου	—	Arm. 192 Cod. Val. gr. 1700 Paris Suppl. gr. 689

1298 II 18	Alexander ordered that they should be freed	προέταξε ῥυθῆναι αὐτούς.	προέταξε ῥυθῆναι,	Arm. 192 Syr. p.78 Leo. II 18
1345-6 II 20	So spoke Darius and they did not listen to him, but struck him with their swords	οὐ δὲ μαθήσας περὶ ἐντες τοῖς ἰαερίαις Δαρείου φόνους αὐτὸν ἠμύναντο.	—	Arm. 195 (Syr. p.80) (Leo. II 20)
1395-6 II 21	Alexander lam- ented Darius	ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξ. συμπαθῶς κράδους τὸν Δ.	—	Arm. 198 Val. II 34
1432 II 21	"...that Greeks may come here and trade"	ὅπως οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑλλάδος ἐμπορεύωνται πρὸς ὑμᾶς.	ὅπως καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑλλάδος εὐκόπως εἰς ὁποιάν τ' ἐαν βούλωνται πρὸς τῆς ἡλλάδος πωλῶνται.	Val. II 36 Leo. II 21 cf. Syr. p.82
1453-4 II 21	"If Darius had lived - but better that he was killed because he would always have wanted to fight me"	εἰ μὲν εἴη Δ., ἔπ- εσφάτενός μοι πόλεμον. νῦν δὲ πᾶς πόλεμος πτεταυται.	—	Arm. 201

1475 II 24	He hung them on the tomb	καὶ οἱ πέν κακίστοι φονεῖς ἀναστρεφούνται ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον Δαρείου	—	Arm. 202 Leo. II 24 Syr. p.84 cf. Val. II 37
1499 II 22	Alexander wrote to Olympias to send clothes	ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ μητρὶ Ὀλυμπιάδι τῷ ἀποστρεφῶν τὸν γυναικείον κόσμον αὐτῆς καὶ τὸν ἱματισμόν. (BRI only - bracketed by Bergson,	ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ Ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ ἐδρεζώσατο τοὺς ἱμάτους....	cf. Leo. II 22 cf. Val. II 39
1501-4 II 22	Olympias sent the clothes to Alexander and the marriage took place	p.123.1-6	—	Arm. 209 cf. Eth. p.106 cf. Syr. p.86
1507-1734 II 23-41	Letter of Alex- ander to Olympias and Aristotle	(See separate analysis in Commentary)		Arm. 209 cf. Eth., Syr., Leo.
1752 III 1	"Tell me what I did to you that you are grieved"	καὶ νῦν τί διανοήσεται;	—	

1833-48 III 3	Visit of Alexander to Porus' camp in disguise	p. 140.1-9	—	Arm. 215
1853-4 III 3	Porus released the elephants against Alexander	ὁ δὲ Π. εὐθέως ἐκέλευσεν ἀπολυθῆναι τοὺς θήρας.	—	Val. III 6
1858 III 3	The beasts did not dare to touch any- one	καὶ οὐκέτι οὐδενὸς ἤπτοντο.	—	Arm. 216 cf. Leo. III 3 cf. Val. III 6
1880 III 4	Alexander struck him in the side	ἐν τῇ ἡγί τὸ ξίφος αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς ἡγόνους αὐτοῦ.	ὑποτιθεῖς τὸ ξίφος ὑπὸ τὸν βουβῶνα...	
1915 III 5	When they learnt that Alexander was coming	οἱ δὲ βραχμῶνες μαθόντες παράγινεσθαι πρὸς αὐτοῦ τὸν βασιλέα Ἀλέξανδρον....	—	Arm. 222 Val. III 10 Leo. III 5 Syr. p. 92 Eth. p. 126-7
1949-62 & 1965-70 III 6	More questions to the Brahmins	pp. 145.11 - 146.6	—	Arm. 223 Syr. pp. 92-3 (Val. III 11 -12) (Eth. p. 131 f.)

2135 III 17	"When I heard it I did not know what to do"	ταῦτα ἀκούσας περί- γυπτος ἔγένετο.	—	
2189-91 III 18	...a <u>golden</u> crown <u>weighing</u> a <u>hundred</u> pounds	στεφανον διὰ σμαράγδων χιτῶν χιτῶν χρυσίου...	στεφανον διὰ σμαράγδων καὶ μαργαριτῶν ἀκρίτων	(Syr. p.119)
2201-6 III 19	<u>After some days</u> Candaules was going to the Amazons with his wife and family when the <u>Berbers</u> attacked <u>him</u>	ἔγένετο δὲ μεθ' ἡμέρας τον υἱὸν τῆς Κανδαύης ἀνῆλθαι Κανδαύην μετ' ἑῶν ἑταίρων βίαν υπομένειν ὑπὸ τοῦ τυφ- άνου τῶν Βερβυκων.	ἔγένετο δὲ τι ποῦτον. ὁ υἱὸς τῆς Κανδαύης ἀνῆλθαι Κανδαύην μετὰ ἑταίρων ἑταίρων κατατρέχει εἰς τοὺς σκάνδας Ἀβερζίνων.	(Syr. p.119)
2221-3 III 19	"Sit on my throne and rule my king- dom." So Ptolemy sat on the throne	"καθίστου ὡς τυγχάνων Ἀγέξ." "... Προκαδέχεται οὖν Πτολ.	"πορεύου ὡς δὲ τυγχάνων Ἀγέξ. ἔζηδε....	Eth. p.192 (Leo. III 19)
2282 III 21	He saw <u>walnuts</u> as big as melons	κάβουα δὲ ἔχοντα περίμετρον πεπόνων.	καὶ ροιὰι τῶν βαλάνων ἔχονταί, περί- μετρον ὡς πεπόνων μεῖζον. (for our)	Syr. p.122 Leo. III 21

2361-2 III 22	Alexander wanted to kill the Queen	ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξ. ἠθέλησε ξίφει ἐκτελεῖν ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ τὴν βασίλισσαν.	ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· ἔγωγ εἶχον τὸ ξίφος μου, ἀνέχου σε πρώτων.... εἴτα λέγω αὐτὴν >	
2377 III 23	She told her daughter Harpisa...	καὶ οὖν θυγάτηρ ἡ Ἀρπίδα	καὶ θυγάτηρ Μάρκελλος (<u>εἰς</u> <u>corr.</u>)	
2385-6 III 23	Candace has <u>two</u> sons	εἶπε δὲ αὐτῇ ὁ ἕτερος υἱός ὁ μικρότερος....	εἶπε δὲ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτῆς ὁ δευτέρου <Καίσαρος> ὁ δὲ τρίτος υἱός.....	Val. III 40 Leo. III 23
2431-3 III 24	...lightnings,... he was afraid but waited to see the outcome	ὅρα φαντασίαν εἰδύ- ων καὶ πυρὸς ἀστραμῶν. ὁ δὲ Ἀλ. ἐδῆμιλθεν.... ἐπέρμενε δὲ ἰδεῖν τὸ ἀποβλεπόμενον.	ὅρα ὁμίχλην ἀστερο- φεγγῆ.... ἔβωθεν δὲ φαντασίαν εἰδύων	(Arm. 247) (Syr. p.126) cf. Val. III 42
2440-1 III 24	...because you built Alexandria." Alex. asked how long he would live	κτίσας τὴν περὶ τοῦ ἡτον ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Ἀλέξ. εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ Ἀλέξ. "ἄρα πόσα ἔτι γὰρ ζήσεις;"	—	Arm. 247 Syr. p.127 Val. III 42 Leo. III 24
2485-6 III 25	270,000 Amazons	μυριάδες εἰκοδιν ἐπτά	μυριάδες κ' (<u>εἰς</u> <u>corr.</u>)	cf. Leo. III 25 cf. Syr. p.128

2490 III 25	"Those of us who wish bear children by them."	ὁδοὶ δὲ βούλονται ἐξ ἡμῶν διακορευέσθαι καταμένοντι πρὸς αὐτοὺς.	ὁδοὶ δὲ βούλονται δια- κορευέσθαι τινὰς ἐξ ἡμῶν καταμένοντι πρὸς αὐτοὺς.	Arm. 252 Syr. p.128
2519-20 III 26	When Alexander heard it he laughed and wrote back to them	ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξ. ἐπύκων τοῖς γραμματέων αὐτῶν καὶ προσέειπεν αὐτῷ γράψεν αὐτοῖς τὰδε.	—	Arm. 253 Val. III 46 Leo. III 26 Syr. p.129
2535-6 III 26	The Amazons saw Al.'s message and wrote to him	Δεξάμενα δὲ καὶ ἀνελγούδα, τὰ γραμματέα Ἀλέξ. ἀντεγράψαν αὐτῷ τὰυτὰ	—	Arm. 254 Syr. p.130 Val. III 46
2552-68 III 27	Letter of Alexander to Olymphas	p.173.3-5	—	cf. Arm., Val., Syr.
2617 III 28	Troglodytes	Τρωγλοδύτας	—	Arm. 258 Val. III 51
2645 III 28	There was a <u>golden</u> bowl holding <u>sixty</u> measures	κράτηρ μέγα χρυσο- τόρνεντον... χωρουντα μετρηταις ἑκατον (om. βV) ἑξήκοντα.	κράτηρ ἀργυρῶς χωρῶν μετρηταις τξ'	

2651 III 28	There were <u>eight</u> steps	ἀναβιβθμούς δὲ εἶχεν οὕτως	ἔχον ἀναβιβθμούς β'	Syr. p.133 cf. Val. III 53
2713 III 31	Ioulius was grieved by him	τοῦ Ἰουλίου οὖν ἐν ῥύπῃ φελομένου πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον	—	cf. Syr. p.136 cf. Leo. III 31a
2801 III 32	They saw him at the point of death	κατακείμενον κρήνη ἡμιθανῆ	ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι θωπητώματι	
2817 III 33	Alexander ordered a scribe to be called	καὶ κηρύδας εἰδεθὼς ὑποσηματορῶσαν...	—	cf. Syr. p.139
2909-14 2929-42 III 33-4	Alexander's death and burial	p.188.7 - 190.6	—	Arm. 281-4 Val. III 56-7

It will be seen that in the vast majority of cases one or more witnesses of the α tradition, other than A, support the reading of the Modern Greek poem. There are, however, about twenty instances where only the β tradition, as we know it, can be adduced as the source of the reading of the poem. A partial dependence at least on the β tradition must therefore be supposed. Furthermore, in eight cases the Armenian version alone of the α witnesses agrees with the poem. It must be noted that the translator of the Armenian version is generally believed to have had at his disposal a manuscript of the β tradition, in addition to the text on which he primarily based his work.¹⁾ If this is so, there are a maximum of about thirty instances in the Rimada where the only extant witnesses which constitute a satisfactory source may be representing the β tradition.

If, on the other hand, the same type of analysis is applied to discover what elements of the poem exhibit a positive affinity with A (ignoring, for

1) See above, Chapter 1, p.10, n.1.

this purpose, the other witnesses of the α tradition) against β , the following list is obtained. (A number of doubtful cases where the relationship is not absolutely plain have been excluded).

POINTS AT WHICH RIMADA AGREES WITH A AGAINST GROUP β

Ref.	Feature	A	β
1-6 I 1	Wisdom of the Egyptians	οἱ σοφώτατοι Αἰγύπτιοι εὐρεῖσιν μηχανὴς συνέψεως.	—
8 I 1	Nect. last Pharaoh	τὸν τελευταῖον τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλέα	—
67 I 4	Ol. says, "He wants to leave me"	φημίτεται γὰρ μοι μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἀποβλεῖν με καὶ ἔμειν ἄλλαν.	'Εμφανίετο γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἐννὶ παραχίναται φ. ἀπὸ τοῦ πόλεμου, τὴν αὐτὴν ἀποβλέπειται καὶ ἐτέρου φέμει.
134 I 7	N. went to his room	ἐξέρχεται πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν ὑπομονήν.	ἐξῆλθε ἀπὸ τοῦ κοιτῶνος.
155-6 I 8	Ph. dreamt he saw Ol. and Ammon	εἶδε γὰρ θεὸν εὐμαρὸν ποιεῖν κεραιὸν τρόπον Ἀμμωνος συκοιμώμενον τῷ Ὀρμπαδί,	(related by Ph. to the oneiromancer)
172-4 I 8-9	Ph. was deceived by the words, and went home	Οὕτω κρίνατος τοῦ ὀνειροπόρου συμπαιθὴς ἐγένετο φ. Νικήας οὖν τὸν πόλεμον εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐπορεύετο τὴν ἐπαύριον, ὡς δὲ ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ βασιλῆα	οὕτως οὖν κρίνατος τοῦ ὀνειροπόρου οὐκ ἄδως αὐτοῦ ἤκουσε φ. ἐλθὼν δὲ ὁ φ. ἀπὸ τοῦ πόλεμου
215-6 I 11	Ph. summoned his magus Antiphotos to interpret the omen	ὁ φ. μετεπέμψατο τὸν ἐπὶ ἑκείνῳ τὸν καιρὸν ἐπίσημον δημωρόν τιν Ἀντιφῶντα	φ. ὁ βασιλεὺς μετεπέμψατο τινὰ δημωρόν τιν

452 I 24	"May the gods give you the whole world", dying Ph. to Al.	σὲ δέδοκται κόσμον κρόταρα ἐνδὲ	—
491 I 26	1700 Macedonian horses	ἱππέας δὲ Μακεδόνας διδύχια- ίους	Μακεδόνων μυριάδας δύο ἡμιόβη καὶ ἱππεὶς ἄνδρες ὀκτακισχίλιους
499-500 I 28	Al. went to Lacedaemonia and stayed for some time en- listing troops	ᾤχετο ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμόνιον. καὶ συνθίβας τοῖς ἐκεῖ στρατηγούσις...	—
527 I 30	Al. saw in a <u>dream</u>	ἐκοιμήθη δὲ καὶ εἶδε κατὰ τοὺς ὄπνους...	καὶ θεωρεῖ....
552 I 31	The rivers issued into the sea	ποταμούς ἱβ' ἐξερευρομένους εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν	—
575-581 I 32	Al. sees the island of "Pheros" and sends builders to restore the tomb there	ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης νῆδόν τινα ἑδεόδατο.... τὸ μνήμα ἐκέλευθεν αὐτὸ ταχέως ἀνορθώσαι.	—
589-594 I 32	The serpent is killed and buried and a shrine created on the spot	τοῖς δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν τρεπομένοις δεύκων.... τέμενος γενέσθαι καὶ θάψας κατέθετο.	—

610 I 34	The "count is sent to Tripolis with the galleys	πέμψας τὰ γίβερα τετιμένειν αὐτὸν εἰς Τρίπολιν.	—
634 I 35	The Syrians are sub- dued	ὕπνκους δὲ ἔθηκε τὰς ἐγγίδια πόλεις.	—
773-776 I 39	"I have learnt that Al. has come to the "cross- ing" and is roaming round my lands"	ἀπαγγέλλουσί μοι ἀνδράτα Ἀλέξανδρον ἐγγίπου πᾶσι παύρην διαβάτα εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν πορθῶν ἐννὴ χίλιν.	ἐπιδύεσθαι μοι ἐπὶ Ἀλέξανδρον πάντα Ἀλέξανδρον ἐγγίπου πᾶσι.
833-4 I 41	The scythe-bearing chariots were put in a suitable position	...οἰόμενοι τοῖς δεξιανήφοροις ἀρμάδε κατανικῶν, φθάσαντες τοὺς παραχίους τόπους κατείχεσθαι.	—
855 I 41	They fought for a long time	ἐμάχοντο πολλὸν χρόνον	—
931-2 II 9	He passed another river, and they passed over into Mesopotamia	εἶδὼ δὲ Τίγρις ποταμὸς καὶ Εὐφράτης διὰ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας καὶ Βαβυλῶνος....	—
947 II 9	Al. encouraged troops	οὕτως αὐτοῦ θαρσύναντος....	καὶ οὕτως ἀποφηνάμενος Ἀλέξανδρου.....
951 II 9	They saw 5 Persians	καὶ ἵδαν οὐ πρηνουμένους βελόπαι πέτε.	—

1011-12 II 10	Send me your decision as to whether you wish to come and fight me	ἐρχάμην οὖν ἀπόκρισιν δῆλως ἡμῖν, ἵνα εἰδῶμεν.	—
1037 II 11	Send sheep-skins	καὶ ὃ ἐάν τελευτήσῃ τετράποδον, τούτων αἱ δοραὶ ἐξαποδότηθ- ωσαν εἰς ἡλιόχειαν	—
1043 II 11	A satrap of D.	τράπεζα δὲ καὶ σατραπείας Δαρείω περὶ τῶν ἐνεστῶτων	ἤερχαν δὲ καὶ οἱ σατράπαι Δαρείω οὕτως....
1047-50 II 11	Koixares has gone home wounded; Neanias and the "captains" have gone over to Al. with their fortresses	Κωμάρεξ δὲ πραγματῆατος γενόμ- ενος ἀνέχωνεν εἰς τὸ ὕδρον δέν- ωσα. Νανίας δὲ καὶ οἱ ὑπ' αὐτὸν μεγιστάροι, διέβδον πρὸς Ἀλέξ. εἰσοδία ἀβόρτες καὶ βασιλικά χωρία παρέδωκαν.....	τινὲς δὲ τῶν μεγιστάνων διέβδον πρὸς Ἀλέξ. οὖν ταῖς παρὰ αὐτοῦ.
1073 II 12	Your mother Rodogone	"ροδογούνη μήτηρ Δαρείω τέκνῳ χαίρειν.....	"Δαρείω τῷ ἐμῷ τέκνῳ χαίρειν.....
1083-4 II 12	Al. went to Bactria and received it peacefully	(Δ.)...καὶ τὴν τῶν βακτριανῶν (Βακτρ. Kroll) χώραν προμακρῶνα ἔσχεν.	—
1106 II 13	It seemed good to all that he should go	οἱ δὲ δυνεβούλεον τοῦτο ποιῆσαι.	οἱ δὲ δυνεβούλεον αὐτῷ τοῦτο μὴ ποιεῖν.

1147-56 II 14	Names of the guests at D.'s banquet	Πρώτος δὲ ἀνακριντὴς ----- Μακεδών.	—
1157-8 II 15	The cupbearers poured for those sitting all around	οἱ μὲν οὖν πιπερχύται πυκνό- τρον ἐν τοῖς ἐσθλοῖς δινκόνου.	τῶν δὲ πιπρότων πυκνό- τρώς ἐν τοῖς ἐσθλοῖς....
1184 II 15	The Persians pursued him	οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐξέβαινον ἐπὶ τὸν διωχρὸν καταλαβεῖν θέγοντες τὸν φυρόντα.	ὁ δὲ Δαρείος διωγρὸς ἐξέ- πέμψε Πέρσας ἐνούτους τὸν Ἀχέξανδρον καταλαβεῖν.
1243 II 16	There was much strik- ing on armour	πολύς τις θροὺς συνεκροεῖτο καὶ κακῆρὰ τῶν σιγῶν.	—
1249 II 17	You are mortal, do not be proud	πρώτον γινώσκε, ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ἐγεννήθης· ἱκανὸν δὲ τοῦτο ὑπό- μνημα τοῦ μὴ μεγαλοφροεῖν.	—
1251 II 17	You have heard of the great Xerxes	καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐξῆς.....	—
1274 II 17	He will take my family with no trouble (or dispute)	ἐν γὰρ Μακρόν μαχόμενος οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν ἐκείνου γυναικῶς λόγος εὐτύχῳ γίνεσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἡμῶν πρὸς ἐκείνον περὶ τῶν ἀμετέων.	ἡμῶς οὖν πρὸς ἐκείνον τὴν μάχην στυγρόμεν περὶ τῶν ἀμετέων.

1289-90 II 18	I saw the tombs of kings buried in gold vessels	τάφους, ἐν οἷς ἦσαν χρυσώματα πολλὰ καὶ κρατήρες ἀργύρεοι.	τάφους χρυσῶ κεκοσμημένους.
1327 II 19	Then he fled and went to Capelliae	προσηγγέσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ, ὅτι εἴη πεφειγώς ἐπὶ τὰς Καπυλαίας πύλας.	ἦκουσε δὲ Δαρεῖον ἐν Βατ- άνοις ἐπὶ τὰς Καπυλαίας πύλας.
1329-32 II 19	A eunuch of D. came and told Al. that D. was fleeing. Al. hastened to catch him	Βασιδάνου <δὲ> τοῦ εὐνούχου αὐτο- μοχέαντος <καὶ ἀπαγγεῖλαντος> πάντα πρὸς Ἀρήθειαν ἐσθλατότερον τὸν διωγμὸν ἐποιεῖτο.	καὶ εὐνούχον ἐποιεῖτο τὸν διωγμὸν καὶ ἐσθλατότερον.
1363 II 20	I swear by the gods that I speak the truth	ὀρκισμὶ σοι, Δαρεῖε, τοὺς θεοὺς πάντας, ὡς ταῦτ' ἀληθὺς καὶ οὐ πεπαραδόμενός φέλλω	ὀρκισμὶ σοι τὴν ἄνω πρόνοιαν, ὡς ἀληθὺς καὶ οὐ πεπαραδόμενός φέλλω σοι
1383 II 20	You know that my power was firm	ὅρα τίς ἦμεν καὶ τίς ἐξενόημεν τῶν ἡμῶν· ὁ τῆς τοσούτης ἐξου- κείνος κύριος.....	ὅρα τίς ἦμεν καὶ τίς χέρομεν.
1411 II 21	"King Al., descended from Ammon,..."	Ἰσδομεύς Ἀλ. ἐκ βασιλείας θεοῦ Ἀμμωνος.....	"Βασιλεὺς Ἀλ. υἱὸς Φιλίππου Βασιλέως.....
1434-1448 II 21	Al.'s edict to the Persians	P. 93.17 - 95.8.	—

1483 II 22	His own nobles killed him	καὶ οἱ πεπρωκότα αὐτὸν τραυ- ματίαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων	—
1769 III 2	In 6 days they reached the Indian mountains	καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας εἰς τοὺς τῆς Ἰνδικῆς < ὄρους > ἐγένετο ...	καὶ παραφρονέσας αὐτοῦ ὅν πάρα τῇ δυνάμει αὐτοῦ εἰς τοὺς ὄρους τῆς Ἰνδικῆς χιώρας ...
1780-2 III 2	I also command gods, and ejected Dionysus from here with my own might	ἀλλὰ καὶ θεῶν · παρόντα γὰρ οὐ ἀέροντες, Διόνυσον ἀπάγαγον τῇ ἰδίᾳ δυνάμει, οἱ Ἰνδοί.	ἀλλὰ καὶ < θεῶν >, Διόνυσον ἔχων ἀπειλοῦντάς τοι ἐπαυθῆναι, ὃν ἄρεσσι θεῶν.
1847-20 III 2	You say you do not fear me because I killed D. I do not heed your words	ὥς οὐν δὲ οὐ θαμβοῦσιν τὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πολεμθέντα ἔθνη, οὐδ' ἐπὶ δεικνύουσιν οἱ σοῦ κοπι- ώτερος λόγος.	ἐπεὶ οὐν οὐ θαμβοῦσι τὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πολεμθέντα ἔθνη, οὕτως δειχὼν ποιῶσιν οἱ σοῦ σοῦ κοπιώτερος λόγοι.
1862-3 III 3-4	Al.'s horse was killed. They fought for 25 days	πίπτεi δὲ ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἵππος ὁ βοῦκ. διακνηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Π., καὶ ἔξ- αβένυσσε τὴν γνώμην καὶ οὐν ἡμέρας ἔμειναν πολεμῶντες	πίπτεi δὲ ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἵππος ὁ βοῦκ. ἔξαβένυσσε τὴν γνώμην ἐκείνιν ἡμέρας ἔμειναν πολεμῶντες μετ' ἀλλήλων.
1963-4 III 6	He asked them, "What is not deceived?" and they replied, "God"	ἐτίρω ἔφη · "τίνα οὐ διατάσσεται ψεύδασθαι;" — "θεῶν ...	—

1991-2092 III 17	Al.'s letter to Aris- totle	pp. 106.9-111.3	—
2109-10 III 17	I take ten of my friends to enter the temple	συνεισόντων δὲ τοὺς φίλους..... "αὐδρας"	—
2129-31 III 17	My friends Philip and Parmenion begged me not to stay, but I refused to listen to them	ὁ τε Παρμενίων καὶ ὁ Φίλιππος ἐκέλευον μὲ περὶ τὸν ὕπνον δενέσθαι· μὴ βουλομένης δὲ μου.....	—
2138-42 III 17-18	...I saw the palace of "Seramis" which beauti- fied that region". Al. sent this to his teacher Aristotle	p. 115.1-5	καὶ ὑπείχετο ἐνὶ τῷ Σερμιάμειος βασιλείᾳ θεάσασθαι· ἂν γὰρ περίφημα.
2153-60 III 18	You returned home on Ammon's orders. I order you to do me obeisance and bring me gifts, or I will make war on you	p. 115.13-17	τιὸ "ἔπεμψα πρὸς ὑμᾶς. βουλομένης οὖν....

2172 III 18	If you come to us against our will, we will all fight	τοὺς δὲ παρονομήνους πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐμύνεσθαι καὶ χεῖσθαι ὡς πολεμίοις	—
2178 III 18	(We send you) <u>200</u> <u>parrots</u>	ψιττακοὺς ε'	—
2189 III 18	To the temple of Ammon I will send a crown	τῇ Ἀμμων τῇ ἡμετέρῃ θεῷ τῇ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρίων τῆς Αἰγύπτου στέφανον	—
2196 III 19	Al. himself went to subdue other nations	αὐτὸς δὲ ᾤδευσεν πρὸς αὐτῶν.	—
2324 III 22	He also saw beautiful gardens	 ἑσπεχασμένοι ὅσα πλάττουσι ἢ κυπαρίσσοι . καταρρυτός δὲ ποταμὸς χευσοῦφες ὕδωρ διαβύλων, ἄλλο γένος Πικτωγῶν . καὶ τ' εὐκλεινοὺς δένδρον στιλβερὸν πίπτερος ἡμαρτέν ὁπώραν.	—
2515-16 III 25	"We will pay you what- ever tribute you ask"	στεφανοῦμεν δὲ σε κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν, ὅσον εἴν σοι τάξις.	—
2546 III 26	"We hold her profane and shameful"	ἔσται, ὡς τὰ πάτρια ἐκβεβηκυῖα.	μενέτω παρ' ὧν.

2559-61 (III 27 β) III 26	It rained for 80 days, and afflicted my army so that their clothes were soaked	Ζεύς οὐκ ἐπαύσατο ὕμν ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα, ὥστε τοὺς τῶν λόπιων ἀναφρέας ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος γήπεσθαι, ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἱππῶν χαλινούς. καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν πείλων τὰς πόδας διὰ θεῶν ἐρμῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ποταμῶν διὰ ἀκνυποδιδάκ.	οὐκ ἐπαύσατο ὁ ἕτερος ἐπὶ τῆς βῆς πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν περὶ τοὺς πόδας ἐξήγηται
2565-6 (III 27 β) III 26	When the rain stopped, the heat was intoler- able	μόλις δὲ παυσαμένου τοῦ ὕετοῦ καύμα ἐπένετο τοσούτων, ὥστε μυδῆρα δύνασθαι φέρειν.	—
2569-70 (III 27 β) III 26	They brought 500 deer/ elephants and 60,000 armed wagons	...ὅτι εἰδὼν αὐτοῦ ἐλθέμεντες ἐπὶ φιλίῃ πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ ἄρματα μύρια καὶ ἀσθελέων πολλὰ μυριάδες.	—
2572-91 III 27	Return to Babylon and journey to pillars of Herales. Desert, rocks and darkness	pp. 128.14 - 24	—
2606-12 III 28	The "narrow place". Sacrifice of horses to Poseidon	εἰς τὸν στενὸν τόπον. τῶν δὲ ἐκ δεξιῶν ὅρος ὑψηλός, τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀριστερῶν θάλασσα, ἐπέκλυσεν. θύσαντες δὲ τῷ Ποσειδῶνι πύλους εἰ...	εἰς τὸν τένοτον ποταμὸν.
2622 III 28	Circumference of city was 10 miles	ὥς ἂν περίετρον σταδίων εἰς	νότον ἀπέχονταν ἀπὸ τῆς τῷ σταδίου εἰς.

2623 III 28	14 towers	πύργοι δὲ ἦσαν ἰδ'	πύργοι δὲ ἦσαν δώδεκ
2636 III 28	Damube	ἤγορμεν ἐπὶ τὸν ταύριν ποταμόν ...	—
2647-50 III 28	I made a sacrifice of oxen, filled the bowl and we all drank	... κρεατὴν ... ὃν καὶ ἐξεμερσίσαμεν <ἐν> τῷ μεγάλῳ δείπνῳ, ὅτε τὴν θύσιαν ἐποιεῖν μεθὰ τῶν Σωτηρίων.	... κρεατῆρες ... οὓς καὶ ἔξ ῥάσαμεν ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ. ἐνθα δὲ τὴν παρεμβολὴν ἐκεί- νην ποιεῖσθαι ἤμεθα καὶ εὐχόμεθα.
2702 III 31	...gave it to his son Cassander"	 ἔδωκε Κασάνδρῳ τῷ υἱῷ	 ἔδωκε τῷ ἰδίῳ υἱῷ
2723-8 III 31	Al. held a celeb- ration to which his generals and satraps were invited	τοῦ δὲ Ἀλέξ. ἡδῶς γενόμενον μετὰ τῶν παρεόντων φίλων καὶ τεχνιτῶν [καὶ] <τῶν> περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον (πολλοὶ γὰρ ἀπέντιον εἰς ἀνεῖν ἐν βαρυγῶνι τὸν 'Αλέξ. σπεφαιρώσαντες ...	—
2733-4 III 31	He said, "Your real friends want to see you"	ἔφην αὐτὸν εἰσέλθειν πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοῦ φίλους, φίλους αὐτοῦ συνελθεῖν, τοὺς ἀναγκαί- ους αὐτοῦ τῶν φίλων.	ἔφην αὐτὸν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὰν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ.
2737-44 III 31	List of those present at the symposium	ἦσαν δὲ οἱ παρόντες κ' αἱ.	—

2767-86 III 32	Al. asked for feather, attempts to drown himself	pp. 135.14-137.1	ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξ. αὐτὸν πρὸς εἶπεν. "ὦ Πωξάνη, μή ἐμοὶ χάριδα, σεαυτὴν."
2788 III 32	...to come before him, that he might write his will	ὁ δὲ <ἐγγραφεύ> πρὸς τὸ γράφειν τὴν διαθήκην.	—
2818 III 33	He made his will and they read it in the midst	ἐκέλευεν ἀναγινώσκειν τὴν διαθήκην.	—
2819- 2906 (excl. 2829-32 which β has) III 33	Al.'s will (though not all derivable from A)	pp. 140.16-144.2 (excl. 140.18-20 = β)	—

It is notable that the points at which the Modern Greek poem agrees with A are distributed evenly throughout the poem: they are not, as Merkelbach and Veloudis have suggested, confined to the section from III 17 to 33 or the end. Furthermore, the formidable number of correspondences with A (75) would appear to give the impression that the Modern Greek poem stands in a much closer relationship to the α than to the β tradition.

It may, however, be argued that in determining the character of the model of the poem it is at least as important to consider what is omitted as what is included. (This argument does not, however, take into account the possibility that the versifier himself discarded elements found in his model, or that the manuscript from which he was working was incomplete.) The Alexander romance, i.e. the α and β traditions, may be roughly divided into 197 episodes. The following list shows where the Modern Greek poem agrees with each of the two witnesses in question, either by inclusion or omission of an episode (episodes common to all three are not shown):

			A	<u>Rimada</u>	β
I	1	Wisdom of the Egyptians	X	X	
I	23	Alexander's portrait painted		X	X
I	24	Philip longs for Alexander	X		
		Alexander mourns Philip	X		
I	26	Antipater supports Alexander			X
		Revolts in the north			X
I	27	Alexander razes Thebes			X

		A	<u>Rimada</u>	β
I 28	Granicus and other conquests			X
I 32	Alexander visits Pharos	X	X	
	Omen of the serpent	X	X	
	The snakes	X		X
I 41	Alexander catches a chill			X
	Aftermath of the battle			X
I 42-44	(7 episodes)			X
I 45	Alexander goes to Locri etc.	X		
I 46	Thebes resists	X		X
	The city is burned	X		X
	Flautist pleads for the city	X		X
I 47	Alexander orders the re- building of Thebes	X		
II 1-6	Alexander's dealings with Athens and the Lacedaemonians (6 episodes)	X		
II 7	Darius seeks generals' advice	X		X
II 8	Alexander catches chill etc.	X		X
II 22	Reply of the womenfolk of Darius	X		X
	Letter of Alexander to Roxane	X		X
	Olympias sends garments to Alexander and the marriage takes place		X	X
II 23-41	Letter to Olympias and Aristotle (12 episodes)		X	X
III 3	Alexander spies in Posus' camp		X	X
III 4	[Conquest of Aorne]	X		
III 6	Alexander talks to Dandames			X
III 17	Letter to Aristotle (5 episodes)	X	X	

		A	<u>Rimada</u>	β
III 27	Alexander writes to Olympias		X	X
	The rain storm		X	X
	Alexander writes to Olympias	X		
	The Pillars of Hercules	X	X	
III 28	Sacrifice to Poseidon	X	X	
	Houses of gold and silver			X
	Alexander holds a banquet			X
III 32	He tries to drown himself	X	X	
	Perdiccas' scheming	X		
III 33	Alexander's Testament	X	X	
III 35	Chronology of his life and list of cities he built	X		X

The total numbers of similarities with each of the two versions are almost equal, but their characters are quite dissimilar. To take first the 16 cases where β and the poem share an episode i.e. A alone omits it: from the end of II 22 to II 41 there is a series of 12 episodes omitted by A, consisting not only of the letter of Alexander to his mother but also of the sending of the garments and jewellery from Macedonia and of the wedding of Alexander and Roxane. The presence of all or some of these episodes in other witnesses of the α tradition (see separate analysis in the Commentary) suggests that an ancestral manuscript

of A was lacking the end of Book II, or that the copyist of A deliberately omitted these episodes for some reason. Considering the 13 episodes omitted by both β and the poem, it may be noticed that I 45, I 47 and II 1-6 form part of a lengthy gap in the Modern Greek poem extending from I 45 to II 8. Of the other episodes found only in A, III 4 - the conquest of Aorne - occurs in no other version of the Alexander romance, and is considered by Kroll an interpolation; III 32 (the episode referring to Perdikkas' scheming to obtain power for himself after Alexander's death) is also omitted by the Metz Epitome, is contracted by Arm. and Syr. and distorted by Leo. On the other hand, there are 15 episodes which both the Rimada and A omit, and a further 12 which are omitted only by β .

The evidence presented above indicates that the Rimada is dependent from beginning to end on both (what are now termed) the α and β traditions of the Romance. The weight of evidence does, however, suggest a greater dependence on α than on β . The list of points at which the Rimada agrees with β against A has already indicated that the Rimada and Arm. are

frequently in agreement with one another. In fact the Rimada is more closely related to Arm. than to any other extant version of the Romance. A comparison of the episodic content of these two texts shows that the differences between them are restricted to the following:

- 1) After I 16 Arm. has the correspondence initiated by Zeuxis about Alexander's allowance (only in Arm., Val., and Syr.).
- 2) I 23 - the painting of Alexander's portrait is not in Arm. at this point (only in Rimada, Syr., and β).
- 3) I 32 - the episode of the snakes is omitted by the Rimada.
- 4) I 33 - the Serapis episode is drastically shortened by the Rimada; Arm. follows A in the main, but some details are given in two versions - α and β - showing that two sources were used.
- 5) The section from the end of I 41 to the beginning of I 44 is omitted by the Rimada. The fact that the prototype of A lacked the corresponding leaves indicates that A and the Rimada are closely related.
- 6) The section from I 45 to II 8 is completely omitted by the Rimada, presumably because of a lacuna in an

ancestral manuscript.

- 7) II 18 - there is a lacuna in Arm.. Part of the chapter is missing.
- 8) II 22 - the Rimada omits two letters which are found in A, β and Arm.
- 9) II 39 - the "water of life" episode is omitted by Arm.
- 10) II 41 - Arm. omits the story of the punishment of the cook who discovered the water of life.
- 11) III 18 - the beginning of Candace's letter is omitted by the Rimada and β (but not by A and Arm.), probably because of the corrupt state of the text.
- 12) III 21 - the description of the sights on Alexander's journey is fuller in A and Arm. than in the Rimada and β .
- 13) III 27 - the letter to Olympias in Arm. begins at the same point as in A, not earlier as in the Rimada and β .
- 14) III 27 - the letter of Aristotle to Alexander is found only in Arm., Val., and Syr.
- 15) III 32 - the story of Perdiccas' scheming is in A and Arm. but not in the Rimada or β .
- 16) III 35 - the Rimada omits the chronology of

Alexander's life and the list of cities to be built, which are in A, Arm., and β . Many of these differences are of little significance because they are to be explained as later omissions in the transmission of Arm. or by lacunae in a manuscript from which the Rimada is descended. Arm. has long been regarded as offering an excellent and full text of the Romance.¹⁾ The text of the Rimada, despite its lengthy lacunae (I 41-4 and I 45 - II 8), its versified form and its literary shortcomings, is therefore deserving of particular attention, especially because it has undergone a continuous process of transmission in the same language. At many points it offers a text which is more complete and closer to the original version than any other extant Greek version.

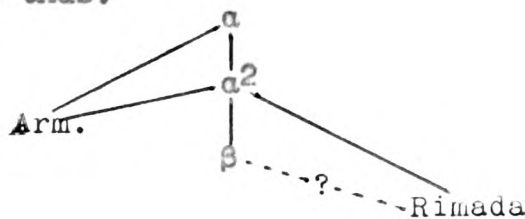
However, the presence of β elements in the Rimada requires some explanation: the obvious conclusion is that at some stage in the transmission of the text on which the Modern Greek poem is founded a compilation of the two traditions was made, producing a "contaminated" version. It is curious that this

1) Cf. Ausfeld, Der griechische Alexanderroman, p.13, Merkelbach, op.cit., p.64.

assumption must be made not only for the Rimada but also in the case of the Armenian version. In the latter's case there is some evidence to support this, in the form of double versions of some episodes: I 26, I 33, III 33. But there is no reason to assume from this that all the so-called β elements in Arm. derive from a separate source from the basic text. Indeed, it has been shown¹⁾ that Arm. often preserves genuine original elements, while A has corrupted the text. It is worth remembering also that what is generally termed the " β version" is in fact merely a compilation of the common features of a group of half a dozen manuscripts, of which only one was in existence in the 11th century (S, which contains only III 30-35) and the remainder are not anterior to the 13th century. The assumption that the texts of these manuscripts are substantially identical with an original of the 5th century is, in a tradition which has known as much continuous change as the Alexander Romance, one which cannot be made without considerable positive evidence.

1) R. Merkelbach, op.cit., pp.64-5.

A far more likely hypothesis is that the first revision of the α tradition was a far less drastic one than is suggested by the extant β witnesses. It may be supposed that this first revision (which may be called α^2) was a source of both Arm., which also drew upon a manuscript of the original version, and of the ancestor of the Rimada. Such a hypothesis in no way excludes the possibility that some β elements may later have found their way into the tradition of which the Rimada is the last link. The relationship between Arm. and the Rimada could then be represented thus:



The immediate model of the Rimada

It has been suggested by Veloudis that the Rimada must have been based on a prose version of the Romance in a more or less popular language, rather than one in a more archaic linguistic form.¹⁾ L. Politis,

1) G. Veloudis, op.cit., p.73.

however, rejects as unnecessary the hypothesis of an intermediate modern prose version, believing that it is quite conceivable that a popular versifier could read an ancient Greek text.¹⁾

However, the existence of such a modern prose version does not need to be hypothesised. The evidence (ignored by Veloudis) takes the form of one of the manuscripts of the Alexander Romance - Bodleian misc. 283 (P), written in 1516²⁾. Similarities between this text and the Rimada were first pointed out by Lambros, who concluded that the AG original of P or a similar translation into MG was used by Zinos in his Alexander poem.³⁾ (He believed Zinos to be the author of the Rimada). The following are among the most striking verbal similarities between the two texts (P is given first):

I 1 ἔπραξε τοὺς δαίμονας - 15 τοὺς δαίμονας νὰ κρύξη.

1) Ell. 23, 1970, p.390.

2) For a description of the manuscript see L. Bergson, Der griechische Alexanderroman. Rezension β, p.XIX.

3) Sp. Lambros, "Διήγησις Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐν Κώδικι Ὁξωνίου Misc. 283 καὶ Δημήτριος Ζήνος", NE 16, 1922, 266-271.

See also H. van Thiel, Die Rezension λ des Pseudo-Kallisthenes, p.14ff. Van Thiel rejects Lambros' contention that there is a close relationship between P and the Zinos poem.

I 2 ἄφες τοὺς περιδιαβασμοὺς - 23 verbatim.

I 7 καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκατέβην ἀπὸ τὸ κρεβάτιν καὶ διέβην
κρυφίως εἰς τὴν κατοικίαν αὐτοῦ - 133-4 καὶ τότε
ἐκατέβηκε ἐκ τὸ κρεβᾶτι κάτου / κ' ἐδιάβη ὁ Νεκτεναβὸς
ἐκεῖ στὴν κατοικίᾳ του.

I 9 εἶρε τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα λυπουμένην - 175 Ἐκ' ἤϊρε
τὴν Ὀλυμπιά, πολλὰ ἔτον λυπημένη.

I 21 ἐσπαθοκατέλυσεν ὅλους τοὺς καλεσμένους καὶ
ἐγένετο ἐκδικητὴς τῆς μητρὸς του - 378-9 κ' ἐγένηκε
ἐκδικητὴς ἐτότε τῆς μητρὸς του. / Ἐπίασε κ' ἐκατάκοψε
ὅλους τοὺς καλεσμένους.

I 23 διὰ τὴν γῆν τὴν πατεῖτε καὶ τὸ νερὸ τὸ πίνετε -
403-4 Γιὰ γῆ ὅπου πατεῖτε, / καὶ γιὰ νερὸ ποὺ πίνετε.

I 39 καὶ γράφεις μας ἵνα ὑπάγωμε ἀπάνω του - 793 καὶ
γράφεις μας νὰ πάγωμε αὐτεῖνον γιὰ νὰ πιάσου.

I 39 ἵνα συνάξης δύναμιν - 795 νὰ συνάξης δύναμιν.

II 9 ταῦτα εἶπε καὶ ἐθαρσοποίησέ τους καὶ ἐποίησέ
τους προθύμους εἰς τὸν πόλεμον - 947-8 Ἐποῦτα εἶπ'
Ἀλέξανδρος κ' ἐθαρσοποίησέ τους, / προθύμους εἰς τὸν
πόλεμον μὲ λόγους ἔκαμέ τους.

II 10 γίνωσκε δὲ ὅτι γρήγορα θέλεις χάσειν τὸ κεφάλιν
σου - 1025 Γνώρισε τὸ κεφάλι σου γλήγορα νὰ τὸ χάσης.

II 13 καὶ ἦλθον εἰς βοήθειάν σου - 1098 κ' ἦλθα ἔς

βοήθειά σου.

II 13 καὶ μηδὲν φοβῆσαι ἡ ἐγὼ εἰμὶ βοηθός σου - 1102

καὶ μὴ φοβῆσαι τίποτες, ἐγὼ ἔμαι βοηθός σου.

II 21 καὶ εἴτι κρατεῖ ὁ καθὼς εἴς πάλιν ὅς τὸ ἔχη -

1425 εἴτι ἐκράτει πασσαίς, πάλι ὅς τὸ μετέχη.

II 21 ἐσχημάτισα τὸν λόγον μου - 1470 τὸν λόγον μου
σχημάτισα.

II 22 καὶ ἔθαψά τον ἔντιμα ὡς πατέρα μου - 1488 καὶ

ἔθαψά τον ἔντιμα ὡς πατέρα μου ὅπου ἔτο.

II 33 καὶ ὄρισα νὰ ἐκδύσουν γυναῖκα νὰ ὑπάγουσιν

εἰς ἐκεῖνον μήπως ἔλθῃ εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτῆς - 1587-8

ὄρισα δὲ νὰ γόδουσιν γυναῖκα νὰ τοῦ πᾶσι, / πόρις

νὰ ἔλθῃ ἔς πεθυμιὰ καὶ νὰ τὴν ἀγκαλιῇ.

The list could be prolonged almost indefinitely. Clearly these similarities are too numerous to be coincidental; there must be, as Lambros concluded, a close relationship between P and the Rimada. However, the two texts coincide by no means completely. The text of P has a thoroughly mixed character: in Book III it gives by and large the λ version of the Romance, but with a few α and β elements interpolated¹⁾, while the first two books offer basically a text closely related to the Rimada, but with some passages interpolated from a β -type text.²⁾

The close similarities with the Rimada admit of two possible explanations: either P and the Rimada are dependent on a common ancestor, or else P has drawn

1) See H. van Thiel, op.cit., p.15.

2) There are two large lacunae in P, caused by the loss of a number of leaves from the codex. They occur after f.6 (corresponding to chapters I 10 to I 20) and after f.8 (I 24 to I 32). The corresponding verses of the Rimada are 189-364 and 441-601. According to van Thiel, op.cit., p.14, there are probably 8 leaves missing in each case. But as each manuscript page corresponds generally to approximately 20vv. it appears rather that 4 leaves are missing from each lacuna. According to the original foliation these would be 17-8, 21-2 and 25-8. This agrees with the quire numbering of the manuscript, as f.9 is in fact numbered Γ^1 .

directly on a manuscript of the Rimada.¹⁾ The second possibility is improbable: faced with a choice between two manuscripts, one in prose and one in verse, a scribe would naturally prefer to follow the text of the former as the basis of his own prose text and to reject the verse text.²⁾ A simple comparison of P with manuscript A is sufficient to show the former's dependence on the latter to a considerable degree and its independence of the Rimada. For example, the first sentence of P: Οἱ σοφοὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ὑπῆρχον ἐν ἀγκῶνα τῶν θεῶν εἰς οὓς καὶ ἐπίστευον. ἐν ἀγκῶνα is an obvious corruption of A's ἀπόγονοι, while the word is not found in the Rimada at all; again, in the first chapter, P reads correctly ἔλεγεν ἐπωδὴν καὶ ἔκραζε τοὺς δαίμονας, while the Rimada has (v.15) καὶ ἄρχιζε μὲ τὴν σπουδὴν

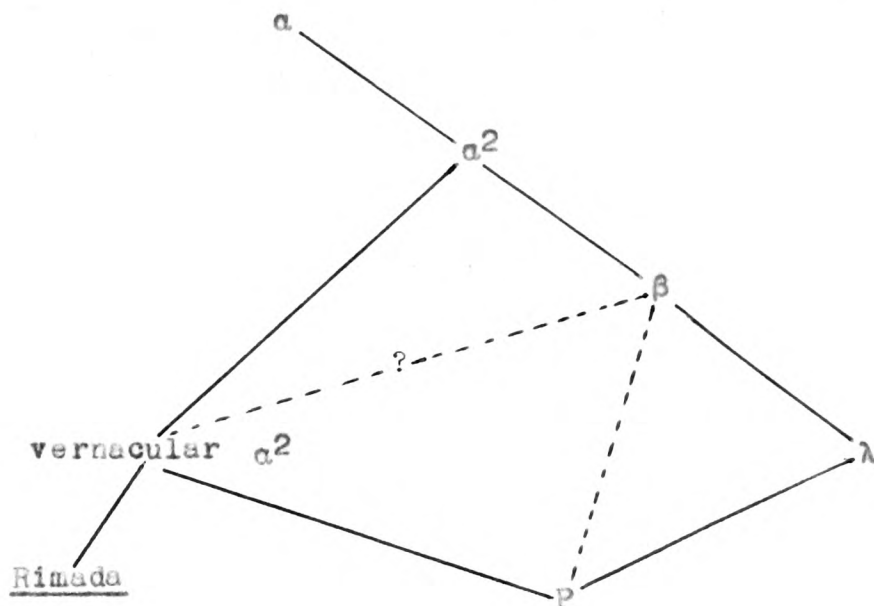
1) It is out of the question that P is the direct prototype of the Rimada because of the β and λ features which are absent from the latter.

2) It is interesting to note here that the scribe of one of the manuscripts of the late-Byzantine prose romance - Koutloumoussi 236 - tried to supplement the narrative of his incomplete prototype by putting into prose the relevant portions of the Rimada. After writing four pages of barely disguised political verses, he abandoned the attempt; see K. Mitsakis, BNJ 20, 1968, p.245ff.

τοὺς δαίμονας νὰ κρᾶζη . Metre excludes the possibility that any versified text can have offered the writer of P the correct reading ἐπωδήν . It is, therefore, certain that the text from which the scribe of P derived the elements which are common to the Rimada was in prose.

At least two manuscripts were used simultaneously by the scribe of P: the basic one was a Modern Greek paraphrase of the Romance, closely related to the Rimada (α^2); but this was supplemented with elements taken from an orthodox β -type manuscript which the author "modernised" to a greater or lesser extent, with a thorough inconsistency. The elements of the β tradition make their first noticeable appearance in I 35, and thereafter quite frequently, especially in I 37-8, I 41-4, I 46, II 6-8, II 11, II 13, II 14, II 15, II 17, II 18 etc. From the middle of II 38 a new element appears: the λ version, again linguistically modernised to some extent. Since it is only in Book III that the λ version is greatly at variance with β , it is possible that the second source of P was a single manuscript of the λ type.

In Book III P becomes quite faithful to the λ version, but at certain points (vv.2189-91, 2450, 2544¹⁾) it is possible to discern again the common ancestor of P and the Rimada. It thus seems probable that the scribe of P had this vernacular prose text available for the whole of the Romance, but chose to follow his λ - type model almost exclusively from II 38 onwards. The relationship which exists between P and the Rimada and their ancestral versions may be illustrated thus:



1) See Commentary on III 18, III 24 and III 26. A fuller discussion of the contents of P and its similarities with and differences from the Rimada is given in the Commentary. It is hoped to make a separate study of the text of manuscript P.

To summarise: the Rimada is more closely related to the α than to the β tradition and probably dates back to a version intermediate between α and β which is closely related to the model of the Armenian translation. It is, however, possible that β elements may have infiltrated the tradition from which the Rimada descends during the course of the manuscript history of that tradition. The immediate ancestor of the Rimada is a prose text in the vernacular, probably composed in the second half of the 15th century, a manuscript of which was also employed by the compiler of P.

The Relationship between the Rimada and the Phyllada

As has already been mentioned, the Rimada and the Phyllada have followed completely separate lines of transmission, the former being descended from the α and β traditions and the latter from the ϵ version of the Romance. Nonetheless, a comparison of the two texts reveals astonishingly close verbal similarities at certain points:

- 1) Nectanebus' flight from Egypt and his meeting with Olympias (Phyllada pp.50-53¹⁾, Rimada vv.7-100, I 1-5) (a few scattered verbal correspondences only - not complete identity);
- 2) Olympias' dream (p.54, vv.101-122, I 5-6) (extremely close similarity);
- 3) Olympias' seduction, Alexander's birth and Nectanebus' death (pp.54-59, vv.123-288, I 7-14) (many verbal similarities);
- 4) Nikolaos' death (p.62, vv.349-352, I 19) (a few similarities);
- 5) Darius' banquet (pp.126-7, vv.1159-76, II 15) (several verbal similarities);
- 6) the correspondence between Alexander and the Amazons (pp.167-170, vv.2459-2550, III 25-6) (extremely close verbal similarity);
- 7) the poisoning of Alexander (pp.199-200, vv.2717-20, 2751-2, 2733-4, III 31) (verbal similarities at several points);

1) References to the Phyllada are given according to the pagination of the Galaxias edition: A.A. Pallis, 'H Φυλλάδα του Μεγαλέξαντρου, 1961 (reprinted 1968).

- 8) Alexander's will (pp.203-4, vv.2819-72, III 33)
(many similarities);
- 9) the death of Bucephalus (pp.206-7, vv.2915-22, III 33) (fairly close correspondence).

The existence of these similarities was noted by J. Trumpf¹⁾, who concluded that, in addition to the late-Byzantine ("middle-Greek") prose Alexander Romance, the compiler of the Phyllada had recourse to another source which is no longer extant, but to which the Rimada is related.

At certain points it is possible to compare the texts of three separate versions of the Romance in "popular" Greek: the Phyllada, the Rimada, and parts of manuscript P - a text very close to that which must have served as the model of the Rimada and which may be equated with the no longer extant source referred to by Trumpf. The following table shows the points at which the three versions exhibit close textual correspondences²⁾:

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- 1) J. Trumpf, "Zur Überlieferung des Mittelgriechischen Prosa-Alexander und der Φυλλάδα τοῦ Μεγαλέξαντρου", BZ 60, 1967, p.34ff.
- 2) The available material is limited by the fact that P has two large lacunae (see above) and in Book III follows in the main the λ version of the Romance.

	P	Phyllada (1780) ¹⁾	Rimada
I 1 11-12	καὶ ποτὲ ἂν ἐφαί- νετον φωσάτον νὰ ἔρχεται ἀπάνω του οὐδὲν ἐξεβαίνειν εἰς πόλεμον ἀλλὰ ἐπήγαινεν εἰς τὸ καλῶτιν του καὶ ἐποίει λεκανο- μαντεῖα.	καὶ καμίαν φορὰν δὲν ἐξεβαίνειν εἰς πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ ἐκάθονταν εἰς τὸ καλῶτι του, καὶ ἔκανε τοῖς Μαγίαις του.	ποτέ του δὲν ἐξ- έβαινε σὲ πόλεμον, (᾿ς) στρατεῖα, μὰ κάθετον στὸ σπῖτι του καὶ ἔκανε τὴν μαντεῖα.
I 2 33-4	"σὺ δὲ ὕπαγε καὶ πολέμα τὴν δουλ- εῖαν σου· καὶ ἐγὼ μὲ λόγον ἕνα ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη θέλω τὰ καταποντ- ίσει."	"σύρε, ἀναπαύσου, καὶ ἐγὼ μὲ ἕνα λόγον θέλω τοὺς κάμει ὅλους νὰ ἐπιστρέψουν εἰς τοὺς τόπους τους...."	"πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ὕπαγε, ἀναπαύσου, καὶ μὲ ἕνα λόγον τὸ λοιπὸν ὅλοι τοὺς γιὰ νὰ κάψου."
I 3 39-41	ἔβαλεν ἄλλα ροῦχα καὶ ἐξούρισεν τὰ γένια του καὶ ἔλαβε χρυσάφι πολὺ καὶ ἔφυγεν.	καὶ εὐθὺς ἐξοῦρ- ισε τὰ γένια του, καὶ ἄλλαξε καὶ τὴν φορεσίαν του, καὶ ἔπηρε καὶ δηνῶρια κοντὰ του ὅσα ἐμπόρεσε καὶ ἔφυγεν...	τὰ γένια του ἐξ- οῦρισε, τὴν φορεσά τ' ἀλλάζει, καὶ βάνει καὶ εἰς τὸν κόρπον του στάμενα νὰ ἐξοδ- ιάζη. "ἔφυγεν..."
I 4 57	ὥς δὲ ἐξέβηεν ὁ Φ. εἰς τοὺς πολέμους...	ἐκείναις δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐδιέβη ὁ Φ. ἔξω διὰ νὰ πολεμήσῃ μὲ τοὺς ἐχθρούς του.	᾿ὡσάν ἐδιέβη Φ. ἔξω νὰ πολεμήσῃ...
I 5 105-6	ἔφάνη την ὅτι ἦλθεν ὁ Ἄμμων ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἐνεπλάκη τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ	καὶ εἶδε πῶς τὴν ἐπλάκωσε ἀπάνω εἰς ἕνα χρυσὸν κρεβάτι, καὶ	εἶδε πῶς τὴν ἐπλάκωσε ἀπάνω σὲ κλινάρι, καὶ εἶπε· "Ἡ μητέρα

1) The edition of 1780 was the earliest available for this comparison; it is employed in preference to the Gaixias because the latter is based on a 19th century edition and differs quite considerably at many points.

	P	Phyllada (1780)	Rimada
	συνεγγίνετο αὐτῇ· ὕστερον δὲ εἶπεν τὴν· "γίνωσκε ὅτι θέλεις ποιῆσαι παιδίον καὶ θέλει σὲ ἐκδικεῖν."	τῆς εἶπε· "σήμερον ἢ μητέρα σου νὰ λάβῃ παιδίον."	σου παιδί νὰ λάβῃ καὶ νὰ πάρῃ."
I 6 111-3	λέγει αὐτὴν ὁ Νεκτεναβών· "ποτ- απὸν εἶδος εἶδες αὐτὸν ἔχοντα;" ἡ δὲ εἶπε· "μεσο- πόλιον ἔχων ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ ὡς τράγου κέρατα..."	ὁ δὲ ἔκτεναβός τῆς εἶπε· "ὅταν τί λογῆς τὸν εἶδες;" ἔκείνη δὲ τοῦ εἶπεν· "ὡς ἂν ἕνα τράγον μεγαλοκέρ- ατον..."	Λέγει τῆς ὁ Νεκτεναβός· "ὅταν τί πράμα τοῦ εἶδες;" "ὅταν τράγον μεγ- αλόκερον ὁπῶναι μὲ τὰς γίδες. Καὶ ἔχει καὶ τὰ κέρατα ἀπάνω στὴν κεφαλῇ..."
I 7 139-40	καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Νεκτ· "ἐγὼ προφήτης εἶμαι τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ Ἀμμωνος καὶ ἐὰν θέλεις δῶσαι μου ἐξουσίαν τελείαν νὰ σεβαίνω εἰς τὴν κοίτην σου ἄν- ερωτήτως καὶ ἐγὼ νὰ φέρνω πάντοτε τὸν θεὸν νὰ ὁμιλῇ μετὰ σου."	καὶ ὁ ἔκτ. τῆς εἶπε· "ὁδός μου τελείαν τὴν ἀδεί- αν διὰ νὰ σοῦ τὸν φέρνω καθὼς βρόδυ."	Ἀπαιλογήθη ἐκτεναβός· "ἄσσο μου ἀδείαν τελ- είαν διὰ νὰ φέρνω τὸν θεὸν μ' ἀγίαν ὁμιλίαν."
I 8 167-8	ὁ δὲ μάγος εἶπεν τῇ Φιλίππῃ· "τὸ ῥαμὰ σου, βασ- ίλει, ἀληθινὸν ἐστίν· τὸν θεὸν ὃν ἑώρακας ἐστὶ θεὸς μέγας..."	καὶ ὁ μάγος τοῦ ἀποκρίθη· "αὐτὸ τὸ ὄνειρον ὅπου εἶδες, εἶναι ἀληθινόν, καὶ αὐτὸν ὅπου εἶδες εἰς τὸ σπήτι σου, ἔχε τον διὰ θεὸν σου..."	Κι αὐτὸς ἀπαιλογ- ήθηκε· "Ἀλήθεια τ' ὄνειρό σου, αὐτεῖνον ποῦ ὁδὸς σίτι σου, ἔχε τον γιὰ θεὸ σου."
II 15 1170	ἤκουσε ταῦτα ὁ Δαρεῖος καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξεπλάγησαν.	Καὶ ἐθαύμασαν οἱ ἄρχοντες τὴν τόσην του ἀπο- κοτίαν.	οἱ ἄρχοντες, ἐθαύμασαν σ' ἐκεῖνο ὅπ' ἀκούσαν.

The following conclusions may be drawn from this comparison:

- 1) The verbal correspondences between the Rimada and the Phyllada are often so close as to exclude the possibility of a coincidental choice of the same words by two separate adaptors of a common source.
- 2) The text of the Phyllada could not have been derived directly from P without the intermediate stage presented by the Rimada.
- 3) The Rimada is of necessity a rather free adaption of its model: it was often necessary for the sake of metre or rhyme to introduce superfluous material which is sometimes retained in the Phyllada (the "bed" of v.105 and the "house" of v.168 are good examples).

Thus the stages of development are: a prose text very similar to that which is preserved - though not in its entirety - by P, was put into rhyming verse by the anonymous author of the Rimada; at some stage in the transmission of the Phyllada (whether at the manuscript or the printed stage cannot be said with certainty) certain episodes were extracted from a text of the Rimada (from one of the printed editions, it

may be assumed¹⁾), put into the everyday spoken Greek of the period, and embodied in the text of the Phyllada.

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- 1) Only one piece of evidence suggests a particular edition of the Rimada: the reading ἐξέβαλε (v.11) of the 1529 edition was changed to ἐξέβαλε in later editions. The Phyllada agrees with the earlier text. Though this evidence is admittedly flimsy, it may perhaps indicate that the Phyllada's compiler borrowed from the 1529 edition of the Rimada, rather than from a later one. It is just possible that a manuscript, not a printed edition, of the Rimada was employed, but rather unlikely in view of the interval of time separating the first edition of the Rimada from that of the Phyllada (about 150 years) and the ready availability of printed copies of the Rimada in Venice, which would naturally tend to supplant manuscripts.

CHAPTER 4 : THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE RIMADA
AND THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF ITS FIRST EDITION

The Epilogue of the early editions of the Rimada informs the reader that it was published "κόπος καὶ δεξιότητι Ζήνου τοῦ Δημητρίου" (v.58). Early students of the poem assumed from this that Zinos was the author (since no author's name is explicitly stated elsewhere¹⁾). Legrand, however, in his Bibliographie Hellénique, established that Zinos was no more than the first editor of the work.²⁾ A comparison with the epilogues or colophons of other early printed books confirms this view; for instance, the 1514 edition of Musaeus' Hero and Leander is stated to have been printed

1) Cf. Vretos, Νεοελληνικὴ Φιλολογία, μέρος Β' (1857), p.24, N. Katramis, Φιλολογικὰ Ἀνάλεκτα Ζακύνθου (1880), p.256 etc. For a full list see Veloudis, Der Neugriechische Alexander, p.79. Some more recent scholars have also tacitly accepted this view e.g. G. Zoras, "Ἡ Ἑκτανήσος καὶ ἡ Ἀνδκυξίς τῆς λογοτεχνίας αὐτῆς", NEst 1964, 20-1 (= Ἑκτανησιακὰ Μελετήματα, τόμ. Α', 1960, 70-72); R. Merkelbach, Die Quellen des griechischen Alexanderromans, 64.

2) BH XV/XVI, Vol. I, p.289.

"δεξιότητι δημητρίου δονκᾶ τοῦ κρητός" ¹⁾; the 1515 edition of Pindar's Olympian Odes has the phrase "πόνω καὶ δεξιότητι, Ζαχαρίου καλλιέργου τοῦ κρητός" ²⁾; and a further variation of the formula is found in the colophon to a Lexicon of 1523: "πόνω τε καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει, Ζαχαρίου καλλιέργου τοῦ κρητός". ³⁾

It is clear, therefore, that the role indicated by such expressions is not the author's but that of the man who prepares the text for the press and corrects the proof sheets, and perhaps also has a supervisory role in the actual printing. Such was the part played by Dimitrios Zinos in the publication of the first edition of the Rimada and, indeed, this is made quite clear at the beginning of the Epilogue, which speaks of the search for a good manuscript and the difficulty of correcting it for the press:

Ἐκεῖνος ποὺ τὸ τύπωσε μέγαρα γὰρ ἐπόθει

1) Ibid., No.42.

2) Ibid., No.47.

3) Ibid., No.68.

νά 'βρη τὰ κατορθώματα καὶ πράξεις τ' Ἀλεξάνδρου
 καὶ πῶς ἐθανατώθηκε 'κ τὰ χέρια τοῦ Κασσάνδρου·
 νὰ εὕρη κι ἀθιβόλαιον νά 'ναι διορθωμένο
 εἰς σκοπὸν καὶ ἔννοια καὶ ὀρθογεγραμμένο.
 Λοιπὸν 'λαχε καὶ ἤρε το κ' εἶχε τὸ ἐναντίο,
 ἀπ' ὅλα ὅσα εἴπαμε, καὶ νὰ εἰπῶ τὸ ποιο·
 σφαλτὸ καὶ ἀδιόρθωτο καὶ κακογεγραμμένο,
 κι ἀπὸ τὴν παλαεδοτητα ἦτον διεφθαρμένο.....
 Ἡμεῖς, τὸ ἤμπορέσαμε, ἐκάμαμε μὲ κόπον,
 κι ἂν ἔν σφαλμένο τίποτες εἰς κανέναν τόπον,
 σὲ ρίμα ἢ εἰς ἔννοιαν ἢ εἰς κανέναν τρόπον,
 τὸ σφάλλειν ἔναι τῶν βροτῶν καὶ τῶν θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.

(Vv.2-10, 19-22)

Stylistic evidence also confirms the hypothesis that Zinos cannot have been the author of the Rimada: the one work definitely known to have been written by Zinos - the translation into MG of the Batrachomyomachia¹⁾ - is a much more skilful composition. It is not overloaded with redundant expressions such as τὸ λοιπὸν, γάρ, τότε, as the Rimada is, and it is clearly the work of a more educated man, as an excerpt will show:

“Ολους λοιπὸν παρακαλῶ (νῆ ᾗχετε τὴν ὑγείαν σας)
εἰς νοσὺν καλὰ νῆ βάλετε, ν’ ἀνοίξετε τ’ αὐτιά σας,
ν’ ἀκοῦσετε γιὰ τὴν ἀφορμὴν οἱ κουντικοὶ ἔποτταν
στοὺς βορθακοὺς μάχην πολλήν, κ’ εἰς πόλεμον ἔμπηκαν,
κι ἀνθρώπους ἐμιμήθησαν, τοὺς παλαιοὺς τοὺς ἄνδρες
(ὥσάν τὸ λέγουν κι ἔδεται) τοὺς φοβεροὺς γιγάντες.

(Vv. 7-12)

1) The probable date of publication is 1539 - see BH XV/XVI No.100. It was reprinted by Martin Crusius in his Turcograecia (1584) and subsequently by Lang (1707), Ilgen (1791), Lécuse (1829), Mullach (1837), Katramis (1880) etc.

A difference may also be perceived between the language of the Epilogue, which must be assumed to have been written by Zinos, and that of the Rimada itself: in particular, the former employs a very high proportion of learned elements e.g. ὀρθογεγραμμένο, κακογεγραμμένο, οὐκ οἶδα, ἡμεῖς, τὸ σφάλλειν, βροτῶν, θνητῶν, ἐκέκτητο, συνειδός, τὰς χεῖρας, ταύτην, ἐπὶ γῆς, φύλαξον ἑμοί, εἰ δέ, etc.¹⁾

The obvious conclusion is, therefore, that the Rimada is not the work of the same man as the Epilogue and it follows that Dimitrios Zinos cannot have been the author of the Rimada.²⁾ At this point an excursion will be made to consider what is known about the life and literary activities of Zinos.

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- 1) The Rimada is not of course devoid of learned elements itself (see Ch. 6, section D.1) but they occur with much greater frequency in the Epilogue. Another difference is that εὐνοῦχος has its correct accentuation in the Epilogue v.33, while it is wrongly accented εὐνουχος at v.1329.
 - 2) This conclusion (Legrand's) has been accepted by H. Gleixner, Der Alexanderbild der Byzantiner, 69, Knös, L'histoire de la littérature néo-grecque, 310, Mitsakis, BNJ 20, 1968, 236, and Veloudis, op.cit., 72.

Dimitrios Zinos

All the references to him mention Zakynthos as his native island, but the year of his birth is unknown. It is possible that he was related to the scholar Alexander Zeno, as has been suggested by Katramis¹⁾, but without any proof being adduced. Zeno was a Greek Uniate priest who succeeded Dimitrios Chalkondylis as Professor of Greek letters at Padua University ca. 1473 and occupied the chair for four years.²⁾

The first recorded publication in which Zinos played a part seems to have been the first edition of the poem "Ἠένθεος θανάτου, ζωῆς μύταλον, καὶ πρὸς Θεὸν ἐπιστροφῇ", which appeared in March 1524.³⁾ Although no copy of this edition survives, the prologue to the second edition of 1543⁴⁾, headed "Α. ΤΟΥ ΖΗΝΟΥ", clearly indicates the date of the first, and names its editor as follows:

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- 1) Op.cit., 255. Katramis has also suggested that Zinos may perhaps have studied in Italy with his relative.
 - 2) See Facciolatus, Fasti gymnasii patavani (1757) I p.1v, Geanakoplos, Greek Scholars in Venice, p.38.
 - 3) BH XV/XVI I No.69, BI I No.6.
 - 4) BH XV/XVI I No.102, BI I No.28.

Διὰ νὰ μάθετε λοιπὸν 'ς τὸ τόπον ἐτυπώθη,
 πόνος καὶ δεξιότητι, καὶ ποῖος τὸ ἀναλώθη,
 Δημήτριος κατ' ὄνομα, Ζήνος τὸ ἐπινόμι,
 ἐτοῦτο ἐτυπώθηκε μὲ τὴν δική μου γνώμη.
 Γραικῶν ὑπάρχω γενεᾶ, Ζακύνθου πατριώτης,
 'ς τὴν Βενετιὰν ἐγένετον, τὸ ἄνθος τῆς ὁλότης.

From the above, it appears that Zinos also sustained the expenses of publication, which suggests that he was already by 1524 a man of some standing. From this it may be inferred that he was born during the last decade or two of the fifteenth century.

Two other works published in 1524 at the da Sabbio press bear the name of Zinos: a Psalter¹⁾

- " πόνω καὶ δεξιότητι Δημητρίου τοῦ Ζήνου, τοῦ ἐκ Ζακύνθου "; and an ἑρμολόγιον²⁾ dated 13 August 1524, " πόνω καὶ δεξιότητι Δημητρίου τοῦ Ζήνου, τοῦ Ζακυνθίου ". For these works, then, Zinos served as editor and corrector i.e. he was responsible

1) BH XV/XVI I No.70, BI I No.7.

2) BH XV/XVI I No.71, BI I No.8.

for obtaining a reliable manuscript of the work to be published, preparing it for the press and correcting the proofs. Other liturgical books for which he performed the same function are the Πεντηκοστόριον of 1525¹⁾, the Ψαλτήριον of 1534²⁾, and the Τριώδιον of 1538.³⁾ For another publication his role was that of financial backer, in partnership with a certain Menander Nuntius (or Noukios). The book in question is Ἡ Θεία Λειτουργία τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου, published in August 1528 by Giovanni Antonio da Sabbio and his brothers, "sumptu & expensis D. Demetrii Zini Zacynthii: & D. Menandri Nuntii Corcyraei sociis".⁴⁾ In all his known publications Zinos' name is associated with the press of the da Sabbio family, whose importance as printers of liturgical books and works in MG in the

1) BH XV/XVI III No.270, BI I No.9.

2) BH XV/XVI III No.333, BI I No.18.

3) BH XV/XVI I No.96, BI I No.21.

4) BH XV/XVI I No.80, BI I No.13.

first half of the 16th century cannot be underestimated.¹⁾

Not all Zinos' activities, however, are directly connected with printed books. He was according to Legrand "le prototype de certains Grecs du seizième siècle, pauvres hères qui, malgré leurs professions multiples, en étaient réduits à vivre au jour la journée. Nous le voyons tour à tour compositeur d'imprimerie, éditeur, traducteur, calligraphe et marchand de manuscrits".²⁾ For his work as a manuscript copyist he was numbered among the best Greek calligraphers by Montfaucon³⁾, who mentioned a Commentary on the Psalms copied by Zinos and preserved

1) See Kondosopoulos, "Τὰ ἐν Βενετία Τυπογραφεῖα 'Ελληνικῶν Βιβλίων κατὰ τὴν Τουρκοκρατίαν", Ath. LVIII, 1954, 293ff.; A. Raes, "Les livres liturgiques grecs publiés à Venise", Mélanges Eugène Tisserant (= Studi e Testi 233) 1964, 211ff.; E. Follieri, "Su alcuni libri greci stampati a Venezia nella prima metà del cinquecento", Contributi alla storia del libro italiano - Miscellanea in onore di Lamberto Donati, Florence 1969, 119-164 esp. 161ff.

2) BH XV/XVI I p.179.

3) Palaeographia Graeca, p.513: "Codex ejusdem illustrissimi Abbatis Dominici Passionei, ubi anonymus in Psalmos in fine habet Ἐξεγράφη τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον κατὰ Δημητρίου τοῦ Ζήνου Ζακυνθίου. Scriptus est hic liber a Demetrio Zeno Zacynthio". See Katramis, op.cit., p.257.

in the Bibliotheca Angelica, Rome.¹⁾ Another manuscript written by Zinos still survives in the Escorial Library. It contains a Paraphrase of the Nicomachean Ethics and is numbered 157 (formerly T-II-18).²⁾

There may have been other manuscripts written by Zinos at the Escorial: according to d'Aristarchi³⁾, he copied at Venice, probably for Diego Hurtado de Mandoza, some manuscripts which bear his signature and are in the Escorial. Two other manuscripts have been attributed to Zinos' hand, both in the Bodleian Library, Oxford: Auct. E. 1. 5 f.289 - end (a Commentary on the Psalms), and Auct. E. 2. 11 ff.1-94 (Clement of

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- 1) The manuscript, dated 1534, had formerly been in the possession of Cardinal Passionei, but is now lost; see Piccolomini, Studi Italiani 4, 1896, 16 and 6, 183, Vogel-Gardthausen, Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance, p.101.
 - 2) A. Revilla, Catálogo de los códices griegos de la Biblioteca de El Escorial, Vol. I (1936), p.501. The Paraphrase has been mistakenly attributed to John Cantacuzene, amongst others; see D.M. Nicol, "A Paraphrase of the Nicomachean Ethics attributed to the Emperor John VI Cantacuzene", Byzantinoslavica XXIX, 1968, 1-16.
 - 3) "Les Grecs à l'Escorial", Πεντηκονταετηρίς του έν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Έλληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1861-1911) Supplement to Vol. 34, 1913-21, 372.

Alexandria).¹⁾ These attributions are perhaps not absolutely certain, though the watermarks certainly point to Venice as the origin of the paper.²⁾ Of these four manuscripts only the lost Angelicanus was dated (1534), so that it is not possible to infer from them any further indications as to Zinos' life-span than what is already known.

Another aspect of his work, however, does shed further light on the question. He was entrusted by Jerome Fondulo with the task of collecting Greek manuscripts for Francis I. After touring Corfu, Zakynthos and other neighbouring areas, he managed to acquire "quarante pièces de libvres" and presented himself to the French ambassador at Venice, who recommended him to Pierre du Chastel, the royal librarian, in a letter dated 10 July 1540. Later the same year Zinos was entertained by the Bishop of Montpelier

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- 1) E. Lobel, "Cardinal Pole's Manuscripts", Proceedings of the British Academy XVII, 1931, 97-101: for corrections to the numbering see Canart, Scriptorium 17, 1963, 62.
 - 2) In particular the presence of the "star surmounted by anchor"; see C.M. Briquet, Les Filigranes, (edited by Allan Stevenson) Amsterdam, 1968, Vol. 1, p.40.

while engaged in correcting for him the texts of good Greek authors.¹⁾

The activities of Zinos which are documented thus cover the period from 1524 to 1540 and range from manuscript copying to editing and correcting, as well as financial enterprises as publisher and dealer in manuscripts. The time has now come to consider the extent of his contribution to the text of the Rimada, as it is presented in the first edition of 1529.

Little research has so far been devoted to the study of the methods employed by the early editors of MG texts. However, from the investigation of the 1529 edition of the Theseid undertaken by Follieri²⁾, it seems that sometimes quite extensive changes took place in the course of the process of transforming a

1) BH XV/XVI I, 179-180.

2) See especially "La versione in greco volgare del Teseida di Boccaccio", Studi Bizantini e Neocellenici 7, 1953 (= Atti dello VIII Congresso Internazionale di Studi Bizantini), 67-77.

manuscript into a printed text.¹⁾ That some changes were introduced by Zinos into the text of the Rimada is implicit in his statement that the manuscript he used as the basis of his edition was "σφαλτὸ καὶ ἀδιόρθωτο καὶ κακογεγραμμένο" (E9) and, later, "Ἡμεῖς, τὸ ἠμπορέσαμε, ἐκάμαμε μὲ κόπον κ.τ.λ." (E19). The precise nature and extent of his contribution will, however, never be known (except in the unlikely event

1) The modifications noted by Follieri from her comparison of Cod. Paris. 2898 with the edition and the manuscript used by the printers (Palat. gr. 426) are (op.cit., pp.71-2): corrections of metrical irregularities, removal of apparent illogicalities, introduction of a slightly more literary language, elimination of some Italian loanwords and replacement of elision by aphaeresis. However, it cannot be excluded that some of these changes took place in the course of transmission and were not introduced by whoever prepared the text for printing. A comparison of manuscript Palat. gr. 426 with the manuscripts known to have been copied by Zinos show extremely close similarities of letter formation and orthographic practice (allowing for the fact that the former is a roughly-written working copy for the press while the others are calligraphic copies). When the numerous linguistic similarities between the editions of the Rimada and the Theseid and the curious practice of substituting aphaeresis for elision (see Ch.6 p.247) are added to this, it seems almost certain that Dimitrios Zinos was the editor of the 1529 edition of the Theseid and the writer of manuscript Palat. gr. 426. In a letter dated 3 April 1971, Professor Enrica Follieri, the editor of Book I of the Theseid accepts the identification of Zinos as the editor of the first edition.

of a manuscript of the Rimada being discovered in the future), but it can certainly not be a question of wholesale improvement or rewriting. The Rimada is, on the whole, in very close agreement with the earlier prose versions (particularly, of course, with manuscript P), none of which can have been available to Zinos to enable him to correct the poem by comparing it with its antecedents. Besides, the popular, unscholarly and sometimes barbaric character of the work remains unimpaired - or rather unimproved. It seems likely, therefore, that Zinos' contribution was restricted to trivia - orthography and spelling, distribution of final -v, the occasional improvement of rhyme and metre etc. Probably, too, some of the blame for the corrupt state of many of the proper names of the text must be attributed to Zinos' misreading of the barely legible manuscript he had to deal with.¹⁾

But if Zinos was not the author of the Rimada, who was? Only one other name has been mentioned in

1) Metre, however, shows that much of the corruption was already present in the text written by the anonymous versifier, and perhaps also in his prose model.

this connection, that of Markos Defaranas. Another native of Zakynthos, he is known as the author of two didactic poems written in the first half of the 16th century: the Λόγοι Διδακτικοί τοῦ Πατρὸς πρὸς τὸν υἱόν¹⁾ which is in fact a plagiarism of the work of the same title by the Cretan Marinos Falieros²⁾; and the Ἱστορία τῆς Ζακύνθου.³⁾ Legrand was the first to suggest that Defaranas may have written the Rimada: "L'auteur de ce poème est peut-être Marc Depharanas, de Zante."⁴⁾ More recent scholars have tended to abandon the theory that Defaranas may have been the author⁵⁾, arguing that linguistic differences and the absence of an acrostic (by which method Defaranas

1) Edited by S. Karaiskaki, Λογογραφία 11, 1934/7, 1-66; for corrections and additions see Kriaras, Ath. 46, 1935, 136-152 and Georgakas, EEBS 11, 1935, 507-510.

2) M. Manousakas, Ἡ Κρητικὴ Λογοτεχνία κατὰ τὴν ἐποχὴ τῆς Βενετοκρατίας (1965) p.18 and note 1.

3) Edited by Legrand, Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire Vol. I (1880), 269-280.

4) BH XV/XVI I No.129, p.289. But Legrand later refers to "l'Alexandre de Démétrius Zénos", ibid., IV, pp.38-9.

5) S. Papadimitriu, Ὁ Στέφανος Χαλκίκης καὶ τὸ ποίημά του Ἀθήνησις Παρθεένος, Odessa 1896, p.227 (this work was not available for consultation); Karaiskaki, op.cit., p.5f.

identifies himself as author of his two known works) exclude that possibility. Veloudis¹⁾, however, has tentatively revived the hypothesis of Defaranas as author, pointing to similarities between the mention of Olympias' adultery with Nectanebo in the Λόγοι Διδασκτικοί and the way the story is related in the Rimada. The relevant verses in Defaranas' poem are:

'Ιδὲς αὐτεῖνο τόκαμε αὐτεῖν' ἡ 'Ολυμπιάδα,
 τ' ἄνδρὸς τῆς κάμνει κέρατα μεγάλα σὰν λαμπάδα.
 Μὲ κεῖνον τὸν Νεκτεναβόν, ποῦτονε ὅκ τὴν 'Τυπτίαν,
 μ' αὐτεῖνον κατακίδεσθκε [καί] κάμνει τὴν ἁμαρτίαν.
 Καὶ λέει τ' ἄνδρὸς τῆς Φίλιππου ὅτι μὲ τὴν γητεῖα(ν)
 αὐτεῖνη ἐγγαστρώθηκε κ' ἦτουνε ἡ αἰτία.

(Vv. 673-8) 2)

The phraseology of the above quotation is not particularly close to anything in the Rimada; on the contrary, the metaphorical significance of κέρατα is

1) Op.cit., pp.73-4.

2) The passage comes from a section of the poem which is not based on Falieros.

something which did not occur to the versifier of the Rimada. Certainly there are linguistic similarities between the works of Defaranas and the Rimada, but this is only to be expected in compositions which originate from the same dialectal area and which draw on a common cultural stock of semi-oral and folk poetry. The reference to Olympias and Nectanebo may derive from the Rimada, but as the theme is also found in the earlier prose versions of the Romance Defaranas' knowledge of it may equally well have originated from one of them.

However, the major objection to Defaranas as the author of the Rimada, pace Veloudis¹⁾, is one of style and expression. A wide gulf separates the maladroit versification of the Rimada, which employs τὸ λοιπόν, γάρ, τότε etc. ad nauseam for metrical convenience, from the comparatively more sophisticated tone of Defaranas' works (though the latter are no masterpieces) - a gulf which cannot be ascribed purely

1) Op.cit., p.74; he maintains that "linguistic" differences cannot exclude that Defaranas was the author of the Rimada.

to the editorial intervention of Zinos. The only possible conclusion, therefore, as to the connection of Defaranas with the Rimada can be that of Krumbacher¹⁾: "Die Vermutung von E. Legrand..... dass dem Depharanas auch die gereimte Bearbeitung der Geschichte Alexanders der Grossen gehöre, ist nicht stichhaltig".

Two other contemporary Zantiotes who might be considered as possible candidates for the authorship of the Rimada are Tzane Koronaios and Pachomios Rousanos. In both cases there are strong arguments against their having written the Rimada: the former's work 'Ἀνόρτα-Οἶματα τοῦ Νεσκουροῦ Μανόα'²⁾, though containing many dialectal elements, abounds in archaisms, accent violations and metrical licences to a vastly greater extent than the Rimada, and in any case it is possible that Koronaios died in 1527³⁾; Rousanos, well known for his attack on the Venetian printers for the numerous

1) Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur, 2nd ed. 1897, p.822.

2) Published by Sathas in his 'Ἑλληνικά Ἀνέκδοτα Α'', 1867, 1-153.

3) Knös, op.cit., p.314.

misprints their books contained¹⁾, was not born until 1508²⁾, which virtually rules him out of consideration as the versifier of the Rimada.

Thus the Rimada must remain an anonymous work. All that is known about its author is that he was a Zantiote and roughly contemporary with Zinos. That he was a man of no great education is obvious from the style of his work. He can perhaps best be described as a man with some facility for versification and feeling for rhythm who had learned to read and write, but who lacked sufficient originality to compose a story of his own or to add any new material to an existing one. In a less literate age he would probably have been simply a story-teller.

Though Zinos preserved for posterity the name of the author of another work for whose publication he

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- 1) See Lambros, "Αἱ κατὰ τῶν τυπογράφων τῆς Βενετίας ἀλλοτρίαι τοῦ Κωνσταντοῦ Λαζάρου καὶ τοῦ Παχ. Ρουσάνου", NE 2, 1905, 337-351, esp. 344ff.
 - 2) See Kondosopoulos, op.cit., 310. Rousanos was in any case a more scholarly man than whoever wrote the Rimada.

was responsible - Youstos Glykos' Πένθος θανάτου ¹⁾ - he chose to remain silent about the author of the Rimada, whose identity he certainly knew. It is not too fanciful to suggest that this silence on the part of Zinos may have been deliberate - a punishment for the author's failure to co-operate with him by providing him with a fair copy of his work for publication.

The circumstances of the publication of the editio princeps

It is now time to examine in greater detail the events and processes leading up to the publication, on 15th September 1529, of the first edition of the Rimada.

The poem was written some years before this date, if the evidence of the Epilogue that the manuscript used by Zinos was an old and dilapidated one can

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- 1) The relevant verses of the prologue are:
 Ποίημα ἐστὶν τὸ ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ἔβγαλμα 'κ τῆς Κορώνης,
 ἀπὸ τῶν Γιοῦστον τὸν σοφόν, τρέχουσιν δύο χρόνοι,
 [ποῦ] τὸν νοῦν εἶχεν φρόνιμον, πρᾶξιν τε καὶ θεωρίαν,
 καὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Γλυκοῦ, πᾶσαι εἰς ἀκρόαν....

see BH XV/XVI I No.102, pp.238-240.

be relied upon. It is difficult to estimate the necessary time required for a work of this nature to become well-known but perhaps 10 years is the minimum possible interval between composition and publication. A terminus post quem for the composition of the Rimada is offered by the fact that its author seems to have been familiar with the Κομπορέβνητος of Georgios Choumnos¹⁾, which was written about 1490.²⁾ All that can be said about the date of composition of the Rimada is, therefore, that in all probability it was written some time between 1490 and 1520.³⁾

From vv.2ff. of the Epilogue it seems that the initiative for the publication came from "ἐκστὺς τοῦ τῷ τῷ" ". This phrase might possibly refer to Zinos himself, whom we should call the editor, or to the actual printer Giovanni Antonio da Sabbio,

1) See Chapter 5.

2) See M.I. Μανουδάκης, "Ὁ Πρωτὴς Γεώργιος Κομνός, Νοτάριος Χάνδακος", ΕΕΒΣ 21, 1951, 280-2.

3) Veloudis (op.cit., p.72) is perhaps not far out when he estimates the date of composition as circa 1500 on the evidence that the author was still alive in 1529 (according to the Epilogue) and the manuscript used by Zinos was an old one.

or to the financial backer Damiano di Santa Maria who is named in the colophon.¹⁾ The first possibility, that Zinos is referring to himself, is improbable for he goes on to do so in the first person at v.15ff. Although Stefano da Sabbio knew MG - he was the author of the quadrilingual phrase-book entitled Corona Preciosa, published in 1527²⁾ - there is no evidence to suggest that his brother Giovanni Antonio did so, and it is therefore unlikely that he played any part beyond that of undertaking the actual printing of the Rimada.

The third possibility is the most likely one. The colophon states that the Rimada was printed "at the instance of Damiano di Santa Maria". Damiano³⁾, a native of Spič^v in Illyria, was active as a publisher in Venice from 1524 until 1553, during which time he was concerned exclusively with Greek books - liturgical

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- 1) The colophon reads: Finito Alexandro Magno Stampato in Venetia per Giovan Antonio & Fratelli da Sabbio. ad instantia di M. Damiano de Santa Maria, nel MDXXIX.
 - 2) See Follieri, "Su alcuni libri greci...." p.128.
 - 3) For an informative biographical sketch of Damiano see Follieri, ibid., p.156ff.

and popular - destined for the Greek-speaking population of Italy, Greece and elsewhere, i.e. not for the scholars of the west. It is, therefore, virtually certain that he spoke MG, and there are also some indications that his activities were not restricted to providing financial backing, but that he also took an interest in the text and illustrations of the works he published.¹⁾

It is probable, then, that Damiano conceived the idea of producing for the Greeks a version of the Alexander Romance similar to that which was available to Italian readers.²⁾ At length, perhaps through Zinos, he heard of a MG version of the Romance suitable for popular consumption, and managed to secure a manuscript copy of it. Unfortunately the manuscript was badly written and in a generally shabby condition, so Zinos was asked to obtain from the author himself, who

1) Follieri, op.cit., p.160. He was responsible for planning the illustrations of the 1526 edition of Loukanis' Iliad.

2) The Alexandreida in Rima had been published first in 1512 and again in 1521; see D'Essling, Les livres à figures vénétiens, Seconde Partie, Florence/Paris 1909, pp.244-5.

was perhaps an acquaintance of his, a fair copy for publication. The author's copy never arrived and so Zinos was obliged to make the best of a bad job and prepare the existing manuscript for the press.¹⁾ How he did so has already been touched upon.²⁾ Most of the changes will have been slight, but certain features of the printed text require closer investigation, viz. the chapter-headings and the " ~~printed~~ " or proverbs.

The Chapter-headings

To consider first the chapter-headings, which number 58 in all, the first striking fact about them is that they are scattered haphazardly about the text, neither dividing it up into sections of roughly equal length, nor always referring to the whole of the passage which follows before the next heading is reached. In general their substance is taken from the verses which

1) Veloudis, op.cit., p.73. A different view, now abandoned, of the events leading up to the first edition was suggested by the present writer in Balkan Studies 10, 1969, 186.

2) See above p116-7.

immediately precede or follow them and they thus contribute nothing to the narrative itself. (The exception is v.458a where there would otherwise be no introduction to Alexander's letter - or rather speech, as it should be - to the Greeks). In some instances the chapter-heading does not quite tally with the narrative e.g. 1770a refers to ἀποκρισάροι whereas the body of the text mentions only one ἄνθρωπος ; 1410a uses the word διαλαλιᾷ while the narrative refers to a γραφή . Sometimes the heading is very succinct and does not actually repeat or paraphrase the narrative, e.g. 842a Δαρείου πόλεμος πρῶτος ; 1332a ὁδὸς Δαρείου . There is a small group of genuine chapter-headings, which do in fact summarise the narrative of a fairly long passage which follows. Such are: 332a περὶ τὸ δικάζειν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Νικολάου, 258a, περὶ τὸ πῶς ἐσυνέβη ὁ θάνατος τοῦ Ἑκταναβοῦ, 124e περὶ τὸ πῶς ἐνέμπαιξεν ὁ Νεκταναβὸς τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα.

However, the vast majority of the 58 are drawn from lines in their immediate vicinity. Their language tends to be of a somewhat more formal character than

the text itself e.g. ἕτερος instead of ἕλλος (980a), σῶμα for κορμῆν (2926a), and frequently the relative ἣν (786a etc.) which is nowhere used in the main body of the text.

This more formal language, together with the occasional discrepancies between heading and text (in the instances cited above it is the heading which is correct), suggest that the chapter-headings may derive from an earlier prose text. This is probable, for it seems to have been customary in texts of the Alexander Romance (and in other medieval Greek manuscripts) to break up the narrative by means of rubric headings, which served not only to beautify the manuscript but also to facilitate reference to a particular passage. Whether all the headings derive from the prose ancestor of the Rimada or whether some were added by the poet himself, or by later copyists, or by the editor, cannot be determined.¹⁾

1) Since they are superfluous to the understanding of the text, and to the modern reader - who relies on verse or chapter numbers for reference - more of a tiresome hindrance, especially when they interrupt and unnecessarily duplicate the narrative, they have been relegated to the apparatus criticus of the present edition and not incorporated in the general numbering-scheme.

The "Γνωμικά"

Under the heading Γνωμικόν are found in the first edition of the Rimada (and in later editions) ten short passages, each consisting of one or two rhyming couplets, and all of a sententious character. They have been numbered in the present edition as follows: 20a-b, 34a-d, 42a-d, 54a-d, 124a-d, 182a-b, 184a-b, 202a-b, 276a-d and 394a-b. All are in rhyming trochaic octosyllabics, except the last, the first line of which appears to be in trochaic 14 syllable metre, but the second has an additional syllable at the beginning which makes it equivalent to a political verse.

All of them occur in the first 400 verses of the Rimada, which suggests that whoever was responsible for their incorporation - they do not derive from the tradition of the Alexander Romance - had intended to adorn the work throughout with such "morals" but for some reason abandoned his intention. Similar or identical proverbs to six of these ten have been discovered in collections of proverbs or elsewhere.¹⁾

1) See the relevant portions of the Commentary.

Another sententious saying of a similar kind is found embodied in the text itself:

Τοῦ φίλου ὁποῦ λέγουσι μὴ οὐδὲ κατὰ τὴν ὥρα,
καὶ τρίτο πᾶντα τέρχεται κ' ἔναι κακὴ τοῦ μέρα.

(Vv. 2357-8)

For the interpretation of this obscure couplet the Commentary should be consulted, but the point to be made here is that the couplet greatly resembles in tone (and in unintelligibility) many of the other *Γνωμικά* under discussion. Moreover, it too does not derive from any known version of the Alexander Romance. This suggests that the *Γνωμικά* are the work of the same man who put the Romance into verse, the anonymous author of the *Rimada*. Their attribution to the editor, Zinos, would in any case be difficult, for their random insertion in the text, their jumbled language and trite moralising sentiments are at odds with our other notions of the rather scholarly and methodical Zinos.¹⁾

1) For instance, his *Batrachomyomachia* is entirely free of any ethico-didactic comment.

The logical conclusion, then, about the origin of the "ῥωμικά" is this: in the course of writing the Rimada, the anonymous versifier hit upon the idea of inserting appropriate moralising comments at various points of the narrative. For this purpose he drew on existing proverbs, where necessary adapting them to the required metrical form; when no suitable proverb was known to him, he composed one of his own. (In this second group must be classed some of the less intelligible "ῥωμικά", such as vv.42a-d and 54a-d). These proverbs were then placed under the heading ῥωμικὸν and inserted in the text - an arrangement which was not disturbed by the editor of the printed edition. After writing about 400 verses in this way, the author decided to discontinue this plan, perhaps because he had run out of suitable proverbs, or perhaps because he had conceived the better idea of incorporating moralising comment in the poem itself when the occasion arose, as he in fact did at, for example, vv.1347-52, 1375-80, 1385-6, 1885-8, 2355-8 and 2822.

In the present edition the "ῥωμικά" have been removed from the main body of the text, in spite of the fact that they are probably the work of the

author of the Rimada, because they are not part of the Alexander Romance proper and because they are metrically distinct from the poem.

The Illustrations

The final element of the first edition of the Rimada which remains to be discussed is its illustration. The fourteen woodcuts purport to depict various scenes from the Alexander Romance. In fact, with one exception, they are clichés from a set of illustrations originally used for the first edition of Loukanis' Iliad (1526).¹⁾ They were apparently planned and commissioned by Damiano for that purpose and executed by a certain Carnesecca.²⁾ Although they were specifically intended to illustrate the Iliad, they were later used as clichés in other books printed by the da Sabbio press and other later printers.³⁾ One

1) See BH XV/XVI I No.75, pp.188-92. The text is edited by Legrand in Collection de Monuments.... No.5 (1870).

2) See Follieri, "Su alcuni libri greci....", pp.124-6. The information derives from the 18th century scholar Christoph August Heumann.

3) For a detailed account of their appearance in later editions see Appendix II.

such book is the Alexander poem which is the subject of this study. Thirteen of the clichés are employed to depict scenes from the Alexander Romance, though in many cases they are quite inappropriate.¹⁾

The fourteenth illustration derives from a different source: it depicts Alexander riding Bucephalus and comes from the 1521 edition of the Alexandreida in Rima.²⁾ It is thus the only one of the illustrations which was originally intended by its executor to refer to the story of Alexander. It seems likely that it was borrowed by the da Sabbio press for the purpose of the Alexander poem and, presumably, later returned to its owner Bernadino de Viano di Lissona³⁾, for in later editions of the Rimada it is replaced by another woodcut.

The selection and arrangement of the woodcuts for the Rimada was probably the task of Damiano, as is suggested by Follieri.⁴⁾

1) See Holton, Balkan Studies 11, 1970, 200.

2) D'Essling, op.cit., 2nd part, I 244-5.

3) It appears again in the Alexandreida of 1535 which was printed by Giovanni Andrea de Vavassore; see D'Essling, op.cit., Seconde Partie, I 244.

4) Op.cit., p.160.

To summarise, the people who may be assumed to have participated in the publication of the Rimada, apart from its anonymous author, are: Damiano di Santa Maria, the financial backer and instigator of the enterprise, who also probably had some hand in the editorial process, at least as far as the provision of illustrations was concerned; Dimitrios Zinos, who was responsible for preparing and editing the manuscript for the press and correcting proofs, and who may also have set up some of the type himself (for he is known to have been a compositor); and, finally, Giovanni Antonio da Sabbio, on whose press the Rimada was printed, but who probably had no editorial role in its production.

CHAPTER 5 : LITERARY ASPECTS OF THE RIMADA

Style

Any discussion of the style of a popular versification such as the present work will inevitably revolve primarily around the question of how closely the adaptor adheres to his prose model. This problem has already been touched on in Chapter 3. Suffice it to say here that, although there can be no direct knowledge of the author's model, it may be deduced that he followed it rather closely, but with a certain amount of simplification of complex ideas. Although his ability to versify a prose text is clearly quite fluent, clarity of meaning is frequently sacrificed to metrical demands, e.g. vv.51-2:

'Εγρόμην καὶ τὰ λόγια τοὺς καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ν' ἀκούσῃ,

τ' ἀφέντη τοὺς τοῦ Κτεναβοῦ, ὁπίσω νὰ γυρίσῃ.

Much juggling with word order has been resorted to in order to conform with the demands of the metre, with the result that the sense is barely intelligible.¹⁾

1) For a possible emendation see the Commentary ad loc.

Even then the versifier has not managed to produce a perfect rhyme.

In his desire to follow the fifteen-syllable metre as strictly as possible he employs a variety of expedients. The most noticeable of these is the frequent use of virtually meaningless adverbs - τὸ λοιπὸν, τὸ λοιπονές, τότε(ς), ἐτότες, γὰρ etc. - to a quite nauseous degree. In the same way νά, γιὰ νά and even διὰ νά (three syllables) are interchangeable, depending solely on the number of syllables required.

These "tricks", which are typical of folk poetry of this kind, give the poem an oral flavour, although there is no question of oral composition or transmission in this case: it is merely that some of the techniques of the oral poet have survived in the style of the popular versifier. Oral technique may also be observed in the use of certain formulaic expressions which are common to many other early MG verse texts, particularly the verse romances. Such are, for example, μικροί τε καὶ μεγάλοι (228 etc.), κηδᾶ, καβαλικεύει (1210), δὲν εἶχε τί νά ποίση (157 etc.), καὶ νά μηδὲν ἀργήση (158 etc.).

Another means by which the versifier regulates his text to conform with metre, is the use of a great variety of forms of proper names: e.g. there are the nominatives Νεκτεναβός, Νεκτεναβός, Ἐκτεναβός, Κτεναβός, accusatives Κτεναβόν and Ἐκτεναβῶνα, genitives Κτεναβοῦ, Ἐκτεναβοῦ and Κτεναβῶνος; similarly Ὀλυμπιάς is variously declined on the basis of nominatives Ὀλυμπιάς, Ὀλυμπιάδα, Λυμπιάδα, Ὀλυμπία and Ὀλυμπίας. It is easy to ascribe this multiplicity to the author's lack of education. In part it no doubt stems from that. But it is well to remember that a diversity of forms for proper names is a recurring feature of Greek poetry throughout its history. Even Homer and Kornaros availed themselves of or created forms which would fit different parts of their line of verse, so there is no reason why one should not grant this concession also to the much lowlier poet of the Rimada.

The versifier sometimes adds to his model a line which contributes little or nothing to the sense, but merely completes a couplet e.g. 70, 80, 88, 102, 148 etc. More rarely he adds passages of greater

length, but never more than a dozen lines.¹⁾ In some cases it is not possible to tell whether it is a question of free creative writing by the poet or whether the prose model itself already had the passage. Many of these passages are in any case merely repetitions but they do include some lines which are among the few in the poem to have any sort of claim to poetic merit. Darius' lament is a good example:

Εἰς τὸ καλᾶτι Δάρειος ἦλθε καὶ τοῦτο λέγει,
τὸ ἔνδυμά του ἔριψε, φαρμακεμένα κλαίγει·
καὶ ὁ νός του ὁ ταπεινὸς μέσα του ἐβρουχάτου,
καὶ πρὸς τὴν τύχην πόλεψε πολλὰ παραπονάτου·
"Οὐαὶ σ' ἐμένα," ἔλεγε, "πληθος πολὺ κοῦ χάθη,
ἐκ τὴν στρατεῖα π' ὄριζα, πόλεγα πόσο νά 'λθῃ·
καὶ βασιλέας ἄνθρωπος ἔρημος ν' ἀπομένω.
Λοικὸν ἡ τύχης εἰς αὐτὸ μ' εἶχε μεμετρημένο...."

(1229-1236)

1) For a complete list of elements which are not present in the A or β texts of the Romance, some of which are authentic features preserved by other Greek or non-Greek versions, while others must be attributed to the author either of the Rimada or of its prose model, see Appendix I.

Again, the poet expresses his personal indignation at the murder of Darius:

σκοτώνουν τὸν ἀφέντη τοὺς ἕκτεν' οἱ ὀργισμένοι,
εἰπέτε μου, τί κέρδισαν οἱ 'ναθεματισμένοι;
"Ἔδ' ἀνομιὰ τὴν ἔκαμον, μεγάλη δόστω,
νὰ σφάξουν τὸν αὐθέντη τοὺς, δὲν εἶχαν ἁμαρτία;
καὶ τὸ ψωμὶ τοῦ τό 'φαγαν ἕκτενο νὰ τοὺς πνίξῃ,
καὶ νὰ τοὺς ἔλθῃ στὸ κορμὶ πολὺ κακὸ καὶ τήξῃ.

(1347-1352)

In the speech of the dying Darius the poet takes the opportunity to expand his model and add a certain amount of gnomic material (1371-1386). Similarly the poet adds some trite observations on the death of Poros (1882-1888). Candace's speech on revealing that she knows Alexander's identity is also amplified with material of a gnomic character (2355-60). The introduction to Alexander's will has some general observations on death and other things inserted (2821-4). Perhaps the episode of the death of Bucephalus is also the poet's own invention (2915-2926).

All the passages (with the exception of the last) have in common the fact that they contribute

nothing at all to the narrative, and most of them are of a gnomic or moralising character - comments on fate, death, sin, folly and the like. Thus they resemble that other category of added material which must be attributed to the poet: the Ερωμολογία. Their presence in the poem, like that of the other interpolations mentioned above, reflects the working of the popular mind, for which every dramatic or tragic happening has its appropriate comment.

To summarise: the style of the poem is in general flat and prosaic - a bare recital of events, only rarely alleviated by some comment of the poet. It is only in these comments that one can find anything to admire: the occasional felicitous, if well-worn, image ("the cup of death", "death's poisoned dart"), a more personal tone, a moralistic observation. Though it might perhaps be wished that the poet had contributed more to the poem of his own creation, one can scarcely doubt that the result, had he done so, would have resembled the many other ethico-didactic verse writings of this and earlier periods.

Similarities between the Rimada and other works

From the examination of the relationship between the Rimada and its sources it is clear that the versifier has made very little contribution of his own in the way of alterations or additions to the prose narrative on which he based his work. As a natural corollary to this there is very little in the Rimada which may be attributed to the influence of other works known to the author, with the exception of the formulaic expressions mentioned above which provided him with ready-made half-lines.

The one work of which there do seem to be definite echoes in the Rimada is the poem of Georgios Choumnos on Genesis and Exodus, known as Κοσμογέννησις. The following similarities have been noted:

- 1) 551-2 καὶ τὰ ποτάμια τὰ ἄκοῦς ἦσαν κινημένα. |
Λοιπὸν αὐτὰ ἐρχόντησαν, στῇ θάλασσᾳ παραίνα - σί.
Choumnos 14-15 τὰ νερά κινῶσι. | Λοιπὸν αὐτὰ
κινήσασιν....
- 2) 453-4 καὶ τοῦτα εἶπε Φίλιππος κ' ἐδιέβη ἡ ζωὴ του |
καὶ μετ' αὐτὴν ἐκλήρωσε κ' ἐβγήκε ἡ ψυχὴ του, una
1393-4 καὶ τοῦτα εἶπε Ἀδρειος κ' ἐδιέβη ἡ ζωὴ του, |

καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κλήρωσε κ' ἐβγήκε ἡ ψυχὴ του - cf.

Θουμπος 269-270 Ἔτι αὐτοῦ ἐφώνησεν καὶ ἐβγήκεν ἡ
ψυχὴ του, | καὶ μετ' αὐτὴν ἐπέρασεν ἡ ἔρημος ζωὴ του.

3) 549-550 Ἦλθε 'ς ποτάμι φοβερόν 'ς καὶ δώδεκα
παγαίνει, | πᾶσα ποτάμι τὸ λοιπὸν χωρὶς 'τον γεναμένη -

cf. Θουμπος 340-1 βλέπει ποτάμιν φοβερόν κ' εἰς
τέσσαρα μοιράζει, | πᾶσα ποτάμιν ἐξέχωρα τὸν δρόμον
του ἀνακράζει.

4) 683 ν' ἀποκρατῇ <ἡ> πνοή σου - cf. Θουμπος
816 ἀποκρατεῖ <ἡ> πνοή μου.

5) 891 Ὁ τόπος ἦτον ἄνυδρος - cf. Θουμπος 1227
Ἦταν ὁ τόπος ἄνυδρος....

6) 2753 Τώρα οὖν ἄς γυρίσωμε εἰς τὴν ἐπιβουλία - cf.
Θουμπος 282 Τώρα λοιπὸν(ν) ἄς γυρίσωμεν εἰς τοῦ
'Αδάμ τοῦ ξένου.

Taken together, these similarities compel the conclusion that Choumnos' work (written circa 1490) was known to the versifier of the Rimada. Two other pieces of evidence support the hypothesis that Choumnos' poem was well-known and popular in Zakynthos: (1) a folk song based on an episode from the poem appears to have survived almost down to the present day¹⁾; (2) a manuscript of Choumnos' work was in the possession of Bishop Katramis of Zakynthos, but apparently suffered the same fate as the rest of his library which he ordered to be burnt after his death.²⁾

There are also certain similarities of phrasing between the Rimada and Zinos' translation of the Batrachomyomachia:

- 1) v. 312 ἀπάνου του καθίζει - cf. Batrach. 120 verbatim;

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- 1) The evidence is found in Hist. Lex. s.v. ἀποκρατῶ, where the following couplet is quoted as coming from a Zakynthian folk song:

Κυρὰ βασιλοπούλλα μου, νὰ σῶσω μιὰ βυζάστρα
ν' ἀποκρατίζῃ τὸ παιδί μὲ τὴν πολλή της σκάστρα.

It is in fact vv.2189-90 of Choumnos' poem, with only slight alterations. So far I have been unable to ascertain whether the whole folk song is preserved in the archive of the Lexicon.

- 2) See M.I. Manousakas, "Ὁ Ποιητὴς Γεώργιος Χοῦμνος, Νοτ-
ῆριος Χάνδακος", EEBS 21, 1951, p.280.

2) vv.520, 580, 688 καὶ νὰ μηδὲν ἀργήσουν - cf.

Batrach. 186 verbatim;

3) vv.1278, 1452 δέχως κανέναν κόπον - cf. Batrach.

276 verbatim;

4) vv.1655-6 ἄνθρωποι ἄλλοι, | λοιπὸν στὸ στήθος εἶχανε
σῦτεῖνοι τὸ κεφάλι - cf. Batrach. 450-1 'Οπίσω εἰς
ταῖς πλάταις τοὺς εἶχαςι τὸ κεφάλι. | Εἶχαςι καὶ τὰ
'μμάτια τοὺς 'ς τὰ στήθη, 'ποῦ θωροῦσαν.

5) v.2049 Εἰς λίμνη καταντήσαμε - cf. Batrach. 15
κ' εἰς λίμνην ἐκατήντησε.

These may be explained on the hypothesis that Zinos recalled these phrases from the Rimada (in which he had been closely involved) when he came to compose his translation of the Batrachomyomachia a few years later (its probable date of publication is 1539), or simply as coincidence - for none of these phrases is particularly out of the ordinary. Certainly their presence in the Rimada in no way affects the conclusions already expressed about its authorship.

Finally, a few isolated coincidences of phrasing with other works may be noted:

1) v.235 τὸ ἦθος τοῦ 'τον θαυμαστόν cf. Achill. 98
τὸ κάλλος τοῦ ἦτον θαυμαστόν.

2) v.334 κ' ἔλαμπε ὡς ἀστέρας - cf. Thes. II 9.4

πῶλαμπε ὡς ἀστέρας.

3) v.383 σὰν νᾶ 'μουνα ἐχθρός σου - cf. Thes. Prol.

143 verbatim;

4) v.926 καὶ τὸ νερὸν τοῦ ποταμοῦ γένη σ' αὐτοῦς κιβούρι

- cf. Apokor. 360 καὶ τὸ νερὸν τ' ἀμέτρητον μᾶς ἔκαμεν

κιβούριν.

CHAPTER 6 : LANGUAGE AND VERSIFICATION

In the absence of a comprehensive grammar of the medieval Greek language, it is advisable and desirable that a thorough linguistic analysis of every medieval text should be undertaken by its editor.¹⁾ In this way the compilation of such a grammar will be facilitated. It is also necessary for this analysis to be carried out before any conclusions about the degree of education of the author (i.e. the extent to which he confuses and mixes popular and learned elements) or any identification of local idiom may be ventured.

The standpoint from which the following analysis is viewed is that of common spoken Modern Greek. Wherever possible, discussion of each phenomenon is followed by references to the standard philological works.

1) Cf. A. Mirambel, "Pour une grammaire historique du grec médiéval", Actes du 12^e Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines Vol. II (1964), 396.

A. Phonology

1. Vowels

(a) Vowel changes:

$e > i$ when another vowel follows: $\Theta\iota\acute{o}\varsigma^1$), $\kappa\lambda\iota\acute{o}$,
 $\kappa\lambda\iota\acute{\alpha}$, $\delta\rho\nu\iota\alpha$, $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\iota\omega\varsigma$ (957), $\acute{\omega}\rho\iota\omega\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$, $\Pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\mu\iota\acute{o}\varsigma$ etc.

This change is generally accompanied by a shift of accent (if the e was accented) which implies a consonantal pronunciation of ι (synizesis), (Thumb § 9, MNE I 332ff.); but there are other examples in which $-\acute{e}\alpha$ becomes $-\acute{\iota}\alpha$, i.e. the ι is pronounced as a separate vowel: $\mu\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$, $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ (1411). In the first case the change may be attributed to the analogical influence of the very large category of feminine nouns in $-\acute{\iota}\alpha$. The contrary change, however, may be seen in $\mu\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\alpha < \mu\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha$. (For a further discussion of this phenomenon see below, Section A.3.).

$i > e$ in the neighbourhood of a liquid: $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\rho\omega\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$,
 $\beta\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$, $\theta\epsilon\rho\iota\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu$ (but also $\theta\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$), $\mu\epsilon\rho\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$, $\phi\rho\acute{o}\nu\epsilon\sigma\eta$

1) In this chapter line-references are given generally only when this information cannot be obtained from the Glossary or Index of Proper Names.

(Einl. 333-4, MNE I 239, Thumb § 6.)

i > u in unaccented syllables: ζουρία, περίφουμος.

(Einl. 105-6, Thumb § 6.)

o > u when unaccented: άσήκουσε (957), κουμούνι, φλουρία, κήπου, άπάνου, γύρου, καράνου. The last four are

considered by Hatzidakis to be on the analogy of όπου, αύτου and similar adverbs (MNE II 309).

o > u in an accented syllable: ούλοι (owing to the liquid λ : MNE II 284, Thumb § 6 n.5).

e > a in the presence of ρ : δραπανοάμαξο (assimilation to α : MNE I 235), ν' άρμηνεύσης (owing to its initial position, according to MNE I 234), διαρμηνεμένος.

e > o when initial in a word: όλπίζω, όλπίδα, όμπρός; and internally: γιοφύρι (Einl. 105).

a and o > i in certain verbs with prepositional prefixes: άνιμένω, άπιχογιάζω, άπιλογοῦμαι, περιδίνω.

This change is due to the analogy of verbs prefixed with περι- or άντι- (Erot. Gloss. p.496).

Also analogical is the change of νοῦς to νός (analogy of άπλοῦς > άπλός, χρυσοῦς > χρυσός

etc., the form νὸς being found only in Kymi, according to MNE II 34f. and 441).

Vowel changes due to assimilation: καταβοδωθῶ (<κατευοδώνω), τριπηδῆσει (<τριποδίζω), τῆραχον (<τῆριχος), προτοῦ (<προτοῦ) (MNE I 234). Vowel change due to dissimilation: καβελάρη (MNE I 238), Einl. 333).

(b) Syncope:

περκατῶ (34d, 42, 1548 etc., but also περικατῶ), νᾶ....ντροπιδάστε (806), νᾶ πιδάστε (805), περσά, περσότερο(ν) (Einl. 347-8).

(c) Aphaeresis:

This phenomenon is a very common one in the poem, partly owing to the unwillingness of either the author or the first editor to admit the normal elision when two vowels come together. Examples, apart from those current in MG, are: χαλωτισμένη (E 27), 'κολουθοῦσαμε (1720), 'κοῦμε (1576), 'ποκρίθηκε (295), 'φῆνω (2857), γγαρεμένοι, 'ρηγεῖουν (2420), 'ρευνοῦσι (735), κοινομημένα, ματωμένον (1357), μνέγω, φελᾶ, φχοριστημένος, φτύχισα, 'ρωιωμένη (2145), λεύθεροι, ἔσιρέτως, 'δελφοῦ (2384), 'ποκρισάριος (1137), 'κόνα, 'ξουσία (2154), λεμοσύνη, στιά, 'κηρεσία, στορικόν, πόθεση etc.

and in proper names: Λεξανδρινούς, Λεξανδρεία, Λέξανδρος, Τύπτιοι, Ειδόπων, Λυμνιάδα, Είρεως (Einl. 74, 321ff.). Very similar is the phenomenon termed "ἀφαίρεση στη συμφορορά" (Gramm. Dem. 77). Indeed, in view of the reason for the frequency of aphaeresis (see above), many examples could be classified in either category e.g. νὰ 'τοιμάζου (1051), νὰ 'δεύη (1690), νὰ 'ρίση (302 etc.), τὸ 'κρω-τήρι (2024), μὲ 'ρήνη (1084), χαρίσματα 'ριωμένα (2877), εἶδα 'λόχρυσος (2034).

Rather different are the cases where an accented vowel is lost from the beginning of a word, which then becomes a quasi-enclitic e.g. ὄνειρό 'δεν (101), τὸ 'δε (157), στὸν ὕπνον τοῦ 'δ' (665), ποῦ 'δαν (196), γράμματά 'γραψαν (597), τὸ 'δωσε (958), τὴ 'δωχα (1644), ἀρσενικό 'ναι (131), τὸ ἥθος τοῦ 'τον (235), οὐ τοῦ 'λθασιν (490), στὸν εἰλικρό 'ρθ' ὀρνέθι (207),

'Αλέξανδρον 'στειλε (423), να 'μπη (212),
 σε 'χε (285) etc. In another group the
 accent is moved to a syllable which cannot
 properly carry it i.e. there is accent vio-
 lation e.g. μαυρό 'τον (1696), ὀλό 'τونه
 (2653), ἐνά 'μορφο (2315), παντά 'ξω
 (2008), πεντέ 'δαν (951), πεντέ 'χαν
 (1646), δοντιά 'χαν (2083), καψά 'καμε
 (2565), στομά 'χαν (2616), χωρά 'τον
 (550), 'ς χωρά 'ρημ' (2042), τουτά 'γραψεν
 (1029), ταυτά 'γραφε (2141), τοσό 'τον
 (243). (Xanthoudidis Erot. note on IV 627).

(d) Crasis:

Where two vowels come together and combine to
 form a different vowel, crasis occurs. The
 only examples of this phenomenon are of
 $ou + e > o$ e.g. μόδωσε (2154), τόδωσε
 (2428), ὀπδώσες (E44), ὀπόναι (112
 etc.), πόν (680), πόνι (2885), ὀπόρχετον
 (286), ὀπόρχονταν (1552), να μόρθη (2128),
 τόρχεται (2358), ὀπόκαμες (1466),
 μόκαμε (1702), ὀπόκαμαν (1996),

τόλεγε (524), σόπεψε (2237), ποσκότῳσαν (1450), σόστειλα (683), πῶστειλες (1046), ὀπόστειλε (2552a), πῶσφαξε (2386), μῶσφαλες (828), ὀπότρωγαν (1999), πόφύλαγε (2791), etc. The coronis (') is only employed when the word which has suffered crasis might be confused with a compound of ἄκο- (i.e. when the first element is κοῦ and the second a verb). (Gramm. Dem. p.78, Thumb § 11 n.2, Erot. note on I 165; and especially N.P.

Ἀνδριώτης, "Ἡ Κράση τοῦ συμπλέγματος Οὐ + Ε
σὲ Ο στή Μεσαιωνικῇ καὶ Νέᾳ Ἑλληνικῇ",

Mélanges Octave et Melpo Mellier, 1956, Vol. 1,
pp. 1-11.)

(e) Synaeresis (contraction):

ἄκοϋς, 'κοῦμε, βοϋα, βοϋοϋ, ἐβδόθησε, ἐλαμονήσου, λεμ-
οσύνη, θές (87, 219 etc.), λές (1809), λέ (1744),
λέτε (1177), λέν (2899), λέσι (2709), Νικόλας,
τρῶσι(ν) (897, 1567), νὰ φᾶμε (745, 1604),
νὰ φᾶν(ε) (584, 896), νὰ φᾶσι (1680),
ἔφα (2072, = ἔφαγε), ἐλενός (= ἐλεεινός), ζῶ

(some of these are standard MG; MNE I 209).

(f) Vocal Prothesis:

ἀκαρτεροῦν etc., νὰ...ἐβλόπτη , ἐβλέποντα
(881, 1520), ἐβλέπομε (2424), ἐγκρεμνίζεις,
ἐγνώθεις , ἐγνωρίζει , ἐγνώρισε (imp.)
etc., ἐγρικοῦμε etc., ἐζητήσῃ (?) ,
ἀπέχευσαν etc., ἀπερνάει etc.,
ἀσπώθηκε etc., ἀσκόνταψε , ἀφώναξε ,
ἐχρήζει , ἐδικός etc., ἐτοῦτος etc.,
ὀγλήγορα , ἐτότε(ς) etc., (MNE I 321f.
Thumb § 12b. Einl. p.325ff.)

(g) Extension:

-ε is added to the end of a word e.g. ἀκαρτέρουνε
(1st sing.), τάρουνε (548), αἴτουνε (1004),
ἐκεῖνηνε (2848), τόνε (152, 258 etc.),
τῆνε (1021), and very frequently in the third
person plural of verbs e.g. κἄμουνε (1866),
λαλοῦνε (1673), ἐδεῖξανε (2098), ἐκρουφθήκανε
etc. (Einl. 71, 110).

(h) Apocope:

ὁῶς' μου (139), μόν, κύρ, στῶ (141, = σοῦ τό)
(Gramm. rem. 31).

2. Consonants

(a) Loss of consonantal ι:

After certain consonants, consonantal ι may disappear: after σ (ξ) - σέται, πανταχόσους (1599, 1690), περὶσσα (1561, 1), περσῆς, πλούσους, τετρακόσοι (1565), έξουσά, φορεσά, άξωμένον, μοναξά; after ρ - άντρωμένος, τρακόσοι, κονδάρές, στερᾶς; after δ - έξουσα (< έξουσα) ; after θ - άνδραγαθές ; after χ - βρουχέται ; after κ - άδικές; after λ - λοντέρι ; after ν - κοπανές; and after π - νά ποίση, έποισαν (661) (the forms νά πη [= νά πιη], έποι [670] and ποί [804, 871, 1678] are also found but this has been treated as simply a spelling convention and the normal forms have been restored in the edition). It must be noted that this phenomenon is not consistent, for in other instances of the same words ι is often preserved with consonantal or even vocalic pronunciation e.g. μοναξία (1421), τριάντα (2943). (Einl. 337-8, Thumb § 10 n.4)

(b) The combination of two spirants or two tenues:

This may be preserved, or modified after the normal phonetic laws of MG. For example, φθ is preserved in ἐκφυρθήκανε , τρέφθησαν , ἔφθασε , νὰ φθειαστοῦν , φθέρνεται etc., but modified in ἔφτασε, ἀναπαύτη, φτήνεια etc., and improperly restored in φθύνω and σκίφθουν . Thus the treatment of AG two spirants or two tenues may be classified under three headings: (1) preserved, (2) modified in accordance with MG phonetic laws, (3) falsely reconstituted, owing to the author's desire to be "proper", which is, however, hampered by his limited education. This results in the following forms for the various combinations:

πτ: (1) ἐπτὰ (1606, 2489), πτερό, πτωχός (1372, 1478), κόπτασι; (2) πέφτει (1376); (3) θαπτη.

φχ: (1) φχαριστημένος, εὐχόμαι (1263), νὰ... κουχόνται (862); (2) φχαριστημένοι.

χθ: (1) ἐδέχθη (989), ἐμαζώχθησαν,

ἐχ^θρεύθη.

κτ: (1) ἀγανακτήσαμε (1550), ἔκτεινε, κτίζει
(530), κτυποῦσι (842 etc.), λακταρεῖ,
κορνιακτός etc.; (3) ἐμαζώκτησαν.

σθ: (1) ἀγκαλιᾶσθηκε, ἐβιάσθη, ἐθαυμάσθησαν
(196), ἐσκοτίσθησαν; (2) ἀγκαλιᾶσθηκε,
ἠκούσθηκε (54), ἐθαυμάσθη (2326), ἐλαθάσθης,
ἐχωρίσθησαν (329), καλλιστένης etc.

fs (-ευσ-, -αυσ-): (1) νᾶ...ἀφεντεύση (294),
νᾶ βασιλεύση (2107), ἐγύρευσε (92), δούλευσα
(982), ἐκαβαλίνκευσεν, ἐμίσευσσε (429),
συβούλευσε (2232), ἔκλαυσα, ἔπαυσε (2091),
ἐπλεύσαμε, πλευσίματα etc. ; (2) ἔγνεψε,
ἐγύρεψε (58), καβαλικέψαν (2025), νᾶ κανισκέψω,
νᾶ μαντέψη, ἐπεζέψαν (2026), συμβουλέψου
(2512), ἔκλαψαν, ἔπαψε (2565), κᾶψα etc.

(Einl. 161-2, Thumb §§ 14, 18-19).

(c) μβ and νδ:

The AG combinations $\mu\beta$ and $\nu\delta$ become $\mu\pi$ and $\nu\tau$, in accordance with MG phonology (i.e. their sound value is unchanged), as for example: $\kappa\omicron\lambda\upsilon\mu\pi\omicron\upsilon$, $\epsilon\mu\pi\alpha\iota\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$ (669), $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\rho\omega\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$, $\Lambda\epsilon\chi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\rho\omicron\upsilon$; but often the historical orthography is preserved e.g. $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\alpha\varsigma$, $\epsilon\upsilon\delta\upsilon\mu\alpha$ (1230), $\kappa\alpha\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\upsilon\tau\eta$, $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\delta\rho\omicron\nu$; $\kappa\omicron\nu\delta\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota$ is a false archaism (perhaps helped by the analogy of $\kappa\omicron\nu\delta\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\iota$). On such false archaisms see Kriaras' note on Katsaltis, Thy. V208.

(d) Loss of a nasal before a spirant:

$\sigma\upsilon\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\omega$, $\sigma\upsilon\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\upsilon\omega$, $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\phi\eta$, $\Pi\alpha\phi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}$, $\nu\acute{\upsilon}\phi\eta\varsigma$, $\epsilon\theta\upsilon\mu\omicron\sigma\mu\alpha\iota$, $\sigma\upsilon\chi\acute{\omega}\rho\eta\sigma\iota\nu$ (Einl. 356 fn., Thumb § 33).

(e) Loss of ν (ν/β) and γ before μ :

$\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\nu\tau\epsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta$ (2013), $\epsilon\mu\omicron\rho\phi\omicron\varsigma$ (also $\epsilon\upsilon\mu\omicron\rho\phi\omicron\varsigma$), $\theta\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha$, $\theta\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\sigma\mu\alpha$, $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\rho\sigma\epsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu$, $\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha$ (111 etc.), $\delta\iota\alpha\lambda\epsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$. ν also disappears before ρ in $\eta\epsilon\rho\epsilon\varsigma$, $\epsilon\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (but also $\eta\epsilon\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\rho\omega$ etc.) and before ξ in $\acute{\alpha}\xi\alpha\iota\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon\iota$ and σ in $\epsilon\sigma\pi\lambda\alpha\gamma\chi\nu\omicron\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta$ (the last two may be regarded as simplifications of consonant

groups). (Thumb § 24.)

(f) Loss of final ν:

This occurs not only in neuter nouns and in the acc. sing. of other nouns (never in the gen. pl.), but also in ᾗ (< ᾗν) and very frequently in the 3rd person pl. of verbs e.g. ὁμονοῖσθαι, χάνου (876), νὰ φέρου (914), ἄρῃα (1288), εἰργασθαι (1594), μετρήσας (?), νὰ πᾶν (34), διψοῦσα (893) etc.; also from the nom. sing. of λέων which appears as λέω. But in a very large number of instances final ν is retained. (Thumb § 34.)

(g) Loss of intervocalic γ:

λέω (2920), πᾶν (34 d), ὑπᾶν (135) etc., ἐσπᾶν (1453), τρώσιν (897), νὰ φᾶν (1680) etc., σαῖτας (Thumb § 22).

(h) "Irrational" γ between vowels:

ἐρωτᾶν (2452), καίγαν, κλαίγαν, μνέγω, πολεμάγαν (2336); and after β ;

βγοδωμένοι, βγοδώνναι; and initially, to avoid hiatus: γιός (2423), γοί ὀργισμένοι (2750), γῆ 'ολ- (Einl. 119ff., Thumb § 23). γ also develops before ν in γνέφω and τυρογνήω (Thumb § 23).

(i) "Intrusive" ν:

κένδρος < κέδρος (on the analogy of
δένδρο), κορκόνδειλους.

(j) λ > ρ before a consonant:

νλ 'ρθη (221), ἤρθε (227), ἔρθει (2641), κόρρον
(but also κόρρον). (Thumb § 31.)

(k) τρ > θρ:

θροφή (Pent. xxxvii, Psichari Observations
Phonétiques, 303).

(l) δ > ντ:

Ντουνάβης.

(m) σσ and ττ:

Attic ττ is employed as a mark of "erudition"
in κρεῖττων and κηρύττεις. But otherwise
Koine σσ is used e.g. ἀλλάσσει, τάράσσεις,
τάσσεις, τάσσομε, φυλάσσει, φυλάσσουν, περισσά,
τέσσαρα, βασίλισσα (55, 2165 etc.), θάλασσα etc.
Verb stems are, however, often remodelled e.g.
φυλάγω, ἀλλάζω.

(n) Final ν added where improper:

ἄλλον (neut., 237), τούτον (neut., 235).

Such instances are to be attributed to the
educational poverty of the writer (or editor).

(o) Dissimilation of consonants:

ἀφέντης , ἀφεντεύει , ἀφεντιά (but also αὐθέντης, αὐθεντιά). (αὐθέντης > ἀφέντης > ἀφέντης - Einl. 287). γλήγορα, ἐγλήγορα, ὀγλήγορα (dissimilation of ρ - Thumb § 31 n.1).

(p) Metathesis of ρ :

πρικαμένο, πρίκα, πρικιά, κορκόνδειλους, σερνικό (Thumb § 31 n.1).

3. Synizesis and other phenomena affecting accentuation

When ι is followed by another vowel in the same word, it is usual in MG for it to become consonantal and for its accent, if it possesses one, to be transferred to the following vowel (synizesis). This tendency is resisted in certain words where the influence of the learned language is strongly felt e.g. βιβλίον, παιδεία, πλοῖον etc., but it had occurred in the spoken language well before 1000 A.D. (MNE I 352-3).

However, the treatment of the group -ια varies from dialect to dialect: in some it undergoes synizesis, in others not. The dialects and idioms in which it occurs without synizesis are those of Tsakonia, Mani,

Langadia, pre-revolution Athens, Megara, Aigina, Kymi, Kythira, Zakynthos, Kefalonia, the hinterland of Asia Minor, Pontos and Southern Italy.¹⁾ For the idiom of Zakynthos, the phenomenon has been examined in greater detail by Yannoutsos²⁾, who affirms that the treatment of the group varies according to the preceding consonant: γ j κ χ λ ν cause synizesis to take place, while other consonants do not. Thus in the Zakynthian idiom are found γωνιά, μιλιά, άρνιά, βρακιά, πουλιά etc., but γρά, μερά, μοναξιά, αβτία, παιδιά, θεριά etc.

In the poem under consideration no hard and fast rule may be discerned. Indeed the same words occur with different treatment of the group -ια, depending solely, it seems, on the metrical requirement of the line: e.g. άνδρεία and άνδρειας, άποκοτία and άποκοτιά, βασιλεία and βασιλειά, θυσία and θυσιές, θηρβία and θηριά, μαλλία and μαλλιά,

1) MNE I 335.

2) "Συμβολή εις την Γραμματικήν του Ζακυνθίου γλωσσικού ιδιώματος",
Ath. XXV 199-205.

παιδία and παιδιά, Βαβυλωνία and Βαβυλωνιά .

Nevertheless the number of instances of -ία without synizesis is considerable and suggests that under the requirements of the metre there lurks an idiom in which non-synizesis is the norm. This impression is perhaps confirmed by another peculiar phenomenon. In the Zakynthian idiom the group -εα is not permitted, being changed to -ια; thus βαβία, κολοκυθία, μερία etc. (MNE I 339). It seems that the author of the present poem, - a Zakynthian - in an attempt to normalise his local idiom, has "restored" -έα in the word μαλέα < μαλία, on the analogy of the class of fem. nouns in -ιά < -έα e.g. μηλιά, κονταριά (Cf. MNE II 268).

To sum up, the use of synizesis is not consistent within the poem, but reflects on the one hand the author's native idiom and on the other the more common Greek usage (perhaps known to him from Venice, whose Greek population came predominantly from Crete), and is also often determined by considerations of metre and rhyme.

Synizesis is also frequent in the aorist of certain verbs, as in MG, with a consequent shift of accent. Thus there occur: ἀγκάλιασε, ἀπιδόγισσε, ἔδωξε (885), ἐθεμέλιωσαν (564), ἐκδόπισσε, ἔμοιαζε, ὀρόντισαν (1825) etc., but also forms without synizesis: ἐθυσάαζε (2631), ἐπάαμε (2053), ἐπλησάαζε (1827), ἐτελεῶσα (1526).

Peculiarities of accentuation may be observed in certain nouns, for which various explanations may be offered. In some cases the unusually accented forms are attested elsewhere and so must be accepted as genuine current linguistic features; such are ἀδεία, κεφάλη (see Gloss.). In other examples the accentuation of the dative seems to have been transferred to the nom. or acc. . In such cases one must suspect "barbarisms", i.e. non-current invented forms, resulting from the restricted education of the poet. Such are: δυνάμη, μαρτυρίο, ὄνετρο, Ἀντιοχεία, Ἀλεξανδρεία (and -ειά).

The incorrect accentuation of εἵνουχος, θερμάπειαν and μάντειο should probably be attributed either to ignorance or to a deliberate bending of the canons of

accentuation for metrical purposes, but that of ἱστορία is certainly due to the influence of Italian storia. Similarly, Σαρακηνόν is perhaps influenced by Italian Saraceno, Δάρειος by Dario, Κασσάνδρος by Cassandro, and ἑορδαίος by the class of Latin loanwords in -άιος.

Some other examples of accent violation, resulting from aphaeresis, have been mentioned above (section 1(c)). On the accentuation of verbs, see section B.7 of the present chapter; for other peculiarities in the accentuation of nouns see below, B.2(a) and (b), and of adjectives B.3(a).

B. Morphology

1. The Articles

The feminine plural of the definite article has nom. οἱ and acc. generally τές, but also τὰς (545, 668 etc.) and τῆς (2456, 2537). The indefinite article has a masculine nom. εἷς (332, 571 etc.) and neut. ἓν (675), besides the usual MG ἕνας, ἕνα.

2. Nouns

(a) Masculine:

Masculine nouns which follow the normal MG pattern ("First Declension") include a number which were

of the Third Declension in AG e.g. ἀστέρας, ὀρέκοντας, πατέρας etc. They generally form their gen. sing. by omitting the -ς of the nom., but ἑρπης has its AG gen. ἑρπιδος, and γέροντας forms γερόντου after the declension of masculines in -ος (Thumb § 66). Certain nouns which were formerly of the Third Declension retain their gen. sing. in -ος: ἀνδρός, ὀρέκοντος, μηνός, πατρός (Thumb § 67, Gramm. Dem. § 528); ἀφέντης also has a newly-formed gen. of this type - ἀφεντός - besides the normal ἀφέντη (MNE II 87, Einl. 376). There is an AG-type voc. δέσποτα from δεσπότης (Thumb § 68.2). The nom. pl. of nouns of this type is generally in -ες, but forms with archaising -αι are also found e.g. γυμνοσοφισταί (1917), σατράπαι (2453), στρατιῶται (935, 2239). Acc. pl. is either in -ες as ἄρχοντες, λείοντες, στρατιῶτες, or -ας as κοιτῶνας, σατράπας, γέροντας etc. Some oxytone nouns of this declension form a separate category in that their pl. terminates in -όδες

e.g. ἀνακαράδες , βουλευτάδες , κριτάδες ,
κτιστάδες , μαθητῶν (Thumb § 76).

Another class of masculines, mostly in -άρης or
-ορας , exhibits a shift to "Second Declension"
endings (in which those in -άρης in fact have
their origin) in certain persons e.g. nom. sing.
ἑποκρισάριος (normally ἑποκρισάρης), acc.
pl. ἑποκρισάρους and ἑποκρισαριούς ,
and particularly nom. pl. ἑποκρισάροι ,
βιγλατόροι (also βιγλάτορες), καβαλάρη ,
καβοῦροι (< κάρουρας) and ἐπικέρηνοι
(< ἐπικέρνης) (Thumb §§ 66, 69). Mas-
culine nouns in -ος have a paroxytone gen.
when the nom. is proparoxytone e.g. διδασκάλου
(1508a), ἡλίου (737), θανάτου (1373), πολέμου (478);
occasionally synizesis occurs: ἡλιοῦ (698).
In the nom. pl. the accent is also thrown for-
wards sometimes e.g. ἄνθρωποι, γαῖοι, διδασκάλοι;
similarly in the acc. pl. e.g. συντρόφους (487),
but there is also a number of proparoxytone acc.
plurals: κορκόνδελους , κίθαρους ,
and a proparoxytone gen. pl. Αἰγυπτιῶν.

(b) Feminine:

Feminine nouns in -α and -η present fewer irregularities than their masculine counterparts.

Some nominatives add -ς : γῆς , τύχης ,
 Κανδόκης (MNE I 523, 654, Georgacas, Glotta
 31, 220). Synizesis may or may not occur
 throughout the declension of nouns in -ια ,
 depending largely on metrical necessity. The
 gen. of -α nouns is sometimes in -ης e.g.
 βασιλίσσης (2148a) and even βασίλισσης (2202),
 but also in -ας e.g. θαλάσσης (2912 - for the
 irregular θαλάσσου see Glossary). The acc.
 pl. generally ends in -ες , but also in -ας :
 κατοῦνας , μηχανάς , μύτας (2618),
 σαῖτας , φωνάς (1672), ὄρας (1605),
 (Einl. 22, 441).

Extended plural forms are found, as for the
 corresponding masculine declension: κυράδες ,
 χηράδες (1212). Similarly ἄλεπούδες from
 ἄλεπούς (the sole example of this type in the
Rimada) (MNE II 16-17, Thumb. §§ 88, 90).

AG feminines in -ις either become regular "First

Declension" nouns e.g. nom. γνώση (20a etc.),
μετάνοια , πόλη (2621), τήξη etc., acc.
ἀπόκριση (2517), βρύση (1701), δύναμη
(1834), ἔρεξη (1833), φρόνησις etc., gen. πόλης
(2622), acc. pl. ρωταπόκρισεις , or else they
remain "Third Declension" (q.v.).

Of feminine nouns in -ος a few examples survive
from AG: ἔξοδον (? may be masc. or neut.),
ἔρημον (1542), νῆσον (501), νῆσου (519),
and the proper nouns Αἴγυπτον , Αἰγύπτου ,
Ρόδου , Ζάκυνθο , but ἡ Τύρο (see Einl.
25, Thumb § 87). On the analogy of compounds
like ἔξοδος , εἴσοδος etc. is formed the
feminine noun ἑμποδος from ἐμποδών . ἔξοδος
takes a feminine ending for its acc. pl. ἔξοδες,
where ἔξοδους would presumably be felt to be
too strange.

(c) Neuter:

Several stages of development are present in the
poem for neuter nouns which were originally
diminutives with the termination -ιον :

- 1) **-ιον** is retained complete in **κοτήριον** (1373), **συβούλιον**, **φαρμάκιον** (2706), and in the **paroxytones** **βιβλίον** (E32) and **θηρίον** (which preserve their **-ο** in common MG too).
- 2) Final **-ν** only is lost in **παίγνιον**, as in MG.
- 3) **-ιον > -ιν** in **βουλωτήριν**, **νησίν** (1672), **νησάκιν**, **σπαθίν** (432), **ψάριν** (1629).
- 4) Finally, the completed stage of the process is by far the most common one: **ἀλεύρι** (582), **ἀμάρι**, **ἀντί** (1176), **βυζί** (1969), **γιοφύρι** etc. Thus the process seems by this date to be almost complete, though vestiges of earlier stages remain which are due rather to conscious archaising than to actual contemporary usage. In the same archaising category may be classified the retention of **-ν** in other neuter nouns, which do not originate from diminutives of the **-ιον** type: **ἀθιβόλαιον**, **βασίλειον** (302), **βιβλόπουλον**, **δάκρυον** (1608), **δένδρον**, **δίκαιον** (345), **δικάσιμον**, **μερτικόν**, **μνημόσυνον**, **νεκροκρέβατον**, **περιθ'λασσον**, **κυξόμηλον**, **σάβανον** (290), **φιδόπουλον**.

But the majority of neuter nouns of this type have lost their final -ν , so this must be considered the "normal" form for the idiom and the period e.g. ἄστρο , βοῦκινο , κτερό , κίστρο , etc.

In addition it should be noted that this category of neuter nouns includes some which were of the 3rd decl. in AG e.g. δάσος , gen. δάσου , θάρρο and θράσο . The 3rd decl. neut. is, however, still very much in evidence (Einl. 367-9).

(d) 3rd declension

The third decl. survives not in its entirety as a comprehensive system for declining certain types of noun, but rather in certain isolated forms which have become familiar in their fossilised state through frequent formal or ecclesiastical use. Such are certain cases of nouns like βασιλεύς , ἱερεὺς ; and nouns like αὐτοκράτωρ , κοσμοκράτωρ , ἄστήρ , κατήρ , θυγάτηρ , καὶδες , χεῖρας . The genitives πατρός , γυναικός , μητρός

and νυκτός must be considered as genuine dialectal survivals. However, the fact that the 3rd decl. as a whole has broken down is demonstrated by such misuses as πατήρ (acc.), μητρί (voc. and acc.), and γυνή (acc.). The fate of masculine nouns like βασιλεύς calls for further examination. The following endings are found in the poem:

	Sing.	Pl.
Nom.	-εύς, -έας, -ίας	-εῖς
Voc.	-εῦ, -ιδά	
Acc.	-έα(ν), -ιδά, -ή	-εῖς, -ιούς
Gen.	-έως, -ιδως, -ιδά	-έων, -ιδων
Dat.	-εῖ	

On the one hand there is normal phonological development e.g. βασιλέως > βασιλιῶς (synizesis), and on the other there is reformation on the analogy of similar forms (acc. pl. γονιούς from the gen. γονιῶν on the analogy of e.g. νιούς,

νιδν), and there is attraction to another declension e.g. nom. βασιλέας on the basis of acc. βασιλέα(ν).

Another 3rd decl. type which survives partially is that of feminine nouns in -ις, which are sometimes reformed as 1st decl. (see above (b)) and sometimes retain their AG forms. There occur in the poem the nominatives δύναμις, κτίσις and ὑπόθεσις, and gen. γεννήσεως (in a chapter heading). Accusatives have been considered as third decl. and so written when they end in -ν e.g. ἀντίμεψιν, γνῶσιν, μεταμόρφωσιν etc., but as 1st decl. when there is no -ν e.g. γνῶση, δύναμη, φρόνησις etc. This compromise has been adopted as much for aesthetic as philological reasons, spellings such as γνῶσιν and γνῶσι being considered undesirable.

One category of 3rd decl. nouns has escaped relatively unscathed: those neuters in -ος and -μα. As in MG, many examples of this type are in frequent use e.g. πόρος, ἔθνος,

μέρος , στήθος , τέλος etc., and
 plurals βόθη , βόρη , ξύνη , κάλλη ,
 μέρη , στήθη , τέλη , χεῖλη etc. In
 fact this type has actually gained ground by
 attracting to itself certain 2nd decl. neuters
 in the plural: δένδρη (as well as δένδρα)
 and κάστροι . Many nouns in -μα are found
 in the poem: ἀνακάτωμα , ξνδυμα ,
 θάμα (< θαύμα) , θάμασμα , κατόρθωμα ,
 μνήμα , κράμα/κράγμα , φθειάσμα
 etc. Among plurals, in -ματα , may be noted
 ἄρματα (sing. ἄρμα < Lat. n. pl. arma), and
 πλευσίματα (probably < sing. πλευσίμο).
 Other sporadic survivals of the 3rd decl. are:
 gen. ἄσπίδος, ὁμόδος, nom. λέων(ν), νύξ
 with its gen. νυκτός.

(e) Archaic Dative Cases:

A certain number of datives occurs in the poem,
 often at the beginning of letters to indicate
 the person addressed, but with other archaic
 functions too (see below C.3 (j)):

τῷ γένει (243), θεῷ Ἀμμωνι (531), τοῖς
 ἑτέροις (1147), πῶρῳ βασιλεῖ (1303), ὧρῳ

πεφιλημένῳ (1305), ὀνόματι (1333), Ἀριστοτέλει
 τῷ ἐμῷ τιμῷ διδασκάλῳ (1511), τῇ διανοίᾳ
 (1795), τιμῷ Βιστοτέλει (1993), ὥρᾳ τρίτῃ
 (2055), Λεξιόνῳ τιμημένῳ (2165), στοῖς κοσμοῖς
 (2025), ἔτει (2155), θεσιότητι (2168).

(f) Noun suffixes:

A particularly frequent suffix of abstract nouns

is -οσύνη e.g. ἀδελφοσύνη, δικ(α)ιοσύνη, δουλ-
 οσύνη, καθαρσύνη, (ἐ)μπιστοσύνη, ὁμορφοσύνη,
 ε(ὕ)σπλαγχνοσύνη, ταπεινοσύνη.

(For its frequent use by Georgillias, see MNE I

552-3). Other abstract noun suffixes in words

which are not commonly found in MG are: -άδα

(ὁμορφάδα), -μέρα (κρατημέρα), -ότητα (σπλαγχνότητα).

(g) Compound nouns:

Two dvandva-type compounds may be noted: ἀσημοχρῦσ-

αφο and ρωταπόκρισεις. Other compounds worthy

of note are: δραπανοόμαξο, νεκροκρέβατον

(see MNE II 171ff. for the accentuation of com-

pounds where the second element is a diminutive

in -ι < -ιον), ἀγριογαδοῦρια, ἀγριοδαμάλια,

ἀγριοχοῦρια, ξυλόκαστρο, περιβάλλασσον, προβοτο-

ντύματα, κυζόμηλον.

3. Adjectives

(a) Adjectives in -ος

Feminine adjectives sometimes follow the AG rules, both of accentuation and of the change of -η to -α if the previous letter is a vowel or ρ e.g.

καθαρά , λαμπρά (2310), στερρά , άγίαν

(140), δολίαν (2124), τελείαν (139), and com-

paratives in -έρα such as καλλιοτέρα ,

πλεωτέρα (1941). But the following are in

accordance with MG rules: μικρή (560), πλεώτερη

(1944), όμορφη (474), ύψηλότατην .

Similarly, the acc. pl. may follow either AG or

MG accentuation rules: έρήμους (1539), ίδίους

(2944), προθύμους (948) but βάρβαρους (2924),

γυναικόμορφους , έντόπιους , όλόγομους,

περίφουμους . The combination of AG

phonology and morphology and MG accentuation is

remarkable in ύψηλότατην . βάρβαρος has

a shift of accent in the nom. pl. masc. similar

to the nouns in -ος : βαρβάρου (1794).

Fem. of a privative adjectives: άθόνατος (1932),

άοράτος , but on the other hand έμεστη (1200).

Fem. acc. pl.: μακράς , ὀλιγοῦσαικες ,
 χοντρές (2080), χρυσές (1290). ὅλος has
 two forms of gen. pl.: ὅλων and ὁλωνῶν (see
 below 5(j)).

(b) Third Declension adjectives:

The following forms are noteworthy: fem. acc.
 sing. ὁσεβήν (as if from *ὁσεβός , cf. Kapsom-
 enakis, Voruntersuchungen zu einer Grammatik der
Papyri der nachchristlichen Zeit, 1938, pp.56,
 126); neut. sing. γλυκὺ (2050), μακρὺ ; masc.
 nom. sing. σώφρονας (< σώφρων). Forms of μέγας
 are used besides those of μεγάλος : masc. nom.
 sing. μέγας (771), μεγάλος (817), neut. sing.
 μέγα (243), μεγάλο (867), masc. acc. sing.
 μέγα(ν) (239, 406), μεγάλον (593). πᾶσα is
 used as an indeclinable adjective, as well as
 the declinable AG πᾶς and ἅπας (see below
 5(j)).

(c) Degrees of comparison

Comparative: κάλλιο, κάλλια, καλλιότερα, καλύτερο,
 κρεῖττον, μικρότερος (2381), περισσώτερα, πλεώτερος.
 Superlative: γλυκύτεστη (2255), μέγιστος,
 ὑψηλότεστην.

4. Adverbs

Both the AG type of adverb in -ως and the MG formed from the n.pl. of adjectives in -ος, occur in the poem: ἀβούλως (661), καταλεπτώς, μεγάλως, ξαιρότως, ὁμοίως (555) etc.; ἀρόθυμα, (ἐ)γλήγορα, ὀγλήγορα, γουργά, δυνατά (110, 150 etc.), καθόσια, ἔμορρα, ὁμορρα, περισσίο etc.

Other unusual or otherwise remarkable adverbs are:

- (a) temporal: ἐν τῷ ἅμα, τὸ ἅμα, ἀλέκει, ἀποταχύ, ἀποταχιδ, γιαμιδ, ὁδ, ἐψές, πάλαι, πάραυτα, παραυτίκα, πισαυρίου, κλέα, κλιδ, κλιδ, ταχυτέρου, (ἐξ) ὑστέρου.
- (b) manner: ἐδέετις, εἴμητα, ἔτσι, κολύμπου, μόν, μόνε, ὁμάδι, ὁμοῦ, οὕτως, ποσῶς, στανιδ, ταδέ, τεδέ, ὥσπερ, ὥσάν, σάν. σά.
- (c) place: ἀλλοῦθεν, ἄνω, ἀπάνου, ἀποκεῖ, ἀπόκειθεν, γύρου γύρου, ἐδεκεῖ, ἐδεπῶ, ἐδοθεν, (ἐ)κεῖθε(ν), κάτου, κάτωθεν, μακρά, ὅθεν (κι ἄν), ὁμῆρος, ὁμπροστί, ὁπισθεν, ὀλίγω, ὀπού, πού (relative), περσάκτου, περάνου, ὧδε.
- (d) degree: ἀπόλιγον, θαμάκι, ὀλίγο(ν), μέλλιο, μέλλον, πλέο, περσότερο(ν), πλεώτερο, πολλά, (& πολύ).

- (e) Comparative adverbs in -ο(ν), formed after the AG rule: (τὸ) γληγορώτερο (but with superlative meaning - "as quickly as possible"), περσσότερο(ν), πλεώτερο, ὑστερον.

5. Pronouns

(a) Personal pronouns:

The forms of the personal pronouns used in the poem are as follows:

<u>1st person sing.</u>	N	ἐγώ (γώ)
	A	ἐμέ, ἐμέν, μέν, μένα, ἐμένα
	G	μοῦ, μου, μ'
	D	ἐμοί

The gen. is often combined with verbs by means of crasis e.g. μόχει (= μοῦ ἔχει), μόκαμε (μοῦ ἔκαμε), μόπιασε (μοῦ ἔπιασε) etc.

(see above A 1(c)).

<u>2nd person sing.</u>	N	ἐσύ, σύ
	A	σέ, σε, σέν, ἐσέν, ἐσένα, σένα
	G	σοῦ, σου

σοῦ is combined with verbs by crasis e.g. σόλεγε (= σοῦ ἔλεγε), σόστειλα (σοῦ ἔστειλα), σόπεψε (σοῦ ἔπεψε) etc., and with the

pronoun τὸ to become σὸ (141 - scope,
see A 1(h)).

1st person pl. N ἡμεῖς, ἐμεῖς, μεῖς
A/G ἐμῆς, μῆς, ἡς

2nd person pl. N ἑοῖς, σοῖς
A/G ἐοῖς, σοῖς

3rd person sing. and pl. : the 3rd person pronoun has a variety of forms. Besides the usual αὐτός, in all cases, genders and numbers, the form αὐτεῖνος (on the analogy of ἐκεῖνος) is especially frequent. There is also a masc. acc. pl. αὐτεῖνούς (2182) with oxytone accentuation, and two instances of εὐτεῖνος (εὐτεῖνα 1720 and εὐτεῖνος 1178) which may be compared with the modern Heptanesian forms εὐτός (Thumb § 136) and εὐτοῦνος (Kononios Lex.). Another extended form is αὐτόνον (1112). Forms of αὐτός are also found, but only in

the acc. after the prepositions εἰς, ἐξ, μετ',
 γιὰτὰ and σάν e.g. ἐξ αὐτοῦς, μ' αὐτήν,
 μετ' αὐτόν, γιὰτ' αὐτό, εἰς αὐτό etc.
 From the last-mentioned form combined with ἕδε
 is derived the pronoun δαυτός, which still
 occurs in the Ionian Isles (see Konomos Lex.)
 and elsewhere. It is found only twice: 110
 μὲ δαυτόν and 1668 μὲ δαυτό. The weak
 forms of the 3rd person pronouns - τὸν, τήν,
 τὸ etc. and their unaccented equivalents -
 require little comment: extended forms τόνε,
 τήνε, τόνε are common; the fem. acc. pl.
 is always τέε/τες. (See also under possessive
 pronouns below, and for the position of the pro-
 nouns in relation to verbs, see section C 4.).

- (b) Periphrastic personal pronouns: ἡ ἀφ' ἑντιὰ σου
 or ἡ ἀφ' ἐντιὰ σου (= "your majesty") is used
 as a polite periphrasis for the 2nd person, sing.
 personal pronoun. Perhaps the third person
 form ἡ ἀφ' ἐντιὰ του (922) may also be
 described as a periphrastic pronoun.

- (c) Possessive pronouns : αὐτοῦ is used occasionally for του , especially in the more formal chapter headings. τῶς occurs once for the usual τους (1618). Certain archaic forms are also found: οἱ ἐμοί (1140), τὸν ἐμόν (993), τῷ ἐμῷ (1511), ἡ σή (1842). Emphatic forms : ὁ δικός μου etc. and ὁ ἐδικός μου etc. are both found, the only distinction being metrical necessity.
- (d) Reflexive pronoun : only one example - τὸν ἑαυτὸν σου (823).
- (e) Reciprocal pronoun : ἀλλήλως (2302) is in origin a reciprocal pronoun, but its usage here is adverbial.
- (f) Emphasizing pronouns : ("myself" etc.) ὁτις μου , ὁτός σου etc. or ἀπατός του (671).
- (g) Demonstrative pronouns:
- (i) αὐτὸς and αὐτεῖνος declined for all cases, numbers and genders.
- (ii) τοῦτος and ἐτοῦτος, declined regularly (like καλός). Archaising forms: ταύτην (E44), ταῦτα (1345 etc.). Extended gen. : τούτουνοῦ (2368).

(iii) ἐκεῖνος and κεῖνος . Forms with different accentuation: gen. pl. ἐκεῖνων (898), masc. acc. pl. ἐκεῖνοῦς (1594), masc. gen. sing. ἐκεῖνου (2407). Extended form: ἐκεῖνην (2848). κεῖνος and ἐκεῖνος also serve as 3rd pers. pronouns, like αὐτός .

(iv) τέτολος , τέτοια , τέτοιο is in use, and not, it may be noted, the Cretan form ἔτολος.

(v) The archaic τοιοῦτος is also found (2657, 2676).

(h) Relative pronouns

Several different forms are in use:

(i) ποῦ or ὁποῦ. . These words often undergo crasis when followed by a verb e.g. ὁπόρχετον , πόναι , πόσφαξε , ὁπόκαμες etc. Note also 'ς ποῦ (549).

(ii) ὁ ὁποῖος . In one case it is found without the article - ὁποῖο (746) - and once with synizesis and aphaeresis - τὸ ποῖά (1057).

(iii) From the AG relative ὅς is found the fem. acc. sing. ἥν in several formal chapter headings, e.g. 786a, 798a etc.

(iv) The definite article is used as a **relative pronoun** in a number of instances e.g. ἐκεῖνο τὸ μπορεῖτε (482), τὰ ποτάμια τὰ ἄκους (551), τῇ φιλιᾷ τὴν εἶχαν οἱ γονεῖς μας (1313), τὸ κερί ἔκανε λαλιὰ στὰ θέλει νὰ 'ρδινιάζη(16) etc.

(v) Other relatives ~~in use~~ are: ὅποιος and ὅποιος κι ἂν ("whoever") and the dialectal form ὅγοιος, ὅ,τι ("whatever"), ὅσοις and ὅσοις καὶ ἂν ("as great as", "however much").

(vi) Like ὅποιος is the now obsolete εἴτις, neuter εἴτι, which occurs several times in the poem.

(i) Interrogative pronouns

For "who?" ποῖος, ποιός and τίς are all found. The various forms of ποῖος sometimes undergo synizesis, sometimes not e.g., ποῖος γιὰ νὰ περᾶση (337), σὲ ποιὰν ὀλπίδα στέκεσθαι(652), μὲ ποιὸν ἀφέντη τὸ λοιπὸν, μὲ ποῖον βασιλέα (807).

(j) Indefinite pronouns

(i) κανεῖς/κανένας/κανενεῖς - all other forms are regular according to the MG paradigm κανένας, καμία (καμιᾶ), κανένα.

- (ii) *τινός* acc. *τινόν* is used as an indefinite pronoun, derived from the AG enclitic *τις*.
- (iii) Besides the usual *τίποτα* are found *τίποτες* (the most frequent form) and *τίβοτες*.
- (iv) *καμπόσος* is always accented on the penult.
- (v) *κάθε/κάθα* is found in the phrase *καθ' ἡμέρα* (1020) and combined with *εἰς* - *κάθα εἰς*, ,
ὁ κάθ' εἰς , *τὸ κάθ' ἓνα* . Usually, as in common MG, the two words are run together - *καθένας* etc. The following forms occur in the poem: masc. nom. *καθένας* (1021, 1583 etc.), acc. *καθένα* (276 b) and *καθέν* (2529), gen. *καθενός* (1375, 2664), *καθένος* (349), *καθένα* (1631), fem. nom. *καθεμιὰ* (2035), neut. *καθένα* (336, 2644).
- (vi) As alternatives to *κάθε* and *καθένας* are found *κάσα* and *κάσα ἓνας* . *κάσα* is indeclinable and used like *κάθε* adjectivally in with singular and plural nouns e.g. *κάσα βράδυ*, *κάσα στρατιώτην*, *κάσα χρόνους.....ἑπτὰ*. As pronouns are also found the forms *κασαίς*, *κασαένας* and (very frequently) *κασάνας*.

(vii) The AG $\pi\alpha\varsigma$, $\pi\alpha\sigma\alpha$, $\pi\alpha\tilde{\nu}$ and $\delta\pi\alpha\varsigma$, $\delta\pi\alpha\sigma\alpha$, $\delta\pi\alpha\tilde{\nu}$ are preserved in the following forms: nom. pl. masc. $\text{o}\acute{\iota}$ $\delta\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ and ($\text{o}\acute{\iota}$) $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, acc. $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$, fem. acc. sing. $\pi\alpha\sigma\alpha\tilde{\nu}$ gen. $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\eta\varsigma$, neut. sing. $\pi\alpha\tilde{\nu}$.

(viii) $\delta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ has a gen. pl. $\delta\lambda\omega\tilde{\nu}$ or $\delta\lambda\omega\tilde{\nu}\omega\tilde{\nu}$. The dialectal $\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ occurs once (perhaps for the sake of rhyme) - $\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\iota$ (196).

(ix) $\delta\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ has a gen. sing. $\delta\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}$ and gen. pl. $\delta\alpha\lambda\lambda\omega\tilde{\nu}\omega\tilde{\nu}$ (besides $\delta\alpha\lambda\lambda\omega\tilde{\nu}$).

(x) $\delta\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ has the same meaning as $\delta\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ (which has completely ousted it in MG) and occurs in the following instances: $\tau\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\iota\varsigma$ (1147), $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ (2463), $\delta\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ (2937).

6. Numerals

The following forms of the cardinal numbers must be mentioned as presenting either morphological or phonetic peculiarities:

- (a) $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma/\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\varsigma$ neut. $\acute{\epsilon}\tilde{\nu}/\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$.
- (b) $\tau\omicron\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ has a masc. acc. $\tau\omicron\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ (2943).
- (c) $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\alpha\rho\alpha$ (note the middle vowel) has a fem. $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\alpha\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ and a masc. acc. $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\alpha\rho\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ (cf. masc. pl. $\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\alpha\rho\omicron\iota$).

- (d) *ἑξ* (1605, 1671) occurs as well as *ἑξι*.
- (e) *ἑπτὰ* and *ὀκτώ* do not conform to MG phonetic laws.
- (f) The "tens" from thirty upwards have their MG forms *τριακότα*, *σαράντα* etc. with the exception of *ὀγδοήκοντα* (2559).
- (g) Loss of palatalised *ι* takes place in some of the forms of the "hundreds" e.g. *τρακόσοι*, *τετρακόσοι*, *πεντακόσους*.
- (h) Note the form *ἑπταχιλίους* for AG *ἑπτακισχιλίους*, MG *ἑπτὰ χιλιάδες*.
- (i) The neuter of the ordinal numbers is used adverbially in certain cases: *πρῶτον*, *δεύτερον*, *τρίτο* (Blass-Debrunner § 248(4)).

7. Verbs

(a) Barytone verbs:

- (1) Present active: The 1st person pl. always has the ending *-ομε* or *-ομεν*, never *-ουμε*. The 3rd person pl. has a variety of possible forms: *-ουν*, *-ουνε*, *-ου*, *-ουσι*, and *-ουσιν*. Different forms are often found side by side, with no distinction other than

the necessity of metre or rhyme e.g. 1089

Κληροῖα αὐτεῖνοι φέρουσι στήν στρατα καὶ τὰ βάνου.

- (ii) Imperfect active: 2nd person pl. is in -εστε, e.g. δειλιδέστε (1759). 3rd person pl. has the endings -ασι(ν) or -αν(ε). In the latter type the accent often falls on the syllable immediately before the termination, whether or not the extension -ε is used e.g. ἐπίναν (2738), λέγαν (2103). Another form is with final -ν dropped (always with falling accent) e.g. ἐψένα (1632), τρέμα (2308), ἐσυφέρνα (1554).

- (iii) Aorist active (aorists of perispomenon verbs may also conveniently be discussed here and in (vi) below): 2nd person sing. is always in -ες, never in the older -ας. e.g. ἔκτισες (2440). The ending of the 2nd person pl. varies between -ατε and -ετε e.g. ἠκούσατε (2461), ἐγρικῆσατε (2413). In the subjunctive it may be syncopated: νᾶ πιάστε (805), νᾶ ντροπιάστε (806). The 3rd person pl., as in the present and

impf., has two sets of forms: -ασι(ν) and -αν(ε). Again final - may be omitted e.g. κάμα (2342), έβγαγα (2373). Always in such cases, and often in the case of the normal -αν ending, there is a fall of accent to the penultimate syllable. The subjunctive also has two sets of endings -ουσι(ν) and -ου(ν); There is a single instance of the classical strong aorist: 3rd person pl. έδραμον (1591). In addition to the verbs which still have aor. in -κα, such as παύω, the following -κα aorists are found: έφηκες (790), έφηκε (2684 etc.), έφήκασι (5, 2420), έδωκε (433 etc.), έδώκασι (632), έποτκες (963), έποτκα (1287), ποτκαν (2755). These forms may also have their own corresponding subjunctives: ν' έφηκη (2268), ν' έδωκη (424).

- (iv) Present passive: The 1st person pl. has a wide variety of forms e.g. άντιμαχόμεθα (2494), συνδμασθεν (1460), ηύρισκόμαστεν (721), βρισκόμαστεν (1921), θαυμάζομεστε (789), πειθόμεθα (2550). The 2nd person

pl. terminates in -εσθε or -εστε(ν) e.g.

ὁρεγέσθε (651), λογίζεσθην (2522).

3rd person pl. has both -ονται and -ουνται

e.g. γδύνονται (2045), ἔρχονται (28etc.).

(v) Imperfect passive: For the 1st person sing.

only one example is found - the peculiar

ἔρχουμιν (647). 3rd person sing.:

ἀναγκάζεται (1081), ἐγίνετο (150),

ἐργαζέτονε (13), καθέτονε (192). 3rd

person pl.: ἐγίνονταν (2563), δουλῶντα

(650), ἐγρωριζόντανε (871) ἐρχόντησαν

(552).

(vi) Aorist passive: Two types exist side by

side - the old in -(θ)η(ν) etc. and the

new in -κα : (1) 1st sing. ἀπιλογήθη

(61 etc.), θεραπεήη (136); 2nd sing.

θανατώθη (1378), ἐπίδωσθαι (2352); 3rd

sing. ἀγκαλιέσθαι (437), ἐδέχθαι (989),

ἀναπαύτη (980) etc. (Thus, for this

type there is no distinction between 1st

and 3rd persons sing. other than that

supplied by the context). 1st pl. ἀναπαύτησαν

(2605), δεήθησαν (623), ἐκατέβημεν (1569);
 3rd pl. ἀπιλογήθησαν (47), ἐμαζώχθησαν
 (489) etc. (2) 1st sing. δεήθηκα (E16),
 θυμώθηκα (1731); 2nd sing. ἐφοβήθηες
 (964 - with fall of accent); 3rd sing.
 γεννήθηκε (2567) etc.; 3rd pl.
 ἀνακαυτήσαν (2054), ἐγδύθησαν (1679),
 ἐχωρίστησαν (329) etc.

With this category may be grouped the active
 aorists of -βαίνω verbs, which also ex-
 hibit both old and new terminations e.g.
 σέβηκε (102), σέβηκες (2352) and ἐσέβην
 (3rd sing., 190), ἐξέβη (2046) and
 ξέβηκα (2555), ἐδιάβη (57 etc.) and
 διάβηκε (890) etc.

(b) Perispomenon verbs:

- (i) General observations: The division into two
 groups, according to the predominating vowel
 a or i, is generally maintained. Some verbs
 follow either conjugation e.g. πολεμεῖτε and
 νᾶ πολεμάτε, παρακονεῖται and παρα-
 κονᾶται, { ^{φοβᾶσαι} and (subjunctive) φοβήσαι .

The "resolved" form -άω never occurs in the 1st person sing., and the 1st person pl. is in -οῦμε for both conjugations; similarly the 1st person sing. passive is always in -οῦμαι. Passive forms of the -ιέμαι type occur only in the 3rd person sing. present. The forms which are found in the Rimada are set out below with examples.

- (ii) Present active: 1st sing. ἀγαπῶ (1495),
 μπορῶ (1067) etc.; 2nd sing. γρικᾷς
 (1779), περπατεῖς (1774) etc.; 3rd sing.
 ἀκολουθεῖ (2911), ἀνασπᾷ (2089),
 ἤμπορεῖ (1048 etc.), πολεμάγει (2336);
 puristic δηλοῦ (585, 2674); 1st pl. νικοῦμε
 (710), γρικοῦμε (788) etc.; 2nd pl. (νᾶ)
 πολεμεῖτε (651), θαρρεῖτε (1894), πολεμεῖτε
 (1893); 3rd pl. ἀπαντοῦσι (674), βοθοῦ
 (466), ἀκαρτεροῦν (1650), γεννοῦνε (2490)
 etc.
- (iii) Imperfect active: 1st sing. ἀγάπουν
 (1416 etc.), ἀκαρτέρουνε (2132), ἐθάρρουν
 (800); 2nd sing. ἐπόνειες (1023); 3rd

sing. ἐκυβέρνα (2864), ἐπολέμα (1859),
ἐβόλει (2030), ἐθάρρει (1870), ἠμπόρειε
(244), ἐφόρειε (1096) etc.; 1st pl.

ἑκολουθοῦσμε (1720), κερκατοῦσαμε
(1698 etc.), ἐθωροῦμεν (1698),
μποροῦμεν (1684); 3rd pl. ἀγαοῦσαν
(1802), βαστοῦσανε (676), διψοῦσα (893),
ζοῦσαι (1658), κερνούσαι (1158).

(iv) Present passive: 1st sing. κοιμοῦμαι (1066),
ἐθυμοῦμαι (1820), φοβοῦμαι (1786)
etc.; 2nd sing. ἀκίλογᾷσαι (1135),
ἐγρικᾷσαι (1131), φοβᾷσαι (1132),
(subjunctive) φοβῆσαι (1102); 3rd sing.
γελᾷται (1963), νᾶ θυμᾷται (1375),
ν* ἀπαντιέται (1070), βρουχέται
(1984), βρουχᾷται (2919), παραπονέται
(1275), παραπονᾷται (2385); 2nd pl.
θυμάστε(ν) (1759, 1793), φοβάστε (974),
(subjunctive) φοβῆστε (1792); 3rd pl.
νᾶ θυμοῦνται (2876), νᾶ καυχοῦνται
(862), εὐχαριστοῦνται (E38).

(v) Imperfect passive: 3rd sing. ἐφοβᾶτο (1082),
 θυμᾶτον (848), ἐβρουχάτου (1231),
 παραπονάτου (1232); 3rd pl.
 ἐφοβοῦντανε (925).

(c) "Semi-contracted" verbs:

As in MG, certain present indicative and subjunctive and aorist subjunctive forms exhibit a blending of the stem vowel with the termination (often after the loss of intervocalic γ).

Forms occurring in the Rimada (in addition to the uncontracted forms) are:

ἀκοῦω : 2nd sing. ἀκοῦς (551), 1st pl. ᾿κοῦμε(ν) (1672, 1676);

θέλω : 2nd sing. θές (87 etc.); in addition θέ is found for all persons (except 2nd pl.), not only as a shortening of θέλω, but also as a very common means of forming the future tense.

λέγω : 1st sing. λέω (2920), 2nd sing. λές (1809 etc.), 3rd sing. λέ (1744), 2nd pl. λέτε (1177), 3rd pl. λέσι (2709) and λέν (2899).

πάω : 1st sing. νὰ πα (984, 2109), 2nd sing. ὑπας (1952), νὰ πας (695 etc.), 3rd sing.

πᾶ (353, 2107), ὑπᾶ (387, 1966 etc.), νᾶ πᾶ (606, 1736 etc.), 1st pl. πᾶμε (479 etc.), νᾶ πᾶμε (465, 468 etc.), (μὴ) ὑπᾶμε (1640), νᾶ πᾶ (1745, 2245), 2nd pl. νᾶ πᾶτε (652, 942), 3rd pl. ὑπᾶνε (583 etc.), πᾶνε (913), ὑπᾶν (1240, 2208), ὑπᾶσιν (1457), ἄσιν(ν) (476 etc.), πᾶν (587 etc.).

τρώω : 3rd pl. τρώσι(ν) (897, 1567), aor. indic. 3rd sing. ἔφα (2072), subjunc. 1st pl. νᾶ φᾶμε (745, 1604), 3rd pl. νᾶ φᾶνε (584, 962), νᾶ φᾶν (896), νᾶ φᾶσι (1680).

(d) The Infinitives:

Present active: πομένει (1048), γράφει (2654), κλαίγει (704), πολεμᾷ (1454); only once with -ν : τὸ σφάλλειν (E22);

Aorist active: ἀκούσει (599, 641), (ἐ)δεῖ (87, 90), βοηθήσει (81), ἀπεθάνει (222) etc. (much more common than the present infinitive);

Aorist passive: ἀκουσθή (749), δυνήθη (558), θαπτή (2449), φανή (304);

"To be": εἶσται (588).

(e) The Participles:

The termination of the present participle active is -οντας or -οντα (-ώντας or -ώντα for perispomenon verbs) e.g. ἀκούοντας (1003), γυρίζοντας (399), γρικώντας (29, 513 etc.), ἐβλέποντα (881, 1520), γρικώντας (923, 1515).

Participles in -ούμενος: λυκούμενος (2717), μαχομένα (2185), στεκούμενος (1376).

Participle in -όμενος ; περαζόμενες (207 etc.).

Participles in -όμενος : γεναμένη (550 etc.), μελλόμενα (1241), χαιρόμενος (2236).

Archaic participles: ἰδών (1333), τοῦ γράψαντος (2679), μυρίσαντες (2927), φευγόντων (943), διωκόντων (944).

(f) The Imperative:

Present active of barytone verbs: ἤξευρε (1001, 1028), ἐγνώριζε (733 etc.); Present active of perispomenon verbs: γρίκα (23), κυβέρνα (2222), pl. χαιρετᾶτε (2291); Aor. active of barytone verbs: ἔφησε (151), ἔπαρε (257 etc.), ἔπαγε (33), pl. γνωρίσατε (1343), (ἐ)πόρευτε (784, E23), πέψετε (1040), φέρτε (2253), στείlate

(1037 ex corr.); Aor. active of perispomenon verbs: προβόδησε (2548); Irregular aor. imperatives: ἀνάστα (1361), ἔφεσ (23, 1978), ὀέσ (68, 255), ἔδ(ε) (1349), εἰπέ (62, 1844), εἰπές (578 etc.), πέσ (2392), pl. ἀφῆτε (708 etc.), εἰδέτε (E26, E51) ὁότε (653), εἰπέτε (411 etc.), πέτε (2409);

Archaic aor. imperative: φύλαξον (E47).

Present middle/passive of barytone verbs: μέμφεστε (716), ἀναπεύεστε (809); Aor. middle/passive: ἀναπᾶψου (33, 386), ἐλεμονήσου (1259), θυμήσου (1313, 1788), συμβουλέψου (2519), pl. ἄρματαθῆτε (777), ξεκδικηθῆτε (2417), ὀρδινιαστῆτε (465), συνηβαστῆτε (2409).

(g) The Future, Perfect and Pluperfect are formed periphrastically in MG, i.e. they are syntactical rather than morphological phenomena. They will therefore be found discussed in Section C.5 below.

(h) The Optative:

Only one example is found - the fossilised χαίροις (305).

(1) The verb "to be":

The forms occurring in the Rimada are:

Present: 3rd sing. $\xi\nu$ (265, 285 etc.), $\xi\nu\iota$ (only in crasis, $\pi\acute{o}\nu\iota$ 2085), $\xi\nu\alpha\iota$ (85, 88 etc. - the commonest form), $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota$ (1200 etc.); 1st pl. $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon(\nu)$ (714, 719 etc.), $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\mu\alpha\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu$ (2507), $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\mu\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu$ (2619); 2nd pl. $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon(\nu)$ (415 etc.); 3rd pl. $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota$ (478 etc.), $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\nu$ (587 etc.), $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\nu\iota\epsilon$ (only with aphaeresis, 494 etc.), $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\sigma\iota$ (1572).

Imperfect: 1st sing. $\eta\mu\omicron\nu\nu$ (1755), $\eta\mu\omicron\nu\nu\alpha$ (383); 3rd sing. $\eta\tau\omicron\nu$ (1, 8 etc.), $\eta\tau\omicron\nu\epsilon$ (144 etc.), $\eta\tau\omicron$ (only with aphaeresis, $\epsilon\tau\omicron$ 1488); 1st pl. $\eta\mu\alpha\sigma\tau(\epsilon)$ (906); 3rd pl. $\eta\sigma\alpha(\nu)$ (335, 2579 etc.), $\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\epsilon$ (551 etc.), $\eta\sigma\alpha\sigma\iota$ (835), $\eta\tau\alpha\nu$ (917 etc.), $\eta\tau\alpha\nu\epsilon$ (495 etc.).

Infinitive: $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ (588).

(See Kapsomenos, "Συμβολή στὴν ἱστορία τοῦ ρήματος $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\mu\iota$ "

Ell. Suppl. 4, 1957, 305-325. On the rare form $(\epsilon\tilde{\iota})\nu\iota\epsilon$ or $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\nu\iota\alpha\iota$, see ibid. 322 fn. and Pangalos I 356).

(j) The Augment:

The syllabic augment is usual¹⁾, but is sometimes omitted when unaccented. The syllabic augment in words beginning with a vowel is very rare: ἐπὶδκτισεν (604), ἔρισε (1502); forms such as ἐπήγα do not really fit into this category because the forms without ὕ- are as common as those with. The temporal augment is not common, occurring only in ἤξευρε (9), ἤκούστηκε (54), ἤκουε (56) etc. On the other hand there are instances of syllabic augment where common MG has the temporal augment: ἔπιεζ (1164), ἔπιαν (893) etc.

In verbs compounded with prepositions the usage varies: sometimes the augment follows the preposition, as in AG e.g. ἀνεθυμήθη (315), διέβηκε (2219), κατεφίλησε (2200), συνέκρουσαν (851); sometimes the augment is

1) A thorough survey has revealed that the syllabic augment is present in more than 50 per cent of historic tense verbs. Accordingly it has been editorially restored in cases such as καὶ κτύπα, τότε φύγαν etc. See below p. 253.

placed at the beginning of the verb e.g. ἐδιόβη (57), ἐκαταντήσαμε (1663), ἐπαρκαλῆει (2327), ἐπερίλαβε (1084), ἐπροσθα (1055) etc.; sometimes there are augments in both possible positions, initial and internal, e.g. ἐδιόβη (2732), ἐκατέβηκε (133 etc.), ἐσυνέβη (258a). There is a lengthened syllabic augment in ἤβλεπας (250) etc. and ἤφεραν (2256) etc.

(k) Reduplication:

All instances of reduplication in the Rimada are borrowings from the purist language, employed either because they sound more literary or simply metri gratia.

Participles: γεγραμμένα (620, 629 etc.), ὀρθογεγραμμένο (E6), ἐκλελεγμένους (2726), κεκλεισμένοι (1297), μεμετρημένο (1236), τετιμημένος (714, 719), περιλημένος (E10).

Pluperfect: ἐκέκτητο (E25).

There is also a strange reduplicated aorist:

ἐτετυπώθη (E53) - unless this is a misprint for ἐξετυπώθη . (Cf. Blass-Debrunner §§ 68, 75.).

(1) Verb suffix alternation:

It is a feature of medieval Greek that verbs are often employed with a variety of suffixes without distinction of meaning. In particular, in the Rimada, there is a tendency towards the formation of verbs with the suffix -ίζω e.g. κανισκίζω for κανισκεύω, πολεμίζω for πολεμῶ, κρατίζω for κρατῶ. Another suffix which becomes productive is -άσσω. Not only do many AG verbs terminating in -άσσω survive e.g. φυλάσσω, τάσσω, which in MG tend to be reformed as φυλάγω, τάζω, but also some new ones are formed e.g. συνάσσω < συνάγω, ἀρπάσσω < ἀρπάζω.

1. Verbs used with two or more suffixes:¹⁾

ἀλλάζω/ἀλλάσσω, ἀμπώνω/ἀμπῶω, ἀναγνώνω/ἀναγνώω,
ἀναπαύω/ἀναπεύω, ἀρπάζω/ἀρπάσσω, ἀρχίζω/ἀρχιμῶ,
βοσκίζω/βοσῶ, δίνω/δίδω, κανισκίζω/κανισκεύω,
κερδαίνω/κερδίζω, κρατῶ/κρατίζω, κυβερνῶ/κυβερνίζω,

1) For references the Glossary should be consulted.

λαθαίνω/λανθάνομαι, λογοῦμαι/λογίζομαι, μαστιγώνω/
 μαστίζω, παθαίνω/παθάνω, πληρώνω/πληρῶ, πολεμῶ/
 πολεμίζω, ρίχνω/ρίπτω, στέλνω/στέλλω, τυραγνῶ/
 τυραννίζω, τυχαίνω/τυχάνω, φυλάσσω/φυλάγω,
 χαιρετῶ/χαιρετίζω, φαρμακίζω/φαρμακῶν/φαρμακεύω,
 ψήνω/ψένω.

2. Verbs with a suffix other than that usual in MG:

ἀγωνιοῦμαι (-ίζομαι), βασταίνω (βαστῶ),
 βυζάνω (-αίνω), μηνῶ (μηνύω), μυρίζω (-ώνω),
 συναπανταίνω (-απαντῶ), ταυρῶ (ταυρίζω is
 commoner in medieval popular texts) ,
 τρομῶ (-όσσω).

(m) Accentuation of verbs:

A fall of accentuation to the penultimate syllable in the 3rd person pl. impf. and aor. active is extremely common e.g. ἤκουσαν (473 etc.), ἔβδλαν (2249), κῆμα (2342), ἔρχίζαν (1606), ἔβγατνα (1594), ἔσυρέρνα (1554) etc. This change is partly a functional one, for it distinguishes the 1st person sing. from the 3rd

person pl. when final *-y* has been lost from the latter. (An alternative means of differentiation is to protect the *-y* by adding an *-ε* to it). This accent fall also occurs in the 3rd person pl. of the aor. passive e.g. ἀνακαυτήσαν (2054), ἐβουλεύτησαν (2718), εὐρεθῆκα (1633) etc. A fall of accent in other persons of the verb is much rarer and may be suspected as a metrical licence e.g. 1st sing. ἐτάξα (2117), 2nd sing. ἐφοβήθηες (964), 3rd sing. ἐδόσε (725), ἐτίσε (885, 1079), ἐχάσε (458). (The last two are almost certainly genuine popular forms, being the results of synizesis (< ἐτίσε) and contraction (< ἐχάωσε) respectively). The double accentuation of θεωμέεστε (789) is of popular origin (cf. Thumb § 38).

8. Prepositions

The following prepositions occurring in the poem are noteworthy: ἀπέ, γιὰτά, διατά, εἰσέ, ἐκ, ἐξ, ὅκ, ὅξ, ἕως, κατά, περί, ἐπί ; some other prepositions: ἀντόμα μέ, ἀντόμα σέ, ἀντίδωκα (σέ), ἀδόνω ἐκ,

ἀνάντια σέ, μέσα ἐκ, ὁμοῦ μέ, ὁμοφύς εἰς, ἐμπαρὸς
εἰς, χώρια.

On the syntactical usages of these prepositions,
see below section C.7.

9. Conjunctions

Co-ordinating conjunctions which deserve to be mentioned are: ἀμῆ (never ἀλλά), μά, λοιπό(ν), τὸ λοιπόν, τὸ λοιπονίς (very frequent), and also a number of AG conjunctions such as δέ, γάρ, μηδέ, γοῦν, οὔν, ὁμως , and even μέν.... δέ....

Among subordinating conjunctions the following are noteworthy:

Temporal: ὅμα. ἀπῆτις, ἀπῆτι, ὅταν, ὄντεν, ὄνταν, ὄντα, ὄντά, πρὶν ταρὰ νά, προυτοῦ, τῶμου, ὅσο νά, ὥστε πού;

Causal: ἀφοῦ, διατί, γιατί, διότι(ς), ἐπειδῆ, ἐπεὶ, ὅτι, τί;

Conditional: ἥ(ν), ἥν εἶναι καί, εἰ, ἥμα, ἥς, νά;

Dubitative: μήπως, φόρις.

For aspects of the usages of these conjunctions which require comment, see below section C.6.

C. Syntax

1. General observations. It is a commonly remarked of MG that parataxis is frequently preferred to hypotaxis. This tendency is present, as may be expected, in the Rimada: subordination is less common than co-ordination with καί, or even a juxtaposition of main clauses with no connection e.g.

35 Ἐγρόκησε ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅτι ἔρχεται στρατεία,
ἐσέβη σὺν πελάτι τοῦ κ' ἔχανε τὴν μαντεία.

In a more synthetic language like AG one might expect:
"When he heard....having entered....he performed...."

The syntax of the Rimada may thus be characterised as analytical to a high degree, in keeping with the popular narrative style of the poem.

Certain other syntactical features worthy of note derive their existence from the metrical form of the Rimada. Here may be mentioned the frequent mispositioning of καὶ which connects two clauses. The conjunction is delayed metri gratia e.g.

135 Ἐπρώνεται ἡ Ὀλυμπιάς, σὺν Πτεναβὸν κ' ὕδατι

514 Ἐτότε ἐσηκώθη ἐκεῖθε καὶ μισεύει.

1221 Οἱ Μακεδόνες ἔτρεχαν τοὺς Πέρσας κ' ἐσκοτόναν.

Another syntactical peculiarity caused by the metrical form is the existence of couplets where two verbs seem to share a subject or complement; the first one and a half verses of the couplet seem to be complete in themselves, but the final hemistich contains a verb which requires the first half of that verse as its subject or complement e.g.

- 2055 καὶ ὥρῃ τρίτῃ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀκούουν καὶ κτυποῦσι
τοῦ τόπου κείνου τὰ θηρία ἦλθαν νὰ ποτιζτοῦσι.
2277 Στὴ στράτα ὅπου πῆγαιναν Ἀλέξανδρος κοιτᾶζει
ἐκεῖνα τὰ ψηλὰ βουνὰ περίσσια τὰ θαυμάζει.

In such instances the syntactical anomaly can only have been brought about by the pressures of metre and rhyme.

Typical of the syntactical confusion of the poem are the instances of anacoluthon and non-agreement detailed below:

Non-agreement:

- (a) Nominative and acc./voc. cases are found side by side in: 1063 σ' ἔσεν παρθὸν ἀρεῖω, 1509
2553 μητρὶ μου Ἀλκυονίδα.

(b) Non-agreement of subject and verb (singular

subject and plural verb - often a constructio ad sensum):
 332a Περὶ τὸ πῶς ἔδραμε Νικόλαος καὶ

Ἀλέξανδρος, 1836 τὸν ἔπιασαν τοῦ Πῶρου ἡ
 στρατιὰ του, 1875 ἓνας τ' ἄλλου κυποῦσι,
 921-2 νὰ κάμη ἡ στρατιὰ του, τὸν ποταμὸν
 γιὰ νὰ περνοῦν....

The verb agrees with the nearer of two subjects:

928 οἱ στρατιῶτες καὶ ὁ λαὸς νὰ τὸν ἀκολουθήσῃ.

The verb is not in the same person as the subject:

793 Καὶ γράφεις μου νὰ πάγωμε αὐτεῖνον

γιὰ νὰ πιάσῃ

(for the sake of rhyme), 1078 ἐσὺ καὶ ὁ λαὸς

ὡς εἶναι χαιρετισμένοι.

(c) A noun in the acc. (for the sake of rhyme) "agrees"

with a p.p.p. in the nom.:

835 καὶ ὀρδινιασμένοι ἦσαν σ' αὐτὸ τοῦς Ἀμαζόνους

(the line appears to be corrupt - see Commentary

ad loc.); a p.p.p. is given a fem. termination

(for the sake of rhyme), though it should agree

with a masc. pronoun; 266 μ' ἔχει διαρμηνεμένη.

Anacoluthon

A sentence sometimes changes course half-way resulting in the breakdown of syntactical unity
 e.g. 1225-6 Μὰ τ' ἄλλο μέρος τῶν Περσῶν, τὸ κροῦσταλλο χαλάθῃ, κ' ἐκνέγησαν οἱ ἄτυχοι....
 1778 ἐγὼ ποῦ εἶμαι ἄκτιστος, κάμε νὰ μὲ φοβᾶσαι.
 Compare also the instances of nominative absolute (unrelated participles) listed below in Section 4(d).

2. The Article:

- (a) the definite article is often omitted, solely for metrical reasons e.g. 1 σοφία τῶν ἀλγύπτων, , 49 γύπτιοι; even with possessive pronouns e.g. 84 ἄνδρας μου, 1380 ψυχὴ τοῦ , 1387 μὲ χερί σου etc. In some cases the article may be heard e.g. 2402 καὶ λακταρεῖ καρδίᾳ μου, and here it has generally been supplied in the edition.
- (b) With proper nouns the definite article may be employed or omitted at random, in accordance with metrical requirements e.g. 7 Ἐκτεναβός, 29 ὁ Ἐκτεναβός, 43 εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν, 473 ἴς Μακεδονίαν.

- (c) Again for metrical reasons, the definite art. is sometimes unnecessarily repeated: 323 ὁ Νικόλαος , υἱὸς ὁ τοῦ Δαρείου , 459-460 Βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος, ὁ τῆς Μακεδονίας, ὁ τοῦ Φιλίππου ὁ υἱός....
- (d) The def. art. is once used with an adj. to form a noun - a usage dating back to Hellenistic and classical times: 381 τὸ πικρὸν τοῦ (Blass-Debr. § 263(2)).
- (e) For the use of the article as a relative pronoun see above B. 5(h).

3. The Cases:

- (a) Genitive of indirect object (replacing AG dative) is, of course, the usual practice for pronouns, but it is also quite common in the Rimada in the case of nouns e.g. 147 τοῦ Κτεναβῶνος, 203 τοῦ Φιλίππου, 389 τῆς μητρὸς τοῦ etc.
- (b) Genitive of quality may be observed in: 269 εἶναι τοῦ ριζικοῦ μου, 487-8 συντρόφουςτοῦ σκαθίου....τοῦ κονδορίου, 497-8 παλικάρια....τῆς ἀνδρείας καθάρια, 1682 τῆς χρείας.

- (c) **Adverbial gen.** 494 τῆς στεράς . Cf. 1328 τῆς ἀπωλείας , where the gen. is in origin a semitism in the phrase ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας (John 17.12, see Blass Debr. § 162(b)), but is here used adverbially.
- (d) The gen. is normally used with adverbs (replacing a compound or improper prep.) in the case of pronouns. An example of an adv. used with the gen. of a noun occurs at 1126: ὁλόγυρα τοῦ Ἀδρείου.
- (e) Certain verbs take a direct object in the genitive: 56 ἤκουε τοῦ Ἐκτεναβοῦ 1303 νὰ τοῦ γρικῆση , 234 τῆς μάνας ἔμοιαζε (cf. 821), 390 πρέπει διὰ νὰ πείθεται ἐκείνη τοῦ πατρός του, 1017 οὐδὲν σοῦ πρέπει (cf. 1306, 1375), 81 θέλει σοῦ βοηθήσει (cf. 1059, 2234, but with acc. 201).
- (f) Nominative is used for vocative at 2383: ἡμῶνα μου . (This usage occurs at various stages of the Greek lang. For the NT see Blass. Debrunner § 147, for later popular lit. see Mitsakis Romanos Lang. p.93 n. and Irmischer, Triv. p.102 n.).

- (g) Accusative is used for the indirect obj. in a few instances: 992 νὰ τὸν τὴν δώσουν, 1363 ἀλήθεια σὲ λέγω, and often after θυσιάζω: 608 τόνε θυσιάζει (cf. 522, 1434, 1492, 2611, 2631). But, apart from the last, such instances are suspiciously small in number.
- (h) Accusative of reference may be observed in: 247 τοὺς χρόνους δωδεκάρης, 425 Πανσανίας ὄνομα, 60 τὴν τέχνην... διαρμηγεμένος etc.
- (i) A similar accusative, which may be termed internal, is found after intransitive or passive verbs which can properly have no object e.g. 205 τὸ ἐχέρη, 419 τὸ θυμώθη, 1134 τὰ τρώθη (cf. τὸ ἐπικράνθη Def. Sus. 10, πικραίνεται το ibid 176).
- (j) Dative: the forms found in the Rimada have been listed above (B.2(e)). The commonest function is that of indirect object, but datives of reference and time also occur. All of these are deliberate archaising elements: the dative is no longer a syntactical feature of MG, its functions having been taken over by the acc. and

gen. and by the prepositions.

4. The Pronouns

- (a) The weak forms of the personal pronouns may either precede or follow their verb e.g. 22 λέγει του , 74 ἀφήνει σε , 1270 δώσει τες ἡθελ , 121 τὸν θάλω φέρει , 142 σοῦ μνέγω etc., and with the imperative, 2291 τὸν χαιροῦσθε, 68 δέξ μου, 272 βεβαίωσέ μου το , 2273 στείλε μου τονε.
- (b) When there are two pronouns, the gen. always precedes the acc., as in MG, and the accent of the second may fall on the first if the verb is not accented on the last syllable e.g. 1487 εἶπε μοῦ το, 2368 χωρίζει σοῦ την.
- (c) The definite article is often employed as a rel. pron. (see above B.5(h)). The pronoun 'ς is combined with the article as rel. pron.: 16 στὰ θέλει νὰ 'ρδινιδζη . Similarly 'ς is found linked with the rel. πού: 549 ἦλθε 'ς ποταμί φοβερόν 'ς πού δώδεκα παγαίνει.
- (d) The rel. pron. πού/όπού is employed with enormous flexibility for a variety of functions; besides

being used as nom. and acc. it is also found as a substitute for dat. -516 τοὺς θεοὺς, ὁποῦ 'τους ταμμένος, "the gods to whom he was vowed" - and, "like to whom", 817-8 εἴμ' ἐγὼ μέγας, σὸν κόσμον ὅλον τὸ λοιπὸν ποῦ δὲν ἠύρισκετ' ἄλλος - "whose like does not exist in the whole world" (cf. 242, 848, 1252).

(e) The adverbial use of (τ') ὁποτο(ν) is peculiar. See Commentary on 738, 746.

(f) Note also the phrases ὅποιος ἐκεῖνος and εἴτις ἐκεῖνος, "whosoever", 1622, 1634, 1439.

5. Moods and tenses of verbs

(a) The historic present is very common; changes of tense within a sentence, from aorist to present and back to aorist or vice versa, often occur, mainly for reasons of metre and rhyme e.g. 1209-1210: καὶ τότε πάλι γλήγορα ἀνθρώπους τότε πέβει, κ' ἠφέραν τὸν Βουκέφαλον, πηδᾷ, καβαλικεύει. 1079-80:

ῥοδὸν ἐπιδάσε τὴν γραφὴν Δάριος τότε κλαίγει, σὸ πρᾶγμα ποῦ ἐγίνετο δὲν εἶχε τί νὰ λέγῃ.

- (b) The MG Future with $\theta\acute{\alpha}$ is not yet in existence. Various periphrases are in use for the formation of the future tense, the commonest of which uses some part of $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$ with the infinitive or $\nu\acute{\alpha}$ and subjunctive¹⁾ e.g. 81 $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota\ \sigma\omicron\upsilon\ \beta\omicron\eta\theta\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota$, 87 $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \iota\delta\epsilon\iota$, 132 $\acute{o}\rho\iota\sigma\epsilon\iota\ \theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota$, 666 $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\iota\ \theta\acute{\epsilon}$, 110 $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\ \nu\acute{\alpha}\ \mu\epsilon\iota\nu\omega$, 385 $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\ \nu\acute{\alpha}\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\psi\omicron\upsilon$ etc. Another common way of forming the future is the use of $\nu\acute{\alpha}$ or $\gamma\iota\acute{\alpha}\ \nu\acute{\alpha}$ + subj. alone, e.g. 252 $\delta\lambda\omicron\nu\ \tau\acute{o}\ \phi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\ \mu\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\upsilon\ \nu\acute{\alpha}\ \tau'\ \acute{o}\rho\delta\iota\nu\iota\delta\chi\eta\varsigma$, 654 $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\ \nu\acute{\alpha}\ \kappa\acute{\alpha}\mu\omega\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\alpha\varsigma\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\ \lambda\epsilon\mu\omicron\sigma\upsilon\acute{\nu}\eta$, 301 $\rho\omega\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\nu\ '\text{Αλ}\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\nu\acute{o}\rho\omicron\nu$, $\tau\acute{\iota}\ \gamma\iota\acute{\alpha}\ \nu\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \chi\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\eta$ etc. Finally, as often in MG, the present indic. may replace the future e.g. 2126 $\mu\eta\delta\grave{\epsilon}\ \tau\eta\ \mu\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\ \sigma\omicron\upsilon\ \lambda\omicron\iota\pi\acute{o}\nu\ \delta\grave{\epsilon}\nu\ \beta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \mu'\ \acute{o}\phi\theta\alpha\lambda\mu\acute{o}\nu\ \sigma\omicron\upsilon$.
- (c) No instance of the MG Perfect with $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega$ and aor. inf. occurs and there is a single example of that type of pluperf. 2784 $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\chi\alpha\ \kappa\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\iota$. Otherwise in the Rimada the perfect and plup. are formed by

1) It should be noted that $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega\ \nu\acute{\alpha}$ in its full form often has a purely desiderative meaning e.g. 1761 $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \nu\acute{\alpha}\ \mu\iota\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\psi\epsilon\tau\epsilon$.

means of ἔχω and the past part. pass. (agreeing with the direct obj.). All such forms are naturally in the active voice e.g. 716 τὰ μόχει
 88 γραμμένα , 728 τὰ 'χει μιλημένα , 994
 σ' ἔχομε μνημένο , 833 τὰ δρεπᾶνομάξα εἶχαν
 ὀρδινισμένα , 1236 μ' εἶχε μεμετρομένο,
 1290 τοῦς εἶχαι βαμμένους etc.

In one instance the p.p.p. does not agree with its object because of the pressures of rhyme, 266
 μ' ἔχει διαρμηνεμένη (instead of -μένο).

- (d) The present participle in -οντα(ς) is in quite wide use (on its formation see above B.7(e)), but because of the poet's lack of education it is sometimes not integrated into the structure of its sentence i.e. a nominative absolute occurs e.g. 209 Σηκώνοντας ὁ Φίλιππος, τ' ἀβγὸ ἐκαταλύθη,
 399 Γυρίζοντας Ἀλέξανδρος....ἦλθασιν,
 2205 πηγαίνοντας τὸν ξάφνισαν.
- (e) The optative of course no longer exists as a productive feature, though one example is found in the fossilised expression χαίροις (305 see above, B.7(a)). An unfulfilled wish in the past

may be expressed by ἀγάπουν νά + impf. e.g.

1416 ἀγάπουν νά 'ταν ζωντανοί,

2423 ἀγάπουν νά 'σουν γιός μου . Otherwise

θέλω is used for the expression of wishes.

- (f) The Infinitive survives with a small number of functions: it is used for the formation of the future (see above (b)); it is used after (ή)μπορώ (but never after δύνομαι) e.g. δέν ήμπορεῖ κομῆναι (1048), δέν ήμπορῶ σέ γράφει (2654); indirect deliberative questions often employ the infinitive e.g. δέν εἶχα τὸ τί κάμει (2635); the conditional mood is formed as a periphrasis with ήθελα and the infinitive e.g. ὅσοι τοῦ θέλαν λάχει (2924), καίνο τοῦ τοῦ 'θελε φανῇ (304) (and see below 5(i)8); finally, there is just one instance of the infinitive with εἶχα used to form a pluperfect (see above (c)).

- (g) Active/passive interchange. A passive form is sometimes used for an active one, and, occasionally, vice versa: ἀγκαλιόσθηκε (191), ἀγκαλιόσθη (437), ἀγκαλιόσθηκε (528) for ἀγκάλιασε; ν' ἀπαντιέται (1070) for ν' ἀπαντᾷ; ἐμάντεύθη (290) for

μάντεψε; νὰ προσέχεται (152) for νὰ προσέχη;
 ἐσκοτώσα (894) for σκοτώθηκαν; συμβουλευομαι
 (1101) for συμβουλευω; φαντάζει (108) for
 φαντάζεται.

In some of these instances it may simply be a question of "poetic licence" to facilitate a required rhyme, in others a dialectal usage. A confusion between moods is, however, a frequent feature of late Byzantine and early MG. (See in particular S. Kataiskaki, "Das Lehrgedicht ... von Markos Deipharanas 1543", Λαογραφία 11, 1934/7, 1-66, note on line 22).

Past participles of intransitive verbs, though passive in form, have active meanings, as often in MG: ἀγριωμένοι wild , ἑσπαθωμένοι with swords drawn etc. (Cf. Thumb § 234).

6. Subordinate clauses:

- (a) In indirect statements the conjunction (ὅτι, τι, πώς) is often omitted e.g. 7 "ἔλεγε γὰρ Ἐκτεναβὸς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀφεντεύει , 37 ἔ' ἐγρίκησε ὅτι τὴν μαντεῖαν χάνει τὴν βασιλείαν του etc.

- (b) **καί** is sometimes substituted for **ὅτι** so that the subordinate clause is in fact co-ordinated with the main e.g. 277 **ὅταν εἶδεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ αὐταῖνος ἀποθαίνει**, 737 **λέγεις ἐσὺ καὶ εἶσαι θεός** (cf. 800, 1132, 1521, 1775) (Tzartzanos § 220).
- (c) In the same way **καί** + indic. is sometimes found where **νὰ** + subj. would be expected, after verbs of perception etc. e.g. 103 **εἶδεν καὶ τὴν ἀγκάλιασε**, 1731 **εἶπα καὶ τὸν σκοτώνουν**.
- (d) "So that, perhaps, in case that" is expressed by **μὴ νὰ** , **μήπως** or **φόρτις** e.g. 2768 **μὴ νὰ ξερῶσιν** , 1640 **μήπως ἔκκετ χαθοῦμε** , 1303 **φόρτις νὰ τοῦ γρικῇσιν** , 1588 **φόρτις νὰ ἔλθῃ ᾿ς πεθυμιά**.
- (e) Indirect questions introduced by interrogative words are often preceded by the article **τὸ** e.g. **τὸ ποῖός νὰ ᾿ρῶσιν** (316), **τὸ τί...θέλει ποίσει** (255), **τὸ πῶς τὸ κράζουν** (575), **τὸ πόσον θέλει ζήσῃ** (2441) etc.
- Deliberative questions in indirect speech take the forms: 157 **ὁὲν εἶχε τί νὰ ποίῃσιν**, 2635 **ὁὲν εἶχε τὸ τί κάμῃ**.

- (f) "Lest" is expressed by μήν or μήπως e.g.

1075-6 μηδὲν ταράσσης.....μήν ἔλθης εἰς Ἀλεξανδρον
καὶ χάσης τὴν ζωὴν σου,

439-40 φοβήθηκε νὰ σύρῃ μὲ μανία μήπως καὶ τὴν
μητέρα του σφάξῃ μὲ Πανσανία.

- (g) On the various means of expressing conditional sentences in MG, see Σ. Ψάλτης, "Περὶ τῶν ὑποθετικῶν λόγων ἐν τῇ Μέσῃ καὶ Νεωτέρῃ Ἑλληνικῇ", Lex. Arch. 5, 1918, 40-57, to which reference will often be made in what follows. The conjunctions in use in the Rimada have already been mentioned (section B.9). The following constructions are worthy of note:

1. Real conditions present few irregularities, except that other conjunctions besides ἄν are in use viz. ἄν ἔναι καί, ἄς, ἄμα, e.g.
255-6τὸ τί μοῦ φέλει ποίσει ὁ ἄνθρωπος
μου ὁ Φίλιππος, ἄν ἔναι καὶ μ' ἀφήσῃ.
1495-6 Ὁρέγομαι καὶ ἀγαπᾶ ἑγὼ γιὰ νὰ τὴν
πάρω ὥσάν γυναῖκα μου αὐτήν, ἄς ἔχῃ αὐτὸ
τὸ θάρρος.
177 Ἄμα θεοὶ τὸ θέλουσι, οὐκ ἔχω τί νὰ ποίσω.

1748 ἄς πολεμήσῃ μοναχός, ἀλλά 'ναί ἀνδρειωμένος.

As in the last example, the apodosis often takes the form of an imperative e.g.

62 καὶ ἂν θέλῃς γιὰ νὰ μαντευθῇς, εἰπέ μου τὴν αἰτία.

2831 "Αν ἔν καὶ γένη θελυκὸ ἐκτενο τὸ παιδάρι, ἄς κἀμουσι....

(For ἂν ἔν καὶ as a conditional conj. see Psaltis, op.cit., 51f.).

2. The form of unreal conditions has not been fully standardised by ^{the} time of the Rimada (MG

ἂν + impf. in protasis, θεῖ + impf. in apodosis: - Tzartzanos § 245(2)). The impf. may be used in both protasis and apodosis:

906 ἃ δὲν τὰ τρώγαμε, ἡμεῖς' ἀποθαμένοι

(Psaltis op.cit., 50); or the pluperf. may be employed in the protasis:

2784 ἂν εἶχα πάγει ἄφαντος θεὸν μὲ εἶχαν ἄλλον,

or again, ἤθελα + inf. is used in the apodosis: 1453-4 ἂν ἔζη Λάροειος... πάντα του μ' ἐμὲν ἤθελε πολεμεῖ.

3. Conditions expressing a future possibility may employ the *impf.* in both clauses e.g.
 2264 "Αν ἔβλεπα τῇ χώρᾳ σου εἶχα χαρὰ μεγάλη,
 or aor. subj. in the protasis and ἤθελα + *inf.* in the apodosis: 303-4 ἔν ἐναι καὶ ὀρίση, κείνο ποῦ τοῦ 'θελε φανῇ, ἤθελεν τοῦ χαρίσει.
 (Psaltis op.cit., 51f.).
4. Instead of ἔν , νά may be used as a conditional conjunction e.g., 20a-b Γνώση νά 'ναι μαθημένη, τὴν ἀνδρείαν ὑπερβαίνει.
 31-2 Καὶ χίλια πρόβατα λοιπὸν ὁ λύκος νά ξαφνίσῃ, δύνεται μὲ τὰ δόντια του ὅλα νά τὰ ξεσκίση.
 2391-2 Νά σφάξης τὸν 'Αντίγονον ἐτοῦτο ἃ σ' ἄρῃση, καὶ ἔν καλὰ 'Αλέξανδρος, πῆς μου, τί θεὸς κερδαίνει;
 (On the genesis of this νά , see Psaltis op.cit., 43, 46).
5. When the protasis of the condition consists of two parallel clauses, ἔν may be replaced

by (για) νᾶ in the second:

1923 "Αν ἔλθ' ἀγάκη εἰς ἐμᾶς κ' ἑμεῖς γιὰ
νᾶ σταθοῦμε....

(Cf. Chron. Mor. 4226, 4248, and Psaltis
op.cit., 46).

6. The fossilised AG εἰ δὲ καὶ also serves as
a conditional conjunction: B47-9 εἰ δὲ καὶ
οὐ θηλήσης.... παρακαλῶ σ' Ἀλέξανδρου
αὐτεῖνο νᾶ χαρίσης.

7. In some instances ἄν is omitted altogether:

115-6 Θὲ νᾶ ἔχης θεραπεία, κάμε βραδὺ στὸ
σπῖτι σου νᾶ ἔχω μεγάλη ἀδελφά.

2678 "Ἡερες θὲς νᾶ ποίσω, ὡς δὲν
ἐπαραμέρισες (see Commentary ad loc.)

1761 Θέλετε νᾶ μισέψετε, τινὰς δὲν σᾶς
κρατίζει.

In such cases the protasis becomes virtually
a question (see Thumb § 277 n.3.).

8. A conditional mood in a main clause is
expressed by ἤθελα + inf.:

1270 ἐγὼ δώσει τες ἤθελα.

1454 ἤθελε πολεμεῖ.

- (h) Indefinite relative clauses usually employ the
aor. subj. e.g. 297 ἐκεῖνος ὅπ' ὀρίση,

840 τότε νὰ κίμῃ πασαις ἐκεῖνο καὶ μπορέση.

A restrictive relative clause ("such that he is")

may be expressed by καὶ νὰ + subj. e.g.

394b γέρος καὶ νὰ 'ναι τελελός

(Tzartzanos § 266 e)).

7. Prepositions

ἀπό : "from, by" etc. Usually with the
accusative as in MG . Sometimes with gen.

e.g. 340 ἀπὸ πλυστροῦ . The form ἀπὲ is

found at line 2326: ἀπὲ τὴν τόσην ἐμορφιά,

and E38 ἀπὲ τὸν 'Αλέξανδρον.

διὰ/γιά "for, because of, about" . γιά is mono-
syllabic, διὰ disyllabic in general (exceptions
to this rule are very few). Both are widely
used according to the necessity of the metre.

γιά is found once with the genitive: E34

γιά τῶν αὐτοῦ παιδίων . The forms διατὰ

and γιατὰ also occur, the former being tri-
syllabic, the latter disyllabic: 2221 διατ'

ἐμένα ; 2340 γιατ' αὐτο and 1468 γιατ'

αὐτο ; 2863 γιατ' ἐμένα.

δίχως and acc. "without": The accentuation varies: e.g. 391 δίχως μάχη, 1278 δίχως κανένα κόπον . But 1431 διχως αἰτίες. μὲ δίχως occurs once (line 340); cf. also the phrase (μὲ) δίχως ἄλλο (1312, 2510, 2916). εἰς/εἰς: "to, at" etc.: Both forms are found, the only distinction being metrical necessity. οὐ is often contracted with the definite article, as in MG. When a vowel follows, οἱ or εἰς is generally used. εἰς often suffers apocope and becomes 'ς, even when a vowel does not precede it: e.g. 473 ἦλθαν 'ς Μακεδονίαν. There is another form εἰσέ, e.g. 717 εἰσέ παιδο-δρι. εἰς is used with the gen. at line 448: ὁμαρὸς εἰς τοῦ πατρὸς του, and with a curious dative at line 2925: στοῖς ποσί. Frequently εἰς and οὐ are separated from their noun by a dependant genitive e.g. 594 στής χώρας τὸ περιγυρο. ἐκ/ἐξ/ἐκ etc. "out of, from" etc.: Like εἰς, ἐκ often suffers aphaeresis, particularly before the definite article: 'κ τῇν, 'κ τὸ etc.

ἐκ and ὀκ are used when a consonant follows, and ἐξ and ὀξ (the latter occurs once only, line 1980) when a vowel follows. ἐκ and ἐξ are the more common forms. The latter, like εἰς, suffers aphaeresis when metrical necessity demands it, but as this form is only found with a vowel following perhaps it should be written ξ', especially considering that a form ξὲ occurs once in the poem (line 1426 ξὲ κανέναν). The usual case which follows the many forms of is the accusative, but there is a significant number of instances where the genitive is used, e.g.

173 μέσα ἐκ τοῦ φουσότου,

981 ἐκ τοῦ Δαρείου,

1412 'κ τῆς λαμπρᾶς αὐτῆς τῆς Ὀλυμπίας,

316 ἐξ αὐτῶν,

2679 ἐξ ἐμοῦ,

1140 'ξ αὐτοῦ,

1411 'ξ Ἀμμώνου.

ἐν "in": Only in the phrase ἐν τῷ ἔμα, lines 2329 and 2341.

ἕως and acc. "up to, as many as, as far as":

492 ἕως πεντακόσια,

2036 ἕως τὰ ἐνενήντα,

cf. 2861 ἕως κάτω.

κατά and acc. "at (time), towards, in accordance with": 554 κατά τὴν ὥρα (and 2357),

858 κατά τὴν τάξιν (and 1062).

κατά and gen. "during, in" (non-classical):

1095 καθ' ὕπνου.

μέ/μετά "with, after": The commonest construction is μέ and acc. When an extra syllable is required μετά and acc. (= "with") may be used e.g. 344 μετά τὴν πονηρίαν, 851 μετά κονδόρια, 904 μετά πολλοὺς τοὺς τρόπους, 2064 μετά μαχαίρια etc.

Often in such cases it is difficult to decide whether μετά or μέ τὰ is the correct orthography. Perhaps this difficulty was shared by the author himself. Both μέ and μετά are also found with the gen., though less commonly than with the acc., e.g. 324 μέ ραβδίου, 2626 μ' ἔμορφων λιθορρίων etc. 1180 μετά πολλῆς μανίας,

2567 μετὰ πολλοῦ γὰρ κόπου etc.

With the personal pronouns, the usage does not conform to a set pattern: Both με and μετὰ are used indiscriminately, subject only to the number of syllables available, e.g. μ' ἐμῶν (750, 1010 etc.), μ' ἐμένα (1845), μετὰ μένα (908), μετ' ἐμέ (2574); μ' αὐτόν (10,997), μετ' αὐτόν (138, 388, 1487), μετ' αὐτον (288, 330). Only four instances of μετὰ and acc. = "after" are found: μετὰ ταῦτα (1394, 1507, 1581) and μετὰ τὴν λύτρωσιν (E55). παρά and gen. "from": 2935 παρά θεοῦ; παρά and acc. "contrary to": 2497 παρά φύσιν; περί and acc. "about, concerning": Very frequently in the chapter-headings in the phrase περί τὸ πῶς e.g. 6a, 100a, 124a etc. Other examples of περί and acc. are also mainly in chapter-headings e.g. 152a περί τὴν μαγείαν, 184c περί τὴν μεταμόρφωσιν. At line 1512, περί = "more than" (= παρά). περί and gen. "concerning": With no difference of meaning from περί and acc. 222a περί τῆς γεννήσεως Ἀλεξάνδρου, 240a περί τοῦ Βουκεφάλου.

πρὸς and acc. "to" etc.: Frequently e.g.

33 πρὸς τὸ παρῶν; 762 πρὸς τὸν Ἀδρειον etc.

ὡς and acc. "up to, as far as": e.g. 1278 ὡς τώρα,
1571 ὡς τέσσαρα πηχῆρια, ; 2017 ὡς μίαν ὥραν,
2648 ὡς ἅπῃω etc.

ἐπὶ and gen. "upon": Once only: B45 ἐπὶ γῆς.

Improper (or compound) prepositions

ἄντάμα μὲ and acc. "together with":

1362 ἄντάμα μὲ τὸν τόπον σου καὶ μὲ τὴν
ἐξουσίαν σου.

2090 ἄντάμα μὲ τὰ ἄλογα,

2574 ἄντάμα, λέγω, μετ' ἐμέ.

ἄντάμα σὲ and acc. "together with":

2930 ἄντάμα νὰ τὸν βάλουσι 'ς ὄλιγον τὸν
πατῆρ σου.

ἀντίδικα "against": Only with a pronoun:

1240 ἀντίδικά μου.

ἅπῃω σέ/εἰς "On": Passim. E.g., 105 ἅπῃω

σὲ κλινάρι ; 857 ἅπῃω εἰς τ' ἁμάξι.

Also used with the weak forms of the pronouns,

often in the form ἅπῃου: ἅπῃου μας, ἅπῃου
σου, ἅπῃου τους etc.

ἄπάνω ἐκ "above": 2859 ἄπάνω 'κ τὴν Βαβυλωνιά.

ἀνάντια σὲ "opposite, on the other side of":

2847 ἀνάντια στὸ ποτάμι.

ἔξω ἀπὸ "without": 1258 ἔξω ἀπὸ τὴν τιμὴ μου.

κοντὰ σὲ "near to": With a noun: 1672 κοντὰ 'ς νησόν.

With the genitive of the weak forms of the personal pronouns: 227 κοντὰ της, 258 κοντὰ σου, 1207 κοντὰ τους, 1694 ἀπὸ κοντὰ μου.

μέσα σὲ "inside": Pessim. One or two examples will suffice: 1143 μέσα εἰς τὸ καλόντι, 2881 μέσα νὰ τὸ βάλετε 'ς ναόν. μέσῃ is also found with the gen. of the weak personal pronouns: e.g. μέσα του (1231, 2374).

μέσα ἐκ "from within, out of": 210 μέσα ἐκ τὸ φλούδι του ; 1593 μέσα 'κ τὸν καλαμιώνα; ; 2775 μέσα ἐκ τὸ κερί του ; 173 μέσα ἐκ τοῦ βουσίτου.

ὀλόγυρα "around": With the gen. of the weak pronouns: 2317 ὀλόγυρά του ; 2320 ὀλόγυρά τους. At line 1126 it seems to be used as a ~~single~~ preposition with the genitive: ὀλόγυρα τοῦ Δαρείου.

ὁμοῦ με "together with": 648 ὁμοῦ με τῆς Σουρίας,
2300 ὁμοῦ με τὸν Κανδαλή.

ὁμπρὸς/ἐμπρὸς εἰς "in front of": 448 ὁμπρὸς
εἰς τοῦ πατρὸς του, 1719 ὁμπρὸς ὑπᾶνε τὰ
πουλιὰ εἰς τὴν ἐπίσκεψή μας.

Frequently with the gen. of the weak personal
pronouns e.g. 70 ὁμπρὸς τῆς ; 148, 447
etc. ὁμπρὸς του ; 1597 ἐμπρὸς τους.

χώρια "separately from, without": 2336
χώρια του (perhaps corrupt, see Commentary
ad loc.).

D. Characteristics of Language

1. Archaisms

Early modern Greek popular literature suffered considerably from the intimidating influence of the Byzantine learned language employed for all official purposes, religious and civil. The result is that all the popular texts, until the great period of Cretan literature in the late 16th and the 17th century up to 1669, are shot through with archaising linguistic elements to a greater or lesser degree,

and the Rimada is no exception. This archaising influence makes its presence felt at every level, phonetic, morphological, syntactical and lexical;

- (a) Phonetic archaisms: this is most clearly observed in the treatment of consonant groups: the preservation of $\phi\theta$, $\pi\tau$, $\phi\chi$, $\chi\theta$, $\kappa\tau$, $\sigma\theta$, and f_s is a phenomenon quite foreign to the phonetics of spoken MG (see above, section A.2(b)); similarly the use of $\mu\beta$ and $\nu\delta$ is an orthographic convention (A.2(c)). The treatment of final $-y$ by the author of the Rimada is inconsistent: sometimes it is lost in accordance with MG phonetics, sometimes it is retained after the declension and conjugation patterns of AG (section A.2(f)). All instances where final $-y$ occurs without the justification of a following vowel or unvoiced stop may be regarded as phonetic archaisms.
- (b) Morphological archaism: in this category may be mentioned the forms of the articles $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ and $\xi\upsilon$, acc. pl. of masc. and fem. nouns in $-ας$ and the few nominatives in $-αι$, the voc. $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\omicron\tau\alpha$,

all the remnants of the AG 3rd decl. (though exception must be made for certain genitives like πατρὸς and γυναικὸς which survive as popular forms in some dialects) all instances of the dative case, the form and accentuation of certain adjectives, adverbs in -ως, the pronoun ἡμεῖς, the possessives οἱ ἐμοί, ἡ σή etc., the demonstratives ταῦτα, ταύτην, the relative ἣν, forms of πᾶς and ἅπας (other than the popular indeclinable πᾶσα), the strong aorist ἔδραμον, 1st and 2nd person pl. pass. in -όμεθα and -εσθε, the contract verb forms δηλοῖ, πληροῦμε, διορθοῦνται, the declinable participles ἰδὼν etc., the imp. φύλαξον, the optative χαίροις, re-duplicated perfects like γεγραμμένα, verbs in -ᾶσσω etc.¹⁾ (section B.1-7).

1) But the suffix becomes productive in the Rimada (see section B.7(1)).

Such verbs still occur in some regions e.g. ἀλλᾶσσω (see Glossary s.v.). These are indications that perhaps -ᾶσσω verbs should not be considered as archaisms in the Rimada. The Attic κηρύττας is, however, an indisputable archaism (A.2(m)).

- (c) Syntactical archaism: certain AG conjunctions are found in the Rimada - $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$, $\mu\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, $\gamma\omicron\upsilon\nu$, $\omicron\upsilon\nu$, $\delta\mu\omega\varsigma$, $\mu\grave{\epsilon}\nu$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ (see above section B.9) - the presence of which must be attributed to the influence of the purist language. $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ is particularly overworked, so much so that it has ceased to have any real meaning and merely serves as a metrical convenience.

Other features to be regarded as syntactical archaisms are: all uses of the dat. case, the gen. after the prepositions $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{o}$, $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\xi$, $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$, $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$, $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$, and $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$, the dat. after $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ (see above, C.7); finally the negative is often expressed by the AG $\omicron\upsilon$ etc. (see Glossary s.v. $\omicron\upsilon$, $\omicron\upsilon\kappa$) instead of the popular forms $\omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}(\nu)$, $\delta\acute{\epsilon}(\nu)$.

- (d) Lexical archaism: considering the fact that the Rimada is descended directly from a work in a purist form of language, the extent to which lexical archaism is found in it is remarkably small. Some of the words in the following list do indeed derive from the prose versions of the

Romance, while others have been introduced by the poet himself in order to elevate his style¹⁾:

αἶγας, ἀνυμνῶ, ἔνω, ἀπολλύω, ἄρχω, ἀσθενής,
 βοῦλομαι, βροτός, βρῶμα, γινώσκω, γλωσσόκομον,
 δοῖμων, δόμοι, δῶμα, ἐνδεής, ἐξής, θνητός,
 ἔπκος, κελεύω, κλίνη, κρεῖττον, κτείνω, κτῶμαι,
 μισσμένος, μισρός, δούρομαι, οἶκος, οἰκητήριον,
 οἶνος, ὀπισθεν, ὄρος, οὕτως, ὀφθαλμός, πᾶμκοιυς,
 παντελῶς, παρευθύς, πῖθος, κολλᾶναι, ρομφαία,
 σελήνη, συνειδός, συννοοῦμαι, τοιοῦτος, τύπτω,
 ὥδε, ὥστερ.

2. Barbarisms

The ill-educated poets writing in the spoken language from the 12th to the 16th or 17th centuries frequently resorted to false archaisms in an attempt to elevate their style. Their intention was to use more im-

1) See the Glossary for references to the relevant verses: a number of these words occur only in the Epilogue.

pressive AG forms, while the result was that they created forms which had never existed in the history of Greek or misused the archaic forms. Such phenomena, which may be termed "barbarisms", have been defined as elements which cannot be connected with either AG or MG or be fitted into the general current of development of Greek.¹⁾

In the Pimada the following forms should be considered as barbarisms:

βασιλίσσης (see Section B. 2(b))²⁾, τὸν πατῆρ, τὴν γυνή, μητρί (voc./acc. - B. 2(d)), στοῖς κοσῖ (B. 2(e)), ὑψηλότατην (B. 3(a)), ἑπταχίλιους (B. 6(h)), the reduplicated aor. ἐτετυκώθη (B.7(k)).

Certain irregularities of accentuation must also be treated as barbarisms: e.g. where the accentuation of the dat. is transferred to the nom. or acc. as in δυνάμη, ὄνετρο etc., and where a false accentuation is employed for metrical reasons or

1) Einl. 15. Further, R.M. Dawkins, "Graeco-Barbara", Transactions of the Philological Society, 1939, 1-30.

2) But not θαλάσσου, which occurs frequently in texts and should be regarded rather as an unsuccessful linguistic experiment; see Dawkins, op.cit., pp. 8-9.

out of ignorance, as in εἰς νοῦς , ἀπερὶστα
etc. (A.3). Finally there are phonetic barbarisms, where the consonant groups φθ , πτ , νδ have been incorrectly restored (A.2(b) and (c)).

3. Dialect

When the archaisms and barbarisms have been sifted away, the question must be asked as to whether any features pointing to a particular local idiom or dialect may be discerned. The answer is, undoubtedly, that they may, but the proof, in the absence of a thorough investigation of the dialects of medieval Greek, is more difficult to provide.

Given that the first editor of the Alexander poem originated from Zakynthos, and that the versifier is also stated to have been "in Zakynthos" (Epilogue, line 12), it is natural that any investigation into the localisation of the language of the poem should turn first to Zakynthos. However, the material is scanty, almost non-existent, for the state of the Zakynthian idiom in the 16th century. One must beware of too easily assuming that a contemporary feature of the idiom was present already in the 16th

century unless there are positive corroborative indications from elsewhere. Thus, investigations have taken the following forms:

- (a) Examinations of texts of the modern spoken idiom of the island in the form of fairy tales taken down from the oral tradition (Minotau....);
- (b) An analysis of the language of certain 19th century Zakynthian poets such as Solomos, Matesis, Tertsetis, Martzokis;
- (c) A comparison of the Λόγοι Αὐθακτικοί of the Cretan Falieros (written about 1500) with the plagiarism of the same work by the Zakynthian, Markos Defaranas, who lived at about the same period¹⁾ as that in which the Rimada was first printed;
- (d) An analysis of the language of the poem Susanna (ed. Legrand), also by Defaranas, also dating from the first half of the 16th century, and as far as is known an "original" composition by a native of Zakynthos.

A few words must be said about the comparison of the two versions of Λόγοι Αὐθακτικοί. It might be

1) His Λόγοι Αὐθακτικοί was first published in 1543.

imagined that this would provide a clear picture of the different characteristics of the Cretan and Zakynthian idiom in the 16th century, but unfortunately this is not the case. Many of the changes in Defaranas' poem are petty and inconsistent (ὅταν becomes ὄντα, but also vice versa) or merely orthographical (ντ often becomes νθ, μπ becomes μβ, τὰς becomes τές, -οῦνται becomes -ονται etc.) and may simply be due to the printer. Other features which one might expect, from the evidence of the modern idiom, to find in a Zakynthian work would have entailed an extra syllable, or otherwise have disturbed the metre of Falieros' poem. However, certain conclusions do emerge from the analysis which are of some value: a) some specifically Cretan words or forms are avoided by Defaranas: syllabic augment of verbs beginning with a vowel (ἐκλουθοῦσαν, ἐφῆκαν), relative ἀπού, ὀγιά, αὐτοῦνος, πως/τῶς, συμπορκατῶ, ξάχω, εὐταξοῦσιος, εὐστερα, προυκιά, χρουση, κερὰ, ἀντρομνιώσης, ἄξιγανεύω, ζιμιόν, and loan-words κόπολον and κοντετζιό(ν);

b) other words and forms seem to be due to the local idiom of Defaranas: ἀπερασμένον, προσέχομαι, (= προσέχω), ἀμή, μάλλιο, τρνέσι, παγαίνω, ἀσκοντάρτω, πληροφορία, θρέφω, ἔσμιξις, ὅκ, νὰ δώκη.

From our four sources of information for the idiom of Zakynthos certain linguistic features, though not always consistent or universally present, do seem to be typical of the idiom, though it should be stressed that probably none of these is exclusive to the island. These are: addition of -s to the 3rd person pl. of verbs and to the acc. sing. of nouns and pronouns, lack of synthesis of -ία, the contraction of ου and ε to ο, loss of intervocalic γ, adverbs in -ου (ἀπάνου, κάτου etc.), and many other typical words or forms such as οὔλος, ἔδεκα, πάλε, μόνε, δαῦτος, and the preposition ὅκ or ὅχ. In the Alexander poem all these features are present. Certain other elements which are characteristic of the modern idiom of Zakynthos - ματε- for μετα-, the syncopated articles and pronouns τσί, τση, τσ', ἐκειὸς for ἐκεῖνος, ὅξω for ἔξω etc.

- do not occur in the poem and are probably more recent developments.

Besides the features just mentioned, which have a wide distribution in the Zakynthian texts under consideration, there are other elements in the poem which also point to a Zakynthian or, at least, Heptanesian origin; such are ἀθιβόλαιον (this meaning only Zakynthos), ἀκαρτερῶ (only in texts with Heptanesian connections), ἀνάζω (Zakynthos and Peloponnese only), ἀσπρώνω (mainly Heptanesian), βασταίνω (Zakynthos, Kefalonia, Crete, Peloponnese), καρκαρίζω (Zakynthos only), προσέχομαι (only in Defaranas), συζώντανος (only in exactly this form in Katsaitis - a Kefalonian), τρομῶ (Zakynthos only) (see Glossary for references).

All this evidence justifies the conclusion that the language of the Alexander poem contains many genuine elements of the Zakynthian idiom¹⁾, though they are heavily interspersed with puristic and pseudo-erudite

1) Only one feature of the language of the poem suggests an idiom other than that of Zakynthos, and that is the Cretan ~~τῶς~~ (1618) which is employed merely for the sake of rhyme.

forms which represent the poet's desire to lend respectability and "class" to his work - a desire which his own lack of education prevented him from realising. Thus, any attempt to "restore" the Zakynthian idiom systematically throughout the whole poem would be misguided, not simply because our knowledge of the idiom in the 16th century is far from complete, but chiefly because this would be to falsify the author's work.

4. Loanwords

In comparison with some works of Modern Greek literature of this period the Rimada is not very rich in borrowings from other languages. There is, however, a large category of inherited words of Latin origin, some of which are still in everyday use today e.g. άκουμπίζω (άκουμπω), άρματα, άρματώνω, βάρκα, βουλώνω, καβαλάρης, καβαλικεύω, κάρβουνο, κελί, κάστρο, κορόνα, κούπα, μακελετό, μάστορας, μαστορεύω, μίλι, παλάντι, σα(γ)ίτα, σέλα, σκαλί, στάβλος, στρότα, τάβλα, τσεκούρι.

Other Latin loanwords which have now become completely obsolete or rarely used except in the more conservative dialects are: ἀπλικεύω, ἀρματωσία, βιγλάτορας, βούκονο, βουλωτήριον, κασίδι, κατούνα, κατόνα, κηνητηνίρι, κόμης, κουρσεύω, κούρσεμα, μαντάτο, μόδι, ὀρδινιά, ὀρδινιάζω, τεντώνω (= encamp), φαιμελία, φλουρί. ρούγκα, φουρκίζω, φουσότο.

All these words are borrowed at an early stage in the development of medieval Greek. Later borrowings of Latin origin have reached Greek via the Romance languages, usually Italian. This stratum, together with other words deriving from Italian, is represented in the Rimada by βέρος, γατί, δουκάτο, δραγουμάνος (ultimately of Arabic origin), κολόνα, κουμούνι, κουρτσεία, ματσούκι, πετσοκοπισμός (Italian pezzo), ρέμα, φόρις. The geographical names Πούλια and Πουλιέζος are also borrowed direct from Italian Puglia and Pugliese. More subtle influence of Italian may be seen in the accentuation of ιστορία and of the proper nouns Σαρακηνόν, Ἀάρετος and

Κασιόνηρος (see above, section A.3). In the word ἀρμύδα which derives from Venetian armada, there has apparently been a semantic shift from "army" to "court" (see Commentary on 187).

There is only one word of Turkish origin in the Rimada - σεντούκι . This is not surprising, given the rather early date of composition of the poem and the general lack of contact between the Ottoman Empire and the Ionian Isles. Two borrowings from Arabic are found: ἀνακαράς and χαντάκι . Their occurrence is by no means restricted to the present work. Finally the verb (ἀ)γγαρεύω , which derives from Persian, is long established in Greek.

E. Versification

1. Metre

The metre in which the poem is written is that of the vast majority of popular Greek verse compositions of the middle ages - the iambic fifteen-syllable, the

so-called "political verse".¹⁾ The basic form of the metre is:

v - v - v - v - / v - v - v - v

with, generally, a caesura after the eighth syllable. In the Alexander poem this caesura is observed invariably. Many variations of the basic metrical scheme are permitted; in fact the only restrictions are that the penultimate syllable must always be stressed, as must either the sixth or eighth syllable of the first hemistich. The metre may, therefore, be represented thus (where _x indicates an anceps):

x x x x x { $\begin{smallmatrix} - v v \\ v v - \end{smallmatrix} \} / x x x x x - v .$

With these licences a great variety of effects is permissible, so that the verse can be prevented from becoming as wearisome as it would be in its basic form. One variation very frequently employed by the poet of the Rimada is the accentuation of the first syllable of either or both hemistiches to produce a dactylic effect e.g.

1) Of the numerous studies of this metre may be mentioned: K. Krumbacher, Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur, Zweite Aufl., Munich 1897, p.650; S. Baud-Bovy, La Chanson populaire grecque du Dodécanèse, Paris 1936, Vol. I, p.39ff., and H. Grégoire's review of the latter in Byzantion 12, 1937, 650-8.

379 Ἔπιασε κ' ἐκατάκοψε ὅλους τὸς καλεσμένους.

441 Εἶπε ἡ μητέρα του · "Ζῦρε το τὸ κονοδᾶρι...."

1195 Ὅρισεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὅλοι ν' ἀρματωθοῦσι.

Similarly, an anapaestic start to the verse is possible, but this variation is not employed anything like as commonly as the dactylic e.g.

771 Βασιλεὺς μέγας δάρατος, γράφω τὸν ὀρισμὸν μου.

987 Ἐπειδὴ τὸν ἀφέντη σου θέλεις νὰ παραδώσης.

2177 Πεντακόσια ἀγένεια παιδία νὰ σοῦ πῶ.

Although theoretically all syllables other than the sixth or eighth and the fourteenth may be either accented or unaccented, in practice the basic iambic rhythm of the metre is disturbed if a strong stress falls on certain syllables e.g. the 5th, 7th, 11th and 13th. Such lines are not common in the Rimaça, considering the length of the poem, but do occur occasionally, e.g.

542 ὅκ τὸ φουστ' ἀπέρασε καὶ ὁμαρὸς πάντα πᾶσι.¹⁾

A number of hypometric and hypermetric lines is also to be found, though again the number is comparatively small. Many of these occur in the first lines of letters e.g.

1) Cf. vv. 733, 1153, 1193, 1276, 1283, 2779.

459 Βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος, ὁ τῆς Μακεδονίας.

679 Βασιλεὺς ὁ Δάρειος, αὐθέντης τῆς Περσίας.

As this sort of line occurs several times, no attempt has been made to correct the metre, though this could easily be achieved. It appears that the poet deliberately permitted himself this licence for the opening verse of a letter. Other hypometric verses are: 643, 729, 924, 1015, 1033, 1097, 1305, 1509, 1811, 1993, 2022, 2679. Hypermetric are: 806, 1217, 1265, 1488, 1842, 2296, 2485. In many other cases metrical deficiencies of one sort or another have been cured by means of slight alteration of the text¹⁾. Synizesis, by which is to be understood the blending of two adjacent vowels to form a single syllable, is rarely employed by the author of the *Rimada*, except when ι is followed by another vowel. In such instances synizesis, or more correctly palatalisation of the preceding consonant, regularly takes place e.g. 16 κεῖι ἔκανε , 176 μῆι ἔναι , 220 θέλι οὔισι etc. For other vowels there are only a few examples: 449 παιιδι μου Ἀλέξανδρε ,

1) Such are vv. 101, 492, 689, 1037, 1227, 1245, 1365, 1449, 1531, 1571, 2119, 2240, 2254, 2720, 2784, 2836, 2880.

577 ὁπλοε ἡ ἀβθεντιδ σου.¹⁾

This lack of synizesis is explained by a preference for apocope or aphaeresis, both of which occur frequently throughout the work and have not been interfered with in the present edition.

A similar phenomenon is noted by Follieri in the Venetian edition of the Greek Theseid, published by the same house and in the same year as the Rimada.²⁾

This orthographic practice may, therefore, have been a sort of "house style", or merely the habit of one man who worked as editor, corrector or compositor.³⁾

Hiatus occurs so frequently that it can only be assumed that the poet was completely insensitive to any need to avoid it. Some astonishing examples of multiple hiatus occur e.g. 107 ἐξόπνηος ἡ Ὀλυμπιδς,

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- 1) The remaining instances are in vv. 698, 1007, 1177, 1258, 1835, 2553, 2865, 2895, 2901.
 - 2) E. Follieri, "La versione in greco volgare del Teseida di Boccaccio", Studi Bizantini e Neocellenici 7, 1953 (= Atti dello VIII Congresso Internat. di Studi Bizantini) Vol. I, p.72.
 - 3) This phenomenon, together with the many linguistic similarities between the two texts and, above all, the fact that Dimitrios Zinos seems to have written the manuscript used for the printing of the Theseid (see above, p. 116 note), points to the conclusion that the editions were both prepared by the same man - Dimitrios Zinos.

517 τὸ ὄνομα Ἀμμῶνος , 1110 δύο ἔλογα ἔφησε,
 "Ορμηλὸς τὰ φυλάσει , 2749 Ἄλλοι οἱ
 ἐποδῆλοιποὶ εἶχαν βουλὴ σταμένη.

It may also be noted that enjambement occurs sometimes within couplets, but that each couplet almost invariably forms an independent sense-unit.

2. Rhyme

In addition to the metrical imperfections already noted, there are also a few flaws in the use of rhyme in the Rimada. In slightly earlier texts rhymes are found in groups of two, three, four or more lines, but the text of the Rimada is rhymed quite regularly in couplets. There are, however, some instances of imperfect rhyme such as would not be tolerated by the modern ear. They fall into various categories:

(1) Differences in the distribution of final -ν.

That the 16th century ear was sensitive to such imperfections is indicated by the corrections of later editors of the printed text (see Commentary on v. 109). Such instances of final -ν disturbing the rhyme may have resulted from the failure of the poet himself to check his manuscript,

or from careless or deliberate alterations by scribes or editor or compositor. In any case there is evidence that such flaws were felt to mar the rhyme, and accordingly they have been removed wherever possible in the present edition, viz. at vv. 109-110, 329-330, 383-4, 597-8, 1085-6, 1091-2, 1405-6, 1535-6, 2087-8, 2783-4. The sole remaining case of this type of imperfection is at vv. 1671-2 *κεῖνο-Ἑλλήνων*, where to remove final *-ν* would have introduced a phonetic phenomenon - loss of *-ν* in gen. pl. - not elsewhere found in the poem.

- (ii) Easily-curable imperfections of rhyme (often, but not always, caused by an archaising tendency on the part of scribe, editor or compositor). Such are: 91-2 *κᾶμνει-βοτάνι*, 467-8 *φουσάτο-κάτου* (cf. vv. 23-4), 1523-4 *κᾶμνουν-ἀναθεβάνουν*, 1979-80 *κᾶμνει-βάνει*.
- (iii) "Half-rhyme" in which either the two end-vowels or the last vowel and the preceding consonant(s) are identical in sound, e.g. 51-2 *ν' ἀκούση-νὰ γυρίση*, 151-2 *νὰ*

'ρδινιάσω-παύσω , 317-8 παλικαρία-κωρέα,
 523-3 ἀρετή του-πατήρ του , 915-6 ἐδιάβη-
 λιβάδι , 683-4 δέρνουν-μαστιγώνουν , 2205-6
 ἔθνος-μόνος etc. There are 76 such cases
 in the poem. The indications are, from this
 and other contemporary texts, that this licence
 was considered a legitimate tool of the 16th
 and 17th century versifier.¹⁾

(iv) Finally, there is only one "incurable" rhyme:

333-4 Νικόλας-ἀστέρας . Even here,
 however, the final vowel is the same and
 this may well have been an acceptable rhyme
 according to the conventions of the day.

1) For cases where the stressed vowel is the same, see Alexiou in Kr. Chron. 13, 1959, 291, and where the stressed vowel is different id. in Kr. Chron. 17, 1963, 197.

CHAPTER 7 : PRINCIPLES OF THE EDITION

Since the text of Codex Meteorensis 445 has been conclusively proved in Chapter 2 to be no more than a copy made from the first printed edition, the editio princeps alone has served as the basis of the present edition. The variant readings of the manuscript have no independent value but they have been incorporated in the apparatus criticus so that the reader may confirm for himself the manuscript's dependence on the printed edition.

Later editions are likewise of little or no value for establishing the text, since all of them derive directly or indirectly from the ed. princ.¹⁾ Where the ed. princ. is obscure or unintelligible, the conjectures of later editions may be taken into

1) The principle has been laid down by L. Politis in Ell. 14, 1955, 527 and Kr. Chron. 12, 1958, 305. I. Sykoutris, "Κριτικά εκδόσεις νεοελληνικών λογοτεχνημάτων",

NEst. 18, 1935, 990-1000, has also been consulted, though many of the problems discussed there do not concern older texts such as the present one.

account; but no greater authority may be attributed to their conjectures than to those of the present-day editor, except insofar as they are closer to the language of the original in point of time. Indeed, the present-day editor frequently has more reliable evidence in his hands, on which to base his conjectures, in the form of all the various extant versions of the Alexander Romance in Greek (and other languages), and in particular the Modern Greek prose version embodied in manuscript P.

Reverence to the ed. princ. has been observed wherever possible, in accordance with the method of Hatzidakis, which respects all phonetic variants, however slight, but brings spelling, orthography and punctuation into line with current practice.¹⁾ Corrections have been introduced only when sense, metre, rhyme or other serious considerations demand it. On questions of orthography the semi-official Νεοελληνική

1) The principle is stated as follows in Ath. 16, 1904, 254: "τὰ διαφόρως ἐκφωνούμενα καὶ ἀκουόμενα, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τὸ διαφόρως ὁρώμενα εἶναι ὄξεια σημειώσεως καὶ προσοχῆς".

Γραμματικὴ (τῆς Δημοτικῆς) , published in 1941 by a committee under the presidency of Manolis Triandafyllidis, has been followed almost universally in the present edition, although, regrettably, few contemporary writers of demotic accord it much attention. Only occasionally has it been felt necessary to modify its rules: the coronis (') has been employed in crasis in words such as πῶσταίλες, πόσκότῳσαν, πῶγραφες, where confusion with verbs compounded with ἀπο- might be possible; the orthography of καὶ when elided before vowels has been standardised as κ' before ε, αι, η, ι, οι, υ and ει, and κτ before α, ο and ω. Phonetic variants such as αὐθέντης and ἀφέντης, εὐμορφος and ἔμορφος, φθάνω and φτάνω, have not, of course, been disturbed. In fact no attempt has been made to regularise or standardise the language of the poem, as this would run counter to the literary and stylistic character of the work and lead to absurd results. The only standardisation which has been imposed is purely orthographic.

The consonant-group τζ has been modernised to τσ in accordance with normal editorial practice

e.g. ἑκαττα, ἔτσι, ματσούκι, ὀλιγοῦτσικος,
τσακίζω, τσεκούρι etc.

Word-division has been brought into line with the
rules of the Νεοελληνικὴ Γραμματικὴ (p.289) e.g.
κ' ἑκεῖνος not καὶ κεῖνος, σ' ἐμᾶς not σὲ μᾶς,
μ' ἐμένα not μὲ μένα etc.

In the case of the augment, a statistical count of
instances where there is no preceding [e] vowel has
shown that it is present, even when unstressed, in a
majority of cases. Accordingly the general practice
has been to reconstitute it in groups such as:

κ' ἐκτόπα, κ' ἐδιδάβη, τότε' ἐφύγαν, τότε' ἐστεφανώθη etc.

The editorial practice with regard to accen-
tuation also requires some comment: where two vowels
occur together and one of them is accented, the usual
practice of the early typographers was to print the
accent on the first, irrespective of where the spoken
stress would customarily fall, e.g. πῆσσυ, μαγῖα,
λαλῖα, κερῖεκανε, ὄτῖερχεται, μαλῖα του, ἐοδῖαζει,
ἐδῖαβη etc. (A rare exception is διῶ/γιά, where
the Ancient Greek accentuation is preserved). In the
present edition the guiding principle has been metre:

if synizesis is necessary for metrical reasons, then in such cases the accent is placed on the second vowel; if not, the first vowel bears the written accent e.g.

9 καὶ ἤξευρε μὲ τὴν μαγεία ὅλα νὰ τὰ γρικῆσῃ,

but 44 κ' ἐκεῖ 'κανε τὴν τέχνη του, αὐτείνην τὴν μαγείαν.

38 'Εβγήκε 'κ τὸ καλὰτι του κ' ἔκοψε τὰ μαλλιά του,

but 2084 μεγάλες ἦσαν σὰν γατιά, κ' εἴχασι καὶ μαλλία.

The apparatus criticus

In the apparatus criticus are recorded all substantially (not merely orthographically) different readings of the Codex (indicated by the letter C) except for variations in the use of final -v. Orthographic variants are only mentioned when they admit of more than one possible interpretation. This also holds good for the later printed editions, whose readings are noted only when they shed light on or correct those of the first edition. Misprints are recorded for the first but not for later editions. The editions

are cited by the year of their publication; "edd." indicates a reading common to the editions of 1529, 1553, 1600 and 1603. Where no specific indication is given, the reading is that of both the Codex and the early editions.

PART TWO: THE TEXT

ΓΕΝΝΗΣΙΣ, ΚΑΤΟΡΘΩΜΑΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ
ΤΟΥ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΟΣ ΔΙΑ ΣΤΙΧΟΥ

- Σοφία τῶν Αἰγύπτιων ἦτον πολλὰ περὶσσα, I 1
τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀρίθμησαν καὶ τ' ἄστρα του μετρήσα.
Ἐμέτρησαν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τὰ βέθη της θαλάσσου,
ἔδειξαν καὶ τὴν τέχνην τοὺς νὰ σώσουν νὰ τὴν πιάσουν.
5 Τὴν τέχνην τοὺς ἀφῆκασι στὴν γῆν ἐξακλωμένη,
νὰ τὴν ἡξεύρουν ὅλοι τοὺς, νὰ ἔναι διαρμηνεμένοι.
Ἔλεγε γὰρ Ἐκτεναβὸς τὴν Αἴγυπτο' ἀφεντεύει
(αὐτεῖνος ἦτον ὕστερος ὅπου τὴν κυριεύει),
καὶ ἡξευρε μὲ τὴν μαγεία ὅλα νὰ τὰ γρικῇ.
10 ἀφέντης δὲν ἠύρισκετον μ' αὐτὸν νὰ πολεμήσῃ.
Ποτὲ του δὲν ἐξέβαινε σὲ πόλεμον, <'ς> στρατεία,
μὰ κάθετον στὸ σίτι του κ' ἔκανε τὴν μοντεία.
Ἀνθρώπους ἐργαζέτονε κέρινους γιὰ νὰ κἀνῃ,

Ρομ. 6 (6a) περὶ τὸ πῶς ἀφέντευεν ὁ Ἐκτεναβὸς τὴν
Αἴγυπτον (titulus)
6a ἀφέντευε ὁ νακτεναβός
11 ἐξέβαινε 1529 & C; ἐξέβανε 1553 et recedentes.
11 <'ς> επιλενι.

- ἔπειτα τοὺς ἀπόθιζε μέσα εἰς τὴν λεκάνη·
 15 καὶ ἄρχιζε μὲ τὴν σκουδὴν τοὺς δαίμονας νὰ κρᾶζη,
 καὶ τὸ κερὶ ἔκανε λαλιὰ στὰ θέλει νὰ ῥοδινιάζη.
 Καράβια, κάτεργα μικρὰ, μὲ τὸ κερὶ ὅλα κάνει,
 καὶ ἀπέκει τὰ ἀπόθιζε μέσα εἰς τὴν λεκάνη.
 Ὕστερα ἔκρινε ραβδοὶ κ' ἐκτύπα κ' ἐχαλοῦσαν,
 20 καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τὰ κάτεργα ὅλα τοὺς ἐβουλοῦσαν.
 Καὶ ἦλθεν ἓνας στρατηγὸς σ' αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα,
 λέγει του· "Μὴν ἀκαρτερῆς ὅτι ἔχομε μαλᾶ.
 Ἄφες τοὺς περιδιαβασμοὺς, γρίκα γιὰ τὸ φουσάτο,
 νὰ μὴ μᾶς βάλουν ἐδεπὰ ὅλους ἀπάνω κάτω·
 25 καὶ κατεβαίνουν εἰς ἐμᾶς Μῆδοι καὶ Διδοῦντες,
 πολλοὶ ἔξ αὐτοὺς βρίσκονται κοῦ ἔναι ἔκ τοὺς Ἀραβίτες·
 Βηθαῖσδδ, οἱ Κόχονες, οἱ ἅπαντες Ἀχαιοί,
 καὶ ἔρχονται ἀπάνου μας αὐτεῖν· οἱ Χαναναῖοι."
 Γρικῶντας ὁ ἄκτεναβὸς ἐγέλασε κ' ἐχάρη,
 30 καὶ εἶπε τοῦ στρατιώτη του· "Καὶ τίς ἐμὲ νὰ πάρη;

I 2

18 ἀπόκει

Post 20 Γνωμικόν

20 Γνώση νὰ ἔναι μαθημένη

b τὴν ἀνδρείαν ὑπερβαίνει. (οὐκ ἔστιν)

20c περὶ ὅταν ἦλθεν ὁ στρατηγὸς εἰς τὸν βασιλέα (-τιμῆ-)

22 ἀκαρτερῆς ὁτιχομεν ; τίεχομε 1953 cc γενοκτι-ρῶν.

26 ἔκ τοὺς] στοὺς

28 αὐτεῖν·οἱ] αὐτίνοι

- καὶ χίλια πρόβατα λοιπὸν ὁ λύκος νὰ ἐσφύση,
 δύναται μὲ τὸ δόντια του ὅλα νὰ τὰ ἐσοκίσῃ."
 καὶ εἶπε του· "Πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ὕπαγε, ἀναψύξου,
 καὶ μ' ἓνα λόγον τὸ λοιπὸν ὅλοι τοὺς γιὰ νὰ πᾶς."
 35 Ἐγρίκησε ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅτι ἔρχεται στρατεία, I 3
 ἐσέβη στὸ καλάτι του κ' ἔκανε τὴν μαντεία·
 κ' ἐγρίκησε ὅκ τὴν μαντεία χάνει τὴν βασιλεία του·
 ἐβγήκε 'κ τὸ καλάτι του κ' ἔκοψε τὰ μαλλιά του,
 τὰ γένια του ἐξοῦρισε, τὴν φορεσά τ' ἀλλάζει,
 40 καὶ βάνει κ' εἰς τὸν κόρπον του στάμενα νὰ φοδιάζῃ.
 Ἐφυγεν ὅκ τὴν Αἴγυπτον κ' ὑπάγει σ' ἄλλη χώρα,
 καὶ κερπατεῖ ὁ ἔλενδς ὅπου τὸν εὖρ' ἡ ὥρα.
 Λοικὸν τὸ τέλος ἔφθασε εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν,
 κ' ἐκεῖ 'κανε τὴν τέχνη του, αὐτείνην τὴν μαγείαν.

33 του] τοὺς C

Post 34 Γνωμικὸν

34a Πόχει τὴν κερηφανεία

b φέρνει τὸν εἰς ἐκείνην,

c καὶ ὁ κόσμος τὸν γελάει

a ὅπου κερπατεῖ καὶ πᾶσι.

40 καὶ εἰς ead. κείν C

41 Ἐγρικτον C

42 ὅπου C

Post 42 Γνωμικὸν

42a Πρέκει δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως

b νὰ πορεύεται ἄλλῃως,

c ν' ἀποθαίνῃ στὴν τιμὴ του

d κ' εἰς τὴν δόξα τὴν δική του.

- 45 καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς παρακαλοῦν σ' Αἴγυπτον νὰ γυρίσῃ
 ἀφέντης τους ὁ Κτεναβός, αὐτὸς νὰ τοὺς ὀρίσῃ.
 Ἀπυλογήθησαν θεοί, ἔρχεται βασιλεῖα
 γιὰ νὰ χαλάσῃ τοὺς ἐχθρούς, αὐτεῖνι τὴν Περσία.
 Γύπτιοι διαλογίζονταν Ἐκτεναβὸς τί ἐγίνη,
 50 ἐκάμασιν του πιστολὴ γιὰ νὰ τοῦ κέψουν κεῖνοι.
 Ἐγράψαν καὶ τὰ λόγια τους καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ν' ἀκούσῃ,
 τ' ἀφέντη τους τοῦ Κτεναβοῦ, ὅπως νὰ γυρίσῃ.
 Ὁ Κτεναβὸς ἐγένετον εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν, I 4
 περίφουμος ἠκούστηκε 'κ τὴν τέχνη, τὴν μαγείαν.
 55 Γυναῖκα ἡ βασίλισσα Φιλίππου, Λυμπιδά,
 ἤκουε τοῦ Ἐκτεναβοῦ κ' εἶχε τὴ νοστιμίδα.
 Ὡσὼν ἐδιόβη Φίλιππος ἔξω νὰ πολεμήσῃ,
 Ὀλυμπιδά γύρεψε γιὰ νὰ τὸν ἐρωτήσῃ.
 Σὺν ἦλθε τὸν ἐρώτησε "Ἐσὺ 'σ' ὁ μαθημένος,
 60 τὴν τέχνην ὅλην τῆς μαγείας εἶσαι διαρμηνεμένος;"

53 εκτεναβός c

cot 54 Γνωμικόν

54a καὶ οἱ παῖδες βασιλέων,
 b πρῶτην λέγω τῶν παλαίων,
 c τέχνες ἤξευραν νὰ ζοῦνε,
 d στὴν ἀνδύκη νὰ τιμοῦνται.

54b ζοῦνται 1600, 1603 etc.

54 ἀνδύγη

- Ἀπυλογήθη Ἑκτεναβός· "θεύρω κι ὀρθομαντεία,
 κι ἂν θέλῃς γιὰ νὰ μαντευθῇς εἰπέ μου τὴν αἰτία."
 "Ἐδειξε κι ὅκ τὸν κόρφο του δίσκο κ' εἶχε φεγγάρι
 καὶ ἔξι ἄστρα τ' οὐρανοῦ ὅπου ἔχασιν τὴ χάρη.
 65 Ὡς εἶδεν ἡ Ὀλυμπιάς καὶ τ' ἄστρα νὰ μετρήσῃ,
 ὅλους ἔξω τοὺς ἔβγαλε γιὰ νὰ τὸν ἐρωτήσῃ.
 εἶπε του ἡ Ὀλυμπιάς· "θέλει γιὰ νὰ μ' ἀφήσῃ
 ὁ ἄνδρας μου ὁ Φίλιππος, καὶ δὲς μου ἂν τὸ ποίση."
 Κι αὐτεῖνος τὴν ἀνερωτᾷ γιὰ τὴν γενιὰν τ' ἀνδρός της,
 70 ἔκεῖνο ποὺ τὸν ὀρίσε γιὰ νὰ τὸ κάμῃ ὁμπρός της.
 καὶ τότε ἐξηγήθηκε γι' αὐτὰ τὰ ἔδικά του,
 ἐκ τὴν ἀρχὴ λογάριάσε ὅλα τὰ γονικά του.
 Ἀπυλογήθη κ' εἶπε της· "Ἐρίσκω εἰς τὴν μαγείᾳ μου,
 ἀφήνει σε ὁ ἄνδρας σου, ὡς λέγουν τὰ χαρτιά μου.
 75 Ἀλήθεια λέγεις τὸ λοιπόν, θέλει γιὰ νὰ σ' ἀφήσῃ
 οὐνομαί μὲ τὴν τέχνη μου αὐτὸ νὰ μὴν τὸ ποίση.
 καὶ ἂν θελήσῃ Φίλιππος αὐτεῖνος νὰ σ' ἀφήσῃ,
 ἔχεις μεγάλον ἄνθρωπον γιὰ νὰ σ' ἐξεκδικήσῃ."
 εἶπε του ἡ Ὀλυμπιάς· "καὶ πῶς τοῦτο νὰ γένῃ,
 80 ὅπου δὲν ἔχω ὧς τινὰν οὐδὲ κανένα γένει;"
 κ' εἶπε της ὁ Ἑκτεναβός· "θέλει σοῦ βοηθήσῃ

 63 φεγγάρι corr.

70 μπρός C

74 ὡς λέγουν] βρίσκω εἰς C

- ἕνας θεὸς ἐπὶ γαίῳ, μ' ἐσὲν παιδί νὰ ποίση·
 νὰ θρῆνης καὶ νὰ τὸ παιδί, κ' ἔκαστο θέλει ποίσει
 ὅ,τι σοῦ κίμνει ἄνδρας σου γιὰ νὰ τὸ ξεκοικῇσῃ."
 85 εἶπε τῆς πάλι ὁ κτεναβός· "ἔναι θεὸς κ' εἰς τ' ἄλλα,
 ἀντίπερα στὴν Βαρβαριὰ μὲ κάρτα μαγδῶλα.
 Θεὸς τὸν ἰδεῖ στὸν ὕπνον σου νὰ ἔλθῃ εἰς ἐσένα,
 κι αὐτεῖνος ἔναι ἄφορμή γιὰ τοῦ παιδιοῦ τὴν γέννα."
 Καὶ εἶπε του ἡ Ὀλυμπιάς· "Ἄ λέγῃς τὴν ἀλήθεια,
 90 εἰς τ' ὄνειρο τὸ θέλω δεῖ ἂν ἔχ' αὐτὸ βοήθεια."
 Ἐβγήκε ὁ Νεκτεναβός καὶ τὴν μαγεία του κίνει, I 5
 κ' ἐγύρευσε παρῆμερα καὶ βρίσκει τὸ βοτάνι·
 κινεῖ καὶ κοκονίζει τὸ καὶ τὸ ζουμί του βγάνει,
 ἀνασκυρίζει το καλὸ, παρῆμερα τὸ βάνει.
 95 Γυναίκα ἑκατόρθωσε μὲ τὸ κερί πλασμένη,
 Ὀλυμπιάδος τ' ὄνομα ἔγραψε στὴν κερένη.
 Ἀπῆλθις τὴν ἐξεφλησε ἀνδρῶν τὸ λυχνῶρι,
 κ' ἔβανε ἀπὸ τὸ ζουμί τοῦ λύχνου νὰ 'χῃ χόρη.
 Ἐκαμ' αὐτεῖνη τὴ μαγεία, θεοῦς του καί νος κρῶζει,

84 ὁ ἄνδρας
 91 κίμνει σου.
 97 ἀνδρῶν

- 100 ἔκεῖνο ποῦ ἔβαλεν αὐτός, γιὰ νὰ τοῦ τ' ὀδοινοῖται.
 ὄνειρό 'δεν στὸν ὕπνον της, κ' ἦλθε θεὸς Ἀμμωνός,
 εἰς τὸ κεῖται σέβηκε κ' ἔκεῖνος ἦτον μόνος·
 εἶδε καὶ τὴν ὀγκώλιασε, αὕτη γῆ Ὀλυμπιάδα,
 θερμαίνει παίρνει ἐξ αὐτόν, περισσὴ νοστιμὰδα.
 105 εἶδε πῶς τὴν ἐκλάκωσε ἀπάνω σὲ κλινδρι,
 κ' εἶπε· "Ἢ μήτρα σου παιδὶ νὰ λάβῃ καὶ νὰ κάρῃ."
 ἔξῃπνεσεν ἡ Ὀλυμπιάς, ἔκτεναβῶνα κράζει, I 6
 λέγει· "Νὰ ξεύρης ὁ θεὸς ἦλθε καὶ μοῦ φαντάζει·
 εἶδα τὸ ὄνειρό λαικόν, καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἔκεῖνο,
 110 καὶ ὀρέγομαι το δυνατό, μὲ δαῦτον θὲ νὰ μείνω."
 λέγει της ὁ ἑκτεναβός· "Σὰν τί πράμα τὸν εἶδες;
 "Σὰν τράγον μεγαλόκερον ὀκῶναι μὲ τὲς γίδες·
 καὶ ἔχει καὶ τὰ κέρατα ἀπάνω στὴν κεφαλὴ·
 καὶ κάμε μὲ τὴν τέχνη σου στὸ σπίτι νὰ ἴσθαι πάλι."
 115 αὐτὸς ἀπilogήθηκε· "Θὲ νὰ ἴχης θεραπεία,
 κάμε βραδὺ στὸ σπίτι σου νὰ ἴχω μεγάλη ἀδελφά,

οὕτ 100 (100a) περὶ τὸ πῶς εἶδεν τὸ ὄνειρον ἡ

Ὀλυμπιάδα (vittoria)

101 εἰς τὸν οὐδ. ὄνειρον εἰς τὸν οὐδ.

109 ἐκείνον corr.

110 τον οὐδ.

114 νάρθη οὐδ.

115 θεός οὐδ.

- διὰ νὰ κάμω συντροφιά, θεοῦ γὰρ τοῦ Ἀμμῶνος,
 γιὰ νὰ ῥχεται στὸ σκίτι σου νύκτα αὐτεῖνος μόνος."
 καὶ αὕτῃ τ' ἀπilogήθηκε· "Ἄμε νὰ ῥχης ἄδεια,
 120 μόνε αὐτεῖνον τὸν θεὸν νὰ ἔχω συντροφία."
 εἶπε τῆς ὁ Νεκτεναβὸς· "Ἐρῶν τὸν θέλω φέρει,
 γιὰ νὰ ῥναι στὴν ἀγκάλη σου, εἰς τὸ δικό σου χέρι."
 Ἐπῆρε ὁ Νεκτεναβὸς ἐξ αὐτῆς τὴν ἄδεια
 γιὰ νὰ τῆς φέρῃ τὸν θεὸν τῇ νύκτα μὲ μαγεία.
 125 Ἐπῆγε ὁ Νεκτεναβὸς γιὰ κέρατα μεγάλα, I 7
 ἦρε καὶ τριγυρὸν ἔνδυμα, ἄσπρο ὡσάν τὸ γάλα.
 καὶ ἔβαλε τὰ κέρατα ἀπὸν στὸ κεφάλι,
 καὶ ἔπῆγε εἰς τὸ σκίτι τῆς ὁ μάγος καῖνος κάλι.
 καὶ ἐγένηκε σὺν τὸν θεόν, καὶ ἐδιάβη στὸ κλινάρι,
 130 καὶ τότε τῆς ἐμίλησε· "παῖδι νὰ λάβῃς χάρη"
 ἀρενικὸ ῥναι τὸ παιδί," λέγει, "κυρὸ γουμένη,
 ὀρίσει θέλει βασιλεὶα καὶ ὅλη τὴν οἰκουμένη."
 καὶ τότε ἐκατέβηκε ἐκ τοῦ κραβῆτι κάτου
 καὶ ἐδιάβη ὁ Νεκτεναβὸς ἐκεῖ στὴν κατοικίᾳ του.

Ποστ 124 Γνωμικόν

124a οἱ λαοὶ εἰς τ' ὄνειρό τους

b βλέπουν τὸ ριζικό τους·

c φαίνεται τους τὶ πλουτίζουν,

d ἄσπετα κρατοῦν, ὀλκίζουν. ποστ.:

(124e) περὶ τὸ πῶς ἐνέμειζεν ὁ Νεκτεναβὸς τὴν
 Ὀλυμπιάδα (titulus)

- 135 ἐπικῶνεται ἡ Ὀλυμπιάς, στὸν Ἰκεναβὸν κ' ὕψει,
καὶ εἶπε του ὡς τὸν θεὸν περὶ σισιαν θεράπιδι
καὶ καὶ μ' αὐτεῖνο τὸ λοιπὸν νῦν ἔρχεται ἅπασα βράδυ,
καὶ νῦν ἔμαι πάντα μετ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ κρεβάτι ὁμόδι."
Ἀπὸ λογῆθαι Ἰκεναβός ὡς "Ἄσσοι μου ὁδοὶ ἀνὰ τελεῖαν
140 διὰ νῦν φέρνω τὸν θεὸν μ' ἁγίαν ὁμιλίαν."
καὶ εἶπε του ὡς τὸν Ὀλυμπιάς ὡς "Θεὸς πάλιν νῦν στὸ λέγω;
Τινὰ μὴν ἔχης ἔμποδον, εἰς τὸν Ἀμμῶν σοῦ μνέγω."
Ἐπῆρε πᾶν τὸ θέλημα τότες ὅτι τὴν κυρά του
κ' ἦτονε πάντα μετ' αὐτὴν κ' ἐκέρνα τὴ δουλειά του.
145 Ἰκεναβὸς καμπόσος ὁ καιρὸς κ' ἐκαίνη ἐγγαστροῦθαι,
καὶ τὸ ποιεῖ ἐκ τὴν κοιλίᾳ ἀρχίζει νῦν τὸ γινώσκει.
καὶ τότες ἡ Ὀλυμπιάς τοῦ Ἰκεναβόου λέγει,
ἐβούρκωσαν τὰ μάτια της, αὐτὴ ὁμῶς του κλαίγει
"Μήπως κ' ἔλθῃ ὁ ἄνδρας μου καὶ βρῇ με γαστρομένη,
150 καὶ τοῦτο ποῦ ἐγίνετο αὐτὸς δὲν τὸ πομένει."
καὶ ἀπὸ λογῆθαι Ἰκεναβός ὡς "Ἄσσοι με νῦν ὁδοὶ ἀνὰ τελεῖαν,

135-6 πᾶσαι.....θεράπιδι ὡς

143 ἐκ ὡς

144 καὶ κέρναναν ὡς

145 ἐγγαστροῦθαι

149 κ' ὡς. ὡς ; γαστρομένη

- καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρός σου τὸν θυμὸν ἐγὼ νῦν τόνε παύσω."
 Γερῶκι πιδίνει Νεκταναβός καὶ κῶμνει τῇ μαγαρίᾳ του, I 8
 γιὰ νὰ τὸ εἶη ὁ Φίλιππος στὴν ὑπνοφαντασί του.
 155 Φίλιππος εἶδεν ὄνειρον, κι αὐτὸς τὸ εἶδε μόνη,
 Ὀλυμπιάδα ἔβλεπε μὲ τὸν θεὸν Ἀμμῶνα.
 Μαθήρια τὸ ὅδε Φίλιππος, δὲν εἶχε τί νὰ ποίση,
 ὅπου τῆς εἶπε ὁ θεὸς καὶ νὰ μὴδὲν ἀργήσῃ·
 παιδί νὰ κῆμῃ σερνικῶ, ὀπδῶναι γγαστρομένη,
 160 κι ὀρίσει θέλει τὸ παιδί ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένη.
 Καὶ βουλωτήριν ἀργυρὸ βουλῶναι τὴν κοιλιά της·
 εἶπε της νὰ προσέχεται ὁμοῖα τῇ δουλειᾳ της.
 Κι ἀποταχὺ σηκώνεται ὁ Φίλιππος νὰ ποίση,
 τινὰς ἀπὸ τοῦς μάγους του τὸ ὄνειρο νὰ λύσῃ.
 165 Ἐκάλεσ' ἕναν ἐξ αὐτοῦς, περίσσια προκομμένο,
 κ' εἶπε του τὴν ἀθιβολή, νὰ τὸ ἔχῃ ἐξηγημένο.
 Κι αὐτὸς ἀπilogήθηκε· "Ἀλήθεια τ' ὄνειρό σου·
 αὐτεῖνον ποῦ ὅδε σκίτι σου, ἔχε τον γιὰ θεό σου.

Foot 152 (152a) περὶ τὴν μαγαρίαν ὁμοῦ ἔκανεν ὁ
 Νεκταναβός, διὰ νὰ εἶη ὁ Φίλιππος ὄνειρον (τίτ. us. ;
 νεκταναβόν ο

154 φίλπος ο

158 τῆς] τοῦς 207r.

159 γγαστρομένη

163 καὶ

167 ἀπilogήθηκε εἶπ.

- ἔχει μεγάλα κέρατα ἄκνῳ στὸ κεφάλι,
 170 ἔχει καὶ τράγου ἔνδυμα μὲ μιὰ ποδιὰ μεγάλη,
 καὶ εἶδε τὴν γυναῖκα σου καὶ μ' αὐτὴν ἐσυγκλίθη."
 καὶ ὡς τό 'κουσεν ὁ Φίλιππος, στὰ λόγια ἀπατήθη,
 καὶ φεύγει τότε παρευθὺς μέσα ἐκ τοῦ φουσαῖτου, I 9
 κ' ἐδιδόθηκε στὸ σπῖτι του, μέσα στὴν κατοικίᾳ του.
 175 Ἐκ' ἤϊρε τὴν Ὀλυμπιά, πολλὰ 'τον λυπημένη,
 καὶ αὐτεῖνος τὴν παρηγορεῖ νὰ μὴ εἶναι φοβισμένη·
 "Ἄμα θεοὶ τὸ θέλουσι δὲν ἔχω τί νὰ ποῖσω·
 αὐτεῖνοι γὰρ προβλέπουν τὰ μπρὸς καὶ τὰ ὀπίσω.
 Αὐτεῖνοι μᾶς ὀρίζονται κ' ἔχουν τὴν ἐξουσίᾳ μας.
 180 Μὴ τὸ λυπᾷται τὸ λοιπὸν ἐτόστω ἡ καρδίᾳ μας."
 Ὡς τό 'κουσεν Ὀλυμπιάς ὅλη ἐθεραπείη,
 τὸ πῶς τῆς εἶπε Φίλιππος, σ' αὐτὴν θεὸς ἔκδει.
 Ἐξέ μέρους ὀλιγοῦταικες ἤθελε νὰ διατάξῃ I 10
 Ὀλυμπιάδα Φίλιππος, καὶ νὰ τὴν ἐξετάξῃ.
 185 Ὡς τό 'κουσε Νεκτεναβὸς τότε μεταμορφώθη,

172 τᾶκουσεν

Post 182 Γνωμικόν

182a Ὁ καλὸς λόγος στὴν βίαν

b θεραπεύει τὴν καρδίαν.

Post 184 Γνωμικόν

184a Πάντα τὸ κρυφὸ μακραίνει,

b ἃ μὴ 'ς φανερόν ἐβγαίνει.

(184c) Περί τὴν μεταμόρφωσιν τοῦ Ἐκτεναβοῦ (titulus)

- ἔγινε δράκος φοβερός, στήν μέση τους εὐρέθη,
 κοῦ καθέτον ὁ Φίλιππος μ' ὅλη του τὴν ὁμάδα·
 εἶχαν ἐκεῖ στήν μέση τους καὶ τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα.
 Ἦλθε ὡς δράκος φοβερός κ' ἐκεῖ κλωθογυρίζει,
) ἐσέβην εἰς τὴν μέση τους καὶ δυνατὰ σουρίζει.
 κ' ἐδιέβη κι ἀγκαλιόσθηκε τότε τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα,
 ὅπου καθέτον Φίλιππος μ' ὅλη του τὴν ὁμάδα.
 Ἀπῆτις τὴν ἐφίλησε ὁ δράκοντας ἐκείνη,
 πάλι μεταμορφώθηκε κι ὥσάν γεράκι γίνη·
) καὶ ὅλοι δ' ἐφοβήθησαν, ἔρχοντες καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι,
 καὶ πάλι ἐθαυμάσθησαν σ' ἐκεῖνο ποῦ ὄσαν οὔλοι.
 Ἀπὸ τὸν φόβον Φίλιππος ἦτονε τρομασμένος,
 ἐξάρωσε ὁ τακεινὸς καὶ στέκει φοβισμένος.
 Ἀπilogήθη Φίλιππος μὲ τὴν πολλὴν τρομάν·
) "Ὁργίσθησάν μου οἱ θεοὶ μ' ὅλη τους τὴν κατάν."
 καὶ εἶπε· "τὴν Ὀλυμπιὰ ἀλήθεια βοηθοῦσι,
 σ' αὐτεῖνη ἔρχονται θεοὶ πάντα καὶ δὲν ἀργοῦσι."
 Ἐμήνησε τοῦ Φίλιππου τότε ἡ Ὀλυμπίς·

196 ἐθαυμάχθησαν.....κοῦδα C

197 φόβονφαναίλιππος C

Foot 202 Γνωμικόν

202a φόβος ἔναι ποῦ τρομάσσει

b καὶ τὰ ἔρημα φυλάσσει.

"Αὐτεῖνος ἔναι ὁ θεὸς κόναι τῆς Βαρβαρίας."

- 205 Ἔς τό 'κουσεν ὁ Φίλιππος πολλὰ γὰρ τὸ ἐχάρη,
 ποὺ κἄμνει κεῖνο τὸ παιδί μὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ χάρῃ.
 Ἡμέρες περαζόμενες στὸν Φίλιππο 'ρθ' ὀρνίθι, I 11
 κ' εἰς τὴν κοδιὰ του γέννησε κ' ἔστερα καρχαρίθη.
 Σηκῶνοντες ὁ Φίλιππος, τ' ἄργὸ ἐκαταλύθη,
 210 καὶ μέσα ἐκ τοῦ φλούδι του μικρὸ φιδόκι ἐχύθη.
 Γυρίζει τὸ φιδόπουλο κι ὀλόγουρα ὑψαί,
 καὶ θέλει νὰ 'μπη εἰς τ' ἄβγὸ καὶ κάρσυντα ψοφάει.
 Ἐθαύμασε ὁ Φίλιππος μ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὀρνίθι,
 τὸ εἶδε μὲ τὰ μάτια του, περίσσια τὸ φοβήθη.
 215 καὶ ἔκραξεν Ἀντίφωτον τὸν μάγον νὰ μαντέψῃ
 τὸ τί 'τον τὸ φιδόπουλον εἰς τὸ ἄβγὸ νὰ στρέψῃ.
 Εἰ Ἀντίφωτος τὸ ἔκαμε τότε γιαμιὰ μαγεία,
 γιὰ νὰ εἰπῇ τοῦ Φιλίππου καθάρια τὴν αἰτία.
 Καὶ τότες τὸ καθάρισε κ' εἶπε· "Παιδί θεὸς ποίσει."
 220 αὐτὸ κ' ἄκουεις τὸ παιδί τὸν κόσμον θέλει ὀρίσει.
 Γυρίζοντα γιὰ νὰ στραφῇ, νὰ 'ρθῇ στὰ ἔδικά του,

205 τὸ² om. C

Post 206 (206a) περὶ τὸ ὀρνίθι ὁποῦ ἐγέννησεν εἰς
 τὴν κοδιὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου (titulus)

211 φιδόπουλον C

θέλει ἀποθάνει τὸ παιδί ἔξω 'κ τὰ γονικά του."

Ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα καὶ καιρὸς αὐτεῖνῃ νὰ γεννήσῃ, I 12

αὐτεῖνο λέγω τὸ παιδί, ποῦ κόσμον θέλει ὀρίσει·

225 καὶ αὐτὴ ἐβιάσθη δυνατᾶ, καὶ τὸ παιδί ἐχύθη,

τότε φωνὴν ἐφώνησε καὶ τότες ἐγεννήθη.

Βροντὲς ἐκάμαν μὲ σεισμὸν κ' ἦρθε κοντὰ τῆς ζάλης,

πάραιτα ἐφοβήθησαν μικροὶ τε καὶ μεγάλοι.

Τὸ πῶς τοῦ ὤσαν οἱ θεοὶ τόση μεγάλη χάρη, I 13

230 σὰν ἐγεννήθ' Ἀλέξανδρος, ὁ ἐλίπιπος ἐχάρη.

Καὶ ὀρίσε στὲς χῶρες του ὅλοι χαρὲς νὰ κᾶμουν,

καὶ γιὰ τὴ γέννα τοῦ παιδιοῦ νὰ τὴν ἀναθιβάνουν.

Ἀλέξανδρος ἐθρέφετον σὲ ἡλικιὰ καὶ ἀγαίνει,

οὐδὲ τῆς μῆνας ἔμοιαζε οὐδὲ πατρὸς τῷ γένει.

235 Τὸ ἦθος τοῦ 'τον θαυματοῦν, ἦτον ὡσὰν λοντάρι,

τ' ἀριστερὸ τὸ μάτι του εἶχε μεγάλη χάρη·

καὶ τ' ἄλλον του τὸ δεξιὸν ἦτονε μαυρισμένο,

ἀρδθυμα ἐκοίταζε κ' ἔστεκε μανιωμένο.

Εἶχεν διδάσκαλον καλόν, τὸν μέγ' Ἀριστοτέλη,

222 ἀποθάνησιν

Post 222 (222a) περὶ τῆς γεννήσεως Ἀλεξάνδρου (titulus)

222 τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου C, in quo hic titulus ante 221
positus est.

227 κοντὰ τῆς ἄλλης emendavi.

231 στὲς] τὰς C

232 ὅλοι τὴν ἀθιβάνουν C

- 240 κι αὐτεῖνον τὸν Αἰάνιδα, κοῦ 'χαν κ'οἱ δυὸ τὰ τέλη.
 Καὶ μιὰν ἡμέρα φέρασι ἐν' ἄλογο μεγάλο,
 κανίσκι εἰς τὸν Φίλιππον, ὅπου οὐκ ἦτον ἄλλο
 τοσὸ 'τον μέγα φοβερὸν κ' ἤθελαν τρικηθήσει,
 κανέναν δὲν ἠμπόρειε αὐτεῖνο νὰ κρατήσῃ.
- 245 καὶ ὄρισεν ὁ Φίλιππος αὐτεῖνο νὰ φυλάξουν,
 στὸν στῆθλον νὰ τὸ θάλουναι καὶ νὰ τὸ κατατάξουν.
 κι ὡσὰν ἐγγίνη 'Αλέξανδρος τοὺς χρόνους δωδεκάρης, I 14
 ἐπήγαγενε στὸν πόλεμον κι αὐτεῖνος καβαλάρης
 κ' ἐκτύπα μὲ τοὺς μπροστινοὺς κι αὐτεῖνος κονδαρέα,
- 250 καὶ ὄθεν τὸν ἠβλέπασιν τοῦ χάρμνασι μερέα.
 καὶ εἶπε του ὁ Φίλιππος "Ἐτρατιὰ καλὰ τὴν σιάζεις,
 καὶ ὅλον τὸ φουσάτο μου ἐσὺ νὰ τ' ὀρδινιάζης."
 'Ὡς τὸ 'κουσε 'Ολυμπιὸς πολὺ κακὸν τῆς φάνης,
 κ' ἐκραξε τὸν Νεκτεναβὸ κι ἄρχισε ν' ἀτιβάνη
- 255 "Γιὰ δέξ μου εἰς τὴν τέχνη σου τὸ τί μοῦ θέλει κοίσει
 ὁ ἄνδρας μου ὁ Φίλιππος, ἂν ἔναι καὶ μ' ἀφήσῃ.
 "Ἐκαρ' καὶ τὸν 'Αλέξανδρον τὴν τέχνη ν' ὀρμηνεύσης,
 πάντα κοντά σου σύρνε τον, νὰ τόνε μαθητεύσης."

Post 240 (240L) περί τοῦ κουκεράλου (titulus)

248 καβαλάρης C

250 ἐβλέπασιν C

254 κινδυνίζει C

Post 258 περί τὸ πῶς ἐσυνέβη ὁ θάνατος τοῦ 'Εκτεναβοῦ
 (titulus)

- ἔκπρηε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον γιὰ νὰ τοῦ δείξῃ τ' ἄστρο,
 260 κ' ἐκεῖνος τὸν ἀσχόντησε, γκρεμνίζει τον 'κ τὸ κάστρο.
 Ἀφώναξε Νεκτεναβός· "Γιατί με ἐγκρεμνίζεις,
 ὅπου 'μαι ὁ πατέρας σου καὶ δὲ με ἐγνωρίζεις;"
 καὶ εἶπε του Ἀλέξανδρος· "Τὸν οὐρανὸν γυρεύεις,
 μὲ τὰς μαγεῖες σου τὰς πολλὰς τὴν Αἴγυπτ' ἀφεντεύεις."
 265 εἶπε του ὁ Νεκτεναβός· "Δὲν ἔν παρὰ νὰ γένῃ,
 γιατί σὲ τοῦτο ἡ μαγεία μ' ἔχει διαρμηνεμένη."
 εἶπε του ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος· "Ἦξερες θὰς νὰ ποῖσω,
 πῶς δὲν ἐπαρμερίσεις νὰ μὴ σὲ ἐγκρεμνίσω;"
 "Ἡὐρήκα το εἰς τὴν μαντεῖα τί ἔναι τοῦ ριζικοῦ μου,
 270 διὰ νὰ λάβω θάνατον 'κ τὰ χέρια τοῦ παιδιοῦ μου."
 Ἀκίλογῆθ' Ἀλέξανδρος· "Πῶς εἴμ' ἐγὼ υἱὸς σου;
 λοιπὸν βεβαίωσέ μου το, ἔν εἴμαι ἐδικὸς σου."
 εἶπε του τὴν ἀθιβολή, πῶς ἔναι ἡ σκορὰ του,
 καὶ πῶς στὴν Αἴγυπτ' ὤφῃσε αὐτὸς τὴν αὐθεντιά του.
 275 Ὡσὰν τοῦ τὰ ἐηγήθηκε, ἔμεινε ποθαμένος,

260 καὶ γκρεμνῆσε κτὸς

261 ἀφώναξε

267 ἡξευρες

274 στήν] τὴν

- λοιπὸν κανένα βοηθὸν δὲν εἶχεν ὁ κατημένος.
 ἔαν εἶδεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος κι αὐτεῖνος ἀποθαίνει,
 παίρνει τὸν εἰς τὸν ὦμον του, στὸ σπίτι τὸν παγαίνει.
 Ἀλέξανδρος λυπήθηκε πὼς ἔκτεινε πατέρα,
 280 καὶ δυνατὰ τὸν ἔκλαυσε ἐκείνην τὴν ἑσπέρα.
 καὶ ἦλθεν ἡ Ὀλυμπιάς κ' ἤρε τον ξαπλωμένον,
 τὸν ἄτυχον τὸν κτεναβό, νεκρὸν ἀποθαμένον
 "καὶ δὲν εἰδιάβηκε ἐψὲς νὰ κάμη τὴ μαγεία;"
 Ἀπυλογηθ' Ἀλέξανδρος κ' εἶπε τῆς τὴν αἵτῃα"
 285 "Ἐτοῦτος ἔν πατέρας μου ποῦ σέ 'χε στὸ κρεβάτι,
 ὁπόρχετον καὶ σόλεγε, ἕνας θεὸς σ' ἐκράτει."
 Ὡς τό 'κουσεν Ὀλυμπιάς, τὴν ἁμαρτιὰ ἐμέφθη
 πὼς ἐπλανήθη κ' ἔκαμε μετ' αὐτὸν κ' ἐμοιχεύθη.
 κ' ὕστερον ἡ Ὀλυμπιάς αὐτεῖνον σαβανώνει,
 290 σάβανον χρυσοράντιστον, μ' αὐτεῖνο τόνε χώνει.
 λοιπὸν ἔλειπε Φίλιππος κ' ἤθελε νὰ πιστρέψῃ,

I 15

-
- Post 276 Γνωμικόν
 276. τὰ τῆς τύχης τὰ γραμμένα,
 οὐ ποῦ μέλλουν στὸν καθένα,
 οὐ πλεὸ δὲν μεταγεννοῦνται,
 οὐ δὲν ὅλα διορθοῦνται.
 286 σοῦλεγε
 287 ἡ Ὀλυμπιάς
 290 μετ' αὐτό
 Post 290 (290a) Περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἐμαντεύθη ὁ Φίλιππος
 (titulus).

ἐδιδάβηκε σὸ μάντειο ὡς διὰ νὰ μαντέψῃ.

Ἐρώτησέ τοὺς τὸ λοιπὸν · " Τίς θέλει βασιλεύσει,
ποιὸς θέλει γένει βασιλεὺς κι ὅλα νὰ τ' ἀφεντεύσῃ;"

295 Καὶ τὸ μαντεῖο 'ποκρίθηκε · "Ἐκεῖνος θέλει ὀρίσει
ποὺ κἀτσεῖ στὸν βουκέφαλον κι ἀπάνω νὰ πηδῇσῃ."

Ἀριστοτέλης ἔλεγεν, ἐκεῖνος ὅπ' ὀρίσῃ

I 16

τῶν μαθητῶν τὸ λοιπὸν, τί διὰ νὰ τοῦ χαρίσῃ.

Ἐκεῖνοι τοῦ ἐπῄξασι πράγματα νὰ τοῦ δώσουν,

300 νὰ εἶναι εἰς ἀντίμεψιν, γιὰ νὰ τοῦ τὰ πληρώσουν.

Ῥωτᾷ καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τί γιὰ νὰ τοῦ χαρίσῃ,

ἂν ἔλθῃ τὸ βασίλειον εἰς αὐτόν καὶ νὰ 'ρίσῃ.

Ἀπilogήθ' Ἀλέξανδρος, ἂν ἔναι καὶ ὀρίσῃ,

κεῖνο ποὺ τοῦ 'θελε φανῇ, ἤθελεν τοῦ χαρίσει.

305 "Χαίροις," τοῦ λέγει, τὸ λοιπὸν, "Ἀλέξανδρ' αὐτοκράτορ ·
σ' ἐσένα τὸ βασίλειον ἔρχεται, μονοκράτορ."

Καὶ μὴν ἡμέρα θέλησεν Ἀλέξανδρος νὰ ποίσῃ,

I 17

292 μάντεο οἶα. μάντευσο c 295 μαντίο

295 πεκρίθηκεν c

297 ὅπ' ὀρίσῃ] θέλει ὀρίσει c

299 πράγματα c

302 εἰς αὐτόν c

306 (306_a) περὶ τὸ πῶς ἐκαβαλίσκευσεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος
τὸν Βουκέφαλον (titulus)

καὶ ἄλογον ἐγύρευε νὰ βγῇ νὰ πολεμήσῃ.

"Ἀρχισεν ὁ Βουκέφαλος διὰ νὰ χλιμιτρίξῃ,

310 καὶ εἶπαν του· "Βουκέφαλος ἔναι ποῦ ἀνταρξίζει."

Κ' ἐδιδάβη ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος κ' εἶδε τον ποῦ γυρίζει·

τότε τὸν ἐχαλίνωσε κι ἀπάνου του καθίζει.

Ζὰν τό·μαθεν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐδιδάβη κι ἀπαντᾷ τον,

τρέχει λοιπὸν μὲ τὴν σκουδὴν καὶ γλυκοχαιρετᾷ τον.

315 Ἀνεθυμήθη Φίλιππος ἐκεῖ ὅπου μαντεύθη,

τὸ ποιὸς νὰ ῥίξῃ ἐξ αὐτῶν τώρα τὸ μαθητεύθη.

καὶ σὰν ἐγένῃ Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς τὴν καλικάρῃ,

I 18

ἑρώτησε τὸν Φίλιππον νὰ πῶγῃ στὸν Μαρδὸν

καὶ ἄρματῶναι κότεργα καὶ θέλει νὰ μισεύσῃ,

320 καὶ κῶμναι καὶ τὴν ὀρδινιὰ ὡς γιὰ νὰ τοῦ δεύσῃ·

κ' ἔφερε ἄλογα καλὰ καὶ μ' αὐτὰ ἄρματῶσῃ,

καὶ ὄλους τοὺς ἐνίκησε, καὶ τότε ἑστεφανώθη.

καὶ ἦλθεν ὁ Νικόλαος, υἱὸς ὁ τοῦ Μαρτίου,

εἶπε του ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος· "Πῶρῃ θὲς μὲ παρδίου;"

325 γυρίζει ὁ Νικόλαος αὐτεῖνον καὶ τὸν ρθύνει,

καὶ δὲν ἠθέλησε ποῶς αὐτὸς νὰ τὸ κομείνῃ.

308 ἐγύρευσε ὁ

321 ἄλογα] ἄρματα ὁ

Post 322 (322a) Περὶ τὸ δικόσιμον Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Νικολάου
(titulus)

- 'Ευήνησέ τ' 'Αλέξανδρος νὰ μὴ χολομανίσῃ,
 ὅτι τὴν αὐθεντία του αὐτὸς τὴν θέλει δοῖσει.
 ἂν ἐχολομανίσθησαν, τότες ἐχωριστῆκαν,
 330 μετ' αὐτὸν ὁ Νικόλαος εἶχε μεγάλη κρίκον.
 Καὶ μέσας περριζόμενες ἦλθε νὰ δοκιμάσῃ
 τὸ ἄλογόν του καθ' εἷς, τὸ ποιὸς γιὰ νὰ περᾷ.
 Μέσα σ' αὐτεῖνους ἦτονε κι αὐτὸς ὁ κύρ Νικόλαος,
 υἱὸς Λαρείου, τὸ λοιπὸν, κ' ἔλαμπε ὡς ἀστέρας.
 335 Ἦσαν καὶ ἀφεντῶν παιδιὰ ἐννέα διαλεγμένα.
 μὲ τάξη καὶ μὲ φρόνεση ἦτονε τὸ καθένα.
 Κι ὅλοι ἐτρέχαν τὸ λοιπὸν, ποῖος γιὰ νὰ περᾷ,
 μὲ θέλημά τ' 'Αλέξανδρος μένει νὰ μὴν τοὺς φθάσῃ.
 Ἐκεῖνοι ἐστοιβάκτησαν κ' ἐκλείσασιν τὸν δρόμον,
 340 'Αλέξανδρος ἀπὸ πλευροῦ περὶ μὲ δύνῃς τρέμον.
 ὅς εἶδεν ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος μεγάλως τὸ ἐχῶρη,
 τὸ πῶς ἐδιδέθη ὀμροστέ, ἄλλος οὐκ εἶχε χάρη.
 Κι ὡς εἶδεν ὁ Νικόλαος, ἐφώνηξε· "Μερία,
 ἡπέρασε 'Αλέξανδρος μετὰ τὴν κωνηρία."
 345 κ' εἶπε του ὁ Νικόλαος· "Τὸ δίκαιον νὰ πιάσῃ,

330 κρίκον corr.

332 τὸ ἄλογόν του ο καθ' εἷς C

Post 332 (332a) περὶ τὸ πῶς ἔδραμε Νικόλαος καὶ
 'Αλέξανδρος (titulus)

343 ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος C

- πάλι ὥς μεταδρόμῳ καὶ εἴτις ἀπερδῶν.
 Καὶ εἴπασι τῶν ἄλλων ὅπισω γιὰ νὰ κῆμον,
 Νικόλαος καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁμπρὸς διὰ νὰ ὁρῶν.
 Ἐτρέχασι τὰ ἔλογα ἐκεῖνα τοῦ καθένος,
 350 τοῦ Νικολάου σκόνταψε καὶ ἔμεινε νεκρωμένος,
 διότις τὸν ἐκλάκωσε ἡ σέλα καὶ ἐσκοτώθη.
 Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκέρδαισε καὶ τότε ἑστεφανώθη.
 καὶ τότε πάλι γώρισε καὶ πᾶ νὰ προσκυνήσῃ,
 καὶ εἴπασιν του οἱ θεοί, ὅλα τὰ θέλει ὀρίσει.
 355 "Ῥοὴν καὶ τὸν Νικόλαον καὶ ἄτοξ του ἐσκοτώθη,
 ἔτοι καὶ ἐσὲν ἡ βασιλεία ἐκ τοῦς θεοῦς ἐδόθη."
 Λοιπὸν αὐτεῖνος ἔσωσε εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν,
 καὶ γιὰ τὸν γάμον ἔμαθε, καὶ εἶχε πολλὴν μανίαν,
 τὸ πῶς πανδρεύτῃ ῥέλικπος, τῇ μῆνι του ἀφίνει.
 360 Ἀλέξανδρος ἐρώτησε "καὶ τοῦτο πῶς ἐγένη;
 καὶ ἐρώτησε τὸν ῥέλικπον, ἐτοῦτο ἂν τ' ἀρῶν,
 στὸν γάμον τῆς μητέρας του αὐτὸς νὰ τὸν καλέσῃ,
 γιὰ νὰ τῇ δώσῃ ἄνδρα τῆς τότε βλοσυρὸς τῆς,
 ὄχιον τῆς δώσ' ἡ μοῖρα τῆς καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ριζικὸ τῆς.
 365 Καὶ τοῦτο εἶπ' Ἀλέξανδρος, γυρίζει καὶ καθίζει,

 356 ἔτζη, ἢ παρὰ τὴν.

359 πανδρεύθη

καὶ γιὰ τὸν γάμον τίποτες κοσῶς οὐδὲν τὸ χρήζει.

Ὁ συγγενὴς τοῦ Φίλιππου τότες ἐχολομᾶναι, I 21

καὶ εἶπε τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρου νὰ μὴν τ' ἀναθιβάσῃ·

καὶ κούφα κράτει Ἀλέξανδρος ὁπόπτε ματ' ἐκείνη,

370 τὴν κούφα ἔσυρε λοικόν, στὸν μήλιγγα τοῦ δίνει·

καὶ κάραυτα ξεψύχησε κ' ἔμειν' ἀποθαμένος.

Ῥῶσὺν τὸν εἶδ' ὁ Φίλιππος ὅτι ἔναι σκοτωμένος,

ἐτότες ἐξεσπείρωσε κ' ἠθέλησε νὰ σώσῃ,

υἱὸν τοῦ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον γιὰ νὰ τὸνε σκοτώσῃ.

375 Πηγαίνοντας ἀσκόνταψε κ' ἔκασε 'κ τὴν τρομάρα,

σὰν νὰ ἔχε στὰ ποῦδρια του μεγάλη κρατημάρα·

καὶ τὴν ρομφαίαν ἀρπάξε 'κ τὰ χέρια τοῦ πατρὸς του,

κ' ἐγένηκε ἐκδικητὴς ἐτότες τῆς μητρὸς του.

Ἐκίασε κ' ἐκατάκοψε ὅλους τοὺς καλεσμένους,

380 χάμω στὴν γῆν τοὺς ἔριξε ὅλους ἀποθαμένους.

Ἐκ τὸ πικρὸ τοῦ Φίλιππος ἦλθε γιὰ ν' ἀρρωστήσῃ·

ἐδιδόθηκε Ἀλέξανδρος νὰ τὸν κατηγορήσῃ. I 22

Εἶπε τοῦ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος· Ῥῶσὺν νὰ 'μουνὰ ἐχθρὸς σου,

369 ὁποῦπτε ο

370 μήλιγγα ο. μήλικα ο

372 ὅτίναι ο

375 στὴν ο

- γιὰ τὸν Λυσία ἤθελες νὰ σφάξης τὸν υἱό σου;
 385 Λοικὸν ἔποϋτ' ἀρήνω τὰ καὶ ὅλα θὲ νὰ πᾶν,
 ὅμως μὲ τὴν μητέρα μου σύρε καὶ ἀναπᾶν."
 εἶπε τοῦ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ὑπᾶ νὰ τῷ τὴν φόρη,
 γιὰ νὰ ἴναι πάντα μετ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ οἰκὸ τοῦ χέρι.
 Ἐοιδῶν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ λέγει τῆς μητρὸς του,
 390 πρέπει οἷα νὰ πείθεται ἐκείνη τοῦ πατρὸς του·
 ὁ ἄνδρας πρέπει ν' ἀγαπᾷ γυναῖκα ὡς μάχη,
 καὶ ἡ γυναῖκα πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν φόβον θέλει νὰ ἴχη.
 Οἱ Μακεδόνες ἄπορον, ἐκεῖνος ν' ἀρμηνεύη,
 Ἀλέξανδρος, ποῦ ἐν παιδί, ἐκείνους νὰ ῥηνεύη.
 395 Ἡμέρες περαζόμενες εἰσιτῶν πίνουσι πόνοι·
 μαντάτα τοῦ ἡέραςι, ἀπίστωσε κοῦάνη.
 Ἐπεψε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον κ' ἐκείνους εἰρηνεύει,
 καὶ μὲ τὰ λόγια τὰ καλὰ ὅλους τοὺς ἀφεντεύει.
 Γυρίζοντας Ἀλέξανδρος ὅπου ῥθε ἔκ τὴν κοῦάνη,
 400 ἤλασιν ὅκ τὸν ἀφρείον γιὰ τέλος νὰ πληρώνη·

384 υἱὸν σου corr.

390 γιὰ C

corr. 394 Γνωμικὸν

391a λέγει καὶ ὁ ῥαβμὸν μέσο στὶς παροιμίας του,
 ὁ γέρος ποῦ νὰ ἴναι πολλὰς, δὲν εἴχουν οἱ
 ὀρενιές του.

400 ἐκ C

- καὶ ἀλεκρίθ' Ἀλέξανδρος· "Τιὸ τί ζητεῖτε τέλος;
 Τοῦτο τὸ ἔχω στὴν καρδίᾳ σὺν νῦν ἅμα μέγας βέλος."
 Ἡ' ἐκεῖνοι ἀλεκρίθησαν· "Τιὸ γῆ ὁκοῦ καταίτε,
 καὶ γιὰ νεοὺ κοὺ κίνετα, καὶ ἥλιον κοὺ θαρραίτε
 405 γιὰ τοῦτο σὺς γυραῖομεν νῦν ὅτε διαδοιλαμένοι
 σ' αὐτὸν τὸν μέγαν βασιλὶδ ὅλοι σὺς γγαρεμένοι."
 Καὶ ἀλεκρίθ' Ἀλέξανδρος· "Τοῦτο τὰ ἐκλήρωσαν,
 οἱ γὰρ θεοὶ σὺς ἡμεσιὰ κι ἀνθρώπων τὰ ἐκῶσαν.
 Τοῦτο γινώσκετα λοιπὸν, τίποτα δὲ σὺς εἶδω·
 410 τὸ λόγιον τοῦτο εἰς ἐσὺς ὅλε τὰ παραίδια.
 Εἰλέετε τοῦ σὺθέντη σὺς ἐτοῦτο νὰ μοῦ κοίση,
 τὸ τέλος κοὺ ἐδώσαμε ὅκισω νῦν γυρίση.
 Ἡ' ἐρχομαι καὶ νῦν τὴν ἰσά, ὡς εἶπὲ νῦν μοῦ ἐκίσση
 τὸ τέλος κοὺ μῦς ἐκείνη, καλὰ νῦν μὲ κληρώση."
 415 Ἡ' ἐκεῖνοι, σὺν ἐγρίκισαν, ὅκισω ἐγυρίσαν
 στὸν ἄρρειον καὶ εἴλησι ἐκείνη κοὺ γρικίσαν.
 Καὶ τότες ἐξαγορίσαν Ἀλέξανδρου τὸ ἦθος,
 καὶ ἦνον πόσον θαυμαστὸν, σὺν ν' ἐναὶ τῆς ἐσπίδος.
 Ἦος τ' ἤκουσαν ὁ ἄρρειος, μεγάλως τὸ θυμώθη

 405 εἰδὲ C

406 γγαρεμένοι

417 τότε C

- 420 τὰ λόγια τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρου καὶ δυνατὸ ἐτρέψθι.
 Μαντάτα ἦλθον κ' εἶπαι, ἐπίστης' ἄλλο κῆστρο,
 ἡ θρόκη τὴν ἐλέγαι, ὄντεν ἐβγήκε τ' ἄστρο.
 Καὶ τὸν Ἀλεξανδρόν 'στείλε αὐτὸ νὰ πολεμήσῃ,
 καὶ νὰ τῆς δώκῃ πόλεμον, αὐτὸς νὰ τὴν ὀρίσῃ.
- 425 Καὶ Πausanias ὄνομα, Σαλονικιῶν ὁμάδα, I 24
 μαντάτα κείνος ἔπεβεν εἰς τὴν Ὀλυμπίδα,
 διὰ ν' ἀφῇσῃ Φίλιππον, ἐκεῖνον γιὰ νὰ πάρῃ·
 κ' ἐκεῖνη τοῦ ἐμήνητε, δὲν ἔχει τέτοιον χάρη.
 Ἀλεξανδρος ἐμίσευσεν, κ' ἤθελε νὰ ποτάξῃ
- 430 ὁ Πausanias Φίλιππον ὡς γιὰ νὰ τὴν ἀρκέσῃ.
 Ὁ Φίλιππος ἐδιδόθηκε γιὰ νὰ περιδιαβάσῃ,
 ὁ Πausanias σύντομα τότε σταθὶν ἀρκέσσει.
 καὶ ἔδωκε τοῦ Φίλιππου ἄπῳ στὸ κεφάλι,
 γιὰτὶ δὲν ἐλογόριζε τὰ στέρνα κείνος κάλι.
- 435 Ὁρμήσε μ' ὅλη, τῇ σκουδῇ τὸν Φίλιππον νὰ σφάξῃ,
 Ὀλυμπίδα ἔδραμε ὡς γιὰ νὰ τὴν ἀρκέσῃ·
 κ' ἐδιδόθη καὶ ἀγκαλιάσθη τὴν αὐτὸς νὰ τὴν ἐκάρῃ,
 καὶ μὲν τυχαίνει Ἀλεξανδρος ἐκεῖ μὲ τὸ κοντάρι.
 καὶ αὐτεῖνος ἐφοβήθηκε νὰ σύρῃ μὲ μανία,

421 κῆστρος

422 ὄντε c., ὄντεν edd.

- 440 μήπως καὶ τὴν μητέρα του σφάξῃ μὲ Πανσανία.
 εἶπε του ἡ μητέρα του· "Ζῆρε το τὸ κοντάρι,
 βοῦα μ' Ἀμφώνος ὁ θεός, ὁπδχει τόση χάρη."
 καὶ παρευθὺς Ἀλέξανδρος τό'σσε με μονία,
 καὶ τότε τὸν ἐσκότωσε αὐτὸς τὸν Πανσανία.
- 445 καὶ τότε πάλι σύντομα αὐτεῖνος τὸν ἀρκέζει,
 κ' ἐπαίρνει τον στὸν εἰλικπον ἄκομα ποὺ ἀνάχει.
 Ἀκῆτις τὸν ἡφέρσει τοῦ εἰλικπου ὀμπρός του,
 Ἀλέξανδρος τὸν ἐσφαξε ὀμπρός εἰς τοῦ πατρός του.
 εἶπε· "Παῖδί μου Ἀλέξανδρε, δὲν ἔχω δὲ μονία,
 450 διότι μοῦ ἐσκότωσες μιὰρὸν τὸν Πανσανία.
 Τώρα πεθαίνω μὲ χροά, μὴν εἴστε λυπημένοι,
 καὶ νὰ σοῦ δώσουν οἱ θεοὶ ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην."
 καὶ τοῦτο εἶπε εἰλικπος κ' ἐδείξθη ἡ χαρὴ του
 καὶ μετ' αὐτὴν ἐκλήρωσε κ' ἐβγῆκε ἡ ψυχὴ του.
- 455 Ἐτότεσ ὀρδινιάσσασι, κερὶὰ μεγάλᾳ ἔψαν,
 μ' ἐντύματα βασιλικὰ αὐτεῖνον τὸν ἐσάψαν.
 Ἀπόμεινε ἡ Ὀλυμπιάς, μ' Ἀλέξανδρ' ἀφαντεῖται,
 ἐχόσε τὸν πατέρα του καὶ μόνος του στρατεῖται.

449 παιδομαζανδραειν
 Post 452 (452a) περὶ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ εἰλικπου (c. 110)
 Post 458 (458a) ἐπιστολὴ ὅπου ἔστειλεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος
 εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας (c. 323): ὁ παρ.

"Βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος, ὁ τῆς Μακεδονίας.

I 25

460 ὁ τοῦ Φιλίππου ὁ υἱὸς καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς Ὀλυμπίας.

"Ὅλους σαυράτας χαιρετῶ, καὶ ἕς εἰς τ' ὀρδινισμένοι,

νῆ ἄθετε εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, ὅλοι ἄρματωμένοι.

Γράφω σας νὰ ἡμεύρετε τὶ ἀπέθαν' ὁ πατὴρ μου,

ἀπόμεινα στὴν αἰθωνίᾳ, μόνος μὲ τῇ μητρί μου.

465 Ὀρδινιστήτε τὸ λοιπὸν νὰ πῶμε στοὺς ἐχθρούς μας.

γινὰ νὰ τοὺς καταλάβωμεν καὶ οἱ θεοὶ βοηθοὶ μας.

"Ἐλθετε γρηγορώτερα μ' ὅλο σας τὸ ρουσάτο,

νὰ πῶμε νὰ τοὺς βάλωμε ὅλους ἀπάνω κῆτι."

καὶ ὅν ἀντιτέλῃ καὶ τινός, βάλω νὰ τὸν τιμῇσουν,

470 σὲ σοῦρκα ὑψηλότεστην νὰ ῥαίτω νὰ ρουσκίσουν.

καὶ ὅλους σας χαιρετίζωμεν ὅς κέρω μὲ εἰρήνῃ,

καὶ ὀγαπᾷτε με καλῶ μὲ τὴν ἐμπειροσύνη."

"Ὅσων ἐκοῦσαν τὴν γραφὴν ἤλθον ἔς Μακεδονίαν

οἱ στρατηγοὶ τ' Ἀλέξανδρου μ' ὑπερήκην ὀρδινίσαν.

459 ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ο

463 ἀπέθαν ο

466 υἱὸς ο

468 ἀπάνω κῆτου 1529 ἀπάνω κῆτο ο
ἀπάνω κῆτο 1529, τίτλ. 1115, 1116, 1117, 1118, 1119, 1120, 1121, 1122, 1123, 1124, 1125, 1126, 1127, 1128, 1129, 1130, 1131, 1132, 1133, 1134, 1135, 1136, 1137, 1138, 1139, 1140, 1141, 1142, 1143, 1144, 1145, 1146, 1147, 1148, 1149, 1150, 1151, 1152, 1153, 1154, 1155, 1156, 1157, 1158, 1159, 1160, 1161, 1162, 1163, 1164, 1165, 1166, 1167, 1168, 1169, 1170, 1171, 1172, 1173, 1174, 1175, 1176, 1177, 1178, 1179, 1180, 1181, 1182, 1183, 1184, 1185, 1186, 1187, 1188, 1189, 1190, 1191, 1192, 1193, 1194, 1195, 1196, 1197, 1198, 1199, 1200, 1201, 1202, 1203, 1204, 1205, 1206, 1207, 1208, 1209, 1210, 1211, 1212, 1213, 1214, 1215, 1216, 1217, 1218, 1219, 1220, 1221, 1222, 1223, 1224, 1225, 1226, 1227, 1228, 1229, 1230, 1231, 1232, 1233, 1234, 1235, 1236, 1237, 1238, 1239, 1240, 1241, 1242, 1243, 1244, 1245, 1246, 1247, 1248, 1249, 1250, 1251, 1252, 1253, 1254, 1255, 1256, 1257, 1258, 1259, 1260, 1261, 1262, 1263, 1264, 1265, 1266, 1267, 1268, 1269, 1270, 1271, 1272, 1273, 1274, 1275, 1276, 1277, 1278, 1279, 1280, 1281, 1282, 1283, 1284, 1285, 1286, 1287, 1288, 1289, 1290, 1291, 1292, 1293, 1294, 1295, 1296, 1297, 1298, 1299, 1300, 1301, 1302, 1303, 1304, 1305, 1306, 1307, 1308, 1309, 1310, 1311, 1312, 1313, 1314, 1315, 1316, 1317, 1318, 1319, 1320, 1321, 1322, 1323, 1324, 1325, 1326, 1327, 1328, 1329, 1330, 1331, 1332, 1333, 1334, 1335, 1336, 1337, 1338, 1339, 1340, 1341, 1342, 1343, 1344, 1345, 1346, 1347, 1348, 1349, 1350, 1351, 1352, 1353, 1354, 1355, 1356, 1357, 1358, 1359, 1360, 1361, 1362, 1363, 1364, 1365, 1366, 1367, 1368, 1369, 1370, 1371, 1372, 1373, 1374, 1375, 1376, 1377, 1378, 1379, 1380, 1381, 1382, 1383, 1384, 1385, 1386, 1387, 1388, 1389, 1390, 1391, 1392, 1393, 1394, 1395, 1396, 1397, 1398, 1399, 1400, 1401, 1402, 1403, 1404, 1405, 1406, 1407, 1408, 1409, 1410, 1411, 1412, 1413, 1414, 1415, 1416, 1417, 1418, 1419, 1420, 1421, 1422, 1423, 1424, 1425, 1426, 1427, 1428, 1429, 1430, 1431, 1432, 1433, 1434, 1435, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1442, 1443, 1444, 1445, 1446, 1447, 1448, 1449, 1450, 1451, 1452, 1453, 1454, 1455, 1456, 1457, 1458, 1459, 1460, 1461, 1462, 1463, 1464, 1465, 1466, 1467, 1468, 1469, 1470, 1471, 1472, 1473, 1474, 1475, 1476, 1477, 1478, 1479, 1480, 1481, 1482, 1483, 1484, 1485, 1486, 1487, 1488, 1489, 1490, 1491, 1492, 1493, 1494, 1495, 1496, 1497, 1498, 1499, 1500, 1501, 1502, 1503, 1504, 1505, 1506, 1507, 1508, 1509, 1510, 1511, 1512, 1513, 1514, 1515, 1516, 1517, 1518, 1519, 1520, 1521, 1522, 1523, 1524, 1525, 1526, 1527, 1528, 1529, 1530, 1531, 1532, 1533, 1534, 1535, 1536, 1537, 1538, 1539, 1540, 1541, 1542, 1543, 1544, 1545, 1546, 1547, 1548, 1549, 1550, 1551, 1552, 1553, 1554, 1555, 1556, 1557, 1558, 1559, 1560, 1561, 1562, 1563, 1564, 1565, 1566, 1567, 1568, 1569, 1570, 1571, 1572, 1573, 1574, 1575, 1576, 1577, 1578, 1579, 1580, 1581, 1582, 1583, 1584, 1585, 1586, 1587, 1588, 1589, 1590, 1591, 1592, 1593, 1594, 1595, 1596, 1597, 1598, 1599, 1600, 1601, 1602, 1603, 1604, 1605, 1606, 1607, 1608, 1609, 1610, 1611, 1612, 1613, 1614, 1615, 1616, 1617, 1618, 1619, 1620, 1621, 1622, 1623, 1624, 1625, 1626, 1627, 1628, 1629, 1630, 1631, 1632, 1633, 1634, 1635, 1636, 1637, 1638, 1639, 1640, 1641, 1642, 1643, 1644, 1645, 1646, 1647, 1648, 1649, 1650, 1651, 1652, 1653, 1654, 1655, 1656, 1657, 1658, 1659, 1660, 1661, 1662, 1663, 1664, 1665, 1666, 1667, 1668, 1669, 1670, 1671, 1672, 1673, 1674, 1675, 1676, 1677, 1678, 1679, 1680, 1681, 1682, 1683, 1684, 1685, 1686, 1687, 1688, 1689, 1690, 1691, 1692, 1693, 1694, 1695, 1696, 1697, 1698, 1699, 1700, 1701, 1702, 1703, 1704, 1705, 1706, 1707, 1708, 1709, 1710, 1711, 1712, 1713, 1714, 1715, 1716, 1717, 1718, 1719, 1720, 1721, 1722, 1723, 1724, 1725, 1726, 1727, 1728, 1729, 1730, 1731, 1732, 1733, 1734, 1735, 1736, 1737, 1738, 1739, 1740, 1741, 1742, 1743, 1744, 1745, 1746, 1747, 1748, 1749, 1750, 1751, 1752, 1753, 1754, 1755, 1756, 1757, 1758, 1759, 1760, 1761, 1762, 1763, 1764, 1765, 1766, 1767, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, 1773, 1774, 1775, 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783, 1784, 1785, 1786, 1787, 1788, 1789, 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794, 1795, 1796, 1797, 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809, 1810, 1811, 1812, 1813, 1814, 1815, 1816, 1817, 1818, 1819, 1820, 1821, 1822, 1823, 1824, 1825, 1826, 1827, 1828, 1829, 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833, 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1844, 1845, 1846, 1847, 1848, 1849, 1850, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1854, 1855, 1856, 1857, 1858, 1859, 1860, 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869, 1870, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 2681, 2682, 2683, 2684, 2685, 2686, 2687, 2688, 2689, 2690, 2691, 2692, 2693, 2694, 2695, 2696, 2697, 2698, 2699, 2700, 2701, 2702, 2703, 2704, 2705, 2706, 2707, 2708, 2709, 2710, 2711, 2712, 2713, 2714, 2715, 2716, 2717, 2718, 2719, 2720, 2721, 2722, 2723, 2724, 2725, 2726, 2727, 2728, 2729, 2730, 2731, 2732, 2733, 2734, 2735, 2736, 2737, 2738, 2739, 2740, 2741, 2742, 2743, 2744, 2745, 2746, 2747, 2748, 2749, 2750, 2751, 2752, 2753, 2754, 2755, 2756, 2757, 2758, 2759, 2760, 2761, 2762, 2763, 2764, 2765, 2766, 2767, 2768, 2769, 2770, 2771, 2772, 2773, 2774, 2775, 2776, 2777, 2778, 2779, 2780, 2781, 2782, 2783, 2784, 2785, 2786, 2787, 2788, 2789, 2790, 2791, 2792, 2793, 2794, 2795, 2796, 2797, 2798, 2799, 2800, 2801, 2802, 2803, 2804, 2805, 2806, 2807, 2808, 2809, 2810, 2811, 2812, 2813, 2814, 2815, 2816, 2817, 2818, 2819, 2820, 2821, 2822, 2823, 2824, 2825, 2826, 2827, 2828, 2829, 2830, 2831, 2832, 2833, 2834, 2835, 2836, 2837, 2838, 2839, 2840, 2841, 2842, 2843, 2844, 2845, 2846, 2847, 2848, 2849, 2850, 2851, 2852, 2853, 2854, 2855, 2856, 2857, 2858, 2859, 2860, 2861, 2862, 2863, 2864, 2865, 2866, 2867, 2868, 2869, 2870, 2871, 2872, 2873, 2874, 2875, 2876, 2877, 2878, 2879, 2880, 2881, 2882, 2883, 2884, 2885, 2886, 2887, 2888, 2889, 2890, 2891, 2892, 2893, 2894, 2895, 2896, 2897, 2898, 2899, 2900, 2901, 2902, 2903, 2904, 2905, 2906, 2907, 2908, 2909, 2910, 2911, 2912, 2913, 2914, 2915, 2916, 2917, 2918, 2919, 2920, 2921, 2922, 2923, 2924, 2925, 2926, 2927, 2928, 2929, 2930, 2931, 2932, 2933, 2934, 2935, 2936, 2937, 2938, 2939, 2940, 2941, 2942, 294

- 475 ἄνοιξασιν τὰ ἄρματα τοῦ ὅσαν ὁκ τοὺς γονιούς τους,
 νὰ πῶσιν γλιγορώτερο νὰ σφάξουν τοὺς ἐχθρούς τους.
 Ἦφερε καὶ τοὺς γέροντας τοῦ ὅν κακοπαθημένοι,
 κ' εἰς τοῦ πολέμου τὴν στρατιὰ εἶναι διαρρηγμένοι.
 Ἡ' ἐκεῖνοι ἀποκρίθησαν ὡς ἔπειτα σὲ στρατεία,
 480 καὶ μὴ ἐμῶς ἐποτρύνετε, κ' ἔχετε σμαρτία."
 καὶ ἀπεκρίθ' Ἀλέξανδρος ὡς ἔπειτα ἐγὼ νὰ ἴσθης,
 νὰ ἐρμηνεύσετε κ' ἐσεῖς ἐκεῖνο τὸ μορεῖτε,
 τοὺς νέους ν' ἀναγκάζετε νὰ μακρύνουν στὴν στρατεία,
 νὰ κάμνουσιν ἐγλήγορα καὶ μὲ καλὴν καρδίαν."
 485 καὶ τὸ φουστό μετρήσε κ' ἦρε τὸ πατρικὸ του,
 χιλιάδες πεντακόσιες τοῦ ὅσαν ὅκ τὸ γονικὸ του ὡς
 συντρόφους ἑπταχίλιους ὅπου ὅσαν τοῦ σπαρτίου,
 συμμάχους ἑπταχίλιους κ' ἦσαν τοῦ κονδορίου
 καὶ ξένοι ἐμολέχθησαν ἐσθῆντα χιλιάδες,
 490 ὅπου ἴσθης κ' ἐσμεῖσαι μ' αὐτεῖνας τὰς ομάδας
 ἄλογα μακεδονικὰ χίλια ἑπτακόσια
 καὶ κνημνάρια μῦλλον ἐως τὸ πεντακόσια
 καὶ ὅλοι ἦσαν τὸ λοιπὸν ὁμοφρονισμένοι,
 κεννοὶ τοῦ πᾶσι τῆς στρατῆς, καὶ ὅς ὅντις ἐγδομένον.

477 γέροντας

490 τῆς

492 κιντηνάρη οὐδ.; <τὸ> οὐκ ἐπὶ.

493 ὁμοφρονισμένοι

- 495 'κατὸ κότεργ' ἁρμότῳσε κ' ἦτανε μέσα βέροι,
 καὶ τότες τοὺς ἐρίξασι σ' ἀνατολῆς τὰ μέρη.
 καὶ τότες ἐξεδιδάλεξε τὰ κάλλια καλικάρια,
 ἐκεῖνα ποῦ 'σανε καλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀνδρείας καθάρια.
 Πάσαντα ἐκατέβηκε στὴν Λακεδαιμονία,
 500 ἐκεῖ ἀπόμεινε καιρὸν καὶ κῆμνει καὶ στρατεία.
 εἰς νῆσον ἐκατέβηκε, τὴν λέγουν Λικελία,
 ἐδούλεσέ τοὺς καὶ οὐτοὺς οὕτως κομιὰ μαλίσ.
 καὶ εἰς τὴν Πούλια ἄερασε κ' ἐδιδάβη κατ' κ' ἄραντ,
 Πουλιέχοι τοῦ ἑστεύλασι ἓνα χρυσὸ στεφάνι,
 505 λιθάρια πολυτίμητα μὲ τὸ μαργαριτάρι.
 καὶ εἶπε τοὺς 'Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐκεῖνοι νὰ 'χουν χάρη
 παίρνει καὶ στόμενα περσά, τρακόσια κηντηνάρια,
 δουκτά λέγω μετρητά, ὅποῦ 'σανε καθάρια.
 τότες ἐκεῖθ' ἀπέρασε κ' ἐδιδάβη στὴ Βερία I 30
 510 Βερίας ἐκεῖν' οἱ στρατηγοὶ εἶχαν καλικάρια.
 τότες ἐπαρεκάλεσαν νὰ μὴν τοὺς ζημιώνουν,
 κι ὅ,τι ὀρίσ' 'Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκεῖνοι νὰ πληρώνουν
 γρικώντας τὴν καλικάριὰ ἐκείνους εἰσηνεύει,

 495 κῆσαναι

496 τότε

503 ποῦλια ποῦλ. ποῦλια

ἐτότ' ἐσηρώθηκε ἑκατθε καὶ μισεύει.

- 515 στὴν Ἀμμωνίῃ ἐδιάβηκε, ὁμορφαρδινιασμένος,
 νὰ προσκυνήσῃ τοὺς θεούς, ὅπου 'τονε ταμένος.
 'Εκεῖνος ἦτον ὁ θεός, τὸ ὄνομα Ἀμμῶνος
 ἐμπήκε ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς τὸν ναόν του μόνος
 καὶ ἔστειλε τὰ κότεργα εἰς τὴν πακίδα νήσου,
 520 νὰ λᾷσι γλιγορώτερα καὶ νὰ μηδὲν ἐργήσου.
 'Εκεῖνος γλήγορά 'λογε ἑκεῖ γιὰ νὰ περάσῃ,
 μὲν νὰ σταθῇ στὸν Ἀμμῶνα νὰ τὸνε θυσιάσῃ.
 Εἶσα σ' εὐτεῖνον ἔμεινε νὰ δῇ τὴν ἐρετὴ του,
 γιὰτὶ ἡ μέγα τόλεγε τί αὐτὸς ἔν ὁ πατήρ του
 525 καὶ ἔδοξεν τὸν Ἀμμῶν, ἃ λέγει τὴν ἐλπίδα,
 ὅν εἶναι ὁ πατέρας του καὶ ἔχη τὸν βοήθεια.
 'Εκεῖ ποδ' ἐκοιμήθηκε, εἶδε εἰς τ' ὄνειρόν του,
 τὴν μέγα τ' ἀγκολιάστηκε κα' ἔχει τὸν βοήθον του.
 'Ωσὺν τὸ εἶδε τ' ὄνειρον, αὐτὸν ἀνακαινίζει,
 530 μὲ ὅλη τὴν σπλαγχνότητα ἔμορφα τόνα κτίζει
 γράμματα γράφ' Ἀλέξανδρος, χαίρει θεῷ Ἀμμῶνι,
 ὅν του τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον νὰ τὸν ματευοῖται.

Post 514 (514) περί τὸ πῶς ἐπροσκύνησε Ἀλέξανδρος
 τὸν Ἀμμῶν (Littell).

522 τὸν νεθυσιάσῃ οὐα. τὸν ἐθυσιάσῃ ο

524 τούλεγε ο

526 καίχει τὸν βοήθεια ο

528 του γκολιάστηκε ο

- καὶ τότε τὸν ἐρώτησε ἄν ἔν τὸ θέλημά του
 νὰ κτίσῃ κῆστρ' Ἀλέξανδρος, νὰ στέκῃ τ' ὄνομά του·
 535 καὶ ἀπilogήθη ὁ θεὸς ὃ θέλῃ γιὰ νὰ κάρῃ·
 ἔκτισε πόλιν Ἀλέξανδρον σὶ τὸν Νεῖλον τὸ ποτάμι,
 καὶ ἔβλε τὰ θεμέλια τῆς στὴν παραθαλασσία,
 σ' ὅλον τὸν κῆσμον τὸ λοιπὸν νὰ ᾔχῃ τὴν ἐμπροσία·
 εἰς τ' ἔκτισεν Ἀλέξανδρος τοῦ ἔκπε θυσιᾶ,
 540 ἐτότεος ἐκατέβηκε στὴν παραθαλασσία·
 καὶ ἐκ τὸν Νεῖλον ποταμὸν ἐλόφει ἀπερνᾶει,
 ὅκ τὸ ρουσάτ' ἀκέραια καὶ ὁμκρὸς πάντα κῆει.
 καὶ ἔφησε Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτεῖνο νὰ δοξεύσουν,
 νὰ δορῆναι ὁγλήγορα κ' ἐκεῖνο νὰ φονεύσουν.
 545 καὶ οὐρνεὶ τὸς παῖτας τοῦ κ' ἐκεῖνος ὅν τὸ αἶνει·
 ἐκῆλεσαν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ τόκου καὶ Πλατόνι.
 καὶ ἔφθασε Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκεῖ ὅν καὶ περνᾶει
 ἔκ τὸν τέρουσε τοῦ εἴρεως τότε καὶ προσκυνᾶει.
 ἔκπε ἔς ποτάμι βορεῶν ἔς ποῦ ὥδεκα παγαίνει,
 550 κῆσε ποτάμι τὸ λοιπὸν χωρὶς ἔον γεναμένη·
 καὶ τὰ ποτάμια τὰ ἔκπε ἦσαν κινημένα.
 λοιπὸν αὐτὰ ἐρχόντησαν, στὴ θάλασσα παγαίνα·

 542 ρουσάτο κέραια

552 ἐρχόντεςσαν

ἤρξατο Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκεῖ νὰ κτίσῃ χώρα,
 καὶ ἐμέτρησε τὸ πλάτος τῆς τότε κατὰ τὴν ὥρα,
 555 ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ μήκος τῆς ἐσημεθέσανέ το,
 καὶ νὰ κτιστῇ μικρότερη ἐσυμβουλευσάνε το·
 ὅλοι ἐσυμβούλευσαν τον μεγάλη μὴν τὴν κτίσῃ,
 μήκος δὲ εἴποι συνήθη ἀνθρώπους νὰ γένη.
 μεγάλη χώρα τὸ λοιπὸν ἐξοῦσον θέλει νὰ ᾔχῃ,
 560 μὲν καλλίον ἐστὶ νὰ ᾔχῃ μικρὴ, γὰρ νὰ μὴν ἔχῃ μάχη.
 καὶ ὅρισε Ἀλέξανδρος νὰ χέμουν οἱ κτιστῆδες
 ἐκεῖνο καὶ νὰ τοὺς εἴποιεν ὅλοι οἱ βουλευτῆδες·
 καὶ ἐκάμασι τὸ μήκος τῆς τοῦ Δράκοντος αὐλάκι,
 ὅπου τὴν ἐθερέλιωσαν καὶ ἐκάμαν καὶ χαντήκι·
 565 ἐκτεταται τὸ μήκος τῆς τοῦ Θέρμυος ποταμοῦ,
 ἐκτεταται τὴν ἐκάμασι γὰρ νὰ ᾔχῃ τὴ συνάρτη·
 ἦτον ἐκεῖ τὸ πλάτος τῆς ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ Μηδίου,
 ἐκτεταται καὶ ἐκτεταται ὡς τοῦ Ἀρικογλίου
 καὶ ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐσκεπτε Ἀλεξανδρινούς τοὺς κρᾶζει,
 570 ἐθέτις καὶ τὴν χώραν του θέλει νὰ ὀνομάζῃ.
 οἷς γέρος τὸν βουλευτῆρα· τὴν κτίσῃς μὲν ἀδελφῶν

556 ἐσυμβουλευσάνε το

571 νὰ κτίσῃς μὲν ἀδελφῶν] οὐκ ἐστὶ ἀ
 γιαννακτιστῇ καὶ ἀδελφῶν

τὴν πόλιν, ὃ 'Αλέξανδρε, νὰ στέκη εἰς αἰῶνας."

"Ὅρισε γὰρ νὰ κάμουςι τὸν λόγον τοῦ γερόντου,
γιατ' εἶδε μὲ τὰ μάτια του πολλὰ εἰς τὸν καιρὸν του.

575 Εἶδε νησι 'Αλέξανδρος κ' εἶπε τὸ πῶς τὸ κράζουν · I 32

εἶπαν του · "Φέρον ,δέσποτα, οἱ πάντες τ' ὀνομάζουν ·

ἐκ' ἔναι τάφος τὸ λοιπὸν κι ὅρισε ἡ αὐθεντιά σου

(τρωὸς μὲ τ' ὄνομα), κ' εἰπὲς αὐτεῖνον νὰ τὸν φθειῇσου."

καὶ τοὺς κτιστάδους ἔστειλε νὰ τὸν ἀνακαινίσουν,

580 νὰ πασι γληγορώτερο καὶ νὰ μηδὲν ὀργήσουν ·

κ' ἐοιδόθηκαν κ' ἐκτίσαν τον καὶ πάλι ἐγυρίσαν

τὴν χώραν ὅλη ὁλόγυρα μ' ἀλεύρι ἐμετρήσαν.

Ὡς εἶδασι τὰ ὄρνεα τ' ἀλεύρια πῶς ὑπᾶνε,

στ' ἀλεύρια ἐχυμήσασι ὅλα τους γιὰ νὰ φᾶνε.

585 κ' ἐρώτησεν 'Αλέξανδρος τὸ τί δηλοῖ ἡ πέψη ·

"Ἡ χώρα κείνη," τοῦ 'πασι, "τὸν κόσμον θέλει ὀρέψει.

Καθὼς εἶν καὶ τὰ ὄρνεα ποῦ πᾶν τὴν οἰκουμένη,

ἡ χώρα μας γὰρ πάντοτε θέλ' εἶσται τιμημένη."

Ὁ μάστορας ἀρχίνησε τὴ χώρα γιὰ νὰ κτίζη,

590 κ' ἐβγήκε ὁρᾶκος φοβερὸς καὶ δυνατὰ σουρίζει ·

577 ἐκεῖναι C

583 τὰλεύρη C

588 θέλήσετε C

- ὄρισε ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος νὰ σφάξουσι τὸν δρόκον,
 καὶ εἶπε νὰ τόνε θάψουσι, καὶ νὰ τοῦ κήμουν λάκκον.
 Ἐκεῖ ποῦ τὸν ἐθάψασι, κήμνει ναὸν μεγάλον,
 στῆς χώρας τὸ περίγυρο οὐδὲν ἠύρσκεις ἄλλον.
 595 Στὴν χώραν ἦσαν τὸ λοιπὸν ὅταν ἐθεμελιώθη,
 οὐδὲν ἐλεῖψαν ἀποκεῖ, ὥστε ποῦ τελειώθη·
 καὶ πέντε γράμματά ἔγραψαν σὲ στίχον εἰς τὴν πόλιν,
 γιὰ νὰ τὰ βλέπουν τὸ λοιπὸν νὰ τ' ἀναγνώθουν ὅλοι·
 τὰ γράμματα ποῦ θὲ νὰ πᾶ, ποῦ θέλετε ἀκούσει,
 600 ἐκεῖνοι ποῦ τὰ λέγουσι θέλουν σᾶς τὸ διαλύσει·
 τὸ ἄλφα λέγει Ἀλέξανδρος, τὸ βῆτα βασιλεῖα,
 τὸ γάμμα γένος, ὄρισε ὅλην τὴν αὐθεντία·
 τὸ δέλτα Δία τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸ ἕ αὐτεῖνο πάλι,
 ἐπόκτισεν Ἀλέξανδρος τὴ χώρα τὴ μεγάλη.
 605 Ἐμίσευσεν Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἠθέλησε νὰ ποίση, I 33
 στὸν Σοβραπίδην τὸν θεὸν νὰ πᾶ νὰ προσκυνήσῃ·
 τότες τὸν ἐπροσκύνησε καὶ αὐτεῖνον ὀνομάζει,
 πρόβατα φέρνει περισσὰ καὶ τόνε θυσιάζει.
 Ὅρισε τὰ φουδάτα τοῦ στὴν Αἴγυπτον νὰ πᾶσι, I 34
 610 ὁ κόμης μὲ τὰ κότεργα στὴν Τρίπολιν νὰ πιάσῃ.

 597 πάλιν corr.

603 διὰ corr.

Στην Μέφη ἐδιδόθησαν, ἐκεῖθεν τριγυρίζουν,
 οἱ Μέφοι τότε μὲ σπουδὴ αὐτείνους κανισκίζουν·
 κ' ἐπαίρνουν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον στὸν θρόνον νὰ καθίσῃ,
 εἰς τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὡς γιὰ νὰ τοὺς ὀρίσῃ·
 615 ὡσὺν ἐκάττε στὸ θρόνι, εἶδε ἐκεῖ γραμμένα,
 εἰς μιὰ κολόνα γράμματα κ' ἦσαν διαρρηγμένα·
 κ' ἐλέγασιν τὰ γράμματα νὰ ἴσῃ ἡ βασιλεῖα,
 νὰ καταλάβῃ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς κ' ἐκείνην τὴν Περσίαν.
 Ἐρώτησεν Ἀλέξανδρος γιὰ τὰ ἐκεῖ θεμένα,
 620 καὶ εἶπασιν· "Τοῦ Κτεναβοῦ εἶναι τὰ γεγραμμένα·
 τὸν εἶχαμεν αὐθέντη μας καὶ ἐκυρίευσέ μας,
 καὶ μιὰν αὐγὴ σηκώθηκε ἐδῶθεν κ' ἔφυγέ μας·
 καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς δεήθημεν νὰ δοῦμε τί ἐγίνη,
 καὶ ἀποκρίθησαν σ' ἑμᾶς καὶ εἶπασιν ἐκεῖνοι
 625 ὅτι ἔλθει θέλει βασιλεῖα καλὰ νὰ μᾶς ὀρίσῃ,
 στὰ ἔθνη κείνα τὰ κακὰ νὰ μᾶς ἐξεκδικήσῃ."
 Ὡς τὸ ἔκουσεν Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀγκάλισσε τὴν στήλην,
 καὶ ὅλην τὴν ἐφίλησε μὲ στόμα καὶ μὲ χεῖλη·
 καὶ εἶπε· "Τοῦ πατέρα μου εἶναι τὰ γεγραμμένα,

 612 τότες ο

615 ἐκάττε

619 ἐκεῖθεν μένα ο

626 ἐκεῖνα ο

627 ἀγκάλισε ο

630 ἑκεῖνος τὰ προφήτευσε καὶ τῇ 'καμνε γιὰ μένα."

βιάμενα τοὺς ἐχρήτησε νὰ κτίσ' 'Αλεξανδρεῖα,

κ' ἑκεῖνοι τοῦ ἐδῶκαν με καθαρὴ καρδία.

'Εκεῖθεν ἀσηκώθηκα κ' ὑπάγει στὴ θουρία,

I 35

ὅλοι τοὺς τοῦ δουλώθηκαν καὶ κῆμνουν του μερίσ.

635 καὶ τότες ἐκατέβηκε στὴν Τύρον κ' ἐδιέβη·

ἡ Τύρο δὲν τὸν προσκυνᾷ, μὰ πόλεμον γυρεῦει.

Λοιπὸν σκοτώθηκαν ἐκεῖ πολλοὶ Μακεδονίτες,

ὅπου τοὺς ἐσκοτώσαν αὐτεῖνοι οἱ Τυοῖτες·

γραφὴ ἔχαμε 'Αλέξανδρος στὴν Τύρο γιὰ νὰ δώσουν,

640 μαντατοφόρους ἔστειλε νὰ τοῦ τὴν παραδώσουν·

ἔγραφεν ἔτσι ἡ γραφὴ, σὲν θέλετε ἀκούσει,

οὕτως τὴν ἐδιαβάσαν κι ὅλοι τοὺς τὴν γρικοῦσι·

"Βασιλεὺς 'Αλέξανδρος, υἱὸς ὁ τοῦ 'Αμμῶνος,

καὶ τοῦ Φιλίππου ὁ υἱὸς, ἦτον αὐτεῖνος μόνος·

645 καὶ βασιλεὺς γὰρ μέγιστος Εὐρώπης καὶ 'Ασίας,

Αἰγύπτου γὰρ καὶ πᾶν ἐξῆς, καὶ πόσης τῆς θουρίας·

635 καὶ διέβηκε στὴν Τύρον

636 πόλεμον ἐ Τύρῳ

637 σκοτώθηκαν

639 γραφήχαμεν

644 Φιλίππου : Φιλίππου

- λοιπὸν σὲ ἔθνη ἔρχουν μου αὐτεῖνα τῆς Ἀσίας,
 κ' ἔκεῖνα γὰρ ἐδούλωσα ὁμοῦ μὲ τῆς Βουρίας·
 σ' ἔκεῖνα γὰρ ὑπήγαγα κ' εἶχα μεγάλη ῥῆνη,
 650 καὶ ὅλοι μοῦ δουλώνοντα, κ' ἔκαμνα δικαιοσύνη.
 Ἔσετε ὁρέγεσθε λοιπὸν διὰ νὰ πολεμᾶτε,
 σὲ ποιὰν ὀλπίδα στέκεστε, ποῦ θέλετε νὰ πᾶτε;
 Λοιπὸν τὸ κῆστρο ὁδε μου μὲ τὴν ταπεινοσύνη,
 κ' ἐγὼ νὰ κάμω εἰς ἑσᾶς μεγάλη λεμοσύνη.
 655 Καὶ ἂν οὐδὲν θελήσετε, θέλω νὰ κάμω ὁρόμον,
 τὰ ἄλλα ἔθνη γιὰ νὰ δοῦν, νὰ ἔχουν μεγάλον τρόμον.
 Ἔσῃν ἴσοι Ἀλέξανδρον ὅλοι νὰ προσκυνοῦσι,
 ν' ἀνοίγουναι τὰς πόρτας τοὺς ^{καὶ} νὰ τὸν ἀγαποῦσι.
 Λοιπὸν διὰ τὸ κῆλλιο σας ὅλους σας συμβουλεύω,
 660 καὶ ὅλων σας χειρετίσματα μὲ τῇ γραφῇ σας πέβω."
 Ἔσῃν ἀκοῦσαν τὴν γραφήν, ὁβούλωσ' ἔτσ' ἐποῖσαν,
 τοὺς χαρτοφόρους πορευθὺς ἔπισσαν κ' ἐφουρκίσαν.
 Ἦς τὸ ἔκουνεν Ἀλέξανδρος, ἔσπειρε τὸ κεφάλι,
 κ' ἐγύρευε κατασκευὴ γιὰ νὰ τοὺς καταβῇ.
 665 Ἐτὸν ὕπνον τοῦ ὁ' Ἀλέξανδρος ἐνέ ἴμορρο ὄνειτρο,
 κ' οἱ μάντεες τοῦ τοῦ εἶπαι τι κᾶρει θεὸς τὴν Τύρο·

 647 σὲ] τὰ

650 δικαιοσύνη

659 συμβουλεύω

- κ' εἰς τρεῖς ἡμέρας τὸ λοιπὸν ἢ Τύρῳ παρεδόθη,
 ἔπηρε τὴν Ἀλέξανδρος, στὰς χεῖρας τοῦ ἐδόθη.
 Ἐμπαίνουν τὰ φουσάτα τοῦ κι ὅλη τὴν ἀφανίζει,
 670 κι ὅποιοι ἐκάμαν τὸ κακὸ, πιάνει καὶ τοὺς φουρκίζει.
 Φουσάτο μέσα ἄρῃσε, ὅσ' ἀπατός τοῦ χρήζει,
 νὰ τὴ φυλάγῃ δυνατὰ καὶ νὰ τὴν περιορίσῃ.
 Καὶ ὅρισε Ἀλέξανδρος ὁμπρὸς γιὰ νὰ κρατοῦσι.
 Μαντατοφόροι Ἀφρείου στὸν δρόμον τ' ἀπαντοῦσι.
 675 Ἐφ' ἑρᾶνέ τοῦ τὸ λοιπὸν χουσὸν εἰσὲ σεντούκι,
 βαστούσανέ τοῦ καὶ ραβδοὶ καὶ σφύρα καὶ ματσούκι.
 ἔδωσαν τοῦ κ' ἐπιστολῇ, τὸ τί 'σαν τὰ γραμμένα,
 ἐπιστολῇ τὰ θέλει κεῖ ὅλα τὰ γεγραμμένα.
 Ἡ βασιλεὺς ὁ Ἀφρείος, αὐθέντης τῆς Περσίας,
 680 δοῦλο μ' ὀρίζ' Ἀλέξανδρον, πὸν τῆς Μακεδονίας,
 νὰ στρέψῃ εἰς τὴν μέγα τοῦ νὰ τόνε κανακίξῃ,
 καὶ νὰ τὸν ἔχῃ σὰν παιδοὶ καὶ νὰ τόνε ραβδίξῃ.
 γιὰ τοῦτο σόστειλα ραβδοὶ ὡς διὰ νὰ σὲ εἰρνοῦν,

670 κίσκοι

671 ὅσον C

675 εἰς ἐν corr.

Post 678 (678_u) Ἐπιστολῇ ποῦ ἔστειλε Ἀφρείος πρὸς
 τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον (τίτλις). Ἐπιστολῇ.... ὁ Δ. C

681 τὸν ἐκονισκίξ C

682 καὶ τὸ νερευδίξῃ μακ. καὶ νὰ τὸν ἐραυδίξῃ C

683 διὰ.... σοῦστειλα C

- μ' αὐτεῖνο νὰ σὲ δέρουνσι καὶ νὰ σὲ μαστιγώνουν·
 685 καὶ τὸ σφυρὶ γιὰ παίγνιο, χρυσάφι γιὰ τροφή σου,
 γιὰ ν' ἀγοράζης βρώματα, ν' ἀποκρατῇ (ἡ) πνοή σου·
 γιὰ καίλους ποὺ ἐμάζωξες ἔξοδες νὰ γυρίσουν,
 νὰ παῖσι γλιγορώτερα καὶ νὰ μηδὲν ἀργήσουν.
 Γύρισε καὶ ἐσὺ λοιπὸν κι ἄμε μ' αὐτοὺς ὀπίσω,
 690 τί κέβω νὰ σὲ πιδάσουνι καὶ νὰ σὲ τυραγνήσω·
 ἄμε, καϊδῶκι, τὸ λοιπὸν, νὰ καίξης στὸ τσουγκάνι,
 κι ὁ κόσμος νὰ μαζώνεται, τίποτες δὲ σοῦ κάνει·
 δουκάτα ἔχω ἀμέτρητα, φουδάτα ἔχω πλήθια,
 τὸν κόσμον ὅλον τὸ λοιπὸν ἔχω τὸν γιὰ βοήθεια.
 695 κι ἄ δὲ μ' ἀκούσης νὰ στραφῇς διὰ νὰ πᾶς ὀπίσω,
 νὰ πέψω νὰ σὲ πιδάσουνι, καὶ νὰ σὲ τιμωρήσω·
 καὶ τὸν θεόν, τσалаίπωρε, θέλεις νὰ κολεμήσης,
 ὅπου ἔμαι σύνθερονος ἡλίου καὶ μὲ φορᾶται ἡ κτίσις;
 καὶ τῇ γραφῇ ἀκούσασι καὶ πιδάνει τοὺς ἡ ἑσέλπ.

I 37

-
- 686 γιαναγοράτης corr. (π)ευ πλενι.
 689 καὶ ἐσὺ] καὶ σὺ ἐμελεσάνι petri causa.
 691 τζουγκάνι C; στὸ] το ἐμελεδ.
 693 δουκατάχω eod.
 695 γιὰ C
 698 ἡ om. C

- 700 οἱ Μακεδόνες ἔτρεμαν, μικροὶ τε καὶ μεγάλοι.
 Γρικῶντας ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὅτ' εἶναι φοβισμένοι,
 εἶπε τοὺς· "Ἐτρατιῶτες μου, γιὰτί 'στεν τρομασμένοι;
 Γιὰ κείνο ὅπου ἔγραψε ὁ Ἀάρειος καὶ λέγει;
 'Εγὼ ὀλπίζω στοὺς θεοὺς, ὅστερα θέλει κλαίγει·
 705 αὐτὸς τὸ κέρνει σὸν σκυλὶ καὶ ἀπομακρὰ βαβίζει,
 καὶ ὅστερα τὸν ἄνθρωπον ποῦς δὲν τὸν ἐγγίζει.
 "ἔτσι καὶ αὐτὸς μὲ λόγους τοῦ θέλει νὰ μᾶς φοβίξη·
 λοιπὸν καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπομακρὰ ἄφητε τὸν καὶ ἔξω βρίζη·
 ἐλπίζω πρῶτα στοὺς θεοὺς καὶ εἰς τὴν δυνάμει μᾶς,
 710 νικῶμε τὸν τὸν Ἀάρειον, μὲν νᾶ 'ν καλὴ(ή) καρδίᾳ μᾶς."
 "Ἐτοῦτα εἶπ' Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ὄρισε γιὰ νὰ κοίσουν,
 μαντατοφόρους Ἀάρειου νὰ πῶν νὰ τοὺς ρουρκίσουν.
 "Ἐκεῖνοι ἀποκρίθησαν· "Ἐοὶ σὲ ἡμᾶς προαγμένοι·
 "ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ τὸν Ἀάρειον εἴμασθ' ἀπιστοαγμένοι."
 715 εἶπε τοὺς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος· "Ἢ μᾶρθεστε ἐμῶν,
 μᾶρθετε τὸν ἀβόαντῃ σας, τὰ μύχει δὲ γραμμῶν·
 οὐδὲν σας πέθει 'ς βασιλείᾳ, μόνον εἰσὸ παιδοῖ·

704 τοὺς
 706 ἐγγίζει
 708 μακρὰ
 709 ὀλπίζω
 710 μὲν νᾶ 'ν] μόνον, (ή) βασιλείᾳ.
 714 ἡμᾶςτεν πιστοαγμένοι

τέτοιαν τιμὴν αὐθέντης σὰς μοῦ κἀμναι κ' ἔχω χάρη." I 37

ἑκεῖνοι ἀποκρίθησαν· "εἴμασθ' ἀπεσταλμένοι

720 ἐκ βασιλέα ἀφρειον, εἴμασθ' ἐρμηνεμένοι·

καὶ τῶρα ἠύρισκόμασθ' ἐν τῶν χερσὶν τῶν δικῶν σου,

ὅτι ὀρίσῃς εἰς ἑμᾶς κἀμε ἢ αὐθέντιά σου."

καὶ ἀπilogήθ' Ἀλέξανδρος, αὐτὸς τοὺς δοκιμάζει,

λοιπὸν κανίσκι ἐμπορὸν τῶτος τοὺς δοδινιᾶζει·

725 κ' ἐδόσε τοὺς ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ ἀφρειου νὰ δώσουν, I 38

νὰ τοῦ τὴν πᾶν ὀγλήγορα νὰ τοῦ τὴν ἀναγνώσουν.

Ἐπιστολὴν τὴν θέλει καὶ ὅλα τὰ γογραμμένα,

ἐκεῖνα ποῦ 'κ' Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ τὰ 'χει μελημένα.

Ἐβασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος, νῆδε τῆς Λυμικίδος,

730 περσεονίος ἀρχηγὸς καὶ πύσης τῆς ὁμῆδος·

εἰς τῶν περσῶν τὸν βασιλῆν, ἀφρειον ἀξωμένον,

τὸν βασιλῆν τῶν βασιλῶν καὶ ἀπ' ὅλους τιμημένον·

ἐγνώριζε τ' ὀσχημον ἔν ἐτοῦτο ὅτ' ὀρίξετε,

νὰ λέγεσσι ἐσὺ θεὸς κ' ἑμῶν γιὰ νὰ βρίζη·

718 αὐθέντιος

719 ἡμασθεν ἀπεσταλμένοι

721 ἠύρισκόμασθεν

722 (728) Ἐπιστολὴν ποῦ ἔστειλε Ἀλέξανδρος τοῦ ἀφρειου (lituie)

731 βασιλεὺς 1529, corrig. et em. recent.; βασιλέα.... ἡμωμένων

732 βασιλέα.... βασιλέων

733 ὀσχημον

ὀποθρίξης

734 γιὰ νὰ] νὰ μὲ

- 735 καὶ τοῦτα γὰρ οἱ βασιλεῖς ποσῶς ὁὐκ τὰ ῥευνοῦσι,
οὐδὲν ἀλαχονεύονται νὰ λέγουν τί νικοῦσι.
λέγεις ἐσὺ κ' εἶσαι θεὸς καὶ σὺνθρονος ἡλίου,
τ' ὅποιον θάνατον χρωστεῖς κ' εἶσαι τοῦ μακελείου.
'Εγὼ ὁ ἄνθρωπος φθαρτὸς θεὸς νὰ σὲ πολεμήσω,
740 καὶ ἔρχομαι ἁπάνου σου, θέλω νὰ σ' ἀφανίσω·
λοιπὸν τὴν ἄνω πρόνοιαν περὶ σοῦ τὴν δοξάζω,
'Εκείνην ἔχω τὴν βουλήν νὰ ἴδω νὰ σὲ πειράξω.
καὶ τὴ γραφὴ τοῦ μίσταίλος, οἱ πάντες τὴν γρικῆσαν,
τὰ λόγια ὅπου ἔγραψες, ὅλοι τοὺς τὰ ῥευνῆσαν·
745 καὶ ἔστειλές μας τὸ λοιπὸν χυσεῖν γιὰ νὰ φῶμε,
ὅπου καὶ μᾶς ἔγραψες ὅπως γιὰ νὰ πάμε·
οἱ Μακεδόνες ἔρχονται μὲ καθαρὰ καρδίαν,
ἔμαθαν τ' εἶσαι κλυδοσιός κ' ἔρχονται σὴν περσίαν.
'Α σὲ νικήσω τὸ λοιπόν, θελ' ἀκουστὴ μέγας,
750 νὰ μὴ σταθῇ τινὲς μ' ἄρ' ἐμὲν νὰ πολεμήσῃ ἄλλος·
καὶ ἂν νικήσῃς σὺ ἐμὲν, ὀλίγον ἐν θαλάμῳ,
διότι ὁὐκ ἐνίκησας, σὺν γράσεως, μὲν καιδέσκι·
καὶ ποῖτο σὺ τὸ ἔγραψες εἰς τὴν ἐπιστολήν σου,
παιδὶ μικρῷ μὲ ἔγραψες μὲ ὕλην τὴν βουλήν σου.
755 καὶ ἔστειλές μου καὶ ραβδοὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ νὰ σὲ τύψω,

- τὰ κόκκαλά σου μέτ' αὐτὸ ὅλο νὰ τὰ συντρίψω·
καὶ τὸ στυρὶ τοῦ μόπεψες νὰ στέκη στεριωμένη
775 ἡ αὐθεντιά μου δυνατὰ σ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένη·
καὶ τὸ χρυσόφι τὸ λοιπὸν σημεῖον γιὰ νὰ γένῃ,
760 νὰ μὲ τελῇ ὁ τόπος σου, δυνάτα νὰ μοῦ φέρῃ."
Κι ἀπῆλθε τὴν ἀπόχρασε, πιδνεὶ καὶ τὴν βοιάζει, I 39
α' ἐκεῖνῃν πρὸς τὸν Ἀδρείον γλῆγορὰ τὴν βοιάζει.
Κι ἀποκρισέντουσ' ἔρχοντες ἔστειλε μετ' ἐκείνη,
ἄπῃρον τὴν ἐπιστρέψῃ πρὸς Ἀδρείον ἐκεῖνοι.
765 ὁ Ἀδρείος ἀνέγνωσε ἐκεῖνο τὸ πιστόκι,
κ' ἐννέοιτο Ἰλδέφνδρον ὅτι δὲν ἔναι ποιητικὸν·
ἐννέοιτο ὁ Ἀδρείος ὅτι ἔναι τιμημένος
Ἰλδέφνδρος καὶ πολυηρός, μάλιστα αὖ ἐντραυμένος.
α' ἀπιστολὴν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ νὰ ἴναι διδενισμένος,
770 εἰς τοὺς σπαρτάς Ἀδρείος, γιὰ νὰ ἴναι ἐχοδωμένοι·
"Βασίλειά μὲντε Ἀδρείος, γράφει τὸν ὀριστὸν μου,
κίβω καὶ χριστιανιστὰ εἰς ὅλον τὸν λαόν μου.

771 μετ' αὐτὸ] τὸ βοιάζειν ο
763 ἀποκρισέντουσ'...μετ' ἐκείνην ο
764 ἐκεῖνην ο
768 ἐντραυμένος ο
769-770 νένε.....νέναι ο
Frobt 770 (770a) ἀπιστολὴ Ἀδρείου εἰς τοὺς σπαρτάς
αὐτοῦ (titulus)

- ἔλθετε τί 'Αλέξανδρος ἦλθ' ἐκ Μακεδονία,
καὶ ἦλθε εἰς τὸ σταύρωμα καὶ πιδάνει τὰ βουνία.
775 λοιπὸν αὐτὸς τὰς χώρας μου ολόγυρα γυρίζει,
ἕνας ληστής ὥσάν αὐτὸν νὰ τὰς περιορίζῃ.
Ἀρμαντωθῆτε δυνατά, οὔρετε μὲ μανία,
ὥς γιὰ νὰ μὴ γυρίσουσι ὅλοι 'ς Μακεδονία
κ' ἔχετε τὰ φουσσάτα σας καλὰ εὐδοκίμῃνα,
780 'Αλέξανδρον νὰ πιδάσετε, νὰ στείλατε σ' ἐμένα
καὶ ὅλοι οἱ στρατιῶτες του ὅς εἰν περιορισμένοι,
στὴν Ἄρυσσιν τὴν ἐδέξασιν νὰ τὸν σιδερωμένοι,
καὶ τ' ἄλογα καὶ τ' ἄρματα νὰ εἶναι ἐδικά σας,
αὐτεῖνα πάρτε ἐσεῖς, ὅς εἶναι μευασιά σας."
785 τὸν ἐνογνωσάν τὴν γραφήν, εἶπεν οὖν νὰ γένῃ
γραφὴ ἄλλη στὸν Ἀρρεῖον γλήγορα νὰ παγαίνῃ.
"Ὅλοι οἱ στρατιῶτες σου πάντες σὲ προσκυνοῦτε,
τὸ γράμμα τοῦ μὲς ἐστειλες ὅλοι μας τὸ γρικέσμε.
ἐπαινέζομεστε τὸ λοιπὸν ὅλοι στὴν ἄφεντιέ σου,
790 ὅπ' ἄφηκες τὸν τόπον σου καὶ δὲν κενεὶ κρηκαρδία σου."

773 ἦλθεσσεμακεδονία corr.

775 ὁλόγυρο c

Post 786 (786a) κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν ἀπέστειλαν οἱ
στρατιῶτες τοῦ Ἀρρείου (titulius). 787 ὅλιο 1029

790 μκονῆ edd.; <ῆ> supplevi

- καὶ πᾶσα μέρα εἰς ἡμᾶς ἔρχονται μακεδόναι,
 ἀνδρειωμένοι, τόλμητοί, τίς νῦν τοὺς ἀπομένῃ;
 καὶ γούρεις μὰς νῦν πῆγμεν αὐτεῖνον γιὰ νῦν πιάτου,
 κ' ἡμεῖς δὲ συμβουλεύομε νῦν ἄλλῃ ἢ αὐθεντίᾳ σου.
 795 καὶ νῦν συνάξεις δύναμιν καὶ ὅλον τὸν λαόν σου,
 νῦν ἄλλῃς τὸ γληγορώτερον νῦν διώξεις τὸν ἐχθρόν σου."
 Κοιμῶντας κατὰ Λαοείας, εἶπε διὰ νῦν γένῃ
 ἐπιστολὴ ἐγγλήγορα, γιὰ νῦν ἔναι γοναμένη.
 "Βασιλεὺς μέγας Λαοείας <ε> στρατὰς γράφ' εἰρήνῃ."
 800 ἔβησαν κ' ἔχαστο σ' ἑμὲ μεγάλη πιστοσύνη.
 καὶ γούρως νῦν ἔξορθε, εἶτι καὶ ἡ χημιώση
 Ἰλδέανδρος στὸν τόκον μου, θέλει μοῦ τὸ πληρώσει,
 διότις δὲν γυρίσκεστε σ' ἑμένα δουλωμένοι.
 καὶ ποιοί σας εἰς τὸν πόλεμον βρίσκονται λαβωμένοι;
 805 καὶ ἔγραψέ σας τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτεῖνον γιὰ νῦν πιάτου.
 νῦν ἄλλῃ αὐτοῦ μοῦ γράφετε, θέλετε νῦν μὲ ντροπιάσετε.
 νῦν ποῖον ἔρρῶνται τὸ λοιπὸν, μὲ ποῖον βασιλεῖα,
 μ' ἔνο λιπτήν μὲ κρέχετε νῦν κῆρ τῇ βασιλείᾳ.

795 νῦν οἱ. σ

οἱ 798 (798a) ἐπιστολὴ Λαοείας ἣν ἀπέστειλε εἰς

στράτηγος (τιτλ. σ)

800 ἐμπιστοσύνη σ

802 στὸν πόλεμον σ

804 ποῖος σ

806 νῦν οἱ. σ, ντροπιάσετε σ

ἴαθεσθε, ἀναπεύσεσθε, κ' ὕστερα θὲ νὸ κοίσω,

810 ὅσοι δὲν ἀναγκάζουσι νὸ πιῶσω νὸ φουρκίσω."

Γραφὴν ἐτοῦτῃ ἐστείλα στές ἐδικές του χώρες,

ὅλοι γιὰ ν' ἀναγκάζονται νύκτες καὶ τὲς ἡμέρας

ἐγρίκησε Ἀλέξανδρος ὅτι κοντὰ κοντεύει

I 40

γραφὴ ἔκαμεν ὁ Ἀάριος, καὶ τότε τοῦ τὴν πέρει.

815 "Βασιλεὺς μέγας Ἀάριος, σ' ὅλους τετιμημένος,

λανθάνεσαι, Ἀλέξανδρε, καὶ εἶσαι κομκομένος

καὶ σὲ λανθάνει, Ἀλέξανδρε, πὼς εἰμ' ἐγὼ μεγάλος,

πτόν κόσμον ὅλον τὸ λοιπὸν ποὺ δὲν ἠύρισκετ' ἄλλος

ὁ σ' ἐπαντᾷ, Ἀλέξανδρε, ἐκεῖ γιὰ ν' ἐφαντεύης,

820 πτὴν χώρα τὴν Μακεδονιά, μὲ δῶ ἴρως καὶ γυρεύεις

κ' ἐπικραεὶς καὶ ἐμύχμας αὐτείνους ποὺ σοῦ μοιᾶζου,

καὶ σὺτεῖνοι οἱ τελατῆαροι μ' ἐσένα ὁμονοῖζου.

πτὴν ἐαυτὸν σου τὸ λοιπὸν κηρύττεις βασιλεῖς,

κρητῆς, θέλεις τίς χώρας μου καὶ κάμνεις καὶ μελέα.

825 Ἐκκόφρονε Ἀλέξανδρε, τί ἔναι τὸ γυρεύεις;

πύρισε εἰς τὸ σάει σου νὸ πύγης ν' ἐφαντεύης.

812 γιὰ ν' ἀναγκάζονται] ἀναγκάζονται επεπείναι.

Post 814 (814a) 'Ἰαίετολ' ἦν ἐξοστὴς Ἀάριος Ἀλέξανδρου
(τίτλιν)

817 καὶ] δὲν επεπείναι

820 μαθόρθεις]

822 ὁμονοῖζου]

826 νάφεστῆς]

Ὀμνέει σου εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς, τίποτα γὰρ μὴν ποίσω,
 κ' ἐκεῖνα ὅπου μούσφαλες γὰρ σοῦ τὰ συμπαθήσω."

Τρικώντας ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ποσσὶς δὲν ἐσαλεύθη, 1 41

830 μάλ्लιο 'ξ ἐκεῖνο πού 'τονε περισσότερο ἐχρέυθη·
 κ' οἱ μέντοι ἐγρικήσαντι τί Ἀλέξανδρος ἐμπαίνει,
 λοιπὸν ὅλοι στὸν πόλεμον ἦσαν ὀρδινισμένοι·
 καὶ τὰ θοαπνοσμέα εἶχαν ὀρδινισμένα,
 σὲ πόπον ἐπιτήθειον τὰ εἶχαι βελημένα·

835 καὶ ὀρδινισμένοι ἦσαν σ' αὐτὸ τοὺς Ἀμαζόνους
 γὰρ γὰρ τοὺς ἀπολύσουσι ἄπαντ' ἔς περὶ δόλους·
 καὶ ἄλλο φουστὶ ἐρμάτωσαν, ὁμοῦτα βεβωμένο,
 τὴν πᾶσιν ὅλην τῆς στρατιᾶς ἦσαν διαρμηνεμένο·
 κ' ἐκαρταγγεῖλαν ὁλάνθον, πᾶν βοῦκινο παρῆσθι,
 840 τότε γὰρ κᾶμῃ παρᾶς ἐκεῖνο πού μπορέσθι.

ὅν ἔφτασε Ἀλέξανδρος, τὸ βοῦκινο παρῆσθι,
 'καὶ τὰ δύο μέρη κονδοῶδες ὅλοι τοὺς γὰρ πτυλοῦται.
 καὶ ἐκποτύθησαν κολλοί, νέοι καὶ πολιτάρια,
 ὅπου τοὺς ἐκτυπούσαςι στὸ στῆθος μὲ κοντάρια·

828 μούσφαλες ὁ

Post 312 (345a) παρῆσθι πόλεμος πρῶτος τριπλῆς
 πόλεμος πρῶτος παρῆσθι ὁ

842 κονταῶδες ὁ

843 κονδοῦρια ὁ

- 845 στ' ἄλογ' ἀνέβ' Ἀλέξανδρος κ' εἶπε διὰ ν' ἀρχίσσων
οἱ σάλπιγγες γιὰ νὰ λαλοῦν, διὰ νὰ πολεμήσουν.
Βοή ἐγένετο πολλὴ ἀνθρώπων καὶ κτημάτων,
ποῦ τέτοιο πρῶμα κανενεῖς ποτὲ δὲν τὸ θυμᾶτον·
παιγνύδια τὸτ' ἐπαίξασι ὁμοῦ κι ἀνακαρδῶες,
850 τότες ἐπολεμήσασι αὐταῖνοι οἱ ὁμάδες·
καὶ τότες ἐσυνέκρουσαν πρῶτα μετὰ κονδάρια,
τὰ παλικάρια ἤβλαπες ὁποῦ ἔσανε παθάρια·
καὶ τὰ κονδάρια τοῖφθῆσαν σ' ἐκαίνῃ τῇ πασσίᾳ,
καὶ τὰ σκοθία βγάλῃσι, κέρνον μετοχυσίᾳ.
855 πολλὸν καιρὸν ἐμῶχοντον τότες καὶ ἐκτοχοῦσαν,
τὸ ἄρματα ἔκ τὰς κοπανὰς ἐκεῖν' ἀντιλαλοῦσαν·
κι ὁ Ἀβρεῖος ἐστέκετον ὁλόγω εἰς τ' ἄμει,
εἰς τόπον στέκετον ψηλὸ, τὴρ' κατὰ τὴν τάξιν.
ἔασθῆμεν Ἀλέξανδρος κ' εἶπε· "Ἦν παλικάριοι,
860 ὅλοι ἄε σταματήσωμε ἐποῦτα τὸ κονάριοι.
Ἐμεῖς λύκοι λεγόμεσθον, πρόβατ' αὐτοὶ λογοῦνται,
ὅλους ἄε τοὺς σκοτώσωμε, ἅλῳ νὸ μὴ καυχῶνται."
Γαὶ τότες πάλι ἔλεγε· "Ἐπταεῖντες ἀκακοῦντες,

851, 853, 860 κοντάρια C

853 σεκαίνῃ τὴν πασσία C

860 ἐσταματήσωμε

861 λεγόμεσθον, πρόβατα C

νῆ τιμηθῶμε σήμερον, νῆ βγοῦμε μὲ κορδὺνες."

- 865 καὶ τότες ἐχυμῆσασι μὲ καθαρὰ καρδίᾳ,
οἱ Πέρσαις ἐτσακίζονταν κ' ἐκδήνασι μερία·
ρουσάτο γὰρ τὸ πέρτικο ἦτον πολλὰ μεγάλο,
πτὸν κόσμον ὅλον τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδὲν ἠύρισκετ' ἄλλο·
κ' ἐκδήμαν ἀνακτόρωμ τότε πολλὸ μεγάλο,
- 870 τοῦ δὲν ἐγνώριζε τινὰς ἕναν ἀπὸ τὸν ἄλλο·
καὶ δὲν ἐγνώριζόντανε ποιοὶ 'νοὶ οἱ περσεῶνοὶ,
οἱ Πέρσαις ἐσκοτίσθησαν κ' ἦσαν τρομασμένοι·
καὶ δὲν ἐγνώριζεσ ἐκεῖ πρὶν ἢ καβαλῶρη,
κι ὁκοῦ 'τον ἄνδρας ἐδοκεῖ ἐτσακίζει κονδῶρι·
- 875 οὔτε τῇ γῇ ἐβλάπτει οὐδ' οὐρανὸν ἀπάνου,
ἀπὸ τὸν πόσον κονιτικὸν τὸ φῶς τοὺς ὅλοι χάνου.
καὶ ὅλοι ἐκ τῆς κοπονὸς ἐμειναν δειλισμένοι,
ἡ νύκτα τοὺς ἐβόησε κ' ἐφύγαν οἱ καμμένοι.
κ' οἱ Πέρσαις ἐφοβήθησαν, φεύγουν οἱ ὀργισμένοι,
- 880 αἰς τὸ κλαδία μπαίνουσι κ' ἐστέκον μουλωμένοι.

866 ἐτσακίζονταν

870 ἕνας = una vi

871 ἐτσακίζει

874 κοντόρη c

878 ἐφόβησε.... ἡ καμμένοι c

880 αἰς c

871 ποῖναι

- 'Εβλέποντα ὁ Δάριος κατέβη ἐκ τ' ἁμάξι,
 ἐκ τὴν πολλή του τὴν πρικιά ἦτονε νὰ πλαντάξῃ·
 ἄλογο ἦρε γλήγορο κι ἁπάνου τ' ἀνιβαίνει,
 καὶ φεύγει ὁ κακότυχος καὶ κλιὸ δὲν ἀνιμένει.
 885 'Αλέξανδρος τοὺς ἐδίωξε κ' ἐπιάσε τὴ μητέρα
 τοῦ Δάριου καὶ τὴν γυνὴ καὶ μὴ του θυγατέρα.
 'Ενίκησεν 'Αλέξανδρος κ' ἐβγήκε τιμημένος,
 καὶ Δάριος ὁ ταπεινὸς ἔμεινε κομπωμένος·
 κ' ἐπαίρνει τὸ φουσάτο του 'Αλέξανδρος νὰ πᾶσι, I 44
 890 εἰς χώραν Ῥήδων διέβηκε κι αὐτέλους ὑποτάσσει.
 'Ο τόπος ἦτον ἄνυδρος κ' ἤλθασι νὰ πλαντάξουν
 ἀπὸ τὴν πεῖνα ὅλοι τους, σὺν 'τοιμο νὰ λιμᾶζουν·
 στὴν στράτα ἤρρασι νερὸ κ' ἔπιαν ὁποῦ διψοῦσα,
 ἀπὸ τὴν πεῖνα τὴν πολλὴν ἐξ αὐτοὺς ἐσκοτώσα.
 895 Καὶ ὄρισεν 'Αλέξανδρος κ' εἶπε διὰ νὰ σφάξουν
 τὰ ἄλογά τους γιὰ νὰ φᾶν, ὥς γιὰ νὰ μὴ λιμᾶζουν.
 'Εσφάξασι τὰ ἄλογα, πιάνουν καὶ τὰ τρῶσιν,
 898 καὶ ὅλοι ἐχόρτάσσαι ἐξ ἐκείνων τὴν βρῶσιν.
 901 εἶπαν οἱ στρατιῶτες του σὲ τοῦτο· "εἰ νὰ γένη,

883 κιαπανοτου C

886 καὶ¹ om. C

890 αὐτέλνος corr.

899-902 ordinem distichorum antevi, sed utriusque
 primum hemistichium recte retinui. Editiones habent:
 (899) Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος· "εἴμασταν κτλ.
 (901) εἶπε τοὺς· "στρατιῶτες μου, σὲ τοῦτο κτλ.

- 902 ποῦ φάγαμε τὰ ἄλογα, ὅπου 'μαστεν χρειασμένοι;"
- 899 καὶ εἶπεν ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος· "εἴμαστεν χορτασμένοι
- 900 ἀπὸ τὴν πείναν τὴν πολλήν, ποῦ 'μαστεν πεινασμένοι.
- 903 Λοιπὸν ἀναγκαιότερον εἶναι γιὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους,
- καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι φανερό μετὰ πολλοῦς τοὺς τρόπους.
- 905 Λοιπὸν διὰ τὰ ἄλογα δὲν εἴμαστεν χρειασμένοι,
- γιατὶ ἃ δὲν τὰ τρώγαμε ἡμαστ' ἀποθαμένοι.
- καὶ ἄλογα ἠέρισκομεν σὲ τόπον τὸν καθένα,
- καὶ στρατιῶτες περισσοῦς νὰ 'λθοῦσι μετὰ μένα.
- τώρα ἂν ἔλθῃ εἰς ἑμᾶς φρουρότο, ἐγρικοῦμε
- 910 πρὸς τὴν καρδίαν ποῦ ἔχομεν πεζοὶ νὰ τοὺς δεχθοῦμε.
- "Ὅς κἀμῶμε ξυλόκαστρο μέσα διὰ νὰ μποῦμε,
- II 9
- ὅσο νὰ 'λθῇ βοήθεια γιὰ νὰ βοηθηθοῦμε·
- ἐγὼ ἀνθρώπους ἔπεσα ποῦ πᾶνε ταχυτέρου
- στοὺς τόπους ὅπου κῆραμε, βοήθεια νὰ μᾶς φέρου."
- 915 Ἐξ ὁὗ μέρους τὸ λοιπὸν 'Αλέξανδρος ἐδιέβη,
- εἰς τόπον ἐκατέβηκε, ὅπου 'τονε λιβάδι·
- καὶ τοῦ Ἀρείου ἄλογα ἦταν ἐκεῖ βαλμένα,
- χιλιᾶδες ἦσαν πολλὰς κ' ἦσαν καλὰ θρεμμένα.

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- 900 ποῦμασθεν C
 902 ὀποῦμασθεν C
 906 ἀποθεμένοι C
 907 καὶ 1529
 910 ποῦχομαι C
 911 μέσα νὰ πολεμοῦμε C
 912 βοηθοῦμε C
 913 ἔπεσε....πᾶν τοῦ C
 917 κεῖ C

- Τότες οἱ στρατιῶτες του αὐτὰ καβαλιχεύσαν,
 920 εἰς τὸν Ἀφράτη ποταμὸν ἐπήγαν κ' ἐπεζεύσαν.
 Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος νὰ κάμη ἡ στρατιὰ του,
 τὸν ποταμὸν γιὰ νὰ περνοῦν ὀρίζ' ἡ ἄφεντιά του.
 Γρικῶντα ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος φοβοῦνται Μακεδόνες,
 εἶπε· "Ἄς περάσουσι τ' ἀμάξια κ' οἱ κατόνες."
 925 Καὶ πάλι ἐφοβοῦντανε, μὴν πέση τὸ γιοφύρι
 καὶ τὸ νερὸν τοῦ ποταμοῦ γένη σ' αὐτοὺς κιβούρι.
 Ἀλέξανδρος σηκώθηκε κ' εἶπε διὰ νὰ ποίση,
 οἱ στρατιῶτες κι ὁ λαὸς νὰ τὸν ἀκολουθήση.
 Ἀρχίνησε Ἀλέξανδρος πρῶτος γιὰ νὰ περνᾷ,
 930 τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπέρασε κι ὀμπρὸς ἀτός του πᾶει·
 κι ἄλλο ποτάμ' ἀπέρασε μ' ὅλη του τὴ στρατεία,
 κι ἀντίπερα περάσασι στὴ Μεσοποταμία.
 Ἀπήτις πέρα ἔσωσαν καὶ ὅλοι ἀπεράσαν,
 ὅρισε τὰ γιοφύρια τότες καὶ τὰ χαλάσαν·
 935 καὶ ὅλοι ἐπικραίνονταν αὐτοὶ οἱ στρατιῶται·
 τί ἄν τοὺς ἔλθῃ τσακισμός, νὰ φύγουσι ποῦ τότε:

931 ποτάμι πέρασε ο

const 932(932a) περὶ τὸ πῶς ἐχάλασε τὸ γιοφύρι
 ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τῆς Μεσοποταμίας (τίτλιος,
 τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ...)

'Απεκρίθη 'Αλέξανδρος καὶ εἶπε· "στρατιῶτες,
 γὰρ τσακισμὸν σεῖς λέγετε, νὰ φεύγετε ἐτότε;
 Γιατὶ δὲν λογαριάζετε τὶ θέλομε νικήσει,
 940 μὰ λέγετε· 'Νικοῦνε μας'-ὁ θεὸς νὰ μὴν τὸ 'ρῶσι.
 Καὶ τὰ γιοφύρια χάλασα πρόθυμα νὰ κτυκᾶτε,
 μὴδὲν τὸ λογαριάζετε ὅπως γὰρ νὰ κᾶτε.
 'Ο πόλεμος γὰρ δὲ φελα ὀκνοῖ τῶν φευγόντων,
 μὰ τιμημένος βρίσκεται πόνοι τῶν διωκόντων.
 945 Λοιπὸν γινώσκειτ' ἀδελφοί, τὶ θέλομε νικήσει,
 καὶ πασαιεῖς στὸ σκίτι του γλήγορα θὲ γυρίσει."
 'Ετοῦτα εἶπ' 'Αλέξανδρος κ' ἐθραυσοποίησέ τους,
 προθύμους εἰς τὸν πόλεμον μὲ λόγους ἔκαμέ τους.
 'Επήγαν καὶ ἀπέχευσαν στὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Τίγρη,
 950 ἔκει ἐκάμασι καιρὸν, γιὰτ' ἦτον ποτιστήρι.
 'Ανθρώπους ἐκ τοῦς Πέρσεας πεντέ 'δαν ταχύτερου,
 ὄρισεν ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος ὁμπρὸς του νὰ τοῦς φέρου·
 οἱ Μακεδόνες ἔδραμαν γλήγορα μὴν τοῦς χάσου,

940 νικοῦνεμας corr.

946 στὸ] τὸ

950 γιὰτ' ἦτον] ὀκοῦτον

953 μακεδόνας corr.

953 ἔδραμον

- κ' ἐκεῖνοι ἐκρυφθήσανε εἰς μιὰ μεριὰ τοῦ ὁδοῦ.
 955 Εἷς Πέρσης γὰρ τοῦ Ἀδρείου τὲς φορεσές τ' ἀλλόσσει
 μὲ ροῦχα μακεδονικὰ ἐκείνους νὰ γελᾷ
 καὶ τὸ τσεκούρ' ἀσκήκουνε τοῦ βασιλιῶς νὰ δώσῃ.
 Εἷς τὸ κεφάλι τὸ 'δωσε, γιὰ νὰ τὸν θανατώσῃ.
 Στοῦ 'Αλεξάνδρου βρέθηκε στὴν κεφαλὴν κασίδι,
 960 τὴν κοπανιὰ δὲν ἔχρηξε ἐκείνη ποῦ τοῦ δίδει.
 Τὸν στρατιώτην ἔκριασαν, σ' 'Αλέξανδρον ὕπανε,
 οἱ Μακεδόνες ἔδραμαν ὅλοι νὰ τὸνε φάνε.
 Εἶπε του ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος· "Τί τόλμη γὰρ ἐποίησες,
 ὅπου 'ρθες καὶ μοῦ βάρεσες καὶ δὲν ἐφοβηθήκες;"
 965 'Ακίλογῆθ' ὁ στρατηγός· "'Εγὼ 'μαι δουλωμένος
 τ' ἀφέντη μου τοῦ Ἀδρείου, κ' εἶμαι ἐδῶ σταλμένος·
 καὶ εἶπε μου ὁ Ἀδρείος τί ἂ σὲ θανατώσω,
 ' ἐγὼ τῇ θυγατέρα μου γυναῖκα νὰ σοῦ δώσω'.
 "Ἄν πάρω τὸ κεφάλι σου, εἶπε μου νὰ μετέχω

954 ἐκρυφθήσανε

out 954 (954) περί όταν ένας στρατιώτης του Αδρείου
 ἄλλαξε τὴν φορεσιά του καὶ ἐπῆγε εἰς τὸ φουστό τοῦ
 'Αλεξάνδρου (titulus)

957 τζηκούρη ἀσέκωσε, τζεκούρ' αἰα.

957 βασιλέως

962 ἔδραμον

968 σοῦ] σε

969 κἀγω corr.

- 970 στήν βασιλεία του χάρισμα, πατέρα νά τήν ἔχω."
 'Ακούοντα 'Αλέξανδρος σύναξε τῇ στρατιᾷ του,
 μέσα στή μέσ' ἐστάθηκε κ' εἶπε τῇ συντυχιδᾷ του.
 Κ' εἶπε · "Κ' ἐσεῖς, στρατιῶτες μου, ἔτσι νά μὴ φοβάστε
 γιὰ τὴν τιμὴν τὸν θάνατον, καὶ νά τόνε θυμάστε."
 975 καὶ τοῦτο εἶπ' 'Αλέξανδρος καὶ τότε τὸν ἀφήνει,
 καὶ χάρισμα εὐγενικὸν ἐκείνου γὰρ τοῦ δίνει.
 Καὶ τὸ φουσάτο πού 'τονε ἐκεῖ τὸ τοῦ Δαρείου, II 10
 σηκώθη δὲ καὶ ἔφυγε κι αὐτεῖνο πισαυρίου.
 'Απόμεινε 'Αλέξανδρος σ' ἐκεῖνον γὰρ τὸν τόπον,
 980 καὶ ἀναπαύτη ἡ στρατιὰ ἐκ τὸν περισσίων κόπον.
 Καὶ ἄλλος ἐκ τοῦ Δαρείου σ' 'Αλέξανδρον παγαίνει ·
 "Δάρειον," λέγει, "δοῦλευσα κι αὐτὸς δὲν μὲ πληρώνει ·
 κ' ἦλθα στήν αὐθεντία σου φουσάτο νά 'ρδινιδῶ,
 χιλιάδες δέκα στρατηγούς, νά πᾶ νά τόνε πιδῶ."
 985 Εἶπε του ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος · "Ἠγγαίνε τῇ δουλειᾷ σου,
 ποτὲ εἰς τὸν αὐθέντη σου μὴν ἔναι κιβουλιᾷ σου.
 'Επειδὴ τὸν ἀφέντη σου θέλεις νά παραδώσης,

973-4 φοβάστε-θυμάστε inter se permutavi.
 Post 980 (980_a) Περὶ τὸ πῶς ἐπῆγε ἕτερος στρατιώτης
 τοῦ Δαρείου εἰς 'Αλέξανδρον (titulus)
 982 ἐδοῦλευσα c
 984 πᾶν c

- κρένω καλὸν στὸν θάνατον νὰ μὴν τὸν ἀποδώσης."
- Αὐτεῖνον ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος κοσῶς δὲν τὸν ἐδέχθη,
- 990 μὰ μέσα ἡ καρδία του περὶ σσια τὸν ἐμέφθη.
- Οἱ στρατηγεῖ τοῦ Δαρείου ἐκάμαν νὰ ξορθώσουν
- ἐπιστολὴ τ' ἀφέντη τους γουργὰ νὰ τὸν τὴν δώσουν.
- "Εἰς τὸν ἀφέντη τὸν ἐμῶν, Δαρείον τιμημένο,
- ἐμεῖς γιὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον σ' ἔχομε μνημένο "
- 995 καὶ πάλι γράφομέ σου το, ὅτ' ἦλθε καὶ κουρσεύει,
- τὲς χώρες ὅπου ἔχομε αὐτεῖνος τὲς γυρεύει.
- Ἐκολεμήσαμε μ' αὐτὸν καὶ ὅλους μας σκοτώνει,
- ἀπόλιγον ἀπόλιγον ὅλους μας θανατώνει.
- "Ἐλα τὸ γληγορώτερο, πρὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ νὰ σώση,
- 1000 καὶ μὴν ἀφήσης τὸν λαὸν νὰ τόνε θανατώση.
- "Ἦξευρε τὸ φουσῆτο του πολλὰ ἔναι ἀνδρωμένο,
- καὶ τολμηρὸ καὶ φοβερό, περὶ σσια μανιωμένο."
- Ἀκούοντας ὁ Δαρεῖος Ἀλέξανδρος κοντεύει,
- ἔκαμε γλήγορα γραφὴ, εἰς αὐτονε τὴν πέβει.

988 στὸν] τὸν corr.

990 ἐμέμφη eda., ἐμέμφθη C, corr.

Post 990 (990a) Ἐπιστολὴ ἦν ἀπέστειλεν ὁ στρατηγὸς
Δαρείου πρὸς Δαρείον (titulus)

991-4 Nos versus e singulari in pluralem transtuli; fuerunt

Ὁ στρατηγὸς....ἔκαμε....του....ἐμὸν...ἐγὼ...σοῦ ἔχω.

993 τιμημένον corr.

994 διὰ C

999 πρὸ τοῦ C

1001 μου...ἀνδριομένω C

Post 1004 (1004a) Ἐπιστολὴ Δαρείου ἦν ἔστειλε πρὸς
Ἀλέξανδρον (titulus)

- 1005 Κ' ἔγραφεν ἔτσι ἡ γραφή· "Ὀλπίζεις νὰ νικήσης;
 Γιατὶ ἔπιασες τὴν μάνα μου, λέγεις νὰ μ' ἀφανίσης;
 Κ' ἐγὼ δὲν τό 'χω τίποτες, μὲν νὰ 'ναι ἡ κεφαλὴ μου
 καλὰ, καὶ ἡ στρατεία μου νὰ στέχη στὴν βουλή μου.
 Κι ἄς τῶξω μάν' ἀπέθανε, θυγάτηρ οὐ γεννήθη,
 1010 καὶ ἡ γυναῖκα, ἄς εἰπῶ, μ' ἐμὲν οὐκ εὐλογήθη·
 ὅμως στείλε μ' ἀπόφαση, τί θέλεις νὰ ποιήσης,
 κι ἄ βούλεσαι γιὰ νὰ ἐλθῇς μ' ἐμὲ νὰ πολεμήσης."
 'Ὡς τ' ἄκουσεν Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐπόνεσ' ἡ καρδιά του,
 εἶπε· "Γραφή γιὰ νὰ γενῇ νὰ 'λέγξω τὴ λωλιά του."
 1015 "Βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος, Δαρείου γὰρ ἐμῆνει,
 τὲς φλυαρίες σου ὁ θεὸς οὐ θέλει τὲς κομεῖνει.
 Οὐδὲν σοῦ πρέπει τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτεῖνα γιὰ ν' ἀρχίζης,
 γιατί τὴν φανερίᾳ σου λέγεις τί δὲν τὴν χρῆζεις.
 Ἀμὴ γιὰ τὴ γυναῖκα σου, μάνα καὶ θυγατέρα,
 1020 ἐγὼ λέγω νὰ θλίβῃσαι γι' αὐτεῖνες καθ' ἡμέρα.
 Καὶ τὴν δικὴ σου πόληψι καθένας τήνε βρίζει,
 γιατί τὴν ἀσπλαγχνία σου ὁ κόσμος τὴν γνωρίζει.

1007 μονάνε cod., μονάναι C, corr.
 Post 1014 (1014a) Ἐπιστολὴ ὅπου ἀπέστειλεν
 Ἀλέξανδρος τοῦ Δαρείου (titulus); ἔστειλεν C
 1018 γιὰ C

Κι ἄς τὲς ἐπόνειες τὸ λοιπὸν ὡς σκληρές ἐδικές σου·

ἀλλ' οἱ θεοὶ νὰ κρίνουνσι ἔσεν τὲς ἀδικές σου.

- 1025 Γνώρισε, τὸ κεφάλι σου γλήγορα νὰ τὸ χῶσης,
γιατὶ τὴν φανερίᾳ σου λέγεις οὐδὲν τὴν τᾶσσεις.
Καὶ γράφεις μου πρὸς τὸ παρὸν τί θέλω νὰ ποιήσω,
ἤξευρε τί ἀπάνου σου θέλω γιὰ νὰ κινήσω."

Τουτὰ ἔγραψεν Ἀλέξανδρος, συνδύσει τὴ στρατιὰ του II 11

- 1030 νὰ πᾶγη εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, νὰ κάμῃ τὴ δουλειὰ του.

Καὶ τότε ἔχαμε γραφὴ νὰ πᾶγη στὴν φραγγία,
γιὰ νὰ τοῦ πέψουν τὸ λοιπὸν ἔκερθεν ὀρδινία.

"Βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος, (<ς> σατράπας τῆς φραγγίας,

Καππαδοκίας καὶ ὁμοῦ πᾶσης τῆς Ἀρμενίας,

- 1035 ροῦχα γιὰ νὰ μοῦ κάμετε σ' αὐτὴν τὴν Ἀραβία,

γλήγορα νὰ τὰ στέλτετε εἰς τὴν Ἀντιοχεΐα.

Ἐστελτε προβατοντύματα γλήγορα γιὰ νὰ ἴθουσσι,

καὶ στέλτετε καὶ ἄρματα, ὅσα καὶ ἂν βρεθοῦσι·

χέλια καμήλια στέλτετε, κι ἄς εἶν κυβερνισμένα,

1024 ἀδικεῖαις C

1028 ἀπᾶνω....γιαυακῆσω C

1031 φραγγία

1032 πέψουν C

Post 1032 (1032a) Ἐπιστολὴ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ ἔστειλε
στὴν φραγγία (titulus)

1032 ἔστειλεν εἰς τὴν φραγγία C

1033 (<ς> supplevi

1033 φραγγίας

1036 νὰ μοῦ C

1037 στέλτετε corr. metri gratia

- 1040 καὶ πέψετε τὰ γλῆγορα καὶ ἃς ἔλθουν εἰς ἐμένα·
καὶ νὰ σας εὕρη μὲ ὑγεῖα γλῆγορα ἢ γραφὴ μου,
νὰ 'στε στὴ δουλοσύνη μου καὶ εἰς τὴν ὑποταγὴ μου."
Ἕνας σατραπῆς Δάρειου, ἦτονε δημηγέρτης,
ἔγραψεν εἰς τὸν Δάρειον καταλεπτῶς ἐδέτις·
- 1045 "Γινώρισ', αὐθόνητη βασιλιὰ, ἐκείνους περιορίζει,
τοὺς δυὸ σατραπῆς πούστειλες Ἀλέξανδρος φουρκίζει.
Καὶ ὁ Κοιξάρης τὸ λοιπὸν στὸ σκίτι του παγαίνει,
καὶ λαβωμένος βρίσκεται, δὲν ἔμπορεῖ κομένει.
Ὁ Νεανίας τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι ὁποῦ ἦσαν
- 1050 ἐπήγαν στὸν Ἀλέξανδρον μὲ χάστρον τοῦ κρατοῦσαν."
Σὰν τ' ἄκουσεν ὁ Δάρειος, εἶπε γιὰ νὰ 'τοιμάζου
καὶ τὴν στρατιὰ καὶ τὸν λαόν, γιὰ νὰ τὴν ὀρδινιάζου.
Γράφει καὶ εἰς ἄλλους βασιλεῖς νὰ 'λθοῦν 'ς βοήθειάν του,
νὰ πάγη εἰς τὸν πόλεμον νὰ κάμῃ τὴ δουλειάν του.
- 1055 "Σ' ἐσένα, Πάρο βασιλεῦ, σήμερον ἐπροεῖδα,
ἐγὼ Δάρειος βρίσκομαι στὴν ἐδικὴ σ' ὀλπίδα.
Λοιπὸν καὶ τοῦτα γράφω σου, τὰ ποῖα δὲ σὲ λαθαίνουν,
οἱ χώρες μου 'ξ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸ τί κακὸ παθαίνουν.

1040 πέψε τα C

1046 πούστελες C

1050 μὲ] κα C

post 1054 (1054a) Ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ ἔστειλε Δάρειος
εἰς Πάρον βασιλέαν (titulus); ὁποῦ ἔστειλεν C.

1056 σ'] σου C

- λοιπόν, ἂν εἶσαι φίλος μου, τώρα νὰ μοῦ βοηθήσης
 1060 παρακαλῶ σε γλήγορα καὶ νὰ μηδὲν ἀργήσης."
 Ὁ Πῶρος τότε θέλησεν γιὰ νὰ τὸν κατατῆξῃ, II 12
 γραφῇ κι αὐτεῖνος ἔστειλε τότε κατὰ τὴν τῆξιν.
 "Πῶρος ὁ μέγας βασιλεὺς σ' ἔσεν Περσῶν Δαρείῳ.
 λοιπόν κακὸ μοῦ φαίνεται τοῦτο τὸ μαρτυρίο.
 1065 Ἦθέλησα νὰ ἴθω αὐτοῦ γιὰ νὰ συμβουλευτοῦμαι,
 μὰ τώρα εἶμαι ἀσθενὴς 'ς κρεβάτι καὶ κοιμοῦμαι.
 μὲ τὸ κορμὶ μου δὲν μπορῶ νὰ ἴθω 'ς βοήθειά σου,
 λοιπόν φουσῶτο ἔκαρε καὶ κάμε τὴ δουλειά σου."
 Ὡς τ' ἄκουσεν ὁ Ἀδρείος, σὲ πόλεμ' ἀγωνιέται,
 1070 μὲ Μακεδόνες ἤθελε πάλι γιὰ ν' ἀπαντιέται.
 Ὡσὼν τὸ ἤκουσε λοιπόν ἡ μάνα τοῦ Δαρείου,
 γράφει κι αὐτὴ ἐπιστολὴν κ' ἦτονε πισταυρῶν.
 "Ἡ Ροδογόνῃ μάνα σου, νῆξ μοι, νὰ μὴν κοίσης,
 μὴ βουλευθῇς μ' Ἀλέξανδρον νὰ βγῇς νὰ πολεμήσης.
 1075 Μηδὲν ταράσσης τὸ λοιπόν τὸν κόσμον μὲ βουλὴ σου,

Post 1062 (1062 a) Ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ ἔστειλεν ὁ Πῶρος
 τοῦ Δαρείου (titulus)
 1063 Δαρείου C
 1064 τὸ om. C
 1065 συμβουλ. C
 1067 πορῶ edd., μπορῶ C
 1069 πόλεμον C

- μὴν ἔλθης εἰς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ χάσης τὴ ζωὴ σου.
 τοῦτο ὀλπίζω εἰς ἑσας, ἀγάπη γιὰ νὰ γένη,
 λοιπὸν ἐσὺ καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἄς εἶν χαιρετισμένοι."
 ῥοὰν ἐπίδωκε τὴν γραφὴν Ἀδρειος τότε κλαίγει,
 1080 στὸ πρῶγμα τοῦ ἐγίνετο δὲν εἶχε τί νὰ λέγῃ.
 καὶ πάλι ἀναγκάζετον νὰ κάμῃ τὸ φουσάτο,
 ἐπεὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον κολλὰ τὸν ἐφοβατο.
 ῥοὰν ἐδιδάβ' Ἀλέξανδρος στήν χώρα Βακτηρίνη,
 αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπερῆλαβε μ' ἀγάπη καὶ μὲ ῥήνη.
 1085 καὶ τότε ἐδιδάβηκε εἰς περσικὴν τὴν χώρα, II 13
 ἥλιος ἀκόμῃ ἔστεκε κ' ἦτον καμπόση ὥρα.
 ἠθέλησε Ἀλέξανδρος τοῦτο διὰ νὰ κάμῃ,
 νὰ δεῖξῃ εἰς τὸν Ἀδρειον τί ἔχει πολλὴ δύναμη.
 κλαριὰ αὐτεῖνοι φέρνουνσι στήν στράτα καὶ τὰ βάνουν
 1090 διὰ νὰ πατοῦν τὰ ἄλογα κορνιακτὸν νὰ βγάνουν.
 καὶ ὁ κορνιακτὸς ἀνέβαινε ἀπάνω στὸν ἄερα,
 Ἀδρειος ἐφοβήθηκε ἐκεῖνην τὴν ἡμέρα.
 ἠθέλησεν Ἀλέξανδρος διὰ νὰ κοινομήσουν
 ἀποκρισάτην ἄρχοντα καὶ ποιὸν νὰ προβοδήσουν.

1077 εἰς σεσὰς ead., εἰς ἑσας C

1085 χώραν corr.

1092 ἡμέραν corr.

1094 ἀποκρισιδρην C

Post 1094 (1094a) περὶ τὸν Ἀρμῶν ὅπου εἶδεν
 Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς τὸν ὕπνον του (titulus)

1094a ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος C

- 1095 καθ' ὅπνου εἶδ' Ἀλέξανδρος θεδν γὰρ τὸν Ἀμμόνα,
 ἐφόρειε στὸ κεφάλι του σκιδόι κ' τὴν Μακεδόνα.
 λέγει του· "Ἀλέξανδρε, κάμε τὴν ὀρδινιδ σου,
 ἐγὼ 'μαι ὁ πατέρας σου κ' ἦλθα 'ς βοήθειά σου·
 μὴ στείλης ἀποκρισαριούς Δάρειον νὰ νικήσης·
 1100 αὐτεῖνο, λέγω σου, ποτὲ ἐσὺ νὰ μὴν τὸ ποίσης.
 καὶ γὰρ σὲ συμβουλευομαι ἐσὺ νὰ πᾶς ἀτός σου,
 καὶ μὴ φοβησαι τίποτες, ἐγὼ 'μαι βοηθός σου."
 Ἐξῆπνησε Ἀλέξανδρος κ' εἶχε χαρὰ μεγάλη,
 τὸ πῶς τὸν εἶχε τὸν Ἀμμόν 'ς βοήθειά του πάλι.
 1105 κ' ἐσυμβουλεύτη τῇ στρατιᾷ σὲ τοῦτο τί νὰ γένη,
 καλὸ τοὺς φαίνεται ἁλωνῶν ἀτός του νὰ παγαίνει.
 Ἐπῆρε καὶ τὸν Ἑρμηλον, τότε' ἐκαβαλικεύσαν, II 14
 στὸν Στρώγγαλον τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπῆγαν κ' ἐπεξεύσαν.
 Ἐπάγωσεν ὁ ποταμός, Ἀλέξανδρος περνάει,
 1110 δύο ἄλογα ἄφησε, Ὀρμηλος τὰ φυλάει.
 Ἐδιδάβηκεν Ἀλέξανδρος κ' ἔσωσε στὴν Περσίδαν,
 οἱ ἄνθρωποι τοῦ Δάρειου τότε αὐτόνον εἶδαν.

1096 'κ om. C

1098 πατέρας σου edd.

1108 στρώγγαλον edd., στρώγγαλον C

1112 αὐτίνον C

- ὅσων τὸν εἶδαν τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτοὶ οἱ βιγλατόροι,
 διότις ἄλλη φορεσιὰ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐφόρει,
 1115 ἐκεῖνοι τὸν ἐξέταξαν· "Ἐδόθην πῶς ὀδεύεις;
 Στὸν τόπον τοῦτον τῆς Περσίας τί θέλεις, τί γυρεύεις;"
 Ἀπιλογήθ' Ἀλέξανδρος· "Θέλω γὰρ νὰ μ' ἐπάρης
 εἰς βασιλιὰ τὸν Ἀρρεῖον, γιὰτ' εἶμ' ἀποκρισάρης."
 Καὶ τότες οἱ βιγλάτορες εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν παγαίνουν,
 1120 εἰς βασιλιὰ τὸν Ἀρρεῖον καὶ ὁμπρὸς τοῦ τότε φέρνουν.
 Καὶ ἦρε τους Ἀλέξανδρος τότε τοῦ δοκιμάζουν
 τοὺς στρατιῶτας τοὺς καλοὺς, τὴν στρατιὰν νὰ σιᾶζουν.
 Καὶ εἶδε καὶ τὸν Ἀρρεῖον, βασιλικὰ κα' ἐφόρει,
 στὴν ὁμορφιὰ τῆς φορεσιάς Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπόρει·
 1125 ἦτον ἐκεῖν' ἡ φορεσιὰ πολλὰ χαριτωμένη,
 καὶ ὁλόγυρα τοῦ Ἀρρείου στέκουν ἄρματωμένοι.
 Πρωτὰ τότε ὁ Ἀρρεῖος· "Ἐδὼ πῶς ἀπικεῖσαι;
 Πῶς ἦλθες εἰς τὸν τόπον μας, τί θέλεις, τί γυρεύεις;
 Ἀπιλογήθ' Ἀλέξανδρος· "Τοῦτο διὰ νὰ ποίσης,
 1130 εἶπε μου ὁ ἀφέντης μου, ποῦ θὲς νὰ πολεμήσης·
 εἶπε μου ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, σὲ τοῦτο ἐγρικᾶσαι,

 1116 περσίας C

1119 εἰς αὐτόν eda.

1130 ἀφέντης C

- ποῦ δὲν ἐβγαίνεις <'ς> πόλεμον, μοιᾶζει καὶ τὸν φοβᾶσαι."
- 'Ως τ' ἤκουσεν ὁ Ἀδρειος, μεγάλως τὸ θυμώθη,
 τὰ λόγια τοῦ 'Αλέξανδρου καὶ δυνατὰ τὰ τρώθη·
- 1135 καὶ εἶπε του ὁ Ἀδρειος· "πῶς ἔτσ' ἀπιλογᾶσαι,
 σὴν νῆ' ἔσουν ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος, ποσῶς οὐδὲν φοβᾶσαι;
 'Αφοῦ ἔσαι ἵποκριστὴς, δὲν θέλω νὰ ξεδράμω
 εἰς τὸ δικό σου τὸ κορμὶ κακὸ διὰ νὰ κᾶμω,
 οἷός τις ἔξ 'Αλέξανδρον πολλὰ ἔναι τιμημένοι
- 1140 μαντατοφόροι οἱ ἐμοί, ἔξ αὐτοῦ φκαριστημένοι."
 Καὶ τοῦτα εἶπε Ἀδρειος, πιάνει τον ἐκ τὸ χέρι,
 ἐτράβα τὸν 'Αλέξανδρον στὸ σπῖτι νὰ τὸν φέρη.
 Ἀπῆτι ἀποσώσασι μέσα εἰς τὸ καλᾶτι,
 ὁ Ἀδρειος 'Αλέξανδρον ἔκ τὸ χέρι τὸν ἐκράτει·
- 1145 καὶ δρισεῖ τους τὸ λοιπὸν τὴν τάβλα διὰ νὰ στήσουν,
 καὶ τότες ἐπεράσασι ὅλοι γιὰ νὰ καθίσουν.
 Καθίζει πρῶτον Ἀδρειος ὁ πρῶτος τοῖς ἑτέροις,
 καὶ παρακάτω κάθισε ὁ δελφός του ὁ ξιόδερχος·
 καὶ τρίτος ὁποῦ κάθισε ἦτον ὁ Κουσατράκης,
- 1150 καὶ παρακάτου τὸ λοιπὸν ἦτον ὁ ἑσπεράκης.

1132 <'ς> supplevi

Ante 1147 habet C: ὅταν ἐκάθισεν ὁ Ἀδρειος με-
 τοὺς ἄρχοντές του εἰς τὴν τράπεζον (sic) με-
 τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον.

- Κ' εἰς τ' ἄλλο μέρος τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκάθετον Καυδάλης,
 ὁ τῶν θιόπων βασιλεὺς, τῆς χώρας τῆς μεγάλης.
 Κυβέρης καὶ Ὀνυφατὸς παρακῆτω καθίσαν,
 τότες καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον νὰ κῆτση τὸν ὀρίσαν.
- 1155 Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκάθισε, Σουβλάκης, πιτηδέως,
 καὶ παρακῆτω κῆθισε αὐτεῖνος Ἀλκιδέως.
 οἱ ἐπικέρνοι τὸ λοιπὸν, ἐκεῖνοι ποὺ κερνοῦσαν, II 15
 ὀλόγυρα κερνοῦσασι ἐκεῖνους ποὺ καθίσαν·
 κερνοῦν καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, τὴν κούπαν γὰρ λαμβάνει,
- 1160 ἄπητις ἔπιε τὸ κρασί, στὸν κόλπον του τὴν βάνει.
 εἶδε τον ὁ κερνήτορας στὸν κόλπον πῶς τὴν βάνει,
 ἐπήγε εἰς τὸν Ἀδρειον καὶ τοῦτ' ἀναθιβάει·
 καὶ εἶπε του ὁ Ἀδρειος· "Γιατ' εἶς' ἀποκρισάρης,
 τὴν κούπαν ὅπου ἔπieres στὸν κόλπον σου νὰ κῆρης;"
- 1165 Ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος λοιπὸν φρόνιμα συννοήθη,
 ἐποῦτο γὰρ τοῦ Ἀδρειου ὁμορφα πιλογήθη·
 "Ἔτσι γὰρ στὸν ἀφέντη μου ὅλοι οἱ καλεσμένοι,
 ὅποιος μὲ κούπα γὰρ νὰ πιῇ, χάρισμα τὴν ἐπαίρνει·
 εἶπα στὸν νοῦ μου τὸ λοιπὸν, ἔτσι μὰ τὴν ἀλήθεια,

1160, 1161, 1164 κόρπον C

1168 πῆ corr.

1169 ἔτσι] ἔτζη edd., ὅτι C

- 1170 τί καὶ ἡ βασιλεῖα σου ἔτσι τό 'χει συνήθεια."
 'Ἐσὼν τ' ἀκοῦσαν τὸ λοιπὸν, ὅλοι τοὺς ἀπορήσαν,
 οἱ ἄρχοντες ἐθαύμασαν σ' ἐκεῖνο ὅπ' ἀκοῦσαν.
 Ὁ στρατιώτης Δάρειου, ὄνομα Παρισδῆρης,
 τοῦ διδῶντος εἰς τὸν Φίλιππον πρῶτον ἀποκρισδῆρης,
 1175 σὺν εἶδε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, τότες τὸν ἐγνωρίζει,
 ὑπάγει εἰς τὸν Δάρειον, στ' αὐτῷ του μουρμουρίζει
 καὶ εἶπε του· "Ὁ ἄνθρωπος, τοῦ λέτε ἀποκρισδῆρη,
 εὐτεῖνος ἐν Ἀλέξανδρος, τοῦ θέλει νὰ μᾶς πάρῃ.
 Ἐγὼ αὐτὸν γνωρίζω τὸν ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας,
 1180 ὅπου μὲ ἀπιδόγιασε μετὰ πολλῆς μανίας."
 Τὲς κοῦπες κράτει τὸ λοιπὸν, κτυπώντας τότε βγαίνει,
 ὅλογο καβαλῆκευσε, γλῆγορα τότε φεύγει·
 καὶ ἔφυγεν Ἀλέξανδρος μὲ βιὰ πολλὴ καὶ ζόλη,
 οἱ Πέρσες γὰρ τὸν ἐδιώχναν, μικροὶ τε καὶ μεγάλοι.
 1185 Καὶ ἔσωσεν Ἀλέξανδρος, διχῶς ἄλλως νὰ κάμῃ,
 στὸν ἐτρώγαλον τὸν ποταμόν, σ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ ποτάμι.
 Πηγμένο γὰρ τὸ ἤρτηκε τότε καὶ ἀπερνάει,
 ἐκ' ἤρτηκε τὸν Ἑρμηλόν, τ' ὅλογα τοῦ φυλάει.
 Κ' οἱ Πέρσες σὺν ἐδιέβησαν, τὸ κρούσταλλο χαλάθῃ·
 1190 σὺν τό 'πασι τοῦ Δάρειου, πολλὰ γὰρ ἐπικράθῃ.

κ' ἐθαύμασεν ὁ Δάρειος σ' Ἀλέξανδρον τὴν γνῶσιν,

ποῦ τὸν ἐβάσταξε καρδίᾳ σ' ἀποκοτιὰ τὴν τόσῃν.

Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Ὀρμηλος ὁμπρὸς πάντα παγαίνουν, II 16

εἰς τὸ φουσῶτο διέβηκαν καὶ πλιὰ δὲν ἀνιμένουν.

1195 Ὅρισεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὅλοι ν' ἄρματωθοῦσι,

καὶ ὕστερα νὰ κἀμουςι ὅλοι νὰ μετρηθοῦσι·

καὶ τὸ φουσῶτο μέτρησαν κ' ἦσαν οἱ μετρημένοι

πέντε χιλιάδες κ' εἴκοσι, ὅλοι ἄρματωμένοι.

καὶ εἶπε τοὺς Ἀλέξανδρος· Ἀαρείου ἡ στρατεία

1200 εἶναι πολλὴ καὶ ἄμετρη, μὴ ἔχουσιν αἵτις·

πιστεύω ἕνας ἀπὸ σᾶς, σὺν ἔχετε τὴν τάξιν,

χιλίους ἐκ τοῦ Δάρειου ἀνθρώπους νὰ πατῶξιν·

πόσες μύγες τὸ λοιπονὶς σφήκα νὰ πολεμοῦσι,

καὶ πόσα πρόβατα λοιπὸν τοῦ λύκου νὰ σταθοῦσι."

1205 Ἐτοῦτα εἶπ' Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ του παίρνει,

στὸν Στράγγαλον τὸν ποταμὸν τότες ἐκεῖ παγαίνει.

Φουσῶτο γὰρ τὸ πέρσικο κοντὰ τοὺς ἀπλικοῦει,

καὶ τότες ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος 'κ τ' ἀμάξι ἐκατέβη·

καὶ τότε πάλι γλήγορα ἀνθρώπους τότε κέβει,

1197 μετρισμένοι C

1203 ὅσες] τόσες emend.; μύγες

1206 στράγκαλον

- 1210 κ' ἤφεραν τὸν Βουκέφαλον, κηδᾶ, καβαλικεύει...
καὶ σὰν ἐσμίκτησαν λοιπὸν αὐτεῖνες οἱ ὀμάδες,
πολλὰς γυναῖκες γίνονται τότε ἔκεῖ χηράδες·
ἐγένετον κουδουνισμὸς εἰς τ' ἄρματα καὶ κτύποι,
καὶ τόσος πετσοκοπισμὸς τί 'τον μεγάλη λύπη.
- 1215 τὰ δύο μέρη ἔριχναν σαγίτες καὶ κονόδρια,
ἐκεῖ ἐθανατώνονταν τὰ 'μορφα καλικάδρια.
πολλοὶ Πέρσες ἀφανίστησαν σ' ἐκείνῃ τῇ μαλίᾳ,
δὲν ἔχω στόμα νὰ τὸ πῶ, 'οὐ γλῶσσα, 'οὐ μιλᾶ.
βλέποντα γὰρ ὁ Δάριος 'ξ 'Αλέξανδρον νικῆθη,
- 1220 ἐκεῖνος, λέγω, εἰς φυγὴν τότε γιὰ μιὰ κινήθη.
οἱ Μακεδόνες ἔτρεχαν τοὺς Πέρσες κ' ἐσκοτώναν
μὲ τὸ δρακανοόμαξο, ὅθεν κι ἂν τοὺς ἐσῶναν.
ἔφτασε, λέγω, Δάριος στὸν ποταμὸν Στραγγάλη,
λοιπὸν αὐτὸς ἀπέρασε κι ὅσοι κι ἂν ἦσαν ἄλλοι·
- 1225 μὰ τ' ἄλλο μέρος τῶν Περσῶν, τὸ κρούσταλλο χαλᾶθη,
κ' ἐκνέγησαν οἱ ἄτυχοι κ' ἐπῆγαν εἰς τὰ βάθη.
Ὅσοι ἐμεῖναν ὀπίσθεν οἱ Μακεδόνες σφάζουν,

1222 καὶ C

1223 στραγγάλη ead., στραγγάλη C

1224 ἐπέρασε C

1226 καὶ πνήγνησαν C

1227 ἔμνηναν emendavi metri gratia

- καὶ τὸ φουσάτο Δάρειον ὅλο τὸ ἐρημάζουν.
 εἰς τὸ καλῶτι Δάρειος ἦλθε καὶ τοῦτο λέγει,
 1230 τὸ ἐνδυμὰ του ἔριψε, φαρμακεμένα κλαίγει·
 καὶ ὁ νός του ὁ ταπεινὸς μέσα του ἐβρουχάτου,
 καὶ πρὸς τὴν τύχην πόλεψε πολλὰ παραπονάτου·
 "οὐαὶ σ' ἐμένα," ἔλεγε, "πληθος πολὺ τοῦ χάθῃ,
 ἐκ τὴν στρατεία π' ὀρίζα, πόλεψα πόσο νὰ 'λθῃ·
 1235 καὶ βασιλέας ἔνθωπος ἔσημος ν' ἀπομένω.
 Λοικὸν ἡ τύχης εἰς αὐτὸ μ' εἶχε μεμετρημένο·
 καὶ πόσα ἔθνη πότρεα μὲ τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀτός μου,
 καὶ τώρα βλέπω μὲ νικᾷ ἕνας μικρὸς ἐχθρὸς μου,
 ὁποῦ 'μουν σύνθρονος θεῶν κ' ἦσαν βοήθειά μου,
 1240 τώρα αὐτοὶ μ' ὀργίσθησαν κ' ὑπᾶν ἀντίδικά μου.
 'ἀλήθεια τὸ μελλόμενον κανεῖς οὐδὲν τὸ ξεύρει,
 ποτέ μου δὲν τὸ ἔλπιζα ἐτοῦτο γιὰ νὰ μ' εὕρῃ.
 Λοικὸν ἡ τύχη τοὺς μικροὺς ψηλὰ τοὺς ἀνυψώνει,
 καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους ἐκ ψηλὰ κάτω τοὺς χαμηλώνει."

1231 καὶ ὁ νους του.....ἐβρουχάτον C

1232 παραπονάτον C

1235 νὰ πομείνω C

1243 ψηλὰ] καλὰ C

Post 1244 (1244a) 'Επιστολή πού ἔστειλεν ὁ
 Δάρειος πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον (titulus)

- 1245 φάνη καλὸ τοῦ Ἀδρείου ἐκ τὴν ἀδυναμιά του, II 17
 γραφὴ κῆμναι σ' Ἀλέξανδρον διὰ τὴν φαρμακίαν του.
 "Σ' ἀφέντη τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον χαιρετισμὸν τοῦ λέβω,
 ἐγὼ, δοῦλος σου Ἀδρείος, χάριν ἔξ ἐσὲν γυρεῦω.
 Λοικὸν κ' ἐσὺ ἴσαι ἄνθρωπος καὶ μὴ ψηλοφρονήσης,
 1250 μηδὲν θελήσης παντελῶς ἐμένα ν' ἀφανίσης.
 Λοικὸν ἐσὺ τὸ γρίκῃσες γιὰ Βέρξην τὸν μεγάλον,
 ὅπου στὸν κόσμον τὸ λοιπὸν οὐκ ἠύρισκες γὰρ ἄλλον,
 ποὺ στὴν Ἑλλάδα διόβηκε αὐτὸς μὲ τὴ στρατιὰ του
 ἐγρίκῃσες τὸ τί ἔκαθε διὰ τὴν ἀλαζονείαν του
 1255 τὰ πράγματά του ἔχασε καὶ ὅλον τὸν λαὸν του,
 κακὰ ὀπίσω γύρισε αὐτὸς μὲ τὸ στανιὸν του.
 Ἐσὺ τὴ μάνα μόπισσες, γυναῖκα κι ἀδελφή μου,
 κ' ἐμένα ξένον μ' ἔκαμες, ἔξω ἀπὸ τὴν τιμὴ μου.
 Ἐλεμονήσου με λοιπὸν, στείλε τὴ φαρμακίαν μου,
 1260 τὴ μάνα, τὴ γυναῖκα μου, νὰ ἴθουσιν στὴν κατοικίαν μου.
 Ὑπόσχομαί σου τὸ λοιπὸν νὰ δείξω ποῦ ἔνι χωσμένα
 τὰ πλούτη ὅλα τῶν Περσῶν, ποῦ ἔναι στὴν γῆν βαλμένα,

1245 ἐφάνη corr.

1246 σαλέξανδρος C

1254 τί om. C

1255 πράγματά C

1258 ἔξω πο τὴν C

- καὶ εὐχομαί σου ἐκ ψυχῆς νὰ ζῆς καὶ νὰ κατάρξης
τοὺς βασιλεῖς, ὅπου 'ν στήν γῆν, καὶ νὰ τοὺς κατατάρξης."
- 1265 'Αλέξανδρος βλέπει τὴν γραφὴν, καλὰ τὴν ἐγνωρίζει,
τότε συνάσσει τὴ στρατιά, νὰ 'λθοῦν ὁμπρὸς ὀρίζει.
Τότες γὰρ ἐμαχώθησαν ὅλοι οἱ καβαλάρειοι,
καὶ τὴν γραφὴν ἀνάγνωσε, βουλὴν διὰ νὰ πάρῃ.
καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Παρμένιος· "'Ὡς διὰ τὸ χρυσάφι,
1270 ἐγὼ δώσει τες ἤθελα, καθὼς αὐτεῖνος γράφει."
'Εγέλασεν 'Αλέξανδρος καὶ εἶπε τοῦ Παρμένει·
"θαυμάζω εἰς τὸν Ἀρρεῖον τὸ πῶς συγκατεβαίνει·
καὶ δὲν τὸ ξεύρει Ἀρρεῖος ὅτι, ἃ μὲ νικήσῃ,
παίρνει τὴν φαρμακίαν του δίχως καμία κρίσιν.
1275 Παρακονεῖται Ἀρρεῖος, λέγει ἐκούρσεψά του,
μάλιστα τὸ ἐναντίον, λέγει τί ἀδίκησά του.
καὶ σώνει τον τὸν Ἀρρεῖον, ὅτ' εἶχε ξένον τόπον,
ὥς τώρα τὸν ἀφέντεψε δίχως κανένα κόπον·
τώρα παραλαμβάνει τον ἄλλος ποῦ παρθενίζει,
1280 καὶ ἄλλον τόσον γὰρ καιρὸν αὐτὸς νὰ τὸν ὀρίξῃ."
Τοῦτα εἶπε 'Αλέξανδρος καὶ εἶπε νὰ τὰ μνησθῶν,

1263 ἐκ ψυχῆς] τὸ λοιπὸν C
1277 ὁτρίσχει C
1278 ἀφέντεψεν C
1281 εἰπαλέξανδρος C

- 'ς Δάρειον νὰ παγαίνουνσι καὶ νὰ τοῦ τὰ μιλήσουν.
 καὶ τὸν χειμῶν' Ἀλέξανδρος τότε' ἔκει ἀπομένει,
 καὶ ἀνακαύτη ἡ στρατιὰ, ὅπου 'τον κοπιασμένη.
- 1285 Ὅρισεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος παλάτια νὰ κάψουν,
 τοῦ Εἰρέξου κεῖνα τὰ λαμπρὰ φωτῖα νὰ ἀνάψουν·
 καὶ πάλι ἐμετάνωσε κ' εἶπε· "Κακὰ ἐποίησα."
 καὶ τότε πάλι ὅρισε αὐτεῖνα καὶ τ' ἀφῆκα.
 'Εκ' εἶδε τάφους βασιλιῶν, ὁμορφα γεναμένους,
- II 18
- 1290 εἰς τὰς λεκάνες τὰς χρυσὰς τοὺς εἶχαι θαμμένους.
 πάλι ἔκευθεν ἔγενε κ' εἶδε τὸν τάφον κύρου,
 ἦτον ἐωδεκάπατος, κτισμένος γύρου γύρου.
 Ἀπάνω ἦτον τὸ κορμὶ μὲ τὴν χρυσὴν λεκάνη,
 καὶ τῆς λεκάνης ὁμορφιὰ ποτος ν' ἀναθιβάνη;
- 1295 Εἶδε Εἰρέξου βασιλιὰ ἐκείνου τὸ μνημόρι,
 ἦτον λαμπρὸ καὶ ὁμορφο ἐκεῖνο τὸ κιβούρι.
 Ἐκεῖ κοντὰ γὰρ ἦσαν Ἕλληνες κεκλεισμένοι.
 Ὅρισεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος νὰ 'νιε λευθερωμένοι·
 καὶ ἔδωσέ τοις χρήματα, τίποτες μὴ εἰποῦνε,
- 1300 λεύθεροι στὴν πατρίδα τοὺς νὰ πᾶνε γιὰ νὰ δοῦνε.

1294 νὰ ἀναθιβάνη C
 1294 μνημόρη C
 1298 νάνε C

Καὶ πάλι Δάρειος ἤθελε διὰ νὰ πολεμήσῃ, II 19

φουσάτο γὰρ ἐγύρευε τότες νὰ ἴλθῃ νὰ ποίσῃ.

Γράφει καὶ Πώρῳ βασιλεῦ, φόρις νὰ τοῦ γρικῇσῃ,

διὰ νὰ στείλῃ δύναμιν κι, ἂν τύχῃ, νὰ νικήσῃ.

1305 "Βασιλεὺς Δάρειος Πώρῳ πεφιλημένῳ,
πρέπει σου νὰ μὲ λυπηθῇς, σὰν μ' ἔχουν καμωμένο.

Ἦλθε θηρίον ἄγριον κ' ἐμένα τριγυρίζει,

τὲς χώρες μου ὁλόγυρα ὅλες τὲς ἀφανίζει.

Ζητῶ τῇ φαιλῖα μου αὐτεῖνος νὰ μοῦ δώσῃ,

1310 αὐτεῖνος δὲν προσδέχεται νὰ μοῦ τὴν παραδώσῃ

καὶ νὰ τοῦ δώσω ἔταξα πρᾶμα πολὺ μεγάλο,

κ' ἐκεῖνος μὲ περηφανεῖ, παίζει μὲ δόλῳ ἄλλο.

Κ' ἐσὺ θυμήσου τῇ φιλῖα, τὴν εἶχαν οἱ γονεῖς μας,

λοιπὸν φουσάτο στείλε μας νὰ πᾶμε στοὺς ἐχθροὺς μας.

1315 Στὰς Καπηλῖς τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκεῖ γιὰ ν' ἀποδώσουν,

διότις ἔχουν τὴν τροφὴν ὡς διὰ νὰ τοὺς δώσουν

καὶ γὰρ ἂν καταβοδῶθαι ἐκείνους νὰ νικήσω,

τῶν κουρσεμάτων τὰ ἑμισυ νὰ ἴλθω νὰ σοῦ χαρίσω

τὸν ἱππὸν τὸν Βουκέφαλον, κεῖνον τὸν τιμημένον,

Post 1304 (1304a) Ἐπιστολὴ ποὺ ἔστειλε Δάρειος

εἰς Πῶρον βασιλέαν (titulus)

1304a ὅπου ἔστειλεν....βασιλέα C

1310 πρὸς δέχητε C

1311 πρᾶγμα C

- 1320 νὰ σοῦ τὸν στεῖλω καὶ αὐτὸν μὲ ἄλυσες δεμένον.
 "Ἄς ἔλθῃ γληγορώτερα ἐδῶ διὰ νὰ σώσῃ,
 μὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς μας τὸ λοιπὸν νὰ πάγῃ νὰ μαλώσῃ."
 'Ὡς τ' ἔκρουσεν Ἀλέξανδρος, πρὸς Δάρειον σκουδάζει,
 καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ του ἔκραξε, τότες τὴν ὀρδινιάζει.
- 1325 Καὶ ὄρμησεν Ἀλέξανδρος κ' ὑπάγει στὴν Μηδία.
 'Ὁ Δάρειος ἠύρισκετον κάτω στὴ Βατανία.
 'Ἐκεῖθεν τότες ἔφυγε, πάγει στὰς Καπηλίας,
 καὶ τὸ φουσάτο Δάρειου πάγει τῆς ἀπωλείας.
 Δαρείου ἦλθε εὐνουχος σ' Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ λέγει,
- 1330 εἶπε του γιὰ τὸν Δάρειον, τὸ πῶς αὐτεῖνος φεύγει.
 'Αλέξανδρος ἐβιάζετον ὡς διὰ νὰ βοδώσῃ,
 ἠθέλησε τὸν Δάρειον στὴ χώρα νὰ τὸν σώσῃ.
 'Ιδὼν Βησσοὺς ὀνόματι καὶ ὁ Ἀρνοβαρζάνης,
- 1335 καὶ θὲ νὰ σὲ σκοτώσωμε, νὰ χάσῃς τὴν ζωὴν σου
 ἀπὼν τῶρα τὸ λοιπὸν κοὺ χάνεις τὴν τιμὴν σου,
 νὰ μᾶς τιμήσῃ τὸ λοιπὸν αὐθέντης ὅπου μπαίνει,
 γιὰ σένα μετς νὰ γένωμεν ἀφέντες γεναμένοι."

II 20

1324 τότε C

Post 1332 (1332a) φόνος Δαρείου (titulus);
 φόβος C

1335 θὲν C

- Ἀπιλογήθη Ἀδρείος, εἰς αὐτοὺς τότε λέγει,
 1340 ἐβούρκωσαν τὰ μάτια του κι ἀρχίζει γιὰ νὰ κλαίγη
 καὶ εἶπε τοὺς· "Ἀφέντες μου, πού 'στε δοῦλοι οἱκοί μου,
 εἰπέτε τί σας ἔκαμα καὶ χάνω τὴ ζωὴ μου·
 γνωρίσατε τί ὁ βασιλεὺς θέλει μὲ ἐζητήσῃ
 'ς τοῦτα πού λογαριάζετε γιὰ νὰ μὲ ξεδικήσῃ.
- 1345 Καὶ ταῦτα εἶπε Ἀδρείος, κι αὐτοὶ δὲν τοῦ γρικοῦσι,
 κ' οἱ δύο ξεσπαθώσασι τότε καὶ τοῦ βαροῦσι.
 Σκοτώνουν τὸν ἀφέντη τοὺς ἔκεν' οἱ ὀργισμένοι,
 εἰπέτε μου, τί κέρδισαν οἱ 'ναθεματισμένοι;
 "Ἐδ' ἀνομίᾳ τὴν ἔκαμαν, μεγάλη ἄσωτῖα,
 1350 νὰ σφάξουν τὸν αὐθέντη τοὺς, δὲν εἶχαν ἁμαρτία;
 Καὶ τὸ ψωμί πού τό 'φαγαν ἔκεινο νὰ τοὺς πνίξῃ,
 καὶ νὰ τοὺς ἔλθῃ στὸ κορμί πολὺ κακὸ καὶ τήξῃ.
 Καὶ παγωμένον ἤβρασι τὸν στράγαλο ποτάμι,
 οἱ Μακεδόνες ἀπερνοῦν μ' ὅλη τοὺς τὴ δύναμη.
- 1355 Βήσσοι καὶ Ἀρβαζάνιος ἔκειθεν τότε πᾶσι.
 Δὲν ἔσωσεν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκεῖ γιὰ νὰ τοὺς φθόσῃ.

1340 ἐβούρκουσαν C

1343 βασιλεῖας C

1347 σκοντόνουν C
 ἔκεν' οἱ ἔκεῖνοι
 ὑποργισμένοι C

Post 1352 (1352a) περὶ τὸ πῶς ἀπέρασαν οἱ Μακεδόνες
 τὸν ποταμόν (titulus)

1356 στράγαλο

- καὶ ἠύρηκεν Ἀλέξανδρος Δάρειον ματωμένον,
 ἔξαπλωμένον εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ σπαθοκοπημένον·
 καὶ ἄπλωσε τὸ χεῖρ του εἰς τὸ κορμὶ κ' ἐκρίθη
 1360 ἢ τύχης πῶς τὸν ἦφερε καὶ δυνατὰ λυπήθη.
 Εἶπε· "Ἀνδρῶτα, Δάρειε, κ' ἔχε τὴν ἀθθεντιὰ σου,
 ἀντάμα μὲ τὸν τόπον σου καὶ μὲ τὴν ἐξουσίαν σου.
 Καὶ μνέω σου εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς, ἀλήθεια σὲ λέγω,
 λοιπὸν ὅλοι γρικοῦνε το, ἐτοῦτο ποῦ σοῦ μνέγω·
 1365 μὴ παραδώσης τὸ λοιπὸν ἔς θάνατον τῇ ζωῇ σου,
 λοιπὸν καλὰ γιὰ νὰ γενῆς καὶ νὰ ἔχῃς τὴν τιμὴν σου.
 Εἰπὲς καὶ τίς σὲ φόνευσε κ' ἐγὼ γιὰ νὰ ὀρίσω,
 σ' ἐκείνους, ὅπου σ' ἔσφαξαν, νὰ σὲ ἐξεκδικήσω."
 Ἀπλωσε καὶ τὸ ροῦχο του τότες καὶ τὸν σκεπάζει,
 1370 καὶ ὀποκρίθη Δάρειος ἔτσι καὶ λογαριάζει·
 "Ἐγνώρισε, Ἀλέξανδρε, θάνατος δὲν φροντίζει,
 βασιλέα δὲ ντρέπεται, πτωχὸν δὲν τὸν γυρίζει.
 Θανάτου τὸ ποτήριον πολλὰ ἔναι πρικομένο.
 Λοιπὸν βλέπεις οἱ δοῦλοι μου πῶς μ' ἔχουν καμωμένο.

1358 σπαθοκοπισμένον C

1359-60 *secunda hemistichia utriusque versus inter se*

1365 ἔς] εἰς corr.

[mutavi.

1372 δὲν τρέπεται

1374 βλέπω C

- 1375 Καὶ πρέπει τοῦ τοῦ καθενὸς θάνατον νὰ θυμᾶται,
 ὅταν στέκη στεκούμενος καὶ πέφτη καὶ κοιμᾶται.
 Θάνατος, βλέπεις, ἔρχεται κ' ἐσὺ δὲν τὸν ἐγνώθεις,
 σὺν σύρῃ τῇ σαγίτα του, κάραιτα θανατώθης·
 κ' ἐκεῖνου ἡ σαγίτα του ἔναι φαρμακεμένη,
- 1380 καὶ ὅποιον γγίξῃ μετ' αὐτήν, ψυχὴ του τότε βγαίνει.
 Λοιπὸν κ' ἐσὺ, Ἀλέξανδρε, μηδὲν ψηλοφρονήσης,
 διότις τύχης τό 'φερε ἐσὺ γιὰ νὰ μ' ὀρίσης.
 Λοιπὸν κ' ἐσὺ τὸ ἥξεες, εἶχα στερεὰ δύναμη,
 καὶ τώρα σείομαι, θωρεῖς, σὰ σειέται τὸ καλάμι.
- 1385 Καὶ γὰρ ἡ τύχη τοὺς μικροὺς πολλάκις ἀνεβάζει,
 καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους ἐκ ψηλὰ κάτω τοὺς κατεβάζει.
 Μὲ χέρι σου, Ἀλέξανδρε, κάμε γιὰ νὰ μὲ θάψης,
 τάφον ὀρθύνιας· ἔμορφον, μέσα νὰ μ' ἀναπύσης.
 Ἄς γένη καὶ συγγένεια σ' ἐμένα νὰ 'ν τιμῇ σου,
- 1390 ἔπαρ' τῇ θυγατέρα μου Ρωξάνῃν γιὰ γυνή σου·
 καὶ ἔχε καὶ τὴν μάνα μου σὺν μάνα ἐδική σου,
 κ' ἔχε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα μου σὺν νύ 'τον ἀδελφῇ σου."
 Καὶ τοῦτα εἶπε Δάρειος κ' ἐδιάβη ἡ ζωὴ του
 καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πλήρωσε, κ' ἐβγήκε ἡ ψυχὴ του.
- 1395 Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπόνεσε καὶ τὸ οὐαὶ γὰρ λέγει,

II 21

- ἐπόνεσε τὸν Δάρειον κι ἀπὸ ψυχῆς τὸν κλαίγει.
 Καὶ ὄρισεν Ἀλέξανδρος ὅλοι ν' ἄρματωθοῦσι
 καὶ ἀποκίσω καὶ ὀμπρὸς ὅλοι ν' ἀκολουθοῦσι.
 Οἱ Πέρσες μπρὸς ὑπήγαιναν κ' ἦσαν ἄρματωμένοι,
 1400 κ' οἱ Μακεδόνες ὀπισθεν, ὅλοι ξεσπαθωμένοι.
 Καὶ μὲ τὸ νεκροκρέβατον Λέξανθρος τὸν βασταίνει
 μὲ ἄλλους τρεῖς στρατιῶτες του, στὸ μνημα τὸν παγαίνει.
 Κορμιὰ καὶ ἄλλων βασιλιῶν ἔκετ' ὅσανε θαμμένα,
 γράμματα εἶχε τὸ λοιπὸν μνημα τὸ κάθε ἓνα.
 1405 Καὶ κάμνουσι καὶ γράμματα στοῦ Δάρειου τὸν τάφο,
 κ' ἐκεῖνο ὅπου λέγουσι κάτωθεν γὰρ τὸ γράφω
 "Ἀφέντης Πέρσων Δάρειος ἔναι ἐδῶ θαμμένος,
 ὅπου τὸν ἐσκοτώσασι, κι ἄς ἔν συγχωρεμένος."
 Γραφὴ ἔκαμε Ἀλέξανδρος, ὅς Πέρσας τὴν ἀναγνώνει,
 1410 νὰ ξεύρουσι τὸν ὀρισμὸν, νὰ ὄνιε διαρμηνεμένοι.
 "Βασιλεὺς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ὅς Ἀμμώνου βασιλῆας,
 ὅπου γεννήθη ὅκ τῆς λαμπρᾶς αὐτῆς τῆς Ὀλυμπίας,
 στοὺς Πέρσας βάνω ὀρισμὸν καὶ τῶρα τοὺς ὀρίζω,

1396 καὶ C

1404 καθὲν C

1405 τάφον corr.

Post 1410 (1410a) Διαλαλιὰ ποῦ (ὅπου C) ἔκαμε ὁ
 Ἀλέξανδρος στοὺς Πέρσας (titulus,

- τὸ θέλω γιὰ νὰ κάμουνσι, τώρα τ' ἀποφασίζω.
- 1415 Ἐγὼ δὲν ἤθελα λοιπὸν τόσοι νὰ σκοτωθοῦσι,
ἀγάπουν νὰ 'ταν ζωντανοὶ κ' ἐκεῖνοι γιὰ νὰ ζοῦσι.
Λοιπὸν, ἀφοῦ ἐχάθησαν, δὲν ἔχω τί νὰ ποίσω,
ἐπεὶ εἶμαι αὐθέντης σας, θέλω νὰ σας ὀρίσω.
Καὶ νὰ τιμᾶτε, λέγω σας, τοὺς ἄρχοντες, κοῦ βάνω,
1420 νὰ στέκουν εἰς τὰ κάστρη μου, ἐτοῦτ' ἀναθιβάνω.
Ἄλλον αὐθέντη τὸ λοιπὸν μὴ βάνετε στὸν νοῦ σας,
εἵμητα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, πόναι διὰ τιμὴ σας.
στὴν πρώτη σας συνήθεια πάλι σ' αὐτείνην νὰ 'στε,
θεοὺς νὰ ἐορτάζετε καὶ νὰ τοὺς ἐκτελάστε.
- 1425 Εἴτι ἐκράτει πασσαεῖς, πάλι ἕς τὸ μετέχη,
καὶ ξὲ κανέναν ἐμποδὸν αὐτεῖνος νὰ μὴν ἔχη.
Εἴτις ἐπήρε ἄρματα, κοῦ 'ναι τῆς αὐθεντίας,
πάλι ἕς τὰ στρέψη ὀκισθεν νὰ 'νιε τῆς βασιλείας.
Νὰ 'ναι φτήνια στὸν τόπον μου, εἰρήνη καὶ ἀγάπη,
1430 κανένας, λέγω, ἐξ ἐσῶς ἄλλον νὰ μὴν ἐβλάπτῃ.
'Ορίζω σας τὸ λοιπονὲς νὰ 'στε διχῶς αἰτίες,

1415 τόσοι] τώρα emend.
1418 αὐθέντησας
1421 βάλλεται στὸ ο
1425 ἐκράτιε ο
1431 αἰτίας ο

- Ἕλληνας ὅσους νὰ ἔρχονται νὰ κάμνουν πραγματείας.
 Ὅριζω γιὰ νὰ πάρουσι ἀπὸ τὰ κουρσιμιὰ μας,
 νὰ θυσιάσουν τοὺς θεοὺς, νὰ ἴναι βοήθειά μας.
- 1435 Ὅριζω γιὰ νὰ πάρουσι ἐκ τῆς ἄρματωσίης
 οἱ στρατιῶτες τὸ λοιπὸν γιὰ νὰ ἴναι στὲς μπασιές·
 καὶ πᾶσα στρατιώτης μου νὰ ἴναι φχαριστημένος,
 χίλια δουλκὰτα τὸ λοιπὸν γιὰ νὰ ἴναι πληρωμένος.
 Εἴτις ἐκεῖνος ἔδειρε ἐχθρὸν μὲ τὸ κοντόρι,
- 1440 χρυσὸ στεφάνι ἐξ ἐμὲν νὰ ἴχη καὶ ἐκεῖνος χάρη·
 ζωνάρι νὰ ἴχη γὰρ χρυσό, δύο γενὲς βαμμένες,
 καὶ ὄσους κοῦπες χάρισμα νὰ ἴναι περιχρυσωμένες.
 Νὰ παίρνῃ κέρκυρα λοιπὸν, νὰ ἴναι φχαριστημένος,
 διακόσια ὀγδοήκοντα στὸ χέρι πληρωμένος.
- 1445 καὶ εἴτις ἔχει πόθεσι, σ' ἐκεῖνον νὰ παγαίνη,
 νὰ λύεται ἡ πόθεσις καὶ εὐχαριστιὰ νὰ παίρνῃ.
 Κι ὅποιος δὲν κάμῃ ὀρισμὸν, σὺν λέγει καὶ ὀρίζει,
 ἀφέντης ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος θέλει αὐτὸν μαστίζει·
 πάλι ὀρισεν Ἀλέξανδρος γιὰ νὰ διαλαλήσουν·

-
- 1432 κάμουν πραγματείας C
 1434 νάνε C
 1435 ἄρματωσίης C
 1439 κοντόρη C
 1444 ὀγδοήκοντα edd., corr. C
 1449 πάλιν corr.

- 1450 ποσκότῳσαν τὸν Δάρειον νά 'λθοῦν νά τοῦ μιλήσουν,
 νά τοῦς ποιήσῃ τὸ λοιπὸν ἄρχοντες εἰς τὸν τόπον,
 χώρες γιὰ νά ὀρίζουσι διχῶς κανέναν κόπον·
 "Λοιπὸν ἂν ἔζη Δάρειος, μὰ κάλλια τοῦ ἐσφάτη,
 διότις πάντα του μ' ἐμὲν ἤθελε πολεμεῖν.
- 1455 Καὶ εἴτις ἔναι τὸ λοιπὸν, πάλι θὲ νά τ' ἀρχίσω,
 σ' ἐμένα νά 'λθῇ γλήγορα περίφουμον νά ποίσω."
 'Υπᾶσιν εἰς 'Αλέξανδρον Βησσος κι 'Αρνοβαρζάνης,
 κ' εἴπασι τοῦ 'Αλέξανδρου· "Δίκαιον ἔν τὸ κάνεις.
 'Ἡμεῖς τὸν ἐσκοτώσαμεν Δάρειον τὸν ἐχθρὸν σου
- 1460 καὶ πάλι τὸ δυνόμεσθην ἡμεῖς τὸν ὀρισμὸν σου."
 Σὰν τ' ἄκουσεν 'Αλέξανδρος, εἶπε διὰ νά ποίσουν,
 ἀπάνω 'ς τάφον Δάρειου νά πᾶν νά τοῦς φουρκίσουν.
 'Απιλογήθησαν λοιπὸν αὐτοὶ οἱ ὀργισμένοι·
 "Τῇ διαλαλίᾳ ἀκούσαμεν ὁποῦ 'τον γεναμένῃ.
- 1465 Λοιπὸν, ἀφέντη βασιλιά, τοῦς λόγους σ' ἀφανίζεις;
 Τῇ διαλαλίᾳ ὀπόκαμες, βλέπομε, δὲν τὴν χρήζεις."

1450 ποσκότῳσαν C
 1456 νάρθη C
 1457 εἰς σ' ead.
 1459 ἡμεῖς C
 1464 διαλαλίᾳ ἀκούσαμεν C
 1466 ὀπόκαμες C

- 'Απιλογῆθ' 'Αλέξανδρος· "'Εσας οὐδὲν ψηφουσιν,
 γιὰ τοὺτους ποῦ 'ν ὁλόγυρα, γιὰτ' αὐτ' ἀπιλογοῦμαι·
 ἐπεὶ δὲν ἦτον μπορετὸ ἀλλέως γιὰ νὰ 'λθῆτε,
 1470 τὸν λόγον μου σχημάτισα ἐσεῖς νὰ κομπωθῆτε·
 κ' ἐκεῖνο ὁποῦ ὀρισα πάλι διὰ νὰ γένῃ,
 νὰ σὰς κάμω περίφουμους σ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένη.
 Εἶπα νὰ σὰς φουρκίσουναι γιὰ ν' ἀκουστῇ μεγάλο
 τὸ ὄνομά σας τὸ λοιπὸν εἰς ἓνα καὶ εἰς ἄλλο."
 1475 Καὶ τότε τοὺς ἐφούρκισε ἀπάνω εἰς τὸν τάφο,
 κ' ἐγέννησαν περίφουμοι, δὲν ἔχω τί νὰ γράφω.
 Καὶ ἔχαμε 'Αλέξανδρος κριτὰδες καὶ στέκουν II 22
 στὸν τόπον κεῖνον τῆς Περσῆς, πλούσιους πτωχοὺς νὰ κρένουν.
 "Ἐχαμε ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος ἐτότε νὰ μηνῆσῃ
 1480 μᾶνα Δαρείου μὲ γραφή, νὰ τὴν παρηγορήσῃ·
 "'Αλέξανδρος Ροδογυνή, Ρωξάνη, ἀδελφές μου,
 Δάρειον δὲν ἐσχότῳσα ἐγὼ μὲ τὰς στρατιάς μου.
 'Ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἐσχότῳσαν ἄρχοντες ἐδικοί του·
 λοιπὸν δὲ μὴ μὲ μέμψεσταν ἐμὲν γιὰ τὴν θανή του.

1474 εἰς σένα ead., εἰς ἓνα C

1478 περσίας, πλούσιους C

Post 1480 (1480a) 'Επιστολὴ ὁποῦ ἔστειλεν 'Αλέξανδρος
 εἰς μᾶνα Δαρείου (titulus); δαρῆου C

1484 μέμψεσταν C

- 1485 καὶ μὲ τὸ ροῦχο μου λοιπὸν ἐγὼ ἐσκέπασθ' τον,
 ἀκόμη ὅπου σύντυχε, ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔθαψά τον.
 'Ἐμίλησα καὶ μετ' αὐτόν, τό 'θελε εἶπε μου το,
 καὶ ἔθαψά τον ἔντιμα, ὡς πατέρας μου ὅπου 'το.
 Κ' ἐκείνους ποὺ τὸν ἔσφαξαν ὅρισα γιὰ νὰ ποίσουν,
 1490 στὸν τάφον κείνον τὸ λοιπὸν νὰ πᾶν νὰ τοὺς φουρκίσουν.
 Καὶ ὅλους γὰρ τοὺς ὅρισα αὐτόν νὰ ὀνομάζουν
 ὡσὰν θεὸν ἐπίγειον, νὰ τόνε θυσιάζουν.
 Καὶ γιὰ γυναῖκα εἶπε μου νὰ πάρω τὴν Ρωξάνη,
 κι αὐτὸς τοῦ τὸ ἐμίλησε, πρὶν παρὰ ν' ἀποθάνη.
 1495 'Ορέγομαι καὶ ἀγαπῶ ἐγὼ γιὰ νὰ τὴν πάρω
 ὡσὰν γυναῖκα μου αὐτὴν, ἥς ἔχη αὐτὸ τὸ θέρρο.
 Λοιπὸν ἔσετε πρὸς τὸ παρὸν αὐτοῦ γιὰ νὰ σταθῆτε,
 γιὰ νὰ φθειαστοῦν τὰ πράγματα, κι ἀπέκει ὁδὸ νὰ 'λθῆτε."
 Κ' ἔγραψε τῆς μητέρας τοῦ ροῦχα γιὰ νὰ 'ρδινείσῃ
 1500 γιὰ τὴν Ρωξάνη νυμφικὰ, νὰ τοῦ τὰ ἐτοιμάσῃ.
 Λοιπὸν αὐτὴ τὰ 'ρδίνιασε, σ' 'Αλέξανδρον τὰ στέλνει.
 Τότ' ἔρισε 'Αλέξανδρος, ὁ γάμος γιὰ νὰ γένη
 καὶ τῇ Ρωξάνῃ ἔκραξε κι αὐτὸς τὴν εὐλογῆσθαι

1492 τὸν νεθυσιάζουν ead., τὸν ἐθυσιάζουν C

1498 πράγματα C

1499 ροῦχα νὰ ὀρδινείσῃ C

1500 νὰ τοῦ] καὶ νὰ C

- ὥσάν γυναῖκα του λοιπόν, μετ' αὐτὴν ἐκοιμήθη.
- 1505 Ἐκάμαν περιδιαβασμοὺς κ' ἐκεῖνα ποῦ βοῶσα,
 ὁὐκ ἔχω χεῖλη νὰ τὰ πῶ, ὁὐκ συντυχιά, ὁὐκ γλώσσα.
 Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔγραψεν εἰς τὸν Ἀριστοτέλη, II 23
 μάλιστα τῆς μητέρας του, σ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς οὐδὲ τὴν στέλλει·
 "Βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος μητρὶ μου Ὀλυμπιάδα,
 1510 λοιπὸν αὐτεῖναι χαιρετῶ μ' ὅλη της τὴν ὁμάδα·
 Ἀριστοτέλει τῷ ἐμῷ τιμίῳ διδασκάλῳ
 ξαιρέτως κεῖνον χαιρετῶ περὶ κανέναν ἄλλο.
 Γιὰ τοῦ Δαρείου πόλεμον θέλω νὰ σὰς μηνῆσω,
 πῶς εἶχεν ἔθνη πάμπολλα, τώρα θὲ νὰ τ' ἀρχίσω·
 1515 γρικῶντας γὼ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν ἔχει αὐτὸς τὴν τόση,
 ἐμηχανεύθη τὸ λοιπὸν κ' ἔκαμα γὼ μὲ γνώση.
 Τὰ καλικάρια μ' ὄρισα αἶγες κ' ἐκουβαλήσαν,
 κεριὰ ἑναμμένα τὸ λοιπὸν στὰ κέρατα κολλήσαν
 καὶ τότε^{τῆς} ἀπόλυσα τὴ νύκτα καὶ ἐπῆγαν.
 1520 Ἐβλέποντα τὸν πληθυσμὸν ἐκεῖνοι τότε ἐφύγαν.
 Βλέποντα μεῖς κ' ἐφύγανε, τότε σταυρώνομέ τους,

post 1508 (1508a) Ἀριστολὴ ὅπου ἔστειλε ὁ
 Ἀλέξανδρος τῆς μητρὸς του καὶ τοῦ διδασκάλου
 αὐτοῦ Ἀριστοτέλη (titulus)

1513 διὰ C

1521 τότε] τὸ C

- στή μέση τοὺς ἐβάλαμε κ' ἐκατακόβαμε τους.
 Καὶ κῆστρο τότες ὄρισα, τότες ἐκεῖ τὸ κύνουν,
 τὸ ὄνομά του τὸ λοιπὸν Αἴγες ἀναθιβάνουν.
 1525 Εἰς τὴν Ζουρία τὸ λοιπὸν, στὸν ποταμὸν Ἀφρότη,
 πόλη ὄρισα κ' ἐκτίσσαι καὶ ἐτελείωσέ τη.
 Τὸ ὄνομά της τὸ λοιπὸν Ἀλεξανδρεὶά τὴν κρᾶζουν,
 ἔτσι ἐκείνους ὄρισα γιὰ νὰ τὴν ὀνομάζουν.
 Τὸν Ἀδρειον ἐσκότῳσαν αὐτεῖν' οἱ ἑδικοὶ του,
 1530 ὅμως ἐγὼ τοῦ ἔκαμα τὴν ἐξεκδίκησέ του.
 Ἀγάπουν το τὸ λοιπὸν γιὰ νὰ ἔχειε γιὰ τώρα,
 γιὰ νὰ τὸν ὀρίζα ἐγὼ στὴν ἐδική του χώρα.
 Λοιπὸν καλὰ τὸν ἔθαψα αὐτεῖνον ὡς πατήρ μου,
 ἀτός μου τὸν ἐσῆκωσα ἐγὼ μὲ τὸ κορμί μου.
 1535 Καὶ τότες ἐσηκώθηκα κ' ἐπήγα στὴν Μηδία
 καὶ πάλι ἐκατέβηκα σ' αὐτὴν τὴν Ἀρμενία.
 Τότε πάλι ἐδιδάβηκα σ' αὐτεῖνην τὴν Βερβάν,

1523 κῆμνουν corr.

1529 αὐτεῖνοι

1531 τοῖς suppl. metri causa; τὸ λοιπὸν c

1534 ἐσῆκωσα ead., ἐσύκωσαν c

1536 ἀρμενίων corr.

μέσα σὲ χώρα τῶν Περσῶν ἐπήγα μὲ στρατεΐαν.

καὶ τότε πάλι ἐδιέβημαν εἰς τοὺς ἐρήμους τόπους, II 32

1540 ἐκεῖθεν ἐδιέβημαν μὲ βιᾶς πολλὰς καὶ κόπους.

εἶπαν μας οἱ ἐντόπιοι, κανεῖς οὐδὲν ὑπάγει

σ' αὐτεῖνην γὰρ τὴν ἔρημον, γιὰτ' εἶν ἀνθρωποφάγοι.

Ἡρῖσκονται κι ἄλλα θηριὰ καὶ εἶναι θυμωμένα,

ποτὲ δὲν τὰ 'δε κανενεῖς τέτοια φαρμακωμένα.

1545 Γρικῶντα γὼ τὰ πράματα κι αὐτεῖνα γιὰ ν' ἀκούσω,

τὸν τόπον κεῖνον ἤθελα νὰ τὸν περιπατήσω.

'Ορῖσα 'κ τοὺς ἐντόπιους κ' ἐπήραμε ἀνθρώπους

τότες ἐπερπατούσαμε 'εἰς ἐκεῖνους γὰρ τοὺς τόπους.

Γκρεμνὸν μεγάλον ἤυραμε, ἐξ αὐτὸν περπατοῦμε,

1550 ἀγανακτήσαμε πολλὰ κάτω νὰ κατεβοῦμε.

'Επερπατούσαμε λοιπὸν πλέο παρὰ βδομάδι,

καὶ εἶδαμε κακὰ θηριὰ ὁπόρχονταν ὁμάδι.

Σὲ τόπον ἐδιέβημαν, δένδρ' εἶδα ὠριωμένα,

καὶ ὁ καρπὸς τους τὸ λοιπὸν ὥς μήλα ἐσυφέρνη.

1555 'Ανθρώπους κεῖ ἐβλέπαμε κ' ἐλέγαν τους εφοντύλους,

ἦσαν μεγάλοι τὸ λοιπὸν κ' εἶχαν μακροὺς τραχήλους,

1540 βίαν C

1543 ἐβρίσκονται C

1545 πράγματα C

1555 ἐκεῖ C

- μερία καὶ σαγόνια εἶχαν πολλὰ μεγάλα,
 ὥσῃν αὐτεῖνα μοῦ ποτὲ ἐγὼ οὐκ εἶδα ἄλλα.
 Καὶ ἤλθασιν ἀπάνου μας κ' εἶχαν μεγάλο θρόσο,
 1560 ὄρισα γιὰ νὰ φέρουσι κανέναν γιὰ νὰ περῶ.
 'Απάνω τους ἐπήγαμε κι αὐτοὶ ἀντισταθῆκαν,
 κι ὅκ τοὺς δικούς μας 'ἔήντα τρεῖς τότε ἐσκοτωθῆκαν.
 'Ακόμη κι ἄλλους ἑκατὸν ἐκεῖνοι θανατώνουν
 σ' ἐκεῖνο τ' ἀνακάτωμα, ἐκεῖνοι ποὺ μαλώνουν.
 1565 Καὶ τετρακόσοι τρῆντα δυὸ 'ἔ ἐκεῖνους σκοτωθῆκαν,
 ἐκ χειρὰς τῶν Μακεδονίων θάνατον ἐγευτήκαν.
 'Ἐκεῖνα γὰρ τὰ πωρικά ὅπου Σφροντύλοι τρῶσι,
 'ἔ ἐκεῖνα τρώγαμε κ' ἐμεῖς ὡς γιὰ δική μας βρώση.
 Εἰς τόπον ἐκατέβημεν καὶ πάμε βοδωμένοι,
 1570 ἀνθρώπους κεῖ εὐρήκαμε, πολλὰ 'σαν ἀγριωμένοι.
 "Ἦτονε γὰρ τὸ μᾶκρος τους ὡς τέσσαρα πηχάρια,
 ἦτονε καὶ τὸ πλάτος τους ὥσπερ εἰσὶ κονδάρια.
 "Ἦσανε δυνατοὶ πολλὰ σ' ἐμᾶς καὶ κατεβαίνουν,
 πολλοὺς ἐκ τοὺς στρατιῶτες μου αὐτεῖνοι θανατώνουν.
 1575 Καὶ ὄρισά τους τὸ λοιπὸν μὲ στὰ σ' αὐτοὺς κ' ἐπῆγαν,

II 33

1562 τότες C
 1565 τετρακόσιοι C
 1566 μακεδονῶν C
 1571 "Ἦτονε] ἦτον corr.
 1574 στρατιῳῶτες 1529

- καὶ τόμου εἶδαν τὴν ἰστιάν, τότες αὐτεῖνοι φύγαν.
 Ἀποταχιά ἐπήγαμε σ' ἐκείνων τὰ κρεβάτια,
 θεριά σ' αὐτεῖνα ἤυραμε κ' εἶχασι τρία μάτια,
 τὸ μάκρος πῆχες τέσσαρες, δεμένα σὲ κολόνες ·
 1580 μεγάλους ψύλλους ἤυραμε κ' ἦσαν ὡσὼν χελῶνες.
 Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἦλθαμε σὲ τόπον ποῦ 'τον βρύση,
 καθίζουν στρατιῶτες μου ἐκ τὸ νερὸ νὰ πιοῦσι ·
 στὴν βρύση τότε' ἐκάθισε καθένας ξεγνοιασμένος,
 ἄνθρωπος κεῖθεν ἀπερνᾷ κ' ἦτονε μαλλιασμένος.
 1585 Καὶ ὄρισα κ' ἐπιάσαν τον, ἄγρια μᾶς κοιτάζει ·
 ποῖος αὐτεῖνον νὰ μὴ δῇ καὶ νὰ μηδὲν θαυμάζει·
 Ὅρισα δὲ νὰ γδύσουσι γυναῖκα νὰ τοῦ πᾶσι,
 φόρις νὰ ἔλθῃ 'ς πεθυμιὰ καὶ νὰ τὴν ἀγκαλιάσῃ ·
 καὶ ἕνας ἐκ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἔχει τοῦ τὴν ὑπάγει,
 1590 ἐκεῖνος τότε' ἐχύμησε ἐκείνη γιὰ νὰ φάγῃ ·
 ἄνθρωποι τότε' ἔδραμον γυναῖκα νὰ γλυτώνουν,
 κι αὐτεῖνος τότε' ἐφώναξε, ἄλλοι 'κ τὸ δόσο βγαίνουν.
 Τότες πάλι ἐξέβησαν μέσα 'κ τὸν καλαμιῶνα,
 ὡσὼν τὰ ἄστρα τ' οὐρανοῦ σὰν ἐκεινοὺς ἐβγαῖνα.
 1595 Εἰς τὸ καλάμι ὄρισα ἰστία γιὰ νὰ βᾶλουν,

1585 μασκκτάζει 1529

1590 γιὰ ομ. C

- ἀπὸ τὴν κάψην τῆς ἰστιάς δὲν ἦλθαν νὰ προβάλουν.
 Καὶ πάλι τότες τὴν φωτιά ἐμπρός τους τὴν ὑπήγαν,
 καὶ τόμου εἶδαν τὴν φωτιά, τότες αὐτεῖνοι φύγαν.
 Καὶ πεντακόσους ἐπιασαν, τότες τοὺς ἐταυροῦσαν,
 1600 φωνὴ δὲν εἶχανε ποσῶς, σὰν σκύλοι ἐβαβοῦσαν.
 Πλήγορα ἀπεθάνασιν, ποσῶς δὲν ἐβαστάξαν,
 ἐκεῖ ποὺ τοὺς ἐσύρνασι τότες γιὰ μιὰ πλαντάξαν.
 Ἐτότεσ πάλι τὸ λοιπὸν σ' ἓνα ποτάμι πᾶμε,
 1605 ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐπεξεύσαμε ὅλοι διὰ νὰ φάμε.
 Ἐκεῖ ἠύρισκονταν δενδρά, εἰς ὥρας ἐξ ἀβλαίνουν,
 σὰν ἐκατοῦσαν οἱ ἐπτὰ, ἀρχίζαν νὰ λιγαίνουν.
 Καὶ δάκρυα ἐστάχασιν, σὰν μόσχος ἐμυρίζα,
 τὸ δάκρυον κατέβαινε εἰς τοῦ δένδρου τὴ ρίζα.
 Καὶ ὀρισὰ τους μὲ σπουδὴν τὰ δένδρα νὰ χαράσσουν,
 1610 διὰ νὰ στᾶξῃ τὸ λοιπὸν, τὰ δάκρυα νὰ συνάσσουν.
 Ἐ' ἐκεῖνοι ὅπου κόπτασι τὰ δένδρη ποὺ μυρίζαν,
 ὁόρατοι γὰρ ἄνθρωποι ἐκεῖνους ἐραβδίζαν.
 οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐρχόντησαν καὶ ἦσαν πληγωμένοι,

1597 τότε C
 1599 πεντακόσιους C
 1601 ὀλύγορα C
 1609 μὲ σπουδὴν] τὸ λοιπὸν C

- καὶ πλέο δὲν τὰ γγίζασι αὐτεῖν' οἱ ραβδισμένοι.
- 1615 τοὺς ραβδισμένους βλέπομε καὶ ὅλοι ἀποροῦμε,
ἐκείνους ποὺ τοὺς δέρνουσι νὰ δοῦμε δὲν μποροῦμε.
Φωνὴ γὰρ ἦλθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς καὶ ἦτον ἀοράτος,
τὰ δένδρη νὰ μὴν κόπτωμε οὐδὲ τῇ μυρωδιᾷ τως.
Ἐκεῖθεν ἀσηκώθημαν τότες κ' ἐπερκατοῦμαν,
1620 εἰς ποταμὸν ἐπήγαμε κ' ἐπερικαρτεροῦμαν.
Μαῦρα λιθάρια βρίσκονταν στὸν ποταμὸν ἐκεῖνον,
καὶ ὅποιος κεῖνος τὰ 'πιανε, μαύριζ' ὡς παρακῆνον.
Ἦσαν καὶ ὀρέκοντες πολλοὶ σ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ ποτάμι,
καὶ μουλωμένοι στέκασιν μέσα εἰς τὸ καλάμι.
1625 Εὐρήκαμε καὶ ψάρια, κανεῖς δὲν τὸ θυμῆθη,
μέσα 'ς νερὸ τὸ βάλαμε, τότες αὐτεῖνο ψήθη.
Εἰς τὴν φωτιά τὸ βάλαμε καὶ ὅλοι ἐφυσσοῦσαν,
καὶ τὴν ἰστίαν τίποτες ποσῶς δὲν ἐγρικοῦσαν.
Ἕνας στρατιώτης τὸ λοιπὸν ψάριν εἶχε ξυσμένο,

1614 αὐτεῖν' οἱ] αὐτίνοι

1616 ποροῦμε

1618 τοὺς c

1619 ἐσυκώθημαν c

1619-20 καὶ περκατοῦμεν...καὶ περικαρτεροῦμεν c

1621 βρίσκονται c

1624 μουλωμένοι corr.

1629 ξημένο c

1630 μέσα στην βρύσιν τό 'βαλε κ' ηύρεθηκε ψημένο.

Λοιπὸν αὐτὸς ὁ στρατηγὸς ἔδειξε τοῦ καθένα

καὶ τὰ ὀψάρια τὸ λοιπὸν σὰν αὐτὸν τὰ ἐψένα.

Πάλι σ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν ὄρνεα εὔρεθηκα,

ὅποιος ἐκεῖνος τὰ 'πιανε καίγετον παραυτίκα.

1635 καὶ τῇ στρατεῖα ὄρισα αὐτεῖνα νὰ μὴ πιάσουν,

μόνον νὰ τὰ ἀφήνουνσι ὡς διὰ νὰ πετάσουν.

'Ἐκεῖθεν ἐδιάβημαν κ' ἐχάσαμε τὸν δρόμον,

II 37

οἱ στρατιῶτες εἶχανε τότε μεγάλον τρόμον.

'Ἐλέγανέ μου τὸ λοιπὸν ὀπίσω νὰ στραφοῦμε,

1640 μὴδὲν ὑπᾶμε παραμπρός, μήπως ἐκεῖ χαθοῦμε.

'Εγὼ τοὺς ὄρισα λοιπὸν ὀμπρός νὰ περπατοῦμε,

τὸν τόπον νὰ ξανοίξωμε, τίποτες γιὰ νὰ δοῦμε.

Θερίᾳ ἐξάποδα λοιπὸν σ' ἐμᾶς ἐκατεβήκαν,

οἱ στρατιῶτες τὰ 'διωχναν καὶ αὐτεῖνα κρυβεθῆκαν.

1645 Ἦτονε καὶ τὸ μάκρος τοὺς ὡς ἐξι γὰρ πηχάρια,

καὶ ἄλλα ἀπαντήσαμε, πεντέ 'χαν γὰρ ποδάρια.

Καὶ ἄλλα ἀπαντήσαμε, μὲ τρία μᾶτια ἦσαν,

1633 ἠβρεθήκαν c

1635 αὐτὶνὰμῃ c

1639 ἐλεγάν μου c, propter e male impressum in ed. princ.

1644 κρυβυβεθῆκαν c

- 'Εἴς ἐκεῖνα οἱ στρατιῶτες μου πολλὰ γὰρ ἀφάνισαν·
 καὶ ὅθεν μᾶς ἐβλέπασιν, τρέχαν καὶ πιλαλοῦσι,
 1650 καὶ πλέα δὲν ἀκαρτεροῦν σ' ἐμᾶς ν' ἀντισταθοῦσι.
 'Εκεῖθεν ἐδιάβημαν, θεριά 'δαμ' ὡς πουλάρια,
 τὸ εἶδος τοὺς ἐσύφερνε ὡσὰν ἀγριογαδούρια·
 τέσσαρα μάτια εἶχασιν ὁ καθέ τις εἷς ἐξ αὐτοῦ,
 ὡσὰν γαδάραι τὸ λοιπὸν ὀρθῶνασι τ' αὐτίς τοὺς.
 1655 εἷς ἄλλον τόπον πήγαμε κ' ἦσαν ἄνθρωποι ἄλλοι,
 λοιπὸν στὸ στήθος εἶχανε αὐτεῖνοι τὸ κεφάλι.
 Τότες τοὺς ἐκοιτάξαμε καὶ βλέπομε καθάρια
 καὶ τὴν τροφὴν ποὺ ζούσασιν, ἐτρώγασιν τὰ ψάρια.
 Τόπος ἦτον θαλάσσιος, φῶκες ἦσαν μεγάλες,
 1660 ὡσὰν ἐκεῖνες τὸ λοιπὸν ποτὲ οὐκ εἶδα ἄλλες.
 Φίλοι μου μὲ παρακαλοῦν ὀπίσω νὰ γυρίσω,
 ἐγὼ δὲν ἤθελα ποσῶς αὐτεῖνους, γιὰ ν' ἀκούσω.
 Πάλι ἐκαταντήσαμε εἷς ἔρημον γὰρ τόπον
 κ' ἦλθαμε 'ς περιθάλασσον μὲ βιὰ πολλὴ καὶ κόπον·
 1665 καὶ δὲν ἐβλέπαμε ἐκεῖ ὄρνια οὐδὲ θηρία,
 μόνον γὰρ γῆ καὶ οὐρανὸν σ' ἐκείνην τὴν μερία.

II 38

1654 ὡς σὰν
 1662 γιὰκούσω C
 1665 ὄρνεα C

- Ἡμέρες δέκα κῆμαμε ἥλιον γὰρ νὰ δοῦμε,
 καὶ λίγο φῶς ἐβλέπαμε, μὲ δαῦτο περπατοῦμε.
 Κ' εἰς θάλασσαν διέβημαν καὶ τότε πάλι ἐποῦκα,
 1670 καρδβία βρήκαμε μικρά, σ' αὐτεῖνα μέσα μπήκα.
 Καὶ ἐξ ἐμῆς ἐμπήκανε εἰς τὸ καρδβί κεῖνο,
 κοντὸ 'ς νησὶν διέβημαν, 'κοῦμεν φωνὰς Ἑλλήνων.
 Καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἀκούομε κ' ἐκείνους ποὺ λαλοῦνε
 ποσῶς οἱ στρατιῶτες μου οὐδὲν μποροῦν νὰ δοῦνε.
 1675 Εἰς τὸ νησί ἠθέλαμε ἔξω διὰ νὰ βγοῦμε,
 καὶ πάλι ἐφοβήθημαν στὰ λόγια τοῦ 'κοῦμε.
 Τοὺς στρατιῶτες ὅρισα νὰ πᾶσι γιὰ νὰ δοῦσι,
 μέσα ὀλίγο στὸ νησί, νὰ δοῦν τὸ ποιοὶ λαλοῦσι.
 Οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐγδύθησαν κολύμπου γιὰ νὰ πᾶσι,
 1680 τότε καβοῦροι βγήκανε, ἀρκάσσουν νὰ τοὺς φᾶσι.
 Ἐκνίζανέ μου τὸ λοιπὸν στρατιῶτες γὰρ σαράντα,
 ὅλοι τοὺς ἦσαν διαλεκτοί, πού 'σαν τῆς χρεΐας πάντα.
 Ἐτότε ἐφοβήθημαν, δυὸ μέρες περπατοῦμε,

II 39

-
- 1671 ἐμπήκαμε ∪
 1672 ἐδίεβημαν ∪
 1676 ὀπακοῦμε ∪
 1678 τοιοὶ
 1679 ἐγδήθησαν ∪

- οὐδὲν ποιοῦσαν γὰρ ποσῶς ἥλιον γιὰ νὰ ἴδωμε.
- 1685 Μακάρων χώρα θέλησα νὰ τὴν ἴδω ἐκεῖνη,
εἰς αὐτὴν τότε' ἐπήγαινα μὲ τὴν ἐσπλαγχνοσύνη.
'Αγάπουν γὰρ οἱ ἄρχοντες ἐκεῖνη γιὰ νὰ δοῦσι,
γιατί, ἐλέγαν οἱ σοφοί, αὐτεῖνοι πάντα ζοῦσι.
'Ο Καλλιστένης, φίλος μου, τότες μοῦ συμβουλεύει,
1690 μὲ πεντακόσους χίλιους στὸν τόπον κεῖ νὰ 'δεῶ
ἄλλους σαράντα τὸ λοιπὸν 'κ τοῦς φίλους μου νὰ πάρῃ,
ἐκεῖ γιὰ νὰ πηγαίνωμε, σ' ἐκεῖνο γὰρ τὸ θάρρει.
'Ονοῦς γὰρ μοῦ ἐνόησε νὰ 'ναι στὴν ἐξουσίᾳ μου,
καὶ τὸ φουσάτο τὸ λοιπὸν μὴ λείπ' ἀπὸ κοντὰ μου.
1695 'Ἐκεῖ ἐπερπατούσαμε καὶ ἦτονε σκοτάδι,
εἴκοσι μέρες τὸ λοιπὸν μαυρὸ 'τον σὰν τὸν 'Λδη.
καὶ πέντε ἄλλες πῆγάμε, (<'ς> σκοτάδι περπατοῦσαν,
ἐκεῖ ποὺ περπατούσαμε τινὰν δὲν ἐθωροῦσαν.
Σὲ βρύσιν ἐδιέβησαν, κ' ἔλαμπε τὸ νερό της
1700 ὡσὰν ἡμέρα φωτεινὴ, ἔτο' ἔλαμπε τὸ φῶς της.

1684 ποιοῦσαν...για να δοῦμε C

1688 διὰτί C

1689 μεσσυμβουλεύη C

1690 πεντακόσιους C

1693 ὁ νῆς μου γὰρ ἐνόησε, νῆμε id est ὁ νοῦς μου
γὰρ ἐνόησε νά'μαι, emendavi.

1693 ἐξουσία C

1697 (<'ς> supplevi

Ἐκεῖ ὅπου πηγαίναμε, στή βρύση τότε πᾶγω,
 κι ὄρεξη τότε μόκαμε ἑμένα γιὰ νὰ φάγω.
 Καὶ ὄρισα τὸν μάγερα προσφάγι νὰ ῥδινιάσῃ,
 καὶ παρευθὺς ὁ μάγερος τάραχον τότε ἄρπάσσει.

1705 Ἐδιδόθηκε στή φωτεινὴ βρύση γιὰ νὰ τὸ πλύνῃ
 κ' ἔφυγε ὅκ τὰ χέρια του, ὄλο ψαράκι γίνῃ.
 Αὐτὸς ὁ μάγερος λοιπὸν ἐτότεσ ἐκομπώθη,
 οὐδὲν μοῦ εἶπε τίποτεσ γιὰ κεῖνο ποῦ ψυχώθη.

Ἐκεῖθεν ἐδιδόθημαν καὶ ὄρνεα πετοῦσαν,

II 40

1710 καὶ εἶχαν ὄψῃ ἀνθρωπινή, ἐλληνικὰ λαλοῦσαν.

Ἔλεγεν ἔτσι ἡ φωνή· Ἀλέξανδρε, τί διαβαίνεις
 στήν γῆν ὅπου ἔναι οἱ θεοί, φουσάτο τί τὸ φέρνεις;
 οὐδὲν μπορεῖς γιὰ νὰ ἴδῃς μακάρων γὰρ τῇ χώρᾳ,
 οὐδὲ βαστά σε ἡ ζωὴ νὰ πύγῃς διὰ τῶρα.

1715 Μηδὲν ἀκαρτερῆς λοιπόν, κάμε νὰ πᾶς ὀπίσω·

Γρικῶντας τοῦτο γὰρ ἐγὼ δὲν εἶχα τί νὰ ποίσω.

Καὶ πάλι τότε λέγει μου· Ἐὖρε νὰ πολεμήσῃς
 τὸν Πῶρο γὰρ τὸν βασιλῆα, ὡς γιὰ νὰ τὸν ὀρίσῃς·

Ὅμπρὸς ὑπᾶνε τὰ πουλιὰ εἰς τὴν ἐπίσκεπτή μας,

1720 κ' εὐτεῖνα ἔκολουθούσαμε καὶ ἦταν ὁδηγοί μας.

1706 ἐγίνῃ c

Εἴκοσι πέντε τὸ λοιπὸν ἡμέρας περπατοῦμεν,
 ποὺ φῶς ἐκάμαμε λαμπρὸν ἐτότε·ς γιὰ νὰ δοῦμεν.
 Καὶ εἴπασί μας τὰ πουλιά, ἐκεῖ ποὺ περπατοῦμε,
 στὴ γῇ γιὰ νὰ πεζεύσωμε νὰ πάρωμ' ὅ,τι βροῦμε.

1725 Πολλοὶ ἐκ τοῦς στρατιῶτες μου ἀπὸ τὴν γῆν γὰρ παίρνουν,
 ἐκ τὸ σκοτάδι βγήκασι, τότε στὸ φῶς παγαίνουν. II 41

Εἰς τὸ σκοτάδι πασαις ἐκεῖνο ποὺ ψηλάφει,
 ὡσὰν ἐβγήκασι στὸ φῶς, εὐρέθηκε χρυσάφι.

Τότε ὁ μάγερὸς λοιπὸν αὐτεῖνο ἐθημήθη,

1730 ἐκεῖνο ποὺ ψυχώθηκε, τότε μοῦ τὸ 'ξηγήθη.
 Τότες ἐγὼ θυμώθηκα, εἶπα καὶ τὸν σκοτώνουν,
 στὴν γῇ ἐκεῖνη ἀπέθανε, σκόφθουν νὰ τόνε χώνουν.
 'Εσὰς νὰ εὖρη μὲ ὑγείᾳ γλήγορα ἡ γραφή μου,
 γιὰ νὰ 'στε πάντα τὸ λοιπὸν εἰς τὴν ἐπίσκεψή μου."

1735 'Ο δὲ 'Αλέξανδρος λοιπὸν ἤθελε γιὰ νὰ ποίση III 1
 μὲ Πῶρον γὰρ τὸν βασιλιὰ νὰ πᾶ νὰ πολεμήση.
 'Ο τόπος ἦτονε κακός, πατρῶδης κ' ἐγογγύζαν,

1722-3 om. C (propter περπατοῦμε(ν) iteratum)

1726 τότε στὸ] τὸ C

1727 ἐκεῖνο ποὺ] ἐκεῖ ὅπου emend.

1728 εὐγήκασιν τὸ C

1732 γῆν ἐκεῖνην ἀπόθανε C

Post 1734 (1734a) περὶ τὸ πῶς ἤθελε ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος νὰ
 πολεμήση μὲ τὸν Πῶρον (titulus)

οἱ Μακεδόνες ὅλοι τοὺς τότε ἐμουργίζαν.

"καὶ δὲν τὸν σώνει", λέγασιν, "ἀδρειὸν ὅπ' ὀρίζει,

1740 μὰ σύρνει μὰς στήν ἐρημιά, θὲ νὰ μὰς τυραννίζει.

"Ἄς ἔν ὁ Ἀδρειὸς αὐτὸς ἐγύρευέ μὰς τέλος,

λοιπὸν ἐδώσαμέ του το εἰς τὴν καρδιά του βέλος.

Δὲν σώνει ποὺ μὰς ἔσυρνε ἔκει στήν ἐρημίαν,

μὰ λὲ νὰ πολεμήσωμε τοῦ Πύρου βασιλείαν.

1745 Καὶ πάλιν τῶρα σύρνει μὰς νὰ πᾶ νὰ πολεμοῦμε,

κορμία μὰς νὰ χάσωμε καὶ νὰ κακοπαθοῦμε.

"Ἄν ἔναι ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος σ' αὐτεῖνον μανιωμένος,

ἄς πολεμίζῃ μοναχός, ἀμὰ ἔναι ἀνδρειωμένος."

Ἐὰν τ' ἤκουσεν Ἀλέξανδρος, τοὺς Μακεδόνας κράζει,

1750 ἀπὸ τοὺς Πέρσας τὸ λοιπὸν σὲ δύο τοὺς μοιράζει.

Καὶ εἶπε· "στρατιῶτες μου, ἄνδρες συμμαχισμένοι,

εἰπέτε τί σᾶς ἔκαμα καὶ εἴστεν λυπημένοι.

Καὶ λέγετέ μου τὸ λοιπὸν μόνος νὰ πολεμίζω;

Καὶ τοῦτο ἐναιφανερὸν, τὰ ἔθνη γὰρ ἔφανίζω.

1755 Δὲν ἤμουν πάντα μπροστινὸς ὀπόκαμνα τῇ μάχῃ:

Πάντα μου σᾶς ἀνέγκαζα γιὰ νὰ ὦστε πολεμάρχοι.

Ἐγὼ ἔκαμνα τὰς μηχανὰς σὲν ἕνα καλικάρι,

1739 ὅπ'] που ς

1745 πᾶν ς

1750 ἀπὸ] πὸ ς

καὶ δὲ μ' ἐστείλετε ἐσεῖς 'ς Ἀάρειον 'ποκρισάρη;

Θυμάσταν ποὺ δειλιάζετε σὲ πόλεμον νὰ βγῆτε:

1760 Ὅλους ἐγὼ σὰς ἔκαμνα διὰ νὰ πολεμήτε.

Θέλετε νὰ μισέψετε, τινὰς δὲ σὰς κρατίζει,

οὐδὲ μοδίζει σας κανεῖς, οὐδὲ σὰς περιορίζει.

Καὶ ταῦτα λέγω εἰς ἐσας, στρατιὰ οὐδὲν φροντίζει,

δίχως φροντίδα βασιλιῶς τίποτα δὲν ἐχρήζει.

1765 Ἐτοῦτα εἶπ' Ἀλέξανδρος, ὅλοι παρακαλοῦσι

στὰ λόγια ποὺ συντύχασι νὰ τοὺς τὰ συμπαθήσῃ.

Καὶ ὅλοι τὸν παρακαλοῦν νὰ παύσῃ τὴν ὀργὴν του

καί, ὅ,τι ὀρίσ' Ἀλέξανδρος, νὰ εἶναι στὴν βουλὴν του.

Εἰς ἕξι μέρες τὸ λοιπὸν στὰ ὄρη Ἰνδῶν σώνουν,

III 2

1770 ἔκει γὰρ ἀπεξεύσασι ὅλοι τοὺς καὶ τεντώνουν.

Ἀπὸ τοῦ Πῶρου ἄνθρωπος εἰς τὸ φουστό μπαίνει,

γραφὴν ἐβόστα τὸ λοιπὸν, Λεξάνδρου τὴν παγαίνει.

"Ὁ Πῶρος τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρου λέγει του πῶς ὁδεύεις

καὶ περπατεῖς ὁλόγυρα τὰς χώρας καὶ κουρσεύεις.

1775 Ἐγρίκησα καὶ ἔρχεσαι ἐδῶ νὰ πολεμήσης.

1762 οὐδὲ²] οὐδὲν c

1766 στὰ] τὰ c

Post 1770 (1770a) περὶ τὸ πῶς ἦλθαν ἀποκρισάροι (ἀποκρισιάρροι
c) τοῦ Πῶρου εἰς Ἀλέξανδρον (titulus)

Ἐπεὶ λογᾶσαι ἄνθρωπος, τί ἔχεις θεοῦ νὰ ποίσης;

καὶ παρὰ πάντας ἄνθρωπος κλεώτερος λογᾶσαι;

Ἐγὼ τοῦ εἶμαι ἄκτιστος, κάμε νὰ μὲ φοβᾶσαι.

Ὅχι ἀνθρώπους μοναχὰ γρικᾶς ἐγὼ τί ὀρίζω,

1780 ἀμὴ ὀρίζω καὶ θεοὺς κ' ἐδόθεν τοὺς ἑορίζω.

Κι ὁ Διονύσιος θεὸς ἐδόθεν ἑδωξά τον,

μὲ τῇ δικῇ μου δυνάμιν μακρὰ ἐξόρισά τον.

Ὅθ' μόνον συμβουλεύω σε νὰ ἴσθης νὰ πολεμήσης,

μὰ μάλιστα ὀρίζω σε ὅκισω νὰ γυρίσης.

1785 γιὰτί ἔσφαξες τὸν Δάρειον, τίποτες δὲν ψηφοῦμε,

ἄνδρον γὰρ ἐσκότῳσες, μὰ γὼ δὲ σὲ φοβοῦμαι.

Λοικὸν γύρισε γλήγορα, σύρε μὲ τὴν τιμὴ σου,

τὴν δυνάμιν σου τὸ λοικὸν μέσα σου τὴν θυμήσου."

Σὰν ἀναγνώσαν τὴν γραφὴν, πασάνας ἐπικράθη.

1790 καὶ τότε ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐγύρισε κ' ἐστάθη

καὶ εἶπε· "Στρατιῶτες μου, τοῦ Πώρου τὰ χαρτιά του

μηδὲν φοβήστε τίποτες εἰς τὴν ἀλαχονειά του.

καὶ δὲν θυμάστε Δάρειος πόγραφε τόσα βάρη;

1776 τίχεις

1779 ἐγὼ τί] τιγὼ

1781 Διοδιονύσιος

1783 συμβουλεύω

1785 Διὰτί

- "ἔτσι τὸ ἔχουν τὸ λοιπὸν νὰ γράφουν οἱ βαρβάροι.
 1795 θέλουν νὰ μεγαλύνωνται αὐτοὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ
 καὶ ἐξ ὑστέρου κέφτουνσι 'ς μεγάλη γὰρ πενία.
 'Ολκίζω πρῶτον στοῦς θεοῦς, στὴν ἀνεξικακιά μας,
 δεῦτερον στὴν ἀγάπην μας κ' εἰς τὴν ὁμόνοιά μας,
 ὄχι τὸν Πῶρον μοναχὸν ἑμεῖς νὰ πολεμοῦμε,
 1800 ἀμὴ καὶ ἄλλους βασιλεῖς νὰ τοὺς ἀντισταθοῦμε."
 Καὶ ταῦτα εἶπ' Ἀλέξανδρος, ὅλοι κολοκαρδίσαν,
 διὰ νὰ πᾶσι 'ς πόλεμον ὅλοι τοὺς ἀγαποῦσαν.
 Καὶ ἔγραψε ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ Πῶρου καὶ τὴν στέλλει,
 ἐκεῖ ἔγραφεν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκεῖνα ὅπου θέλει.
 1805 "Βασιλεὺς γὰρ Ἀλέξανδρος τοῦ Πῶρου γὰρ ἐμήνει
 (γραφὴν μὲ γνῶσιν ἔκαμε, τιμὴν καὶ σωφροσύνη).
 Γίνωσκε, Πῶρο βασιλεῦ, ὅτ' ἡ ἐπιστολὴ σου
 σὲ πόλεμον μ' ὀνόγκασε, αὐτεῖνὴ ἡ γραφὴ σου.
 Καὶ λές ὅτ' εἶσαι πλούσιος καὶ ὀρίζεις δίχως κόπον,
 1810 ἐγὼ ἡνέρισκομαι πτωχὸς καὶ ἐνδεὴς γὰρ τόπων.

1800 νὰ τοὺς ἀντ.] ἑμεῖς ναντ. C

1804 ἐκεῖ ἔγραφεν C

Post 1804 (1804a) Ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ (ὅπου C) ἔστειλεν
 ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τοῦ Πῶρου (titulus)

1806 τιμὴν] τὴν με emend.

- 1813 κ' ἔχεις πολλὰ, λέγεις μου, καὶ εἶσαι ἀξιωμένος,
 νὰ πάρω θέλω ἀπὸ σὲν ἐγὼ ὁ στερημένος.
 καὶ λέγεις μου τ' εἶσαι θεός, καὶ τί ἔχω γιὰ νὰ ποίσω,
 μὰ γὼ θεὸν δὲν ἔρχομαι διὰ νὰ πολεμήσω,
 1815 μὰ ἔρχομαι εἰς ἄνθρωπον κ' εἰς Πῶρον κομπωμένον,
 κ' εἰς βασιλιὰ ἀλάζονα, μάλιστα κ' ἐπηρμένον.
 Γιὰ κεῖνα, ὅπου ἔκαμα, λέγεις οὐδὲν ποιᾶσαι,
 γιὰ Ἀφρείον ποῦ σκότωσα τίποτα δὲν φοβᾶσαι.
 Τὰ λόγια σου τὰ εὐκαιρα λέγεις γιὰ νὰ φοβοῦμαι,
 1820 οὐδὲ στὸν νοῦ μου βάνω τα, οὐδὲν τὰ ἐθυμοῦμαι,
 μὰ ἔρχομαι ἀπάνου σου μὲ δυνατοῦ ραβδίου,
 θαρρῶ νὰ πᾶθης τὸ λοιπὸν τὰ ὅμοια Δαρείου."
- 'Ο Πῶρος σὴν τὸ ἤκουσε, στρατιὰ του τότες κράζει, III 3
 καὶ ὅλα τὰ φουσάτα του εἰς πόλεμ' ὀρδινιάζει.
- 1825 'Ορδίνιασαν καὶ τὰ θηριὰ αὐτὰ νὰ πολεμήσουν,
 λέφαντες κι ἄλλες γενεές, σ' αὐτοὺς νὰ τ' ἀπολύσουν.
 Τοῦ Πῶρου ἐπλησίαζε φουσάτο του νὰ σώσῃ,
 'Αλέξανδρος θαυμάζεται τὴν δύναμιν τὴν τόση.
 Οὐχὶ γιὰ τὴ στρατεία του καὶ διὰ τὸν λαὸν του,

1814 σθεδὸν C
 1817 Δία
 1820 βάλστα C

- 1830 οὐδὲν τὴν εἶχ' Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτεῖνῃ στὸν σκοπὸν του,
 μὲν τὰ θηριῶ, τοὺς λέφαντας, μ' ἐκεῖνα ὅπου κἀγει,
 σ' ἐκεῖνα γὰρ Ἀλέξανδρος περίσσια ἐξεπλάγη.
 Ροῦχα τ' ἀλλάσσει Ἀλέξανδρος μ' ὅλη τὴν ὄρεξή του
 'ς Πῶρου φουσάτο γιὰ νὰ μῃ, νὰ δῇ τὴ δύναμή του.
- 1835 Ἔσαν ἐμπήκε Ἀλέξανδρος στὴ μέση τοῦ φουσατό, **του,**
 ἐκεῖ τότε τὸν ἔκλιναν τοῦ Πῶρου ἡ στρατιὰ του.
 Ἐπῆραν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, θὲ νὰ τὸν ὑπαγαίνουν
 σὲ Πῶρον γὰρ τὸν βασιλιά, ὁμπρὸς του τὸνε φέρνουν.
 Ὁ Πῶρος τὸν ἐρώτησε, λέγει του "πόθεν εἶσαι;
- 1840 Εἶπες μου τὴν ἀλήθεια, τίποτες μὴ φοβησῇ." **του,**
 Ἀπὸλογῆθ' Ἀλέξανδρος "στρατιώτης του γὰρ εἶμαι,
 τ' Ἀλέξανδρου π' ἀκούετε, ἡ σὴ δύναμις φοβεῖ με."
 Ὁ Πῶρος τότε εἶπε του "εἶδε με ὀφθαλμὸς σου,
 τὴν δύναμή μου τὸ λοιπὸν εἶπέ του τ' ἀφεντός σου.
- 1845 Τί θέλει γιὰ νὰ μάχεται Ἀλέξανδρος μ' ἐμένα,
 τόσα φουσατά τὸ λοιπὸν ὁπὶχω καμωμένα;"
 Ὁ Πῶρος σὺν ἐμίλησε Ἀλέξανδρον ἀφῆνει,
 καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐσχόπησε τὴ δύναμή του κείνη.

Post 1832 (1832a) περὶ τὸ πῶς ἐδιδόθη Ἀλέξανδρος
 εἰς τοῦ Πῶρου τὸ φουσατό (titulus)
 1841 στρατιώτης edd.
 1848 καὶ c

- Ἐδιδάβη στὸ φουσάτο του, τέχνη κατασκευάζει,
 1850 τεχνίτες εἶχε περισσοῦς, τότε τοὺς ὀρδινιάζει.
 Χυτοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἔκαμε, κάρβουνα τοὺς γεμίζει,
 καὶ τὸ φουσάτο σίμωσε τοῦ Πῶρου καὶ συγγίζει.
 Ὁ Πῶρος γὰρ ἀπόλυσε τοὺς λέφας μὲ μανία,
 καὶ τοὺτους ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος εἶχε τους σ' ὀρδινία.
 1855 Ὡς εἶδασι γὰρ τὰ θηριὰ ἐκείνους ὅπου στέκουν,
 νομίζουν τ' εἶναι ἄνθρωποι, τὲς στηλὰς περιπλέκουν.
 Καὶ τὰ φουσάτα σμίξασι πόλεμον γιὰ νὰ κρούξουν,
 καὶ τὰ θηριὰ οὐδὲν τρομοῦν κανένα γιὰ νὰ γγίξουν.
 Ἦ' ἐκρούσανε τὸν πόλεμον καθένας κ' ἐπολέμα,
 1860 ἐκ τὰ κορμιὰ τους ἔβλεπες ὁπότερχε τὸ αἷμα.
 Ὅπωνα ἄνδρας γὰρ καλός, μὲ τὸ κονδάρ' ἀμκάθει·
 τ' ἄλογο τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρου ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐσκοτώθη.
 Εἴκοσι πέντε μέρες γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι πολεμοῦσαν,
 1865 ἔξω στὸν κῆμπον στέκασι καὶ πόλεμον βαροῦσαν.
 Ἄν εἶδε ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, φθέρνεται τὸ φουσάτο,
 κάμνουνε ἀνακάτωμα καὶ πᾶσι ὄνω κάτω,

III 4

1849 Ἐδίδαση edd., ἐδίδαβη C
 Ante 1859 aid. C ὅπου τον ἔκαμαν τὸν πόλεμον τοῦ
 πόρου τὰ φουσάτα καὶ τοῦ ἀλεξάνδρου
 1860 ὁπότερχε C
 1861 κονδάρ' C

- Τοῦ Πάριος γὰρ ἐμήνησε γιὰ νὰ μονομαχήσουν,
 οἱ δυὸ τοὺς τότες νὰ σταθοῦν ὡς γιὰ νὰ πολεμήσουν.
 Ὁ Πάριος σὰν τὸ ἤκουσε μεγάλως τὸ ἐχόρη,
 1870 νὰ πολεμήσ' Ἀλέξανδρον πάντα αὐτὸς ἐθάρρει.
 γιὰτ' ἦτον μέγας στὸ κορμὶ κ' εἶχε καὶ πολιτεία,
 Ἀλέξανδρος ἠὺρίσκετον μικρὸς στὴν ἡλικία.
 Καὶ τότες ἄρματώθησαν οἱ δυὸ νὰ πολεμήσουν,
 στὴ μέση γὰρ ἐστάθησαν νὰ κονταροκτυπήσουν.
 1875 Ἐτότες ὀρχινήσσαι, ἕνας τ' ἄλλου κτυποῦσι,
 σάλπιγγες, ἄλλα βοῦκινα τότες ἐκεῖ βαροῦσι.
 Ἐκεῖ ποὺ πολεμοῦσανε, θόρυβος γὰρ ἐγένη,
 τοῦ Πάριος γὰρ οἱ στρατηγοὶ μαλώνουσιν ἐκεῖνοι.
 Ὁ Πάριος γὰρ ἐγύρισε νὰ δῇ τὴ στρατιὰ του,
 1880 Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ κονδάρια ἔδωκε στὰ πλευρὰ του.
 Καὶ Πάριον ἔτσ' ἐσχότωσε Ἀλέξανδρος μὲ κονδάρι,
 ὁ Πάριος δὲν τὸ ὀλπιζε, οὐδὲ ποσῶς τὸ θάρρει.
 μὰ ἔκρενε στὸν λογισμὸν πῶς θέλει τὸν νικήσει,

-
- 1867 γιαναμονομαχήσουν C
 1868 τότε C
 1871 λισπίζτον C
 Post 1874 add. C πόλεμος τοῦ Πάριος μετὰ τοῦ
 Ἀλέξανδρου
 1877 ποὺ πολ.] πολεμοῦσανε C
 1879 ἴδετ C
 1880 κονδάρια ἔδωκε C

- μὴ τῶρα ἐνίκησαν τον, δὲν ἔχει τί νὰ ποίση.
- 1885 καὶ ὅταν κἀθῇ ὁ λωλός, τότε γιαμιὰ φροντίζει,
ἐκεῖνο ποῦ τοῦ ἔρχεται, καθάρια τὸ γνωρίζει.
Ἡ πρώτη γνώση τὸ λοιπὸν εἶναι ὁποῦ ὀρίζει,
ἡ ἐνδοτερνὴ μετὰ γνώση τίποτες δὲν ἀξίζει.
ὅταν εἰδῶσι οἱ στρατηγοὶ τὸν Πῶρον ποῦ σκοτῶθη,
1890 ἀπὸ τῆ χέρι· Ἀλέξανδρου τὸ πῶς ἐθανατώθη,
καὶ κἀλὶ τὰ στρατεύματα τοῦ Πῶρου πολεμοῦσι,
τοὺς Μακεδόνες τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτεῖνοι τοὺς βαροῦσι.
καὶ εἶπε τοὺς Ἀλέξανδρος· "Ἔσσετε τί πολεμεῖτε;
Ἀφέντη σας ἐχάσατε, σὲ ποιὸν τῶρα θαρρεῖτε;"
- 1895 καὶ αὐτεῖνοι κίλογήθησαν· "Νὰ μὴ χμαλωτιστοῦμε,
ἡμεῖς στοὺς στρατιῶτες σου σκλάβοι νὰ μὴ γανοῦμε."
καὶ εἶπε τοὺς Ἀλέξανδρος· "Κἀθεστε ῥηνεμένοι,
ὁμέτε εἰς τὰ σκίτια σας ὅλοι λευθερωμένοι."
Ἀκούοντα οἱ στρατηγοὶ κλέο δὲν πολεμοῦσι,
1900 μὴ ἔρχονται σ' Ἀλέξανδρον, ὅλοι τὸν προσκυνοῦσι.
τότε ὄρισ' Ἀλέξανδρος τὸν Πῶρον ν' ἀνακλῶν,
σ' ἓνα κιβούρι ὁμορφο μέσα νὰ τόνε θάψουν.

1886 κεῖνο C

1890 χέρια C

1893 πολεμάται C

1894 ἐχάσατε C

1895 Νὰ μὴ χμ.] νὰ αἰχμ. emend.

1896 στοὺς] τοὺς C

Τοῦ Πάρου γὰρ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ ὅλη τὴ στρατιὰ του
ἐπήρε την 'Αλέξανδρος, καὶ ἔναι στὸ θέλημά του.

1905 'Εμίσειυσεν 'Αλέξανδρος, ἔχει δὲν ἀνιμένει, III 5

στούς 'Εξηδάρκους πῆγαινε διατ' ἦσαν ὀρισμένοι.

καὶ δὲν ἐπῆγαινε σ' αὐτούς διὰ νὰ πολεμήσῃ,

διότις ἦσανε γυμνοί, δὲν ἔχει τί τοὺς ποίσει.

'Εκεῖνοι, λέγω, ἄνθρωποι ἦσαν σοφοὶ μεγάλοι,

1910 εἰς τῆς σοφίας τὸ μᾶθημα οὐδὲν ἠύρισκοντ' ἄλλοι.

Ἀραχμάνες γὰρ τοὺς λέγουσι καὶ ἦτανε γυμνωμένοι,

σοφίας γὰρ τὸ μᾶθημα πολλὰ 'νιε προκομμένοι.

Καλύβια εἶν τὰ σκίτια τους, σὲ σπήλαια κοιμοῦνται,

νύκτα καὶ ἡμέρα τὸ λοιπὸν τὸν θάνατον φοβοῦνται.

1915 'Ὡσὼν ἐμάθαν τὸ λοιπὸν 'Αλέξανδρος ἐμπαίνει,

γραφὴ τότε τοῦ στείλασι γιὰ νὰ 'νιε φυλαμένοι.

"Ἀραχμάνες γυμνοσοφισταὶ σ' 'Αλέξανδρον μηνύμε,

ἃ θέλης νὰ 'λθῇς εἰς ἐμᾶς, τίποτες δὲν ψηφύμε.

Λοιπὸν τέλος σου στέλνομε καὶ τοῦτο ἃ σ' ἀρέσῃ,

1920 τίποτες ἡ στρατεία σου 'ξ ἐμᾶς δὲ θεὸς κερδαίσει.

1911 δραχμάναις....γυμνωμένοι C

1912 πολλάνε C

1916 γιανάναι C

Post 1916 (1916a) 'Επιστολὴ ὅπου ἔστειλαν οἱ
Ἀραχμάνες εἰς 'Αλέξανδρον (titulus)

Ἡμεῖς γυμνοὶ βρισκόμεσταν κ' ἔχομε στενωπὸν,
 ἄλλο δὲν ἔναι εἰς ἑμᾶς, εἴμητα γὰρ σοφία.
 Ἄν ἔλθ' ἀγάπη εἰς ἑμᾶς κ' ἑμεῖς γιὰ νὰ σταθοῦμε,
 ἔχομε ρωταπόκρισες νὰ σᾶς ἀποκριθοῦμε."

1925 Λοιπὸν ἐδιόβ' Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς αὐτοὺς μὲ εἰρήνην
 καὶ ἔδειξέ τοὺς τὸ λοιπὸν πολλὴν εὐσπλαγχνοσύνην.

III 6

Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς ἐρωτᾷ, σπήλαια εἶν ζωὴ τοὺς
 αὐτεῖνοι ἀποκρίθησαν, αὐτὰ 'νιε κ' ἡ θανή τοὺς.
 Καὶ πάλι τοὺς ἐρώτησε "ζωὴ 'ναι πληθυσμένοι

1930 ἐκεῖνοι π' ἀπόθνασι κ' εἶναι στὴ γῇ βαλμένοι;"

Ἐκεῖνοι ἀποκρίθησαν "Δὲν εἶν ἀποθαμένοι,
 διότις πάντα ἡ ψυχὴ ἀθάνατος γὰρ μένει."

Καὶ πάλι τοὺς ἐρώτησε "Θάνατος κυριεύει,
 ἢ ἡ ζωὴ καθολικὰ τὸν κόσμον ἀφεντεύει;"

1935 Ἐκεῖνοι ἀποκρίθησαν "ζωὴ 'ναι ποὺ φροντίζει,
 αὐτεῖνι ἔναι τὸ λοιπὸν ὅλα ὅπου τὰ 'ρίζει."

Καὶ εἶπε ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος "Πῶς τοῦτο διαβαίνει,
 ποὺ πασαέναις τὸ λοιπὸν θάνατον ἀνιμένει;"

Ἀπυλογήθη ὁ γυμνός "Πλεώτερο ὁδεύει,

1922-3 εἰς σεμᾶς εἰδᾶ.

1928 αὐτάνε σ

1938 ἀναμένη σ

- 1940 ὄνταν ἐβγαίνει ἡλῖος παρ' ὄντα βασιλεύη."
 Καὶ πάλι τοὺς ἐρώτησε· "Ποῖα 'ναὶ πλεωτέρα,
 ἡ θάλασσα γὰρ ἢ ἡ γῆς, πόναι στερεωτέρα;"
 Ἐκεῖνοι ἀποκρίθησαν· "Νερό 'ναὶ ἀποπάνω,
 ἡ γῆς ἔναι πλεώτερη, τοῦτο σ' ἀναθιβάνω."
- 1945 Καὶ ἄλλο τοὺς ἐρώτησε· "Ποιὸ ζῷ πονηρεμένο
 ἀπάνω σ' ὅλα τὸ λοιπὸν νά 'ν διδασκαλεμένο;"
 Ἐκεῖνοι ἀποκρίθησαν· "Ἄνθρωπος ἔν π' ὀρίζει,
 εἴτι ἔν ἀπάνω εἰς τὴν γῆν αὐτὸς τὰ περιορίζει."
 Εἶπε του ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος· "Πῶς τοῦτο ἐγρικᾶται;"
- 1950 Ἀπιλογήθη ὁ γυμνός, ἀτός του ἀνοῖται.
 Καὶ εἶπε του· "Ἀλέξανδρε, τί πάγεις καὶ ταράσσεις,
 καὶ ἄλλων ζώων τὴν τροφὴ ὑπᾶς καὶ τὴν ἀρπάσσεις;"
 Ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος λοιπὸν ποσῶς δὲν ἐθυμώθη,
 μᾶλλον, 'εἰς ἐκεῖνο πού 'τονε, πλέο ἐταπεινώθη.
- 1955 Καὶ πάλι τοὺς ἐρώτησε· "Τὸ τί ἔναι βασιλεύς;"
 Ἐκεῖνοι ἀποκρίθησαν· "Ἐναι πλεονεξία."
 Καὶ πάλι τοὺς ἐρώτησε· "Ποιὰ ἔναι πλεωτέρα,
 ἡ νύξ, ὀπὸναι σκοτεινὴ, ἢ φωτεινὴ ἡμέρα;"
 Ἐκεῖνοι τ' ἀποκρίθησαν· "Νύξ ἔναι πλεωτέρα,
 διότις σκότος τὸ παιδί ἔχει εἰς τὴν γαστέρα.
 Κι ἀπέχει ἔρχεται τὸ φῶς καὶ βλέπει τὴν ἡμέρα,
 τότε γνωρίζει τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ κόσμου τὸν ἄερα."

Καὶ ἄλλο τοὺς ἐρώτησε · "Τί πράμα δὲν γελάται;"

Ἐκεῖνοι ἀποκρίθησαν · "Θεὸς δὲν ἀπατάται."

1965 Καὶ ἄλλο τοὺς ἐρώτησε · "Ποῖα ἔναι καλλιοτέρη,
ἡ δεξιὰ, ὥσπερ ὑπάρχει, ἢ ἡ ἀριστερὰ;"

Ἐκεῖνοι ἀποκρίθησαν · "Ζερβὴ ἐν χαριτωμένη,
διότι καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ἀριστερὰ παγαίνει,
καὶ ἡ γυναῖκα τὸ βυζὶ τ' ἀριστερὰ τῆς πιάνει,

1970 ὅπου τὸ δίδει τοῦ παιδιοῦ κι αὐτεῖνο τὸ βυζάνει ·
καὶ οἱ μεγάλοι βασιλεῖς, ὅπου καὶ ἂν σταθοῦσι,
τὰ σκῆπτρα ὅλα βασιλείας ἀριστερὰ κρατοῦσι."
Γρικῶντας ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκεῖ τοὺς συμμαζώνει,
κ' εἶπε τοὺς, ὅ,τι θέλουσι καθέννας, νὰ πληρώνη.

- - - -

1975 Ἐκεῖνοι ἀποκρίθησαν · "Θάνατος ἐν σ' ἐσένη,
γιατὶ γυρεύεις τὸ λοιπὸν τὰ πράματα τὰ ξένα.
Ὅλα τὰ θεὸς ἀφήσει ὅσῳ, τίποτες δὲν κερδαίνεις,
ἄφες τοὺς στρατιῶτες σου, μηδὲν τοὺς παραδέρνης."
Ἀπυλογῆθ' Ἀλέξανδρος · "Τοῦτα θεὸς τὰ κάνει,
1980 ὅς ἐνα τόπον κέρνει τα, εἰς ἄλλον γὰρ τὰ βάνει.

1963 πράγμα C

Post 1974 lacunam statui.

1976 πράγματα C

1979 κέρνει corr.

1980 κέρνετα ead., κέρνη τα C

Εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς ἡνέρισκομαι καὶ εἶμαι οἰκονόμος,
 αὐτεγνοὺι μὲ ὀρίζουσι, σ' αὐτὰ οὐκ ἔναι νόμος.
 οὐδὲ ἡ θάλασσα λοιπὸν αὐτείνη οὐδὲν σέται,
 μά, σὰν φυσήσῃ ἄνεμος, ἀρχίζει καὶ βρουχέται.

- 1985 Λοιπὸν ἡ ἄνω πρόνοια ὅλα τοῦτα τὰ κίνει,
 ἄλλος κερδαίνει μὲ χαρὰ κι ἄλλος μὲ λύπη χάνει.
 Σὰν οἰκονόμος τὸ λοιπὸν τὰ πράγματα γὰρ παίρνει,
 'ἔξ ἑναν αὐθέντην παίρνει τα κ' εἰς ἄλλον γὰρ τὰ φέρνει."
 Καὶ τοῦτα εἶπ' Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀποχαιρετήσέ τους,
- 1990 ἀπόκειθεν ἐμίσεισε τότες καὶ ἄφησέ τους.

"Ἐγραψε τότε' ἐπιστολὴ εἰς τὸν διδασκαλὸν του,
 τ' Ἀριστοτέλη τὸ λοιπὸν, ἀπὸ τὸ μερτικὸν του.
 "Βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος τιμῶ Ἀριστοτέλει,
 ὁ μαθητὴς σ' Ἀλέξανδρος χαιρετισμὸν σοῦ στέλλει.

III 17

- 1995 Νὰ γράψω ἐπεθύμησα ἐσένα τί ἐγίνη
 στήν χώραν γὰρ τὴν Ἰνδικήν, ὁπόκαμαν ἔκεῖνοι.

1984 βρουχάται C

1987 πράγματα C

1988 αὐθέντη C

ἄλλον γὰρ J ἄλλοι C

Post 1992 (1992a) Ἐπιστολὴ ὅπου ἔστειλεν ὁ
 Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς Ἀριστοτέλην τὸν διδασκαλὸν
 του (titulus)

1994 μαθητὴς Ἀλέξανδρος edd., μαθητὴς σᾶλεξανδρος C

1996 ὁπούκαμαν C

- Παίρνω καμπόσους ἐξ ἐμας, 'ς κάτεργα μέσα μπαίνω,
 εἰς περιγιάλι τὸ λοιπὸν πάγω κ' ἐκεῖ ἐβγαίνω.
 Ἐκεῖ ἀνθρώπους εἶδαμεν, ὀπότερωγαν τὰ ψάρια,
 2000 τὰ πρόσωπά 'χαν ὁμορφα σὰν γυναικὸς καθάρια.
 Ἐτότε εἰκαθίσσαμε ἐκεῖ ν' ἀναπαυτοῦμε,
 τότες νησάκιν εἶδαμεν κι ὅλοι γι' αὐτὸ ρωτοῦμε.
 Καὶ εἶπασί μας ' Ἐτὸ νησί τάφος ἓν γεναμένος,
 ὀλόγυρά 'ναι εὐμορφα χρυσοπαλαμισμένος.'
- 2005 Ἡθέλησα εἰς τὸ νησί μέσα νὰ ταξιδέψω,
 τὸν τάφον κεῖνον τὸ λοιπὸν καλὰ νὰ τόνε γνέψω.
 Οἱ φίλοι μου δὲν μ' ἄφηκαν μέσα γιὰ νὰ παγαίνω,
 εἶπασί μου γιὰ τὴ στρατιὰ παντὰ 'ξω γιὰ νὰ μένω·
 νὰ πᾶνε μέσα ἐξ αὐτοῦς τότες μὲ συμβουλεύουν,
 2010 νὰ βροῦνε μέσα στὸ νησί ἐκεῖνο ποῦ γυρεῖουν.
 Κι ἂν κινδυνέψουν, μοῦ 'πασι, ὡς διὰ νὰ πιστέψω,
 ἐγὼ μὲ τὴ στρατεία μου πάλι γιὰ νὰ 'πιστρέψω.
 Τὴν γῆν ἐκείνη, μοῦ 'πασι, ἔχω ἀφεντεμένη,
 ἂν ἔλθῃ θάνατος σ' ἐμέν, χάνεται <ή> οἴκουμένη.
- 2015 Ἐφάνη μου καλὴ βουλὴ φίλους μου γιὰ νὰ πέψουν,

2001 ἀναπαυτοῦμε C
 2004 ἔμορφα C
 2009 συμβουλεύουν C
 2014 <ή> supplevi

- στην βάρκαν μέσα νά 'μπουσι κ' εἰς τὸ νησι νὰ 'δέψουν.
 'Ως μίαν ὥραν τὸ λοιπὸν τῇ βάρκα βλέπαμε την,
 θεριὸν ἐβγήκε 'κ τὸ νησι τότε καὶ βούλιαξέ την.
 'Επνίγησαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐτότες παραυτίκα,
 2020 ἔκλαυσα καὶ τοὺς φίλους μου κ' εἶχα μεγάλη πρίκα.
 'Απὸ τοὺς γυναικόμορφους εἶπα νὰ μοῦ κιάσουν,
 καὶ νὰ τοὺς σκοτώνουσι, εἰς ἄκρος νὰ χαλάσουν.
 'Επήγαιναν νὰ κιάσουν κ' ἔφευγε κ' ἐσυντήρει,
 ὁκτὼ ἡμέρες ἔκαμα σ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ 'κρωτήρι.
 2025 'Ελέφαντας ἠύρυσκαμεν κι ὅλοι καβαλικέψαν,
 στὴ χώρα γὰρ τὴν 'Ινδικὴν ἐκῆγαν κ' ἐπεξέψαν.
 'Ἐκρινε γοῦν στὸν λογισμὸν ὡς διὰ νὰ μὴν πάψω,
 εἶτι παρόξενον ἰδῶ, σ' ἐσένα νὰ τὸ γράψω.
 Νικῶντας μετὰ τὸν Ἀφρειὸν ἐπερπατούσαμ' ὅλοι,
 2030 κ' ἐδῶ κ' ἐκεῖ πηγαίναμε, ὅθεν κι ἃ μᾶς ἐβόλει.
 Στὴν 'Ινδικὴν ἐδιδέβημαν καὶ περικαρτεροῦμε,
 στὴν ἔρημον κινήσαμε τότες καὶ περπατοῦμε.
 Εἰς ἓνα τόπον εἶδαμε παλάτια γὰρ ὡραῖα,
 λεχάνες εἶδα 'λόχρυσες σ' ἐκείνη τῇ μερῇ.

2024 τὰ κρωτήρη C

2032 περποῦμε C

2034 εἶδα ὁλόχρυσες C, εἶδ' ἀλόχρυσες edd., corr.

- 2035 Καὶ νὰ 'βανε ἡ καθεμιὰ ὡς μέτρα γὰρ πενήντα,
πιστεύω οὐδὲ νὰ βάνασι ἕως τὰ ἐνενήντα.
Εἶπαν μας οἱ ἐντόπιοι, κεῖθεν ποῦ διαβοῦμε,
ὄφιδια βρίσκονται κακὰ κ' εἶπαν μου νὰ φοβοῦμαι.
Εἶπα το τῆς στρατείας μου, αὐτεῖνη νὰ τὸ γνῶθι.
- 2040 Τότες πάλι τὴν ὄρισα ἐκεῖ καὶ ἀρματώθῃ
καὶ δέκα μέρες τὸ λοιπὸν τότες περικατοῦμε,
'ς χωρὰ 'ρημ' ἀπεξεύσαμε διὰ ν' ἀναπαυτοῦμε.
'Εκεῖν' ἡ χώρα τὸ λοιπὸν σὲ οὐδὲ ποτάμια στέκει,
καὶ τὸ νερὸ 'τονε πικρὸ, ὅπου τὴν περιπλέκει.
- 2045 Γδύνονται 'κ τοῦς στρατιῶτες μου, στὸν ποταμὸν ἐμπήκαν,
θηριὸ ἐξέβη εἰς αὐτούς, σαράντα ἐπνιγῆκαν.
'Εκεῖθεν τότε' ἐξέβημαν 'κ τῇ οὐψ' ἀποθαμένοι,
τὰ κάτουρά τους γιὰ νὰ πιοῦν ἦταν πολλὰ χρειασμένοι.
Εἰς λίμνη καταντήσαμε, ὅλοι νερὸ γὰρ πίνουν,
- 2050 κι ὡς μέλι ἦτονε γλυκύ, λέγουν ἐκεῖ νὰ μένουν.
Ἐτήλη ἀνθρώπου τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκεῖ 'τονε γραμμένη
'Κωσῆς ἐγὼ 'βρα τὸ νερὸ, νὰ πιῇ ὅπου διαβαίνει.'
'Εφάγαμε κ' ἐπίαμε κι ὅλοι ἐχορταστήκαν,
ἔπεσαν ὅλοι ξέγνοιαστοι ἐκεῖ κι ἀναπαυτήκαν.
- 2055 Καὶ ὥρα τρίτῃ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀκούουν καὶ κτυποῦσι,
τοῦ τόπου κείνου τὰ θηριὰ ἦλθαν νὰ ποτισθῶσι.

- Ἦσαν σκορπίοι φοβεροί, πασάνας ἕναν πήχαν,
 ἄσπροι καὶ μαῦροι, κόκκινοι, κεντριὰ μεγάλα εἶχαν.
 Εἶδαμε γὰρ καὶ λέοντες κ' ἦσαν ὡσὺν ταυρία,
 2060 εἶδαμε ξενοχάραγα ἄλλα ἐκεῖ θηρία,
 εἶδαμε ἀγριοχοίρια μεγάλα σὰν βουβάδια,
 ἐστέκασιν τὰ δόντια τοὺς ἔξω ὥσπερ διχάλια.
 Ἐκεῖ ἄνθρωποι βρίσκονταν κ' εἶχασιν ἔξι χέρια,
 ἔσφαξαν οἱ στρατιῶτες μου πολλοὺς μετὰ μαχαίρια.
 2065 Πολλοὺς ὁκ τοὺς στρατιῶτες μου τ' ἔγρια θηριὰ σκοτώνουν,
 καὶ τὸ φαρμάκι ἔριχναν αὐτοὺς καὶ θανατώνουν.
 Ὅρισα τὸ φουσάτο μου τότε καὶ ἄρματώθη,
 ἐκ τὰ θηρία τὰ κακὰ τότες γιὰ μιὰ λυτρώθη.
 Ὅρισα τότε κ' ἔβαλαν ἱστία στὸ καλᾶμι,
 2070 τότες ἐκεῖθεν ἔφυγαν, δὲν εἶχαν πλὺθ δυνάμη.
 Θηρίον ἦλθε εἰς ἑμᾶς κ' ἔμοιαζεν ὥσπερ λέρα,
 εἴκοσι κέντε συντριψε ἀνθρώπους τότε κ' ἔφα.
 Μαλῶνουςι μὲ τὸ θηριὸ τότε τὰ καλικάρια
 καὶ τὸ θηριὸ σκοτώνουσι τότες μετὰ κονδάρια.
 2075 Τραχόσοι ἄνδρες τὸ λοιπὸν μὲ βίας τὸ ἐπήραν,
 ἀπὸ τὴν στράταν τό 'βγαλᾶν, μὲ κόπον τὸ ἐσύραν.

2057 φοβεροί] τὸ λοιπὸν ε

- Ἐκεῖ ποὺ περπατούσαμε, φεγγάρι σκοτεινιάζει,
εἰς ἄλλην λίμνην ἦλθαμε καὶ σὰν τὴν ἄλλην μοιάζει.
Στὴν λίμνην κείνην εἶδαμε ἐτότεσ ἀλεπουδες,
2080 πηχες ὀκτὼ τὸ μᾶκρος τους, χοντρὲς ὡσὰν ἄρκουδες.
Καὶ εἶδαμε κορκόνδειλους μεγάλους σὰν βουβάλια,
ἦσαν. κι ἄλλοι μικρότεροι ὡσὰν ἀγριοδαμάλια.
Καὶ νυκτερίδες εἶδαμε, δοντιὰ ἔχαν σὰν σκυλία,
μεγάλες ἦσαν σὰν γατιὰ κ' εἶχαι καὶ μαλλία.
2085 Ἐκεῖθεν τότε βγήκαμε, πάμε ἄλλου νὰ δοῦμε,
καὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρες τὸ λοιπὸν τότε περπατούμε.
Ὡσὰν ἐπήγαμε ὀμπρὸς στὴν στράταν γὰρ τὴν ἄλλη,
ἀνεμοζάλη γίνετον κ' ἦτον πολλὰ μεγάλη·
καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκ τὴν γῆν τότεσ τοὺς ἀνασπᾷ,
2090 ἀντάμα μὲ τὰ ἄλογα κι ἄλλουθεν τοὺς ὑπάει.
Ἐπαυσε τότε ὁ θυμὸς καὶ ἡ ροπή ἐκείνη,
εἰς ἄλλον τόπον πήγαμε, ὅπου ἔτονε γαλήνη.
Οἱ ἐντόποι μᾶς ὀδηγοῦν κ' ἐπήγαμε μὲ κόπον,
μὲ βία γὰρ ἐσώσαμε στῆς Ἰνδικῆς τὸν τόπον.
2095 Κ' ἦλθασι ἔκ τοὺς Ἰνδικοὺς ὀμπρὸς μου νὰ σταθούσι
κ' εἶπαι· ἄσ' ἡύρισκονται δένδρα ὅπου λαλοῦσι·

2077 φεγγάρι

2087 ἄλλην corr.

2096 λαλοῦσι] καρποῦσι emend. vi

- ὧσάν τ' ἀκούσαμε λοιπόν, τότε ἀπορήσαμ' ὅλοι,
 κ' ἐδείξανέ μας τὰ δένδρὰ μέσα εἰς περιβόλι.
 Ἐτὸ περιβόλι καίνο γὰρ κ' εἰς τῆς μεριᾶς ἐκεῖνης
 2100 ναὸς μεγάλος ἦτονε ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης.
 Ἦσαν μεγάλα δυὸ δένδρὰ κ' ἦσαν τὰ δύο ἱεῖα,
 ἐφάνετόν σου κ' ἦσανε τὰ δύο κυπαρίσσια·
 τὸ ἓνα λέγαν ἥλιον καὶ τ' ἄλλο γὰρ σελήνη,
 ὥρατα ἦσαν σ' ὀφθαλμόν, εἶχαν κι ὁμορφοσύνη.
 2105 Κ' εἶπαι οἱ ἐντόπιοι πῶς τὰ δένδρὰ μιλοῦσι,
 σὺν ἀνατέλλῃ ἥλιος, τρεῖς γὰρ φορὲς λαλοῦσι.
 Μιλοῦν καὶ ἄλλες τρεῖς φορὲς, σὺν καὶ νὰ βασιλεύσῃ,
 καὶ ὅ,τι λέγουν τὰ δένδρὰ παρῆνας νὰ πιστεῦσῃ.
 Παίρνω δέκα 'κ τούτων φίλους μου νὰ πᾶ νὰ προσκυνήσω,
 2110 νὰ σέβω μέσα στὸν ναόν, τὰ δένδρῃ νὰ γρικῆσω.
 Δὲν ἄφηναν οἱ ἱερεῖς νὰ μπῶμ' ὀρματωμένοι,
 ἐμπήκαμε ἑσπατωτοὶ, ὅλοι συμμαζωμένοι.
 Καὶ βασιλεύει ἥλιος, τὰ δένδρῃ γὰρ λαλοῦσι,
 καὶ ἡ φωνὴ τους ἰνδική, δὲν ξεύρω τί μιλοῦσι.

2099 καίνο] καίνος edd.

2101 δυὸ] δύο δύο C

2102 φένετόνσου C

2111 ὀρτομένοι C

- 115 Ὁ δραγουμάνος πού 'χαμε, αὐτὸς τότε' ἐφοβήθη,
 κ' ἐκεῖνο πού 'παν τὰ δένδρὰ οὐδὲ μὰς τὸ ἐηγήθη.
 Ἐπῆρα τον εἰς μοναξιά, ἐτάξα του καὶ χόρη,
 ἐκ τοὺς δικούς μου, εἶπε μου, θάνατον θέλω πόρει.
 Ὡσὼν τὸ ἤκουσα ἐγώ, δὲν εἶχα τί νὰ ποίσω,
 120 πάλι ἐμπήκα στὸν ναὸν τὰ δένδρη γιὰ ν' ἀκούσω.
 Ὡσὼν ἐβγήκε ἥλιος, τὰ δένδρη ἐμίλοῦσαν,
 ἑλληνικὴ φωνή 'τονε ἐκείνη ὅπ' ἀρχίσαν
 καὶ εἶπασί μου· Ἐσσιλεῦ, εἰς τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν
 ἔχει θεὸς λάβει θάνατον μ' ἀπάτην γὰρ δολίαν·
 125 δὲν θεὸς κερδίζει γὰρ ἐσὺ τὴν χώραν τῶν γονιῶν σου,
 μηδὲ τῇ μύνα σου λοιπὸν δὲν βλέπεις μ' ὀφθαλμόν σου.'
 Ὡσὼν τὸ ἤκουσα ἐγώ, καρδίᾳ μου τότε' ἐτρώθη,
 σ' ἐκεῖνο πού 'παν τὰ δένδρὰ κ' εἰς τό 'μελλε νὰ μόρθη.
 Ἐτότε γὰρ οἱ φίλοι μου, ῥέλιππος καὶ Παρμένης,
 130 αὐτεῖνοι μὲ παρακαλοῦν, λέγουν μου· Ἄω μὴ μένης.'
 Ἐγὼ δὲν ἤθελα λοιπὸν ἐκείνους νὰ γρικῆσω,
 τὸν ὄρθρον ἀκαρτέρουνε τὰ δένδρη γιὰ ν' ἀκούσῃ.

2117 μοναξία C
 2119 τὸ supplevi metri gratia
 2124 κεῖ C
 2128 μούρθη C
 2130 μένης C

καὶ σὺν ἐβγήκε ἥλιος, τὰ δένδρη ἐμίλησαν·

‘Οἱ χρόνοι σου πληρώθησαν,’ εἶπαν καὶ δὲν ἀργήσαν.

2135 ‘Ὡσὺν τὸ ἤκουσα λοιπόν, δὲν εἶχα τί νὰ ποίσω,

εἶπα γιὰ νὰ μισέσωμε, ἐκεῖ νὰ μὴν ἀργήσω.

‘Ἐπήρα τὰ φουσάτα μου κ’ ἐπήγα στὴν Περσίδα,

καὶ Σεραμίδος τὰ ψηλὰ καλάρια τότες εἶδα.

‘Ἦσανε ὁμορφα πολλὰ, λαμπρὰ στὴ θεωρία,

2140 ‘Ξ ἐκεῖνα γὰρ ἐμόρφιζε ἐκεῖνη ἡ μερία.”

Ταῦτά ‘γραφε ‘Αλέξανδρος, ‘ς Μακεδονιὰ τὰ στέλλει,

III 18

εἰς τὸν διδασκαλὸν αὐτοῦ, τὸν μέγ’ Ἀριστοτέλη.

‘Ἦλθαν ὡς τὸ προείπαμε ‘ς Περσίδα ‘ρδινιασμένοι,

καὶ ὅλοι οἱ στρατιῶτες του, ἦταν ἀρματωμένοι.

2145 ‘Ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐβασίλευε γυναῖκα ‘ραιωμένη,

Κανδόακης μὲ τὸ ὄνομα, πολλὰ ‘τον ἄκουσμένη.

Εἰς αὐτὴν ὁ ‘Αλέξανδρος ἐπιστολὴ τῆς στέλλει,

ἐκ’ ἔγραφε ‘Αλέξανδρος ἐκεῖνα ὅπου θέλει.

‘Βασιλεὺς ὁ ‘Αλέξανδρος, Κανδόακης τιμημένη,

2150 ὅλη ἡ φαμελία σου ὅς ἐν χαιρετισμένη.

‘Ἐπήγα εἰς τὴν Ἰγυπτον κ’ εἶπαν μου περιορίζεις,

2136 μισεύσομαι C

Post 2148 (2148a) ‘ἐπιστολὴ ὅπου ἔστειλεν ὁ

‘Αλέξανδρος Κανδόακης τῆς βασιλείας (titulus)

2151 μου] μόν corr.

- χρόνους πολλοὺς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐσὺ γὰρ τὴν ὀρίζεις.
 Γύρισες γὰρ στὸ σίτι σου ἀπ' ὀρισμὸν Ἀμμῶνος,
 αὐτὸς ἔξουσια μὴ δώσῃς ἐγὼ νῦν ὀρίζω μόνος.
 2155 λειπὸν ὀρίζω σε ἐγὼ νῦν ἄλλῃς ὅς προσκύνῃσέ μου,
 νῦν ὅσαι στήν δουλοσύνη μου κ' εἰς τὴν ὑπακοή μου.
 Ἐγρίκησα στὸν τόπον σου εἶναι ὠριωμένα
 πράγματα εὐμορφα πολλά, καὶ φέρ' ἐδῶ γιὰ μένα.
 Καὶ ἃ δὲν θέλῃς τὸ λοιπὸν, ἐγὼ γιὰ νῦν σ' ὀρίζω,
 2160 ἤξευρε γὰρ ἀπάνου σου πόλεμον θεὸς νῦν ποίσω."
 Τότες σ' αὐτεῖνη τὸ ἔστειλε αὐτεῖνο τὸ πιτῆκι.
 Ἐτότες τὸ ἀνάγνωσε αὐτεῖνη ἡ Κανδάκη
 καὶ ἔστειλε σ' Ἀλεξάνδρον ἐπιστολὴν ἐκεῖνη
 μὲ τὴ μεγάλη σιωπὴ καὶ μὲ τὴν δουλοσύνη.
 2165 "Κανδάκης ἡ βασίλισσα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τιμημένῳ,
 τὸ ὄνομά σου ἔν καλὸ στὸν κόσμον γρικημένο.
 Καὶ τὴν γραφὴν σου λάβαμε, τὸ γράφεις προσκυνῶμε,
 νῦν σ' ἔχωμε αὐθεντὴν μας θέλομε καὶ ἀγαποῦμε.
 Παρακαλοῦμε τὸ λοιπὸν ὅλοι τὴν αὐθεντίαν σου

2153 γύρισες emend.

2155 ὅς om. C

2158 πράγματα C

post 2164 (2164a) ἔπιστολὴ τοῦ ἔστειλε Κανδάκης
 τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου (titulus)

- 2170 μηδὲν ἔλθης ἀπάνου μας ποσῶς μὲ τῇ στρατιᾷ σου.
 'Ημεῖς τώρα σοῦ τᾶσσομε πάντα νὰ σὲ τελοῦμε '
 σ' ἑμᾶς ἂν ἔλθης στανικῶς, ὅλοι μας πολεμοῦμε.
 Φουσιῶτα ἔχομε πολλὰ, εἶναι κυβερνημένα,
 ἔχομε δὲ καὶ χρήματα κ' εἶναι συμμαχωμένα.
- 2175 'Κατὸ πίθους ὀλδογομούς ἔκαμα νὰ σοῦ στείλω,
 νὰ 'μαι στὴ δουλοσύνη σου καὶ νὰ σὲ κάμω φίλο.
 Πεντακόσια ὀγένεια παιδιὰ νὰ σοῦ πέσω,
 ψαττάκους γὰρ διακόσιους γιὰ νὰ σὲ κανισκέσω.
 Καὶ δεῦ' ἀρμόθια πέσω σου τρύπιο μαργαριτάρι,
- 2180 'κατὸ λίτρες ὀτρύπητο, καὶ ὅσο θὲς λογάρι.
 Γλωσσόκομα 'λεφάντινα βδομήντα νὰ 'χης πάντα,
 κι ἀπὸ τοὺς πέρδους πέσω σου ἀπ' αὐτεινοὺς σαράντα.
 'Ανθρωποσῶγους πέσω σου ὀκτὼ μετὰ κλουβία,
 ἀπὸ τοὺς σκύλους τοὺς χοντρούς, ὅπου 'νιε σὰν ταυρία,
- 2185 καὶ ἑκατὸν μαχοῦμενα ταυρία γιὰ τὴν μάχη,
 νὰ πολεμοῦνε τὸ λοιπὸν ὅποιον καὶ ἔλῃ λᾶχη.
 Διακόσια 'λεφάντινα δόντια νὰ προβοδῇσω,

-
- 2178 ἀτάκους C
 2182 καὶ C
 2184 ὀποῦνε C
 2185 μαχόμενα C

- νὰ σοῦ τὰ στείλω γλήγορα καὶ νὰ μηδὲν ἀργήσω.
 Εἰς τοῦ Ἀμμωνος τὸν ναὸν στεφάνι θὲ νὰ πέσω,
 2190 ἑκατὸν λιτρῶν τὸ βάρος του, νὰ τόνε κανισκέψω,
 ὀλόχρυσο νὰ βρίσκεται μὲ τὸ μαργαριτάρι.
 ὅποιον θέλεις στείλε μου νὰ ἴσθῃ νὰ τὸ ἐπάρῃ.
 Καὶ πάλι ἡ βασιλεῖα σου, εἴτι κι ἃ μᾶς ὀρίσῃ,
 στήν δουλοσύνη σοῦ ἴμαστεν κ' εἰς τὴν δικὴ σου κρίσῃ."
 2195 ὅταν τ' ἄκουσεν Ἀλέξανδρος ἔπεψε νὰ τὸ δώσῃ,
 κ' εἰς ἄλλα ἔθνη πῆγαινε αὐτὸς νὰ τὰ δουλώσῃ.
 Κανδόκης τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἠθέλησε νὰ ποίσῃ,
 κρυφὰ ζωγράφον ἔστειλε γιὰ νὰ τὸν ζωγραφίσῃ.
 Καὶ ὁ ζωγράφος τὸ λοιπὸν τὸ ἦθος στόρησέ το,
 2200 Κανδόκης γὰρ τὸ ἤφερε καὶ κατεφίλησέ το.
 Σὲ μέρες περαζόμενες ἐδιδόθη ὁ Κανδόλης,
 ὁ τῆς Κανδόκης ὁ υἱός, βασίλισσης μεγάλης,
 εἰς Ἀμαζόνες μὲ σπουδὴ μὲ πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὰ του,
 ἔσυρνε τὴν γυναῖκα του κι ὅλη τὴν φαμελιδ του.
 2205 Πηγαίνοντας τὸν ἔφονισαν τῶν Εὐρβικῶν τὸ ἔθνος
 κ' ἐπῆραν τὴν στρατεία του, κ' ἔφυγ' ἐκεῖνος μόνος.
 Τότε αὐτεῖνον ἔπιασαν τ' Ἀλέξανδρου στρατιὰ του,

2193 πάλι βασιλεῖα corr.

κι] καὶ

2207 τότες c

- οὐ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν ὑπὸν ἀντιτείνον ὁμπροστά του.
 Ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἐρωτᾷ πόθεν ἔν ὁ Κανδάλης.
 2210 "Κανδάλης εἶμαι ὁ υἱός, βασιλίσσης μεγάλης.
 καὶ ὡς ἐπήγαίνα λοιπὸν ἐγὼ στές Ἀμαζόνες,
 οἱ Βερβικοὶ μ' ἐκίδασαι μ' ὅλες μου τὰς κατόνες,
 ἐκῆραν τὴν γυναῖκα μου καὶ ὅλη τὴ στρατιὰ μου
 καὶ πάγω εἰς τὸ σπῖτι μου διχῶς τὴν φαμελιὰ μου
 2215 νὰ πῶ τῆς μόνας μου λοιπὸν φουσάτο γιὰ νὰ ποίσω,
 νὰ πάγω γὰρ στοὺς Βερβικοὺς ὡς γιὰ νὰ πολεμήσω.
 Καὶ τώρα γὰρ μὲ ἐπιάσε στρατιὰ ἡ ἐδική σου.
 τὸ ῥίξεις, κάμε εἰς ἐμὲ μὲ ὅλη τὴ βουλή σου."
 Ὁ Πτολεμαῖος διέβηκε, Λεξάντρου τ' ἀναφέρνει,
 2220 τὸ ἐνδυμὰ τ' Ἀλέξανδρος τότες τοῦ τὸ φοραίνει.
 "Κάθισε εἰς τὸν ὀρόνον μου ἐσὺ διατ' ἐμένα,
 καὶ τώρα σὺ τὴν βασιλειὰ, σὰν θέλεις τὴν, κυβέρνα."
 Ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἔκατσε τότες εἰς τὸ σκαμνὶ του
 καὶ τότε πάλι γλήγορα κρᾶζει τὸν δουλευτὴ του.

-
- 2208 πτολομαῖον C et ubique
 2212 τῆς κατούνες C
 2219 λεξάνδρου C
 2221 μου] σου C
 2223 τότε C

- 2225 **Εἶπε** · "Κράξε μ' Ἀντίγονα φίλον μου νὰ μιλήσω,
εἰς τοῦτην τὴν ὑπόθεσιν γιὰ νὰ τὸν ἐρωτήσω."
ὅταν ἦλθε ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ρωτᾷ τὸν Κανδόλη,
ὁ Πτολεμαῖος εἶπε του νὰ τ' ἀναφέρῃ πάλι.
καὶ εἶπε τὴν ὑπόθεσιν σ' ἐκεῖνον γὰρ τὸν τρόπον ·
- 2230 Ἀλέξανδρος ἐγρίκησε καταλεπτῶς τὸν τρόπον.
Ἐσύντυχε τ' Ἀλέξανδρου ὁ Πτολεμαῖος πάλι
"συμβούλευσέ μ' Ἀντίγωνα, γι' αὐτεῖνον τὸν Κανδόλη."
καὶ ἀπεκρίθ' Ἀλέξανδρος κ' εἶπε του "Γιὰ νὰ ποίησης,
ὦ βασιλεῦ Ἀλέξανδρε, πρέπει νὰ τοῦ βοηθήσης,
- 2235 νὰ τοῦ γλυτώσης τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτεῖνου τῇ γυνὴ του,
νὰ πόγῃ γὰρ χαιρόμενος ἔς Κανδόλην τῇ μητρὶ του,
γιατὶ πολλὰ χαρίσματα σόπεψε ἡ Κανδόκη,
καὶ πρέπει νὰ τὰ θυμῇς τώρα εἰς τὴν ἀνάγκη."
Οἱ στρεψιάται βλέποντες τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἔς κοίσην
- 2240 **εἶπασιν** · "Ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τίβοτες οὐ νὰ ποίησιν."
Ἐτότες ἐσηκώθησαν, ἐκεῖθεν ἐμίσαν, III 20
ἀντίπερα στοὺς Πέρσικους ἐπῆγον κ' ἐπαχύνον.
καὶ εἶπε ὁ Ἀντίγονος · "Ἰδὼ γιὰ νὰ σταθῇμε,

2225 ἀντίγωνα corr.

2237 διὰ τῶς χαρίσματος ead.

2240 εἶπασιν] εἶπαν corr.

- τὴν νύκτα γὰρ τοὺς Βερβικοὺς νὰ καὶ νὰ τοὺς εὐροῦμε,
 2245 γιὰτὶ ἂν τὸ μᾶθ' ὁ τύραννος θέλει τὸ θανατώσει,
 τὸ γύναιον τοῦ φίλου μας στὴ γῆ τὸ θέλει χώσει.
 Μ' ὅς βάλωμε στὰ σπίτια τοὺς ἰστίαι γὰρ μεγάλη
 κ' ἐκεῖνοι φέρει θέλουσι γυναῖκα τοῦ Κανδόλη."
 Λοιπὸν τὴν νύκτα πήγασιν σ' αὐτοὺς φωτιά κ' ἐβάλλαν,
 2250 κ' ἐφώνησαν οἱ Βέρβικοι τί 'τονε ὁποῦ σφάλλαν.
 Ἐκέλευσεν Ἀλέξανδρος νὰ κράζη ἡ στρατεία·
 "Κανδόλης ἔν ὁ βασιλεὺς ποῦ κάνει τὴ φωτιά.
 Ἦ φέρτε τὴ γυναῖκα του ἥ τώρα θὲ νὰ ποίσῃ
 τὴν χώρα σας καὶ τὸν λαὸν νὰ κόψῃ, νὰ μυρσίσῃ."
 2255 Ὡς τ' ἄκουσαν, ἐδράμωσι τότε μὲ βιὰ μεγάλη,
 καὶ τὴ γυναῖκα ἤφεραν στὰ χέρια τοῦ Κανδόλη.
 Ὡς εἶδε τὴ γυναῖκα του περίσσια τὸ ἐχάρη,
 νὰ τὴν ἰδ' ἔτσι γλήγορα ποτέ του δὲν τὸ θάρρει.
 Ἔδραμε στὸν Ἀντίγονο μετὰ τιμῆς μεγάλης,
 2260 στὰ χεῖλη τὸν ἐφίλησε αὐτεῖνος ὁ Κανδόλης.

2245 διὰ τί τὸ C

2252 κάμνη C

2254 τὴν addidai; κόψῃ C, 1600, κάπν 1525, κάπνο 1552, 1603;
 μυρσίση C

2255 τότες C

2258 ἰδοὺ C

Εἶπε νὰ πᾶ στὴ μάνα του νὰ κάμῃ νὰ τοῦ ποίση,
χαρίσματα βασιλικά ἐκεῖνου νὰ χάριση.

Ἐπιλογήθ' Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ εἶπε τοῦ Κανδόλη·

"Ἄν ἔβλεπα τὴ χώρα σου εἶχα χαρὰ μεγάλη.

2265 Μὰ σύρε στὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐμένα νὰ ζητήσης,
νὰ πάμε εἰς τὴν χώρα σου, νὰ μὲ φιλοτιμήσης."

Κανδόλης τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρου ἐζήτησέ του χάρη,

ν' ἀφήκῃ τὸν Ἀντίγονα σπῖτι του νὰ τὸν πάρῃ.

Ἀλέξανδρος τοῦ Πτολεμίου εἶπε του νὰ τὸν στείλῃ,

2270 οἱ οὗο νὰ παγαίνουνσι μὲ τὸν Κανδόλη ὡς φίλοι.

Ὁ Πτολεμαῖος εἶπε του· "Πληρώνω τὴ βουλή σου,

ἔπαρε τὸν Ἀντίγονα καὶ σύρε στὴ μητρί σου.

Καὶ πάλι στείλε μού τονε καλὰ μὲ τὴ βουλή σου,

ὥσ᾽ ἐγὼ σοῦ γλύτωσα ἐσένα τὴ γυνή σου."

2275 Ὁ δὲ Κανδόλης εἶπε του· "Τοῦτον παραλαμβάνω

ὥσ᾽ ἐσέν, Ἀλέξανδρε, τοῦτο σ' ἀναοιβάνω."

Στὴ στράτα ὅπου πηγαινεν Ἀλέξανδρος κοιτᾷ, III 21

ἐκεῖνα τὰ ψηλὰ βουνὰ περίσσια τὰ θαύμαζει.

Εἶχασι καὶ πολλὰ δένδρὰ καὶ ὁμορφα μυρίζαν,

2261 τοῦ] μου C

2274 γλύτωσα C, γλύττωτα ead.

2275 νᾶσαθησάνω C

- 2280 αὐτεῖνα, λέγω, τὰ δενδρὰ στὰ γνέφη γὰρ ἐγγίζαν.
 Καὶ ὥσπερ κίτρα 'σαν χοντρά τὰ μηλα καὶ λεμόνια,
 καὶ εἶδε καὶ καρύδια μεγάλα σὰν πεπόνια.
 Εἶδε καὶ πίθακους πολλούς, μεγάλους σὰν ἄρνια,
 θηρία δὲ ξενοχάραγα σ' ἔκεινα τὰ βουνία.
- 2285 Κανδόλης τοῦ 'Αντίγονου εἶπε τοῦ πῶς λογοῦνται
 τὰ ᾧδε οἰκητήρια, οἴκοι θεῶν καλοῦνται.
 Εἰς τὰ καλὰττα σώσασι στὴ χώρα κ' ὑπαγαίνουν,
 ἢ μῆνα τοῦ κ' οἱ ἄδελφοὶ τότε συναπανταίνουν.
 Ἄκλωσαν καὶ τὰ χέρια τοὺς γιὰ νὰ τὸν χαιρετήσουν,
- 2290 καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπιλογήθηκε αὐτεῖνον γιὰ ν' ἀφήσουν.
 Εἶπε τοὺς· "τὸν 'Αντίγονα πρῶτα τὸν χαιρετᾶτε,
 καὶ χαιρετᾶτε καὶ ἐμὲν κ' ὕστερου ἐρωτᾶτε."
 Ἄντίγονον χαιρετήσαν μικροὶ τε καὶ μεγάλοι,
 κ' ὕστερα χαιρετήσασι αὐτεῖνον τὸν Κανδόλη.
- 2295 Ὁ δὲ Κανδόλης εἶπε τῆς· "Γλυκύτατη μητρὶ μου,
 Ἄντίγονος ἦτον ἡ βουλὴ νὰ πάρω τὴ γυναῖκά μου,
 διότις ἐσυβούλευσε Ἀλέξανδρον νὰ ποίση
 τὴ νύκτα γὰρ τοὺς Βέρβικους νὰ κάψῃ, νὰ πυρρίσῃ."

2281 κύτρά 1529, c, κυτρά recentiores
 2281 τὰ] σὰ c
 2286 καλοῦνται] λοῦνται c
 2287 τὰλὰττα c

- 'Εκεῖνοι σὺν τὸ ἤκουσαν, εἶχαν χαρὰ μεγάλη,
 2300 ἐπήραν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὅμοῦ μὲ τὸν Κανδόλη.
 'Ἡ δὲ Κανδόκης ὄρισε ἐκεῖνοι γιὰ νὰ ποῖσουν,
 στήν τάβλαν νὰ περᾶσουν κι ἀλλήλως νὰ καθίσουν.
 'Εκάμαν τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρου τότε τιμὴ μεγάλη
 καὶ ὅλοι τοὺς χαιρόντησαν πῶς εἶδαν τὸν Κανδόλη.
 2305 Ἀπῆτις ἐξημέρωσε ἐβγήκε στολισμένη,
 Κανδόκης ἡ βασίλισσα, βασιλικά ντυμένη.
 Φοβερὴ ἦτονε πολλὰ, βασιλικὸ τὸ βλέμμα,
 καὶ ὅσοι κι ἂν τὴν ἤβλεπαν, ὁμπρὸς τῆς ὅλοι τρέμα.
 Ἔδοξε τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρου, βλέπει τὴν ὁμορφάδα,
 2310 ἐκείνην τὴ μητέρα του, λαμπρὰ Ὀλυμπιάδα.
 Ἐπῆρε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκείνη ἀπὸ τὸ χέρι
 κ' ἐτράβα τον μετὰ χαρᾶς στὸ σίτι νὰ τὸν φέρη.
 Ἀπῆτις ἀποσώσασι εἰς τὸ λαμπρὸ καλᾶτι,
 Κανδόκης τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον 'κ τὸ χέρι τὸν ἐκράτει
 2315 καὶ ἔδειξέ του φαντασιὰ, ἐνὰ ἄμορφο κλινάρι,
 Ἄλλο δὲν ἦτον εἰς αὐτὸ μόνον μαργαριτάρι.
 Ὀλόγυρὰ του ἦτονε πολὺτιμον λιθάρι

III 22

2300 πῆραν C
 2302 κᾶαλήλως C
 2304 χερώντεσαν C
 2308 καὶ ἂν τὴν ἔβλεπαν C
 2310 κείνη C
 2314 κανδόλης C, ead. praeter 1603 quae corrigit.

- μὲ στρώματα ὀλόχρυσα κ' εἶχε μεγάλη χάρη.
 Δείχνει του καὶ τραπέζια μὲ τὸ μαργαριτάρι,
 2320 ὀλόγυρά τους ἦτονε ἀσφρωτο λογάρι.
 Στὲς δύο ἄκρες ἦτονε μετὰ τῶν δρακοντίων
 καὶ εἰς τὴ μέση ἦτονε μετὰ τῶν λεφαντείων.
 Εἶδε ναοὺς πολυτελεῖς, ὁμορφοὶ στὰ θεμέλια,
 εἶδε καὶ περιβόητα πανώρια περιβόλια.
 2325 Εἶδε τὰ ὃ 'Αλέξανδρος καὶ ὅλα τὰ στοχάστη,
 ἀπὲ τὴν τέσσην ἑμορφιὰ περίσσια ἐθαυμάστη.
 Κανδόλης τὴ μητέρα του πολλὰ ἐπαρακάλει
 νὰ δώσῃ τοῦ 'Αντίγονου χάρη πολλὰ μεγάλη.
 Κανδόκης τὸν 'Αλέξανδρον παίρνει τὸν ἐν τῷ ἅμα,
 2330 καὶ πράγματα τοῦ ἔδειξε ὅπου 'τον μέγα θάμα.
 Εἶδε κοιτῶνας εὐμορφους, λιθάρια ὅσα θέλει,
 ὥσῃ τὸν ἥλιον ἔλαμπαν, ποὺ φέγγει καὶ ἀνατέλλει.
 Εἶδε καὶ σπῖτι, ποὺ 'τονε μὲ τέχνη καμωμένο,
 ἀπάνω λέγω σὲ τροχοὺς ἦτον ἀπεθεμένο.
 2335 Εἶκοσι λέφες τό 'συρναν, ὅπου 'θελε νὰ πάγῃ,
 ἀπάν' ἀφέντης ἔστεκε, χώρια του πολεμάγει.

2327 ματέρα edd. praeter 1603; ἐπαρακάλη C

2330 πράγματα....θαῦμα C

2332 καὶ C

- Εἶπε της ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἑ "Καλὰ ἔναι καμωμένα,
 πασάνας τὸ θαυμάζεται, κῶς εἶν μαστορεμένα.
 Μὰ τοῦτα λέγω τὰ ἑκαμν "Ελληνες διδασκάλοι,
 2340 γιὰτ' αὐτὸ εἶναι ὁμορφα κ' ἔχουν καὶ τόσα κἀλλη."
 Κανδοῦκης ἀποκρίθηκε καὶ εἶπε ἐν τῷ ἅμα ἑ
 "Ἀλήθεια λές, Ἀλέξανδρε, "Ελληνες τοῦτα κἀμα."
 Ἀπιλογήθη κ' εἶπε της ἑ "Ἀλέξανδρος δὲν εἶμαι,
 Ἀντίγονον μὲ κρᾶζουσι καὶ δοῦλος του λογοῦμαι."
 2345 Ἀπιλογήθη κ' εἶπε του ἑ "Τὰ λόγια μὴν τὰ χάνης,
 ὦ βασιλεῦ Ἀλέξανδρε, ἐπεὶ ἐσὺ τυχάνεις."
 Ἐπαίρνει τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον κ' ἐμπαίνει στὸν κοιτῶνα,
 ἐγύρισε καὶ τὸδειξε τὴν ἐδική του ἑκόνα
 καὶ νὰ γνωρίση, ἔλεγε, τὴν ὄψιν τὴ δική του.
 2350 Ἐκεῖνος ἐκ τὸν φόβον του ἔτρεμε τὸ κορμί του.
 "Τί ἑτον σ' ἐσέν, Ἀλέξανδρε, τώρα καὶ ἐλαθάστης,
 μέσα στὸ σπῖτι σέβηκες κ' ἐκ γυναικὸς ἐπίδοστης;
 Τί ἑτον σ' ἐσέν, Ἀλέξανδρε, τόση ἀποκοτῖα,
 ὅπου ἑλθες καὶ σ' ἐπιδάσαι διχῶς πολέμου αἵττια;
 2355 Ποῦ βασιλεῖς τὸ τρέμασι τ' ὄνομα τὸ δικό σου,

 2346 τυγχάνης C

2350 του1] τον edd.

2351-2 ἐλαθάσθης....ἐπίσθης C

- καὶ τῶρα ποῦ σὲ ἤφερε τὸ δόλιο ριζικό σου;
 τοῦ φίλου ὁποῦ λέγουσι μιὰ δυὸ κατὰ τὴν ὥρα
 καὶ τρίτε πάντα τέρχεται κ' ἔναι κακὴ τοῦ μέρα.
 Μὰ πρέπει σύ, 'Αλέξανδρε, ἔπειτο νὰ μετρήσης
 2360 μία καὶ δύο καὶ πολλές, ἔπειτο νὰ μὴ ποίηση."
 'Αλέξανδρος ἠθέλησε τότες διὰ νὰ ποίηση,
 νὰ σφάξῃ τὴν βασίλισσα νὰ μὴν τὸ μοιγήσῃ.
 'Ἡ δὲ Κανδόκης εἶπε τοῦ "καλὴ 'τον ἡ βουλὴ σου
 γιὰ νὰ 'λθῇς εἰς τὸ σπίτι μας ἐσὺ μὲ τὸ κορμί σου.
 2365 καὶ μὴ φοβᾶσαι τίποτες, φυλάγω τὸ στὸν νοῦ μου,
 ὥσῃν ἐσὺ ποῦ γλύτωσες γυναῖκα τοῦ παιδιοῦ μου,
 γιὰτὶ ἂν τὸ μᾶθῃ ὁ μικρὸς υἱὸς ὁ ἐδικός μου,
 χωρίζει σοῦ τὴν τὴν ζωὴν ἐκ τουτουνοῦ τοῦ κόσμου,
 διότις ἡ γυναῖκα τοῦ, τοῦ Πῶρου θυγατέρα,
 2370 κλαίει γιὰ τὸν πατέρα τῆς νύκτα καὶ τὴν ἡμέρα.
 Λοιπὸν ἐγώ, 'Αλέξανδρε, θέλω νὰ σὲ φυλάξω,
 καὶ τίποτες κακὸ σ' ἐσὲν δὲν θέλω νὰ κοιτάξω."
 Κανδόκης καὶ 'Αλέξανδρος ἔξω κ' οἱ δυὸ ἐβγήκα
 καὶ μέσα τοῦ 'Αλέξανδρος εἶχε μεγάλη κρίκα.
 2375 Κανδόκης τότε σύντυχε υἱοῦ τῆς τοῦ Κανδόλη

III 23

- νὰ δώσῃ τοῦ Ἀντίγονου χάρη πολὺ μεγάλη.
 εἶπε τῆς θυγατέρας τῆς Ἀρκίσσης νὰ ποιήσῃ,
 αὐτεῖνον τὸν Ἀντίγονον καλὰ νὰ κανισκίσῃ·
 "Διότις ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος μᾶς ἔχαμε φίλῃα,
 2380 κ' ἐγλύτωσε τῇ νύφῃ μας ἔξ ἐκεῖνα τὰ σκυλῆα."
 Υἱὸς τῆς ὁ μικρότερος τότε γιαμιὰ γρικῆθη,
 εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν μητέρα του τότες ἀπιλογῆθη·
 "Ἀλήθεια λές, ἡ μάνα μου, χάρη ἔχαμε μεγάλη
 τοῦ τῇ γυναῖκα γλύτωσε ὁ δελφὸς μου τοῦ Κανδόλλῃ.
 2385 Μὰ τοῦτο λέγω, νύφη σου πολλὰ παραπονάται
 πῶσφαξε τὸν πατέρα τῆς, αὐτὸν πολλὰ λυγᾷται.
 Καὶ θέλει τὸν Ἀντίγονον γιὰ νὰ τόνε σκοτώσῃ,
 ἔχεῖνον τὸν πατέρα τῆς νὰ τὸν ἐξεκοικῆσῃ."
 Ἡ δὲ Κανδόκῃς εἶπε τοῦ· "Αὐτὸ νὰ μὴν τὸ κάμῃ,
 2390 διότις ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔχει πολλὴ δύναμη.
 Νὰ σφάξῃς τὸν Ἀντίγονον, ἐτοῦτο ἃ σ' ἀρέσῃ,
 καὶ ἔν καλὰ Ἀλέξανδρος, πές μου, τί θεὸς κερδαίνει;"
 Κανδόλλῃς ἀπεκρίθηκε κ' εἶπε διὰ νὰ ποίσῃ,
 στανιὸ τῆς νύφης κι ἁδελφοῦ ἐπίσω νὰ γυρίσῃ·
 2395 "Καὶ νὰ τοῦ κάμω συντροφιά καὶ νὰ τὸν συντροφέψω,

- καὶ μὲ κανίσκι ὁμορφο σ' Ἀλέξανδρον νὰ πέσω."
 Μαλώνουσι οἱ οὐ' ἀδελφοὶ καὶ θέλουσι νὰ ποίσουν
 γι' αὐτεῖνον τὸν Ἀντίγονον αὐτοὶ νὰ πολεμήσουν.
 Κανδάκης τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρου εἶπε τοῦ νὰ βεθώσῃ
 2400 ἐκεῖνους μὲ τὴν γνώσῃ τοῦ γιὰ νὰ τοὺς ἡμερώσῃ.
 Εἶπε τοῦ "Μὲ τὴν γνώσῃ σου μέρωσῃ τὰ παιδιὰ μου,
 θωρῶ τοὺς ποὺ μαλώνουσι καὶ λακταρεῖ <ή> καρδιὰ μου."
 Σὰν τ' ἄκουσεν Ἀλέξανδρος, σ' ἐκεῖνους ὑπαγαίνει
 κ' εἰς τὸν μικρότερον υἱὸν ἔτσι τοῦ συντυχαίνει.
 2405 Λέγει τοῦ "Εἰς Ἀλέξανδρον ἐσθ' ὅσαι κακισμένοι
 καὶ περισσὰ ὀργίζεσαι κ' εἶσαι ραθυμισμένοι.
 Ἐγὼ ἔμαι δοῦλος ἐκείνου κ' ἔχει πολλοὺς π' ὀρίζει,
 καὶ ἀπὸ μέγα τίποτες ἐκεῖνος δὲν τὸ χρήζει.
 Γιὰ πέτε τί μοῦ τάσσετε κ' οἱ οὐδὲ συνηβαστήτε,
 2410 νὰ σᾶς τὸν φέρω ἐδεπὰ γιὰ νὰ ξεκοικηθῇτε.
 Καὶ ἃ θελήσῃ καὶ τινὰς ἐμένα νὰ φονέψῃ,
 τὸ αἷμα μου Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτὸς τὸ θε γυρέψει.
 Ἔσετε γὰρ ἐγρικῆσθε πόχει καταστημένους
 τόσους ἀφέντες βασιλεῖς, κάτου στὴ γῇ βαλμένους.

2397 οὐ' om. C
 2402 <ή> suppl. evi
 2405 κακισμένοι C

- 2415 Μόνον ἔσετς ἀφῆτε με ἐμένα νὰ παγαίνω
καὶ μὲ δική μου πιβουλή ἐδῶ σὰς τόνε φέρνω.
Κ' εἰς τὸν ἐχθρόν σας καὶ εἰ δυὸ τότε ξεκοικηθῆτε,
ἐγὼ τοῦ δὲ σας ἔφταισα ἔσετς ἐμὲν ἀφῆτε."
Αὐτεῖνοι σὰν τὸν ἤκουσαν, αὐτεῖνον δὲν γυρεύουν,
2420 ἀφῆκασι τὰ μαλωτὰ τότε κ' εἰ δυὸ ῥηγεύουν.
Κανδόκης τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον κράζει σὲ μοναξία,
πολλὰ γὰρ τὴν ἐχάρηκε ἐκεῖνου τὴν ἀξία.
Καὶ εἶπε τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρου· "Ἀγάπουν νὰ ῥοῦν γιὸς μου,
ἐβλέπομε τὴ γνώση σου, κύριος εἶσαι κόσμου."
2425 Κανδόκης τοῦτα εἶπε τοῦ, βγάνει καὶ τοῦ χαρίζει
στέφανον πολυδάμαντον, τοῦ λάμπει καὶ φωτίζει,
καὶ δίδει τοῦ καὶ θώρακα, χλαμύδα χρυσωμένη,
καὶ στρατιῶτες τῶδωσε ὅπισω νὰ παγαίνη.
Κ' ἐπερκατοῦσαν ὅλοι τοὺς μετὰ χαρῆς μεγάλης, III 24
2430 στὸν τόπον κεῖνον ἔσωσε τοῦ τοῦ ἔπε ὁ Κανδόλης.
Εἶδε εἰδῶλων φαντασιὰ καὶ ἀστραπὲς καὶ ἄλλα,
εἰς αὐτὰ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐδεύλιασε μεγάλο
ὅμως ἐστᾶθ' Ἀλέξανδρος νὰ δῇ τί θέλει γένει,
ἀνθρώπους εἶδε καὶ φωτιὰ ἔκ τὰ μάτια τοὺς ἐβγαίνει
2435 καὶ ἕνας ἦλθε εἰς αὐτὸν τότε καὶ χαιρετᾶ τον·

- "Ἐδρεις τὸ ποτος εἴμ' ἐγώ;" λέγει κι ἀνερωτᾷ τον.
 "'Εγὼ 'μαι κεῖνος ὁ παλιός, ὁ Κουῆσης ὁ κρατάρχης,
 ὡσὼν ἐσένα φτύχῃσα κ' εἶχα ἐκεῖνα τ' ἄρχεις.
 "Ἐχεις ἀθόνατ' ὄνομα, ὅπου σοῦ θέλει μένει,
 2440 γιὰτὶ ἔκτισες Λεξάνδρεια, τὴν χώρα γὰρ ἐκείνη."
 'Ἐρώτησεν 'Αλέξανδρος τὸ πόσον θέλει ζῆσει.
 'Απιλογήθη κ' εἶπε του, κάλλιο νὰ μὴν τ' ἀκοῖσθαι.
 "Καλύτερό 'ναι εἰς ἐσὲν μὴ μάθῃς τὴ θανή σου,
 διότις πάντα βόσανα θέλει ἔχει τὸ κορμὶ σου.
 2445 Τοῦτο τὸ γίνωσκε καλὰ, πὼς ἔκτισες τὴν πόλην,
 π' αὐτεῖνὴ τὴν ἐχρειάζετον ἡ οἰκουμένη ὅλη.
 Καὶ τοῦτο γνώρισ' ἀπὸ μὲν ὡς γιὰ τὴν τελευτὴ σου,
 ὀλίγη εἶναι καὶ κεντὴ ἐσένα ἡ ζωὴ σου.
 3' 'Αλεξανδρεία ὅς θάπη, ὁπότε τ' ὄνομά σου,
 2450 καὶ κλέο μὴ μὲ ἐρωτᾷς, πῆγαινε τὴ δουλειά σου."
 Τὴν στρόφα πῆρ' 'Αλέξανδρος καὶ περπατεῖ καὶ πᾶγει, III 25
 καὶ κλέο κεῖνον τὸν Κουῆσιν οὐδὲν τὸν ἐρωτᾷγει.

2436 καὶ c
 2437 παλιός] καλμός corr.
 2440 γιὰτίκτισες ἀλεξ. c
 2443 εἰς σεσὲν

- Καὶ οἱ σατράπαι τὸ 'μαθαν καὶ ὅλοι οἱ ἀρχηγοὶ του,
 ὅλοι τοὺς τότε ἦλθασιν εἰς τὴν συναπάντησιν αὐτοῦ.
- 2455 Καὶ τότε πάλιν Ἀλέξανδρος παίρνει τοὺς Μακεδόνες
 καὶ εἰς τὰ Καυκάσια πηγαίνει, σ' ἔθνος στίς Ἀμαζόνες.
 Ἐπιστολὴν Ἀλέξανδρος γράφει καὶ σ' αὐτοὺς στέλλει
 καὶ ἔγραψεν τοὺς τὸ λοιπὸν ἔκρινεν, ὅσα θέλει.
 "Βασιλεὺς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, γυναῖκες Ἀμαζόνες,
 2460 δύνάμιν ἐγρικῆσθε, πέχουσιν οἱ Μακεδόνες.
 Ἐκούσατε τὸν Ἀρριον, τοῦ πῆρα μὲ μαλᾶ,
 καὶ Πῶρον κείνον τὸν φοικτόν, τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα.
 Ἄλλους ἑτέρους βασιλεῖς ἐγὼ ἐδούλωσά τοὺς,
 νῦν μ' ἔχουσι ἀφέντη τοὺς ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐποιόμην τοὺς.
 2465 Καὶ τέλος νῦν μοῦ οἶδουσιν, πάντα νῦν μὲ τελοῦντες,
 πάντα τὸ τέλος εἰς ἐμὲ αὐτεῖναι νῦν χρωστούμεν.
 Καὶ ἔρχομαι ἀπάνου σας σὺν φίλος γινὰ νῦν ποίω,
 σ' ἐσθλὴν δὲν θέλω τὸ λοιπὸν πόλεμον γινὰ ν' ἀρχίσω."
 Οἱ Ἀμαζόνες εἶδασιν ἔκρινεν τὰ γραμμένα,

2453 στρατῶναι C; ἀρχηγοὶ] στρατιῶν C
 Post 2458 (2458a) Ἐπιστολὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔστειλεν
 Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς τὰς Ἀμαζόνες (titulus)
 ὁ Ἀλέξ. C
 2461 πῆρα μὲ] πῆραμεν C
 2466 εἰς σεμὲ edd.

- 2470 τὰ ἔγραψεν Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ τὰ ἔχε μνημένα.
 καὶ πάλ' ἐκεῖνες ἔγραψαν ἐπιστολὴ νὰ στείλουν,
 σ' αὐτεῖνον τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ νὰ τοῦ παραγγείλουν·
 "Ἐξ Ἀμαζόνες τὰς φρικτὰς, ἔμᾱς τὰς ἀντρείωμένες,
 π' ὁ κόσμος ὅλος στ' ἄρματα μᾶς ἔχει γρικημένες,
 2475 βασιλέως Ἀλέξανδρου ὅλες ἐμεῖς μνησθε,
 νὰ μὴν ἔλθῃς στὸν τόπον μᾶς ἐσὲν παρακαλῶμε.
 Ὁ τέπος ἔναι γὰρ κακὸς καὶ θὲς κακοπαθήσει,
 κι ὀλκίζομε καὶ ἄπρακτος ἐπίσω θὲς γυρίσει.
 Τὸ πῶς εἴμαστεν στ' ἄρματα, ξεύρει μᾶς <ή> οἰκουμένη,
 2480 ἐπεὶ στρατιώτης κανενεῖς δὲν μᾶς συναπανταίνει.
 Σὲ δυὸ ποτάμια στέκομεν κ' ἔχομε τὴν θροφή μᾶς
 καὶ δὲν γυρίζει κανενεῖς γιὰ χρόνον τὸ νηοῖ μᾶς·
 καὶ τὸ νηοῖ ἐλόγυρα γυρίζει τὸ ποτάμι
 καὶ κανενεῖς οὐδὲ μπόρεῖ τίποτες νὰ μᾶς κάμῃ.
 2485 Διακόσιες χιλιάδες βρίσκονται γυναῖκες ἀνδρείωμένες,
 ἄλλες βοομήντα τὸ λειπὸν κ' εἶναι παραβαλμένες.
 οἱ ἄνδρες, ἐπεὶ ἔχομε, μ' ἐμᾶς δὲν κατοικοῦνε,

Post 2472 (2472a) Ἀμαζόνων ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς
 Ἀλέξανδρον (titulus); C aliter: Ἐπιστολὴ
 τοῦ ἔστειλαν οἱ ἀμαζόνες πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον
 2476 στὸν τόπον μᾶς] ἀπάνου μᾶς C
 2479 <ή> supplevi
 2484 οὐδὲν πορῇ C

- μ' ἀντίπερα στὸν ποταμὸν τὰ ζωὰ μας τηροῦνε.
 καὶ πᾶσα χρόνους γὰρ ἐπταὶ σ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὶ περνοῦνε,
 2490 καὶ ὅσες θέλουν ἐξ ἡμᾶς μ' αὐτοὺς παιδιὰ γεννοῦνε.
 καὶ ἕνα χρόνον μετὰ μᾶς αὐτεῖνοι κατοικοῦσι,
 πάλι περνοῦν τὸν ποταμὸν, τὰ ζωὰ γὰρ τηροῦσι.
 Ἄν ἔλθῃ πόλεμος σ' ἡμᾶς ἢ δυνατὸ φουσᾷτο,
 περνοῦμ' ἡμεῖς τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ἀντιμαχόμεσθα το.
 2495 Ἔρχονται καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες μας καὶ μᾶς ἀκολουθοῦσι,
 φυλάσσουν τὰς κατοῦνας μας καὶ μᾶς ὑπηρετοῦσι.
 Καὶ δυνατὸς στὸν πόλεμον εἵμαστεν παρὰ φύσιν,
 ἔθνος οὐδὲν ἡῤῥίσκεται ἡμᾶς νὰ μᾶς νικήσῃ.
 Καὶ ὅποια λαβώθῃ 'ξ ἡμᾶς, λέγομε τοῦτο πάλι,
 2500 ἀπὸ τὰς ἄλλας τὸ λοιπὸν ἔχει τιμὴ μεγάλη.
 Ὅποια ποθένη 'ς πόλεμον, ἡμεῖς τὴν ἀνυμνοῦμε,
 καὶ ὡς θεὰ περσώτερο ὅλες τὴν εὐφημοῦμε.
 Καὶ ὅποια πάλαι ἐξ ἡμᾶς, ὅπου ν' ἀνδραγαθήσῃ
 καὶ εἰς τὸν ἄπιστον λαὸν νὰ κόψῃ, ν' ἀφανίσῃ,
 2505 νὰ κάμῃ εἰς τὴ μέση τοὺς ἀνδραγαθὸς μεγάλους,
 ἔχει ζωὴ ἐκ τὸ καλὸν, πολλὴ τιμὴ 'κ τὰς ἄλλας.

2494 καὶ] καὶ corr.

2503 ἀπειναδραγαθήσῃ C

2505 ἀνδραγαθεύαις C

- Ἔμετες γυναῖκες εἵμασθεν καί, ἃ μᾶς πολεμήσης,
 τ' ὅποτε δὲν τ' ὀλπίζομε ἑμᾶς γιὰ νὰ νικήσης·
 γυναῖκες εἵμασθεν ἑμετες, δὲν ἔν πολλὰ μεγάλο
 2510 γυναῖκες γιὰ νὰ πολεμᾶς, νὰ κάρης δόχως ἄλλο.
 Κ' ἑμετες ἃ σὲ νικήσωμε, ἔναι κατηγορίᾳ σου
 καὶ τοῦτο συμβουλέψου το μ' ὅλην τὴν συντροφιδ σου.
 "Ἄν ἔν καὶ τοῦτ', Ἀλέξανδρε, κ' ἔχεις πολλή τὴ γνώση,
 ἃ θέλεις νὰ ἴσθης εἰς ἑμᾶς, τὸ θέλεις μετανώσει.
 2515 Λέγομε τοῦτο εἰς ἑσέν, ἑμετες νὰ σὲ τελοῦμε,
 τὸ θέλεις νὰ πληρώνωμε γράψε καὶ προβοδῶμε.
 Καὶ γράψε μας ἀπάνκριση 'ς τοῦτα τὰ γεγραμμένα,
 διότις τὰ φουσάτα μας στέκουν κενεμημένα."
 Ἐὰν τ' ἤκουσεν Ἀλέξανδρος, τότε γιαμιὰ γελάει, III 26
 2520 εἶπε νὰ κάμουνσι γραφὴ εἰς αὐτες γιὰ νὰ πᾶν.
 "Βασιλεὺς ὃ Ἀλέξανδρος, γυναῖκες Ἀμαζόνες,
 ἑσετες ὅπου λογιζέσταν κ' εἴσταν ἀντρειωμένες.
 Ὅλον τὸν κόσμον κέρδαισα ἐγὼ μὲ τὴ βουλή μου,
 ἑσας ἐγὼ νὰ φοβηθῶ ἔναι πολλή <ν>τροπή μου.

2515 εἰς σεσέν ead.

2520 εἰς σαύταις

Post 2520 (2520a) Ἐπιστολὴ ὅπου ἔστειλεν

Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς τὰς Ἀμαζόνες (titulus)

2522 ἀνδριωμέναις C

2524 <ν>τροπή supplevi

- 2525 ἡ' ἐσθς δὲν καταδέχομαι πόλεμον γιὰ ν' ἀρχίσω,
 μόνον μὲ λόγον μοναχὰ θέλω νὰ σὰς φοβίσω.
 'Αμαζόνες γὰρ στέλνετε γιὰ νὰ 'λθουν εἰς ἐμένα
 χίλιες πεντακῆσιν μ' ἄλογα διαλεμένα,
 καθὲν χρόνον ν' ἀλλάσσωνται, σὲ τοῦτο νὰ γρικήτε,
 2530 τότες νὰ ἔρχονται αὐτοῦ κι ἄλλες νὰ προβοδάτε.
 Καὶ πράγματα ποὺ βρίσκονται σ' αὐτεῖνι τῇ μερέα,
 ἐδῶ ἐξ αὐτὰ στέλνετε, κι ἄς εἶναι γὰρ ὥρατα.
 Λοιπὸν ἃ δὲν θελήσετε ἐγὼ νὰ σὰς ἔρσω,
 μὲ τῇ στρατιᾷ μου νὰ 'λθ' αὐτοῦ, καμιὰ νὰ μὴν ἀφήσω."
 2535 οἱ 'Αμαζόνες εἶδασι Λέξανδρος τί μηνάει,
 γραφὴ τότες ἐκάμασι σ' αὐτὸν γιὰ νὰ ὑπάη.
 "'Εξ 'Αμαζόνες τὲς φρικτὲς, ἐμὰς τί ; ἀνδρειωμένες,
 στὸν βασιλῇ 'Αλέξανδρον εἵμασταν δουλωμένες.
 Καὶ οἶδόμε σου ἐξουσιὰ, μᾶλλον παρακαλοῦμε
 2540 νὰ ἔλθης εἰς τὴν χώρα μας, θέλωμε κι ἀγαποῦμε.
 'Ετάξαμε νὰ οἶδωμε, τὸν χρόνον νὰ πληροῦμε,
 χρυσάφι κηνητῆνάρια 'κατὸ νὰ σὲ τελοῦμε.

2525 εσθς C

2531 πράγματα C

2534 νάλθω ...καμίνανασσ ἀφήσω C

ost 2536 (2536a) 'Επιστολὴ ἀπὸ ἐστειλαν οἱ
 'Αμαζόνες πρὸς 'Αλέξανδρον (Titulus); writer C:
 ἀμαζόνων ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς ἀλέξανδρον.

- καὶ Ἀμαζόνες πέβομε ἀπὸ τὰς διαλεμένας
 χίλιες πενταχόσιες κ' εἶναι πολλ' ἀνδρειωμένες.
- 2545 Ὅποια γαμηθῇ ἐξ αὐτὰς τὸν νόμον γιὰ νὰ σφάλη,
 σὰν ἀσεβὴν τὴν ἔχομε, νὰ ἔχη ντροπὴ μεγάλη.
 Ὅταν ὁ χρόνος πληρωθῇ, λέγομε νὰ στραφοῦσι,
 προβόδῃσέ μας τες ἐδῶ καὶ ἄλλες γιὰ νὰ ἴθωσι.
 Ἡμεῖς γὰρ σοῦ ἐγράψαμε τοῦτο γιὰ νὰ γρικῇσῃς,
 2550 πειθόμεθα, ἀκούομε κεῖνο τοῦ μᾶς ὀρίσης."
 Ἐὰν τ' ἄκουσεν Ἀλέξανδρος, εἰς αὐτὰς ὑπαγαίνει,
 καὶ ἔγραψε ἐπιστολὴ τῆς μάνας του καὶ στέλνει. III 27
 Βασιλεὺς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος μητρὶ μου Ὀλυμπιάδα,
 τοὺς συγγενεῖς μας χαιρετῶ μ' ὅλη σου τὴν ὀμάδα.
- 2555 Ἔτ' Ἀμαζόνες ἐξέβηκα μ' ὅλη μου τῇ δυνάμει,
 εἰς τὸν Πριάνην ὄρμησα, σ' ἔκεινο τὸ ποτάμι.
 καὶ εἶδα τόπον ἄγριον σ' ἔκεινα γὰρ τὰ μέρη,
 σκότος ἐγίνετον πολὺ μέσα τὸ μεσημέρι.
 Ἡμέρες ὀγδοήκοντα βρέχει βροχὴ μεγάλη
- 2560 καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ μου ἠῦρθε τότε μεγάλη ζάλη.
 τὰ ροῦχα τοὺς ἐπέσασιν ἐκ τὴν βροχὴν ἐκεῖνη,
 εἰς αὐτοὺς τότε, λέγω σου, πολὺ κακὸ ἐγίνη.

post 2552 (2552a) Ἐπιστολὴ ἀπόστειλε (ὅπου ἐστειλεν) ὁ
 Ἀλέξανδρος τῆς μητρὸς του (εἰς τὰς ἀμαζόνες) C. (titivius,
 2555 ἐξέβηκα C
 2562 λέγω σου] λέγουσι C

- Ἐγίνονταν πολλὰς βροντὰς καὶ ἀστραπὰς μεγάλας,
ὥσάν ἐκεῖνες, λέγω σοῦ, ποτὲ δὲν ἤκουσ' ἄλλας.
- 2565 Καὶ ἡμεῖς ὥς ἔπαυε τότες βροχὴ ἐκεῖνη,
ἐκ τοῦ κανένας ἐξ ἡμῶν δὲν ἠμπορεῖ πομεῖναι.
Τὸν ποταμὸν περάσαμε μετὰ πολλοῦ γὰρ κόπου,
κανόσι μὲν ἡφέραςιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι τοῦ τόκου.
Πεντακοσίους ἤφεραν τότε σ' ἡμῶν λεφάδες,
- 2570 ἀμάξια μετ' ἄρματα ὥς ἑξήντα χιλιάδες.
Τότες ἐκεῖνα λάβαμε μ' ἔλπην τὴν ὀρδινίαν,
ὄρισα κ' ἐγυρίσαμε εἰς τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν.
Ἐκ τῶν χιλιάδων τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ πρὸς διαλεμένους
ἀντάμα, λέγω, μετ' ἡμῶν, ὁμοφρονισμένους.
- 2575 Καὶ ὄρισα νῦν πάγωμε στέρας στήλας Ἡρακλέως,
εἴπα τοῦς κ' ἐκινήσαμε καὶ δὲν ἐγίνη ἄλλως.
Ἡ μὲν ἦτονε χρυσή καὶ ἦτονε στημένη,
ἡ ἄλλη ἦτον ἀργυρὴ καὶ καλοφροναμένη.
Πήχες ὀκτώ τὸ μᾶκρος τοῦς καὶ τρεῖς ἀκόμη ἦσαν,
- 2580 καὶ οὐδὲ πήχες τὸ πλάτος τοῦς, ἦσαν κ' οἱ δύο ἴσα.
καὶ ὄρισα καὶ εἴπα τοῦς τὴ στήλῃ νῦν τρυφήσων,

2563 ἐγίνησαν C

2569 τότες ἡμῶν corr.

2574 ὁμοφρονισμένους C

- νὰ δῶ ἂν ἔναι κούφια, καὶ πάλι νὰ σφαλίσουν.
 Κ' εἶδα την μὲ τὰ μάτια μου κ' ἦτον καλὰ γεμάτη,
 καὶ τότε πάλι ὄρισα ἐγὼ κ' ἐσφάλισά τη.
 2585 Καὶ λίτρες πεντακόσιες ἐβάλαμε στὸ φθελίσμα,
 ἐτότες πάλι ὄρισα, μισεύομε τὸ ἅμα.
 Ἄ' ἔρημον τόπον πῆγαμε, κρεμνοὶ 'τονε μεγάλοι,
 ὅπου πιστεύω τί ποτὲ νὰ μὴν τοὺς εἶδαν ἄλλοι.
 Καὶ τότες πάλι γίνετον σκότος πολὺ μεγάλο,
 2590 ποὺ δὲν ἐγνώριζε τινὰς ἓνα ἀπὸ τὸν ἄλλο.
 'Ετότες ἐγυρίσαμε, 'πτὰ μέρες περπατοῦμε,
 στὸν ποταμὸν θερίζοντα ὄρισα νὰ σταθεύμε.
 Τὲς 'Αμαζόνες ἠύραμε κείνες τὲς ὠριωμένες,
 εἷχασιν ἄρματα καλὰ, πολλὰ 'ταν ἀνδρειωμένες.
 2595 Ἔδωρο γὰρ καὶ χάλκωμα αὐτεῖνες γὰρ οὐκ ἔχουν,
 πολὺ δσημοχρῦσαφο, βίον πολὺν γὰρ ἔχουν.
 Ἦλθαν κ' ἐπροσκυνήσανε αὐτὲς οἱ 'Αμαζόνες,
 χίλιες πεντακόσιες μού 'φεραν ἀνδρειωμένες.
 Τὲς ἄλλες τὲς ἐπήρασι, ποὺ 'χαν ἀποσταλμένες,

2582 δῶ] δεῦν C

2585 φθελίσμα C

2590 ἓνας C

2594 ἄρματα] ἄρμα C

2597 καὶ προσκυνήσαμε corr.

- 2600 καὶ τέλος μευ ἡέρασι, καὶ ὅσαν παραδομένους.
 Ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ὁ ποταμὸς εἶχε πολλὰ θηρία.
 Ἐκεῖθεν τότε μέσενσα ἐγὼ μὲ τῇ στρατείᾳ.
 Πολλὸν καιρὸν πηγαίναμε ὅλοι συμμαχομένοι, III 28
 στήν Ἐρυθρὰν τὴν θάλασσαν ὅλοι μας κοπιασμένοι.
- 2605 Ὅλοι μας ἀναπαύτημαν ἐκ τὸν περὶ σσιον κέκον.
 Ἐκεῖ τότες ἠύρσκαμεν πολλὰ στενὸν γὰρ τόκον.
 Εἰς τὴν δεξιὰ γὰρ μεριὰ ἦτον βουνὶ μεγάλο,
 ἄριστον ἔτον θάλασσα, οὐκ ἤβλεπες γὰρ ἄλλο.
 Θυσία τότες ἔκαμα ἐγὼ καὶ θυσιάζω,
- 2610 τὸν Περσίδωνα τὸν θεὸν περὶ σσια τὸν δεξιᾶ.
 Τότες τὸν ἐθυσάσα ἐγὼ εἰς τὴν μονή του,
 ἔσφαξα δόκα ἄλογα μόνον εἰς τὴν τιμὴ του.
 Ἐκ τὸν Ἀντλοῦν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπήγαμε παρῆνεν
 καὶ οὐτε γῆν ἐβλάκαμε εὐδ' οὐρανὸν ἀπῆνεν.
- 2615 Ἦσαν καὶ κακὰ θηρία κ' εἶχαν κακὰ τὰ ἦθη,
 ἦσαν καὶ σκυλοκέφαλοι, στομὰ ἔχαν εἰς τὰ στήθη.
 Καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνη ἦσαν, τοὺς λέγουσιν Τρωγλοδυτας,
 καὶ κατεικοῦν στὰ σπήλαια κ' εἶχαν μακρὰς τὰς μύτας.
 καὶ περιγιάλι εἰμεσθεν κ' ἐνα νησί τηρούμε,

2614 ἐβλάκαμε edd., ἐβλάπταμε C, corr.

2616 σκηνεκέφαλοι corr.

- 2620 εἰς τὸ νηοὶ ἐπλευσαμε ὅλοι μας γιὰ νὰ δοῦμε.
 Καὶ μέσα, λέγω, στὸ νηοὶ ἦτον Ἥλιου πόλη,
 καὶ δεκά μίλια γύριζε ἡ γῆς τῆς πόλης ὅλη.
 Καὶ δεκατέσσαρες ἔτανε πύργοι ἐκεῖ κτισμένοι,
 εὐτρεπισμένοι ἑμορφα καὶ ὀλοχρυσωμένοι.
- 2625 Καλλωπισμένοι ἦτανε μετὰ τῶν σμαραγδῶν
 καὶ πάλ' ἦταν ὀλόγυρα μ' ἑμορφων λιθορῶν.
 Εἶδα ναὸν ὀλόχρυσον, ἑμῶδρον αὐτεῖνον λέγαν,
 θυσιᾶς πολλὰς τοῦ ἑκαμναν, ζῶα πολλὰ ἐκαῖγαν.
 Ἦτον ἐμὶχλη περισσῇ, λέγω, στὸν τόπον κεῖνον,
- 2630 καὶ ἱερὰ εἶχασιν μαῦρον ὡς Σαρακῆνον.
 Τὸν Ἥλιον ἐθυσίαζα μὲ τὴν ταπεινοσύνη
 κ' ἐκεῖθεν ἐμισέψαμε ἑμεῖς μὲ καλοσύνη.
 Ἐκεῖθεν ποὺ μισέψαμε, τρεῖς μέρες περπατοῦμε,
 σκέτος ἠὺρήκαμε πολὺ κ' εἶπα γιὰ νὰ στραφεῖμε.
- 2635 Πολλὰ κακοπαθήσαμε, δὲν εἶχα τὸ τί κάμει,
 μὲ βιὰ ὅλοι ἐσώσαμε σπεῦ Ντεῦναβη ποταμῖ.
 Ἐπάλτια Κύρου κῆγαμε, πολλὰ ἔταν ὀριωμένα,
 ἦσαν γὰρ ὀλόγυρα καὶ ἀπάνω χρυσωμένα.

2620 γιανδοῦμε C

2625 σμαραγδῶν corr

2631 ἐθυσίαζα] ἐθυσίαζε elendavi

2637 κύρα C

- 'Εκ' εἶδα σπίτι γὰρ μακρὺ, σ' ἐκεῖνα γὰρ τὰ μέρη,
 2640 μέσα στὸ σπίτι τὸ μακρὸν φωλεύει περιστέρει.
 'Ανθρωπινὰ συντύχαινε, ὅποιος κι ἂν ἦθελ' ἔρθει,
 τί ἐπάθαινε τοῦ ἔλεγε καὶ τί τοῦ θέλει ἔρθει.
 Καὶ οἱ μεγάλοι βασιλεῖς σ' ἐκεῖνο ἐπηγαῖνα,
 τί πάθοναν τοὺς ἔλεγε κι ἀλήθευε καθένα.
 2645 Λεκάνη ἦτονε χρυσή, ὁμορφα γεναμένη,
 ἐξήντα μέτρα ἔβανε κ' ἦτον ἐκεῖ σταμένη.
 "Εσφαξα δὲ καὶ βόδια, θυσία τότες κἄνω,
 καὶ τῇ λεκάνη τῇ χρυσῇ γεμίζω ὡς ἀκάνω.
 Καὶ ὅλοι τοὺς ἐπίνασι, μικροὶ τε καὶ μεγάλοι,
 2650 κἀμνομε καὶ τραπέζια κ' ἦτον χαρὰ μεγάλη.
 Ἦταν ἐκεῖ σκαλιὰ ὀκτὼ κι ἀπάνω ἦτον δένδρον,
 καὶ ἀετὸς ἐκάθετον σ' ἐκεῖνον γὰρ τὸν κένδρον.
 Ὁ ἀετὸς καὶ τὸ δένδρον ὅλῳ 'τονε χρυσάφι,
 εἶδα γὰρ πράγματα πολλὰ τὰ δὲν μπορῶ σὲ γράφει.
 2655 Ἦτότεες ἐμισεύσαμε μ' ὅλην τὴν ὀρδινία,
 ἦλθαμε κ' ἐγυρίσαμε εἰς τὴν Βαβυλωνία.
 Ἐκεῖ παιδὶ γεννήθηκε κ' εἶχε τοιοῦτο εἶδει.

III 30

2641 καὶ C

2642 τί πάθενε C

2644 πάθεναν C, an rectius?

2654 ἶδα δὲ πράγματα.... δὲν μπορῶ.... C

- 'Κ τῇ μέσ' ἀπάνω ἀνθρώπος καὶ κάτω ἦτον φίδι.
 Ἐκεῖνη καὶ τὸ γέννησε φέρνει το στὸ παλάτι,
 2660 ἤφερε κ' ἐδειξέ μου το, στὰ χέρια της τὸ κράτει.
 Κρυφὰ μεῦ τέ 'φερε ἐκεῖ, εἶδα το γὰρ πῶς κάνει,
 εἰς αὐτὸ, λέγω, θαύμασμα ἐμένα μεῦ ἐφάνη.
 Ὅρισα δὲ νὰ ἔλθουσι μάγοι καὶ ἀστρονόμοι,
 νὰ δῶ 'ς τοῦτο τί λέγουσι, τοῦ καθενὸς τὴν γνώμη.
 2665 Ἐπότες ἐμαζώκησαν κ' οἱ μάγοι κάμνουν κρίση,
 τ' ἄγρια ἔθνη, μεῦ 'πασι, ἐγὼ τὰ θέλω 'ρίσει.
 Εἷς ἀστρονόμος ὕστερα ἦλθε σ' ἐμῆς κι ἀρχίζει,
 καὶ τὸ σημεῖον ἔβλεψε, τὰ ροῦχα του ξεσκίζει.
 Βάνει μεγάλη τὴ φωνὴ καὶ κλαίγει καὶ τρομάσσει,
 2670 καὶ ἔλεγέ μας βασιλεῖα γλήγορα θὲ χαλάσει.
 Κ' ἐγὼ ὡσὺν τὸ ἤκουσα, μεγάλως ἐφροβήθη,
 τοῦ ἀστρονόμου τὸ λοιπὸν ἔτσι τ' ἀπιλογήθη.
 Καὶ εἶπα του τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτὸ νὰ καθάρισι
 καὶ τὸ σημεῖο τί δηλοῦ πασῶνας νὰ γρικῇσι.
 2675 Ὁ μάγος ἀποκρίθηκε ἡ 'Τ' ἀπάνου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου,
 ἐκεῖνος, λέγω, εἶσ' ἐσύ, εἰςὲ τειοῦτου τρόπου.

2662 θαύμασμα C

2665 ἐμαζώκησαν....κάμουν C

2676 εἰς σε

- τὸ κἄτω, λέγω, τοῦ φιλίου εἶναι ἡ ἐξουσία σου,
 κ' ἐκεῖνοι ὁποῦ παύρουνσι 'εἰς ἐσὲν τῇ ἀφεντιά σου.'
 'Εξ ἐμοῦ τοῦ γράψαντος Λεξιάνδρου τοῦ υἱοῦ σου,
 2680 νὰ σ' εὕρη ἡ γραφὴ καλὰ μὲ ὅλους τοῦ σπιτιοῦ σου."
 Τοῦ 'Αλεξιάνδρου θάνατος τοιοῦτως γὰρ ἐγίνη, III 31
 ὄντ' αὖ τὸν ἐφαρμάκεσαν οἱ φίλοι τοῦ ἐκεῖνοι.
 "Ὅταν αὐτὸς ἐξεβήκε ἐκ τῆν Μακεδονία,
 φίλον τοῦ ἄφηκε ἐκεῖ νὰ 'ρίζη μ' ἑρδινία,
 2685 τὸ ὄνομα 'Αντίπατρον, τῇ χώρᾳ νὰ γυρίζη.
 "Ἄφηκε καὶ τὴν μάνα τοῦ ἐκεῖνη γιὰ νὰ 'ρίζη.
 'Ὀλυμπιάδα ἔγραψεν σ' 'Αλεξιάνδρον καὶ πέβει
 τὸ πῶς αὐτῇ 'Αντίπατρον οὐδὲν τὸν ἀφεντεύει.
 Καὶ πάλι ὁ 'Αντίπατρος σ' 'Αλεξιάνδρον ἐμῆνει,
 2690 τὸ θέλημά της κἄμνει το καὶ ὅ,τι θέλει κείνη.
 "Αὐτῇ σ' ἐμὲν μανιώνεται καὶ ἔχει κακοσύνη,
 μὰ γὰρ κἄνω στὴ χώρᾳ σου πολλὴν δικαιοσύνη."
 'Αλεξιάνδρος γὰρ ἄφηκε τὸ πρᾶμα κ' ἐδιέβη,
 σ' 'Αντίπατρον δὲν ἔγραψε, μηδὲ 'ς μητέρα πέβει.

Post 2680 (2680a) Περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἐσυνέβη τοῦ
 'Αλεξιάνδρου ὁ θάνατος (titulus)
 2690 ἐκεῖνη C
 2692 κἄμνω C
 2693 πρᾶγμα C

- 2695 Ὀλυμπιάδα ἔγραψε, σ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἐμήναι
 νὰ βγάλῃ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον ἐκ τὴν τιμὴν ἐκεῖνη.
 Ἀλέξανδρος τῆς ἔγραψε αὐτείνης τότε πάλι,
 αὐτείνον τὸν Ἀντίπατρον ἐκ τὴν τιμὴν νὰ βγάλῃ.
 Σὺν τ' ἔκλευσεν Ἀντίπατρος, ἐγύρευε νὰ πόσῃ
 2700 μέθοδον τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον γιὰ νὰ τὸν φαρμακίσῃ.
 Φαρμάκι κόμναι ἰσχυρόν, 'ς πυξόμηλον τὸ βάνει
 καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ τό 'δωκε Κασσάνδρου ν' ἀθιβάνῃ.
 Εἶχε δὲ ὁ Ἀντίπατρος τὸν ἕτερον υἱόν τοῦ
 δεσμένον τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρου ὡς ἄνθρωπον δικόν τοῦ.
 2705 Ἀντίπατρος παρ' ἄγγελος Κασσάνδρου τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ
 νὰ δώσῃ τὸ φαρμάκιον Ἰούλῃ τ' ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ.
 Τότες ἀποχαιρέτησε Κασσάνδρος καὶ μισεύει,
 στὰ μέρη τῆς Βαβυλωνιάς ἐκεῖθεν γὰρ ὁδεύει.
 Ἐκ' ἠύσηκε τ' ἀδελφί τοῦ, Ἰούλιον τὸν λέει,
 2710 γι' Ἀλέξανδρον τοῦ μίλησε γιὰ νὰ τὸν ἀπολέσῃ.
 Τότες Κασσάνδρος ἔβγαλε, δείχνει τοῦ τὸ φαρμάκι,
 σὸν εἶχαι τὴν ὀρδινιά, δίνει τοῦ καὶ πιττάκι.
 Ἦτονε ὁ Ἰούλιος ἐξ αὐτὸν λυπημένος,
 'κ τὰ χέρια τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρου ἦτονε ραβδισμένος,

2705 παρ' ἄγγελο C
 2714 τ' Ἀλέξανδρου C

- 2715 διέτι τοῦ ἐκτύπησε ἀπάνω στὸ κεφάλι,
 2719 μὲ τὸ ραβδί τοῦ βάρεσε μία ραβδίᾳ μεγάλῃ.
 Ἦτον κι ἄλλος λυπούμενος, Μήδην γὰρ τὸν ἐκράζαν,
 ἐβουλευτήσαν καὶ οἱ δυὸ τότες κ' ἐλογαριάζαν.
 Ἦσαν καὶ ἄλλοι στὴν βουλή κ' ἠθέλησαν νὰ ποίσοιεν,
 2720 ἐτότε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον γιὰ νὰ τὸν φαρμακίσουν.
 Αὐτεῖνα ἃς τ' ἀφήσωμε, ὡς γιὰ νὰ μὴν ἀργήσω,
 καὶ διὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον θέλω γιὰ ν' ἀρχινήσω.
 Ἀλέξανδρος καλεστικὴ ἐτότες ἐρδινιάζει,
 τοὺς ἄρχοντες ἐκάλεσε, τότες ἐκεῖ τοὺς κρᾶζει,
 2725 τοὺς πρώτους τῶν στρατιωτῶν κι ἄλλους τοὺς ἀνδρειωμένους,
 καὶ τοὺς σατράπας τοὺς καλοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐκλελεγμένους.
 Ὅλοι τοὺς τότε χαίρονταν σ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ τραπέζι,
 πασάνας ἀπὸ τὴν χαρὰν ἀρχίνησε νὰ παίζῃ.
 Καὶ τότε πάλι Ἀλέξανδρος ἐσέβη στὸ καλὶ τοῦ
 2730 κ' ἔπεσε στὸ κρεβάτι τοῦ νὰ πάρῃ τὴ βουλή τοῦ.
 Εἶχε δὲ εἰς Ἀλέξανδρον Μήδιος παρρησία,
 ἐδιέβη καὶ τὸν ἔκραξε νὰ ἴθῃ στὴν κουρτεσία.
 Καὶ εἶπε τοῦ· ὦ δέσποτα, θέλουν γιὰ νὰ σὲ δεῖν

2717 καὶ ^ο τὸν νεκράζαν edd.
 2720 ἐτότες,] τότε emend. metri gratia
 2728 ἀρχήνιζε ^ο
 2732 τὸν νέκραξε edd.

- οἱ φίλοι σου οἱ γνήσιοι μ' ἐσένα νὰ χαροῦνε."
- 2735 τὴν τ' ἄκουσεν Ἀλέξανδρος, ἔξω γιὰ μιὰ ἐβγαίνει,
τὸ θέλημά τους ἔκαμε εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ παγαίνει,
Ἐκ' ἠύρηκε τὸν Πέρδικα εἰς τὸ τραπέζι κεῖνο,
τὸν Ποθανό, τὸν Λεονό, ὅλοι ἐπύσαν οἶνο.
τὸν Πευστική, τὸν Λεονό, Λυσίμαχον καὶ ἄλλοι,
2740 τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ Ὀλκιδ, κ' εἶχαν χαρὰ μεγάλη.
Κορβόμη καὶ τὸν Εὐγενή, Νέαρρον κ' Ἰρακλείδη,
εἶχαν καὶ τὸν Ἰριστονό, ἄρχισαν καὶ τραγοῦδι.
εἶχανε κ' εἰς τὴν μέση τους τότε τὸν Πτολεμαῖον,
Κασσάνδρον μὲ τὸ ὄνομα καὶ Φιλονά τὸν νέον.
2745 Μένον οἱ πέντε ἐξ αὐτοῦς δὲν ἦσαν αἰτίασμένοι,
σ' ἐκεῖνον τὸ συμβούλιον δὲν ἦσανε βαλμένοι.
Πέρδιξ οὐκ ἦτον στήν βουλήν, αὐτὸς ὁ Πτολεμαῖος,
οὐδ' Ὀλκιδος, Λυσίμαχος, αὐτὸς Φιλωνάς ὁ νέος.
"Ἄλλοι οἱ ἀποδέλαιοι εἶχαν βουλήν σταμένη
2750 γιὰ νὰ τὸν φαρμακίσουσι, γιὰ φθόνον γοῖ ἐργισμένοι.
Ἐκαμαν ἑοκούς φοβεροὺς νὰ μὴν ἀλληλοφόνουν,
ἐκεῖνος, ἐκεὺ εἰπασι, ὅλοι τοὺς νὰ τὸ καίτουν.
Τώρα εὖν ἔς γινώσκωμε εἰς τὴν βασιλεύειν,

2734 μ' ἐσένα] μέσσα ο

2741 κορβόνη νέαρρον ο

2748 Λυσίμαχος] ὁ σύμαχος corr.

- καὶ θέλησαν νὰ κάμουνσι, κείνη τὴν ἄσωτρία.
 2755 Ὅλοι τοὺς ἦσαν σὲ βουλή, τ' ἔπειθεν καὶ τὸ ποῖκαν,
 καὶ τόμου ἦλθ' Ἀλέξανδρος, ὅλοι προσηκωθήκαν.
 εἶχε δὲ ὁ Ἰούλιος φαρμάκι στὸ ποτήρι,
 κ' ἐκέρασε τ' Ἀλέξανδρου κι ἀπέκει ἐσυντήρει.
 Ὡσὸν αὐτὸς τὸ ἔπινε, ὥρα διδάβη μεγάλη,
 2760 ὁλόγυρα ἐγύριζε κ' ἐπίνασι καὶ ἄλλοι.
 Ὑφώνισ' ὁ φίλοι μου, τί ἔναι καὶ μὲ πειροῖται,
 ὅπου ἴθι στὸ συκώτι μου, σαγίτα καὶ μὲ σφάζει;"
 καὶ πλέο δὲν ἠμπόρεσε αὐτὸς γιὰ ν' ἀπομείνῃ
 κ' εἶπε τοὺς γιὰ νὰ κάθωνται στὴν εὐθυμίαν κείνη.
 2765 Ἐκεῖνος ἐσηκώθηκε καὶ στὸ καλὶ τοῦ μαΐνει,
 μὴ νὰ τὸν κάψῃ ὁ καημός, ὅπου τότε μαραίνει.
 Πτερὸ ζητᾷ Ἀλέξανδρος στὸ στόμα νὰ τὸ βάλῃ, III 32
 μὴ νὰ ξερόσῃ, ἔλεγε, ἐκ τὴν χολὴν νὰ βγάλῃ.
 καὶ τὸ πτερὸ Ἰούλιος φαρμάκι ἄλειφαι πάλι,
 2770 τ' Ἀλέξανδρου τὸ ἔδωσε στὸ στόμα νὰ τὸ βάλῃ.
 καὶ τὸ πτερὸ Ἀλέξανδρος στὸ στόμα τοῦ τ' ἀμψώνει,

2759 διδάβη] βλάβη C

2764 εὐθυμίαν] ἐφημίαν corr.

2766 τὸν οἷς C; τὸννεμαρμένῃ eua.

2770-1 om. C

- τότεσ κάλι χειρότερα ἐπίδσαν τὸν οἱ πόνει,
 τὴν νύκτα ἔλην ἄπνοος διαβάξει ὁ καημένος,
 δὲν τό 'ξευρε ὁ ταπεινὸς ὅτ' ἔν φαρμακωμένος.
 2775 τὴν νύκτα ἔλους ἐβγάλε μέσα ἐκ τὸ καλὶ του,
 μέσα τινὰν δὲν ἄφηκε, βγάνει καὶ τὴ γυνή του.
 καὶ τότεσ ἐσηκώθηκε κρυφὰ διὰ νὰ ποίση,
 γιὰ νὰ πνιγῇ στὸν ποταμὸν καὶ κῆτω νὰ βουλῆση,
 διότις ἐκεῖ ἔρχετον ὑψρότης τὸ ποτάμι,
 2780 εἰς βαβυλῶνα ἔρχετον μὲ τὴν πολλὴν δυνάμη.
 εἶδε τὸν ἡ γυναῖκα του, τρέχει καὶ τόνε πιάνει,
 ἐπαίρνει τὸν 'κ τὸν ποταμὸν, στὸ σπῖτι τόνε βάνει.
 εἶπε της· "Ἦρ' ἡ γυναῖκα μου, κακὸ 'καμεσ μεγάλο,
 ἂν εἶχα πᾶγει ὄφρατος, θεὸν μὲ εἶχαν ἄλλο."
 2785 καὶ εἶπε της· "Ἐρὸς τὸ παρὲν μηδὲν τ' ἐμολογήσης,
 εἰσὲ κανέναν ἄνθρωπον ποτὲ μὴν τὸ μιλήσης."
 'Αποτοχὺ 'Αλέξανδρος 'ρίξει τὸ στρατερύκι,
 ἔλοι νὰ ἔλθουν ἐμπροστὸ νὰ κάρη διαθήκη.

2772 χειρότερον C

2775 τὸ λή του C

2776 βγάλη C

2782 τὸν γεβάνη ead.

2784 μὲ εἶχαν C, μείχαν ead.; ἄλλον corr.

2785 εἰς σε

- Καὶ τότες ἐμαχώκτηκε ὅλο του τὸ φουσάτο,
 2790 ἐκάμναν ἀνακάτωμα τότες ἀπάνω κάτω.
 Καὶ εἶπασι τοῦ φύλακα, ποφύλαγε τὸ δῶμα·
 "Δεῖξε μας τὸν ἀφάντη μας, τεδὲ νὰ κάμωμ' αἶμα."
 Κ' ἐσέβη μέσα Πέροδικας τ' Ἀλέξανδρου καὶ λέγει·
 "Λέσποτα, μακεδονικὸ ἔξω φουσάτο κλαίγει
 2795 καὶ ὅλοι θέλουν νὰ σὲ δεῖν, ἐποῦ 'ναι κενεμένοι,
 ταδὲ βάνουνται στ' ἄρματα, κανεῖς δὲν ἀπομένει."
 Τάτ' ἔρισεν Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν κλίνην νὰ βροσθήξουν,
 στῇ μέσῃ νὰ τὸν βάλουσι, ὅλοι νὰ τὸν κοιτῶξουν.
 Καὶ ἦλθε τὸ φουσάτο του, ὅλο μὲν τὸν κοιτῶζει,
 2800 παρόνος ἐκ τὸν πόνον του ἀρχίζει καὶ φρονάζει.
 εἰς θάνατον τὸν ἐβλεπαν καὶ ὅλοι ἐφρονάζαν,
 ἐκλειγόν καὶ ἐδύονταν καὶ βαρυνεστενάζαν.
 Καὶ ἄνος λέγει ἐξ αὐτοῦς, πολλὰ' ταν· θλιμμένοι,
 ἦσαν 'διώτης εἰς τὸν νοῦν κ' ἐκλειγόν ὁ κοημένος.
 2805 οὐ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἐσίμωσε κ' ἐδιόκη εἰς τὴν κλίνην,
 ἐκλείε καὶ ἐδύοντο τὴν ἐλκὴν τ' ἐδύον.

2791 καὶ ποφύλαγε ο

2795 ἐπὶ ο

2800 βαρυνεστενάζαν ο, fortasse recte.

- 'Εφώναξε · "ὦ βασιλεῦ, σ' ἑμᾶς τ' ἔναι ποῦ κάνεις;
 'Αφήνεις μας γὰρ ἔρημους καὶ θέλεις ν' ἀποθάνης.
 Γιὰ τοῦτο μας ἐξέβαλες ἐκ τὴν Μακεδονία,
 2810 νὰ μᾶς ἀφήσης ἔρφανούς εἰς τὴν Βαβυλωνία;
 Κρεῖττον ἡμεῖς συζώνταναι στὴν γῆν νὰ κατεβούμε
 παρ' εἰς ἑσέν, 'Αλέξανδρε, τὸν θάνατον νὰ δοῦμε."
 Πάλι τὸ μακεδονικὸ φουσάτο τότε λέγει,
 βάνει μεγάλη τὴ φωνή, ἀρχίζει γιὰ νὰ κλαίγη.
 2815 κ' ἐδάκρυσεν καὶ 'Αλέξανδρος κ' εἶπε τοὺς γιὰ νὰ ποίσουν,
 παρακαλεῖ τοὺς θλιβερά γιὰ νὰ παραμερίσουν.
 "Ὅρισε πάλι 'Αλέξανδρος γραμματικὸν καὶ κράζουν, III 33
 καὶ διαθήκην ἔκαμε, στὴν μέση τὴν διαβάζουν.
 "Βασιλεὺς ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος καὶ κοσμοκράτωρ μένος,
 2820 'Ολυμπιάδας ὁ υἱὸς καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ 'Αμμῶνος.
 'Επεὶ βλέπω ὁ θάνατος θέλει νὰ μὲ χωρίση,
 ποῦ πασάνας ἐξ αὐτὸν δὲν ἤμπορεῖ νὰ γλύση,
 πρῶτον ἀφήνω τὸ λοιπὸν σ' ἔλην τὴν οἰκουμένη,

2807 τίςναι τὸ κάνης C

2809 διὰ C

2811 κρεῖττον C

2811 συζώνταναι] τοὶ ζωντανοὶ C

2815 καὶ δάκρυσεν ἄλξ. C

Post 2818 (2818a) 'Ἡ διαθήκη ὅπου ἔκαμε ὁ βασιλεὺς
 'Αλέξανδρος (titulus)

2821 ἐβλέπω C

- ἀγάπην καὶ συγχώρησιν κὶ ἄς εἶν συμπαθημένοι ·
 2825 καὶ διὰ νὰ μὴν γίνεται στοὺς ἀρχηγούς μου μάχη,
 πασόντας ἐκ τὸν τόπον μου τὸ μερτικό του νὰ ᾿χη.
 ᾿Αφήνω στήν πατρίδα μου, εἰς τὴν Μακεδονία,
 ᾿Ιδαίως νὰ ᾿ναι ἀρχηγός, νὰ ᾿ρίζη μ᾽ ἑρδινία.
 ᾿Αν κάμη ἡ γυναῖκα μου, ἐπέναι γγαστρωμένη,
 2830 παιδί, νὰ ἔχη θέλημα καὶ βασιλεὺς νὰ γένη.
 ᾿Αν ἔν καὶ γένη θηλυκὸ ἐκεῖνο τὸ παιδάρι,
 ἄς κάμουςι Μακεδονοὶ ἄνδρα διὰ νὰ πάρη.
 Καὶ ἄς τὸ βάλουν στὸ σκαμνί, ἐκεῖνος νὰ καθίσῃ,
 αὐτεῖνος τὴν Μακεδονιά ὥσάν ἐμὲ νὰ ᾿ρίσῃ,
 2835 ἀπὸ τὸν τόπον π᾽ ἔρισα αὐτεῖνος νὰ μετέχῃ ·
 Λεονὰ νὰ τὸ βάλετε, τὸ ὄνομα νὰ ἔχῃ,
 ἄς πάρῃ καὶ γυναῖκα του αὐτὴν τὴν Λεονίκην,
 τοῦ Νιγιάδου ἀδελφὴν, νὰ ἔχῃ πάντα νίκην.
 ᾿Αφήνω γὰρ τοῦ Εὐγενῆ, ποῦ ᾿χα γραμματικό μου,
 2840 νὰ ᾿ναι αὐθέντης καὶ αὐτὸς μὲ θέλημα δικό μου.
 Καὶ νὰ ᾿ρίζη τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτὴν τὴν Παμφαῖα
 μ᾽ ὅλα της τὰ περίγυρα καὶ τὴν Κακπαδοκία.

2824 συγχώρησιν C

2829 γγαστρωμένη

2836 λέον νὰ τὸ βάλεται emend.

2840 αὐθέντης C

- 'Αφήνω τοῦ 'Αντίγονου ἔλην τὴν Παφυλία
 καὶ τὴν Φραγκία, σὰν ὑπάρ, ἔλην τὴν 'Ιταλία.
 2845 Καὶ τοῦ Κασσάνδρου' ἀφήνω τοῦ νὰ ἔχη βῆμερς,
 νὰ 'ναι ἀθένης καὶ αὐτὸς σ' ἔλην τὴν Καστορία.
 Τὴν χώρα ἐπεὶ βρίσκεται ἀνάντια στὸ ποτάμι
 ἀφήνω τὸν 'Αντίπατρον σ' ἐκείνην νὰ κἀμη.
 'Αφήνω γὰρ τὴν 'Ελυκιά, ἐκεῖθεν σὰν γυρίζει,
 2850 ὁ Φιλόνας μὲ τ' ὄνομα, αὐτὸς νὰ τὴν ὀρίζη.
 'Αφήνω γὰρ τοῦ Πύθωνα νὰ 'ρίζη τὴν Συρία
 μ' ἔλα τῆς τὰ περίγυρα καὶ Μεσοποταμία.
 'Αφήνω γὰρ τὸν Σέλευκον, πόχει πολλὴν ἀγνεία,
 νὰ 'ναι ἀθένης κύριος εἰς τὴν Βαβυλωνία.
 2855 'Αφήνω τοῦ Φηνίκιου νὰ 'ρίζη στὴν Συρία,
 νὰ 'χη καὶ τὴν Κόλην Συρίᾳ μὲ τὴν εὐσημερία.
 Αἴγυπτον, 'Αλεξάνδρεια τὸν Πτολεμαῖον 'φήνω,
 νὰ 'ναι ἀθένης καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τοῦ τὲς παριδίνω.
 'Απάνω 'κ τὴν Βαβυλωνιὰ χώρα τὴ βοδωμένη,

2843	παμφιλίαν	ο
2844	φραγγία	
2846	ἀθένης	ο
2855	φηνίκιου	ο
2856	εὐσημερία	corr.
2858	τὲς παριδίνω]	ται[---- ο
2859	βοδ[-----	ο

- 2860 σ' αὐτὴν νὰ ῥέζη Πέρδικας, ἀφέντης γιὰ νὰ γένη.
 Ἔως κἀτῶ στὰ Βάκτῃρα νὰ ῥέζη μὲ βουλή του,
 ἃς κέρη καὶ γυναῖκα μου Ρωξάνην γιὰ γυνή του,
 γιὰτὶ πολλὰ ἐκέκριασε Πέρδικας γιὰτ' ἐμένα
 καὶ πάντα στὴν ἀνάγκη μου αὐτεῖνος μ' ἐκυβέρνη.
 2865 Ἀφῆνω ἀφέντες τέσσαρους, αὐτοὺς νὰ τοὺς τιμήσουν,
 καὶ ὅ,τι θέλουν τὸ λοιπόν, αὐτεῖνοι ἃς τὸ ποίουν.
 Δημήτριος καὶ Σέλευχος νὰ ἵναι μ' ἐμπιστοσύνη,
 ὁ Φίλιππος, ὁ Πτολεμῖος ἃς κάμνουν δικαιοσύνη.
 Ὅρῃζω γιὰ νὰ κάμετε λεχάνη χρυσωμένη
 2870 διακόσια κηνητῆροια καὶ ἃς ἔναι γεναμένη
 ὅταν θελήσῃ ἡ ψυχὴ νὰ βγῇ ἐκ τὸ κορμάκι
 μέσα γιὰ νὰ μὲ θάψετε εἰς τὸ χρυσὸ λαρνάκι.
 Ἐκ τοὺς Μακεδόνας βρίσκονται γέροι ἀχαρμισμένοι,
 πασῶνας εἰς τὸ σπῖτι του μὲ χρήμα νὰ παγαίνει.
 2875 Ἡὰ τοὺς εὐχαριστήσετε νὰ μὴν κοροπνεύονται,
 νὰ πᾶσι εἰς τὰ σπῖτια τοὺς, πάντα νὰ μὲ θυμούνται.
 Εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας στείλετε χαρίσματα ῥιωμένα,
 στείλετε καὶ βασιλικά ροσχα καὶ ἃς εἶν βαμμένα.

2863 διὰτὶ

2867 Σέλευχος

2873 Ἐκ τοὺς] ἔς τοὺς

2874 εἰς τὸ σπῖτι του] ἐκ τὸ σπῖτι μου

- Καὶ εἰς τὸ Ἄργος στείλετε νὰ πᾶσι τ' ἄρματα μου,
 2880 'ς κεινον τὸν τέκον ἀγαπῶ νὰ πᾶν μὲ θέλημά μου.
 Καὶ μέσα νὰ τὰ βάλετε 'ς ναὸν τοῦ Ἡρακλέως,
 καὶ νὰ μηδὲν θελήσετε νὰ κάμετε ἀλλέως.
 Καὶ στάμενα νὰ στείλετε πενήντα κηνητῆνδρια,
 ἄκόμα, λέγω, κ' ἑκατὸ νὰ πᾶν ἕκαστ' καθάρια.
 2885 Εἰς τὸν ναὸν Ἀπέλλωνος, κόνι ἀδελφεοσύνη,
 δόντια νὰ πᾶν λεφάντινα νὰ 'χουν ἑμορφοσύνη.
 Πέψετε κοῦπες ἑκατό, λέγω σας μ' ἔρισμέν μου,
 στείλετε καὶ δερμάτια νὰ 'ναι 'ς μνημέσυνέν μου.
 Καὶ εἰς τὸ κάστρο Μελητιά, ποῦ λέγουν μελανώδη,
 2890 ἃς ἀποστείλουν ἑδεκατ' φλευρία ἓνα μέδι.
 Ὅσα νησίᾳ βρίσκονται νὰ 'χουν καθαροσύνη,
 αὐτὰ ποῦ 'ρίχει τὸ λειπὸν τῆς Ρόδου τὸ κουμαῦνι.
 Καὶ τὴν Νηδίαν, ἐποῦ ἐν στὸ Νήδον στὸ πατάμι,
 ἀφήνω τὴν τοῦ θυθωνῶ νὰ 'χη σ' αὐτὴν νὰ κάμη.
 2895 Ἀφήνω ἀφέντη, λέγω σας, αὐτενον τὸν Ταξίδη,
 'ς Παρανησάδας τὸ λειπὸν νὰ παίρνῃ καὶ νὰ δίδῃ.
 Ἀφήνω τοῦ Ξερβέντιου σ' αὐτὴν τὴν Ραχωσία

2880 'ς κεινον] σκορπῖνον corr.
 2888 στείλετε]] ἄλετε C
 σμημέσυνέν μου C

- μ' ἔλα της τὰ περίγυρα κι αὐτὴν τὴν Γερασία.
 Εἰς δὲ τὴν χώραν τὴν καλὴν ἐπεὶ τὴν λὸν Συρίνη,
 2900 ἀφῆνω τὴν τοῦ Φίλιππου νὰ ῥέζη μὲ εἰρήνη.
 Ἀφῆνω ἀφέντη Κυρχανιὰ αὐτὸν τὸν Πανταφέρνῃ
 νὰ ἴναι ἀφέντης εἰς αὐτοῦς, ἔλους νὰ τοὺς εὐφραίνῃ.
 Ἀφῆνω γὰρ τὸν Πέκιστα ἀφέντη στὴν Περσία
 ἑλέγυρα, ὥσῃς ὑπᾶ, μ' ἔλῃ της τὴν μπασία.
 2905 Καὶ τοῦτο παραγγέλλω σας, στὴν χώραν τὴν Τρουσάνῃ
 Κοῦρον ἀφῆνω ἀρχηγὸν νὰ ἴχη σ' αὐτὴ νὰ κἀνῃ."
 Καὶ τόμει τὴν ἀνάγνωσαν κείνῃ τὴν διαθήκῃ,
 τότε ἔκλαψαν οἱ ὄρχοντες, ἔλε τὸ στρατεῖκι.
 Καὶ τότε πάλι εἶδασιν ἄστρο πρὸς καταβαίνει,
 2910 ἵκ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐπρόβαλε, στὴν θάλασσα παγαίνει.
 Καὶ ἀετὸς ἀκολουθεῖ ἐκεῖνος τὸ ἀστέρι,
 κ' ἐπερκατεῦσαν καὶ τὰ δυὸ στῆς θάλασσας τὰ μέρη.
 Τόμει ἐδιάβη ὁ ἀστὴρ ἀπάνω στὴ μὲνῃ του,
 τότε καὶ τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρου ἐβγήκεν ἡ ψυχὴ του.
 2915 Ἐκεῖνος ἐπεδοῦλαβε τ' ἄλλοτε τὸ μεγάλο
 μέσα στὸν στάβλον σέβηκε, λέγει τοῦ δίχως ἄλλο.
 Εἶπε του ὁ "Ω Βουκέφαλε, ἔσ' ἔχεις τὴ ζωὴ σου,

 2906 desinit c

2915 ἐπεδοῦλαβε corr.

- μ' ἀπόθανεν ἀφέντης σου, ὅπου 'τον ἡ τιμὴ σου."
 Τότε πολλὰ χλιμίστηξε, βρουχᾶται ὥσπερ λέω,
 2920 μέσα στὸν στάβλον πλάνταξε ἔτσι, ὥσᾳν σὰς λέω.
 Καὶ ὅλοι ἐθαυμάσασι στὸ ζὲ τὸ φιλημένο,
 γι' ἀγάπη τοῦ ἀφέντη τοῦ ποῦ βρέθη πλαντασμένο.
 Πάντα μὲ τὸν ἀφέντη τοῦ σὰν ἔβγαλινε στὴν μάχη,
 τοὺς βάρβαρους ἐσύνητριβε, ὅσοι τοῦ θέλαν λάχει.
 2925 Τοὺς μὲν ἐκτύπα στοῖς ποσί, τοὺς δὲ στὸ στηθεὸς πάλι,
 μ' ἐκεῖνο γίνη νικητῆς κ' ἐτρέμαν τὸν οἱ ἄλλοι.
 Ταφιασταὶ μυρίσαντες Λεξιάνδρου τὸ κορμάκι
 καὶ μέσα τὸ ἐβάλασι εἰς τὸ χρυσοῦ λαρνάκι.
 Οἱ Μακεδόνες ἤθελαν νὰ πάρουν τὸ κορμί του,
 2930 ἀντάμα νὰ τὸν βάλουνσι 'ς Φίλιππον τὸν πατῆρ του.
 Οἱ Πέρσες πάλι λέγασι ἐκεῖ γιὰ νὰ τὸν θάψουν,
 ὅπου 'ν καὶ ἄλλοι βασιλεῖς γιὰ νὰ τὸν ἀναψῶν.
 'Ετότεσ ἐμαλώνασι τὸ ποιὸς νὰ τὸν ἐπάρη,
 νὰ τέ 'χουν εἰς τὸν τόπον τοὺς διὰ μεγάλη χάρη.
 2935 καὶ ἦλθε ὁρισμὸς σ' αὐτοὺς παρὰ θεοῦ ἡδέως,

2918 ἀφέντησεν

Post 2926 (2926a) περὶ τὸ πῶς ἐμύρισαν τοῦ
 'Αλεξιάνδρου τὸ σῶμα (titulus).

γιά νά θαπτῇ στὴν Αἴγυπτον, νά μὴ γενῇ ἀλλέως.

Ὁ Πτολεμῖος μὲ ἕτεροὺς παίρνει τὸν καὶ παγώνει

Ἀλέξανδρον εἰς Αἴγυπτον, σὺν εἶν παραγγελμένοι.

Ὁ ἱερεὺς δὲν ἔφηκε γιὰ νὰ τὸν ἀναπάψουν

2940 Ἀλέξανδρον εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ὥς γιὰ νὰ τὸν θάψουν.

Σ' Ἀλεξανδρεῖα τὸν παίρνουσι καὶ βάνουν τὸν στ' ἀμάξι,
ἐκεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἐθάψασι ὡς ἂν τὸ θέλ' ἡ τέξη.

Ἐσχῆσε δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος χρόνους τριάντα τρίους,

III 35

τὸν θάνατον γὰρ ἔλαβε αὐτὸς ἐκ τοῦς ἰδίους.

(ΕΠΙΛΟΓΟΣ)

- Ἔταυτο τὸ βιβλίον στή Βενετιὰ τυκώθη.
 Ἐκεῖνος καὶ τὸ τύπωσε μεγάλα γὰρ ἐπέθει
 νὰ ἴβρη τὰ κατερθώματα καὶ πράξεις τ' Ἀλεξάνδρου
 καὶ πῶς ἐθανατώθηκε ἡ τὰ χέρια τοῦ Κασσάνδρου·
 5 νὰ εὕρη καὶ ἀθιβεῖται νὰ ἴναι διορθωμένο
 εἰς σκεπὸν καὶ ἔννοια καὶ ὀρθογεγραμμένο.
 Λοιπὸν ἴλασε καὶ ἡῶρε το καὶ εἶχε τὸ ἐναντίον,
 ἀπ' ὅλα ὅσα εἶπαμε, καὶ νὰ εἰπῶ τὸ περὶ
 σφαλτὲ καὶ ἀδιόρθωτο καὶ κακογεγραμμένο,
 10 καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν καλαιότητα ἦτον διορθωμένο.
 Ἐκεῖνος ἀπὸ τὸ ἔβαλε εἰς στίχον καὶ εἰς ρίμα
 ἠυρίσκειται στήν ἐδκυνθὸν καὶ ἔκαμε μέγα κρίμα
 καὶ δὲ μᾶς εὐεργέτησε τὸ ἐδικὸ τοῦ γράμματος,
 τὸ νὰ τὸ μᾶθη ὅλκιζα, στέλνει το ἐν τῷ ἡμῶν,
 15 ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ τοῦ μήνησα καὶ ἐπαρκαλέσασθαι τὸν
 γιὰ νὰ τὸ στείλῃ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐγὼ δεήθηκά τὸν·

- πλευσίματά 'ρχονται πολλά ἐδῶ στήν Βενετία,
 τὸ πῶς οὐδὲν τὸ ἔστειλε οὐκ οἶδα τὴν αἰτία.
 Ἕμεῖς, τὸ ἠμπορέσαμε, ἐκάμαμε μὲ κόπον,
 20 κι ἂν ἔν σφαλμένο τίποτες εἰσὲ κανέναν τόπον,
 σὲ ρίμα ἢ εἰς ἔννοιαν ἢ εἰς κανέναν τρόπον,
 τὸ σφάλειν ἔναι τῶν βροτῶν καὶ τῶν θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.
 Λάβετε γὰρ κ' ἐπάρστε τεύτην τὴν ἱστορίαν
 νὰ ὀητε κατορθώματα, Λεξιάνδρου τὴν παιδείαν
 25 ἀνδρεία γὰρ ἐκέκτητο κι αὐτὴν τὴν σωφροσύνην,
 ἰδέτ' ἂν ἦτον σῶφρονας κ' εἶχε δικαιοσύνην.
 Γυναίκα γὰρ τοῦ Ἀδρείου εἶχε χμαλωτισμένην,
 μ' ἐκείνην δὲν ἐμείχευσε, σὺν τῷ 'χουν μiasμένοι,
 πεύ 'τον εἰς τὴν νεότητα καὶ εἶχε ἐξουσία,
 30 τὸ συνειδὼς τὸν ἔλεγχε κ' ἔφυγε ἀνομία.
 Αὐτεῖνε γὰρ διδάσσα, γραμμένο γὰρ τὸ εἶδα
 εἰσὲ βιβλίον ἔμορφον στὸν στωρικὸν βουίδα
 Εὐνεύχος τῆς βασίλισσας ἔφυγε εἰς Ἀδρείον,
 κ' ἐρώτησε τὸν Ἀδρείου γιὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ παιδίων,
 35 ἂν ζῇ καὶ ἡ μητέρα του κι αὐτεῖνη ἡ γυνὴ του,

καὶ ἀπὸ κενὸν ἔμαθε τ' ἀγάπα ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ.
 λέγει τοῦ· "οἱ κυράδες μου βασίλισσες καλοῦνται,
 καὶ ἀπὸ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον πολλὰ εὐχαριστοῦνται.
 Κυρά μου ἡ βασίλισσα ἔναι μὲ τὴν τιμὴ της,
 40 τινὰς οὐδὲν τὴν ἔγγιξε αὐτὴν εἰς τὸ κορμὶ της."
 Ἰὼν τ' ἄκουσεν ὁ Δάρειος, στὸν οὐρανὸν κειτάζει,
 τὰς χεῖρας τοῦ ἀσήκωσε καὶ τὸν θεὸν δοξάζει·
 "εὐχαριστῶ σευ," εἶπε, "Ζεῦ, ἐσὲν τῇ βασιλείᾳ,
 ἐπόδωσες καὶ τῶν φθαρτῶν ταύτην τὴν ἐξουσία
 45 καὶ βασιλεύουν ἐπὶ γῆς μὲ θέλημα δικό σου.
 Σὺ βασιλειὰ μευ ἔδωσες καὶ ἄν ἔναι ὄρισμός σου,
 αὐτεῖν φύλαξον ἐμεῖς, εἰ δὲ καὶ οὐ θελήσης,
 τὸ κράτος τὸ βασίλειον θέλεις νὰ μευ στερήσης,
 παρακαλῶ σ' Ἀλέξανδρου αὐτεῖνο νὰ χαρίσης
 50 καὶ ἄλλα περισσότερα βασίλεια νὰ δωρίσης."
 Ἰδέτε τί κατόρθωμα ἔναι ἡ σωφροσύνη,
 γιὰ τὸν ἐχθρὸν παρακαλεῖ καὶ πέφτει 'ς δουλοσύνη.
 Ἐπετυκώθη τὸ λειπὸν, ἔλαβε γὰρ καὶ τέλος

46 ὄρισμόσου

ἐτούτῃ ἡ ἱστορία καὶ τὸ ὥρατον μέλος,
 55 ἔτει μετὰ τὴν λύτρωσιν ἀνθρώπων γὰρ τὴν γῆα,
 χίλια πεντακόσια οἷς δέκα καὶ ἑννέα,
 στὰς δεκαπέντε τοῦ μηνός, λέγω τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου,
 κόπος καὶ δεξιότητι κήνου τοῦ Δημητρίου.

PART THREE: COMMENTARY

COMMENTARY

What follows is not intended to be a commentary, historical or otherwise, on the Alexander Romance itself, for which the works of Ausfeld, Merkelbach, Tarn and others may be consulted. Its purpose is rather to relate the Rimada to the pseudo-Callisthenes, to establish which version of the latter is more akin to the Rimada at any given point, and then to discuss problems arising from the text of the Rimada itself. It is arranged in the following way: first each chapter, according to the customary division of the pseudo-Callisthenes, is considered in relation to its sources; secondly a line by line commentary discusses problems relating to the text, interpretation, grammar, syntax, versification and style.

The Title:

The first edition of the Rimada gives two alternative forms for the title: at the head of the text - the head-title - the full form appears:

Γέννησις, κατορθώματα καὶ θάνατος Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ
Μακεδόνα διὰ στίχου.

This is in all probability the title which was found in the manuscript. With the exception of the phrase διὰ στίχου it is likely that the same title, or one very similar, was applied to the prose version of the Romance from which the Rimada is descended. Other Greek versions have quite different titles.

e.g. A - Βίος Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνα, L - Βίος Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνα καὶ πράξεις;

the other β-type mss generally refer to it as "Callisthenes historian of the Greeks", though μακ precedes the attribution with the words Ἀλεξάνδρου ὁ Μακεδών. Ms P has the following title, which imitates the titles of

"Synaxaria": Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ἐν βασιλευσὶ γενναιοτάτου καὶ δοκιμωτάτου Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλέως.

The head-title of the Rimada is reminiscent of the Latin version of Valerius, there the three books into which the Roman^{ce} is divided are headed respectively "Ortus Alexandri", "Actus Alexandri" and "Obitus Alexandri". The second title of the Rimada is found on the title-page proper and consists of the words Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών. This abbreviated version is probably to be attributed to the publisher or printer. On the subject of books which bear two different titles see R. B. McKerrow, An Introduction to Bibliography for literary students, Oxford 1927 pp.91-2.

+ + +

I 1 (1-20) The description of the Egyptians' knowledge of magic with which the work begins (1-6) is not found in β, but it occurs in A, L, P, and Arm. According to A and L the Egyptians "calmed" the sea's waves, but P, Arm and the Rimada make them merely "measure" the sea in addition to the land. Nectanebus is not described as the last ruler of Egypt in β (v.8). The remainder of the chapter is common to both A and β.

3. Θαλάσσιου: This odd form is found many times in texts dating from various periods of the development of Modern Greek, sometimes with the feminine article, sometimes the masculine. τῆς (τοῦ in Cretan) Θαλάσσιου is the more common; besides the present passage it occurs at Eref. V 323, Panor: IV 231, Achel. 497, Bour. Kr. Pol. 300¹⁷, Apokop. 395, Zinon Prol. 65, Choumpos ms. 720, Alosis Komat. 931, Mach. 6²⁴, Penth. Than. 281, Kartanos ch. 120 et pass., Katsaitis

If. IV 326, id. Kl. IV 332, Medram. Fil. 315, Kr. Interm. II 11, Late-Byz. H. 74. 26, etc. τοῦ θαλάσσιου is found at Achel. 1012 and 1050; this form led to the assumption of a nominative θαλάσσιον by the lexicographers (e.g. Meursius). This welter of examples leaves no doubt that θαλάσσιον was a very common medieval form. Its origin was thought by Pernot (on Achelis p.177) to be the influence of τοῦ πελάγους but this is hardly convincing. A more probable explanation is the analogy of ἡ ἄβυσσος, frequently used in the LXX with the meaning of "the deep" (Sophocles Lex.) e.g. Gen. 1,2 σκότος ἐπάνω τῆς ἄβυσσου.

5. For ἐξαπλωμένη which seems to make little sense, the poet might have been expected to write τὴν οἰκουμένην, which is actually found in A (but not P).
6. διδασκηνομένοι: The early editions read διδασκηνομένη - "expounded" - but the masc. pl. form has been written in order to avoid the awkward change of subject. (The modern editor is not, of course, at all committed to following the orthography of early printed editions on such points.) Thus the meaning is "instructed", as often elsewhere, cf. vv. 60, 478, 838, 1410.
7. On Nectanebus see R. E. Perry "The Egyptian legend of Nectanebus", TAPA 97, 1966, 327ff.

"Ελεγε: one would expect a word meaning "they say" or "it is said" (φασί A, λέγουσι B, P, "it is said" Arm.). Perhaps λέγουσι should be read.

11. This line contains two problems: firstly the word ἐξέβαλε which the later editions, from 1553 onwards, amend to ἐξέβαλε and, secondly, the spelling and meaning of στρατεία. To take the second problem first, since its solution has a direct bearing on the first, the difficulty is that AG knew two different words: στρατιά "army" and στρατεία "expedition". Naturally two such similar words were easily confused. Even in Classical Greek στρατιά is found used with the meaning of "expedition". Etacism and synizesis gradually made the two words identical in pronunciation. Thus, when the form without synizesis is used in dialects and metri gratia, there is no longer any distinction of meaning. In the present text there occur an oxytone form (sometimes trisyllabic) and a paroxytone form, both of which may mean either "army" or "expedition" and often the meaning is indeterminate between the two. The only distinction between the two forms is thus their metrical pattern. In other texts too the words are confused: Katsaitis has στρατεία in the sense of "army" (If. V 100) and Tzane Koronaios has τῆς στρατείας (p.10) where the meaning is also "army" not "expedition". The tendency of the Zakynthian idiom to avoid synizesis is another factor in the second case (Koronaios came from Zakynthos), as it is in the Rimada. It has therefore been decided that metrical accentuation should be the guiding principle: the word is spelt στρατιά or στρατεία in the edited text, and both forms can carry both possible connotations. In line 11 it is not clear whether the meaning is "army" or "expedition". If it were the latter, one would expect 'ς στρατεία or else σὲ πόλεμου στρατεία

(cf. 478, where the meaning is, however, closer to "the art of war") and would be justified in amending accordingly. Otherwise στρατεία, in the sense of "army", must be taken as the direct object of the verb which must therefore be amended to ἐξέβαινε. This is in fact the solution employed by the editor of the 1553 edition, and followed by the later editions which are dependent on it. Against this, however, must be reckoned the reading of P: καὶ ποτὲ ἔδν ἐφαίνετον φασόντων, νῦν ἔρχεται ἀπὸνω του οὐδὲν ἐξέβαινεν εἰς πόλεμον ἀλλὰ ἐπήγαγεν εἰς τὸ καλῶς του καὶ ἐποίει λεκανομαντεία.

The reading which would best accord with P is: ἐξέβαινε σὲ πόλεμον, 'ς στρατεία. For another case where 'ς must be added to the printed text, see v.1954.

13. ἐργαζέτονε: for this form of the 3rd sing. impf., which does not occur elsewhere in the poem, cf. ἐρχέτονε Chron. Turc. 27.

16. "The wax uttered a reply to what he wishes to command". The ps-Call. says simply that ~~Μετάνεβος~~ performed an incantation over the wax; but the reading of P is: καὶ ἔλεγεν ἐπωδὴν καὶ ἔκραζε τοὺς δαίμονας· καὶ ἐσυντόχαιναν οἱ κλαστοὶ

ἄνθρωποι.

This explains several points about the text of the Rimada: σπουδὴν (15) clearly comes from a misreading of ἐπωδὴν; the reference to the wax figures speaking likewise derives from the P text, but its presence there is difficult to explain.

Only the β text-group has anything vaguely similar: καὶ τῇ ἐπωδῇ ἔμπνοα ἐγίνοντο τὰ ἀνθρωπάκια.

17-20. Here the Rimada agrees with P: the rod is used to strike the wax effigies and sink them in the water. In A, β, Arm., etc. the wax figures and ships sink through the power of the spell and the ebony rod is only part of Metanebus' equipment. Likewise it is only in P that the making of wax ships occurs after the incantation over the human effigies.

20a-b. A very similar proverb is recorded by Politis for Athens:

Ἡ γνώση περνᾷ τὴν ἀντρεία.

(N.Γ. Πολίτης, Μελέται περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς γλώσσας τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ λαοῦ - Παραοιμίαι,

4 vols. Athens 1899-1902, vol.4 s.v. γνώση 14.) Politis also cites the present version from the edition of 1533 (sic). Another version of the same proverb is recorded from Kefalonia:

Ἡ τέχνη νικάει τὴν ἀντρεία. (Δ.Σ. Λουκάτος, Κεφαλονίτικα Γνωμικά, Athens 1952, no.759.)

I 2 (21-34) Vv. 21-28 are a rather loose paraphrase of the ps-Call., but follow P very closely. The comparison of Metanebus' enemies to sheep attacked by a wolf (vv.31-2) is missing from A, but was evidently in the α "version" originally, as it is found in L, Arm., Syr., and Eth. (see Introd. p.51).

22. Convincing proof that Codex Meteorensis Metamorphosis 445 was copied from the editio princeps is provided by ἀκαρτερῆς. The 1529 ed., but not the 1553 or later ones, used a broken α which had almost completely lost its "arms". The scribe of Cod. Met. naively wrote οκαρτερῆς.

23. ἄφες τοὺς περιδιαβαμούς this is found verbatim in P.
- 25-8. The names of the attacking nations are gravely distorted. The Μῆδοι are presumably the 'Ινδοί of β and P; Βηδορκίτες is a version of 'Οξυδρακας (A, β, P); there are Arabs mentioned in A, but not in β or P; Βηθαῖσος may be traced via 'Ιβησθαῖς (P) to 'Ιβηρας (β); the Κάχωνες are the Καύκωνες of AL and the Καύκωνες of β and P (there is much manuscript variation over this word); the 'Αχαῖοι are probably the "Αγροί of A, L, Arm. (Ausfeld's correction of the ms reading 'Αργεῖοι) though P has no counterpart for this, unless it be Χάλλικες; finally the Χανααναῖοι ("Canaanites" - see LXX Gen. 12,6 etc.) probably originate from Χαλδαῖοι (L. Leo, χαλκάλιοι A, χάλυβες β), which P translates into Πέρσαι. The proper names in this passage provide excellent evidence that while P and the Rimada have no direct dependence one on another, they are certainly in close affinity, and represent independent adaptions at not many removes from a common ancestor.
30. "καὶ τίς ἐμὲ νῦν κέρη;" is a felicitous invention of the poet (though certainly motivated by the need for a word rhyming with ἐχέρη).
31. The poet has omitted the first part of "ectanebus' reply: "One lion can over power many deer." Instead he adds v.32, which is pure padding. The proverb is one of those attributed to Alexander in the Vienna collection (No.11): καὶ τὰ πρόβατα πλεόνα ὄντα ὕφ' ἐνός ἢ δευτέρου λύκου χειροῦνται.

(C. Wachsmuth, "Die Wiener Apophthegmensammlung", Festschrift
36 Philologenversammlung, Karlsruhe 1882).

34. The line refers to Nectanebus' usual practice of stopping his
 enemies by means of Lekanomanteia. It is rendered obscure only
 by the necessity of rhyme. P has: ἐγὼ μὲ λόγον ἕνα ταῦτα τὰ
 ἔθνη θέλω τὰ καταποντίσει.

34a-d. No close parallels have been discovered for this γνώμικόν.

It may well have been composed by the versifier himself.

I 3 (35-52) This chapter follows the ps-Call. very closely as far as
 v.44, except that the details of the lekanomanteia are not specified in either
 P or the Rimada. In the ps-Call. Nect. sees the gods of the Egyptians at the
 helms of the wax models which represent the enemy ships, and thus learns that
 he is fated to lose his kingdom. After v.44 there is considerable confusion.
 In the ps-Call. the Egyptians demand of Hephaestus ("their gods" β) what has
 become of Nect. and receive an oracle to the effect that he will return as a
 young man and subdue their enemies. So they write the words of the oracle on
 the base of Nectanebus' statue. P has: καὶ ἔστησαν τὸν στυλὸν τοῦ
 Νεκτεναβῶν· καὶ ἔγραψαν καὶ τὸν λόγον ὃν ἤκουσαν παρὰ τῶν
 θεῶν εἰς τὸν στυλὸν τοῦ.

In the version which the versifier of the Rimada used, it must be supposed that
 the words ἐπὶ στυλῷ or ἐπὶ στήλῃ occurred. This would account for the curious
 misunderstanding of the Rimada, where the Egyptians write a letter (πιστολὴ)
 to Nect. The late-Byz. versions of the Romance (e.g. version H p.23) and the
Phyllada (p.51) also refer to a letter left behind by Nect. himself when he
 fled, and containing an elaborated version of the prophecy of the oracle.
 However, it is believed that this letter has no connection with those of the

Rimada.

- 37 ὄχ is a direct descendant of AG ὄχ and still survives in the Ionian Isles in the form ὄχ. It is found very frequently in the poem, often suffering aphaeresis like εἰς e.g. v.38.
- 40 στήμενα: a general word for money. Other monetary terms used in the Rimada are κηνητηνάρια, φλουρία, πέρτυρα and δουκάρια. For all these, and other weights and measures, see E. Thilbach, Byzantinische Metrologie, Munich 1970.
- 41 In reality Vect. fled to Ethiopia; see Diod. XVI 49.6.
- 42 ὄκου τὸν εὖρ' ἢ ὦρα: "aimlessly, from place to place".
The phrase seems to have a proverbial ring about it.
- 42a-d Again no analogous proverb has been discovered. With its reference to τοῦ βασιλέως it seems highly likely to have been composed specifically for the occasion.
- 42e For the phrase ἀποθάνω στήν τιμή μου cf. Chron. Turc. 91: ἔως νῦν ἀποθάνη εἰς τὴν τιμήν του.
- 42d The line illustrates the complete inco-sistency of the poem over the use of final -ν. However, no attempt has been made to regularise it, except where rhyme or metre demands its exclusion.
- 46 ἀφέντης = ὁ ἀφέντης. The article is, as often, lost before the initial vowel of the noun, cf. v.84 ἔνδορος.
- 48 A lacks the reference to Persia, but it is present in Arm. (see Introd. p. 51).
- 49 Εὐπύτοι has not only suffered aphaeresis (cf. M.G. Εὐπύτοι) but also lost its article, in obedience to metrical needs.
- 51-2 "They wrote their words to their lord Vect., that he should listen

to the gods and return." The word order and the sense are obscure.

Some improvement could be made by writing $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\beta$ 'x τοὺς θεοὺς ἀκοῦσαι (cf. P: ἔγραψαν καὶ τὸν λόγον ὃν ἤκουσαν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν), but, as the whole passage is clearly completely distorted in the Rimada, such a change would be pointless.

I 4 (53-90) Vv. 53-60 are close to the ps-Call. except that in β Olympias first pays an exploratory visit to Nect., then summons him to the palace a few days later. (P and the Rimada agree with A in omitting this visit.) From v.60 onwards, the Rimada is more of a loose paraphrase of the ps-Call. It omits the various methods of divination enumerated in the ps-Call. and contents itself with ὁροσκοποντα (the word occurs otherwise only in P). In the ps-Call. Nect. then fixes Olympias with a stare, and explains that this is because an oracle which said that he must prophesy for a queen has now been fulfilled. (P also omits this.) The horoscope disc is described much more fully in β (and even more in A). Vv.65-6 and 69 are only in β while v.78 is peculiar to A (see Introd. pp.51, 68). The rest of the chapter is close to the ps-Call., with a certain amount of padding (vv.70, 77, 80, 88) and some distortion (vv.89-90, see below).

54a-d The second couplet of this Γνωμικόν is reminiscent of the common proverb "ἴδὼς μὴ τέχνη καὶ ἔς τῆς, καὶ ἂν χρεῖσται ἔανταίδω' τῆς".

With this may be compared the Kefalonian "ἴδὼς τέχνη γὰρ νὰ γῆσης, καὶ πρᾶξις νὰ πλουτίσης" (Loukatos op.cit. No.994)

For the first couplet the following medieval saying may be compared:

Τῶν φρονίμων τὰ παιδία, πρὶν πεινᾶσαι, μαγειρεύουν.

(see K. Krumbacher, "Mittelgriechische Sprichwörter", Sitzungsberichte der königl. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften 1893 Vol.2 pp.1-272, No.101).

Here it seems likely that the versifier was adapting a well-known saying in order to render it more appropriate to the case of Nectanebus.

59 ὁ μαθημένος: compare ὁ μαθητής... (P), μαθηματικός (β)...

63 Since the form φαγγάρι is found nowhere else it has been considered a misprint of the first ed., uncorrected in later edd. until that of 1603.

64 A and β count seven stars, plus the sun and the moon. The number in the Rimada (6) perhaps results from the misconception that the seven stars included the sun and moon. P does not specify the number: ἐξέβαλεν ἀπὸ τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πινάκιν καὶ εἶχεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡστροῦ τὰ μεγάλα, λιθάρια πολυτέμνητα, καὶ τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὸ φαγγάριον.

69-72 "He questioned her about her husband's birth, which thing she ordered him to do in front of her. Then he related his own particulars instead of those (i.e. Philip's), and reckoned all his ancestry from the beginning." The passage is obscure partly because of the lack of subject pronouns and partly because the versifier does not seem to have fully understood the meaning himself. P misses completely the point that Nect. substitutes his own birth-date for Philip's: εἶπέ μοι τὴν γέννησίν σου καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρός σου. ὁ δὲ Νεκτεναβὼν ἐκράτησεν τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς τῆς γεννήσεως αὐτῶν καὶ ἀναμέτρησε....

80 The last word of this line appears as γένη in the early editions. This might lead one to suspect the existence of a hitherto unknown and curiously formed diminutive *γένι or *γέννι from γέννημα,

or γένος with the meaning of "offspring". The same word occurs in v.234, but here it is virtually certain that τῷ γένει must be written. Thus the present instance is probably only another example of a dative being used instead of a nom./acc. as a mark of "refinement" cf. δυνάμη, ὄνειτρο, μαρτυρίο (whose accentuation is proper to the dat.) and μητρ(and the like (where dat. forms are actually used as nominatives). γένει is therefore merely a false form for γένος.

85 κ' εἰς ἑῶλλα: a meaningless phrase, the only function of which is to provide a rhyme for μεγάλα.

86 στήν Βαρβαρίδα: cf. P εἰς τὴν Βαρβαρίδα and βῆαυε τῆς Λιβύης.

89-90 Rhyme and metre have again prevailed at the expense of syntax and sense: τὸ hovers between being a relative pronoun and an object pronoun heralding the indirect question; ἔχ' is probably ἔχω - "If I am to gain any benefit from it" (the dream? or "him" i.e. the god?). The original passage in A runs: "Τοῦτο εἰάν ἴδω, οὐχ ὥς προφήτην ἢ μάγον, ἀλλ' ὥς θεὸν σε προσκυνήσω" (similarly β).

I 5 (91-106) For this chapter the only extant witness in Greek - as A - is incomplete. Thus vv.93-100 have no correspondence in A, but only in β. Arm., Val. and Eth., however, have the passage, as does P, showing that it must originally have formed a part of the α "version" (see Introd. p. 52). Vv.102 and 104 have no basis in the ps-Call. Vv.105-6 are somewhat distorted, the words of Nect. in A being "Γύναι, κατὰ γαστροῦ ἔχεις σὸν ἔκδοικον γινόμενον" (similarly β), but v.105 has a strong verbal correspondence in P: καὶ ἐνεκλήθη τὴν Ὀλυμπιδόαν (see on the line, below).

- 91 The reading of the editions - κἀμναι - is probably an editorial "correction", since κἀνει is necessary for a perfect rhyme.
- 96 κερένη (γυναικα). The fem. κερένη for κερένια is a poetic licence.
- 98 The syntax is peculiar: the gen. ^{του} λύχνου must be equivalent to σὺν λύχνῳ, so that the meaning is "he put some of the juice on to the lamp so that it might have charm therefrom".
- 100 Logically speaking, the last word of the line should be plural, to agree with the understood subject θεοί.
- 101 As it appears in the editions the line is hypermetric. It has been corrected by writing σὸν for εἰς τὸν. The codex also made an attempt to correct - by removing the verb!
- 105 As mentioned above there is an echo of the reading of P (ἐνεπλάκη τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδαν) but the verb chosen by the poet is one which, nowadays at least, has rather a vulgar and far from poetic flavour. The two verbs do not, of course, have the same root.

I 6 (107-124) The first four lines of this chapter agree closely with the two earliest text-groups, the remainder is a free inventive reworking of the material of A and B. But for the existence of P^{one} might suspect that the poet of the Rimada was responsible for the divergence from ps-Call. However, P agrees completely with the Rimada in those passages for which there is no basis in the A and B text-groups: lines 111-114 (Nect. asks Olympias in what form the god appeared to her, and she replies, "Like a goat, with horns.") and lines 121-123 (Nect. says that he will bring the god to her again that night [P adds more instructions of Nect. which follow more or less closely] and receives her permission to do so). The intervening passage, 115-120, is

based loosely on α and β and agrees also with P, but there is a certain amount of confusion of thought (see below). The fact that the god is to appear in the form of a dragon or serpent is not mentioned by P or the Rimada.

- 109 Some editors maintain that it is not necessary to remove a superfluous final -v from the texts they are editing in order to improve the rhyme. The Greek ear, they claim, was not at this time sensitive to such differences. But the mere fact that editors or printers of reprinted texts do make changes of this very kind is sufficient to show that they considered it an imperfection. For example, the 1553 ed. of the Rimada changes ἐκεῖνον to ἐκεῖνο in the present line, πρέκα to πρέκαν (330), χώραν to χώρα (1085), ἡμέραν to ἡμέρα (1092), γράφο to γράφον (!)(1405), μεγάλη to μεγάλην (2088). (But the 1553 ed. leaves other shortcomings of this type uncorrected e.g. lines 597, 993, 1672, 2784). It is also significant that the majority of superfluous final -v which destroy the rhyme occur in the first line of a couplet. This implies that the scribe, editor or printer employed a deliberately archaising policy which sometimes led him to a violation of the rhyme. Thus, in the present edition, a superfluous final -v has been treated as a violation of the rhyme and accordingly removed, but in all other circumstances it has been left intact, since its inconsistent use is in keeping with the mixed character of the language of the poem.
- 113 The form ἡ κεφάλη is produced by a conflation of τὸ κεφάλι and ἡ κεφαλὴ, and is apparently still in use in Rhodes (see Eiwl.430). It occurs several times in early modern Greek texts: Def. Log. Did. 640 ὁκ τὴν κεφάλην μου,

Koron. p.15 τοῦ 'κοῦσε τὴν κεφαλὴν,
and ibid. p.62, Georg. Thar. 437 τῆς λωλῆς του κεφαλῆς,
Kartanos Ch.182 ἐκδόστον (sic) ἕνας πρὸς τὴν κεφαλὴ καὶ
ἄλλος πρὸς τὰ ποδάρια.

Perhaps its distribution was limited to the peripheral linguistic areas of the Ionian Isles and Rhodes.

- 115 The first clause of Nect.'s reply must be understood as equivalent to the protasis of a condition cf. P ἂν θέλεις νὰ ἔρχεται
πρὸς σὲ ὁ Ἄμμων ὁ θεὸς τῇ νυκτὶ τοῦ συγγένεσθαι σοι,
ὁδὸς μοι ἔδειαν ὅταν θέλω νὰ ἔρχωμαι εἰς τὴν κοίτην σου.

- 116 The form βραδύ is also found in Chron. Mor. 3849, Gad.18, Call. 1683 and 2225. See also Hist. Lex. and MNE I.174. In ps-Call. Nect. asks not for permission (ἔδειαν and ἐξουσίαν in P) but for a small chamber (χωρημάτιον A, χώρημα β) near Olympias' own. The confusion lies in the many meanings of ἔδεια, which presumably first entered the texts with its spatial meaning (as a modernisation of χωρημάτιον or χώρημα) and was later understood in the sense of "leave".

- 117-8 The couplet makes little sense in its present form, nor does the corresponding passage in P (quoted above) offer much help. Perhaps line 117 might be amended to: Διὰ νὰ κάμῃ συντροφιά θεὸς γὰρ ὁ Ἄμμωνος. However, with such an inelegant work there is always the danger that changes of such a kind will amount not to re-establishment of what the author actually wrote, but literary improvement of a kind of which the original author was incapable.

124a-d Parallel to this proverb is the very common "'Ο
νηστικὸς καρβέλια ὀνειρεύεται". Another variation of the
same theme is found in the E. Cretan proverb:

"Τὰ 'χει ἡ γῆρὰ 'ς τὸ λογισμό τῆς
τὰ θωρεῖ καὶ 'ς τ' ὄνειρό τῆς"

Pangalos IV 475). Cf. "'Ο,τ' εἶχεν ἡ γῆρὰ 'στὸ νοῦ τῆς,
τῶβλεπε 'στὸ ὄνειρό τῆς
(G. Soyter, "Neufriechische Lieder, Disticha und Sprichwörter"
Λαογραφία 11, 1934 p.214 no.65).

124δ For the phrase ὁππετὰ κρατῶ = "confidently expect",
"hold as certain", "trust" cf. Apokop. 352 τὸν "Αἰὼν νὰ
κατέβωμεν ὡς ὁππετὰ κρατοῦμαν;
also Choumnos M IX 34, Synax. Gyn. 13, 903, Ger. Kor. 78 .

I 7 (125-152) In A this chapter is greatly curtailed, as also in Syr.
and Leo. The fuller version of Olympias' impregnation, which the Rimada pre-
serves, is given by β, Arm., Eth., Val. and P. Again P agrees very closely
with the Rimada throughout the chapter, with a large number of close verbal
similarities e.g. ἐγένετο ὁμοιος τῷ θεῷ (129) ,

....καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκατέβην ἀπὸ τοῦ κραββάτιν καὶ διέβην κρυφίως εἰς
τὴν κατοικίαν αὐτοῦ..... (133-4) ,

....ἔδν θέλεις δῶσαι μοι ἐξουσίαν τελείαν..... καὶ ἐγὼ

νὰ φέρνω πάντοτε τὸν θεόν νὰ ὁμιλῇ μετὰ σου.... (139-140) ,

καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ἡ 'Ολυμπιάς· "εἶπα σε το καὶ
κάλιν λέγω σε το....." (141) ,

..."φοβοῦμαι τὸν ἄνδρα μου μήπως ἔλθῃ καὶ εὕρῃ με ἐγγαστρωμένην"
(149).

With the ps-Call., however, the relationship is often more remote, particularly in lines 137-144. In line 134, A provides a closer source than β (see Introd. p. 68). From line 145 to the end of the chapter A agrees more or less with P. 148 is a dramatic touch added by the poet to complete his couplet, and 150 is inserted for the same purpose. 151-2 are not to be found in the ps-Call. where instead Nectanebus tells Olympias not to be afraid, for the god Ammon will help her by showing Philip in a dream that she is blameless.

131 That Nectanebus should address Olympias as κυρὰ γουμένη is both anachronistic and inappropriate. The poet was presumably motivated by rhyme and his general lack of sensitivity.

149-150 Μήπως κ' ἔλθῃ..... βρῇ δὲν τὸ κομένει:

the shift from subjunctive to indicative could have been avoided if the poet had written: μηδὲ τὸ ἀκομένη.

The transitive use of κομένω (= "tolerate") is found a further three times in the poem (326, 792, 2566), including once in the form ἀκομένω, though the derivation of the meaning is from ὑκομένω.

Compare the Cretan ἀκομονή (Erot. Gloss.)

I 8 (153-172) The dream seen by Philip is in most of the versions related to the oneiromancer after he has been summoned. Only in A, P, Syr. and the Rimada is the dream described before the oneiromancer is called. Line 160 is not to be found in the ps-Call. (where instead it is stated that the child will avenge his father's death), but the Phyllada borrows the line from the Rimada almost intact: τὸ ὀποῖον θέλει ὀρίσῃ δαὴν τὴν οἰκουμένην.

In P and the Rimada many details are omitted

from the description of the dream - the stitching up of Olympias' womb with papyrus from the Nile and the description of the ring which is used to seal it - and likewise the allegorical interpretation of these details by the magus. Line 167, the Magus' answer that the dream is true, is not found in A, but is in β, Arm., Val., Eth. and P. Line 171 has no basis in the ps-Call., but is shared with P: οὗτος ὁ θεὸς ὤρεσθη τὴν γυναῖκα σου τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ συνεγγίνετο αὐτῇ.

The following line seems closer to A than to β: the latter states that Philip was not pleased to hear the oneiromancer's interpretation and P agrees with this (ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Φίλιππος ἐλυπήθη), whereas A and L say that Philip was reconciled to his wife's pregnancy (συμπαθῆς ἐγένετο), even if it was by a god.

- 157 δὲν εἶχε τί νὰ ποίση: the phrase occurs in various persons and tenses, at vv. 177, 1417, 1716, 1884, 2119, 2135; cf. Achill. N. 581 οὐκ εἶχαν τί νὰ ποίσουν,

ibid. N.1616 τὸ τί νὰ ποίω οὐκ ἔχω.

- 158 The second half of the line is a frequently used "filler" cf. 520, 580, 688, 1060, etc.

- 162 προσέχεται: The middle/passive voice seems to be restricted to the present work and to Defaranas: Log. Did. 22 καὶ ὅσοι δὲν τὰ προσέχονται κρᾶζονται Ἀραβῆτες (where Falieros has καὶ ὅσοι δὲν τὴν προσέχουσιν κρᾶξε τοὺς δι' Ἀραβῆτες), ibid. 310 προσέχεται (Falieros 274 has the same). On the frequent interchange of active and passive in Defaranas'

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see Karaiskaki's note on line 22. In the

present case the reason is probably not so much that the medio-passive was considered a mark of literary style, but a confusion between two verbs - ἰσχυρόμαι and ἰσχυροῦμαι - whose meanings are similar and their pronunciation identical in the common spoken language.

I 9 (173-182) 173-4 are more closely dependent on A than on β which does not mention Philip's arrival at the palace. (P has: καὶ κορευθεὶς ἐγδοίσατο καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς τὸ παλάτιον αὐτοῦ.) 175, however, translates β almost literally. The words seem to have fallen out of A, since L agrees with P here. The rest of the chapter is a rather loose paraphrase of the ps-Call., omitting much of Philip's speech, but amplifying the sentence about the power of the gods over men.

179 P has the same expression: ἐξουσίαν ἔχουν οἱ θεοὶ ἡμῶν.

182a-b Only slightly changed, the proverb appears in the collection of Komantos p.14: καλὸς λόγος εἰς τὴν χρεῖαν παραστῆναι τὴν καρδίαν.

I 10 (183-206) The Rimada does not give the words of Philip's speech accusing Olympias of adultery: β, "You have deceived me, woman, having conceived not by a god but by someone else, and he shall fall into my hands"; A, "You have deceived me, woman; for your conception is not by a god, but by human nature"; P, "Who has impregnated you? It will not escape my notice". Lines 185-193 agree with the ps-Call. P. has a lacuna from the passage

corresponding to line 189 onwards, and resumes at line 365. From 194-204 onwards the Rimada is more remote from its sources: β provides a source for lines 194, 197-8 and 201-4. These passages are missing from A, but are traceable in other witnesses of the α group (see Introd. p. 52). For 195-6 Byz provides a parallel (lines 460-2), and Eth. has something similar to line 199. In both these cases the similarities may be no more than coincidence resulting from an obvious padding-out of the text. It would be interesting to see what P. offered for this passage. The last two lines of I 10 (205-6) are shared by both A and β .

183 οὐ μέρες ὀλιγοῦσαικες: for the phrase and this diminutive adj. cf. Achel. 592 κ' εἰς μέρες ὀλιγοῦσαικες, and Apokop. 439 εἰς ὅραν ὀλιγοῦσαικην.

184a-b The meaning seems to be: "A secret will spread even though it is not brought out into the open" i.e. "No matter how well you try to keep a secret, people will find out". The same proverb also occurs in the form:

Τὸ κρυφὸ μακράνεται καὶ 'ς τὸ φανερόν ἐβγαίνει

(G. Soyter "Neugriechische Lieder, Disticha und Sprichwörter", Λαογραφία 11, 1934, p. 215 no. 77).

187 ἀρμάδα: "court" - a strange use of the word. It is unlikely that a Greek from the Ionian Isles, or indeed one living in Venice, would be ignorant of the correct meaning of the Venetian word armada. It is, therefore, tempting to amend it to ὀρμάδα as in line 192. One piece of evidence indicates, however, that amendment may not be necessary: in a fairy-tale from Zakythos collected by Minotou (Param. B p. 417) the following distich occurs:

Ντένεται καὶ στολίζεται φορεῖ τὰ ρικαμῶδα,

καὶ παρενθὺς νὰ εὕρεθῇ στοῦ ρήγα τὴν ἁρμῶδα.

Here, too, the appropriate meaning is "court". Could the word have found its way into the Zakynthian idiom with the meaning of ἀόλη as a result of a single chance misprint in a 16th century book? The possibility seems remote. In any case ἁρμῶδα is not restricted to "fleet"; its primary meaning is given by Meursius as exercitus and this is also the primary meaning of the Venetian armada (see Boerio) and the modern Italian armata. From "military commanders" to "courtiers" is a simple step. Accordingly the word has been retained in the text. (A further possibility, that ἁρμῶδα here means "fine apparel" (cf. ἁρμῶτα Hist. Lex.), has been rejected since a collective noun is required to match the τοῦς of the following verse.)

194 γερᾶκι actually an eagle in all the other versions which mention it.

196 The form οὔλοι is the usual one in the modern Zakynthian idiom (Konomos Lex.), but this is the sole example of it in the poem and it is guarded by rhyme. Elsewhere ὀλος is found frequently e.g. 6, 9, 32, 34, 132, 181, etc. Tzane Koronaios of Zakynthos, writing in 1519, uses the two forms ὀλος and οὔλος indiscriminately (pp. 4, 9, 10, etc.); the Cretan Choumonos also availed himself of the form οὔλος (ms 951, 1494 and 2520). Later in Cretan literature it is found frequently:

Erof. II 1251, IV 806, Stathis III 356, Panor. Prol. 33, ibid. I 97. According to Xanthoudidis the form was still heard commonly in West Crete, but rarely in East Crete, in his day (Erot. Gloss. S.V.). Thus the form οὐλος cannot be considered exclusively Heptanesian, even in the early 16th century. Since οὐλος was already widely in use by the date of publication of the Rimada, it might be expected to occur there more frequently. It may well be that in places where it is not protected by rhyme it has been transmuted by the editor into ὄλος or some part of πῶς or ἄπως. To restore οὐλος in all instances, however, would be very ill-advised, as would the restoration of all cases of αὐτός and αὐτεῖνος to εὐτός and εὐτεῖνος (see on line 1178), not only because the language of the poem, like all texts of this period, abounds in a multiplicity of forms, but also because our knowledge of the idiom we might hope to "restore" is, to say the least, sketchy and incomplete.

202a-b The proverb is simply a variation of the very common "'Ο φόβος φυλάει τὰ ἔρ(η)μα"; cf. for example, Loukatos Κεφαλονίτικα Γνωμικά, No.1090, and Komoutos p.18.

I 11 (207-222) As far as line 214 the Rimada corresponds to both A and β; lines 215-6 follow A, since β does not mention the seer's home. Lines 217-8 corresponds to nothing in either A or β. The last four lines (219-222) are found in both A and β. The ps-Call. goes on to amplify the seer's reply to the effect that the dragon is a royal beast and the egg represents the world.

The Rimada omits all this, just as it omits all the details of Philip's dream in I_8, probably because the poet considered it superfluous and irrelevant to the narration of the story, which is his main object.

207 'Ημέρες περαζόμενες: cf. Choumonos ms. 1683 οὗ μέρους περαζόμενες, and elsewhere in the present work lines 331, 395, 2201. The meaning ("one day") is quite distinct from that of phrases like ~~τοὶ περαζόμενοι~~ καίρου (Erof. I 19 cf. V 1357), where the participle is past in meaning.

208 καρκαρίζη: the usual form of the word is καρκαρίζω. The form καρκαρίζω is mentioned by Zois Lex. and also occurs in Ts.Koron. p.86 μηδὲν καρκαρίζης. No evidence for a passive form with active meaning has been discovered so it is highly probable that the present instance is due solely to the dictates of the rhyme.

215 'Αντίφωτον: his name is 'Αντιφών in A.

217 γλαμιά: this interpretation of the 1529 text (γλαμιά) seems preferable to γιά μιά, although it creates the additional difficulty that the neuter pronoun τὸ then heralds a feminine substantive. However μαγεῖα never occurs elsewhere in the poem with the indefinite article, whereas γλαμιά occurs everywhere else, except line 2735, in the phrase τότε(ς) γλαμιά and in the same position in the verse as here.

I 12 (223-228) The 19 (β) or 31 (Α) lines of this chapter in the ps-call are reduced to a mere six verses by the author of the Rimada, or perhaps by his

prose model, though it is unfortunately impossible to obtain confirmation of this from P. This is achieved by the removal of all the material relating to how Nectanebus observed the constellations and waited until the heavenly bodies were in their most favourable conjunction before permitting Olympias to give birth. What remains is the bare facts of the birth: the hour appointed arrived, Olympias cried out and the child was born, whereupon a thunderstorm shook the whole world. To this are added by a poet two lines of his own invention which are necessary to complete his rhyming couplets (lines 224 and 228).

- 227 The last part of the line is clearly corrupt. The last word, ἄλλη, certainly conceals ζάλη so that the simplest correction would be to write κ' ἦρθε κοντά της ζάλη. The same conjecture seems to be behind the reading of the Phyllada (p.57);

ἔγιναν παρευθὺς βρονταῖς μὲ ἀνεμον, καὶ ἦλθε κοντὰ της
μὴ ἀντάρα, καὶ τὴν περιεκύλωσεν εἰς τοῖον, οὗτου
ἐφοβήθησαν μικροὶ καὶ μεγάλοι,
which is believed to be drawing on a printed or manuscript copy of the Rimada at this and several other points (see Introd. p.102).

Possibly more emendation is necessary: e.g. κ' ἦρθεν ἀνεμοζάλη.

- 228 μικροὶ τε καὶ μεγάλοι: this formulaic phrase occurs very frequently in early popular texts e.g. Flor. 135, 409, 1840, Belis. 32, 176, 232, etc., Pol. Tr. 356, Chron. Mor. 906, 980, 1012, etc., George, Thar. 18, Imb. 242, 336, 883, Triv. Tag. 227, etc; elsewhere in the Rimada at vv. 700, 1184, 2293, 2649.

I 13 (229-246) This chapter too is greatly shortened, though not so drastically as the previous one. In the ps-Call., when he sees the child Philip says that he had not wanted to raise it, but, now he sees that it is the offspring of a god, it should be brought up in memory of this child by his previous wife, which had died, and called Alexander. This is reduced by the Rimada to lines 229-230, Lines 231-2 are loosely based on ps-Call., 233-4 more closely so. 235-7 give a reasonably lucid version of a passage which is corrupt in the ps-Call: it is impossible to say whether the Rimada resembles the text of A or B more. 238 is an addition for the sake of completing the couplet. A and B now give lengthy lists of Alexander's instructors in various subjects. The Rimada mentions only two of these: Aristotle and "Alcividas", the latter probably corresponding to the corrupt form of A Λευκονίδης (cf. Arn. Leonides, L Κλεονίδης), which appears correctly in the β and γ text-groups as Λεωνίδης. The next section of the ps-Call., in which, among other things, Alexander teaches his fellow-pupils in the art of warfare, is omitted by the Rimada. It passes straight on to the subject of Bucephalus, which in the ps-Call. is said to be either born in the royal stables (β), or a gift from the rulers of Cappadocia (A). In the ps-Call. Philip orders that it should be kept unbridled in a cage, and criminals should be thrown to it for punishment. This too is omitted by the Rimada.

234 For τῷ γένει see on line 80.

235 The ed. princeps reading τοῦτον has been interpreted as τοῦ (ἧ)τον cf. Achill. 98 τὸ κάλλος τοῦ ἦτον θαυμαστόν.

Another similarity between that passage and the present one is that Achilles is also likened to a lion, ibid. 100-1.

240 The second half of the line is very feeble: presumably the meaning is, "The two of them had supreme authority (for Alexander's education)". This weakness was felt by the editor of the 1553 edition, who emended to $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta$: "the two of them had such things as (each) wishes". This change was naturally followed by the later editions (1600, 1603, etc.)

242 $\delta\kappa\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\upsilon\kappa\ \tau\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron$: "the like of which did not exist".

cf. 818 $\delta\kappa\omicron\upsilon\ \sigma\tau\omicron\nu\ \kappa\acute{\omicron}\sigma\mu\omicron\nu\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \lambda\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\nu\ \kappa\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \eta\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\sigma\kappa\epsilon\tau'$

$\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ (and cf. 868), 1252 $\delta\kappa\omicron\upsilon\ \sigma\tau\omicron\nu\ \kappa\acute{\omicron}\sigma\mu\omicron\nu\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\ \lambda\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\nu$

$\delta\upsilon\kappa\ \eta\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\sigma\kappa\epsilon\varsigma\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$.

In all these

cases the relative pronoun stands for "like to which".

I 14 (247-290) 247-8 are similar to the ps-Call. but 249-250 have no basis there. In the ps-Call. Philip's words to Alexander (lines 251-2) are, "I like your ways, but hate your appearance, because you do not resemble me." Only β has the sentence corresponding to line 253, but there is something similar in Leo and Arm. The following three lines (254-6) agree perfectly with both the versions of the ps-Call. which primarily concern us. But then, in the ps-Call., Nectanebus began to consult his horoscope disc to find an answer to Olympias' question, and Alexander, who was present, asked whether it was possible to see the stars of his disc actually in the sky. Nectanebus replied that it was possible and promised to show him them in the evening. In the Rinade Olympias is made to suggest that Nectanebus teach Alexander the art of astrology (257-8).

The rest of the chapter, dealing with Alexander's murder of Nectanebus, also differs considerably from the ps-Call., particularly in the dialogue

(lines 261-268). Lines for which there are no close counterparts in the ps-Call. are: 262, 264, 267-8, 276, 280-3; line 279 seems to derive from β rather than A (see Introd. p.53).

249 The phrase $\chi\tau\upsilon\kappa\tilde{\omega}\ \kappa\omicron\nu\delta\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$ is equivalent to $\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\rho\chi\tau\upsilon\kappa\tilde{\omega}$ (see Erot. Gloss. S.V.)

260 $\kappa\delta\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron$ is hereby a convenient rhyme for $\delta\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron$. In the ps-Call. Nectanebus takes Alexander outside the city.

262 The revelation that Nectanebus is Alexander's father should of course come later (line 270). The poet was forced to add a line to complete the couplet, and in doing so made nonsense of the dialogue between Nectanebus and Alexander.

264 A "padding" line. The point of Alexander's reply in the ps-Call. is that Nectanebus is examining the heavens though he has no understanding of earthly affairs.

265 ff. The two speeches of Nectanebus, 265-6 and 269-270, were originally one in the ps-Call. In between the author of the Rimada - or its prose model - has interpolated an ingenious remark which he attributes to Alexander: "If you knew what I was going to do, why didn't you get out of the way?"

266 The solecism (non-agreement of past participle and object) is necessitated by the all-important rhyme.

267 $\eta\epsilon\sigma\pi\epsilon\varsigma\ \theta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\ \nu\acute{\alpha}\ \kappa\omicron\lambda\omicron\omega = \acute{\alpha}\nu\ \eta\epsilon\sigma\pi\epsilon\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\epsilon}\ \acute{\epsilon}\chi\alpha\upsilon\omicron.$

Odd though this form of the protasis of a condition may seem, it does not diverge greatly from the common practice in medieval Greek:

some part of θέλω could be used in either the apodosis (as in modern Greek θα) or the protasis of the condition. Thus in Erotokritos we find:

ἔν τὸ κατέχασι, ἐθέλωνε τὸ λέγει.... (I 1013)
and ἔν ἤθελα γνωρίσω....ἤφρασσα τ' αὐτίδ (I 987-8).

On that analogy ἤθελες ἐέρης might be expected here, but by a sort of metathesis of tenses what is in fact found is ἤερες θές. The omission of the conditional conjunction is not particularly unusual - in such cases the protasis becomes a sort of interrogative (Cf. Thumb. §277. 3); that νὰ ποίω could be understood as "What I should do" is perhaps a little more difficult to accept. On the whole the phrase is not unintelligible, but whether it would have been said in that way in the natural spoken language of the time is a question which cannot at present be answered.

276a-d "What is written as the destiny of every man cannot be changed (or postponed ?), but is brought to pass in full". A variation of a common proverb; cf. "τὰ γραμμένα ἀγραφα

δὲν γίνονται " (Politis, Παροιμίες Vol.4, s.v. γράφω.14), "τὰ γραφόμενα δὲν ξεγράφονται" (id. ibid. no.15) and from Kefalonia:

"τὰ 'χ' ἡ μοῖρα μου γραμμένα,
δὲν παύρεται κανένα." (Loukatos, Κεφαλονίτικα Γνωμικά, No.1272). With them may be compared a similar

passage in Falieros:

τοῦ καθενὸς κι ἃ μέλλεται πρέπει γιὰ ν' ἀνιμένῃ,
'ς ὅτα νὰ ἐλθῇ ὁ καιρὸς τὸ κεθυμῆ νὰ γέμῃ.

(Erot. Enypn. 65-6).

290 The "gold-bespangled shroud" is the invention of the poet. The syntax of this line could perhaps be improved by removing the comma at the end of 289 and writing ἡ δὲ σάβανον χρυσορδντιστον.

I 15 (291-296) This chapter is only slightly curtailed compared with the ps-Call: after Philip has received the oracle (which in the ps-Call. is given by the Pythia at Delphi) an explanation of the name Boucephalus is given and finally it is stated that on hearing the oracle Philip expected to see a new Heracles.

292 The reading of the 1st ed. μάντεο is probably a misprint for μάντιο (= μάντειο), but the accentuation of this form is confirmed by the metre. The shift of accent must be attributed to the poet's ignorance and the analogy of nouns in -ιο e.g. συχώριο, γέλιο, παρακάλιο, βασιλείο.

296 κέτσει is best taken as elliptical for θέλει κέτσει. For the omission of θέλει when repeated compare Katsaitis Kl. Presf. 50-1:

...ν' ἀρήσω δὲν ἠθέλησα ἀλησιμονία νὰ χώση,
μὰ νὰ τὰ βάλω στὸ χαρτί, τὰ γράψῃ (^{scr.} γράψει)
καὶ τυκώσῃ (-ει).

I 16 (297-306) Again some abridgement of the ps-Call. has occurred. There the chapter begins with the statement that Alexander had Aristotle as his sole teacher. The latter then asks two of his other pupils, who were also sons of kings, what they would give him if they inherited their father's kingdoms, and they promise him various positions of authority (cf. 299-300). Finally he

asks Alexander, whose reply is: "Do you inquire about my future, having no security for the morrow? I will give, if it seems good to me, when the time and the hour come for the granting of a promise." (A - similarly β). After Aristotle has hailed him as a great king, the chapter ends in ps-Call. with a further sentence: Alexander was loved by all as being wise and a great warrior; but Philip's attitude was still ambivalent, because Alexander, for all his war-like spirit, did not resemble him in appearance.

298 δτδ: this is one of the few occasions in the poem when δτδ must be scanned as a single syllable. The others are 1090, 1145 and 1254. Everywhere else a fine distinction is maintained: δτδ is disyllabic, γτδ a monosyllable (cf. 1829 where both occur), with the latter outnumbering the former.

I 17 (307-316) The corresponding episode in the ps-Call is told in much greater detail. Nonetheless the Rimada, or its prose model, apparently adds the fact that Alexander was seeking a horse to go to war (307-8); in the ps-Call. he just happened to pass the place where Bucephalus was kept. The confrontation of Alexander and the horse is much more detailed in ps-Call. Line 312 actually contradicts the ps-Call. where it is expressly stated that Alexander rode the horse unbridled. In the ps-Call., after recalling the oracle, Philip hails Alexander as νοσημονόρτωρ, "and from then on Philip rejoiced in hope for his son".

I 18 (317-330) Once again the Rimada removes all the details and gives only the basic outline of the events: in the ps-Call. Alexander asks to go to

Pisa (for the Olympic games); Philip asks which contest he wishes to enter and Alexander replies that he wishes to compete in the Chariot-race, and spurns Philip's offer of horses from his own stables, saying he has his own, reared from an early age. Then he embarks his horses and chariots in a new ship and sets sail with his friend Hephaestion. Lines 321-2 are apparently based on misunderstandings of the ps-Call. (see below). The encounter with Nikolaos is likewise purged of all detail, but what remains is reasonably faithful to the ps-Call.

317 A says that the episode occurred when Alexander was fifteen. No age is mentioned by β. The "half-rhyme" of καλικορῶν and κωρῶν is probably to be tolerated as it stands (see Introd. p.250). Nonetheless the editions of 1600 and 1603 were not happy with it, and emended to καλικορῶν - a form without historical justification.

321 The scribe of Codex Meteorensis thought it impossible to be armed with horses, so he wrote ἄρματα instead of ἄλογα. Certainly the line does not make very good sense but the reason is probably twofold: (1) ἄρματῶν was a useful rhyme for ἑσταφάνῳ, and (2) the verb was suggested by the phrase σὺν τοῖς ἄρμασιν, the confusion of ἄρματα and ἄρματα being a frequent one throughout medieval Greek.

322 At first sight this line seems completely out of place here, as the games have not even begun yet. The origin for the line probably lies in the words λαβὼν ἑξένια (πολλὰ) in A and β. Unfortunately P is not available for this passage, but one might imagine that it would have read something like: καὶ ἔλαβε κανίσκια πολλὰ.

This would then have been misunderstood by the poet, who was unfamiliar with the custom of ξένια to refer to prizes in the games. Hence the untimely reference to defeating all and receiving the garland.

- 322 The name of Nikolaos's father is variously given. A describes Nikolaos as ἀνδροφύης τῇ ἡλικίᾳ: Kroll asks "latet 'Ἀπιδάου women, quem Nicolai patrem fuisse dicit Byz. v.816, 873?" VL read Ἀνδρόφου and γ' Ἀπιδάου, but the most significant version of the name from the point of view of the Rimada is that of BK: Ἀπιδάου. In the context of the Alexander romance, it is easy to understand how this was transformed into the familiar Ἀπιδάου both in the Rimada and in the Phyllada (perhaps under the direct influence of the Rimada).

- 324 Several lines of dialogue in the ps-Call. are here reduced to four words which correspond not at all to the original passage, and besides are nonsense and governed entirely by the choice of a fitting rhyme-word. No attempt to explain the grammatical, syntactical or semantic peculiarities of the sentence is necessary.

- 330 πρὸς: See on 109. Only the editio princeps (and C) has the imperfectly-rhyming πρὸς.

I 19 (331-356) Again much is omitted but there are also some significant changes from the account of the ps-Call. To begin with the omissions, the ps-Call. after the introductory sentence (equivalent to 331-2) names the most important of the nine competitors, then goes on to describe the drawing to lots for race-positions. The Rimada names only Nikolaos. After the death of Nikolaos § quotes a fitting proverb based on Hesiod (see Bergson). The des-

cription of the race itself is changed completely in the Rimada: first and foremost it becomes a horse-race (cf. 351) instead of a chariot-race. In the ps-Call. it is Nikolaos who hangs back, with the intention of killing Alexander, not Alexander himself (line 338). Realising Nikolaos' evil intentions, when the leaders are in collision with one another, Alexander makes way for Nikolaos to overtake and the latter is killed when his horse stumbles and his chariot overturns. (There is much corruption in the texts of all the versions at this point.) The major difference in the Rimada is that there are two separate races. The first is won by Alexander, who defeats the aim of all the other competitors to "bunch" and prevent him from passing. Nikolaos then demands a second race with just the two of them competing, and is killed when his horse falls and crushes him. It seems likely that neither the Rimada nor its prose model was inventing here, since another early version also preserves an account in which there are two races. The account of Syr. (pp. 25-6) is fuller and better preserved than any other version, so it is possible that the Rimada has preserved, in a somewhat corrupted form, a very old tradition about the two races. (But in the Syriac version, all the contestants take part in the second race too.)¹ The Phyllada, which, as has been shown (introd. p. 102), depends on the Rimada at a number of points, seems at pains to contradict the "two races" version: Εἰς τὸ πρῶτον τρέξιμον μὲ ἐπιτηδειότητα ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔκαμε καὶ ἐσχόνταψε τὸ ἄλογον τοῦ Νικολάου, ὁ ὁποῖος ἔπεσε κάτω νεκρός, διὰ τὸ νᾶ τὸν ἐπλάκωσεν ἡ σέλα.... (p. 62, cf. Rimada 350-1).

1. See Merkelbach op.cit. p. 77, who, however, says that in Syr. the race is run twice "unsinnigerweise".

- 334 κ' ἄλαμπε ὡς ἄστέρης: of. Thes. II 9.4 πῶλαμπε ὡς ἄστέρης.
- 346 εἴτις ἀπερδση: elliptical for ἔς ἰδοῦμε εἴτις ἀπερδση.
- 350 This resembles the version of β: Nikolaos' horse stumbles, he falls and is killed. A, and seemingly Arm., say that Alexander killed him by charging him at full tilt after he had fallen from his chariot. Similarly in Syr. Nikolaos is killed by Bucephalus, but in that version (p.27) the death of one Elikior (= Nicanor ?) is related as follows: "... and Elikior was tripped up by the axle of Alexander's chariot wheels, and fell head foremost, he and the horses and the chariot; and he died together with his horses." It seems that this description really relates to the death of Nikolaos, as in β, and so is not incompatible with the version of the Rimada.
- 354 The prophecy is spoken by the priest of Zeus (β, or the temple-keeper (A and Arm.) or a deacon (Byz.))
- 355 The words of the prophecy in the ps-Call. are: "Just as you defeated Nikolaos, so you will defeat many enemies (many in wars - β)." The pun on the proper name is lost in the MG version.

I 20 (357-366) According to the ps-Call., the name of Philip's new bride (omitted by the Rimada) is Cleopatra, the sister of Attalos (A), or of Lysias (β or the daughter of Attalus (Val., Arm., Syr.))¹. 360 is a "filler, without basis in the ps-Call. In the ps-Call. Alexander arrives while the marriage is being celebrated and presents the Olympic wreath to Philip. He then tells him, as in the Rimada (361 ff.), that he will invite him to the wedding when he gives his mother in marriage again. 365 points to a closer relationship with β than with A

1. In reality she seems to have been Attalus' niece; see Ausfeld p.132, who emends the text of A accordingly.

for this passage (see Introd. p. 53), but since several other witnesses of the α tradition (Arm., Val., Syr.) preserve the line it is probable that an ancestor of A also had it. 366 is a not very intelligent insertion in order to complete the couplet. The statement of the ps-Call. - that Philip was distressed by Alexander's words - is omitted. P resumes at the end of this chapter with the words: καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκδόθηκε ἀντίχρυ τοῦ φιλέπκου.

363 βλογητικὸς and εὐβλογητικὸς and their feminine counterparts occur frequently in medieval texts first as adjectives ("lawfully wedded") then for "husband" and "wife" e.g. Chron. Mor. 3273, 7973, 8878, Choummos ms. 252, 430, Thes. 1499 (= I.138.5), 10,090, Katsaltis If. IV 332, 400, V 91, 318. See Karaiskaki or Def. Log. Did. 295. Cf. εὐλογισμαί (Gloss).

I 21 (367-381) The first problem which arises in this chapter is over the identity of Alexander's victim. The Rimada calls him Philip's kinsman i.e. his brother-in-law. This conforms with the text of β , where Lysias is the victim. In A, however, Philip's brother-in-law is called Attalus, and Lysias, who is named as the victim, is said to be "a certain wit". Here, then, the Rimada agrees with β against A. (P follows and amplifies β : ὁ δὲ Λυσίας ὁ γυναικαδελφὸς τοῦ φιλέπκου ὕβρισε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. It must be assumed that P also called Cleopatra the sister of Lysias in I 20.) The nature of Lysias' insult is not specified in the Rimada (or P). According to the ps-Call. he tells Philip that he will now be able to produce legitimate sons who resemble him. Otherwise the Rimada does not differ radically from the

ps-Call: it adds lines 376 (for metrical reasons), and omits Alexander's comment after Philip's fall ("Though you hasten to seize Asia and Europe, you cannot walk one step") and the extended description of the massacre of the guests (which β but not A, has). Philip's illness (=381) is not mentioned by A, where there is a lacuna, but is in almost all other versions (including P where ἡρωώστησεν is the obvious correction of the ms reading ἡρώτησεν).

370 The part of Lysias' body which is struck is not stated by A, but β , Arm. and Syr. specify the temple (κρόταφος). P reads ἐπὶ τὸν μυελόν.

378 Cf. P καὶ ἐγένετο ἐκδικητὴς τῆς μητρὸς του.

In P, as in A and β , the clause is placed after the description of the slaughter of the guests. The poet has clearly disturbed the order to facilitate the rhyme.

I 22 (382-394) As usual the argument is greatly curtailed, simplified and modified by the mod. Gk. versions (P and the Rim.) for the passage corresponding to 383-4. A is corrupt, but β agrees quite closely with the Rimada and the tradition must have had something very similar. P provides the necessary link between A/ β and the Rimada: καὶ λέγει ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος: "καλῶς

ἐποίησας ὅτι ἠθέλησας νὰ σκοτώσης τὸν υἱόν σου διὰ τὸν
 Ἀυσόν;"

For the next two lines (385-6) A is again lacunose but Arm., Val. and Syr. support the reading of β (see Kroll's app. crit.). Lines 387-8 have no precise model in the ps-Call., but P attributes the following words to Alexander, which correspond very closely to the Rimada: "ὅπως ἐγὼ ὑπάρχω εἰς τὴν μητέρα

μου νὰ τὴν παρακινήσω νὰ τὴν φέρω εἰς τὰς χεῖρας σου."

The rest of the chapter corresponds to the ps-Call. (with the exception that lines 391-2 are probably a popular distich which the poet deemed it appropriate to insert - and, for once, it is appropriate). The actual reconciliation scene is omitted by the Rimada, and by P, which also omits the speech of Alexander to Olympias and the sententia that a woman must be subject to her husband. At this point, then, the Rimada preserves a text closer to the ps-Call. than P. Finally (and Arm., Val. and Syr. but not A) has an enigmatic sentence about the mentioning of Lysias' name by those about to marry. The Rimada agrees with A and P in omitting the passage.

383 The phrase σὺν νὰ 'μουνὰ ἐχθρός σου, which is inserted solely to complete the line and provide a rhyme, occurs verbatim in Theg. Prol. 143.

394a-b No source for this couplet exists in either the Proverbs or the Wisdom of Solomon. The following sentence, however, occurs in the collection of wise sayings known as "Ἀνθος τῶν Χαρίτων, Chapter 30:

Ὁ σολομών εἶπεν· τρεῖς γενεαὶ ἀνθρώπους οὐκ ἀγαπᾷ
ὁ θεός, τὸν πτωχὸν ἀλαζονικὸν, τὸν πλούσιον ψεύτην,
καὶ γέρον λαλὸν (sic), χωρὶς γνώσης.

The work, a translation of the popular Italian Il fiore di virtù, was first published by Stefano da Sabbio on 6 November 1529, shortly after the Rimada (see BH XV/XVI Vol.III p.328, no.305). However, since the Γνωμικά are believed to be the work of the versifier, and not of Zinos, the editor of the Rimada, it is unlikely that this proverb may be seen as a borrowing from the "Ἀνθος or the Fiore. More probably it derives from the biblical source of the Fiore at this point -

Ecclesiasticus 25.2: τρέφα δὲ εἶδῃ ἐμίσησεν ἡ ψυχὴ μου καὶ
προσώχθισα σφόδρα τῇ ζωῇ αὐτῶν· πτωχὸν ὑπερήφανον,
καὶ πλούσιον ψεύστην, γέροντα [μωρὸν καὶ]
μοιχὸν ἐλαττούμενον συνέσει.

(See C. Frati, "Ricerche sul 'Fiore di Virtù' ", Studi di Filologia
Romanza pubblicati da Ernesto Monaci Vol.VI, Rome 1893 p.337). An
epigram of Cassia may also be compared (Cod. Marc. gr.408, line 10):

μισῶ τὸν μακρόν, ὃν πελωλὸς τυγχάνῃ
(K. Krumbacher, "Kasia", Sitzungsberichte der philos. - philol. und
der hist. Classe der k. b. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München, 1897,
I, 363); and there is a somewhat similar proverb current in Western

Crete: "Ὅποιος γέρωσ δὲ γατέχει θέλει μινὰ μὲ τῇ

g oñna

(Panagalos IV 445).

I 23 (395-424) Line 395 is an addition by the poet for the sake of finding
a rhyme for μοθώνη. 396-401 follow the ps-Call. closely though the conver-
sation between Alexander and Darius' satraps there is somewhat abridged. Line
402 is a "filler" and 403 has its origins in the ps-Call. (A and B). The full
form of the satraps' answer, however, (403-4) corresponds almost exactly to P
(the Rimada has added a further item to the list of taxable benefits):

διὰ τὴν γῆν τὴν κατέετε καὶ τὸ νερὸ τὸ κίνετε ζητεῖ

ὁ βασιλεὺς πὸ τέλος.

According to Bergson (app.crit. ad. loc.) the original form must have been some-
thing like: ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς ἣν κατέετε καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὕδατος ὃ κίνετε.

This earlier form is indicated by Val. and Syr. and by A, which has ταῦτα where τούτην would be expected. Once again an early feature of the romance, no longer extant in the β tradition, has survived in the modern Greek poem. 405-6, based on a few words in P, are an expansion due to the author of the Rimada. 407-8 return to the ps-Call., but again there is almost a verbatim correspondence with P which has: λέγει ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος:

"ταῦτα οἱ θεοὶ τὰ ἔδωκαν εἰς ὑπερησάν των ἀνθρώπων...."

Alexander goes on to ask, in A and β (and P) if Darius was collecting the gift of the gods; then in β , but not A, he asks what form the gift takes and is told that it is one hundred golden eggs each weighing twenty pounds. Alexander replies that it is not right for Philip to pay taxes to Barbarians (A is corrupt here). They are to tell Darius that when Philip was alone he paid tribute, but now he has a son, Alexander, he no longer pays. Indeed he will come and recover what taxes have already been paid. Most of this is omitted by the Rimada; only the last portion occurs (= 409-414) in a somewhat modified and amplified form. Again there are many verbal similarities with P:

"γινώσκετε οὖν ὅτι οὐδὲν σὰς δίδομεν τέλος, ἀμὴ
εἰπέτε τὸν Δαρειον ὅτι..... ὅσον τέλος δέδωκε ὁ πατὴρ
του ἔρχομαι ἐγὼ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος νὰ τὸ ἐπάρω."

The next two lines (415-6) occur in β (not in A, but Eth. has a similar sentence) towards the end of the chapter, after the painting of Alexander's portrait. P agrees with the Rimada in placing the lines here:

ἤκουσαν οἱ ἀποκρισαρλοὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἐστράφησαν εἰς τὸν
Δαρειον καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν αὐτῷ πάντα.

The painting of Alexander's portrait by a Greek artist commissioned by the ambassadors (417-8) is found only in β (except ms V), P and Syr. 419-420 are not in the ps-Call., but P has: ὡς δὲ ἤκουσεν ταῦτα ὁ Ἀσπετος

μεγάλως ἐθυμώθη.

The Thracian episode (421-4) occurs in both β and β, but A does not mention the name of the city (ἐτέρως πόλεως). Arm. and P agree with β in referring the episode to Thrace, but in Leo and Syr. it is Armenia which is in revolt.

396 ἀέσθησε: A has ἀέσθη - "revolted". There is a confusion between the aor. of ἀφίσταμαι and ἀέστω, "disobey".

The two modern Greek versions are here closer to A than to β which paraphrases: Ἦν δὲ ἡ πόλις βοθώνη ἀντίρροα πρὸ Φιλίππου.

399-400 This kind of lack of syntactical unity occurs sporadically throughout the poem. For other occurrences of the nominative absolute, see Introd. p. 215.

406 γγαρμενοί: Though the poet probably did not realize, the choice of word is quite felicitous. It is in fact Persian in origin, from a word meaning "a mounted courier of the Persian Court", which appears in Greek as ἄγγαρος. The verb ἄγγαρεύω, "to press into service", is found in Hellenistic Greek and the New Testament (Matt. 5.41: 27, 32). In medieval and early modern Greek texts the verb and the nouns ἄγγαρεῖα, ἄγγαρεύω occur frequently (see Kriaras Lex. s.v. ἄγγαρεῖα for examples and is still heard in the contemporary language (see Hist. Lex.). (The type ἄγγαρεῖον which is found in Chron. Mach. 430¹ is probably a reborrowing from French angerie

(which it reached from Latin).

- 418 οὐδ' ἔστι τῆς δοκίδος: ... it is difficult to imagine what the poet had in mind here - if, at least, he was concerned with anything more than furnishing a presentable rhyme. Perhaps the legendary δοκίδα - a snake or dragon - is intended (see Glossary). Four lines later (422) there is another seemingly meaningless phrase - οὐτεν ἐβγήκε τ' ἄστρο - in which the poet is motivated solely by rhyme. To seek for some logical interpretation in such cases would be a wasted effort.

I 24 (425-458) Lines 425-430 follow the ps-Call. quite faithfully. The scene of Pausanias' attempt to assassinate Philip is some sort of public spectacle (in β at the "Olympian theatre", in reality a procession to the theatre on the occasion of the marriage of Philip's daughter to the King of Epirus (see Merkelbach op.cit. p.16). P reads:

ἐχέθητο δ' ἑορτασμός εἰς παραδειασμόν,

where the noun must mean "celebration" or "festival". Line 431 is based on this reading and must be translated as, "Philip went to celebrate a festival," (though the verb παραδειάζω or παραδειασθῶ has several other meanings). Lines 432-4 diverge in detail from the ps-Call., where Pausanias strikes Philip in the ribs; P, as well as the Rimada, specifies the head. Lines 435-6 follow the ps-Call. with some padding; line 437 is not from the ps-Call., but P has:

καὶ ἐπεκλήσθη τὴν.

At this point A has a lengthy passage in which Philip bemoans his lot and expresses the wish that Alexander were there to avenge his death. (Kroll 23.25 - 24.10). No other version of the romance has this passage. Alexander returns - on cue - victorious from the war and enquires the reason for the commotion; on being told

he rushes to the palace where he finds Pausanias holding his mother. This is greatly curtailed in P (καὶ εὐθὺς ἦλθεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπὸ

τὸ ταξίδι καὶ εἶδε τὸν Πausανίαν ὅτι ἐπῆρεν τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα)

and entirely omitted by the Rimada. 438-440 agree with the ps-Call. At this point P breaks off and resumes with the passage corresponding to line 602. It is probable, however, that it originally contained the plea of Olympias to Alexander to hurl his javelin (lines 441-2) which is absent from A and β, but is preserved in Arm., Val. and Byz. 443-4 derive from β, but there Alexander first tears Pausanias away from Olympias, then strikes him with his spear but does not kill him (as in the Rimada); the killing belongs later (line 448). After Pausanias has been dragged before the dying Philip (445-6, as in A and β), it is Philip in the ps-Call. who delivers the fatal blow to Pausanias. The poet or the author of the prose version on which the Rimada is based misunderstood the text which he had before him. (The mistake is repeated later at line 450.)¹ The remainder of the chapter bears a very slender relationship to the ps-Call; it seems probable that the poet or the author of the prose model or one of the intervening copyists was working from a damaged text at this point. (For a further indication, see below on I 25.) Few lines point to a definite correspondence with the ps-Call: 451 seems to agree with β, 452 with A, 453, and perhaps 456, with both the versions in question. The rest of the passage from 449 to 458 must be the product of a recent writer's imagination,

1. But in the historical source of the Romance it is unlikely that Philip himself killed Pausanias (see Merkelbach op.cit. p.77).

though whether of our poet or an earlier prose redactor cannot be determined. Since, however, when the Rimada differs greatly from the ps-Call., on very many occasions the divergences are shared with P (where P is available for comparison), it is probable that the text had already been severely modified by the time it came into the poet's hands.

434 "..... because he did not aim for his breast on the other hand."

Is this yet another example of the nonsense that the poet of the Rimada is capable of producing when he is forced to by his chosen form and metre? Perhaps not. It is odd that P should substitute head for ribs, and even odder that the Rimada should mention both head and chest. A clue is provided by A with the word ἡστοόχησεν which Kroll emends to ἡβστοόχης. It is possible to imagine a text ancestral to both A and the Rimada, which went something like:

βάλλει τὴν λόγχην κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ φίλῃκου καὶ
ἡστοόχησεν, κατὰ τῆς πλευρᾶς κλήξας.

Then in the Rimada must be understood a reversal of the two parts of the body, perhaps caused by the lack of punctuation of his original, or by disorder of another kind which also led A to omit the reference to the head and P that to the ribs.

436 The line could perhaps be improved and rendered more intelligible by writing σ' Ὀλυμπιάδα.

438 μόν must have a temporal meaning here: "straightway, just at that moment" cf. εὐθύς P. No other identical instance of this usage has been discovered but if the similar use of μόλις is compared there is no difficulty in accepting the reading as it stands. If

amendation were necessary, the obvious change would be to χ°

εἰς μὲν, but (curiously ?) this adverbial phrase does not occur at all in the present text.

- 446 ἄκωμα τοῦ ἀνδρείου: The phrase refers to Philip, not Pausanias, cf. Α ὅτι ἔτι ζῇ, β ἔτι ἔμψυχον ὄντα.
For the verb ἀνδρῶ see Glossary.

- 448 ὁμῆρος εἰς τοῦ κατρός του: this apparent solecism occurs in an almost identical form in Big. Akk. (OXF) 1259:

Μέλαν λοιπὸν τῶν ἡμερῶν ὁμῆροστέ 'ς τοῦ κατρός του....

Were these the sole examples, they might be dismissed as solecisms employed by mediocre poets for the sake of rhyme. But in Erot. II 2084 there occurs ὁμῆρος εἰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων,

and ibid. IV 7 ὁμῆρος τοῦ Παχόστρεπτη.

Thus the usage is given acceptability by the more adept Cretan poet.

It must, therefore, more logically be regarded not as a solecism but as an ellipsis for ὁμῆρος εἰς τοῦ κατρός του τὸ πρόσωπο,

or perhaps a confusion between ἀνδρείου or

ἔμψυχον with genitive and ὁμῆρος εἰς.

- 453-4 With this couplet compare vv.1393-4 which describe the death of Darius in almost identical words. In both places it seems that the poet was imitating Choumros ms 269-270 (see Introd. p443)

I 25 (459-484) After Pella had been restored to a state of stability, Alexander mounted the steps of his father's statue and made a speech to the Greeks. In the Rinada, and nowhere else, the speech is transformed into a letter of. 458a, 459-460, 463. To account for this, a lacuna must be assumed

in the ms of the poem the prose model of the Rimada or in its ancestor. It would be quite natural for the redactor or editor to assume that he was dealing with a letter as frequently elsewhere in the work, and this assumption might be strengthened by the passage at the end of the letter where Alexander sets up edicts throughout the city (or in every city). In the Rimada the letter is headed here, as elsewhere, with a stereotyped form of title. The difference between this and all the other chapter headings of the poem is that it is necessary for the continuity of the work (See Introd. p. 128). Besides, the word ἑλληνος does not appear in the text of the Rimada in the letter, but it undoubtedly derives from the ps-Call. From this and the evidence mentioned above on I 24 it is probable that there was a lacuna in the prose model of the Rimada immediately before Alexander's speech.

The speech itself follows the ps-Call. in its broad outline but is much expanded. 459-460 are naturally an addition, as is the announcement of Philip's death (463-4) which repeats material from 457-8. Lines 469-472, which conclude the letter with threats to put to death any objectors and greetings to the satraps, have no correspondence with any other version of the ps-Call. The remainder of the chapter follows the ps-Call. comparatively closely. Slight variations may be noted: Alexander issues weapons from his father's armoury (475); the old men's objection to enlist is on the grounds of their age (479-480); finally the old men are persuaded to enlist by Alexander's arguments (omitted by the Rimada).

459 The line lacks one syllable. It could be corrected by adding the definite article at the beginning (the Codex inserts the definite article after the first word) but such a "correction" would be based on the assumption that what the author intended to write has become

corrupted in the course of the process of transmission. No such assumption can be made here since the same metrical imperfection occurs frequently at the beginning of letters by Alexander - lines 643, 729, 1015, 1033, 1509, 1993. Occasionally there are other forms in which the correct number of syllables is found:

Βασιλεὺς γὰρ Ἀλέξανδρος (1805),
and Βασιλεὺς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος (1411, 2149, 2459, 2521, 2553, 2819). Βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος is the usual opening of Alexander's letter in the prose versions (A, β and P). This was adopted wholesale by the poet - only occasionally did he, or his editor, feel the need of an extra syllable. Apparently it never occurred to either of them to write Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ βασιλεὺς....

468 ἀπὼν κάτω: for reasons of rhyme the standard Greek form must here be substituted for the more dialectal ἀπὼν κάτω of the ed.princeps. On balance the standard forms of the two adverbs are the more frequent in the poem (excepting the present instance, 35 against 15 examples of the - ~~αὐ~~ types). The rhyme of φουστό with ἀπὼν κάτω occurs two other times: lines 23-4 and 2789-90.

469 τιμῶ must here bear the meaning of τιμωρῶ, as it sometimes can in AG - see L-S.

I 26-29 (485-508) β has four chapters (I 26-29) for A's one¹ and contains much material which is not in the earlier version. Since the Rinada omits nearly all of this it is necessary to give a brief summary of the narrative of

1. But see Merkelbach's corrections to Kroll's numbering, op.cit. p.78.

both A and β (1) Antipater quells disturbances in Pella (β); (2) the army is counted (A and β); (3) various revolts (β); (4) rumours of Alexander's death cause a revolt in Thebes which is speedily crushed (β); (5) Alexander makes preparations for his Asian campaign and reaches Thrace (A and β); (6) he subdues Asia Minor (β); (7) and visits Sicily and Rome (A and β). In the Rimada only episodes (2), (5), and (7) remain. It will be noticed that these are the only ones which occur in A. So the Rimada follows A rather than β here.¹ Nonetheless there is considerable distortion which often makes it difficult to recognise what part of the ps-Call. a given line refers to, if any.

485-492 The numbers and composition of Alexander's army vary greatly from version to version. So great is the confusion that even the various mss of the β group disagree with one another. Naturally in the Rimada the situation is complicated by a further factor - the pressures of metre and rhyme. So there is no absolute identity of numbers between the Rimada and any other version. However the categories of the army mentioned agree with those of A more than any other version. To treat them individually:

1. 500,000 "inherited" troops is obviously wrong. Under the category of Macedonian infantry A mentions 72,000 and Val. 15,000.
2. 7,000 "escorts" probably correspond to the auxiliaque diversa in octo milibus of Val. and perhaps to the "auxiliary of 800" of Arm.
3. 7,000 allies - allies are mentioned by A but no number is given. 7,000 is exactly the same figure as is mentioned by the historian Diodorus Siculus XVII 17.3.

1. Veloudis, op.cit. p.58 concludes that it is impossible to establish with certainty any special relationship between β and Rim, here.

4. 60,000 foreigners is again an exaggeration; it corresponds to the 800 Thracians, Paphlagonians and Scyths of A (cf. Val.) and the "7,600 Thracians, Plinthians, and Scythians" of Arm.
5. 1,700 Macedonian horses is for A's 2,000 Macedonian cavalry and the 2,700 which Arm. and Val. record.
- 492 In A the figure is 70 talents which Ausfeld (op.cit. pp. 44, 134) believed to be a correction extracted from a historical source. In β the gold is not mentioned until later, after the preparation of the fleet (I 28), and the figure there is 50,000 talents. The Rimada's "500 quintals" would seem to correspond better with the latter, except that $\kappa\eta\nu\tau\eta\nu\delta\rho\iota$ is always used elsewhere in the Rimada (lines 507, 2542, 2870) as an equivalent for one talent, not 100 talents. So the Rimada's figure is perhaps best seen as a corruption of A, there being little difference between the written forms of the numerals $\omicron'$ and ϕ' .
- 495 'Κατὸ κέρτερα: no figure is specified by the ps-Call.
- 496 "The East" is in fact Thrace in A and β .
- 499 Λαχεδαίμονα: a substitution of the familiar for the unknown. A has Λυκαονίαν.
- 500 κέρνει καὶ στρατεύα: presumably the meaning is "he enlists troops also". Kroll's reading is $\sigmaυνεθίσας$ which is based on a certain correction of the ms reading $\sigmaυνεθίσας$. The Rimada seems to be translating the corrupt form, if, at least, this is not to attribute to the poet too much concern for fidelity to his model.

502 ἐδοῦλασε: three possible explanations suggest themselves for this peculiar form: 1) a by-form δουλαίνω or the analogy of other verbs in -αίνω; 2) a confusion of the aorists ἐδοῦλωσε and ἐδοῦλευσε; 3) a simple misprint for ἐδοῦλωσε.

503-4 Πούλια (Apulia) is used to refer to the whole of Italy by metonymy.

I 30 (509-540) The description of Alexander's visit to Africa follows the ps-Call. in the main, but there is some divergence in details. First, for Africa is substituted Βερζα, i.e. Iberia, for no obvious reason. It is not even clear whether Caucasian (ms II 23) or "Spanish" Iberia is intended. (If Libya had been substituted instead of Iberia, it would have been understandable.) Then the inhabitants of "Veria" are praised for their bravery instead of being accused of weakness, as in the ps-Call. (See below on line 510). Alexander's remark, "Either be superior or pay taxes to your superiors" is entirely omitted from the Rimada. Alexander then passes to Ammoniac; the description of his worship of Ammon agrees broadly with the ps-Call., but lines 517-8 must be considered as an explanatory addition due to the poet. Certain other lines in this section have been devised by the poet for metrical reasons e.g. 516, 520, 523. Line 527 indicates a closer correspondence with Α than with β since the dream is not mentioned explicitly in the latter. Lines 535-8 are a very rough paraphrase of the hexameters in which Ammon gives his oracle. After hearing this, in the ps-Call. (but not in the Rimada) Alexander asks the whereabouts of the island mentioned in the oracle and the identity of the god who rules it. Finally Alexander

sacrifices again and sets off, not for the sea-shore (as line 540), but for "a certain village of Libya where he rested his troops" (A and β).

510 The reference to the bravery of the Iberians derives from a confusion of ἰδρνεῖα (ι and β) with the more familiar ἄνδρεῖα. That such a confusion could easily occur is illustrated by the fact that ms B reads ἄνδρεῖας.

515 Ἀμμωνία derives from Ἀμμωνιακή (β) where A reads simply εἰς Ἀμμωνα.

519 εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα νήσου: cf. εἰς τὴν Φαρτίτιδα νήσον (A), Πρωτηίδα (β). The genitive νήσου is forced by the rhyme.

523 Μέσα σ' αὐτεῖνον does not follow on well from σὺν Ἀμμωνα. The suspicion is aroused that line 518 ought to precede 523 immediately, thereby providing νηὸν as an antecedent for αὐτεῖνον. This would involve moving the couplet 517-8 to come after 522. Later on, however, the god and the temple seem to be regarded as interchangeable (lines 529-530 and 579). In view of this, the order of lines has not been disturbed. Ἀμμων must be understood as meaning both "the god Ammon" and "the temple of Ammon", just as in MG ὁ Ἅγιος Παῦλος can refer either to St. Paul or St. Paul's Church.

524 τόλεγε: by crasis from τοῦ ἔλεγε rather than aphaeresis from τὸ ἔλεγε.

535-6 The sudden switch from indirect to direct speech is caused by the fact that $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta$, and not $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta\varsigma$, was required for the rhyme. - 'Αλέξανδρον should perhaps be emended to the vocative, unless the corruption is more extensive. A and β read:
 $\kappa\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\ \kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\nu\ \kappa\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\phi\eta\mu\omicron\nu\ldots$

I 31 (541-574) In this chapter the Rimada is quite faithful to the ps-Call, subject to the usual restrictions imposed by the form. The name of the place where the archer missed the deer is altered and etymologised afresh (see on 546); the names of all the villages, rivers and canals on the site of Alexandria and understandably omitted - β also omits them; some confusion is engendered in the Rimada by the concept of one river dividing into twelve (which is not explicitly stated in the ps-Call. - see on 549 ff.); the removal of the original population of Alexandria is omitted from the Rimada; and there is some abridgement at the end of the chapter, notably in the omission of proper names, and the comparison of Alexandria with other great cities, (which A alone has). Otherwise the poem follows the ps-Call., often with a remarkable degree of literal accuracy e.g. lines 557-560. At two points a closer relationship with A than β is indicated viz. lines 552 and 573. On the whole section I 31-3 see Ausfeld, Rhein. Mus. 55, 1900, 348-84 Merkelbach op.cit. pp.80-3 where much additional bibliography is given.

546 In the ps-Call. Alexander remarks "Ἄνθρωπε, καρτίτονόν
 σοι ἐγένετο" (γέγονεν - β),

and for this reason the place was called Παραιτόνιον
(in reality Παραιτόνιον). The corrupted form of the
Rimada, Παιτόνι, is almost as felicitous since the word
denotes a type of wild-deer. (See Du Gange and Neursius). It
also occurs in Thes. 3606, and is apparently still in use
(Synchr. Lex.). Vlachoyannis, in his Glossary to the "Memoirs"
of Makryannis defines it as: εἶδος ζαρκασίου ἢ
ἐλαφιοῦ μὲ πλατιὰ κέρατα.

548 The tomb of Osiris. The name of the place is given as

Ταφώσιρις (A) or Ταφώσιριον (β, γ, λ).

549-550 From a syntactic point of view the couplet is a complete muddle,
no doubt because of compression forced by the metre. What the
author wanted to say is probably: Ἦλθε σ' ἕνα
φοβερό ποτάμι στὸ ὅποιο πηγαίνουν δώδεκα ἄλλα
ποτάμια.....

(For the use of εἰς with the indeclinable relative pronoun, cf.
Achill. 1156 ὅς ὅπου) The peculiar thing is that this is
rather different from what the ps-Call. actually says:

ὁρᾷ μέγιστον χώρημα εἰς ὅπειρον ἐκτείνον
καὶ εἰς κώμας συνέχόμενον....αἱ δὲ εἰς κώμας
εἶχον ποταμοὺς ἑβ' ἐξερευγομένους εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν...
(A similarly β). The couplet 549-50 is highly reminiscent of
Choumnos ms 340-1:

Βλέπει ποτάμιν φοβερόν κ' εἰς τέσσαρα μοιράζει,
πάντα ποτάμιν ξέχωρα τὸν δρόμον του ἀνακράζει.

It seems probable that the poet of the Rimada had this couplet in mind, and tried rather unsuccessfully to imitate it (see Introd. p. 143).

- 551-2 It is possible, but by no means certain, that this couplet is based on Kroll. 29 1-3 (καὶ μέχρι νῦν...οὐλαττων) in which case κενωμένα should perhaps be read ("drained"). But a simple emendation would be a futile and pointless gesture in the face of the overall confusion of this passage. In any case the word κινημένα may well be part of another borrowing from Choumnos (see Introd. p. 142).

- 565 Θέμβονος: a corruption of 'Αγαθοδαίμονος.

- 567-8 The proper names in this couplet appear in various forms in the different versions of the ps-Call. Εηδίου is the same form as Byz. has, while A reads Γενδησιου and β Βενδιθείου. 'Αριλογχίου derives from the Εύρυλόχου of A and Byz. which appears in various corrupted forms in the β mss.

- 571-2 In the editions and Codex the crucial part of the couplet reads:

γιάνα κτιστή· μ' ἄγκωνας τὴν πόλιν....

The anacoluthon might be corrected by writing ἡ πόλις.

However, the real problem of the inherited version of this couplet lies in the first line: ἄγκωνας might mean "consoles" (projecting or supporting stones or brackets), which is one meaning of the Latin ancon (which derives from ἄγκων); or it might have the original Greek meaning of "anything bent" - "angles". But neither meaning is appropriate here since the

passage refers to the buildings of water channels or sewers. At some undetermined stage in the transmission process from AG. prose to MG verse corruption has set in. The simplest emendation is *αὐλῶνας*, "channels", which restores the meaning of the passage and uses a perfectly good Greek word (see L and S). Since the corruption seems to be located in the first line of the couplet, it is logical to seek to restore the syntax in that line rather than the following one. Hence the second half of line 571 may be emended:

νῦν κτίσις μὲν αὐλῶνας.

Precisely when and how the corruption took place is open to argument; it may have occurred via the intermediate stage of *ἀγκλῶνας*, a form of *ἀγκῶνας* mentioned by Du Cange; perhaps the ms used by the editor of the printed edition was barely legible; it is even possible that after the composing stage the half-line fell out of the "form" and was restored by guesswork when the ms was no longer available.

I 32 (575-604) Two quite lengthy sections of this chapter are otherwise found only in A of the Greek mss; they are lines 575-581 and 589-594. For the most part the Rimada follows the ps-Call. quite faithfully, though there is some occasional distortion particularly in lines 577-8 and 588 (see below). Lines 598-600 and perhaps also 595-6 are additions made by the poet. Ms P resumes just before the end of the chapter with the words *τὸ*

Γ' γένος κτλ.

After the inscription of the five letters, the ps-Call goes on to describe an episode in which snakes emerge from the

Heroum and, since they are non-pdsonous, are accepted as a good omen.
 This whole episode is omitted by both P and the Rimada. Since the following chapter is also extremely abbreviated in both it is likely that there was a lacuna in some common ancestral ms. (see below).

576 ff. ῥέρον is of course Pharos, and ῥωδς is a corruption of ῥωτέως. In A Alexander actually goes to the island and sacrifices to the god and then gives orders for the restoration of the tomb when he sees its dilapidated state.

588 In the ps-Call. the equivalent passage is, ".....those born in it (the city) will be everywhere". The distortion is brought about by the pressure of rhyme.

595-6 Although the ps-Call. has nothing which corresponds exactly to this couplet (see above), A reads:
θεμελιώσας δὲ τὰ κλειστότα τῆς πόλεως
μέρη καὶ χωρογραφήσας..... (and similarly β).

601 ff. The sentence which the five letters represent is:
Ἀλέξανδρος βασιλεὺς, γένος Διός, ἔκτισε πόλιν
ἀεὶ μνηστον (A - ἀμύμηστον β). βασιλεὺς
 has been transformed into βασιλεύει by the poet for the sake of rhyme, but otherwise there is remarkably little change.

603 Δία : this correction, for the Διὰ of ms and editions, is certain since it improves the metre and also receives some support from the reading of P: τοῦ Διὸς θεοῦ.

A nominative $\Delta\lambda\alpha\varsigma$, formed from AG accusative $\Delta\lambda\alpha$, occurs several times in Zinos' Batrachomyomachia, 279, 429, 447. The gen. $\Delta\lambda\alpha$ is a natural extension of this metaplasm, though it is not, apparently, found except here.

604 $\xi\pi\acute{o}\kappa\tau\iota\sigma\epsilon\nu$: - from $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$,
"finish building".

I 33 (605-608) What is a very lengthy and somewhat complicated chapter in the ps-Call. - it is even longer in A than in β - is reduced to four lines. P corresponds almost exactly to the Rimada:

$\xi\chi\eta\tau\eta\sigma\epsilon\ \delta\epsilon\ \delta\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\chi\alpha\nu\delta\omicron\varsigma\ \nu\acute{\alpha}\ \iota\delta\eta\ \tau\acute{o}\nu\ \nu\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \chi\epsilon\rho\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\varsigma\ (\text{sic})\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\rho\omicron\sigma[\sigma]\epsilon\kappa\acute{o}\nu\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\theta\upsilon\lambda\alpha\varsigma.$

This is one of the most striking similarities between these two Modern Greek versions. Clearly they derive from a common ancestor which severely abbreviated this chapter either because of a lacuna in its model, or deliberately because the chapter was felt to be too complex for the audience the scribe had in mind, and in any case dispensable as far as the narrative was concerned.

606 $\chi\omicron\beta\beta\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\sigma\eta$: corrupted from $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\tau\iota\varsigma$ or $\acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\iota\varsigma$.

The Rimada has retained the π (despite its corruption of the first syllable) which in P has become μ (see above). This is a further indication - if any more were needed - that the Rimada, is not descended directly from P, but that the two parted company at an earlier stage.

I 34 (609-632) In this chapter there are two noteworthy differences between the texts of A and group β . The first of these is the sending of the fleet to Tripolis which is absent from β . The Rimada, however, and P preserve this episode (line 610). The second difference is in the speech of Alexander to the people of Memphis which appears in a much lengthier form in A than in β . The Rimada lacks almost the whole of the speech, retaining only the first sentence of it (629-630). P has only a few words more than the Rimada:

"τοῦ πατρὸς μου εἶναι ἡ στήλη αὐτὴ καὶ ἐγὼ εἶμι
ὁ υἱὸς του· ὁποῦ θέλω καταλύσειν τοὺς
ἐχθροὺς σας."

Other slight differences between the Rimada and the ps-Call are in line 616 (a statue of Nectanebus in the ps-Call.) and in 617-8 and 625-6 where the references to Nectanebus himself returning as a young man are omitted from the prophecy, exactly as they were in I 3 (line 47). Lines which are added on metrical grounds are 612, 628 and 630.

- 609 στήν Αἴγυπτον: Alexandria was not generally reckoned as part of Egypt, but of Libya inasmuch as it lay on the left bank of the Nile (Ausfeld p.141).
- 614 θαλάσσιον: corrupted from ἑρμῆσιον. In this case P provides the intermediate stage of the corruption: θαλάσσιον.
- 632 μὲ καθαρή καρδιά: the phrase, a typical line-filler, recurs at lines 747 and 865. It is also found in Def. Sus. 287, and elsewhere.

I 35 (633-670) While following the ps-Call. in broad outline, the Rimada differs in detail at many points. Its relationship with the two principal versions of the ps-Call. under discussion, and with the MG version P, demands a detailed analysis. Line 636 - the submission of Syria - appears only in A. After 636 the ps-Call mentions the oracle given to the Tyrians that their city would be razed to the ground by a king. This explains their refusal to admit Alexander. All reference to this oracle, both here and later in Alexander's letter, is omitted by the Rimada and by P. Another small episode which is omitted by both these MG versions is the dream of Alexander in which he is told not to be his own messenger to Tyre, which should come after 638. The next important point is at the beginning of Alexander's letter: in A he describes himself as king of Europe, Asia and Libya; in β and P Egypt is added to the list. The Rimada also mentions Egypt but changes Libya to Syria, probably for reasons of rhyme (646). Lines 647-650 present certain problems if compared with the extant texts of A and β . On the other hand they provide corroborative evidence for the suggested emendations of Kroll and Radermacher to the text of A:

ἐγὼ τὴν ἀρχὴν πορευόμενος εἰς τὰ ἔθνη τῆς οὐρίας <καὶ>
 ὑπὸ κράτος ποιούμενος [τὰ ἔθνη] μετ' εἰρήνης καὶ
 εὐνοίας κτλ.

Lines 652-4 have no basis in the ps-Call., but P corresponds almost exactly:

οὐκ οἶδα εἰς πόλιν ἑλπίδα θοροεῖτε. λέγω σας δέ, ὅτε με
 τὸ κράτος μὲ τὸ καλὸν καὶ πάλιν καθέξεσθε καὶ εἰρηνέετε.

As for lines 657-8, only β refers to "the other nations" submitting to Alexander: $\kappa\tau\eta\chi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\ \dot{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\tau\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota\ \eta\mu\iota\tau\nu$.

This is expanded by P to:

$\nu\acute{\alpha}\ \phi\rho\acute{\iota}\xi\omicron\upsilon\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \nu\acute{\alpha}\ \phi\omicron\beta\eta\theta\omicron\upsilon\nu\ \nu\acute{\alpha}\ \mu\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \kappa\omicron\lambda\epsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\chi\omicron\upsilon\nu\ \tau\omicron\nu$
 $\text{'}\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\nu\delta\rho\omicron\nu,\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\ \nu\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \kappa\rho\omicron\sigma\kappa\upsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon\nu$.

The Rimada's version is likewise an expansion, but rather different from P's. Alexander's farewell advice to the Tyrians (lines 659-660) is a rather loose and completely colourless paraphrase of the subtle pun of ps-Call., which is worth quoting: $\xi\rho\rho\omega\sigma\theta\epsilon,\ \sigma\omega\phi\rho\omicron\nu\omicron\upsilon\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \epsilon\iota$
 $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \mu\grave{\eta},\ \xi\rho\rho\omega\sigma\theta\epsilon\ (\omicron\mu.\ A)\ \delta\upsilon\sigma\tau\upsilon\chi\omicron\upsilon\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$.

For the rest of this chapter the nature of P changes somewhat; it becomes little more than a paraphrase of what we now call the " β tradition", sometimes even coinciding exactly with our β text. (In the following chapter, however, there are again close verbal correspondences with the Rimada.) In one further small detail of I 35 P does coincide with the Rimada: line 663 has no basis in the ps-Call., but P reads:

$\kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \eta\kappa\omicron\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\ \acute{\omicron}\ \text{'}\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\nu\delta\rho\omicron\varsigma,\ \sigma\upsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\epsilon\iota\sigma\epsilon\ \tau\eta\nu\ \kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\eta\nu$
 $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\upsilon,\ \tau\acute{\upsilon}\psi\alpha\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\ \sigma\tau\eta\theta\omicron\varsigma\ \alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\upsilon$.

Otherwise from line 661 to the end of the chapter P and the Rimada part company, the former to follow a β -type text, the latter being much briefer, omitting many details such as the pun on $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ and $\tau\upsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$.

The mention of three days at line 667 agrees with β and not A which has simply: $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \delta\delta\ \eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma$. Line 670 is the Rimada's own addition.

647 $\epsilon\rho\chi\omicron\upsilon\nu\mu\omicron\upsilon$: this peculiar-looking form of the first person sing. medio-passive impf. has not been discovered in any other text. There are, however, similar forms in the Theseid e.g. $\epsilon\delta\upsilon\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu\mu\omicron\upsilon$, $\epsilon\gamma\upsilon\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu\mu\omicron\upsilon$, $\epsilon\delta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\nu\mu\omicron\upsilon$, $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\theta\rho\epsilon\phi\acute{\omicron}\nu\mu\omicron\upsilon$, $\epsilon\mu\epsilon\phi\omicron\nu\mu\omicron\upsilon$.

662 $\epsilon\phi\omicron\upsilon\rho\chi\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha\nu$: probably a "translation" of $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\upsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ ($\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha\sigma\tau\omega\sigma\alpha\nu\ \beta$) $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ (cf. I 37, line 712), rather than of $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ (β) where A has $\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$.

665 $\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \delta'$ = $\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon$.

$\delta\upsilon\epsilon\lambda\pi\omicron$: the barbaric shift of accent is due to a confusion of the acc. and dat. cases, as well as to metrical convenience. (For other examples see Introd. p. 164). In the present case the confusion could have been assisted by the existence of the virtually synonymous phrases $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \delta\upsilon\epsilon\lambda\pi\omega$ and $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu'\ \delta\upsilon\epsilon\lambda\pi\omicron$.

I 36 (671-698) In the ps-Call. Alexander appoints the satrap of Phoenicia to oversee Tyre. This would seem to correspond to lines 671-2 of the Rimada, which resembles P's reading: $\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\mu\epsilon\nu\ \omicron\upsilon\nu\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \phi\omega\sigma\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\nu$
 $\nu\acute{\alpha}\ \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\chi\eta\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\pi\omicron\nu\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\omega}\rho\mu\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \epsilon\pi\iota\pi\omicron\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu$.

The probable explanation is that *στρατήν* was corrupted to *στρατιάν* in the course of transmission. Throughout the chapter A and B do not differ greatly from one another, but P and the *Rimada*, which resemble one another very closely, diverge quite considerably from the early versions. In general the MG versions are, as usual, briefer and simpler, omitting anything in the ps-Call. which is at all complicated. There is also some rearrangement of the order: 691-3 belong after the first half of 685, according to the order of the ps-Call. Line 690 in the *Rimada* is borrowed from further down (= 696) in order to complete the couplet.

Some close verbal correspondencies may be quoted from P:

σεντούκιον γεμάτων χρυσῶν (675); ὀρίζω
 τὸν δοῦλον μου Ἀλέξανδρον ταῦτα.... (680);
 νὰ σὲ κανακίζῃ ὡς παιδίζῃν.... (681);
 σὺν αὐτοῖς στραφῇ καὶ αὐτὸς ὀπισθεν.... (689);
 ἐὰν συναχθῇ ὁ κόσμος ὅλος οὐ μὴ δυνηθῇ
 ἵνα ποιήσῃ βλάβην..... (692).

The final couplet of this chapter (697-8) does not correspond to anything in P. It seems to derive from the opening words of Darius' letter cf. A:

θεῶν συγγενῆς σύνθερονός τε θεῶν μέγας καὶ συνανατέλλων
 ἡλῶ, ἐγὼ αὐτὸς θεός.....

P and B have something very similar at the beginning of their letter (but not the important word *σύνθερονος*):

συγγενῆς θεῶν καὶ συνανατέλλων τῷ ἡλῶ (ms. ἰδῶ), ἐγὼ
 αὐτὸς θεός κτλ. (P).

At any rate the poet had omitted these words at the beginning of the letter but later discovered that Darius' calling himself a god was necessary to

tally with Alexander's reply (cf. lines 734 and 737). So he was forced to tack an extra couplet at the end of Darius' letter.

676 σφύρα (and later σφυρί - 685, 757) for σφαίρα is an extraordinary error. There is no doubt that "ball", and not "hammer", is what the poet understood by the words, as the context shows - e.g. line 685. The confusion seems to be attributable to the poet's ignorance, but the possibility cannot be excluded that some particular local usage lies behind it. The ματσούκι is added by the Rimada merely to complete the metre and rhyme. It will be noted that it is not mentioned again.

686 ν' ἀποκρατῇ < ἡ > πνοή σου:

"that you may continue to breathe". For the phrase cf. Choumnos ms 815-6:

μόνον μὲ χόρτον καὶ νερόν διαβάζω τὴν ζωὴν μου
καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν παραμικρὸν ἀποκρατεῖ < ἡ > πνοή μου.

(See Megas' review of Marshall's Old Testament Legends... in BNJ 7 (1930) p.215). The verb ἀποκρατῶ, used intransitively, seems to mean "be sustained", "continue with difficulty" cf. Choumnos ms 582:

σ' αὐτὴν τὴν γνώμην καὶ Ἀβραὰμ καμπόσον ἐποκράτει,
where the meaning is "he continued for some time in this belief".

(See Hist. Lex. s.v. 4).

691 νὰ παίζης στὸ τζουγκάνι:

the phrase occurs somewhat earlier in P (equivalent to line 685) and in the form (σφαίραν) νὰ τὴν παίζης εἰς τὸ τζουγκάνιν.

Polo was a popular sport of the Byzantine Emperors: it appears to have been made fashionable by Theodosius II (L. Bréhier, La Civilisation byzantine, Paris 1970 p.62) and a tzykanisterion was built in Constantinople by Theophilus (H. W. Haussig, Kulturgeschichte von Byzanz, Stuttgart 1959, p.191). The game continued to be played until the last days of the Empire (Haussig loc. cit.) so that its mention here in the modern Greek versions of the Alexander Romance can scarcely be used as evidence for their dating.

I 37 (699-724) Few important differences emerge between the Rimada and the ps-Call. At line 717 Alexander quotes Darius as describing him as a child:

οὐδὲν σὺς πέβω 'ς βασιλίδ, μόνον εἰσὲ παιδίρι.

This is perfectly opposite and tallies with the texts of Darius' letter in both the ps-Call. and the Rimada. The other versions under discussion, however, viz. A and B including P. read:

ἀσπετος γὰρ ἔπεμψε ταύτας τὰς ἐπιστολάς οὐχ ὡς βασιλεὺς
ἀλλ' ὡς ἀρχιληστή.

(This is actually the text of A, but the other versions do not differ materially.) The same substitution of "child" for "bandit" occurs again in I 38 (line 752). Here, however, P allies with the Rimada and reads:

οὐδὲν ἐνίκησας βασιλέαν, ἀλλὰ παιδὶον μικρὸν, καθὼς
μὲ ἔγραψας.

Throughout I 37 and for the first few lines of I 38 P is again paraphrasing a β -type text to a greater or lesser extent, as in I 35. Probably P's original prototype was again defective and the scribe was forced to have recourse to an alternative source. Then P's prototype would, like the Rimada, have used the word "child" instead of "bandit" here as well as in I 38. The ambassadors' second answer (719-722) is rather distorted from the form it has in the ps-Call, where they flatter Alexander and beg him to spare their lives.

At the end of the chapter, after Alexander has released the emissaries, the ps-Call. goes on to describe how he entertained them to dinner and refused their offer of information which would enable him to ambush and capture Darius. Apart from these three points, there are no major differences between the ps-Call. and the Rimada, except that the latter has as usual added a few lines in order to complete its couplets viz. 704, 709, 718 and 724.

709 For this line which, as has been pointed out above, does not derive from anything in the ps-Call., compare 1797-8:

Ὀλπίζω πρῶτον στοὺς θεοὺς, στήν ἀνεξίκακιά μας,
δεύτερον στήν ἀγάπην μας κ' εἰς τὴν ὁμόνοιάν μας.

There again there is nothing comparable in the ps-Call. Line 709, with its isolated *πρῶτα*, seems to have been extracted from the fuller form which 1797-8 preserves. The couplet has the ring of the common-place about it, so it is highly probable that it is not the original creation of the present poet but a common device of the popular poetry of his time.

I 38 (725-760) Much of Alexander's letter, particularly lines 736-746, has suffered considerable modification in the Rimada. Some of this had apparently already occurred in the MG prose version, since P agrees with the Rimada at many points. But in one respect at least the prose text used by the poet was fuller than P, namely in lines 735-6. The couplet, though greatly distorted, derives from the following sentence in the ps-Call:

αἱ γὰρ τῶν θεῶν ὀνομασίαι εἰς ἀνθρώπους χωροῦσαι οὐ
μεγάλην δύνανται ἢ φρόνησιν παρέχουσιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον
ἀγανάκτησιν, ὅτι εἰς φθαρτὰ σώματα ἀθανάτων ὀνόματα
κατοικεῖ

(so A; β is very similar, but omits ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀγανάκτησιν).

(The Amerian version is in some respects closer to the Rimada; in Holmoe's translation: "For the names of gods, in coming to men, do not bestow great power or wisdom on them. Rather they become all the more arrogant and insolent, for the names of the immortals are being harbored in corruptible bodies." Nonetheless it is a far cry from this to the text of the Rimada as it stands, which seems to make

little sense. The two main difficulties are: a) the interpretation of 'ρρευνοῦσι, and b) the οὐδὲν of the second line of the couplet, which gives the opposite sense to that required. In line 744 'ρρευνησαν has its usual meaning of "examine", but that is not appropriate here.

τοῦτα must stand for τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν θεῶν: the poet must have used the pronoun unconsciously, not realising that he had omitted the noun from his version (unless it is supposed that a couplet has fallen out before line 735). In the editions, 736 begins οὐδὲ νὰ λαζονεύονται - but that does not alter the basic unintelligibility of the passage. Probably the whole couplet is corrupt, and without further evidence in the form of another ms of the MG prose version or a pre- editio princeps ms of the Rimada it is virtually impossible to restore what the poet originally wrote, or intended to write. Tentatively, the following hypothetical suggestion is put forward, though in such cases hypotheses are unlikely ever to be confirmed or disproved, so their value is strictly limited and they should not be embodied in the text:

Μὲ τοῦτα γὰρ οἱ βασιλεῖς ποσῶς δὲν σφραγισοῦσι,
μᾶλλον ἀλαζονεύονται νὰ λέγουν τι νικοῦσι.

Another puzzling feature of this section of Alexander's letter is the substitution of φθαρτὸς for θνητὸς in line 739. P reads:

ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπος θνητὸς ἔρχομαι νὰ σὲ πολεμήσω.

The word φθαρτὸς derives from the earlier passage, quoted above, where it qualifies the noun σώματα. This is further evidence that the prose model of the Rimada was here more complete than P.

The only part of this section which cannot, however remotely, be traced back to the ps-Call. is lines 745-6. There, there is no mention of the gold which Darius sent to Alexander, only of the gold and silver which Darius possesses. Since P, however, does refer to the gold, it is virtually certain that the couplet derives from the prose-model of the Rimada, probably with considerable elaboration. P reads:

ἐκδίνω δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὅπου μὲ ἔστειλες χρυσίον,
 ἵνα νοήσουν οἱ Μακεδόνες κτλ.

Finally in this chapter there is one couplet which corresponds to nothing in either A or β (including P), namely 727-8. It is possible to compare this with two other versions: Byz.1807

Ἔλεγον δὲ τὰ γράμματα κατὰ λεπτὸν τοιαῦτα
 (which is merely a metrical expansion of β's περιέχοντα οὕτως);
 and Arm. —

ἡ ἐπιστολὴ εἶχε τάδε γεγραμμένα..... (Raabe's retroversion).
 On the other hand one may also compare line 677-8 of the Rimada itself:

Ἔδωσαν τοῦ κ' ἐπιστολῇ, τὸ τί 'σαν τὰ γραμμένα,
 ἐπιστολῇ τὰ θέλει περ ὅλα τὰ γεγραμμένα.

Both couplets give the impression of being variations of a conventional formula for introducing a letter.

731 βασιλῆ : accusative; under the influence of dat. βασιλεῖ
 and pl. βασιλεῖς a nominative βασιλῆς is

formed. This acc. is also found at line 2538 and in Def. Log.Did. 211. Compare γομή, ibid. 121 and see Karaiskaki's note ad.loc. and MNE II 18, 30.

- 738 No parallel passage to this line exists in the ps-Call. It is to be translated: "Therefore you deserve death and are destined for the slaughter", taking τ' ὅποτον as equivalent to γὰρ τὸν ὅποτον λόγον. This is odd, but it seems to be the only possible interpretation, not only here but also at line 2508. Apart from this, an interesting parallel to the line occurs in Erot. II 1243:

ὅλοι 'ν αὐτοὶ τοῦ μακαλλεῖου, σὺ δὲ θάνατο γυρίζου.

- 746 ὅποτο: another loose usage of the relative pronoun. Here it is perhaps equivalent to μέσα σὺν ὅποτο.

This and the previous example merely go to show that ὁ ὅποτος was not properly understood by those unversed in the formal Atticistic language, who believed that its indiscriminate use would confer some magical stylistic elegance on their writings.

I 39 (761-812) This chapter is somewhat complicated as far as its relationship to its sources is concerned. At many points it seems only loosely dependent on the ps-Call. and at others it seems to have no connection at all. Lines 766-8 seem to be an example of loose dependence. The following passage occurs at the equivalent point in β :ἐπέγνων τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς δύναμιν. καὶ ἐξετάσας ἀκριβῶς τὰ περὶ τῆς συνθέσεως Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῆς πρὸς πόλεμον παρασκευῆς αὐτοῦ....

There is little similarity between this and what the Rimada has. On the other hand P corresponds more closely with the poem:

καὶ ἐγνώρισεν τὴν φρόνησιν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τὴν
τόλμην καὶ πολλὰν σύνεσιν.

In line 774 σταῦρωμα is clearly a corruption of Ταῦρος; in the ps-Call., however, the proper name occurs right at the beginning of the letter as, as it were the satraps' address. P again supports the Rimada; the whole sentence reads:

ἔμαθον ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς Φιλίππου ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκέρασεν ἀπὸ
τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν Ταῦρον τὸν βουνόν
(τῶν βουνῶν?).

The next two lines (775-6) indicate a closer relationship with A than β (see Introd. p.70). For 777-9 only P offers anything corresponding to the Rimada: λέγω δὲ, συνάξατε φωσφόρον κολύ, καὶ ὑπάγετε ἐπὶ τὸν
καὶ θέλω ἵνα τὸν δεῖξετε τίνες εἴσταν οἱ ἔρσαι ἡμᾶς μηδὲν
τολμήσωσιν πλέον οἱ Μακεδόνες ἵνα περᾶσωσιν εἰς τὸν
τόπον μου.

Here the ps-Call. has further threats of Darius concerning the humiliating punishments which he intends to inflict on Alexander.

Lines 781-2 are based on the ps-Call, but one word - σιδηρωμένοι - would appear to indicate that they are closer to β than A. However, corresponding details are found in other versions which belong to the α tradition, and in Pap. Hamb. 129 (see Introd. p.55). A slight change may be noted in

line 787: in the ps-Call. the letter is written by the satraps of Darius (in A, Arm., Val. and Byz. two particular named satraps). For some reason σατράπαι has been altered to στρατιῶτες in the Rimada (but not in P). In this letter there are two points at which the Rimada differs from the ps-Call. but in both cases it agrees with P. The first of these is at line 790: the ps-Call. says, roughly, "So great is the host which is approaching that we are surprised it has escaped your notice." In P this becomes:

θαυμαζόμεθα πῶς ἡμέλησας τὸν κόσμον σου· καὶ ἦλθεν
τόσον ἔθνος ἐπὶ ἡμᾶς....

From this derives the even further distorted version of the Rimada. The second point concerns lines 792-3 for which there is ^{no} corresponding passage in the ps-Call. But they can apparently be traced back to the MG prose version, since P reads:

ἔθνος..... μαχιμὸν καὶ τολμηρὸν. καὶ γράφεις ἡμᾶς ἵνα
ὑπάγωμε ἐπὶ ἡμᾶς τοῦ χωρὶς ἐσέναν.

The final letter of this chapter (lines 799-810) is very confused, and partly unintelligible. Only about half of it can be traced to the ps-Call. with any certainty, - lines 799 and 804-8. Of the rest the greater part can be traced to P though with some rearrangement of the order. Difficulties of interpretation will be discussed below. The final couplet of the chapter (811-2) likewise derives from P:

καὶ ταῦτα ἔγραψεν πρὸς ἐκείνους.

In the ps-Call. the end of the letter itself coincides with the end of the chapter.

763 The ambassadors are in fact those of Darius who came to Al. in I 36, as also appears from line 725.

774 τὸ σταύρωμα: as pointed out above, this derives from a misreading of τὸν Ταύρον. For the unfamiliar geographical name the poet, or an earlier copyist of the prose model, has substituted the more familiar σταύρωμα.

801-2 In P Darius threatens to extract from the satraps repayment for any damage done by Alexander:

γινώσκετε ὅτι τὸ ὅσον θέλει χαθῆν ἀπὸ τὸν κόσμον
μου ἕως ἃς θέλω πιάσειν.

This should clearly be the point in the Rimada too, as the following διότις indicates. Perhaps, therefore, 802 should be emended to θέλετε μοῦ πληρώσει.

806 The line could perhaps be improved by means of one or two small changes: νᾶ 'λθω ἄτός μου

(cf. P γράφετε νὰ ἔλθω ἄτός μου), γράφετε, θὲ νὰ μὲ ἐντροκιάστε.

809 Κάθεστε, ἀνακεύεσθε: these words can only be taken as imperatives in the present context: "Sit tight, and leave everything to me". But in P the corresponding passage (which, incidentally, occurs slightly earlier, before the equivalent of line 806) is in the indicative mood: καθέζεσθε ἀμέριμνοι καὶ ἀφήκατε ἕναν ἄνθρωπον ληστήν καὶ περιπατεῖ καὶ ἀφανίζει τὰς χώρας μου.

It seems that the poet has not understood the point of his prose model, and for this reason the text of the Rimada is confused and garbled throughout this letter. Therefore the improvements suggested above (802, 806) have not been embodied in the text itself.

I 40 (813-828) This chapter follows the ps-Call. quite faithfully with only one exception, apart from some abbreviation and simplification. The exception consists of lines 824-6: the first of these is acceptable as a "metrical expansion" to complete the couplet, but the other two lines have no basis in the ps-Call. However, P reads:

'Αλέξανδρε, μετανόησον καὶ στρέψῃσαι (sic) ὀπίσθεν μετὰ εἰρήνης.

This produces much better sense ("Repent and go home and I swear I will not hold any grudge against you") than the reading of any extant ms of the ps-Call., and for that reason it is probable that the text of the ps-Call. as we have it is corrupt¹ and perhaps originally approximated to what P preserves (Byz. also improves the sense - line 1980 :

εἰ ποῶς ἡμῶς αὐχέμα σὸν ὡς δοῦλος ὑποκύψης -

though whether this is the poet's own work or derives from his model cannot be determined.)

1. Merkelbach improves the sense somewhat by transposing the last two sentences of the letter (op.cit. p.199).

817 **Kai :** the reading of the editions and ms destroys the sense and it is very unlikely that it was written by the poet (cf. P. $\lambda\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota\ \sigma\epsilon$, $\lambda\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\upsilon}\rho\epsilon$).

The corruption probably crept in from the following couplet.

825 $\tau\acute{\iota}\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota\ \tau\acute{o}\ \gamma\upsilon\phi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$:

for the phrase cf. Chaumros M VII 50 (ms 706): $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\acute{\iota}\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota\ \tau\acute{o}\ \gamma\upsilon\phi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$

I 41 (829-888) This chapter diverges from the A and B texts of the ps-Call. more than any other chapter. Where it differs from the ps-Call. its readings sometimes agree with P but for a large part of the chapter that ms is no more than a paraphrase of a B text. P, in fact, seems to depend on two different mss: it begins by approximating to the description of the battle of Arbela given by A, but then breaks off and returns to the preliminaries of the battle of Issus as described by B (Bergson 67, 2 ff.), including the episode in which Alexander catches a chill while bathing, and continues as a paraphrase of B to the end of the chapter, now following exactly the B text as the other mss have preserved it, now modernising the language slightly or adding explanatory words or phrases introduced by $\eta\gamma\upsilon\upsilon\nu$, now omitting what coincides with the earlier "A-type" description of the battle (see van Thiel Die Rezension A.... p.19). The first part of the chapter in the Rimada (lines 829-843) agrees closely with P, and includes a number of verbal similarities, except for 839-840 which are not in P. As mentioned above, this seems to depend on an A-type text, particularly lines 833-4, but much of it is also similar to the description of the battle in B.

The next section consists of lines 845-850, for which β and A could both equally well have served as a basis. With 851 P again corresponds with the Rimada but has only one sentence before switching back to the beginning of the chapter according to β (see above): καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐσύγκρουσαν μετὰ κονόδρια, ἔπειτα μετὰ σταθία, καὶ ἐμάχοντο πολλὴν ὥραν δυνατὰ.

This corresponds to lines 851-6, which are, however, considerably padded out. As for the ps-Callisthenic source of this section, only two lines can be traced with certainty: 851 from both A and β , and 855 from A (where it is placed slightly earlier). Had P continued to follow his primary ms, it would presumably have corresponded with the remainder of the chapter in the Rimada. It must be assumed that either his model was defective or the scribe deliberately rejected what he found as being "incorrect". Much of the rest of the chapter in the Rimada is peculiar to it: the hortatory speech of Alexander (859-864), a further description of the battle (867-870), the flight of the Persians (879-880) and the concluding couplet summing up the result of the battle (887-8). The rest may be derived from both the A and β versions of the ps-Call., with only lines 871-3 perhaps inclining towards rather than A (though Arm. here agrees with β - see Introd. p.55).

If the chapter in the Rimada is examined as a whole, the following order of events may be discovered: preparations for battle (829-840), battle (841-4), Alexander gives the order for the battle to commence (845-6), description of lengthy battle (847-858), speech of Alexander to his men (859-864), more fighting (865-76), flight of the Persians and victory for Alexander (877-888).

It has already been noted that P contains two descriptions of the battle, one similar to A, and one following β. In the Rimada the picture is even more confused: there seem to be three battle scenes, two quite lengthy ones and one short; not only that, there is also the speech of Alexander, which would be expected to precede the battle, occurring right in the middle of the battle scenes. No rearrangement of lines produced any satisfactory improvement in this situation, so it must be assumed that the text as we have it is in the same order as the poet wrote it, and this chaotic state of affairs must somehow be explained. With lines 829-843 there is no problem since P is more or less in agreement and a text similar to A could have served as the source for both. The battle scene in this passage (841-4) can be explained as a misunderstanding of A whose text is in any case extremely corrupt:

ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πολὺ τῶν ὁρμάτων διεφθείρετο (διαφέρουτο ms.)
πάντοθεν ἑξακοντιζομένων τῶν ἀναβατῶν, τὰ δὲ καὶ διασκαδασθέντα.

This ought really to form part of the description of the Persians' strategy. Next should come Alexander's arrival and disposition of his forces (P, but not in the Rimada). He mounts his horse and orders the trumpeters to sound the war tune (ps-Call., Rimada 845-6, absent from P). A great cry goes up (ps-Call. Rimada 847, not P), simultaneously the trumpets sound (Rim. 849-850 cf. A) and battle begins. This battle scene tallies closely with P and its relationship with the ps-Call has been discussed above. At this point in the ps-Call there is a lull in the battle: ἐκότεροι δὲ τὸ νίκος
ποιησάμενοι ἔχωρίζοντο (A, similarly β).

This is not expressly mentioned in the Rimada (perhaps a couplet has been lost) but its presence is felt in other ways. (What follows is presumably, like almost all the other discrepancies between P Rimada and the ps-Call., due to the anonymous author of the MG prose version): the two commanders survey the field and take stock of the situation (857-9) and Alexander makes a speech of encouragement to his troops (859-864). Battle is renewed amidst considerable confusion and finally the Persians are routed (ps-Call., Rimada 865-888).

833 δρεπανομάξα: ἄροατα δρεπανήφορα.

See Xen. Anab. 1, 7, 10 etc.

834 τὰ εἴλασι βαλμένα: the phrase also occurs,
at the same point in the line, at Def. Sus. 62.

835-6 As the couplet appears in the editions it is ungrammatical and unintelligible. A comparison with what P has is profitable :

ἤρμαψαν τὰς καρούχας αὐτῶν δρεπάνια γύρωθεν καὶ
ἔστησαν αὐτὰ εἰς τόπον ἐπιτήδειον ἵνα ὅταν ᾖ ὁ
ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος νῆ τὰ ἀπολύσουν ἐπὶ τῷ του καὶ εἰς
τοῦς Μακεδόνας.

Line 836 is abstracted from this almost verbatim, but the poet needs a rhyme for Μακεδόνας. He fishes around for a suitable proper noun and hits upon Ἀμαζόνους. This necessitates the alteration of Μακεδόνας to Μακεδόνους but this does not disturb the poet greatly as he has already used the nom. form Μακεδόνες in order to "improve" a rhyme

(line 791). This done he proceeds to complete the couplet with scant regard for grammar or sense. Of course line 835 could be "emended" in various ways to remove these deficiencies e.g.

Κι ὀρδυνιασμένους εἶχαι σ' αὐτὰ (sc. τὰ ὀραπανο-
ἄμαξα) τοὺς ἁμαζόνους, or

Κι ὀρδυνιασμένοι ἦσαν τοὺς ἁμαζόνους.

But to apply such conjectures to the text is to do the poet's job for him, but with greater feeling for syntactical unity than he could muster. That he was inept scarcely requires proving, so to attempt to remove his ineptitudes in the absence of positive corroborative evidence is a pointless task.

849 Compare Apokop. 329

κ' ἐδώκασιν τὰ βούκινα καὶ τὰ παιγνῖδια ἐπαῖξαν,

Thes. 1658

καὶ τότες ἀρχινῆσαι τρουμπέτες καὶ παιγνῖδια,

Belth. 1336

ἐπαῖξαν τὰ παιγνῖδια, ὡς εἶχαν κατὰ τέξιν.

Achill. 327 καὶ τὰ παιγνῖδια ἐκρούσαν. . . .

For other instances of παιγνῖδια meaning "musical instruments" cf. Dig. Akkr. (OXF) 139, Belth. 1329, Erot. II 2542, Chron. Turc. p.75 etc. παιχνῖδι is also apparently the usual word in modern Rhodian for a musical instrument (D. W. Phillips, in an unpublished thesis deposited at the Bodleian Library, Oxford). For ἀνακαρδῆς cf. Belis. (Georg.) 397

and Achel. 736, 2048. Xanthoudidis has an extensive note on the various forms of the word in his Erot. Gloss. S.V. νιδάκη. Whereas νιδάκη is only used metaphorically in modern Crete, in Zakynthos it still preserves its literal meaning cf. Konomos Lex. S.V. ἀνάκαρα ἢ νιδάκα (" = εἶδος ξύλινου αὐλοῦ, τοῦ παίζεται στὰ πανηγύρια μὲ τὴν συνοδεία ταμπούρου.....")

and Minotou Trag. no. 380 ἀνακαράδες (Glossary: "εἶδος χωριότικου αὐλοῦ. Τὸ παίζεται στὰ λαϊκὰ πανηγύρια, μπαίνουν ὅμως μὲ αὐτὸ οἱ χωρικοὶ καὶ στὴν πόλη, γιορτάζοντας τὰ ἐκλογικὰ εἰνέκρια").

861-2 The image was perhaps suggested by I 2 (31-2).

870 ἔγαν: the emendation is supported by the almost identical line 2590.

874 ἐπιδέκχε κοντόροι: the phrase seems to have the technical meaning of "to wield or ply a lance" cf. Koron. p.8: Πένταις καὶ τζούστραις ἔπαιχε καὶ τζέκχε κοντόρια.

(But in the aorist the verb has the literal meaning of "break" ibid. p.80 τὸ κοντόρι του τζέκχε.)

So line 874 may be translated: "Anyone who was a man was wielding a lance there."

I 44 (889-910) After the rout of the Persians at Arbela (I 41) the *is-Call.* contains two chapters relating further exploits of Alexander in Lipperia, Phrygia, Pyle and Abdera. (A omits a considerable passage, extending from the end of I 41 to just after the beginning of I 44; the scribe notes that two folios were missing from his model. This is important because it indicates that the *Rimada* is probably descended from the same family of mss as A. In Kroll's edition of A the deficiency is supplied from Arm. and Val.) The *Rimada* apparently passes straight to I 44 but some lines at the beginning of this chapter probably have a different origin. At the beginning of I 44 in β Alexander reaches Bottia and Olynthos and plundered the land of the Chaldees. The *Rimada* reads:

Κ' ἐπαίρνει τὸ φουδάτο του Ἀλέξανδρος τὰ πᾶσι,
εἰς χώραν Μήδων διάβηκε καὶ αὐτίνους ὑποτάσσει.
Ὁ τόπος ἦτον ἄνδρος

(889-891).

It is possible that this derives from the passage mentioned in β , with *Chaldees* substituted for Chaldees, but a more closely related passage occurs at the beginning of II 9:

Κ' ἀκείθεν παραλαβὼν τὰ στρατεύματα ἐπὶ Μήδους
ἠπεύγετο καὶ τὴν μεγάλην Ἀρμενίαν, καὶ ταύτας
δουλωσάμενος <καὶ> ὀδεύσας ἱκανῶς ἡμέρας
ἄνδρους τόπους κτλ.

(A, similarly β).

The similarity between this passage and lines 889-891 is so great (particularly the phrase ἄνδρους τόπους)

that there can be little doubt that the passage served as the source for these three lines of the Rimada. Thus for some reason lines which properly belong to II 9, immediately before the crossing of the Euphrates, have been misplaced in the Rimada at the beginning of I 44. Some hypothesis is required which will explain this disorder. Since nothing of chapters I 42 and 43 is found in the Rimada it may be assumed that its prose model also had a lacuna similar to that of A. It would appear that the leaf containing the episode of the slaughtering of the horses had fallen out of place in the MG prose version, or in its model, so the scribe passed straight on from Alexander's victory over Darius to the entry into Media (II 9). Then, discovering the misplaced leaf he returned to the "hunger" episode (I 44), the reference to ἀνύδρους τόπους providing a convenient link. Ms P supports this hypothesis to some extent: from I 41 the scribe resorted to his secondary β source and continued to follow it as far as the end of the first paragraph of I 44 (Bergson 74, 4). Here his original model again became available (or acceptable) and the rest of I 44 agrees very closely with the Rimada. Somewhere near the end of I 44 P again reverts to β which it follows, paraphrasing and modernising to a quite considerable extent, as far as the middle of II 8 (Bergson 82, 16). Then it jumps immediately to the last two lines of II 8 according to β (Bergson 83, 9-10) and commences II 9 as follows:

Ἐκείθεν οὖν παραλαβὼν τὰ στρατώματα ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος
 ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν τῶν Μήδων χώραν. καὶ ἀναγκάσας
 ἵνα ἐπάσῃ τὴν Μεγάλην Ἀρμενίαν, ὅπως καὶ
 ταύτην δουλωσάμενος μὴ πολλὰς μηχανὰς, ἐπειδὴ
 ἄλλοι οὐκ εἶχον κ.τ.λ.

Here it continues with the episode described by the Rimada at 911-9 which has no authority in the Greek mss of the ps-Call. Strangely there is no mention of "waterless places" here or later, when P arrives at the crossing of the Euphrates.

Is it possible to discover a way out of this maze and to reconcile the different orders of events in the Rimada and P? The most logical order of the episodes, and the one which involves the minimum divergence from the ps-Call. is the following: after their victory over the Persians the Macedonians run out of supplies and are forced to kill their horses in order to satisfy their hunger. Since they are now without the necessary means to fight a battle, should the occasion arise, they fortify their encampment and send out a detachment to search for horses and when these are discovered they continue their journey into Media through various "waterless places", until they reach the Euphrates. This was probably the substance of the original modern Greek prose version from which P and the Rim. are descended. The order of events is the same as that of the ps-Call. All that has been changed is the insertion of an episode to explain how the Macedonians, having slaughtered their horses for food, were nonetheless able to continue the expedition. (This insertion may be the work of the author of the MG prose version, but it is just possible that it derives from an earlier version, since in Syr. too the Macedonians refurnish themselves with horses, which they find at Loeri (= I 45). From this hypothetical prototype of the MG prose version P has diverged (apart from the interpolations from β) by relegating the episode of the $\xi\upsilon\gamma\acute{o}\kappa\alpha\delta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\omicron$ and the discovery of fresh horses to after the entry into Media and by

omitting altogether the reference to "waterless places". An explanation of how the Rimada came to diverge from this sequence of events has been postulated above and still holds good.

To recapitulate, the first two or three lines of I 44 in the Rimada really belong to II 9 and their location here is probably due to a misplaced leaf in the ms used by the versifier. Realising his error he immediately switched to the correct beginning of I 44 (line 892) and then, seeing that there was some confusion as to whether the Macedonians' problem was hunger or lack of water, he invented a line in which water was discovered and thus clarified the situation. The chapter then proceeds agreeing closely with the ps-Call. down to line 908 except that some rearrangement of the order of lines seems to be necessary in the passage from 899 to 902 (see below). Lines 909-910 have no equivalent in the ps-Call. or in P, but it is not impossible that they derive from the MG prose version.

891 εὖ τότε ἦτον ἄνδρος :

cf. Choumnos ms 1227 ἦτον ὁ τότε ἄνδρος

A curious coincidence - or a conscious reminiscence?

892 εὖτό 'τοιμο : presumably for εὖτό ἔτοιμο,

"on the verge of", but no other instance of this phrase, which was perhaps a colloquialism, has been discovered.

899-902 With the text as it stands in the editions (and Codex) the point of the argument is lost. It should be the soldiers who complain that they are unequipped for battle now that they have

eaten their horses (cf. P: Τινὲς δὲ ἔλεγον · "Τί ἔδοξεν
 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὅτι τὰ ἄλογά μας νὰ σφάζωμε; Ἴδου
 μὲν πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ἔχοιτάσθημε τροφῆς · ἀλλοτρίως
 δὲ νὰ εἴμεθα ἀρμάτωτοι ἔπειδὴ ἄλογα οὐδὲν
 ἔχομεν νὰ μάς θηκύνουν. Πῶς νὰ πολεμήσωμε
 μετὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μας;"),

whereas in the Rimada it appears to be Alexander who is com-
 plaining (901-2):

Εἶπε τοὺς · "Στρατιῶτες μου, δὲ τούτο τί νὰ γένη
 πού φάγαμε τὰ ἄλογα ὅπου ἡμῶν χρεισμένοι;"

By reversing the order of the two couplets but retaining the
 first half-line of each in its original position, and then
 making a few slight changes in line 901, a more logical order is
 obtained. However, the passage is still not entirely satisfactory
 and it is possible that a couplet has been lost before 903, per-
 haps beginning Εἶπε τοὺς · "Στρατιῶτες μου"

908 The line gives the opposite sense to that required: "Horses are
 easy to find but where can I get more Macedonians?" Without
 radical alteration it is not possible to make the line compatible
 with this meaning, so it seems probable that the versifier had
 missed the point.

I 45-7. II 1-8: The Rimada omits everything between I 44 and II 9.

β contains only I 46 and II 6 (end) - II 8 whereas A has all the above-mentioned chapters. In them is described Alexander's journey to various cities of Sicily and Greece and back through Asia Minor. P agrees with β in content throughout this section.

II 9 (911-976) The first nine lines of this chapter are really the conclusion of the hunger episode of I 44 but because P relates it after the entry in Media, and because the Euphrates crossing follows immediately, they have been numbered with II 9 for the sake of convenience. This whole section of P is given by van Thiel (op.cit. p.19) so it will not be repeated here. One particular feature, however, is of interest: in P the section is narrated in the third person, following on, of course, from Alexander's entry into Media, but at one point slips into the first person -

ἔπειδ' ἄγορα οὐδὲν ἔχαιν τὰ θανάτα του,
ἐποίνα χαρὰ κώματα -

returning immediately to the third person. This slip on the part of the scribe suggests that he was working from a ms in which the episode was related in the first person, as it is in the Rimada. From line 920 the narrative again corresponds to the ps-Call. (A and β) as far as 930. Lines 931-2 indicate a closer relationship with A, where two rivers are also mentioned (see Introd. p.70), but there is no absolute agreement with A. P corresponds more closely to the Rimada with the words:

καὶ ἦθ' ἄς
τὸν Τίγριν καὶ ἐπέρδαν τον · ὅποιον καὶ οἱ δύο
ποταμοὶ ποτίθουν τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν · ἐπέρδεν οὖν
ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ τῆς δύο ποταμούς

Lines 933-948 reveal no marked disagreement with the ps-Call., except that 941-2 appear closer to β , and 947 to A. P is also in agreement and at some points corresponds verbatim with the Rimada, especially 947-8:

Τὰυτὰ εἶπε καὶ ἐθαροποιήσέ τοις καὶ ἐποίησέ προθύμους
εἰς τὸν πόλεμον.

Line 949 differs from the ps-Call. in that there it is Darius who encamps on the Tigris. In P too there is no change of subject and so the sentence must be understood to refer to the Macedonians.

The next episode, in which five Persians are pursued but escape by hiding in a wood (951-4), is a curious distortion of a brief passage not found in β :

καὶ ἦσαν οὗ προηγούμενοι δατράπαι πέντε

(A, similarly Byz., Leo,

Arm.). In all these versions, and in β , there follows a description of a minor skirmish. P approximates to this also but its continuation helps explain the passage in the Rimada. The whole passage in P reads:

ἦσαν οὗ δατράπαι πέντε εἰς τὸν τόπον ἐκείνον
τοῦ Δαρείου. καὶ ὡς τὸ ἤκουσε ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὤρμησεν
πρὸς ἐκείνους καὶ ἐκείνοι εἰς φυγὴν ἐτράπησαν.

With the usual distortion that accompanies the process of versification in the present work, and with some padding (e.g. the whole of 954), this, or something similar, was transformed into lines 951-4.

The remainder of the chapter (955-976) follows the ps-Call. closely; there is some slight distortion (the crest of Alexander's helmet is crushed

[959-960]), some omission (Alexander at first takes his assailant for a Macedonian) and some expansion for metrical reasons (lines 962, 976).

924 The line is hypometric but could be corrected by writing ἀπερ-
ἀδουδὲ since the forms of this verb with ἀ- are almost
as common as those without, a number of which in any case follow
νὰ or some other word ending in -α.

926 Compare Apok. 360 καὶ τὸ νερὸν τ' ἀμέτερον μᾶς
ἔκαρπεν κιβούριον.

973-4 The sense is much improved by the transposition of θυμάσθε
and φοβάσθε. The emendment is supported by P in
which "fear" is also linked with "death": οὕτως πρέπει
νὰ εἶναι οὐ στρατιῶται ταχήμενοι καὶ νὰ μηδὲν
φοβοῦνται τὸν θάνατον.

975 Alexander's dismissal of the Persian occurs before his speech
to his troops in A and β, not after as here and in P.

II 10 (977-1028) Lines 977-98 are a simplification of the ps-Call.
(the reason for Darius' withdrawal - shortage of provisions¹ - is omitted)
and line 980 is tagged on to complete the couplet without any basis
existing for it in the sources. Other divergences from the ps-Call. in

1. But in Arm. and Leo. it is due to the Persians' defeat by the Macedonians;
see Merkelbach p.91§.

this chapter are the following:

1) 985-8. Alexander's reply to the satrap is somewhat distorted owing to the pressures of metre and rhyme. In the ps-Call. the point of Alexander's argument is: "Since you betray your own people, I will not entrust my men to you."

2) The ps-Call. knows nothing corresponding to lines 989-990, but P reads:

οὕτως εἶπεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἐδίδωξεν τὸν στρατὸν.

3) The letter which begins with line 993 is written by "the satraps" in the ps-Call., and in A they are named as Hydaspes and Spinther. Since the Rimada drifts from the singular στρατηγός into the first person plural in the course of the letter it is probable that emendation is required (see below).

4. The letter of Darius to Alexander (1005-1012) is considerably distorted at many points. In fact the first four lines of it bear little resemblance to the ps-Call. The beginning of the letter has been lost in β, γ and δ which begin approximately with the passage corresponding to line 1009. In

A the letter begins: Ἐγὼ ψας ἡμῶν ἐπιστολὴν ὑπερέφελον,
 δὲ ἡς ἡμῶς ἐπιγνῆτε ἐντυχεῖν σοι. οὐχ οὕτως
 ὡς ἔξεις ἂν τὴν ἀγκυρὰν, ὥστε τοὺς ἀπὸ
 ἀνατολῶν θεοὺς εἰς δύσιν κατοικεῖν.

This is quite unrelated to what the Rimada has, but P is in perfect agree-

ment with the Rimada: εἰνέταί σε, Ἀλέξανδρε, διότι ἐπίσσε

τὴν γυναῖκα μου καὶ τὴν μάραν μου καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας
 μου ὅτι ἐκέριδες τίποτες. Τίνωσκε ὅτι ὥστε
 καὶ στέκη τὸ κεφάλι μου, οὐδὲν τὸ ἔχω τίποτε.

The great divergence from the text of A (which is supported by a papyrus¹ and Byz. - see Merkelbach p.205) can be explained by the corrupt nature of the passage. This led to its complete omission in β and later versions but the author of the MG prose version, or of a ms ancestral to it, chose to compose a suitable introduction to the letter from his own imagination. The rest of this letter is much abridged in the Rimada agreeing partly with β (line 1009) and partly with A (1011-2) (see Introd. pp. 56 and 71). P has a fuller text which seems to combine both A and β.

5) All other versions say that Alexander smiled or laughed when he read Darius' letter (line 1013).

6) Apart from the first two lines, the letter of Alexander (1015-28) is greatly changed from the ps-Call. to the point that no line corresponds closely to any passage in A or β. P has contracted the letter somewhat and agrees with lines 1015-19, 1021, 1025 and 1028 of the Rimada. The rest is apparently expansion for which the versifier was responsible (though the letter was originally more extensive - see Merkelbach op.cit. p.205).

984 Here and elsewhere στρατηγός is used simply as a metrical variant for στρατιώτης. The poet is unaware of any

1. Pap.Soc.Ital. 1285 see D. Pierracioli in Papiri della Società Italiana VII 2 (1951), pp.180-3.

distinction of meaning between the two. This phenomenon is by no means restricted to the present work, but is common in medieval texts (see Erot. Gloss.)

985 Πήγαινε τὴ δουλειά σου :

a colloquial expression, also occurring in the form

κάμε τὴ δουλειά σου , which gave rise to
καλλειά σου (see Xanthoudidis reviewing Marshall's

"Old Testament Legends" EBRS 3 (1926) pp.339-340).

991 ff. As mentioned already, in the ps-Call. this letter is sent by "the satraps". In the Rimada the introduction refers to a singular στρατηγός , the letter begins in the first person singular but at line 995 switches to the plural. On the assumption that the corruption from plural to singular took place in the versified text, the plural has been restored by means of a few simple changes. Even if this assumption cannot be made it is at least certain that the poet came eventually to the realisation that the letter should be in the plural. As the changes required are such slight ones, in either case their incorporation in the text is considered justifiable and necessary. At one point (991) the metre is improved by the change since it permits ἑκάμαν (more demotic than ἑκάμεν and indeed more frequent in the poem) to replace ἑκάμε.

998 ἀπόλιπον ἀπόλιπον : "little by little",

"gradually". Compare ἀπόλαηχο ἀπόλαηχο

Portulans p.XIII Preface line 3, and Hist.Lex. s.v. ἀπόλιχο

where the doublet ἀπόλιγο ἀπόλιγο is cited.
 The tendency for the accent of ὀλίγος to shift may also
 be seen in phrases like ὀλίγον τὸ κατ' ὀλίγον
 (Poulol. 613) and in ἀπολιγοῦ (Erot. I 383). At
 Koron. p. 145 the reading ἀπ' ὀλίγον χαλάτον
 must be corrected to ἀπόλιγον to conform with
 metre.

- 1023 The meaning seems to be: "If you had ever pitied them as you
 would your own slaves, (it would not be quite so inhuman)".
 Thus the sentence is equivalent to a conditional with the
 apodosis left unstated.

II 11 (1029-1060) At three points in the course of this chapter the
Rinada corresponds more closely to A (lines 1037, 1043 and 1047-50) and at
 two others (1031/1033 and 1040) β provides a closer source, backed up by
 other witnesses of the α tradition (see Introd. p. 56). One serious dis-
 tortion occurs, in lines 1039-1040: in the ps-Call. Alexander does not ask
 for camels to be sent to him, but informs the satraps that camels (3,000
 in β, Byz., Arm. and P - no number is specified in A) have been stationed
 at various points along the route from the Euphrates to Antioch, for the
 purpose of transporting the equipment which he requests. The corruption is
 also present in P: Στείλετέ με καὶ ἀγγάματα ὅσα
 εὐρίσκοντα καὶ καμήλια χιλιάδας τρεῖς καὶ να
 ἔχθουν γένησθαι εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν.

Another important locus in this chapter is the letter of Darius to Porus (1055-60). Only four versions of the Alexander romance have an actual letter at this point: γ , ϵ , β and the Rimada. Apart from line 1056, β agrees very closely with the Rimada, while there are no particular similarities between it and the γ/ϵ letter. In the Rimada this letter seems to replace the earlier one from Darius to the neighbouring kings which in A and β follows the letter from the satrap(s) to Darius. β , however, contains both letters because it again reverts to its β -type ms for the passage equivalent to lines 1043-54 (Bergson 89, 10 - 90, 5). One other point at which the Rimada presents material not in the ps-Call. is lines 1041-2, which are presumably an expansion of a single word in its model, as in β : $\acute{\omicron}\gamma\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\tau\epsilon$.

1029 $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ 'γραψεν : with this shift of accentuation may be compared line 2141 $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ 'γραψε, and Dig. Akr. (Oxf) 57 $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ 'παδιν, Gad. 69, 91 $\tau\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ 'λεγεν, Erot. III 1279 $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ 'λεγεν, Achel. 1276 $\tau\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ πεν, ibid. 1400 $\tau\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ ναι etc. Examples are so common that it may be considered the usual practice in verse texts of the 16th century and 17th century for $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha$ etc. to undergo a shift of accent when followed by a verb whose initial syllable is an accented vowel. The same thing happens with other words too; see Introd. p. 152.

1031 $\Phi\rho\alpha\gamma\kappa\acute{\iota}\alpha$: a substitution of the familiar for the unfamiliar. The reference should of course be to Phrygia, as too at line 2844. $\Phi\rho\alpha\gamma\kappa\acute{\iota}\alpha$ is the usual term for Western Europe

in medieval Greek e.g. Chron. Mor. 212, 245, etc.

1041-2 Compare lines 1733-4:

Ἐδῶς γὰρ εὖν μὲ ὑρεῖα γρήγορα ἢ γράφῃ μου,
γὰρ γὰρ ὅτε πάντα τὸ γοῖπὸν εἰς τὴν ἑπίσκεψή μου.

1043 δημηγέτης : it is possible that a proper name lurks behind this word. The author of the letter is named variously Οἰμητάδης (A - for which Ausfeld conjectures Μαδάτης), Notareses (Arm.), Nostadi (Leo) and Νοστάδης (Byz.).

1047 Κοιζάδης : the closest version of the name to this is in Leo - Coxari. Other versions are: Κωμάρξης (A), Kosares (Arm.), Ὁξάδης (Byz.).

1049 Νεανίας : compare Νανίας (A), Ἀνανίας (Byz.), Annias (Arm.). The other versions omit this name. Ausfeld (op.cit. p.158) thought it might have derived from a misunderstanding of νεανίας ("den jungen Sohn des Abulites"). If he is right, then the Rinada alone has preserved the correct word.

II 12 (1061-84) In general outline the chapter conforms to the ps-Call. As may be expected there are slight differences in detail: part of Rodogoun's letter is omitted, in which she informs Darius that she has been honourably treated by Alexander; lines 1069-70 do not reflect anything in the ps-Call., but P has here: Ἀνάγνωθεν ὁ Δαρεῖος ταῦτα καὶ ἐτοιμάζεται πρὸς πόλεμον.

Other lines too have the appearance of padding, namely 1078, 1080, 1082, but these last two are supported by P, in which the passage equivalent to 1080-2 reads:

ὅμως τὸ τί ποιήσειν οὐκ εἶχεν. "Ὅθεν ἠναγκάσθητο
ἱεὶα ποιήσῃ πάλιν πόλεμον καὶ πάλιν ἔδειξιά.

At two points in this chapter A offers a closer source than β : at line 1073, since Darius' mother is not named in β, but is called "Ροδογούνη in A (ex.corr.), "Ροδῶ in Byz. and "Ρωδάνη in P; it is interesting to note that the Rimada has preserved the name with almost complete accuracy; the second passage which must derive from a text similar to A is lines 1083-4, but in the Rimada the sense is corrupted. A and Arm. say: "He (Darius) considered the land of the Bactrians his bulwark in war". According to the Rimada's version, Alexander went to Bactria and "embraced it with love and peace". Two interesting observations may be made: 1) P omits this sentence altogether, which suggests that it was already in a corrupt state in the modern Greek prose version, which led the scribe of P, or an ancestral ms, to discard it; 2) the form of the name of Bactria is in A βακτριανῶν (corrected by Kroll to βακτριανῶν), and in Byz. χωρὶν βακτριανήν (3323). So the paronymology with the noun βακτρία is by no means confined to the Rimada. The substitution of the suffix -ίνη for -ανή, which is perhaps to be considered a metrical necessity, is comparable to the change of Ἀρμωνιακή to Ἀρμωνίκη (line 515).

1064 $\mu\delta\epsilon\tau\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron$: for this bastardised form, which is really the dative $\mu\delta\epsilon\tau\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omega$, with perhaps some influence of $\mu\delta\epsilon\tau\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$ (See Introd.p. 164).

1070 ν' $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\upsilon\tau\iota\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\iota$: the medio-passive form, instead of the normal active, is probably only a convenience adopted for the sake of rhyme and not a living contemporary form. On the interchange of active and passive verbs in the poem, see Introd.p. 216 f. .

II 13 (1085-1106) The episode in which Alexander terrifies the Persians by deluding them as to the size of his army is greatly modified in the Rimada. In the ps-Call. (and in P) branches are tied to sheep which are then driven behind the army. (β and Byz. elaborate with a further passage in which, after dark, torches are attached to the animal's horns, to increase the Persians' terror - cf. II 23, lines 1517-20). The poet, or perhaps the author of an ancestral ms, has apparently misunderstood what happened. He omits all mention of sheep, and simply states that the branches were placed in the road for the horses to trample on them. (But cf. Leo: evellans herbas ramosque arboris ligans ea in pedibus equorum....) The episode of Alexander's dream in general conforms to the ps-Call., but is slightly abbreviated (- the ps-Call. has more after the passage corresponding to line 1102). At the end of the chapter the Rimada agrees with A and P that the army (satraps) approved of Alexander's plan against β , α and γ where Alexander is advised ^{not} to go to Darius in disguise. Throughout the account of the dream P agrees very closely with the Rimada,

in places almost verbatim:

καὶ ἦγον εἰς βοήθειάν σου (1098)
 καὶ μηδὲν φοβῆσθαι · ἐγὼ εἰμι βοηθός σου.

Earlier in the chapter, however, it is probable that P was again using a β-type ms, particularly for the episode of the torches (see above), which is not in A or the Rimada.

1085 εἰς περδικὴν τὴν χώρα :

i.e. the city of Persepolis, in A called Περδίσ.

1094 ποιὸν νὰ προβοδῆσουν : sc. δὲν ἤξερε.

1096 In the ps-Call. Ammon is said to be dressed in the usual attire of Hermes, with herald's wand, cloak and Macedonian cap. A similar form to Μακεδόνα, for Μακεδονία, occurs in version G of the late-Byzantine Alexander Romance (ed. Mitsakis 273.20, ἀπὸ τὴν Μακεδόναν).

With this evidence, Μακεδόνα must be considered not simply as a crude malformation employed for the sake of rhyme by the poet, but as a secondary form, probably influenced by the accentuation of the Italian form Macedonia.

II 14 (1107-56) The chapter is complicated, with numerous omissions of details of the ps-Call., abridgements, distortions and occasional additions.

At four points (1110, 115-8, 1133-4 and 1139-40) a closer relationship with β than with the text preserved by A is indicated, but in some of these cases the text of A is lacunose or corrupt and in all of them other α -type witnesses agree with β and the Rimada; at one point (the list of guests at Darius' banquet, 1147-56) a lengthy passage in the Rimada is absent from β , but is in A, Arm., Byz. and P.

Amongst the details which the Rimada omits are: general information about the River Strangas (after 1108), Amelius' plea to be allowed to go with Alexander and Alexander's instructions to him (= 1109-1110), the sentries' assumption that Alexander was a god, because of his strange attire (1113-4), and some of the dialogue between Darius and Alexander (1127-32).

At two points the Rimada has material not in the ps-Call: at lines 1119-20, where, however, P provides a source and Val. has a similar passage; and at lines 1145-6 which are perhaps added by the versifier himself, no other version having anything which corresponds precisely.

The passage from 1121 to 1126 is at variance with the ps-Call. at many points. The text of A is clearly corrupt and partly untranslatable, but the gist of it is: "Darius was on a hill haranguing his troops and drawing up the lines of battle (Alexander), seeing Darius' amazing appearance, almost did obeisance to him as the god Mithras. For he was lavishly dressed and countless armed men surrounded him." Arm. agrees with A to all intents and purposes, and β only differs significantly in the first sentence where it reads

στράτας ὀρύσσων

for A's στρατοῖς

καρύσσων.

Ms V reads τάφρους

for στρατάς

(so also Byz.) and P seems to combine the two readings of the β -group mss:

καὶ ἤρεε τὸν Δαρεῖον ἐπάνω εἰς ῥάχην βουνού
 καὶ ἔδοκασεν τὰς δ' ὁδοὺς καὶ ἐπολέμει τὰ
 καντάκια καὶ ἐδύνταζε καὶ τὰ φονδύδα του.

Although there is apparently no mention of roads or trenches in the Rimada, it is not absolutely certain that it is following an α -type text here because

τὴν στρατιάν might possibly be a recorruption (στρατοῖς > στρατός > στρατιάν) of τὴν στρατὸν or τὰς δ' ὁδοὺς,

which would be metrically more satisfactory. P, however, seems to be paraphrasing a β -type text here and in the description of Darius which follows (in spite of the fact that the previous sentence corresponds exactly to Rimada 1119-20, and is missing from all other versions). So it is more probable that the text of the Rimada in line 1121-2 is sound and follows a model based on a text similar to A. This is also borne out by lines 1123-4: in the ps-Call there is some confusion whether it is Alexander who mistakes Darius for a god or vice versa; the former is the case in A, Val. and Arm., while in β (including P) and Byz. it appears to be the opposite case. Although the Rimada does not agree precisely with either case, lines 1123-4 appear to derive from the former type.

Apart from the passages discussed above, the rest of the chapter may be assumed to conform to the ps-Call. Minor divergences, such as proper names, will be considered below.

1107 "Ἑρμῆζον : Alexander's companion is called Εὐμήζος

the Greek versions of the ps-Call., and Melteos in Arm. P conforms with the other Greek mss, but B alone has "Ερμηνον whenever the name occurs. In the Rimada the nominative form of the name is "Θερμηνος, from ὁ "Ερμηνος (1110, 1193).

1108 Στεάγγαζον : the correct name of the river is Strangas.

Perhaps the form Στεάγγαζος or Στεαγγάζης (as at line 1223) is due to a popular etymology with the verb

στραγγαγίζω, because the pursuing Persians were drowned in it.

1115-6 There seems to have been a basic formula in poetry of this period for asking the identity and business of a stranger. This generally employed ὁδεύεις and γυρεύεις as rhyme words and could be adapted to suit the particular context. Examples are:

Anakon. 77-8:

Λέγουν μου : " Πόθεν καὶ ἀπὸ ποῦ ; τίς εἶδαι ;
 τί γυρεύεις ;
 καὶ δίχως πρόβodon ἐδῶ στο σκοτός πῶς ὁδεύεις ; "

Choumnos ms 705-6:

Εἰπέ μου, πόθεν καὶ ἀπὸ ποῦ ; ποιὸς εἶδαι καὶ
 πόθεν ὁδεύεις ;
 τῆς Παλαιστίνης ἐμπαδάν, καὶ τί ναι τὸ γυρεύεις ;

Dem. Byz. Asma 138:

τίς εἶδαι ; πόθεν ἔφθασες ; τί θέλεις ; τί γυρεύεις ;

Other examples could no doubt be found. In the present work lines 1127-8 below may also be compared.

- 1130 ποῦ : not "where", but "when" in the ps-Call. The change in the Rimada is not due solely to the constraint of metre, because P reads: Μηνεῖ δε ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς ποῖον τόπον θέλομε ποιήσει τὸν πόλεμον.

- 1133-4 This couplet is an exact repetition of 419-420, except that ἐτρώθη has been replaced by τὰ τρώθη.

- 1148 ff. The list of guests is given by A, Arm., Byz. and P. Needless to say, such a lengthy catalogue of unfamiliar names has not survived the processes of transmission without considerable corruption. Nonetheless it is possible to identify all the 8 names listed by the Rimada with their counterparts in the other versions. They are as follows: Ὀξιδένης - Ὀξυάθνης (A), Oxydarnes (Arm.), Ὀξύδαρκος (Byz.), Ἀλέξανδρος (P - presumably a copyist's error); Κουδάτενης - Ὀχος ὠτράνης (A, ex. corr.), Ochos (Arm.), Δίοχος (Byz.), Διθράκης (P); Ἐθεράνης - Μιθριδάτης (A, corrected from μιθριδάτης), Mithridates (Arm.), Μιθριδάτης (Byz.), Θυράτης (P); Καυδάνης - Καυδάνης (A, Arm., Byz.), Καδαύνης (P); Κυβένης - Πογυάνης (A), Pauliades (Arm.), Πογύαρχος (Byz.), Αἰάνδρης (P); Ὀνυφάτος - Ὀρνίφατος (A),

Armiphatos (Arm.), 'Ορυφάτης (Byz.), 'Ορυφάτης
 (P); Σουβγάκης — Σοβαρίτης (A), Σουβγάτης
 (Byz.), Σεργάτης (P); 'Αγκιδέως — Δεξεάγκιδες
 (A), Alkides (Arm.), 'Αγκίδης (Byz.), 'Ακνηναίος (P).

In most cases the forms of the names in the Rimada are surprisingly close to those of A. There is not, as might have been expected, very close agreement between P and the Rimada except in one respect: the number of names, eight, is exactly the same, whereas the other three versions add four other names, making a total of twelve (Arm. has five additional names but omits one of the eight).

II 15 (1157-92) The first two lines of this chapter are traceable only to A, of the two Greek sources under consideration (see Introd. p. 72).

In lines 1163-4 there is some distortion due to the pressures of metre and rhyme; in the ps-Call. Darius asks a straight question: "Why do you put the goblets in your robe?" In P this becomes: " Γιατί , ἀποκριδάρει ,
 βάνεις τὰς κούπας εἰς τὸν κόλπον σου ; "

The poet's difficulty is that he is compelled to use the nominative

ἀποκριδάρεις to rhyme with τὰ πάρος . This necessitates the insertion of εἶδαι , so the meaning is altered to: "Just because you are an ambassador, do you think you can take the cup from which you have drunk?"

The recognition of Alexander takes a slightly different form in the Rimada from the ps-Call. In the latter the Persian recognizes Alexander by his

voice (then in A looks more closely at his features to be quite sure), and then finally leans towards Darius and tells him that the ambassador is really Alexander. In the Rimada he recognizes Alexander and at once whispers in Darius' ear. Lines 1179-1180 are not in the ps-Call. as part of the words spoken by the Persian, but a similar passage occurs earlier (= 1174). But P has a passage corresponding almost exactly to 1179-80:

"Οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὅπου μὲ ἀπιγορίδεν
ἀπὸ τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ οὐδὲν μὲ ἔδωκε τέχος."

In P the Persian says this to himself, and then goes and tells Darius in a separate speech. This conforms with the ps-Call. But in the Rimada the Persian goes straight to Darius and the one speech performs the function of the two in the ps-Call.

After 1180 it is possible that a couplet has been lost since the transition is very abrupt and there is no subject stated explicitly in 1181.

Line 1184 is closer to A than to β but the opposite is true of 1190. A considerable amount is omitted from the Rimada, relating to the details of Alexander's escape, the omen seen by Darius and the melting of the ice as Alexander crossed the Strangas. All this is inserted by P from its secondary (β) source. At the end of the chapter P apparently returns to its primary source, which accords with the Rimada in offering a passage not found in other versions:

"ἤκουσε ὁ Δαρείος ὅτι ἔγχευεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος
καὶ ἐθάύμαζεν πολλὰ τὴν γυνῶν του καὶ τὴν
μεταχείρισίν του.

(= 1191-2)

- 1168 $\nu\acute{\alpha}$ $\pi\eta$: see Introd. p. 155.
- 1173 $\Pi\alpha\rho\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\nu\varsigma$: his name appears variously as
 $\Pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\acute{\alpha}\chi\upsilon\varsigma$ (A and Arm. - in the former corrected from
the ms reading $\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha\chi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$), $\Pi\alpha\rho\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\chi\upsilon\varsigma$ (Val.),
 $\Pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\chi\upsilon\varsigma$ (β , with a number of ms variants), $\Pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\chi\upsilon\varsigma$ (γ),
 $\Pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\acute{\alpha}\pi\eta\varsigma$ (Byz.) and $\Pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\iota\delta\alpha\chi\eta\varsigma$ (P).
Apart from one letter and accentuation, P's reading is phoneti-
cally identical with the Rimada's. In fact the word is a Persian
common noun meaning "ambassador" (see Ausfeld op.cit. p.161).
- 1180 $\acute{\alpha}\pi\iota\gamma\omicron\gamma\iota\alpha\delta\epsilon$: "dismissed"; for this usage of
 $\acute{\alpha}\pi\iota\gamma\omicron\gamma\iota\alpha\delta\omega$ cf. Chron.Mor. 2968, 6724, Chron.Turc. p.95,
and Prot. IV 1207, and for the similar form $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma\iota\alpha\delta\omega$
cf. Mach. 26¹⁵, 210³³ etc., Choumnos ms 509. For the development
of this meaning from that of "answer" and for further examples
see Prot. Gloss. s.v.
- 1181 $\tau\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$ $\beta\gamma\alpha\iota\upsilon\epsilon\iota$: the rhyme and syntactical flow might be
improved if $\tau\acute{o}\tau'$ $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\acute{\epsilon}\beta\eta$ were to be written. But,
on the other hand, half-rhymes of the type $\beta\gamma\alpha\iota\upsilon\epsilon\iota$ - $\phi\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota$
occur not infrequently in the poem and do not appear to have
disturbed the poet particularly (see Introd. p.249 f) and besides
there is no consistency as to the tense used in narrative. Since,
also, the suggested emendment does not completely heal the rhyme,
it has been considered advisable to leave the text undisturbed.

II 16 (1193-1244) The battle of Arbela. Lines 1193-5 accord better
with β than with our surviving text of A, but other α witnesses (Arm., Val.,

Syr.) agree with β against A. Other points in this chapter where β appears to offer a closer source are lines 1202, 1207, 1215, and 1224-5, all of which agree with other α witnesses (See Introd. p. 57 f.).

Often in the course of this chapter the Rimada seems to be only loosely based on the ps-Call. This is particularly true of many second lines of couplets e.g. 1214, 1216, 1218, and also of one quite extensive passage - Darius' lament (1229-1244): lines 1231-2 are completely without foundation in the ps-Call. as are many of the over-numbered lines - 1236, 1238, 1240, 1242. On another occasion when the Rimada appears to be elaborating independently of its source the same clause in fact occurs in P, so must be considered to derive from the modern Greek prose version. This is in line 1204, where P reads:

ἢ πόδα πρόβατα νὰ ἀντισταθούν ἕναν γύκον.

Possibly this may be seen as a recollection from I 2 (line 31 of the Rimada) but more probably as a variant of very common proverb cf. the apophthegm in II 12 of version λ :

ἀλλὰ εἰς γύκος οὐ φοβεῖται
πρόβατα πολλαί

(See van Thiel op.cit. p.22).

At some other points in this chapter the Rimada slightly abridges the ps-Call: in the speech of Alexander to his men, and in the preliminaries to the battle.

1198 πέντε χιλιάδες κ' εἴκοσι :

the figures is 120,000 in the ps-Call., but in P 124,000.

1200 μὰ ἔχουσιν αἰτία : αἰτία

must be taken in the sense of "shortcoming, disadvantage"

(Kriaras Lex. s.v. meaning 2) as in Aitol. Myth. 1424 (quoted by Kriaras).

- 1203-4 Πόδες πόδα : the editions (and ms) give Τόδες which probably originated as a misprint; compare P: Πόδες
 γούν μυῖες νὰ ἀντισταθούν μίαν δφήκαν ἢ πόδα
 πρόβατα κτλ.

- 1210 πηδᾶ, καβαλικεύει : a set phrase for mounting a horse. It occurs at Achill. 120, 568; Imb. 98, 101, 110. Flor. 537, 1388, Chron.Mor. H 4829, 5785 and in the plural form
 πηδούν, καβαλικεύουν at Achill. N 356, 618, 1126, 1216, 1460, Achill. O 182, 404, 411, Pol.Tr. 452, Chron.Mor. 1060, 1107, 5146, 5313. Thus there is no doubt that this is one of the stock phrases of oral poetry inherited by the author of the Rimada.

- 1218 Compare with this line 1506. The poet's inability to describe a scene is a common-place in medieval Greek poetry, particularly in the verse romances e.g. Imb. 53-4:

Τὸ τί νὰ γέρω οὐκ ἔχω, τὸ τί νὰ γράψω οὐκ ἔχω.
 Ἐξαπορεῖ μου ὁ χογιόμος, αἰς χεῖρες καὶ ἡ γῆῶσσα....

Achill. 69, 96, 778:

καὶ ποῖα γῆῶσσα δυνηθῇ κατὰ γεπτόν νὰ γράψω....

ibid. 716-7:

Ἐξαπορεῖ μου ὁ χογιόμος καὶ ὁ νοῦς μου νὰ τὰ γράψω,

καὶ ἀδυνατεῖ ἢ γινώσκει μου πῶς καὶ τὰ ἐφηγῆται.

It is interesting to note the confusion between oral and written methods of transmission, particularly in the first example from the Achilleid.

- 1221-2 Both the Rimada and P have completely missed the point: as the ps-Call. describes it. Darius turned his scythed chariot about and retreated through the ranks of his own men. The rest of the chariots followed and so the Persians added to the slaughter by mowing down their own infantry. A similar error is committed by Syr: "Then Alexander's foot soldiers armed with long scythes pursued them and mowed them down like corn in the field" (p.76); and by Byz:

Τὰ πῦρθη Μακεδόνων δὲ σὺν τοῖς δρεπανηφόροις,
καὶ τοῖς τὰ βέη βάλλονσιν, ἐδίωκον τοὺς Πέρσας
αὐτοὺς καταθερίζοντες ὡς στάχνας ἄρούρας.

(3640-2)

P seems to omit a sentence, passing straight from the flight of Darius to the arrival at the Strangas river. It is possible that the readings of Syr., Byz. and the Rimada all derive from a common corrupted archetype, but more probably it is merely a question of three separate misunderstandings of not very explicit language;

A, and presumably its lost Greek relations, read: δρεπανηφόρων
δὲ πῦρρων ἁρμάτων τερχαζόντων οἱ περὶ ἐθερίζ-
οντο ὥσπερ δίτος ὑπ' ἄρότεω.

1243-4 The couplet is (presumably) a faithful translation of its model

(cf. P: ἡ γὰρ τύχη βραχείαν ἔαν χάβη ροπὴν, τοὺς
ταπεινοὺς ὑπεράνω τῶν νεφεγῶν ἀναβιβάζει, καὶ
ὁδοὶ εἶναι πάλιν εἰς ὑψηλὴν τάξιν κάτω εἰς
τὸν "Αἶθρα τοὺς κατεβάσει),

but it is also likely that it represents more or less a popular contemporary saying. It is reminiscent, for example, of the opening lines of Erotokritos. Xanthoudidis in his commentary gives a number of similar examples from medieval Cretan and other Greek literature; of these the one which is perhaps closest to the present passage is Xerit. 431-3 :

Θωρῶ τὸν τὸν περψεύτικον (κόσμον) τροχὸς ἐν καὶ
τοὺς μὲν ἀνάγει δήμερον, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους κατεβάσει, ^{χυρίτσει,}
καὶ τοὺς ἀνάγει δήμερον, πάλιν κωθοχυρίτσει.

Compare also Erot. II 2280:

μὰ ἡ μοῖρα ἄλλους ψηλὰ πετᾷ, καὶ ἄλλους στὰ
[βάθην γέρνει,

and George Aitolos (ed. Banescu) 375:

"Αλλοι ὑψώνει ὁ καιρὸς, καὶ ἄλλοι κατεβάσει.

In the present work the distich is repeated almost identically at lines 1385-6, which reinforces the impression that it was a common contemporary platitude. Several other examples of the "fickleness

of fate" theme in popular texts are cited by H. Bees in "Neue Version mittelgriechischer Vulgärtexte aus Handschriften der Meteorenklöster", Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen..... XV, 1912 Zweite Abteilung, 72-3.

II 17 (1245-88) In the letter which Darius sends to Alexander (1247-64) the Rimada appears first to incline towards A (1249-51) and then later towards β (1255), but in the second case the rather different reading of A, though supported by Syr., is at odds with other witnesses of the α tradition - Arm. and Val. - and, perhaps most significantly, with Pap.Hamb. 129, which contains a fragment of the epistolary romance of Alexander (see Introd. p.58). Also of interest in this letter is that lines 1257-8, though not deriving from the ps-Call., are paralleled in P, which has: Ἐπεὶ ἐπῆρας καὶ τὴν μητέρα μου καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα μου καὶ τὰ παῖδιά μου, καὶ κρατεῖς τὰ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνίκησές με εἰς τέλος

It is odd that the Rimada refers to Darius' sister, instead of his children (line 1257); the reason is probably nothing more than convenience of rhyme.

Alexander's reply to Pameon (1271-1280) calls for detailed analysis since at many points it diverges from the ps-Call. The introductory line (1271) is closer to β than to A, in which Alexander is not said to smile. Parts of the speech (1275-6, 1279-80) are not matched by the ps-Call. at all, even by P, but on the other hand the ps-Call. has other material which is not in the Rimada. In general the ps-Call. is more lucid and precisely

argued, as is to be expected; for instance the passage corresponding to lines 1272-4 is as follows in A: "I am amazed that Darius will ransom his mother, his wife and his children with my money; but much more that he promises to give me my own land. Presumably he is unaware that unless he defeats me in battle all these are mine; if he is worsted by me, let him not promise me my own possessions; for if he defeats me in battle, he will have no dispute with us about his wife or mother or children, but we shall be in dispute with him about our own."

After Alexander's speech the Rimada omits a brief passage in which the wounded are ordered to be treated and the dead to be buried. It seems that P's model also lacked this passage for it is inserted there from the β -type source; the whole passage in P shows signs of disorder and of having been patched together from different sources, for instance it is stated twice that Alexander stayed the winter in that place; the second time derives from the β -type ms, but the first comes immediately after the speech and is as follows:

καὶ ἔπειθεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὅλον τὸν χειμῶνα
ἐκεῖ καὶ ἀναπαύθῃσαν τὰ φουδάτα.

The last four words agree with line 1284, which has no basis in the ps-Call. itself, so clearly the Rimada and P have a common source at this point.

1253-5 The Rimada agrees with P almost verbatim for this passage; the

latter has:πῶς ἐπέδωκεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὰ

ἔπαθεν διὰ τὴν ἀγαγονείαν του. "ἔχασε καὶ τὰ
πράγματα καὶ τὸν γαόν του.

1269 Παρμένιος : Παρμενίων (A, Arm., γ, Byz.),
Παρμένιος (majority of β mss.).

II 18 (1289-1300) Lines 1289-90 are apparently closer to β than to β (see Introd. p. 73) but some misunderstanding has also crept into the Rimada: according to A the tombs of the Persians contained much gold plate and silver bowls - κρατήρες ἀργύρεοι. P makes this κεκάνες κενράς, and the Rimada, using the same words, implies that the κεκάνες were actually the coffins. κεκάνη is also used in this sense slightly later in P, with references to Cyrus' tomb. This is to be explained as a confusion with κεκάνη or κεκάνη as is well illustrated by line 2869 and 2872 where κεκάνη and κεκάνη are used synonymously.

At three points in this chapter the Rimada agrees with β against A: lines 1292, 1295-6 and 1298 (see Introd. p. 58 f.). In the first of these (Cyrus' tomb is twelve storeys high) the reading of Kroll's edition is a correction based on Arm., but is nonetheless practically certain as the historical source (Strabo p. 730) agrees. The second is merely an accidental omission from A, since Arm., Cod. Vat. Gr. 1700 and Paris suppl. gr. 689¹ agree with β and Byz. in mentioning Xerxes' tomb. The third affinity with β is also apparently due to the carelessness of the scribe of A, since Arm., Cyr. and Leo all supply what is missing from A.

1. See Introd. p. 49.

The description of Cyrus' tomb has been abbreviated somewhat in the Rimada; the poet contents himself with asking who could describe its beauty (line 1294 cf. note on 1217).

Finally the episode in which Alexander takes pity on the mutilated Greek prisoners is drastically curtailed. Even the fact of their mutilation is not mentioned by the Rimada. The ps-Call. relates that when Alexander released them and gave them money to return to their homes they refused and asked instead for land to remain in Persia, to avoid bringing shame upon their families. Alexander complied with their request and gave them land, corn and animals. All this is omitted by the Rimada, but P has it as usual in the form of a paraphrase of the β text. At the end of the chapter P adds:

ἔριβε νὰ τοὺς δώδουν χρήματα νὰ τὰ ἀγοράδουν καὶ
νὰ εἶναι ἀδούλωτοι καὶ ἐλεύθεροι ἐκ πάντων.

The last part of this sentence, at least, is probably faithful to P's primary model, for it coincides verbally in part with lines 1299-1300 of the Rimada.

- 1292 γύρου γύρου : according to one view the adverb is derived from the genitive of the noun γύρος (see Prot.Gloss. s.v. γύρου περιγύρου). More probably however it was originally γύρο - γύρο from the acc. of γύρος (so Andriotis Lex., who compares δρόμο - δρόμο and τοῖχο - τοῖχο), which then underwent the same change as befell ἀπάνω, κάτω, χάρω, and adopted the -ου termination on

the analogy of other local adverbs such as ὅπου, αὐτοῦ
(OGE II, 309). γύρου γύρου is also found at Katsaltis
II. II 62.

II 19 (1301-1322) Most of this chapter follows the ps-Call. more or less faithfully. At lines 1315-6 the meaning has been distorted somewhat, almost certainly for reasons of metre and rhyme. What the ps-Call. says is that Parus will provide gold, food and fodder for those of Parus' army who present themselves at the Caspian gates (so, at least, A, Arm., K and V - the other β-group mss and Byz. differ, reading χορήγῳ for χορηγήσω).

As usual there is a certain amount of padding added by the poet to satisfy the demands of his metre; lines which may be classified thus are 1302, 1304, 1308, 1322 and 1328.

At the end of the chapter the Rimada indicates very clearly a closer relationship with A than with β (1327-32). A and β have very different endings to the chapter, β being much briefer, omitting two sizeable passages from A. The Rimada agrees almost completely with A, relating the flight of Parus (1327), and the defection of the eunuch (1329-30). P combines texts of both types, first ending the chapter similarly to β (= Bergson 109, 7-10) and then adding the original ending, which agrees very closely with the Rimada:
Ἦλθε δὲ καὶ ὁ εὐνούχος τοῦ
Δαρείου εἰς τὸν Ἀγέξανδρον καὶ εἶπε τὸν ὅτι ὁ
Δαρεῖος φεύγει. καὶ ὡς τὸ ἤκουσε ὁ Ἀγέξανδρος
τότε μᾶλλον ἐδίωκεν.

- 1315 **Στὰς Καπηγίας :** the "Caspian Gates"; in A, **τὰς Καπίας πύγας**, in B and Byz., **τὰς Καπιακάς πύγας** (with ms variants). P also agrees with B. The corruption presented by the Rinada may be attributed to one or more of a variety of reasons: a barely legible ms, the geographical ignorance of the poet, metrical necessity, or a false etymology with **καπηγείον** (compare the following version).
- 1318 **τὰ ῥιβύ :** for **τὰ ἥριβύ**, a solecism for **τὸ ἥριβύ** or the plural **τὰ ἥριβεα**. The form **τὰ ἥριβύ** is actually found in P and L at this point.
- 1319 **Τὸν ἵππον τὸν Βουκέφαλον :** Byz. has precisely these words, but there can be no suspicion of direct influence. It merely serves to illustrate the tendency of the "political" metre to write itself!
- 1321 The subject must be supplied from line 1314 - **φονόδατο**.
- 1323 **Ὅς τ' ἄκουσεν Ἀλέξανδρος :** in the ps-Call. it is stated that Alexander received the information from a Persian deserter.
- 1326 **Βατανία :** *batana*. Various forms of the name are given in the manuscripts, the majority agreeing on **ἔν Βατάνοις**.
- 1329 **εὐνούχος :** he is named as *Bagistanes* in A (Ausfeld's correction), *Gistanes* in Arm. and *Bazarus* in Val. The irregular accentuation of **εὐνούχος** is to be attributed to

poet's lack of education. Had he known the correct form he could easily have rearranged the line to avoid accent violation. The word occurs with the correct accentuation in the epilogue (33) which, as concluded in the Introd. (p.108), is certainly not from the hand of the poet himself.

II 20 (1333-1394) Realising that Alexander was drawing near, the two satraps, Peisus and Ariobarzēs, plotted to kill Darius expecting that Alexander would reward them for this deed. So the ps-Call., but the Rimada makes the satraps express their hopes and intentions to Darius himself as they attack him (lines 1334-8). The change is apparently due to the poet since P, although corresponding verbally with the Rimada in places (*καὶ σκοτώσουν τὸν Δαρείον ἵνα τοὺς τιμήσῃ*), retains the general format of the ps-Call. Why the change, then, in the Rimada? It is not difficult to understand the reason if the poet's complete subservience to metre and rhyme are borne in mind: 'Αεροβαρζάνης requires a rhyme-word; the word which occurs to our poet is *χάρεις*. Hence the need for direct speech!

Lines 1345-6 are closer to β than to A, but Arm. also agrees with β as do Tyr. and Leo in part. However, the lengthy description of the struggle between Darius and the satraps, which β gives, is omitted by the Rimada.

At this point the poet launches into an impassioned diatribe against the wickedness of the satraps (1347-52). Since P is following β from approximately the beginning of Darius' speech until the crossing of the

Stranges at least, it is not possible to state positively whether there was anything similar in the Rimada's model or whether it is interpolated by the poet. The latter seems more probable since all the other occasions where the poet's intervention is suspected e.g. all the "γυναικά", the comments on Porus' death (1882-90), Candace's speech after recognising Alexander (2355-60), have a similar moralising tone which is characteristic of the greater part of early modern Greek poetry.

In lines 1359 and 1369 a mysterious disturbance of the sequence of events may be noted in the Rimada: the ps-Call. says that Alexander covered Darius' body with his cloak, then laid his hands on him and addressed him; after Alexander's speech Darius stretched out his hands to embrace him and replied. In the Rimada the covering of Darius' body is done after Alexander's speech (line 1369) and the "stretching out of hands" appears to come earlier. The explanation is probably as follows:

τῇ Χακμύδι was mistakenly read as τῇ Χειρί and the reference to Alexander placing his hands on Darius was then rejected as superfluous; later the scribe realised his error and inserted the reference to the cloak after Alexander's speech. This hypothesis is fully borne out by P, which begins the passage in question with:

καὶ μὲ τὸ χεῖριν τοῦ ἐσκέπασεν τὸ κορμὶν τοῦ Δαρείου,

but then apparently switches to its β -type model for the introduction to the speech, the speech itself and the sentence that follows (= Benzsor 111, 11-112-8); P then adds the following sentence which accords with Rimada line 1369 and presumably derives from their common ancestor:

ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος μὲ τὰς ἰδίας χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ἐκβαλὼν τὸ
ἀπανωφόριον αὐτοῦ ἐσκέπαδε τὸν Δαρεῖον.

Line 1363 is more closely related to α than to β (see *Introd.* p. 73). After this α has several lines which are not found in β . They correspond in position to lines 1365-6 of the *Rimada* but it is not possible to discover much correspondence of meaning.

Darius' dying speech (1371-92) depends only in part on the ps-Call. Only lines 1371-2, 1381, 1383 (closer to α than β), 1387 and 1389-92 are derived from the ps-Call. and even then there has been some rearrangement of the order. P accounts for lines 1385-6 in the sentence: καὶ τοὺς
μικροὺς ποιεῖ μεγάλους (sc. ἡ τύχη), καὶ τοὺς
μεγάλους μικροὺς.

Otherwise P offers no help as its dependence on a β -type ms is increasingly frequent: often it is impossible to determine what derives from β and what belongs to the MG prose version. In the present chapter there seems to be more of the former.

This leaves a quite considerable section of Darius' speech for which there is no known model - 1373-80 - besides several other odd lines. Most of this material is of a gomic character and resembles the other interpolations which may be attributed to the poet (see above on 1347-52). Without other evidence it is of course impossible to say with certainty that these lines do not derive from the *Rimada*'s prose model; that possibility must be kept open, particularly in view of the correspondence of lines 1385-6 with P.

1332 Ἰδών : either this is an undeclined participle ("seeing that Alexander was approaching....." cf. β) or else the line is corrupt and cannot be emended with certainty; perhaps

Ἰδών might conceal Μήδων, or οἱ δύο, or Ἰδ' οὖν, or Ἰδοῦ

Ἀεροβατζάνης : Ἀεροβατζάνης (VL, and A corrected from Ἀεβατζάνης), Ἀεροβατζάν (BFGP γ), in reality Nubarzanes (cf. Arrian III 21. 1, Just. V 9.2). It is possible that

Ἀεροβατζάνης should be read in the Rimada (here and line 1457), assuming the corruption to have taken place between the ms of the poem and the printed edition. The form given in line 1355, Ἀεβατζάνιος, is very close to the ms reading of A.

1336 ἀπάνω πού : "in addition to the fact that"; with this may be compared the use of ἀπάνω εἰς, "in addition to", e.g. Ref. Log. Did. 67, Erypt. IV 120. This usage is different from ἀπάνω πού in a temporal sense, "while", for which see Hist. Lex. ἀπάνω, A 4 β).

1359-60 It is necessary to invert the second hemistichies in order to make 1360 intelligible. Thus καὶ ἀπῆλθε τὸ χεῖρ του εἰς τὸ κορμί corresponds to εἰς καὶ μὲ τὸ χεῖρ του ἐσκέπαθεν τὸ κορμὶν

For ἡ τύχης τὸν ἤφερε - "he was fated" - cf. 1382 τύχης τὸ ἤφερε, "it was fated" and 2356: πού σέ ἤφερε τὸ δόξιο εἰρικό σου ;

1376 στέκει στεκούμενος : the participle intensifies -

"stands upright"; cf. Cypr. Erot. 1, 7-8:

να πηδήσῃ πάνω πάκει
καὶ γι' αὐτὸν στέκει στεκόντα.

1378 ff. The weapon most usually associated with Thanatos, or Charos, is of course the sickle e.g. Erot. II 361, Erof. Prol. 2, Penth. Than. 149 etc. Arrows are normally associated with Eros the personification of love e.g. Erot. I 1709, III 317 etc. But in the early 16th century at least both Death and Fate (Τύχη) are represented as armed with bows and arrows: Death in the poem Penth. Than. 621-3:

καὶ ὀλίγο ἀπάνω ᾧ στέκεται ὁ χάρος καὶ ᾧ βαστάῃ
τῶν τριῶν γογῶν τὰ ἄρματα, ἐκείνα πού μᾶς σφάζει:
τὸ δρέπανον καὶ τὸ σπαθί, δοξάει μὲ σαγίττες....

and 217-8:

Νὰ βάλῃς κάτω τὸ σπαθί, ρ' ἀφήκῃς τὸ δοξάρι,
νὰ ρίξῃς τὲς σαγίττες σου, δὲν θέλωμ' ἄλλην χάριν....

and Fate in Apokop. 415-8:

Ἢ Τύχη τὸ δοξάρι τῆς ἐνάντιον τὸ ἐκοκκιάσεν,
κ' εὐκαίρεσεν τὴν σπούρδαν τῆς ὥστ' ἀπὸ τοὺς
ἐφτάσεν.

Μὲ τὴν καρδιάν τοὺς ἔποικεν σηνάδιν τοῦ δεξιότη
κ' ἔριξεν τὲς σαγίττες τῆς ἀπὸ ὑστερὴν ὡς πρώτην.

1393-4 Almost exactly the same words are used of Philip's death, lines 453-4.

II 21 (1395-1476) At several points in this chapter β appears to provide a closer source than A: lines 1395-6, 1432, 1453-4 and 1475. But in nearly all of these cases the appearance is probably due only to the bad state of the text of A, since there is always at least one other α witness agreeing with β . On the other hand, the Rimada contains one lengthy passage which is not in β (1434-48 - the edict to the Persians), and at one other point agrees with A against β (line 1411). (See *Introd.* p.73).

Throughout the chapter the Rimada agrees very closely with P. Some striking verbal correspondencies will be cited below.

At line 1402, the Rimada is alone in mentioning "three soldiers"; according to β , Byz., Arm., Syr. and P, Alexander carried Darius' body
 μετὰ τῶν στραπῶν , while A and Leo give "with the Persians". τρεῖς is not a metrical addition in the Rimada since the line could perfectly well stand without it, scanning στρατιῶτες as tetra-syllabic. Probably τῶν was misread as τριῶν by the versifier. Line 1403 seems to preserve an early state of the text: A merely states that Darius was buried in a τάφον βασιλικόν and β simply has the words ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον ; but acc. to Arm. Alexander "set him in the grave of the Persian kings". The Rimada and P follow the version of Arm; P has: καὶ ἔθηκεν τὸν εἰς τὸν τάφον ὅπου ἦσαν καὶ τῶν ἑτέρων βασιλέων οἱ τάφοι.

The Rimada is alone (lines 1404-8) in mentioning an inscription on the grave of Darius. P records:
 ἐποίησαν ἐπάνω εἰς τὸν τάφον
 του παραδιαβαθμονός

i.e. "celebrations", "games", which would appear to translate A's
 ἀγῶνα.... ἐπιτάφιον. The reading of A could explain the Rimada's
 "epitaph" (SG ἐπιτάφιος [ἐπιγραφή]),

or it is just possible that the origin is the μνήμη of B. In either case a single word of the ps-Gall. has been considerably embroidered in the Rimada.

Alexander's edict or proclamation to the Persians (πρόβταγμα) is mistakenly referred to as a letter in both the Rimada (line 1409) and P (in P it is headed: 'Επιστολὴ βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου πρὸς πᾶσαν τὴν Περσίαν);

but the chapter heading in the Rimada (line 1410a) does correctly term it
 Διαλαλία.

The proclamation itself appears in a greatly abbreviated form in P and the Rimada; many clauses are omitted and those that are retained seem to be chosen at random. For lines 1433-48 only A (of the two earliest Greek "versions") provides a source; amongst the non-Greek versions Arm. and Syr. present the passage. The text of A is rather corrupt and this corruption probably explains why the Rimada is often barely intelligible in this passage. As in the earlier part of the proclamation, P and the Rimada are considerably briefer than A, Arm. and Syr. (For a detailed commentary, couplet by couplet, on this section - 1433-48 - see below.)

Line 1449 ff. is properly speaking part of the funeral speech for

Darius, but in the ps-Call. it has been misplaced and confused with the edict (Merkelbach op.cit. p.96). In the ps-Call. the passage corresponding in 1450-52 is in direct speech; then follows a sentence, which the Rimada and P omit, to the effect that the Persians were disturbed by Alexander's remarks, thinking that he intended to destroy Persia utterly; the two lines which follow (1453-4) are not found in A. The remainder of the chapter corresponds well with the ps-Call., apart from the usual padding out, and with P. Some notable verbal correspondences with P are at lines 1456 (ἄς ἐγένοντο τὸν ποιήσω
περίφημον) and 1470 (ἐδχημάτισα τὸν λόγον μου πρὸς
Θεόν).

1408. Logically speaking it ought to be Darius' murderers who are in need of forgiveness, but logic is forced to give way to rhyme.

1415 τόδου : this is almost certainly what the poet wrote, rather than the τῶρα of the editions and ms which derives from the previous line. It is supported by the reading of P: καλὸν ἦθεγεν εἶσθαι, πολλὰ δὲ μὴδὲν
εἶχαν χαθῆ τόδες μυριάδες πέρσαι.

1426 "...and let him have no hindrance from anyone" . ἔμποδος is usually feminine in texts of this period (see Gloss.).

1433-4 P: χαρίζω εἰς τοὺς ναοὺς τῶν θεῶν νὰ ἔχουν
ἀπὸ τὰ κέρδη τῶν κούρεων ὀρίσω τοὺς πατέρας
ἵνα ποιῶσι τὰς θυσίας ἀνελαπίως.

A and Arm. (approx.): "With regard to the road-tolls that were customary in Darius' reign, I grant them to the temples of the gods, and particularly to Sarapis and Zeus."

1435-44 P: Ὀρίσω ἵνα λαμβάνη ὁ στρατιώτης
ἀπὸ τὰ βασιγικὰ ἄρματοφυλάκια, ὅταν ἔγῃ
χερὶς, ἄρματα καὶ χαρίσματα βασιγικὰ ὁ
καθεὶς δυνάτα χίλια, καὶ οἷος συνάπαντηθῇ
ἀπὸ Δαρείου μὲ τὸ κοντάρι του, νὰ τὸν
στεφανώσιν χρυσὸν στέφανον καὶ ροῦχα δύο
βασιγικὰ καὶ ἵπνον χρυσὸν καὶ κούπας δύο
περιχρυσωμένας.

Syr. provides the closest correspondence here: "And we command that all youths and men who are in the country of the Persians shall train themselves continually in warlike exercises and arms until we come to them and select from them those that please us. And if there by any one now who is well-trained in horsemanship and arms, weapons shall be given to him out of the armoury of the King, and a war horse, and a beaker of gold worth twelve dinars, each weighing eight mithkals, and five cups of silver,

each of them holding what a man can take at a draught, and one suit of Persian raiment, and a belt of gold; and he shall be sent to the army. And if there by any one of them who is trained in war and who has made himself a famous name, there shall be given to him a Persian crown of gold, and a suit of white raiment, and two cups of gold, and one hundred drachms and seventy staters" (Budge. p.83). The last item on the list, which corresponds to 1443-4, is not found in P. From Syr. these regulations appear to refer to the setting up of a Persian militia; in A and Arm., however, the various gifts mentioned are prizes offered to contestants in the games to be celebrated in honour of Alexander's birthday; there is nothing corresponding to lines 1435-6; a golden bowl weighing 1,200 staters (1,000 staters according to Ausfeld's emendation of the corrupt passage in A) is the prize for the war-chariot (= line 1438); the crown, belt, raiment and cups are for him "who has succeeded and won" (= lines 1439-42); and 180 staters (109 A, amended to 170 by Kroll to agree with Syr.) is the weight of the cups mentioned above (= 1443-4).

- 1439 Εἷς ἐκείνος : for the phrase cf. ὅποιος
ἐκείνος Choumros ms 2661, which also occurs at lines 1622 and 1634 of the present work.
- 1441 δύο γενὲς βαμμένες : to judge from the
reading of P(ροῦχα δύο βαδιστικά), γενὲς
must be understood as some kind of garment, but the word has not

been found elsewhere nor can its etymology be determined with any certainty. The text may be corrupt: perhaps the correct reading was *χοῦνες*, "fur-trimmed garment" (see Sophocles Lex.). Another possibility is a connection with *χινέα* = "kenna" cf. Dig. Akro. (BSC) 1487 *μέ τὴν χινέα* *βαμμένα* (cf. Achill. 1120, Lib. P 1762, E 2138) with a metonymy similar to that by which *πορφύρα* comes to mean "a purple robe".

1445-6 P: *καὶ εἴ τις ἔχει ὑπόθεσιν μετὰ τινὰ νὰ ὑπαγάινῃ εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον τὸ κοινὸν καὶ νὰ λυέται ἢ ὑπόθεσις.*

A and Arm: "I wish that no one of you be your own judge when any of you has some charge against another, nor in any matter whatsoever, especially when it concerns capital charges." Similarly Syr.

1446 *δ' ἐκείνον* : it is possible that the line read originally *ὁ κοινὸν νὰ ὑπαγάινῃ* or something similar. But it is not impossible that *ἐκείνον* could refer to Alexander, as he speaks of himself in the third person elsewhere (lines 1422, 14448); accordingly the text has not been emended.

1447-8 P: *καὶ οἷος εὐρεθῇ νὰ μηδὲν πείθεται, νὰ ἔχῃ κεφαλὴν τιμωρίαν.*

In A and Arm. this takes the form of a ban on assembly, other than in the official council.

II 22 (1477-1506) The chapter begins in the ps-Call. with Alexander asking the Persians to elect their own satrap, which they do, and Adoulites, Darius' uncle, is duly appointed. This survives in the Rimada as line 1477-8, but in a severely adulterated form. Here, and sporadically throughout this chapter, P follows β .

In the β group of texts Alexander's letter (1481 ff.) is addressed to Stateira, Rhodo and Roxane; in A the address is to Stateira and Rhodogoune (= Rhodo), which is more correct since the reply, even in β , comes only from Rhodo(goune) and Stateira, and because Alexander writes a separate letter to Roxane. In the Rimada the letter is addressed to "Rodogyri" and Roxane but the introduction (line 1480) mentions only Darius' mother. P is merely a paraphrase of β . Thus it is impossible to say whether the Rimada's model approximated more closely to β (as the mention of Roxane indicates) or to A (as is suggested by the form of Darius' mother's name).

The section from 1482-8, with the exception of 1485, has no source in the A and β versions of the ps-Call; but it corresponds closely, often verbatim, with P: Ἐγὼ τὸν Δαρεῖον οὐδὲν τὸν ἑοκότησα,
ἀλλὰ πάλιν οἱ ἑδικοί του· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μηδὲν ἔχετε κακὴν
καρδίαν. Ὅταν γοῦν ἀπέθνησκεν ἑφθαδά[v] τὸν
ζωντανόν καὶ ἑδύντυχά του· καὶ ἑοκέπαδά του

καὶ μὲς τὸ ρούχον μου καὶ ἑκείνος μὲ εἶπεν τὸ
 εἶπε εἶχεν χεῖρα· καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον ἀπέθανε εἰς τὰ
 χεῖρα μου καὶ ἔθαψά τον ἔντιμα ὡς πατέρα μου.

Eth. and Syr. also offer close correspondencies to parts of this passage (pp. 102 and 85 respectively).

Line 1491-2 seem to be based on a distortion of the ps-Call. where Alexander orders a Heroon to be built for Darius. In P this takes the form: καὶ ὤρῃα νὰ τὸν θυγαῖτουν, and this is the basis for the more elaborate version of the Rimada.

Lines 1493-4 conform with P, but the corresponding sentence in the ps-Call. occurs earlier in Alexander's letter (= after 1485). Another disturbance in the order of the ps-Call. occurs in 1495-6 and 1497-8: the order of the two sentences is reversed in both P and the Rimada.

Here the Rimada omits an extensive section from the ps-Call., consisting of a letter from Darius' womenfolk to Alexander, Alexander's reply, and his letter to Roxane. The conclusion of this chapter has suffered considerable rearrangement and corruption in the mss, so that it is difficult to pinpoint precisely the Rimada's source. Lines 1499-1500 - Alexander writes to his mother and requests bridal clothes for Roxane - is found in this form only in three β -type mss - BFP. In the other β mss KV (and also in P) and in A and γ , Alexander mentions in the course of his letter to Roxane that he has written to his mother (the corrupt state of the text at that point may be ignored for present purposes). A also preserves vestiges

of a letter to Olympias (so too in Leo). Again one can only speculate about the contents of the Rimade's prose model, at this point: was it similar to mss BFP (as it appears), or was there actually a letter as there perhaps once was in the ancestors of A?¹

Lines 1501-5 certainly have their source only in β of the two earliest Gk. versions; but the wedding of Alexander and Roxane is not unknown to the α tradition, since Arm., Syr. and Eth. all recount the episode. Finally line 1506, which has all the appearance of a "filler", has a curious counterpart in ms L, which reads: $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\nu\acute{o}\varsigma\ \delta\iota\eta\eta\acute{\nu}\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\ \tau\acute{\eta}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \tau\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\ \gamma\epsilon\kappa\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\nu\ \chi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\ ;$

1477 $\delta\tau\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\nu\ :$ in order to correct the rhyme this should perhaps be amended to $\delta\tau\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\nu\ .$

1488 Either the line must be considered as hypermetric or, if the final syllable of $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\iota\mu\alpha$ is elided, there is no caesura, as always elsewhere.

II 23 (1507-38) After the letter of Alexander to Roxane (II 22) A passes straight on to the conflict with Darius (III 1), as do Val., Eth. and Syr. Nothing of this first letter of Alexander to Olympias and Aristotle (II 23-41) survives in A, though parts of it are found in Eth. and Syr. inserted in the second letter to Olympias and Aristotle (III 17). (There

1. The letter of L at this point appears to be nothing more than a transference from indirect to direct speech of a combined version of the material of BF and KV.

is evidence, however, based on an excerpt in ms Par. suppl.gr.689, that the letter did form part of the original version of the Romance, despite its absence in A.¹ Merkelbach (op.cit.) p.47 also considers the letter to be original and not a later interpolation.) Thus, for the first letter the available versions are β, (Byz.) and Arm. and to a much lesser extent λ, γ, Eth. Syr. and Leo.

In chapter II 23 Arm. and β agree almost completely with one another throughout, and for the most part the Rimada follows them. Lines 1521-2, however, depart slightly from the ps-Call., where β reads: καὶ οὕτως

τῶν κατ' αὐτῶν γένων ἐτροπωδάμεν.

This is made much more dramatic by the Rimada, especially, and by P, the latter reading: καὶ ἡμεῖς τοὺς ἐδιώξαμεν καὶ πολλοὺς ἐσκοτώσαμεν.

The mention of Syria and the Euphrates at line 1527 derives from a corruption of the βtext: the city in question, Ἀλεξανδρεία κατὰ Ἰσδόν, was built on the Issian gulf which is indeed in Syria, but certainly not on the Euphrates. But the Euphrates is mentioned in the next sentence, as follows: κάκειθεν ὠδεδάμεν μέχρι τῆς ὁδοῦ τῶν Ἀρμενίων χώρης, οὗ ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ Εὐφράτου καὶ Τίγρεως πῆχη.

The corruption must have existed in the original modern Greek prose version, from which both P and the Rimada are descended, for P has: καὶ εἰς τὴν

1. J. Trumf, "Eine unbekannte Sammlung.....", p.98.

Ἀρμενίαν ὅπου ἔναι ἡ τοῦ Τιγρίδος καὶ τοῦ Εὐφράτου
ποταμοῦ πηγή, ἐκεῖ ἔκτισα πόλιν καὶ ἐκάλεσά τιν
Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τὴν κατὰ Ἰσδόν. Σουρία

can be explained as a correction of the patently wrong Ἀρμενία.

After line 1534 a sentence is omitted which in β and P describes the mutilation of the guards at Darius' tomb according to the Persian custom. The majority of the β mss then go on to state that Alexander ordered decrees to be set up, "as having subdued the realm of Bessus and Areio-barzan and Mazakus, and Media and Armenia and Iberia and all the Persian land which Darius the Persian ruled over." (so too Arm.). L, however, reads as follows: $\Sigma\Phi$ ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐξεληθῶν κατεκράτησα Ἀρεωβαρζάν καὶ Μανδακου βασιλείαν, Μυδίαν τε καὶ Ἀρμενίαν, ἑβρεσίαν (scr. Ἰβηρίαν) καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν περσικὴν χώραν, ἥς ἐβασίλευεν Δαρείος, ὑπέταξα.

And P is similar: Εἶτα ὤρμησα εἰς τὴν Μυδίαν, ἔπειτα εἰς τὴν Μεγάλην Ἀρμενίαν· καὶ ἦλθον εἰς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν καὶ περιέπατησα πᾶσαν τὴν περσικὴν χώραν ἣν ἐβασίλευσε Δαρείος ὁ Πέσης.

This agrees perfectly with the Rimada (1535-8).¹

1. Merkelbach, in his reconstruction of the Epistle (p. 210), writes

ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐξεληθῶν ὑπέταξα κτλ.,

on the evidence of L.

For most of the chapter, in fact the Rimada and P are in perfect accord cf. especially lines 1514 (ἤκουσα ὅτι ἔχει πολλὰ ἔθνη συναχμένα) and 1516(τοιπὸν ἐμνηστεύσάμην τὴν αὐτὴν μηχανήν), which differ considerably from β. Towards the end of the chapter, however, the influence of β becomes noticeable in P: in the mutilation episode (see above) and immediately following that in another close correspondence with L (the hanging of Darius' murderers on his tomb - see Bergson op.cit. p.125, 1 app.crit.).

1522 An interesting parallel is provided by Chron.Turc. p.32:

τοὺς ἐβάλενε ἰς τὴν μέση καὶ ἐκόψανε ὅλους
καὶ δὲν ἐργύτωδε μὴδὲ ἑνὸς.

1538 ἐπήγα μὲ οὐ ἐπήγαμε ?

The printed editions are, of course, no help in deciding problems of word division. On the whole the former seems preferable as it postpones the change of number to the beginning of a new couplet and a new chapter. If ἐπήγαμε were chosen <ς> στρατεία would have to be read, as at line 11.

II_32 (1539-68) Sources for this chapter are β (Byz.) and Arm. and, from line 1553 Leo. Eth. and Syr. to a lesser extent. On the whole the ps-Call. is faithfully adhered to except for some padding (lines 1540, 1544) and slight modifications ("cannibals" instead of merely "savages", line 1542; "more than a week" instead of "eight days", line 1551). One couplet has no source in β (1547-8); here P reads: ὤριθα καὶ ἠκοιούθωσαν

μη καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τοπικῶν ἀνθρώπων

Although β offers nothing similar it is not an independent interpolation by the author of the MG prose romance since Arm. presents a similar passage: "I ordered that we go see those places with a large army of natives and of our own soldiers" (Wolohojian Ch.209). Line 1557 seems to be based on a misreading of the ps-Call. according to which the giants had "hands and arms like saws". In P this is modified to χεῖρας

καὶ ἀγκῶνας (ms ἀγγῶνας) μεγάλας

(with incorrect gender). The corruption of the Rimada - μερία

καὶ σαρόνια - does not seem to be deliberate or, as often, due to pressures of rhyme or metre, rather the opposite: the neuter plurals dictate those of the following verse when αὐτῶν . . . ἄλλων would more naturally be expected.

The numbers of dead in the encounter with the giants (line 1562-5) vary considerably in those versions which relate the episode. The most important versions give (Macedonians first): 162: 332 (β), 163: 462 (P), 164: 432 (Arm.), 167: 633 (Syr.). It will be noted that the Rimada agrees partly with P and partly with Arm. The ps-Call. gives first the number of giants killed then that of Macedonians; this order is reversed in P and the Rimada.

1551 βδομάδι : the diminutive of ἐβδομάδα is not

witnessed elsewhere in written texts but in the Rhodian dialect a gen.pl. $\beta\delta\omicron\mu\alpha\delta\iota\tilde{\omega}(v)$ , originally from a dimin., is apparently still to be heard (D. W. Phillips, unpublished thesis in Bodleian Library).

1555 Σφοντύρους : φοντίχους (P), φυτοὶ (FL2),
Κατάφυτοι (Arm. - Raabe). According to Zacher and
Meusel the original reading was $\pi\acute{\iota}\theta\eta\kappa\omicron\upsilon$.

II 33 (1569-1602) β and Arm. provide the source for the whole chapter; the other versions, Leo, Syr. and Eth. offer only fragments of the episode of the "hairy man". At lines 1570-2 two different races have been confused; the ps-Call. describes "gigantic savages, rotund, shaggy and red-haired, with faces like lions, and others called $\dagger$ Ochlotoi $\dagger$ who were bald, four cubits tall and a spear's length broad". P presents the complete description but, like the Rimada, ascribes it to one race only:

.... ἀνθρώπους ἀγροίκους ἦσαν τὸ μέγεθος πήχους
τέσσαρες, τὸ δὲ πλάτος ὥσπερ κοντάρει μικρόν,
στρουγγύλοι, βαθεῖς, πυρεοί, τρίχας μὴ ἔχοντες.

After line 1576 the ps-Call. (β , Arm. and P) adds that seventy-two soldiers were killed in the encounter, their bodies burnt and the bones sent back home. The comparison of the fleas to tortoises or turtles does not derive from β , where they are compared instead to frogs. Arm., however, preserves the passage in more or less the same form as the Rim. "And we saw a flea, like tortoises in our country, an earthen-colored and trouble-

some breed." (Wolohojian, Ch.209) P combines the forms of β and Arm./Rimada:

ἔδομεν καὶ φύλλους μεγάλους ὥσπερ χελώνας πιδῶντες
ὥσπερ αἱ βάτραχοι.

Lines 1582-3 do not correspond to the ps-Call. where, in their place, it is related that Alexander ordered a fortified encampment to be made lest the army again be attacked as previously by the "apple-eaters" (II 32).

P and Arm. both agree with β here.

Lines 1596-7 are little more than padding since they contribute nothing to the narrative and correspond to nothing in the sources; their purpose is merely to provide rhymes for the two essential lines 1595 and 1598, which the poet was unable to form into a single couplet. He does, however, attempt to alleviate the tautology slightly by using two different words for "fire": ἰδτιὰ and φωτιά.

In β the number of the "hairy men" captured is given as 400; in Arm. the number is the obviously erroneous 400,000. P and the Rimada (line 1599) agree in giving the number as 500. Throughout the chapter there are close correspondences between these two; two of the more striking are at line

1585 (καὶ ὤριθα καὶ ἐπιάδαν τον καὶ ἔβλεπε

ἄγρια πρὸς ἡμᾶς)

and lines 1587-8 (καὶ ὤριθα νὰ ἐκδύδουν γυναῖκα νὰ
ὑπάχουν εἰς ἐκεῖνον μήπως ἔλθῃ εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν
αὐτῆς).

1586 νὰ μὴ δῇ : the μὴ is superfluous and reveals a

looseness of thought, which is characteristic of the style of the poem.

1594 $\delta\lambda\upsilon$ $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu\acute{o}\upsilon\varsigma$: again the syntax is confused; it is as if $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\tau\alpha$ has become the subject of the sentence. What is in fact needed is $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\iota$ $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\iota$.

1601 The reason for their death is given by the ps-Call. as lack of food.

II 36 (1603-36) At two points in this chapter the β tradition fails to supply a source for the Rimada, and the deficiency is made good by Arm.: first, at lines 1631-2 Arm. supplies "And an hour after he had tried this, he showed it to the others" (Wolohojian Ch.209); P reads: $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\epsilon\iota\chi\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\tau\omicron$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\acute{\epsilon}\psi\eta\nu\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\tau\alpha$ $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma$.

Secondly, at lines 1635-6 the reading of Arm. is: "And I ordered that no one approach them"; P gives: $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\acute{\omega}\rho\iota\sigma\alpha$ $\pi\eta\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu$ $\nu\acute{\alpha}$ $\mu\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\tau\alpha$ $\pi\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\nu$.

At both these points P and Arm. and the Rimada are preserving a different tradition from β , and in all probability an earlier one.

These are not the only points in this chapter at which the Rimada is more closely akin to Arm. than to β ; at line 1604 the mention of eating is otherwise peculiar to Arm. ("Then I ordered the army to camp and arm themselves according to military custom and to eat dinner in this fashion."), while β only mentions encamping and arming. P here accords with β and

arouses the suspicion that the copyist was again fudging two texts. Again, at line 1612 the β tradition relates that the soldiers were whipped by

$\deltaαίμονος \ \acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\tauου$, in the singular. In the Rimada, P, Arm., Eth. and Leo the whippers are plural in number. (It must be mentioned that a single β ms -B- reads $\deltaαιμόνων \ \acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\tauως$.)

After line 1618 the Rimada omits the remainder of the threat uttered by the "voice": if they do not desist from cutting the trees the whole army will be struck dumb, where-upon Alexander orders them to stop. Lines 1619-20 have no source in the ps-Call; in fact they pervert the sense since the river of 1621 is the same as that in which the scented trees were found. This distortion, together with the omission after 1618, suggests that the text used by the poet was damaged or illegible at this point. (P agrees with the orthodox β text here, but whether this derives from his primary source, akin to the Rimada, or from his secondary β -type ms cannot be determined.)

Besides β and Arm. the other sources for this chapter are Leo, Syr. and Eth. (mainly for 1603-18 only).

1607 $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu \ \mu\acute{o}\sigma\chi\omicron\varsigma \ \epsilon\mu\upsilon\epsilon\iota\gamma\alpha$:

the "tears" resembled must according to P too ($\epsilon\mu\upsilon\epsilon\iota\gamma\alpha\nu$

$\acute{\omega}\sigma\pi\epsilon\epsilon \ \mu\acute{o}\sigma\chi\omicron\varsigma$). In β and Arm. they are compared

to Persian myrrh or incense: $\pi\epsilon\sigma\delta\iota\kappa\eta \ \sigma\tau\alpha\kappa\tau\eta$.

(P gives this, in the form, $\acute{\omega}\varsigma \ \pi\epsilon\sigma\delta\iota\kappa\eta\varsigma$, probably taken from his secondary ms, in addition to the reading mentioned above.)

II 37 (1637-62) Only β and Arm. offer this chapter; Leo, Syr. and Eth. are entirely absent. At line 1645 the Rimada differs from β in giving the height of the six-footed beasts as six instead of ten cubits (30 cubits, Arm.); here P agrees with the Rimada. At the same point β mentions that the beasts had three or five eyes, which fact is omitted here by the Rimada but attached to "other beasts" below (1147). The following line (1646) does not derive from β or P, but five-footed beasts are mentioned by Arm. immediately before the six-footed ones.

More confusion as to the number of eyes possessed by the beasts occurs in line 1653. Here β and Arm. describe beasts with six eyes of which only two were sighted. P reads:

καὶ εἶχε τὸ κάθε ὀμμάτια
τέσσαρα, ἄλλα δὲ ἀπὸ ἑξ. καὶ μόνον μετὰ δύο
ἐβλεπον —

apparently combining the reading of β with that of the MG prose version which, presumably, like the Rimada here mentioned only four-eyed creatures.

After line 1654 the Rimada has omitted two sentences from the ps-Call: (1) the animals were docile, and (2) many were killed by the soldiers with bows and arrows. Arm. also omits this passage and in P it seems to derive from the secondary β -type ms used by the scribe. Thus it could well be that in the branch of the tradition represented by Arm. and the modern Greek prose romance this passage did not exist.

The next phenomenon which the Macedonians light upon is, according to β , ἄνθρωποι ἀκέφαλοι. The λ version and P add: "They had

no neck or head at all as we have, but their face, eyes, nose, ears and mouth were in the middle of their shoulders." This resembles line 1656 of the Rimada, but nearer to it is Arm: "They had no heads at all, but had their eyes and their mouths on their chests.....".

Line 1662, at the very end of the chapter, omits Alexander's reason for not wishing to turn back which in β is expressed in the words: $\thetaέγων$
 $ἰδεῖν τὸ τέλος τῆς γῆς.$

Although the chapter does not depart significantly from β and Arm. a considerable amount of extraneous matter is introduced to fill up couplets, particularly at lines 1638, 1642, 1644, 1648, 1650, 1654 and 1660.

1655 Compare the description of the crabs in Batrach. 450-1:

$\deltaπίσω εἰς τὰς πλάτες τοὺς εἶχαδι τὸ κεφάλι.$
 $Εἶχαδι καὶ τὰ μάτια τοὺς ἐπὶ στήθι, πὺν θωροῦσαν.$

II 38 (1663-82) As noticed in the previous chapter ms P has by this point begun to exhibit similarities with the λ version. The tendency continues in this chapter, but not to the complete exclusion of elements corresponding to the Rimada, which are still quite numerous. For example, at lines 1665-6 there is close verbal similarity between the Rimada and P, which reads: $καὶ οὐδὲν ἐβλέπαμεν ἐκεῖ οὔτε ὄρεα οὔτε$
 $θινεία . ἀλλὰ μόνον γῆν καὶ οὐρανόν.$

Line 1668 has no equivalent in β and looks like padding, but a partial source is found in P: $ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἥλιον εἶδμεν ἠμέρας$

δέκα, ἀλλὰ μέγανον ἄεραν καὶ ὀλίγον φῶς :

At line 1669 the words εἰς θάλασσαν correspond to εἰς
τινα τόπον παραθαλάσσιον in β.

This is not an inaccurate rendering in itself but it is curious in view of
line 1664 where β's ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ("seawards") is translated by
's περιθάλασσον. An odd reversal seems to have taken place. The
latter case (1664) is almost certainly due to a mistranslation in the MG
prose romance since P reads ἑκατανήδμεν εἰς θάλασσαν.

Lines 1675-8 are not found in β, where instead of being ordered to
swim to the island the soldiers do so παραβουζευόμενοι.
Traces of the version given by the Rimada are found in Eth. "but I saw
an island which was near unto us in the sea, and I commanded two men to go
to it." (Budge p.154); and ^{the} whole passage appears in P as follows:

Ἐφοβήθησαν δὲ καὶ ἔβρωμε εἰς τὸ νηδὶν . ὅμως
ᾤρεκα καὶ πλεύσουν τινὲς ἀπὸ τοὺς στρατιῶτας καὶ
ἰδοὺν τίνες εἶναι ὅπου λαλοῦσιν.

The number of soldiers killed by crabs is not recorded by βλ; the
Rimada gives 40 (line 1681), P 4 (ἐννιζάν μας τεσσάρους
στρατιῶτας), Arm. 54, Cyr., Eth. and Leo 20.

1664 καὶ βιά πολλή καὶ κόπον :

a typical ready-made phrase, often employed to rhyme with

τόπον; cf. line 1540 καὶ βιὰς πολλὰς

καὶ κόπους, and Apokor. 37 καὶ βιὰς πολλήν καὶ κόπον.

- 1671 ἐξ ἡμῶν : "some of us" cf. line 2009 etc.
- 1679 κοζύμπου : "swimming". This originates from AGG.
 κόλυμβος, properly "a swimmer", but later "swimming"
 (see L-S). The dative of this, κοζύμβῳ, was used
 adverbially as here in β, and from this developed κοζύμβου
 or κοζύμπου, probably by analogy with other adverbs
 in -ου e.g. ὅπου, αὐτοῦ. Elsewhere in medieval
 Greek κοζύμπου occurs in Thes. I 68.5, Cacav. 19 a 14,
Koron. p.43 and p.96 (κοζύμβου), and Achel. 1804. See
 also Ph. Koukoules, Νεοελληνικῶν ῥέξεων καὶ
φράσεων παλαιότερα μνηεῖα, Athens 1956,
 p.49. Other apparent adverbial genitives in medieval Greek are
 ἄρμένου, "under sail" (Thes. I 19.2), and κύκλου
 (see Pernot, Achel. p.176).

II 39 (1683-1708) Only β (and Byz.) provides a source for the whole of this chapter. Arm. omits a complete episode (=1695-1708) and Eth. only preserves small fragments of the chapter. P is now hard-in-hand with L2 which means that many of the problems raised by the text of the Rimada are insoluble.

For example, with P's aid, it might have been possible to determine the source of lines 1687-8 which do not appear to derive from β, unless they are a severe distortion of the words: ἐπεχείρησα λαβεῖν τοὺς ἰδίους μου δούλους καὶ εἰσελθεῖν πρὸς αὐτούς.

The numbers of Alexander's escort are given by β and Arm. as 40 friends, 100 boys and 1,200 picked soldiers (= 1690-2).

The greatest textual problem of this chapter (and perhaps in the whole poem) occurs in lines 1693-4; the text of β is also corrupt but less so than that of Arm; Bergson reads:ἐπεινούμεν ὄνους θηγείας ἑλκούδας, πωλάριδ <παρελθβέω, τὰ δὲ πωλάριδ > εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν τοῦ φοβάτου παρεκκρετηθῆναι.

It is clear that ὁ νοῦς in the Rimada is a corruption of ὄνους but what is not clear is whether the poet or the editor (or an intervening copyist) was responsible for the corruption. On the whole it is unlikely that the poet would have written such a thoroughly unintelligible couplet, even allowing for the corrupt state of the prose text before him. Accordingly line 1693 has been amended to:

"Ὄνους γὰρ μοῦ ἐνόησε νὰ ἴδῃ δὴν ἔξουδά μου, interpreting this as: "He (Callisthenes) suggested to me asses, that they should be at my disposal" The couplet then at least makes some sense, even if it is not precisely the sense intended by β . But the story is not yet ended: the purpose of this scheme is that when the mission has been accomplished the she-asses should be given their head and thus lead the Macedonians safely out of the Land of the Blessed to where their foals were being kept. This actually happens in II 40 (= Rimada 1719 ff.), but in the Rimada there is no mention of asses or foals; it is the prophetic birds who guide the Macedonians. Clearly the poet has not understood the purpose of the asses. In view of this some doubt exists as to whether he did write

ὄνους in line 1693, but the emendation is at least more faithful to the ps-Call. and makes better sense than the reading of the editions.

Lines 1696-8 do not accord well with the ps-Call. (β) where it is merely stated that the Macedonians travelled in darkness for 15 schoeni. What is probably the corresponding passage in Ath. says that they marched for 65 nights (Budge p.154).

1683 Ἐτότες ἐφοβήθησαν : these words belong to

the end of II 38 cf. β φοβηθέντες οὖν ὑπεστρέψαμεν
εἰς τὴν γῆν.

1690 νὰ δεύη : this ought to be in the first person, referring to Alexander himself, but the pressures of rhyme once again prevailed over sense.

1700 ὥδιν ἡμέρα φωτεινὴ : in the ps-Call.,
"like lightning".

1704 τάραχον < AG τάριχος , "a smoked or dried fish".

The form with assimilated α (partly due to the noun τάραχος

< τάρᾶσσω) is found in MG : ἄβροτάραχον

(see Kriaras Lex. and Andriotis Lex., and the reading of ms V here is τάραχον.

1703 ff. (and 1729-32) The story of Andreas the cook who found and lost the water of life. A reminiscence of this is found in Dig. Mkr. (AND) 2324 ff. and (TRF) 1460 ff. (see Navarro^{ato} note on Dig. Mkr. (GRO) 2035).

II 40 (1709-25) The chapter begins in the ps-Call. (β) with a sentence which is not in the Rimada: Πάγιν οὖν ὀδεδάκντες σχοίνους
 τριάκοντα εἶδομεν χοιρὸν αὐγὴν ἄνευ ἡλίου καὶ
 θελήρης καὶ ἄστρων.

No obvious reason exists for this omission, but it may be remarked that in Arm. the end of the previous chapter and the above sentence have been lost (= Bergsö 132, 3-10).

Line 1714 does not correspond very closely to β which reads:

ἀνδρότρεψον οὖν, ἄνθρωπε, καὶ τὴν δεδομένην σοι γῆν
 πᾶσαι, καὶ μὴ κόπους τέρεχε σεαυτῷ.

The text of Arm. is slightly closer but there is far from complete agreement; it reads: "Why do you struggle to rise to heaven, which is not within your power?"

As mentioned on II 39, the return from the land of Blessed with the asses as the Macedonians' guides has been altered by the Rimada (lines 1719-24). It is the birds who show the way (perhaps a confusion between πουλὶς and πῶλος) in the Rimada. At line 1721 the duration of the journey is given as 25 days, whereas in β and Arm. it is 22 days and no mention of darkness occurs. Lines 1723-4 can only be explained as a misunderstanding of the words πρὸς τὴν φωνὴν τῶν πῶλων (Bergsö 134, 6-7) falsely linked with the following sentence and interpreted as "in obedience to the utterance of the birds".

II 41 (1726-34) No great differences exist between the Rimada and β in this brief chapter except in the nature of the cook's punishment (line 1731)

which is not specified in β (ἔγω δὲ ὀργισθεὶς ἐκώμασα
αὐτόν) .

Line 1732 is thus pure invention. Likewise the final couplet of the chapter (1733-4) is an elaboration by the poet of the single word ἔρωθε.

III 1 (1735-68) The words with which β opens the last book of the Alexander romance are found in a similar form in A at the end of II 22, which is in fact immediately before III 1 (= lines 1735-6). The complaints of the Macedonians against Alexander (1739-48) are substantially the same in the Rimada as in the ps-Call. but there is not always complete sentence-by-sentence identity. In particular lines 1745-6 do not correspond closely to anything in the ps-Call. The nearest correspondence is in Bth. which here reads: "But now we shall only destroy ourselves in the wild waste of this country if we march on to battle against those who never did any harm unto us" (Budge p.108).

Line 1752 corresponds more closely to β than to anything in A (see Introd. p. 60). In the passage 1755-60 the Rimada has rearranged slightly the order of the ps-Call., where what corresponds to lines 1759-60 is found immediately before 1755. For line 1766 the ps-Call. offers no exact source but Bth. gives: "We entreat thee, O our master, to forgive us our transgressions and to pardon our offences, and to let us march before thee whithersoever thou goest....." (Budge p.110). At the end of the chapter (= after 1768) A adds that Alexander sent back home the superannuated soldiers and ordered a fresh force of young men to be sent from Greece.

1741-2 "Admittedly that Darius fellow demanded tribute from us; well, we repaid him with an arrow in the heart." We concede that the purpose of the expedition was to punish Darius, but now that is all over so why are you dragging us off to fight Porus who has done us no harm?

III 2 (1769-1822) A provides a closer source than β three times in the course of this chapter: lines 1769, 1780-2 and 1817-20. On the whole the ps-Call. is faithfully adhered to, within the usual limits, though as always there is some modification and abbreviation. A simple verbal error may be noted in line 1769, where ὄρη is substituted for the ὄρους of the ps-Call.

In line 1770a-1772 there is a striking inconsistency: the heading (1770a) correctly refers to ἀποκριδάρου in the plural, but the couplet which follows refers to a single ἄνθρωπος. It is possible that the couplet should be amended to something similar to:

Ἄπο τοῦ Πύρου ἄνθρωποι εἰς τὸ φουδάτο μπαίνουν,
 γεφὺν βαδτούδαν τὸ γοπὸν, Λεξάνδρου τὴν παχιδύνουν.

Lines 1774-5 correspond to τῷ τὰς πόλεις γενηατοῦντι in A (similarly β); a closer parallel is found, however, in another version viz. Syr. which reads: "I hear that you are sacking my land and cities". A different form of the letter, which is found in Pap.Hamb. 129 and Apit., has nothing in common with the Rimada here. (See Merkelbach op.cit. pp.192,216).

The pressures of rhyme and metre have distorted the sense of lines

1783-4, which should be as follows: "I not merely advise you, I order you to return to Greece with all speed." After line 1786 the ps-Call. has a considerable passage in which Porus expresses his disregard for Greece as being unworthy of his attention. The fact that the text of A is here in a somewhat disorderly state is perhaps not unconnected with the omission of the passage from the Rimada. The last sentence of the letter of Porus (1787-8) also appears in a slightly modified form in the Rimada, which is probably due merely to the metrical form, not to any divergence of its model from the received text. (Incidentally, this sentence is not in any of the extant β -type mss, but has been restored by the editors from A.)

The Rimada again differs quite considerably from the ps-Call. in the last part of Alexander's speech (lines 1795-1800). In the ps-Call. Alexander compares the barbarians to various beasts which, for all their physical strength, are easily conquered by human intelligence. This is reflected dimly in lines 1785-6 of the Rimada; 1797-8 is perhaps a popular distich inserted by the poet (cf. 709 and note there); 1799-1800 rounds off the speech conveniently, but cannot be traced to anything specific in the ps-Call.

Another passage in which the Rimada does not follow the ps-Call. very precisely is 1809-12; the gist of the passage is the same but the phraseology is quite different. After the passage corresponding to 1816, the ps-Call. has a sentence which is superfluous to the argument and omitted by the Rimada. For lines 1817-20 A provides a closer source than β , the text of the latter having undergone some corruption. The last couplet of the chapter (1821-2) has no source in the extant versions of the ps-Call. at this point.

Curiously similar is an earlier verse of Byz. which occurs at the end of Alexander's speech to the troops (v.4560):

εὐρὺ καὶ Πῶρον δυστυχῇ παρόμοιον Δαρείου.

- 1778 ἄκτιστος : the corresponding words in the ps-Call. is ἀήττητος (A and B) or ἀνίκητος (Pap.Hamb.129).

Possibly ἄκτιστος was understood as virtually synonymous with these in the 16th century. The original meaning is the theological one of "uncrested" and therefore "ageless, eternal".

See Krisaras Lex.

- 1781 Διονύσιος : an amusing error for Dionysus, which aptly demonstrates the versifier's ignorance of the classical world
cf. Φραγκιᾶ for Φρυγία (1031 etc.), Φέρος for Φάρος (576), Φάχιστος for Ἡφίστος (614) etc.

- 1795 τῇ διανοίᾳ : "in their own minds" - a biblical phrase cf. Luke 1.51 ὑπερηφάνους διανοίᾳ καρδίας αὐτῶν.

- 1817 οὐδὲν ποιᾶσαι : apparently a survival of AG περὶ οὐδενὸς ποιέσθαι τι.

- 1820 cf. "Θρῆνος τῆς Κύπρου" (ed. Tzedakis, Kr.Chron. 16, 1962 pp.156-74) v.933:

οὐδὲ στὸν νοῦν μου βάνω το, οὐδὲ στὸν λογισμόν μου.

ἑθροῦμαι

L represents the intermediate stage in the development of

θροῦμαι < AG ἐνθροῦμαι.

It is not an example of a syllabic augment mistakenly attached to a primary tense.

III 3 (1823-62) Three times in this chapter the Rimada exhibits a closer affinity with β than with A (lines 1833-48, 1853-4 and 1858 see Introd. p. 61). The most important and the lengthiest of these passages consists of the episode in which Alexander spies on Porus' camp in disguise (1833-48). This is entirely absent from A¹ but is preserved by Arm., and in a form closer to the Rimada than that of β , especially at lines 1839-42 and 1845-6. For the former Arm. reads: "The king said to him, "Why have you come hear?" He replied, "We are soldiers sent by Alexander." (Wolchojier p. 119). β has nothing corresponding exactly to this. For lines 1845-6 only Arm. provides a source: "Why does he wish to fight the great force of Porus?" he asked, (ibid.).

Another part of this episode - lines 1843-4 - does not correspond closely to anything in the ps-Call. In view of the problematic syntax of 1843 (see

1. The theme of Alexander entering his enemies' camp in disguise is a favourite one of the author of the ps-Call. (Merkelbach p. 57). Since the origin is presumably the visit to Porus described in Epist. (Kubler p. 202 f.) (Merk. p. 93) it must certainly have existed in this context in the original version of the romance.

below) and the hypermetre of the preceding line it is probable that there is some textual corruption here in the Rimada.

Lines 1860 and 1861 must be considered as additions made by the poet for the sake of metre and rhyme. Line 1862 perhaps indicates a closer affinity with A than with β , since the language of the former seems to suggest that the horse was actually killed, as in the Rimada, not merely wounded (see Introd. p. 74).

1833 According to the ps-Call. Alexander dressed as an ordinary soldier sent to buy provisions.

1843 Εἶδε με ὀφθαλμός σου :

This clause is most unsatisfactory from many points of view. A reasonable correction would be Ἰδὲ με ὀφθαλμός σου, if it were not for the fact that the only forms of the aor. imp. of βλέπω used in the poem are δὲς and ἔδ(ε).

1851 Χυτοὺς ἀνθρώπους : "cast men" - not quite what the ps-Call. says: bronze statues were heated and then by means of iron tools moved into battle at the head of the army.

κάρβουνα τοὺς χερσὶν : only Ath. mentions that fuel was put inside the statues: "...the soldiers filled them inside with wood and set it on fire" (Budge p.120).

1861 Compare v.874:

κι ὅπου τὸν ἄνδρα εἰσεκεί ἐτάκιζε κονδύλι.

III 4 (1863-1904) The first line (1863) agrees with A against β as regards the duration of the battle (see Introd. p. 74). Alexander's suggestion of a duel (1867-8) is given in direct speech and in a lengthier form by the ps-Call. The ps-Call. is also specific about the respective heights of Alexander and Porus (1871-2), giving them as 3 and 5 cubits. Lines 1873-6 may not be traced to the ps-Call. in its extant versions except for part of 1874 (ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐστράθησαν ἐναντίον ἀλλήλων — A) and part of 1875 (beginning of the duel - λ). A major difference here is that in the ps-Call. the duel does not actually commence before the uproar in Porus' camp.

Line 1880 exhibits a closer correspondence with β than with A which says that Alexander struck Porus under the groin (see Introd. p. 61).

The quite lengthy passage which follows Porus' death in the Rimada (1882-90) seems in the main to be an addition stemming from the pen of the versifier or, less probably, from his prose model (see on II 20, vv. 1347 ff.). The tone is typically moralising - typical, that is, of early MG poetry - and in one instance an actual proverb is found (1887-8, see below). Lines 1889-90 act as a bridge back to the narrative and may in fact derive from the prose model, as Tyr. has: "When the Indians saw that Porus was slain" (Budge p. 91).

Lines 1899-1900 also have no source in the Greek versions of the ps-Call., but here Eth. may be compared: "And it came to pass that when the Indians heard what gifts Alexander had promised unto them, they believed (him), and laid down their arms from their hands" (Budge p. 125).

In A the chapter concludes with an interpolated (Page Merkelbach

op.cit. p.103.) episode dealing with the conquest of Aorra. In β the chapter division is slightly different, III 4 ending with the passage corresponding to line 1914, instead of immediately after the pacification of the Indians.

1880 For the phrase δίνω μὲν κονταριά

cf. Erot. II 1399:

"ἤδωκε τῷ Ρωτόκεϊτου μὲν κονταρὰ στ' ἀμμάτια,

Batrach. 338-9:

καὶ πρῶτος τοῦ Λειχήνορα ἔδωκε κονταριά

Εἰς τὰ θυκωτοπλεμόνια....,

Chron.Mor. 1123 καὶ δώδουν κονταρέας.

1885-6 Probably a proverbial distich, though no trace of it has been found elsewhere.

1887-8 This distich appears in various forms. The closest version to the present one is found in a Zakynthian popular saying:

Ὁ χοχίς τοῦ κεφαλοῦ οὐχὶ τὰ πάντα ᾄγει
καὶ ὕστερῃ μετάνοιῳ τίποτι δὲν ἀξίγει.¹

One would like to believe that this is a survival of the same tradition from which the poet of the Rimada borrowed the proverb.

Although it cannot be excluded that the proverb was invented by the poet and entered the popular stock of gomic sayings from

the Rimada, this is unlikely in the present case as the essen-

tial part of the proverb - the phrase ἡ ἕσπερῃ μετάνοιῳ -

1. Mirotsou, Trag. ... p.88 no.527.

occurs in another work contemporary with the Rimada, Defarapas'

"Ἱστορίαι περὶ τῆς Σωσάννης", vv.83-4:

Αὐτῆνοι δὺο κακόγεροι δὲν βάνουνε 'ς τὰ νοῦν τους,
'ς τὴν Συστέρην μετάνοησιν νάχουν 'ς τὸν
λοχιόμον τους.

Essentially the same proverb occurs in Erot. III 291:

Τὰ 'στερὰ μετάνιώματα δὲν ζάτου.....

and in the Zakynthian proverbs collected by Komoutos (p. 19)
there occurs:

Στέρη μετάνοιωσὴ εἶθε καὶ σὲ ἔχω πεῶτα!

Thus the phrase ἡ Συστέρη μετάνοιωσὴ,
in various forms, is widespread and almost certainly not ori-
ginated by the versifier of the Rimada. He may, however, have
been responsible for casting the expression in the particular
form in which it is found there.

1895 The reading of the editions and ms, καὶ δίχμαγωγτισθῶμε,
is the opposite to that required by the sense as comparison with
the ps-Call. shows:

Ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς δίχμαγωγτισθῶμεν Α, Ἵνα
μὴ δίχμαγωγτισθῶμεν Β.

Accordingly the text has been amended.

III 5 (1905-24) A brief chapter requiring little comment. Lines
1909-12 contain a considerable amount of repetition and 1914 is not founded
on the ps-Call. text. Line 1915 is not in A but is in all the other α-type

versions (see Introd. p. 61). 1919 is curiously at variance with the ps-Call., where there is no mention of tribute. The rest of the letter of the Brahmins is also only loosely related to the ps-Call. and 1923-4 seem to have no source in the Greek texts at all. But for these last two lines Arm. preserves what must have been their original form: "Rather come to us in love; perhaps you will learn who we are" (Wolchojian p.121). There is a number of difficulties about this whole passage (see below) which perhaps suggests that the text of the Rimada has undergone some corruption.

1906 'Εξηδάρκους : 'Οξυδάρκας

(A ex. corr.), 'Οξυδόρκας (LP) and various other variants in the β mss among which that of V ('Οξυδάρκους) may be noted as agreeing with the Rimada as far as declension is concerned. The name is the same as the Ξηδαρκίτες of line 25.

1911 Δραχμάνες : the corruption from Βραχμάνες is most probably the result of illegibility somewhere in the course of transmission, with perhaps influence of δραγουμάνες or δραχμή.

1921 στενωδία : a by-form of στένωδη, "straitened circumstances", not otherwise attested.

1923 One would expect: "Αν ἔγθης εἰς ἐμᾶς καὶ ἀγάπη, θὰ σταθοῦμε

Textual corruption cannot be excluded.

III 6 (1925-1990). In some respects the Rimada is less full than the ps-Call., particularly when compared with β (the description of the country and customs of the Brahmans, after v.1926; the meeting of Alexander with Dardanes and the latter's account of the Brahmans' life, after 1972; Alexander's offer of gifts to Dardanes and his treatment of them, after 1988 - all these episodes which β alone offers are omitted by the Rimada); but more important is the fact that in the dialogue between Alexander and the Brahmans the Rimada preserves a much fuller account than any other extant Greek version of the Romance. Lines 1949-62 and 1965-70 are in β but not in A, while lines 1963-4 are in A but not in β . A is in a particularly bad state with two large lacunae as comparison with other α -type witnesses shows. Some other lines in the Rimada contain passages not preserved by any other Greek version: lines 1937-8, which are also found in Arm. and Eth., and lines 1971-2 which occur in almost all the other versions of the α -group - Arm., Eth., Syr. and Val.

Owing to the metrical form of the Rimada and the versifier's inadequacies many of the questions and most of the answers in the dialogue have been considerably modified. For this reason the episode will be examined in greater detail below, to indicate where it differs substantially from the ps-Call.

When Alexander offers to give the Brahmans whatever they wish they cry (in the ps-Call.): "Give us immortality." and Alexander is forced to confess that that is not within his power. This should occur between lines 1974 and 1975 but has apparently been lost, probably because of the haplography of $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\iota \ \acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\kappa\rho\acute{\iota}\theta\eta\kappa\omicron\nu$. The lost couplet

would have been something like:

'Εκείνοι ἀπεκρίθησαν . " Δῶς' μας ἀθανασίαν . "
'Απιορθήθ' Ἀλέξανδρος . " Δὲν ἔχω ἔξουσίαν . "

Alexander's apologia to the Brahmins (1979-88) follows the ps-Call. as far as line 1985. The last three lines are no more than a paraphrase, and a loose one at that, of the sizeable remainder of the speech in the ps-Call.

- 1927-8 Ps-Call: Q. "Do you not have tombs?" A. "This place where we live is also our tomb....." (more in β). (The meaning is that they consider their bodies as graves.)
- 1929-32 Q. "Are the living or the dead the more numerous?" A. "The dead, but those who no longer exist may not be counted. For the visible are more numerous than the no longer visible." The Himada is unintelligible in lines 1929-30 and irrelevant in 1931-2.
- 1933-40 Q. "Which is stronger, life or death?" A. "Life, because the rising sun has stronger rays than when it sets." Alexander queries the Brahmins' reply (= 1937-8) only in 3th. and 4th.
- 1941-4 Q. "Which is greater, the land or the sea?" A. "The land, for the sea itself is also founded upon the land." (A) ".....is also held beneath the sea" (β).
- 1945-52 Q. "Which is the most cunning of all creatures?" A. "Man."
A. "How so?" A. "Be persuaded of this from yourself; for look

how many beasts you, yourself a beast, have with you, that you alone may wrench away the livelihood of other beasts."

1953-4 Cf. vv. 829-30.

1956 In β the reply is longer: "πλεονεξίας δύναμις ἄδικος, τόλμῃ καὶ τοῦ συνερχοῦντος, χερσὶν φορτίον."

1957-62 Q. "Which came first, night or day?" A. "Night, for what begins in the darkness of the womb is increased; then comes forth to receive the light."

1965 ff. Like the Rimada, the majority of versions of the ps-Call. give the left as "the better side" (Val., Arm., Syr., Eth. and ms V). This is clearly the correct and original version of the reply. But in β (BKL), Byz. and γ the right is said to be better, and the rest of the reply is modified accordingly.

1980 Cf. Prot. IV 615-6:

ἵδ' ἔτι τό 'χει φυσικὸ τὸ μοίρας τὸ παιγνίδι,
νὰ παίξῃ' ἀπὸ τῆ μιᾶ μερὶ στήν ἄλλην νὰ τὰ δίδῃ.

1981 Not "I am among the gods.....", but "I am a steward to the gods".

1988 Unusually, Cod. Met. gives the more popular forms here:

ἀφέντη ἄλλωνε . This suggests that the passage may be a contemporary popular saying familiar to the scribe, for, as has been pointed out above, the Rimada is not closely dependent on the ps-Call. here but gives the general meaning of the original by means of a loose paraphrase.

III 17 (1991-2140) The letter of Alexander to Aristotle¹ is found only in A (and in a quite different form in λ^2) of the Greek versions of the romance. The contents of the last part of the letter (2094 onwards) occur in β , but are narrated in the third person, not in letter form. The Rimada reflects a good, Greek text, often fuller than A which is in a far from satisfactory state and frequently has to be supplemented by recourse to the other versions of the α tradition - Arm., Eth., Syr., Val. and Leo - all of which preserve the letter. Another version of the letter is represented by the Latin translation entitled "Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem".

The beginning of the voyage (lines 1997-8) does not seem to be recorded by any other extant version. For this couplet the text of A gives: "Arriving at the city of Prasias, which is apparently the capital of India, we occupied a conspicuous promontory on the sea." Of the other texts, only Syr. is slightly closer to the Rimada: "When then we had drawn near to the place (called) Prasiake, which, as they say, is the great city of the Indians and at a distance from the shores of the Great Sea, we saw figures of men; and when we came close up to the spot, we saw men feeding upon the shores of the sea"(Budge p.94).

1. The chapter contains in fact not one but two letters, the first dealing with the wonders of India (Kroll sections 1-8) and the second with various other fantastic adventures (9-42). See Merkelbach op.cit. p.105.
2. Merkelbach op.cit. p.153.

Lines 2005-6 are absent from A, but are supplied by Arm., Eth., Syr. and Vel. The first-mentioned reads: "And I was very eager to cross to the island, but the Barbarians savagely resisted us." (Nolohojian p.124). Here the Rimada omits what the other versions add: that the barbarians then disappeared leaving behind their 12 boats. The advice of Alexander's friends (lines 2007-14) is given in direct speech in the ps-Call., voiced by one Pheidon. Here the Rimada gives a loose paraphrase of the ps-Call., though the arguments are essentially the same.

Lines 2022-3 have no equivalent in the ps-Call.; the second of them in particular makes little sense, though it corresponds roughly with Syr: "Then I ordered those barbarians to be seized, but they fled away and hid themselves." (Budge p.95).

Lines 2025-6: the text of A is confused here and the versifier has clearly interpreted what he found before him in a, to him, logical way. The original meaning seems to be: "On the seventh day we saw the beast (the sea monster which had killed the expeditionary force), and it had tusks (ἐλέφαντας). After several days there we withdrew to the Prasian city."

After the passage corresponding to lines 2027-8 (the original beginning of the second letter¹ the ps-Call. gives some examples of the wonderful things seen by Alexander: various beasts and serpents, and an eclipse of the sun and moon. For lines 2031-2 there is no source in A, but Eth. and Syr. between them supply the deficiency: "And we began our march from

1. See Ausfeld op.cit. p.177, Merkelbach op.cit. p.105).

the Caspian gates unto the border of the Indians; and we heard that that country was a desert and a wilderness" (Syr. p.96); .."I marched into the country round India....." (Eth.p.145).

The reference to beautiful palaces in line 2033 is not found in any of the versions, but the inference is a natural one from the mention of golden urns which follows. The capacities of these urns are given by the Rimada as 50 and 90 "measures"; this agrees perfectly with Syr. ("some of them held ninety measures of wine and some fifty measures", Budge p.96) and partially with Arm. ("each urn held ninety servings" - Wolchojian p.125), where A is corrupt.

After 2036 the Rimada omits details about the journey from the Caspian Gates, the organization of the march, and the soldiers' protective equipment. The duration of this section of the journey is given as ten days by the Rimada (line 2041), but in A, Arm., Syr. and Eth. it is twelve days. For line 2042, Arm. provides the closest agreement with the Rimada (two details - the desert place and the intention of resting - are not in A). Arm. reads: ".....we came to a city in a river; and we wanted to camp on the sandy area near the river." (Wolchojian p.125). That the city was on two rivers (line 2043) is not quite what A says (ἡν μέγα τοῦ ποταμοῦ) but it is precisely what Eth. reads. A then gives details about the dimensions and structure of the city - it was built on reeds - which are omitted by the Rimada.

Line 2046 differs in two details from the other versions: the "beast" is in fact Hippopotami, and the number of men killed is variously given as 36 (Syr.), 37 (Leo) and 200 (Epist.), but is not specified in A. or Arm.

At line 2052 Μωδῆς is corrupted from Σερόχως.
 (Kōs Eth.) and the inscription in A reads: 'Σερόχως κοροκράτωρ ὕδρουα
 ἐποίησεν τοῖς τῶν ἐρυθρῶν θάλασσαν πλωσιβομένοις.'

For line 2053, a meal is mentioned only in Arm. ("we sounded the trumpet for dinner") and in Epist. (testante bucina cibum ipse cepi et militibus meis capere imperavi).

For Κεντεῖν μεγάλη εἶχαν (2058), compare Val. nec non cerastae coloribus diversis (and also Syr. and Epit. 199, 19) where A has a lacuna. The Rimada omits the next clause or two of A, which describe the screams of people dying (presumably assailed by the scorpions) and the arrival of four-footed beasts to drink at the lake. After the equivalent of line 2062, A records many other types of wild animal which came down to the lake.

A major lacuna occurs in A corresponding to verses 2065-78 of the Rimada. Apart from the first two verses which do not match any other version, the remainder of the passage, dealing with the encounter with the "odontotyrannus", is found in the other α-type versions viz. Arm., Syr., Eth., Leo, and in the Epist. There are differences of detail between the Rimada and the other versions e.g. line 2072, where 25 men are said to be killed, most of the versions give 26 (Arm., Syr., Leo), except Epist. which gives 36; again, according to the Rimada it took 300 men to drag the beast's corpse away (line 2075), which agrees with Val., Syr. and Eth., but according to Arm. the number is 1,300. The setting of the moon (line 2077) is otherwise apparently mentioned only by Arm. In this couplet the versifier

makes a similar mistake to that of lines 1619-20: he makes the army march on to a second lake (in 1620 a second river) whereas the events that follow are described by the other versions as occurring in the same place.

When A resumes (= line 2079) it does not agree completely with the Rimada in detail: the size of the foxes (8 cubits in the Rimada, line 2080) is 10 or 8 cubits in A (5 or 8 in Arm.); for line 2082 there is no source in the ps-Call. After the bats, A also mentions night-jars, or perhaps rather screech-owls, which the soldiers caught for food.

At this point β rejoins A with the return to the "normal route to the Prasian land". This would appear to correspond to lines 2085-6 of the Rimada. The 3 days which are mentioned there have no correspondence in A or β but Arm. reads: "And continuing on for a few days, we came to a very small town and I wanted to give my brave men five days' rest" (Wolohojian p.127).

There follows the account of the whirlwind (2088-92) which is not found in β . For lines 2089-90 the only close similarity with the Rimada is provided by Eth: "And this wind carried away our animals, and carried away the horse and his rider, and hurled them into the water....." (Budge p.159). The non-Greek versions describe the whirlwind and the meteorological phenomena which followed it at much greater length. Here, then, the Rimada and A seem to be related.

Throughout the letter to Aristotle the Rimada represents an independent witness, not to be identified completely with any other extant version. There are points of contact and similarity with all the other available versions, and particularly with A (as is only to be expected, since only

these two have not undergone translation from one language to another) and to an even greater extent with Arm. (which is perhaps more surprising).

From the equivalent of v.2094 onwards A and β give more or less the same account (though β is in the third, not the first, person and A is often fuller).

The Rimada agrees in the main though it frequently abbreviates and simplifies, as is its custom. At lines 2109-10 and 2129-31 only A provides a source for the Rimada, while A has no source for v.2135.

Lines 2139-40, which extol the beauties of Semiramis' palace, seem to derive from the sentence near the beginning of III 18 in A i.e. not in the

letter to Aristotle itself: ἦν γὰρ καθ' ὅλην τὴν χώραν
καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα περιφύριστα

(in this is reduced to a bald ἦν γὰρ περίφηνον).

2018 θερὶὸν ἐβρῆκε 'κ τὸ νηεΐ :

in fact the island was the beast, a giant sea-monster. The point has been missed by the author of the Rimada, or its prose model.

2042 'ς χωρὰ 'ρηρ' : εἰς χώρα ἔρημη .

It was mistaken for a proper name by the scribe of late-Byz. G, who attempted to use the Rimada to complete his model, and wrote:

καὶ ἐπερπάτησεν δέκα ἡμέρας καὶ ὑπάγει εἰς
σχυράρη

(Mitsakis ed., p.289 lines 28-9).

- 2055 ὥς τρίτη : the iota subscripts are not in the early editions, of course, but the phrase must be felt to be an archaic dative of definite time rather than an acc., as in MG, which would require the definite article.
- 2096 The reading of the editions and ms is δένδρα ὅπου καρπούδι : not a particularly rare phenomenon! What the ps-Call. actually says (as emerges later in the Rimada too) is φυτὰ ἀνθρωπίνῃ (ἀνθρωπίνῳ στόματι - β) λαλοῦντα. Accordingly the text of the Rimada has been emended. The corruption may have crept in at the printing stage, when a compositor unfamiliar with the story was unable to read the ms before him, or unwilling to accept what he read, and substituted a word which seemed logical to him. καρπῶ , for the usual καρπίῳ , is in any case not recorded elsewhere.
- 2106 ff. The details of ^{the} times of the tree's utterances are altered by the Rimada. In the ps-Call., the tree which is called Sun speaks when the sun rises, when it reaches its zenith and when it sets; similarly the Moon tree according to the three corresponding positions of the moon. The poet seems to have dismissed the moon completely, for at line 2121 ἥλιος is mentioned where the ps-Call. refers to the rising of the moon.
- 2115 ὁ δραγουμάνος : in the ps-Call. there are several Indians who act as interpreters; in Tyr., as here, there is only one.

2127-8 This couplet would appear to be an expansion of περιγύπον
 δέ μου διακείμενον καὶ δυσφοροῦντος

(A, similarly β). The expansion is perhaps due to illegibility in the Rimada's ancestral ms of the passage in which Alexander receives the priests' grudging permission to hang garlands on the trees; the gap was compensated for by means of prolixity.

2138 Σερμίδος : Σερμάρμεως Α β (Σερμάρμεως Β).

III 18 (2141-94) A closer relationship with A than with β is indicated at five points: lines 2141-2, 2153-60, 2172, 2178 and 2189 (see Introd. p.75f.), while lines 2190-1 seem closer to β.

The letter to Cardace (2149-60) has undergone much modification in the Rimada, particularly in the last 6 vv. which, if they are to be derived from A, are not very faithful to their source. In β the letter is greatly shortened. That the original form of the letter is perhaps not that of A¹ is suggested by Byz. which, though basically similar to β, is fuller and somewhat different. Two verses of Byz. are quite close to Rimada 2159-60:

Εἰ δ' οὐ, πρὸς μάχην ἔρχομαι κακῶς ἐξορθρεῦσαι
 χύραρ ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν αὐτὴν τὴν ἐσωτέραν.
 (5030-1).

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1. Merkelbach considers it impossible to arrive at a satisfactory text for the exchange of letters between Cardace and Alexander; cf. p. 33 f. n. 1.

In A the letter takes the following form (after the conventional introduction): "Arriving in Egypt I heard from the local priests (and) saw your tombs and dwellings which indicate that at some time you ruled Egypt and Ammon marched with you; but a short while later, receiving an oracle from Ammon, you returned to your own city. There I have sent to you; bring the shrine and statue of Ammon to the frontier that we may sacrifice to him. If you do not wish to come with it, let us meet soon in Meroe and deliberate. Send us whatever you think fit." The changes in the Rimada result partly from a failure to comprehend the meaning of the original and partly from a desire to simplify, but it cannot be excluded that the text from which the Rimada descends was different from that preserved by A, especially at the end of the letter.

For lines 2161-2 there is no source in the ps-Call. It is quite possible that they were added by the author of the Rimada himself but it may be noted that Syr. reads: "Then Cardace, when she had read this letter..." (Budge p.118); and Byz. also has something similar:

τὰ δ' Ἀλεξάνδρου γράμματα Κανδάκη κατιδοῦσα
καὶ προῦσα τούτων δύνανται (vv.5034-5).

The first part of Cardace's letter to Alexander (lines 2166-72) is quite different from the ps-Call. and may not be derived from it. The substance of the letter is: "Ammon once gave us an oracle that we should make an expedition to Egypt, and now he declares that his shrine should not be moved nor should anyone else come to me, and that we should resist invaders (this sentence is corrupt in A and omitted by β). Do not despise the colour of our skin, for in our souls we are whiter than your white men." The Rimada bears only a slight resemblance to this and is for the most

part trite and full of repetition. The reason is probably the corrupt state of the text, referred to above. The author of the Rimada or its prose model could not make out all of the text before him and so was compelled to extemporise.

The list of gifts offered to Alexander by Cardace varies considerably from version to version. Numbers are particularly liable to suffer alteration in the transmission process; but on the whole the list given by the Rimada (2175-91), though briefer, ties in quite well with those of A and β. Details will be discussed below, but one important aspect may be mentioned here: a gold crown studded with pearls and weighing a hundred pounds is to be sent to the temple of Ammon (lines 2189-91). In the ps-Call. this occurs as:

τῷ Ἀμμωνι τῷ ἡμετέρῳ θεῷ τῷ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρίων τῆς
Αἰγύπτου στέφανον διὰ σμαράγδων καὶ
μολχαριτῶν ἀτρήτων (Α), or
στέφανον διὰ σμαράγδων χιτρῶν χιγίων χευσίον,
(μολχαριτῶν ἀτρήτων ὀρμαθούς εἰ) (β).

The Rimada apparently conserves a better tradition than either A or β, for A omits the gold and the weight of the crown while β does not mention Ammon at all and associates the pearls with ὀρμαθούς (necklaces of unpierced pearls!). In these two versions the crown is mentioned in the middle of the list, between the sphinxes and the necklaces. In the Rimada it comes at the end of the list, which is also - significantly - the case

with P which reads: ἑάβριους ἑβερίους τριόχιγίους τέλος,
καὶ εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Ἀμμωνος στέφανον χίτρας

ἑκατὸν μετὰ μεταχάσεων.

There can be no doubt that this passage and lines 2189-91 of the Rimada derive from a common archetype, the lost modern Greek prose Alexander. There are two other cases in Book III in which P appears to have followed this lost text¹; it proves more or less conclusively that the whole text of this version, not just Books I and II, was available to the scribe of P, but, with these three exceptions, he evidently preferred to base himself on the λ version of Book III.

2141 Ταυτὰ ἔγραφε : see on line 1029.

2153 Γύρεδε is the reading of the edd. and C, but the mood required by the ps-Call. is not imperative but indicative:

ἀνεγύδατε εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν πόλιν (A).

The unusual change of $\epsilon > \epsilon$ after ϵ suggests that the text is not sound; accordingly the emendation to Γύριδες has been adopted.

2175 Ἐκτὸ πλῆθος ὁλόχορους : χενδᾶς
πλίνθους ὁλοφυρήτους ε' (A, similarly β).

2178 Ψαττάκους διακοβίους : ψιττακούς σ'
(A only). The change of accentuation (guarded by metre) and of the first vowel is inexplicable except on the assumption that the poet was unfamiliar with the word ψιττακός.

2181 βδομήντα : 80 A β.

2182 πλεδους δαρίντα : 300 A, 10 β.

1. See on vv. 2450 and 2544.

- 2183 ἄνθρωποφάγους ὀκτώ : 90 A, 30 β .
 2185 ἑκατὸν...ταυρία : 300 A, 30 β .
 2187 Διδυκόβια ῥεφάντινα δόντια : 90 A, 300 β .

III 19 (2195-2240) After receiving Candace's letter Alexander sent Cleomenes (not named in the Rimada) to receive the proffered gifts; the following words, αὐτὸς δὲ ᾤδενδε πρὸς αὐτῶν (in A only), can only refer to Cleomenes. So the origin of line 2196 remains a mystery: either it derives from a misinterpretation of the above words, wrongly applied to Alexander, or it is based on a sentence which has been lost from all other extant versions, or, finally, it was invented by the poet for the sole purpose of completing the couplet.

For lines 2201-6 β provides a much closer source than A (see Introd. p. 62) except for lines 2203-4 for which neither β nor A offers an exact correspondence. Reference to the Amazons and Candaulus' wife, is however, made at the corresponding point in Syr., (Ath.) and Byz., the last reading as follows:

φέων καὶ τὴν ὁμόφυα ἀπήχετο τελέων
 θυρίαν Ἄρεϊ διὰ πρὸς τὰς Ἀμαζονίδας (5077-8).

Again in lines 2217-8 a couplet is found which has no source in A or β, but in this case no other version preserves it either. In the absence of evidence to prove otherwise, it must be considered as an addition made either by the versifier himself or by the author of the prose model.

For lines 2221-3 β is closer than A, but some other α-type witnesses

agree with β against A: Eth. reads: "... I ordered Ptolemy to sit upon my royal throne..." (Budge p.192); (see Introd. p.62). Here the Rimada (after 2222) omits a certain amount from the ps-Call., which relates how Alexander told Ptolemy to summon "Antigonus" his "shield-bearer", retell the story to him and ask his advice. Ptolemy then sits on the throne disguised as Alexander (β only); seeing him, the soldiers wondered what the cunning Alexander was planning. This last clause corresponds to vv.2239-40 which seem to be misplaced in the Rimada. But to restore them to their correct position would be impossible since the two lines belong properly in the middle of the couplet 2223-4. It is thus probable that ^{the} disturbed order was already a feature of the modern Greek prose romance, at least of the ms used by the author of the Rimada.

Lines 2228-30 diverge from the ps-Call. in one respect: there it is Ptolemy who tells Alexander of Gandaules' adventures, while in the Rimada Gandaules is bidder to repeat his story to Alexander.

For lines 2237-8 there is no source in A or β . The only version which corresponds to the Rimada is λ , which reads:
 μήτηρ αὐτοῦ πλείστα δῶρα καὶ μεγάλης τιμῆς ἄξια
 ἔδωκε τῇ δῇ βασιλείᾳ. ἔνεκεν γὰρ τούτων καὶ ὁ
 υἱὸς αὐτῆς θαρρήδως προέβηκε πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

There are three possible explanations for this correspondence: 1) coincidence (highly unlikely); 2) contamination at some stage between the prose ancestor of the Rimada and λ ; 3) the passage originates in an early version of the ps-Call. and has been preserved independently in Rimada and λ , but

in no other surviving version.

The conclusion of III 19 in the ps-Call. (omitted by the Rimada) describes Candaules rejoicing at "Antigonus'" advice and Ptolemy ordering Antigonus that the army should make ready.

2200 Κανδάκης could be either gen. or nom. but is probably the latter.

2201 Κανδάκης : Κανδαύης Αβ. Α

2205 τῶν Βεβρυκῶν τὸ ἔθνος :

the Bebryces were a tribe which inhabited Bithyria, but had apparently disappeared before historical times (Ausfeld op.cit. p.191). In the Rimada they are called Βεβρικοὶ or Βέβρικοι and are evidently confused with the Berbers (Βέββεροι).

2208 Candaules was conducted before Ptolemy because Alexander was sleeping at the time (so the ps-Call; on Alexander's habit of sleeping by day, see Ausfeld ad. loc.).

III 20 (2241-76) The degree of fidelity to the ps-Call. which the Rimada exhibits in this chapter is extremely high. Two small omissions may be noted: after 2248 the Rimada omits the sentence in which Candaules falls before "Antigonus" and wishes that the latter were Alexander himself; secondly, it is omitted (after 2256) that the Bebryces, after snatching Candaules' wife from their ruler's palace and handing her over, also murder the tyrant.

On the other hand one couplet (2267-8) has no source in the extant Greek versions of the romance. That it must have existed in the Rimada's ancestor is proved by Arm., which reads: "And Candaules asked the king for Antigonos so that he might take him to his mother and send him back with regal gifts" (Wolohojian p.135; similarly Ith. and Syr.).

2254 The state of the text of the first edition needs a little tidying-up: τὴν is required for metrical reasons, and the obvious misprint of the second half of the line (κάνυ) may be corrected by comparing v.2298.

2259 ff. Confusion reigns over the use of the proper names in this and the following chapters: Alexander is referred to both as Ἀντίγονος and as Ἀλέξανδρος and Ptolemy as Πτολεμαῖος and Ἀλέξανδρος.

2270 Again there is some confusion: as Ptolemy does not go with Alexander to visit Cardace, one would expect αὐτὸς νὰ παγαίνῃ μὲ τὸν Κανδάκην

Perhaps εἰς τὴν Κανδάκην should be read.

III 21 (2277-2304) The first sentence of the chapter in the ps-Call., describing the preparations for the journey, is omitted by the Rimada; the description of the various sights passed on the way (2277-84) is also rather less detailed than it is in the ps-Call. At one point (2282) β is closer than A, but Syr. and Leo also agree against A (see Introd. p.62).

The meeting of "Antigonus" with Cardace and her family is described

slightly differently in the Rimada: in the ps-Call. they do not actually greet Alexander (2293-4) until after Candaules has related his adventures, and this recitation is in indirect speech in all other versions but the Rimada.

For the concluding couplet of the chapter (2303-4) there is nothing equivalent in any other version of the romance, Greek or in translation, so it must be deemed an addition made by the poet or the author of the prose model.

2283 μεγάλους δὲν ζηνία : οὐδὲν
 ἀποδέοντες τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησίν ἄρκτων (A);
 τέλειου ὡς ἄρκου (B).

Metrical reasons have enforced the change from "bears" to "sheep".

2286 The line is taken almost verbatim from the early versions of the ps-Call. (see Introd. p.46).

2296 The verse is unmetrical and should perhaps be emended to

Ἀντίγονου 'τον ἡ βουλή

A simpler change, substituting ἦν for ἦτον, has not been considered as it would introduce a form not elsewhere found in the Rimada.

III 22 (2305-72) Lines 2311-12 - "Candaque took Alexander by the hand and led him into the house" - are not in the ps-Call. at this point but

resemble a later passage: τῇ δὲ ἔξῃς λαβούσα τῆς
 χειρὸς τὸν Ἀντίγονον Κανδάκη (Kroll 120, 17

= v. 2329). It appears that at some stage a copyist confused the two sentences which begin τῇ δὲ ἔξῃς (Kroll 119, 21 and 120, 17) and transferred the phrase λαβούσα τῆς χειρὸς τὸν Ἀντίγονον from the second to the first, but realised his error in time.

The lengthy description of Candace's palace is considerably abbreviated and in some respects altered by the Rimada (vv. 2315-24). The text of the ps-Call. is far from sound and this would account for the rather weak dependence of the Rimada on A/β. The last line of this description (2324) derives from α rather than β where there is no reference any garden (see *Introd.* p. 76).

After what corresponds to v. 2326, the ps-Call. has a somewhat obscure sentence which is completely omitted by the Rimada: συνέστιος (ἦν δὲ συνελθίων β) τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς Κανδαύρου.

In vv. 2339-40 the versifier (or the author of his prose model) has misunderstood the point of Alexander's remark, which is: "All these things you have shown me would be remarkable in Greece, but here they are not so remarkable because the various minerals occur naturally in your mountains."

Lines 2361-2 do not correspond to the ps-Call. at this point, but they are substantially equivalent to a sentence which comes later in β (= before v. 2361): [ὥς ἐκρατήθης (ἐπιδόθης κ)] ὁ τηλικούτος βασιλεὺς γενόμενος νῦν ὑποχείριος ἔχενου μιᾶς γυναικός.

If this indeed the source of vv.2351-2, which seems incontrovertible, then there has again been some disturbance to the order of the text of the Rimada which might be accounted for by the presence of two couplets beginning

τί στον δ' ἔσεν, Ἀλέξανδρε.....

If vv.2351-2 were restored to their rightful place before v.2361 the text would still not be perfect as the words of Candace would lack any introduction. A lacuna would have to be supposed corresponding to:

Ἐθυμάνετο δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἔτριξε τοὺς ὀδόντας .
εἶπεν ἡ Κανδάκη . 'τί θυμάνη ; τί τρίψεις
τοὺς ὀδόντας ; τί δύνασαι ποιῆσαι ; ' (A, similarly β).

Because it is impossible to say whether the "reorganization" occurred in the lost Modern Greek prose romance or only in the Rimada, the order of the editio princeps has been left unchanged.

In the same section, it may be noted that lines 2355-6 are based only loosely on the ps-Call., and express in very general terms the words: ὁ

Περσοθέτης, ὁ Ἰνδοθέτης, ὁ καθελὼν
τρεοπαιὰ Μήδων καὶ Πάρθων (A β).

The couplet which follows (2357-8) has the air of a popular adage and replaces a quite different sententious saying in the ps-Call: "However wise a man thinks he is, there will be another wiser than he" (see below). With lines 2359-60 Candace relates the proverb to Alexander, so they may be compared roughly with :

ὥστε γίνωσκε, Ἀλέξανδρε, ὅτι (A, sim.β).

Lines 2361-2 are closer in form to β than to A, where the same idea is put into direct speech in Alexander's mouth (see Introd. p.63).

2321-2 "At the two extremes it (the tables ?) was ornamented with dragon-stones and in the middle with irony." δρακοντίων is probably the poet's addition; in the ps-Call. the tables are made merely of irony, but the text is corrupt and Arm. adds: "and there was offering of work made of torquoise" (Wolobojan p.136).

2336 Χώρα του πολεμάγει : perhaps corrupt, cf. ps-Call:
 όπου δὲ ἐπορεύετο ὁ βασιλεὺς πόλιν
 πολεμήσει, εἰς αὐτὴν κατέμενεν (A, sim. β).
 A possible emendation is: Χῶρες νὰ πολεμάγη.

2357-8 The meaning is probably: "Those who entrust a secret to a friend once or twice always come unstuck the third time". With this may be compared Koron. p.107:

Τὸν ἄνθρωπον ποῦ μιὰ καὶ δυὸ θέλεις τὸν δοκιμάζει
 εἰς πρῶτον σου κ' αὐτὸς πιστῶς οὐδόπως θέλει δράζει,
 "Αν τρίτον τοῦ ἐμπιστευθῇς 'ς αὐτὸ τὸ ἴδιον
 πρῶτον,
 Πολλὰ ὑπάρχεις ἄγνωστος, κ' οὐδὲν γινώσκεις χεῖμα,

but here the point is slightly different: "If someone fails you twice, don't try him a third time - learn from your experience."

But the two proverbs do seem to have a common basis, the basic idea being "Don't push your luck a third time". A modern saying has the same notion: Μιὰ τοῦ κλέφτη, δυὸ τοῦ κλέφτη,
 Τρίτη καὶ κακὴ του μέρα,

(cf. the Cretan $\mu\upsilon\iota\acute{\alpha}$ τοῦ κλέφτη, δυὸ τοῦ κλέφτη,
 τρεῖς καὶ κακὸς του καιρός,

Pargalos IV 414). Probably something similar was taken by both the author of the Rimada and Koronaios and adapted to suit their metrical form and context. The Rimada's distich is particularly unsatisfactory from the point of view of rhyme and syntax, as are several of the $\Gamma\omega\mu\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}$ incorporated by the poet in his work (see Introd. p.130ff).

III 23 (2373-2428) Two details in this chapter point to a closer relationship with β than with A: the name of Candace's daughter (2377, see below) and the number of her sons - two in the Rimada as in β , Val. and Leo, but three in A and Arm. (vv.2385-6) (see Introd. p.63).

The dialogue between Candace's sons leading up to the quarrel is rather fuller in ps-Cell. than in the Rimada: after Cardaules has vowed to conduct "Antigonus" safely back to Alexander (= vv.2395-6), his brother says to him, "Surely we shall not fight one another because of this?" and Cardaules replies, "I do not wish it; but if you wish to, you will find me more ready than you" (A, different allocation of speeches in β). In the Rimada this is given in two lines of narrative (2397-8).

For vv.2405-6 there is no source in the ps-Cell. which has instead: "If you kill me, Alexander will not care a fig." Thus "Antigonus'" argument in the ps-Cell. is: "There is no point in killing me because I am of no value to Alexander: he has plenty of other messengers." (roughly what the Rimada says in vv.2407-8). A quite different argument is used by "Antigonus"

in vv.2411-18 of the Rimada, for which there is absolutely no source in the ps-Call. Some of this passage (vv.2416-17) is merely repetition of what has already been said, but there is a new idea introduced: "Antigonus" says, "If you kill me Alexander will avenge my death". Though this is a perfectly good argument it does not square with the main argument advanced earlier (v.2408). The two cannot stand together so the whole passage (vv.2411-18) must be considered as the invention of the author of the Rimada or its prose model.

Cardace's speech at lines 2423-4 is rather different in the ps-Call: "Would that you were my son and through you I overruled all the nations. For you have overcome cities not by warfare but by great wisdom." Then a sentence is omitted by the Rimada: "So he was pleased at being revered by them, while Cardace kept his secret safely." The presentation of gifts to Alexander (vv.2425-8) and his departure take place not immediately as it seems in the Rimada, but after some (A, 10 β) days.

2377 'Αεπίδης : 'Αεπίδα βχ, "Αεπιδά Byz.,
Ματέρδα A (corrected by ed. to Μάεπιδά from Leo,
Tyr.), Harposga Arm., Margie Val.

2381 The younger son is called variously Karagos (Arm.), Cheragos (Val.),
Carator (Leo), Kerator (Tyr.). No name is given by any of the
Greek versions here, but he is later called Θόας in β.

2416 πιβουγή : from AG 'επιβουγή. The commoner
form in medieval texts is πιβουγιά e.g. Choumros ms 1936,

Erot. I 15, III 236 and in the Rimada v.986. The editor of the edition of 1600 emended to τὴ βουλή, which is tempting too for the modern editor; but π.βουλή is the lectio difficilior.

III 24 (2429-50) In this brief chapter the text of A is far from sound and at two points β appears to provide a closer source for the Rimada: at vv.2431-3 there are two elements not present in A - lightning and Alexander's fear, despite which he decides to stay; of these the second element is in other α witnesses (Syr. Arm.) but the first seems peculiar to β. Again at vv.2440-1 only β supports the Rimada, but here there is a lacuna in A and all other α-type witnesses tally with β (see Introd. p.63).

At v.2438 the sense of the ps-Call. is perverted: there Sesorchosis says to Alexander, "I was not as fortunate as you." Another distortion, this time due to the necessity of rhyme, occurs in line 2444; in the ps-Call. Sesorchosis says: "It is better for a mortal not to know when he will die; for in waiting for that day he is dead from the day he found out. But to be in ignorance brings the oblivion of not having in mind that he will ever die."

Lines 2447-8 have no basis in the ps-Call. which has in their place a further prophecy about Alexandria. Again it seems that the author of the Rimada or its prose model extemporized to replace an illegible or unintelligible passage in his sources. The final line of the chapter (2450) has no parallel in the ps-Call. and might be considered a "filler"; but P reads: ἄλλὰ ὑπῆλινε καὶ μὴδὲν ἔρωτήσης.

The common source of P and the Rimada again appears to be present¹; perhaps this feature goes back further than the Modern Greek prose version, since Alexander's dismissal is also found in Byz:

Ἄπιθε γούν, Ἀλέξανδρε, τῶν ὥδε ταχυτάτως (v.5459).

2437 ὁ Χούνης : Ὁχὸς βχ (ὁ χούς ν), Σεδόχως A.

2438 εἶχα ἐκείνα τ' ἄρχεις : ἄρχω

is not normally found in MG. Perhaps its presence here derives from an editorial "improvement" of τὰ ἄρχεις for the benefit of rhyme.

III 25 (2451-2518) In this chapter the author of the Rimada is much less faithful to the ps-Call. than in many others; there seems to be no particular justification for this, unless the ms which constituted the model of the MG prose version was in a particularly bad state here. Nonetheless there is much which agrees closely with the ps-Call., sometimes where a change might reasonably have been expected e.g. vv.2485-6 where the number agrees perfectly with β (see below) while the metre is consequently faulty.²

At v. 2454 the Rimada omits that when the satraps came to meet Alexander they gave back to him the diadem and robes which he had discarded on assuming the disguise of Antigonus.

1. See above on vv.2189-91.

2. Probably the metrical intractability of the number accounts for its omission in Byz.

The location of the Amazons (v.2456) is not mentioned by the extant versions of the ps-Call. and is probably an interpolation from an historical source - but an interpolation which is shared with Byz. which has:

ὅθεν πρὸς τὰ Καυκάσια καὶ πρὸς τὰς Ἀμαζόνιας (v.5466).

In the letter of Alexander to the Amazons (vv.2459-68) the Rimada often appears to be following the ps-Call. only loosely. For instance, the ps-Call. refers to the victories over Darius and the Indians (Porus is not named in the Gk. versions, but is in Val. and Syr.) and then to the tribute received from the Gymnosophists (the "other kings" of v.2463). Here the text of A is corrupt and it is impossible to say whether the Rimada is closer to the one or the other principal "version".

Vv. 2485-6 agree perfectly with β against A (in which the number of the Amazons is given as 200,000). No other version gives exactly the same number, but Syr. specifies 280,000 and Leo 214,000.

At vv.2489-92 the Rimada diverges considerably from the ps-Call., according to which the Amazons held a religious festival every year lasting 30 days during which intercourse with their men-folk took place. The chronological details are completely changed in the Rimada: the festival is held every 7 years and the "marriages" last for a whole year. This last detail agrees completely with Leo: qui vult marere in laetitia cum sua uxore, tenet eam per annum annuum. For v.2490 β is closer than A, but Arm. and Syr. also agree with β and clearly preserve the correct reading.

Vv.2497-8 seem to be the Rimada's own invention, for which there is no equivalent in the ps-Call., but the couplet, turned into prose, is found in the Phyllada which borrows the whole of the Amazons episode from the

Rimada (see Introd. p. 98).

Vv. 2501-5 differ in detail from the ps-Call. in many respects: if a woman dies in battle, her next of kin receive a considerable sum of money; if a woman brings back an enemy corpse, there is a prize of gold and a quantity of silver and an allowance of food for life.

Vv. 2507-11 are stated in general terms in the ps-Call. and then applied to Alexander later ("see that the same things do not happen to you"); in the Rimada the whole passage is addressed to Alexander himself.

For vv. 2515-16 (the Amazons promise to pay Alexander whatever he demands as an annual tribute) only A provides a source (see Introd. p. 76).

2456 τὰ Καυκάκια : τὰ Καυκάσια Byz. (see above).

2482 "One cannot travel the circumference of our island within a year."

2488 τὰ Ἰῶα μας τηροῦνε :

a mistranslation of νεμόμενοι (A and B) which is used in the sense of "dwelling in", not "grazing flocks".

2507-8 "We are women, and if you do battle with us, for the reasons mentioned we do not expect you to defeat us." For this use of τ' ὅποιο cf. v. 738 and the commentary on that line.

2509-11 Compare Thea. I 105. 6-8:

ἡθες κι οὐδὲν ἐσκόπησες πῶς πᾶς νὰ πολεμήσῃς
μὲ κοραδίdes τρυφερές · καλὰ κι ἂν τὲς νικήσῃς,
κατηγορεύῃ σου νὰ γένῃ, καὶ δόξα μὴ κερδίσῃς.

III 26 (2519-51) This chapter consists of two letters which derive from the original "Briefroman"¹. In A they are set down without any sort of narrative connection but in almost all other versions (Arm., Val., Syr., β) they are linked with what precedes and with one another by means of brief connecting passages. This is the case in the Rimada too (vv.2519-20, 2535-6) and although it appears to show that β is closer than A, it must be noted that A does not conform with the other witnesses of the α tradition (see Introd. p. 64).

After the passage corresponding to v.2524, the ps-Call. has a quite lengthy section in which Alexander gives explicit instructions to the Amazons which they are to follow if they wish to avoid war. In place of this, it seems, the Rimada has substituted vv.2525-6 which do not correspond closely to anything in the ps-Call. and are perhaps invented to fill a lacuna or unintelligible section of its model.

The sentence corresponding to v.2528 in the ps-Call. says simply: "Send whomever you choose to us on horseback." No number is mentioned by Alexander and it is only in the Amazons' reply that the figure 500 is specified. (See below on v.2544) After this the ps-Call. adds more information about the compensation to be paid to the selected Amazons.

For vv.2531-4 the Greek texts of the ps-Call. provide no source except one of the γ group (D) which relates Alexander's threat to make the Amazons' flesh carrion if they disobey him; in the rest the letter ends with the injunction to the Amazons to deliberate on the proposition

1. See Merkelbach op.cit. pp.107, 218-9.

and then write back. Nevertheless it is possible that the ps-Call. once contained these details - the request for gifts and the penalties of refusal - as Eth. offers a similar passage: "Now behold, I wish to come unto you, therefore come ye out to receive me, and submit yourselves unto me, and bring ye out to me gifts from your country. If ye will not do this I will come to you, but I will take from you only such things of tribute as my soul delighteth in..." (Budge p.213). If no common source for this and the Rimada's passage may be supposed, then the lines must be considered as modelled on the similar passage in the letter to Candace (vv.2157-60).

As already mentioned, the number of Amazons sent to Alexander according to the ps-Call. is 500. The Rimada gives 1500 (v.2544) in common with one other ms - P (Χιλιάς πεντακοσίας). This is the third instance in Book III where P and the Rimada go hand in hand¹.

The closest correspondence for v.2546 is provided by Arn: "...she will be disgraced in the eyes of the law of her land" (Polsh Jier p.142); according to Rasbe's retroversion: γενέσθω ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἄβεβηδα.

The Greek versions give: ἔσται ὡς τὰ πατέρα
ἐκβεβηκυῖα (1), μενέτω
παρ' ὑμῖν (β). Thus, if anything, A is closer to the Rimada. At the end of the letter the ps-Call. adds a little more.

1. See above on vv.2160-61.

Finally, it is not stated in any other Greek version that Alexander actually went to meet the Amazons (v.2551). Eth. has the following: "Then the two-horned went to their country and received from them tribute and gifts, and afterwards he returned to the land of Persia...." (Budge p.215).

III 27 (2552-2602) Contrary to normal practice elsewhere in this edition, the chapter-division between III 26 and 27 is that of β , not that of A. According to Kroll's division of the A text the chapter would begin with v.2572 of the Rimada. But the equivalent of vv.2552-71 is absent from A and Kroll's text is in fact a re-creation based on Arm., Val. and Syr. and in part ms C. This is narrated in the third person, while the corresponding (but not identical) passage in β is, like the Rimada, in the form of a letter from Alexander to Olympias. For this reason it has been decided to follow the chapter-division of β , thus keeping the whole of the letter in the same chapter.

For the equivalent of vv.2552-70 the text of β and the α -type text recreated by Kroll differ considerably from one another. The Rimada is to be identified with neither but has features in common with now one, now the other. Vv.2552-7 may be derived from β (except that τόπον ἄρειον in v.2557 has been substituted for ποταμόν θηριώδη). V.2558 is a puzzle, since in β it is at midday that the rain commences, while darkness is mentioned in only one other ms¹; perhaps σκότος

1. C reads: τῆς γὰρ ἡμέρας ἥδη μεσσημέρης ἐγένετο ἐξαίφνης σκοτεινός ἄηρ καὶ γετοφωμένος.....

originated as a misreading of $\tilde{\upsilon}\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$. Vv.2559-61 appear closer to the α witnesses than to β : the duration of the rainstorm (40 days in the ps-Call.) is only mentioned by the α texts, as is the damage to the soldiers' equipment (in fact their shield-straps, rather than their clothes). Thunder and lightning (v.2563) occur in both text-groups but in α they are preceded by the intolerable heat (not mentioned in β) which follows in the Rimada (vv.2565-6). The crossing of the river (called Hypanis by Val., Prytanis $\beta\gamma$) is common to both text groups. after this the two diverge: β relates baldly that many of the natives were killed by the soldiers. α is very much more extensive: Alexander enquires about the size of the local king's forces and is told by the natives that there are 5,000 elephants, 10,000 chariots and many myriads of men. Hearing this he sets off on a plundering expedition alongside the river and makes sacrifices to the gods. In this narration may be seen the source of vv.2568-71. Hs. C is in some respects similar to the Rimada here, for in both the elephants are considered as a gift from the natives to

Alexander; C reads: "βασιλεῦ, τοῦτον οὐ δύναται περᾶν διὰ τὸ ἄπειρον εἶναι. μόνον δίδομέν σοι ἐλέφαντας περιφανεῖς πεντακοσίους καὶ ἄρματα < καὶ στρατιωτῶν (? add. Mueller) > μυριάδας, ὅσας βούλει λαβεῖν."

There follows now in Val., Arm., yr. and Leo a letter from Aristotle to Alexander, praising the latter's achievements, and after this the triumphant return of Alexander to Babylon. A now rejoins the other α wit-

nesses and begins as follows: "These letters having been sent, he wrote privately of his accomplishments to his mother Olympias: 'Concerning the events up to those in Asia, I believe you are aware of them from my letters. I must now tell you of the return journey. I went to Babylon...?' Here the Rimada again takes up the story (v.2572). For the passage from v.2572 to 2591 β has nothing. The Rimada follows A faithfully in this passage with two exceptions where there is a closer accord with non-Greek versions: at v.2573 the number of soldiers is according to A 72,000 and in Arm. 150,000, but the Rimada together with Val., Syr. and Leo gives 100,000. Again at v.2585 A says that it required 1,500 gold bars to stop up the hole in the pillar; this figure is supported by Leo and Arm., which Syr. gives 1,300 and Val. 500. This last figure tallies with the inada's "500 pounds".

From v.2592 to the end of the chapter A and β more or less agree with one another and the Rimada follows them, though not always very faithfully. Vv.2598-9, dealing with the exchange of the 1,500 Amazons for others, are not in any other version and are probably attributable to the poet who based them on vv.2527-30 and 2542-8. The mention of tribute in v.2600 appears to have been borrowed from the very beginning of III 28.

2556 $\Pi\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu\nu$: $\Pi\rho\acute{\upsilon}\tau\alpha\nu\nu$ $\beta\alpha\chi$. The corresponding passage in the α -type texts is (turned i-into Greek) $\tau\acute{\eta}\nu$ $\Pi\rho\alpha\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\acute{\eta}\nu$ $\gamma\eta\nu$.

2567 μετὰ πολλοῦ γὰρ κόπου :

a typically superfluous expression, used frequently by inferior versifiers of this time; cf. for example Koren.p.4 μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ κόπου.

2583 καλὰ γεμάτη : i.e. solid gold.

2590 Cf. v.870.

2592 Θερίζοντα : Θερμώδοντα ps-Call. (but the mss offer many variants).

III 28 (2603-54) Many closer relationships with A than β are evidenced in this chapter. The first of these is the passage beginning with the mention of the "narrow place" (vv.2606-12). τὸν στενὸν

τόπον (A) has become in β τὸν Τένοντα

ποταμόν [τὸν στενὸν τὸν ποταμόν V, Byz.);

the lines which follow (the sacrifice to Poseidon) have no counterpart in β.

After the "dog-headed" men (v.2616) β describes various other strange species only one of which is mentioned by the Rimada viz. the Troglodytes. A has a lacuna here but the Troglodytes are found in other α witnesses (see Introd. p. 64). V.2618 is without any equivalent in the ps-Call; it provides a good example of the versifier's subservience to rhyme.

The "city of Helios" episode (vv.2619-32) has survived in the ps-Call. only in a severely corrupted form, and this corrupt state of the text is reflected in the Rimada too. Even so it is possible to conclude

that the text used by the author of the MG prose version was closer to A than β at two points: at v.2622, where 10 miles (120 stades in the ps-Call.) is given as the circumference of the city, not the distance from the mainland as β ; and at v.2623 where the number of towers is 14 as against β 's 12 (see Introd. p.77f.). At other points in this episode it is possible to observe misreadings or misunderstandings of a text similar to those preserved: the "beautiful stones" of v.2626 are in A

γαῖαν Ἰνδικοῦ ;

v.2627 is something of a mystery, the most probable explanation being that the second half of the verse derives from the description of the βωμός - βραχίλων

ὑποδομημένος

— with the past part misread as ὠνομαδμένος and the preceding word interpreted as a proper name. The following line (2628) is a misunderstanding of a description of a gold and emerald chariot and chariotger which stood at the top of a flight of steps. (For a possible emendation to v.2631 and that line's relationship to the sources, see below.)

Again in v.2636 A is a closer source than β , for although the proper name is perverted, there is no river mentioned at all in β (see Introd. p. 78). β now presents an extensive narrative of Alexander's visit to the temple of Dionysus, which is not found in A or the linada. These last pass straight on to the palace of Cyrus (vv.2637-54). A and β diverge considerably from one another in this account and the texts of both are far from sound. The linada does little more than to pick out the salient points and clothe them in some sort of logical form. Much is omitted or modified. Occasionally it is possible to see a closer con-

nection with one or other of the primary versions: vv.2645 and 2651 with β (but Syr. supports β in the second in these), and at vv.2647-50 with A (see Introd. pp.64-5 and 78).

2605 In A the equivalent of this verse occurs somewhat later, after the sacrifice to Poseidon and before the "Atlas river". It has been moved to this position by the versifier because it suggested to him a rhyme for τόπον.

2613 Ἀντλοῦν : Ἀτλαντα (A), Πράτιον (B), Ἀτλαν (γ), Ἀντλαν (L) (and other variants in the β mss).

The Atlantic Ocean is meant but it is confused with the Red Sea - geography was not the strong point of the author of the ps-Call.

2616 δκυνοκέφαλοι : corrected from the δκυνοκέφαλοι of the editio princeps, though that form also occurs in late-Byz. A p.331 (δκυνοκέφαλοι). The AG form has been preferred to the AG κυνοκέφαλοι because it is also found in the Phyllada p.143. For the description in the second half of this verse, compare v.1656.

2630 μάρεον ὡς Σαρακηνόν : for the shift of accentuation from Σαρακηνός (probably under the influence of Italian Saraceno) cf. Lib. n. 2761, μάρεν ὡς Σαρακηνόν. On the word Σαρακηνός in general, see rot. Gloss. s.v.

2631 ἑθυσιάζε is the reading of all the editions and of the ms. This would demand the priest as its subject but in other versions it is the Macedonians who make sacrifices:

ἔδοξε μοι πάσιν θύσαι τῷ ἁγίῳ (A); "And

offering sacrifices to the sun.....we turned and went on from there" (Arm., Wolchojian p.146). These would indicate

that a first person verb is required - ἑθυσιάζα or

ἑθυσιάσαμε.

The second of these would be an undesirable emendation as θυσιάζω is always found elsewhere in the poem without synizesis of ια (although the corruption could easily be explained as caused by haplography of με); for this reason ἑθυσιάζα, which also accords better with A, has been preferred.

2635 δὲν εἶχα τὸ τί κάμει :

for this expression with τί and infinitive cf. Chron.Turc.

v.25 καὶ δὲν εἶχαν τί κάμει καὶ ἐπαρὰδόναν.

2636 Ντούναβη : Τάναϊν A. A substitution of the familiar for the unfamiliar. The normal MG form for the Danube is Δούναβις (-ης), but in medieval Greek Ντούναβις is often found e.g. Chron.Turc. p.32 et. passion.

2646 ἐξήντα μέτρα : μετρητὰς τξ' Α, ἑκατὸν

ἐξήκοντα ΚΛγ Byz., ἐξήκοντα ΒV, ἑκατόν M.

The Rimada agrees with two of the β -type mss but it is hardly possible to include this in the list of loci where it accords with β against A for the β readings, taken together, indicate an original reading ἑκατόν ἐξήκοντα.

III 30 (2655-80) III 30-33, which may be conveniently called "Alexander's Last Days", were originally an independent work, as is proved by a Latin translation of it preserved in the so-called Metz Epitome.¹ The text of the Epit. is in many respects fuller and better than that of the ps-Call. The latter altered the original text in various ways, but these changes have been partly removed by the author of a Greek ms ancestral to Arm.² Thus for this last section of the Romance three main texts must be taken into account: the ps-Call. itself (A and β), Arm. and the Metz Epitome. From these, and other minor texts, Merkelbach has attempted a reconstruction of the text of "Alexander's Last Days".³

The first part of this work as it appears in the ps-Call. (the order is slightly altered as compared with Epit.) is the account of the portent which Alexander saw in Babylon (III 30). In the ps-Call. the episode is related in the 3rd person, the letter to Olympias having concluded at the end of III 29. The β (mss BFL) and 2 versions, however,

1. Merkelbach op.cit. pp.108 ff., 121 ff.

2. ibid. p.109.

3. op.cit. pp.220-251.

begin chapter III 30 with the introduction to a letter:

Γράφει δὲ ἕτερα γράμματα Ἀλέξανδρος τῇ μητρὶ
αὐτοῦ Ὀλυμπιάδι γενόμενος ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τῇ μεγάλῃ.....
περιέχοντα οὕτως.

The episode then continues in the third person. A similar thing happens in Leo, but there the episode itself begins in the first person before slipping into the third in the second sentence. In Byz. this situation has been rectified by transforming the narrative into letter-form:

Ἄγων ἀπέστειλε γράφην οὗτος Ὀλυμπιάδι.....
ἥτις ἐδήλου πρὸς αὐτὴν κατὰ γρηπτόν τοιαῦτα·
«Ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ταῦτα τῇ μητρὶ μου.....
(vv.5814, 5817-8)

In P too the whole chapter is related in the first person in the form of a letter (see van Thiel op.cit. pp.31-2). Similarly the author of the Rinade, or its prose model, also adapted the narrative to letter-form but at the same time he integrated the whole chapter with the preceding letter to Olympias, using as a link vv.2655-6.

That the letter-form of III 30 is a later adaptation and not original to the Romance is shown by the fact that III 30-3 were originally all of a piece. The original beginning of III 30, from which the corruption stems, must have been that preserved by A: Τούτῃς δὲ τῆς
ἐπιστολῆς πεμφθείσης Ὀλυμπιάδι τῇ μητρὶ

Despite this basic difference the Rimada agrees fairly closely with the ps-Call. apart from one or two omissions of detail: the description of the portentous child (v.2658) is shortened, various details are omitted after v.2659, the interpretation of the portent (vv.2675-8) is briefer than in the ps-Call. and at the end of the chapter quite a bit is omitted, particularly in comparison with A. The conclusion of the letter (vv.2679-80) is naturally not found in the ps-Call. at this point.

2657 τοιοῦτο εἶδει : or the use of dative forms for accusative see Introd. p. 164 . A similar example to the present one is found in Batrach. 105: μέ τ' ὁμορφόν
τον ἔθει.

2675-8 The explanation of the portent is obscured by the fact that important details have been omitted by the Rimada from the description of the monstrous child. From the navel upwards it was of human form, but dead; the lower part consisted of the heads of various animals - lions, leopards, wolves and hounds - all alive and moving.

III 31 (2681-2766) Where A and β differ the Rimada has a marked tendency to agree with A during the last chapters of the Romance. In III 31 this tendency is illustrated by several lines and passages: vv.2702, 2722-3, 2733-4, and 2737-44 (see Introd. p.78). Only once is there closer correspondence with β, at v.2713, where, however, Syr. and

Leo also agrees: "....so that his mind was excited against him"
 (Budge p.136); "Ex qua re ipse invenis dolore coactus consentit...."
 (Leo III 31a)(see Introd. p. 65).

The chapter opens with an explanation of the events which led to the poison plot, but this passage (vv.2681-98) has little in common with the corresponding section of the ps-Call. There the story is related as follows (according to A): Olympias wrote many times to Alexander about Antipater, complaining that she was treated contemptuously by him, as being Alexander's mother, and Antipater said whatever he pleased and accused her of being ridiculous, because she wanted to go over to Epirus (the text is corrupt). Alexander, determined to remove the enmity which existed between Antipater and his mother and to summon Antipater to come to him, sent Craterus to Macedonia. Realising Alexander's concern about the expenses of the army, Antipater plotted to murder him for fear of being disgraced(The β "version" has attempted to tidy up many of the textual problems.)

Very little of this can be traced exactly in the Rimada which has added a letter from Antipater to Alexander (2689-92) and an interchange of letters between Olympias and Alexander (2695-8). Other differences in the Rimada correspond to readings of non-Greek witnesses: vv.2681-2 match Val. III 56 Ergo occasio illi moriendi talis fuit; and vv.2683-5 have a counterpart in pit. 87:Antipatri, qui praefectus in Macedonia erat relictus.

Differences of details in this chapter are too numerous to mention (e.g. v.2701 the poison is placed in a lead box and that in an iron box

according to β) and some lines are added for purposes of rhyme only (e.g. v.2712). Nonetheless, in broad outline the story does not differ from the ps-Call. Two brief "scene-shifting" passages are added by the Rimada: vv.2721-2 and 2753-6.

The banquet described in vv.2723-8 was, according to A (β lacks the passage), to celebrate the festival of Dionysus, for which many of Alexander's friends and artists had travelled to Babylon. At the subsequent gathering of friends (v.2737ff.) the names of many of those present are seriously distorted in the Rimada. According to most other versions, there were 20 people present at the Symposium, of whom 6 were not members of the conspiracy. (For a detailed commentary on the proper names see below.)

Other discrepancies between the Rimada which may be noted are: at v.2757, where β refers to two cups offered to Alexander, of which only the second contained poison (A, like the Rimada, mentions only one cup); Alexander's cries on drinking the poison are put into direct speech by the Rimada (vv.2761-2) and this improvement seems to have been adopted and amplified by the Phyllada:

ὦ φίλοι μου, τί εἶναι
τοῦτο τὸ κακὸν ὅπου ἤλθεν εἰς τὴν καρδίαν
μου, τὸ ὅποιον μοῦ ἐπέριπλεξε τὰ ἐντόσθια,
καὶ ὥδ' ὀσπυρὶ δίστομον μοῦ περὶ τὴν καρδίαν;
Δὲν ἠμπορῶ πλέον γὰρ βαστάξω..... (p.201).

- 2702 ν' ἄθιβάνη: presumably "to instruct him (what to do)". This seems preferable to reading ἄθιβάνει...
- 2737 Πέρδικα: the correct orthography and accentuation is Περδίκκας.
- 2738 Ποθανά: Πύθων (A), Pithon (Arm.).
Λεονά: χιώνατος (A), Leonnatus (Epit., similarly Arm.).

- 2739 Σπενδοτική: Πόκεστος (A), Pokestes (Arm.), re vera Percestes. The form of the Rimada exhibits a paronymology from σπενδοτικός, "hasty".

Λεονά: repeated from the previous line, presumably by error. But it is difficult to imagine what name could have occupied that position. Names which occur in other versions, but not in the Rimada, are: Meleager, Stasenor, Europius, another Philip, Menander and the enigmatic twentieth guest¹ Dardarus / Medius. Of these the most likely is the first, which appears in A as μιγιδνός. Perhaps, then, v.2739 should read:

Τὸν Σπενδοτική, (τὸν) Μιγιδνόν.....

- 2740 Ὀγκιά: Olcias (Epit.), Olkis (Arm.).
- 2741 Κορβόμη: perhaps a corruption of Εὐρώπιος (?).
Εὐγενή: Eumenes (Arm.).
- Νέαχρον: Νέαρχος (A, similarly Epit. and Arm.)
- Ἑρακλείδη: Ἑρακλείδης (A etc.)

1. See Merkelbach op.cit. p.130 n.2.

2742 Ἀρίστωνά : Ἀρίστων (A, Arm.)

2744 Κασάνδεον : Κάσανδρος (A, Arm.), but the name should be Ἄσανδρος as Epit.

Φιγανά : Φιγώτας (A, Arm.). The adjective qualifying the name in the Rimada has been introduced solely as a convenient rhyme.

2748 Ὀαβριος : the same person as Ὀακιάς in v.2740. In β the name appears as Ὀακιος.

III 32 (2767-2816) Of the first part of this chapter which deals with Alexander's attempt to get rid of the excess wine and his suicide bid (vv.2767-86) only a few vestigial sentences remain in β. The Rimada follows A quite faithfully but omits all the events of the second day of Alexander's suffering - how he sent everyone away so that he might have peace to marshal his wishes, and how the conspirators reported to Antipater that the deed had been done (Kroll 135.1⁶ - 135.6). At two points the Rimada rectifies omissions of A: v.2771 στο

στόμα του τ' ἀμπώνει corresponds to Epit: ille ubi in fauces demisit, and Leo: et misit in guttur suum (similarly Tyr.); at v.2778 it agrees with Leo's ut divergeretur in eo et tolleretur eum reuma ipsius fluyii (similarly Tyr.) where A and Arm. have nothing corresponding; and at vv.2783-4 it is closer to other versions than to the corrupt text of A: cf. Epit. parvum fructum cum tibi largiris, mihi immortalitatem ademisisti.

The writing of the will, in the presence of Gordiceas, Ptolemy and

Lysimachus (the Rimada has τὸ στρατοῖκι — see on v.2788), is only mentioned in A, of the two primary Greek versions (see Introd. p.79). After this, A has an interpolation from a historical source dealing with Perdiccas' scheming to obtain a share of Alexander's possessions. This is omitted by all other versions.

At v.2801 the Rimada agrees with β against A, but with it may be compared the following sentence in Ipit., particularly the words underlined: ille omnes manu ac nutu, utpote qui iam in extremo vitae fine esset neque loqui posset, tacitus salutabat (§ 105). There is otherwise no equivalent for this sentence in any other version.

The lament of the Macedonian soldier (named by A, Arm. and Ipit. as Peucolaus or something similar) assumes a rather modified form in the Rimada, particularly in vv.2809-10. In the ps-Call. the speech appears as follows: "Your father Philip ruled Macedonia for the good, so too do you. If you abandon us Macedonia is finished; if you perish it is good that we Macedonians should die with you who made Macedonia worthy of Zeus."

Finally for vv.2813-4, which have a counterpart only in γ of the Greek versions of the ps-Call., It. may also be compared: "And when all the men who were there heard (these words) they went....."(Budge p.344).

2775 τὴν νύκτα : "the following night". A whole day's events are omitted between vv.2774 and 2775 — see above.

2787 τὸ στρατοῖκι : the word is Byzantine — στρατοῖκιον —

from Latin, and is used by the Chroniclers and historians with various meanings: 1) the office of strator, "groom" (Steph. Diac. 1137 C); 2) the groom's baton (Porph. Cer. 576, 18); 3) the Emperor's mounting-block or the place where the horses are groomed (Codinus p. 30, 10)¹. But none of these meanings is appropriate here. The sense is "leaders of the army", "commanders-in-chief" (cf. v. 2908). The poet knew the word from his reading but etymologised it falsely as from στεατός + the suffix -ρίκι, confused with -lik (Turkish) denoting an office or rank or those holding it; cf. ἄρχονταρίκιον which meant the place where the ἄρχοντες resided or were received and then the nobility as a class (Dimitrakos Lex., Hist. Lex.).

2804 ἰδιώτης = ἰδιώτης. This is the word used by the ps-Call. to describe Peucolaus, but with the meaning of "private soldier" as the context shows: ἰδιώτης καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς τάξεως ὑψηλόμενος (A).

III 33. (2818-2926) This chapter, which comprises Alexander's testament and his death, constitutes one of the most important parts of the Rimada, as has been recognized by Merkelbach. For although the testament is preserved by a variety of witnesses (A, Epit., Barb., Arm. and in part Eth., Syr., Leo, Val.) they are often at odds with one another and their texts are often severely corrupt. In order to assemble

1. See the lexica of Sophocles and Mursius.

a reasonable picture of the original form of the testament all these texts have to be drawn on and the Rimada offers an additional and significant source for this purpose, though of course it must always be remembered that between the original romance and the poem several steps, in particular the processes of translation into MG and of versification, have intervened.

Only a fraction of the chapter is preserved by β - corresponding roughly to vv.2817 (which is in fact closer than A to the Rimada¹ see Introd. p. 65), 2829-32 and 2909-14 (for which A has a lacuna). Thus for most of the chapter A is the only available Gk. witness; but the Rimada often agrees with other versions against A and has some additional passages which are found in no other version.

The first of these additions occurs at vv.2821-6 - the introductory words of the testament. No other version offers a corresponding passage except the Phyllada which, borrowing directly from the Rimada², reads:

βλέπω ὅτι ὁ θάνατος μὲ τειγύρισε καὶ θέλει
 νὰ μὲ χωρίῃ ἀπὸ τὴν γλυκυτάτην μου ἰωὴν, ὅπου
 κάθε ἓνας ἀπὸ αὐτὸν δὲ ἤμπορεῖ νὰ γλυτώσῃ.....
διὰ τοῦτο γράφω καὶ ἀφήνω, πρῶτον, εἰς ὄλους
 μου τοὺς φίλους, καὶ ἐχθροὺς ἀγάπην καὶ συγχώρησιν,
 καὶ συμπαθίαν εἰς ὅσα μοῦ ἔκαμαν ἢ τοὺς ἔκαμα.

1. But cf. Syr: "... and he commanded Priskos to bring the testament and to read it before him. Then Archelaus the scribe brought the testament....." (Budge p.139)

2. See Introd. p. 99.

Ἐπειτα διὰ τὴν μὴ γένῃ εἰς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας μου
καὶ ἀρχηγούς σύγχυσις ἢ μύχῃ¹

At this point in A occurs the "Letter to the Rhodians" which has been interpolated later and become confused with the testament. This letter is found only in A, Arm., Epit. and Eth; elsewhere it has been noted that the Rimada (or its prose model) has a tendency to invent when something appears to have been lost from its original. This appears to be the case here too.

It is now necessary to analyse the text of the testament clause by clause and to compare it with the other available versions.

vv.2827-8: as ps-Call. except that Ἰδαῖος is for Ἀρριδαῖος.

vv.2829-30: it should be specified that this is to happen if the child is a boy.

vv.2831-4: "If a female is born let the Macedonians choose whom they want as king if they do not want Arrhidaeos the son of Philip. Let him who is chosen preserve the rule of the Argeiades...." A, Arm. Epit: "eam Macedones ex fide sua meaque dignitate educandam collocandamque curent..." Eth. has: "...let the Macedonians take charge of her and choose...." Thus the Rimada is closer to the e last two texts than to A. Several clauses are then omitted by the Rimada (= Kroll 141.2-13), which deal with provisions for Olympias to reside in Rhodes and the appointment of regents in Macedonia and Thrace.

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1. Quoting from the 1780 ed. Later edd., including that of Pallis, have made some alterations.

vv.2835-8: The first couplet is confused owing partly to a presumed lacuna in the Rimada's (or the prose version's) model which led the redactor to associate the sentence with the preceding one, and partly to a textual corruption in the second verse (see below on v.2836). In the ps-Call. (and Epit.) this clause refers to the appointment to the satrapy of the Hellespont of Leonnatus and his wife Cleonice (so Epit. - the name is barely legible in A), the sister of (H)olcias.

vv.2839-42: "And Paplagonia and Cappadocia to Eumenes the secretary" (A, Epit., Barb.). These three texts then refer to the liberation of the islands and the appointment of the Rhodians as their guardians. This passage appears, somewhat modified, much later in the Rimada - vv.2891-2 q.v.¹

vv.2843-4: "Pamphylia and Cilicia to Antigonus" A; Pamphiliae, Lyciae, Phrygiae maiori.... Epit. ex corr: Liciae et Pamfiliae atque Frigiae... Leo. The Rimada is thus closest to Leo and Epit., but substitutes Ἐλεγκία for Phrygia and Ἰταλία for Lycia.

vv.2845-6: "In order that Asander be in charge of Caria" Epit. (corrected from Caesaris); cf. Leo: Cari et Casandro teneant. There is

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1. As this is the only reference to Rhodes in the Rimada (but not the only "Rhodian interpolation" as defined by Merkelbach op.cit. p.145 ff.), it is possible to suppose that the prototype on which the Rimada or its prose model was based was free from these passages - or has systematically been purged of them. The clause referring to the islands would then have been taken later from a "Rhodian interpolated" ms and inserted in the wrong place.

the usual confusion between Asander and Cassander and in addition the Rimada has replaced Caria by the more familiar Καρόγία.

This clause has been lost completely in A.

vv.2847-8: "let him rule all these as far as those inside the Halys river" A. The name Antipater, which A omits, occurs in various forms in Epit., Val., Barb. and Leo as well as the Rimada. Epit., like the Rimada, gives "beyond the river" rather than "as far as the river".

vv.2849-52: A omits these two clauses. The other versions differ one with another. Epit. gives Nicanor as the appointee in Cilicia and Pithon in Syria as far as the Mesopotamian boundary; Barb. on the other hand names "Filon"¹ as the ruler of Cilicia and Isauria. Leo has a lacuna where the name of the ruler of Cilicia should occur, while Syr. names Pior and Val. Yton. The Rimada is thus closest to Barb., with 'Εγυκία substituted for Κιζικία and Isauria omitted.

vv.2853-4: Seleucus as ruler of Babylon - agrees with other versions.

vv.2855-6: "Phoenice and Coele Syria to Meleager" A, Epit., Barb. The Rimada has taken Phoenice as a personal name and substituted it for Meleager.

1. Philotas was, historically, the appointed governor of Cilicia.

The substitution of Nicanor in Epit. (which here represents the original pamphlet) is due to political reasons. Reference to a historical source led to the "reinstatement" of Philotas/Philonas in Barb. and the Rimada. (See Merkelbach pp.140-1.)

vv.2857-62: "Egypt to Ptolemy and Cleopatra as his wife" Epit., similarly to the Rimada (which omits to mention Cleopatra). But A and Val. give Perdikkas as ruler of Egypt and Ptolemy of Libya¹. Other versions (Leo, Syr., Arm., Barb.) agree with Epit. and the Rimada e.g. Barb. which has: *Egyptum autem et quae circa eam usque superiore Lybia Filippo qui vocabatur Ptolomeus. The Rimada, Epit., Arm., and Barb. go on to name Perdikkas as the governor of upper Babylonia as far as Bactria, while in A and Val. a certain Pharoerates is named as ruler of this region. For vv.2863-4, for which A offers no equivalent, may be compared: regiones...satrapae quam quisque obtinet, habeant, hisque omnibus summum imperatorem Perdiccam facio (Epit.); principes quidem in ea et satrapae; archistrategum autem eorum Perdicum ordinavit (Barb.). It looks as though the versifier or the author of the prose model was again following the principle of extemporizing when he was unable to read or understand something in his prototype.*

vv.2865-8: the other versions of the testament offer nothing equivalent to these verses, which must therefore be considered the interpolation of either the versifier or the author of the Rimada's prose model. The Demetrius mentioned is presumably Demetrius Poliorcetes and the Philip Philip Arrhidaeus. The theme of the division of Alexander's Empire into four seems to have been a popular legend. A similar idea occurs at two points in the Phyllada: when Alexander,

1. This is the original reading of the pamphlet. The substitution of Ptolemy for Perdikkas as governor of Egypt is the work of a later "corrector"; see Merkelbach p.142.

"Selenkios," Antiochus and Byzas each found an eponymous city (p.93), and when Alexander orders four statues to be set up in Egypt, one of himself, one of Ptolemy, one of Antiochus and one of Philones (p.110, cf. version γ III 28). The legend of the fourfold division of the empire seems to have its source in Jewish apocalyptic literature (cf. Daniel 8.8). In the commentary of Hippolytus on Daniel the four successors are named Ptolemy, Philip, Seleucus and Demetrius - exactly as in the Rimada. (See F. Pfister, "Eine jüdische Gründungsgeschichte Alexandrias", Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, V. 1914, p.13 ff.)

vv.2869-76: closely modelled on the ps-Call./Epit. version, except for the last couplet which merely elaborates on the preceding one.

vv.2877-8: Epit. "Atheniensibus detur in aedem Minervae sella aurea atque [emictus] peplus ex auro"; similarly in Arm., Syr., and Leo but absent from A.

vv.2879-84: similar to other versions, except that the number of talents (quintals) of gold (vv.2883-4) is not specified, in A, 50 in Val., 1000 in Epit. (which correctly refers to Juno (i.e. Hera) instead of Heracles), and 150 in Arm. and the Rimada.

vv.2885-8: only reasons of metrical convenience can have caused the versifier to transform Δελφούς into ἄδελφοβύνη...

In the number of cups mentioned in v.2887 the Rimada again agrees with Arm. (and Epit.), while A and Val. give 13. The δεσμάτια of v.2888 are τῶν δρακόντων τὰς δορῆς in A.

vv.2889-90: "let 150 talents of coined gold be given to the Milesians

for the restoration of the city" A (similarly Epit.). The name of the city as given by the Rimada is perhaps a version of Μεγίτην, less probably of Μερίτη (Malta). Here A adds a similar gift for the Cnidians and this is followed by a section dealing with arrangements concerning Alexandria. The passage is also in Arm. and Val. but absent from Epit. as well as the Rimada. The Rimada inserts here vv.2891-2, which have apparently been moved down from much earlier in the testament; see on vv.2839-42 above.

vv.2893-96: "...Taxiles to be king of that part of India which extends along the Hydaspes, Porus of the part included by the Hydaspes <and the Indus>, and Oxydraces the Batrian, father of Roxane, Alexander's wife, over the Paroparisadae." A (similarly Arm., Epit., Barb.). The Rimada has reduced three clauses to two and in the proper names is closer to other versions than to A: like Epit. it refers to the Indus rather than the Hydaspes in the first clause; Πυθωνῶς is Pythoma in Barb. and Pithon in Arm. but in A and Epit. Porus; Ταξιδῶν is, however, closest to A - Ταξιδῶν (similarly Arm. and Val.) - while Epit. has Taxiles and Barb. Taxius; Παρθωνιστάδας represents an attempt at etymologising the word but, nonetheless, it is closer to the real name than what A offers - δαδαδῶν. 1

vv.2897-8: "let Sibyrtilus rule the Arachosians and the Gedrosians" Epit. (similarly Barb.). In A only unintelligible fragments of this clause survive, as also of the following clause ("Stasanori Solei Arum

1. For the confusion as to who ruled which region, see Merkelbach op.cit. p.249.

et Dravgarum imperium do" Epit.), which the Rimada omits completely.

vv.2899-2900: "Bactriana and Susiana to Philip" A, Val. and Arm. In fact the reference should be not to Susiana (which is mentioned later of. v.2905) but to Sogdiana (Barb. preserves Ogdianiam). In the Rimada the name is corrupted to Συρίνα and Bactriana has disappeared.

vv.2901-2: "Parthaea and those regions adjacent to Hyrcania to Phrataphernes" A (but corrupt). Epit. preserves the best text here: Parthaeam (ex corr.) et quod proximum est intra flumen Hyrcaniae, do Phratapherni. As usual the Rimada has distorted the proper names, but no more so than A (συρταίαν ὑπερταφέρνην).

There follows a clause in A, Epit., Barb. and Syr., in which Tlepolemus is assigned Carmania, but the texts of all are badly corrupted and the words are omitted by Val. and Arm. as well as by the Rimada.

vv.2903-4: "Persis to Peucestes" A, Epit. (Barb.). The following clause in A and Epit. is very corrupt, which would explain its omission in the Rimada.

vv.2905-6: the final clause of the will in the Rimada can only be paralleled by Epit. which reads, when corrected; "excedat item ex Susianis Argaeus; imperator sit <pro eo> Coenus." The correction "pro eo coenus" for the ms poenis is due to Ausfeld¹ and is based on a historical source.² The Rimada assists towards the confirmation of this correction, for Κοῦρος is quite close to Κοίνο; by the standards of accuracy which may

1. Rhein. Museum LVI, 1901, pp.537-8

2. Justin XIII 4.14: Susiana gens Coenoadsignatur.

reasonably be expected from such a lengthy ms tradition. Nonetheless Merkelbach¹ hesitates to accept Ausfeld's correction; but the most recent editor of the Epitome does accept it, and Tam² rejects it outright, on the grounds that the Justin passage on which it is based is itself corrupt. He emends it to: "Susa (or Susiana) Antigoni Coeni (sg. filio)", which accords better with the evidence of Diod. XVIII 39,6. Now the Rimada indicates that the Greek tradition of the Testament assigned Susiana to one Κείνης or Κούρος (save the remote possibility that a ms ancestral to the Rimada had been "corrected" by reference to Justin). And if the Greek tradition was such, Ausfeld's correction to the Metz Epitome may be allowed to stand, independent of the historical accuracy of the Citation. This being so, Tam's correction of the Justin passage becomes doubtful, though the historical researches which prompted it are not disputed.

Thus ends the testament in the Rimada but the other versions contain several more clauses which have disappeared, whether deliberately or by chance, from the modern Greek version. The final part of the chapter, dealing with Alexander's death (= vv.2909-14) and the whole of the following chapter (III 34 = vv.2929-42) are omitted by A. Kroll's text for this section (pp.144. 13 - 144. 25) is therefore in the main a translation of Arm. with reference also to other available witnesses: β, Val., Leo.

1. op.cit. p.250.

2. W. Tam, Alexander the Great, Vol. II p.313 ff.

Alexander's death is told in two different versions: one which Epit. narrates and the other found in Val. and β ; Arm. gives both versions. The second version is the one which the Rimada follows in vv.2909-14. There follows in the Rimada (vv.2915-26) a description of the death of Bucephalus on hearing of Alexander's death.¹ None of the α witnesses nor β knows this story but in γ and the late-Byzantine versions a similar account is given which, however, is by no means identical with that of the Rimada. (The Phyllada also relates the story, but its account is verbally very similar to the Rimada's and almost certainly derived from it.) The γ -version is as follows: As Bucephalus stood before him, Alexander said: "You were born to share my fortune that through me you might also suffer a miserable fate. In wars I had you as my fellow-combatant, but now in this fatal war you do not struggle with me. It seems to me that you would wish to help me but cannot." As Alexander tearfully uttered these words to β , the whole army groaned loudly. The treacherous slave who had prepared the poison and plotted against the life of all men, thinking that Al. was dead, came running in to see. β saw him.....seized him in his teeth and bring^{ing} him in front of Al. and shaking him gave a terrible roar, as if to avenge his master.

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1. The tale is, of course, devoid of historical validity; Bucephalus died in 326 B.C. at the Battle of the Hydaspes, and a town was founded nearby in memory of the horse. On the legends attached to the horse and in particular those about its death see A.R. Anderson, "Bucephalus and his legend", AJP 51, 1930, pp.1-21.

Then he leapt high into the air and suddenly beat that guileful and faithless slave against the ground and the slave was straightway torn apart,..... The horse rose and whinnied a little in front of Alexander and immediately fell down and breathed his last, which caused Alexander to smile. (The death of Alexander is then described exactly as in β .)¹

There are few similarities between this account and the Rimada's other than the horse's rearing and the basic fact that the death of horse and master are synchronised (though the order of their deaths is different). The possibility of a literary borrowing, in whichever direction, can therefore be practically excluded. The alternative explanation is that the authors of both the γ "version" and the Rimada or its prose model were drawing on a popular legend according to which Alexander and Bucephalus died simultaneously. An echo of this theme, perhaps borrowed directly from the Alexander romance, is found in the Cretan romance of Protokritos: when the Karamanite is killed, his faithful steed drops dead beside him (II 1171 ff.). If Komaros borrowed the motif from the Alexander romance his source may have been one of the printed editions of the Rimada which were then available.

2325-6 In a more sophisticated writer the couplet would be ironical, in view of the "Diadochenkriege" which ensued.

1. Parthe, Der griechische Alexanderroman. Rezensionen, Buch III, pp. 452-4.

2836 Λεονά νά τὸ βάζετε :

corrected from the unmetrical λέον νά τὸ βάζεται
of the editions, preserving the same form of the name as is
found in vv. 2738-9. Other possibilities are Λεόννατο
or Λεοννάτο νά βάζετε , which would restore
the actual form of the name, but lack the necessary object pro-
noun.

2859 "The country which is situated above Babylonia."

2892 τῆς Ῥόδου τὸ κουμόνι :

the reference is to the establishment of the κοινὸν
τῶν Ῥωδιωτῶν by Antigonus in 315 B.C., into which
Rhodes was later incorporated. κουμόνι is usually
used only of the Republic of Venice or Genoa.

2901 Κυρχειά : one would expect either a gen. sing.
of the country or gen. pl. of the inhabitants. It is pos-
sible that Κυρχειά was originally written and
emended by the editor who believed it to be a proper noun
κύρ Χειά.

2925 ἑτοῖς ποδί : such gauche archaism is not
typical of the anonymous versifier and may be corrupt. A
dative of the agent would be more in line with expectations -
"with the legs with the chest" - rather than an accusa-
tive (with preposition) of the part affected - "he struck some
on the legs, some on the chest" - which is the only possible
interpretation of the line as it stands.

III 34 (2927-42) In general, the chapter is shorter and less detailed than the ps-Call. - a tendency which has been noted throughout this analysis. In particular the Rimada omits Ptolemy's suggestion that the oracle of Babylonian Zeus be consulted and abbreviates the oracle itself, which is transferred into indirect speech (v.2936). The embalming of Alexander's body (vv.2927-8) occurs much later in the ps-Call., immediately before Ptolemy sets out for Egypt, and it may be noted that the coffin is of lead in the ps-Call., not gold. The Rimada does not specify to what part of Egypt Ptolemy went first; in fact it was to Memphis, as the oracle had instructed.

III 35 (2943-4) In the ps-Call. the chapter gives details of the chronology of Alexander's life, and a list of his conquests and the cities he built. The Rimada retains of all this only Alexander's age at his death (v.2943) to which another verse is added to complete the couplet. According to A Alexander was aged 30 when he died while β gives 32 as his age. The Rimada agrees with Arn., Val., Leo and Epit. in recording 33; Syr. gives 32 years 7 months, Barb. 36 and Eth. 37. In fact Alexander was 32 years and 8 months.

EPILOGUE

The purpose of the epilogue to the Rimada is threefold: 1) the customary, bibliographical, one of providing details of the date and place of publication of the book, and the names of its author and editor or corrector; 2) to castigate the poet for failing to provide the editor with a correct autograph copy of the work on which the text of the edition might be founded, and to punish him for this omission by ensuring that he remains anonymous; and 3) to vindicate the reputation of Alexander from accusations of immorality and profligacy.

The third of these intentions occupies a considerable part of the epilogue: vv.25-52. The editor, Zinos, says that his information derives from the Suda and this is indeed so.¹ Here the Suda in fact reproduces an excerpt from Arrian² which praises Alexander for his treatment of Darius' womenfolk.³ But the Suda is no reliable authority, for in the next but one excerpt, from John of Antioch, it gives a highly unfavourable picture of Alexander's mores.

The passage which Zinos has taken from the Suda is translated quite faithfully into modern Greek verse in vv.27-30 and 33-52.

1. s.v. Ἀλέξανδρος, ed. Adler Vol.I pp.101-2.

2. Arab. IV 19, 5-20,3

3. Cf. in the Romance I 41, 12 and II 10, 7 (Kroll) neither of which passages is to be found in the Rimada.

GLOSSARY

- ἀγαπῶ - love, like, want, desire ἀγάπουν νὰ would that... 1416, 1531, 1687, 2423 cf. Kefalonian use: "I would rather" (Hist. Lex. s.v.5)δ)
- ἀγκαλιᾶζω - embrace 627, 1588 ; also passive with active meaning: ἀγκαλιᾶσθηκε 191, ἀγκαλιᾶσθη 437, ἀγκαλιᾶστηκε 528.
- ἀγριογαδούρι, τό - wild ass 1652. (For compounds of this type cf. the two following entries - see MNE II 173 f.)
- ἀγριοδαμάλι, τό - wild heifer; pl. -τα 2082. Normally ἀγριοδάμαλο (Hist. Lex., Kriaras Lex.)
- ἀγριοχοῖρι, τό - wild boar; pl. -τα 2061. Cf. Soumm. Past. Fid. IV 940 ἀγριοχοῖρι.
- ἀγριώνω - p.p.p. ἀγριωμένοι wild, savage 1570.
- ἀγωνιοῦμαι - hasten; ἀγωνιέται 1069. A form of ἀγωνίζομαι occurring in various idioms. For the form cf. Chron. Mor. 2505 ἀγωνιέσαι, ibid. 3478 ἀγωνιέτον. The normal meaning is "toil, struggle, labour, fight". For the meaning "hasten" cf. Hist. Lex. ἀγωνίζομαι 2).
- ἄδεια, ἡ - permission, leave 116, 119, 123; the type with synizesis ἄδειαν 139. The form ἄδεια, for normal MG ἄδεια, occurs today in Zakynthos, Kefalonia, Kythera, Megara and Mani (Hist. Lex.) and in many early popular texts (see Kriaras Lex., to which may be added Thes. 983 and Def. Sus. 260) Again it is found in fairy-tales from Zakynthos taken down in the present century (Minotou Param. A p. 436, B p. 501

- cf. Konomos Lex. S.V.). Its usage is confined to the SW area of the Greek-speaking world. *ἀδελιά*, on the other hand, occurs in Northern as well as Southern dialects and idioms (Hist. Lex.)
- ἀδελφοί*, τό - dim. of *ἀδελφός* 2709 (see Kriaras Lex.)
- ἀδελφoσύνη*, ἡ - brotherhood, 2885.
- ἀδικία*, ἡ - wrong-doing pl. *ἀδικέες* 1024.
- ἀδυναμιά*, ἡ - weakness, difficult position, 1245.
- ἀειβάω* - speak, say 254; instruct(?) 2702. (Kriaras Lex.)
- ἀντιβόλαιον*, τό - copy, exemplar E5. < *ἀντιβόλαιον* (false archaising resolution of synizesis) < *ἀντίβολον* (L-S). The meaning *ὑπόδειγμα γραφῆς πρὸς ἀντιγραφὴν* is only witnessed from Zakynthos (Hist. Lex. *ἀντιβόλι*, see under *ἀντιβόλι*). See also Kriaras Lex. s.v. *ἀντιβόλι(ν)*.
- ἀντιβολή*, ἡ - story, narration, 166, 273. < *ἀντιβολή* < *ἀμειβολή*. (Hatzidakis, *Ath.* 24, 1912, 9-11). For this meaning see Kriaras Lex. s.v. 28).
- αἶγα*, ἡ - goat, pl. *αἶγες* 1517.
- αἰτία*, ἡ - cause, reason E18, justification 2354, disadvantage 1200, strife, faction 1431.
- αἰτιάζομαι* - p.p. *αἰτιασμένοι*, accused, culpable 2745. (L-S). In some dialects *αἰτιασμένος* means "diseased" or "stunted" (Hist. Lex.)
- αἰχμαλωτίζω* - take prisoner 1895; p.p.p. *αἰχμαλωτισμένη* E27.
- αἰῶνας*, ὁ - acc. pl. *αἰῶνας* 572.
- ἀκαρτερῶ* - wait, linger 22, 1650, 1715; trans. wait for, *ἰσθ* sing. impf. *ἀκαρτέρουνε* 2132. (For the form with *ἀ-*, instead of normal *καρτερῶ* cf. Koron. p.41, Thes. 4324, 1109, Katsaitis If. I213, II523, Minotou Trag.no.169, 311 *et passim*; Konomos Lex. s.v.)
- ἀκολουθῶ* - 1398, 2495, 2911; *ἀκολουθούσαμε* 1720. In other texts

often syncopated to ἀκλουθῶ.

ἀκρόμα - 446, 2884.

ἀκόμη - 1086, 1486, 1563, 2579. (ἀκμήν > ἀκμή > ἀκόμη
> ἀκόμα. MNE 155)

ἀκουμπίζω - lie, stretch 568 (< Lat. accumbo + -(ζω)).

ἀκούω - hear 56, 172, 181 passim; pres. ἀκοῦς 551,
'κοῦμε(ν) 1672, 1676, aor. ἤκουσε(ν) 1071, 1823,
1869 etc.; with gen. 56; ἀκούομαι "have the
reputation of being" (with adjectival complement)
54, 749, 1473.

ἄκρος, τό - phrase εἰς ἄκρος, exceedingly, utterly
2022 (Kriaras Lex. s.v. ἄκρον 4)

ἀκρατήρι, τό - 'κρωτήρι headland 2024. The type with
aphaeresis also occurs in Poulol. 288.

ἀκτιστος - eternal 1778. See commentary.

ἀλάζονας - for ἀλαζόνας (AG ἀλαζών) boastful 1816.

ἀλαζονεία, ἡ - haughtiness 1254, 1792.

ἀλαζονεύομαι - boast, pride oneself 736 q.v.

ἀλείω - rub 'λείπει 2769. For 'λείω cf. Choumnos
B VIII 107.

ἀλεπού, ἡ - fox, pl. ἀλεποῦδες 2079 (Kriaras Lex.)

ἀλήθεια - adv. truly 1241.

ἀληθεύω - come true, be realised 2644.

ἀλλάζω - change 39; ἀλλάσσω 955, 1853, 2529; ἀλλάσσομαι,
be replaced 2529 (Kriaras Lex. Γ'δ). ἀλλάσσω is
still the common form in very many regions of
Greece (Hist. Lex.).

ἀλλῶς - differently, otherwise, else 421, 1469, 2576,
2882, 2936. See ἀλλιῶς.

- ἀλληλογῶ - change one's mind 2751 (Kriaras Lex. cf. also Choumnos ms 1479 καὶ ὁ γέρος ἀλληλόγησεν καὶ τὸν σασμὸν ἀλλάσσει.)
- ἀλλήλως - adv. together 2302 cf. Chron. Mor. H 8906 ἐκδόμισαν ἀλλήλως (Kriaras Lex. s.v. γ))
- ἀλλιῶς - otherwise 1185; cf. ἀλλέως.
- ἄλλος - gen. sing. ἄλλοῦ 1875, pl. ἄλλωνων 347, ἄλλων 1403, 1952.
- ἀλλοῦθεν - to another place, elsewhere 2090. (In MG ἀλλοῦθε is more or less restricted to the idioms of the Peloponnese+Sterea Hellas; see Hist. Lex.)
- ἄλυσσιν, ἡ - pl. ἄλυσσιν 1320 (see Hist. Lex. s.v. ἄλυσσι.)
- ἄμα - conj. since, if 177 (Kriaras Lex. s.v. γ' 3)); phrase ἐν τῷ ἄμα, in the meantime, immediately (?), 2329, 2341, 214 (Kriaras Lex. A' 3a); τὸ ἄμα immediately, 2586.
- ἄμα - ἄμα ἔναι ἀνδραγαθός 1748; ἄμα occurs in the sense of ἀμέσως in Levkada (Kriaras, Katsaitis p. 298 and Hist. Lex. s.v. ἄμα) but here it is probably a question of a shift of accent caused by the following word having suffered aphaeresis of its accented syllable (see Introd. p.152).
- ἄμαξι, τό - cart, chariot, 857, 881, 924 etc.
- ἁμαρτία, ἡ - sin, guilt 1350; ἁμαρτιά 267.
- ἁμε - see πηγαινῶ
- ἁμή - but, 276d, 1019, 1780, 1800 (Konon Lex. Erot. Gloss. s.v.).
- ἁμπῶθεν - push, force, thrust, 1861; also ἁμπῶν 2771. (Hist. Lex. s.v.)

- ἄν - often in the form ἀ 89, 525, 535, 695 etc. Phrases
 ἄν εἶναι καὶ 256, 303, ἄν ἐν καὶ 2513, 2831.
 ἀναγκάζω - compel, force 1081, 1756, 1808; intrans. submit,
 obey (?) 810, and with same meaning medio-pass. 812.
 ἀναγκαῖος - necessary, comp. ἀναγκαϊότερον 903.
 ἀναγνώθω - read 598, 726 etc. By - form ἀναγνώνω 1409
 (cf. Mach. Gloss. ἀναγνώνω and Hist. Lex. s.v.
 ἀναγνώθω). For the etymology, see Andriotis Lex.
 ἀνάζω - show sight of life, breathe 1446; < ἀνάγω (Hist.
 Lex. s.v. ἀνάγω). The form ἀνάζω is peculiar to
 Zakynthos and various regions of the Peloponnese
 (Hist. Lex. ibid., Konomos Lex.).
 ἀναθεματίζω - P.P.P. 'ναθεματισμένοι 1348. The type
 with aphaeresis also in Def. Sus. 270, τοὺς '
 'ναθεματίζαν.
 ἀναθιβάω - mention, remember, relate, tell, call, 232,
 368, 1162, 1294, 1420, 1524, 1944, 2276, (Hist. Lex.
 s.v. ἀναθιβάλλω)
 ἀναθυμοῦμαι - remember, recall; aor. ἀνεθυμήθη 315
 (Hist. Lex. s.v. ἀναθυμίζω)
 ἀνακαίνιζω - rebuild, restore, 529, 579.
 ἀνακαράς, ὁ - pl. ἀνακαράδες, wind instruments prob.
 trumpets 849; see commentary ad loc.
 ἀνακάτωμα, τό - disturbance, confusion, disorder, 869,
 1564, 1866, 2790. (Hist. Lex.) Cf. Cretan ἀνεκάτωμα
 (Erot. Gloss. s.v.)
 ἀνάντια σὲ - opposite, on the other side of 2847 (cf.
 Choumnos ms 266, 1249, Chron. Turc. 84 (bis), 119.)
 ἀναπαύω - act. trans. rest, lay to rest (i.e. bury)
 1388, 1901, 2932, 2939; pass. rest, relax, be calm

33, 386, 809, 980 etc.; by - form ἀναπεύω (by analogy with θεραπεύω - see MNE I 271), ἀναπεθεστε 809; the form also occurs in Chron. Mor. 2634 etc., Chron. Turc. 139 etc.

ἀνασχυρίζω - put in order, make tidy 94, < ἀνὰ + συγχυρίζω. The form ἀνασχυρίζω is witnessed for Thrace, Kefalonia and Peloponnese (Hist. Lex. s.v. ἀνασχυρίζω) besides ἀνασ'χυρώω (Epirus, Ionian Isles etc. - Hist. Lex. ibid., Dimitrakos Lex. s.v. ἀνασχυρώω) and a variety of other forms. No other example seems to be recorded in written texts.

ἀνασπᾶ - tear up, uproot; 3rd sing. -δαί 2089.

ἀνάστα - imp. of ἀνίστημι, 1361 (< ἀνίστηθαι by anal. with ἀνάβηθαι - ἀνάβα etc., see Blass-Debr. §95 (3))

ἀναφέρνω - mention, relate 2219, 2228.

ἀνάπτω - light, set on fire 97, 1286, 1518.

ἀνδραγαθία, ἡ - brave deed pl. ἀνδραγαθίαι 2505

ἀνδραγαθεῖν - perform heroic deeds 2505.

ἀνδρας, ὁ - passim; gen. sing. ἀνδρός 69, 152.

ἀνδρειωμένος - see ἀντρεπωμένος.

ἀνεβαίνω - rise, ascend, 1091, aor. ἀνέβ(η) σὲ mount (a horse) 845; ἀνιβαίνω 883 (cf. Cretan ἀνιμένω etc. Erot. Gloss.)

ἀνεμοζάλη, ἡ - storm, whirlwind, 2088.

ἀνερωτᾶν - ask, question, 99, 2436

ἀνθρωπος, ὁ - man; nom. pl. ἀνθρώποι 1655.

ἀνθρωποφάγος, ὁ - cannibal, 1542; man-eating dog, 2183.

ἀνιβαίνω - see ἀνεβαίνω,

ἀνιμένω - intrans. linger, delay 884, 1194, 1905; trans.

- wait for, expect 1938 (see Erot. Gloss.)
- ἀνοῦμαι - understand, perceive 1950 (< ἀννοῦμαι
< ἀνανοῦμαι) For ἀνανοῦμαι cf. Hist. Lex. s.v.
ἀνανοῦ, V. Favis, Lex. Arch. 2, 1915, 149-50, and
Batrach. 82, ἀνανοῦμαι = perceive, feel. No other
example of ἀνοῦ / -οῦμαι has been discovered.
- ἀντάμα - together; ἀντάμα μὲ 1362, 2090, 2574; ἀντάμα
οὐ 2930. (Common in texts e.g. Def. Sus. 355,
Chron. Turc. 27 et passim. See Konomos Lex., Hist.
Lex.)
- ἀνταρῖζω - intrans. make a noise, cause a disturbance
310 (Cf. ἀνταρῶ and ἀνταρῖδω Hist. Lex.; ἀνταρῖζω
is cited as "rare" by Dimitrakos Lex. s.v. ἀνταρῖδω.)
- ἀντίδικα - adv. opposite, against, as prep. with gen.
ἀντίδικά μου 1240, cf. Katsaitis If. II 325, IV 283,
id. Kl. Proem. 22, Kr. Akath. 6 (ἀντίδικα τοῦ ἀβύσσου),
Katz. III 29 (ἀντίδικα τοῦ φύσης).
- ἀντιλαλῶ - echo, 356.
- ἀντιμάχομαι - oppose, fight against, ἀντιμαχόμεσθα+acc.
2494.
- ἀντίμεψις, ἡ - repayment, recompense, εἰς ἀντίμεψιν 300
(< AG ἀνταμοιβή). Various forms occur; see Hist. Lex.
s.v. ἀντάμεψι. ἀντίμεψις, -η is also found in
Choumnos ms 1943 and Katsaitis If. V 372; See also
Erot. Gloss. s.v.
- ἀντίπερα - opposite, over, beyond, yonder 86, 932,
2242; ἀντίπερα οὐ on the other side of 2438 (Hist. Lex.)
- ἀντιστέχομαι - resist 1561, 1650, 1800.
- ἀντιτείνω - object, refuse, gainsay 469.

ἀντρωμένος - brave 2473, 2522; other forms:

ἀντρωμένος 768, ἀνδρωμένος 792, 1748, 2485 etc.,

ἀνδρωμένος 1001. (For ἀντρωμένος cf. Def. Log. Did. 397, Katsaltis If. II 43; for ἀνδρωμένος cf.

Katsaltis If. III 137, IV 555 etc. , Fort. interm.

iii 137, and iv 68, Erot. V 475 etc. For οὗ ἀνδρωμένους as an ideal class see Mavrogordato, Dig. Akr. note on 1139.)

ἀνυμνῶ - glorify, extol 2501.

ἀνυψῶνω - raise up, exalt 1243 (post-class. esp. LXX).

ἄνω - above, ἡ ἄνω πρόνοια, divine providence 741, 1985;

ἄνω κάτω 1866.

ἀξάινω - increase, grow 233; ἀβξάινω 1605. Both forms occur in Chron. Mor 2440 (ms variants). See Hist.

Lex. s.v. ἀβξάινω.

ἀξιῶνω - ppp. ἀξιωμένος worthy 1811; also αξωμένος 731.

δόρπτος - for δόρπτος, with influence of adjectives in -ότος of Latin origin; δόρπτος (fem.) 1617. This accentuation is found in certain dialectal forms, notably ὁ δόρπτ' (Mani) - see Hist. Lex.

ἄπαντες - all, 27. (Found as a learned element in other popular texts also e.g. Konon. 18 et passim.)

ἀπαντῶ - meet 313, 674 (with gen.), 1646, 1647; impers.

it is enough, δὲ σ' ἀπαντᾷ 819. (cf. Hist. Lex. s.v. 9));

medio-pass. ἀπαντιέται meet 1070 (sinL. 199).

ἀπάνω - passim; the form ἀπάνου is also quite frequent

(28, 312, 740 etc. see on v. 468) as an adverb and

as a preposition; phrase ἀπάνω κάτω 24, 468, 2790;

ἀπάνω...κού in addition to the fact that.. 1336

(see commentary on that line).

ἀπατός του - himself 671; see ἀτός μου.

ἀπεζεύω - see πεζεύω.

ἀπέχει - temporal adv. then, thereupon 18, 1498, 1961, 2758. (< ἀποκαί originally with spatial sense; cf.

ἀπέχει in many early texts: Achill. 503, Imb. 170, Lib. 2470, Chron. Turc. 106 etc.)

ἀπερνῶ = περνῶ 344, 509, 541, 542 etc.

ἀπῆτις - conj. when, after 97, 193, 447, 761, 933, 1160, 2305, 2313; another form ἀπῆτι 1143. AG ἀφ' ἧς (ᾧρας) > ἀφῆτι (influence of ἀφότι) > ἀπῆτι (influence of ἐπε(?) > ἀπῆτις (see Hist. Lex. s.v. ἀφῆτι).

The last form is found in Apokop. 59, Katsaïtis If. Af. 97 etc. Sachlikis Graph. & Stich. 246, Chron. Turc. p. 53 etc.

ἀπιλογιᾶζω - dismiss 1180; cf. Chron. Mor. 2968, 6724, Mach. 2615, 21023, Choumnos ms 509, Chron. Turc. 95 For the meaning, see Hist. Lex. s.v. ἀπολογιᾶζω (I)4, and Erot. Gloss. s.v.

ἀπιλογοῦμαι - answer 47, 61 et passim; with aphaeresis πιλογοῦμαι 1166, 1895.

ἀπιστῶ - revolt 396, 421 (confused with ἀπέστη < ἀφίσταμαι - see on v. 396).

ἀπικεύω - encamp, dwell, stay 1127, 1207 (see Dawkins Mach. Gloss.)

ἀπό - prep. with acc. passim; with gen. 540, 567, 1396, 1771; ἀπὲ + acc. 2326, E38 (on this form see Hist. Lex.)

ἀπογράφω - finish writing 761 (Hist. Lex. s.v. 5)).

- ἀποδέλοιπος - rest, 2749.
- ἀποδίδω - commit 988; arrive 1315 (see Hist. Lex. s.v.B4))
- ἀποθαίνω - die 42c, 277 etc. p.p.p. (ἀ)ποθαμένος 275, 282, 371 etc.
- ἀποθέτω - place, rest, lean, p.p.p. ἀποθεμένο 2234 (Hist. Lex.)
- ἀποθίζω - place, set down, 14, 18, (Present reformed < aor. ἀπέθησα < ἀποτίθημι,)
- ἀποκεῖ - from there 596 cf. ἀπέκει.
- ἀπόκειθεν - thence 1990; cf. ἀπεκεῖθε Hist. Lex.
- ἀποκρατῶ - intrans. continue with difficulty, survive, 686; see commentary ad loc.
- ἀποκρισάρης, ὁ - ambassador, emissary 763, 1094, 1118 etc.; 'ποκρισάριος 1137, nom. pl. ἀποκρισάροι 1770a, acc. pl. ἀποκρισάρους 763, -ιούς 1099 (< ἀποκρισιάριος < ἀπόκρισις + -arius).
- ἀποκτίζω - finish building; aor. ἐπόκτισεν 604 (see Hist. Lex. s.v. ἀποκτίζω).
- ἀπόλιγον ἀπόλιγον - gradually 998 (see commentary ad loc.)
- ἀπολλύω - destroy; νὰ τὸν ἀπολέση, 2710.
- ἀπομακρὰ - at a distance, afar off 705, 708 (normally ἀπόμακρα - see Hist. Lex.)
- ἀπομένω - remain, be patient, tolerate 150, 326, 457 etc. (Some of the meanings are proper to ὑπομένω with which the verb was confused - see Anagnostopoulos, Ath. 36, 1924, 80.)
- ἀποστέλλω - send (away) 769, 798a, etc. p.p.p. ἀπεσταλμένος 714, 719, 2599.
- ἀποσώνω - arrive 1143, 2313 (Hist. Lex. s.v. A10))

- ἀποταχίδ - early next day 1577 (< ἀπὸ ταχέα cf. Chron. Mor. 5200, Erot. Gloss., Salvanos s.v. ἀποταχνά.)
- ἀποταχύ = ἀποταχιδ 165, 2787 cf. ἀποταχὺ and ἀπεταχὺ Thes. 2458, 6109.
- ἀπώλεια, ἡ - perdition, gen. τῆς ἀπώλειας 1328; compare the biblical expressions εἰς ἀπώλειαν ὑπάγειν and υἱὸς τῆς ἀπώλειας and more especially the expression πᾶν τῆς ἀπώλειας in Stavrinou 66, 150, 327 & 1178.
- ἀράθυμος - adv. ἀράθυμα 258, angrily excitedly.
- ἀριστότερος - left ἀριστοτέρα 1966 (formed from ἀριστερός + comp. suffix -ότερος as a "poetic" convenience).
- ἀρμάδα, ἡ - court, courtiers (see commentary ad loc.) 187 (< Ven. armada).
- ἀρμάθι, τό - necklace 2179 (< ἀρμάθιον < AG ὀρμαθός).
- ἄρματα, τὰ - pl. arms 475, 783 etc. (< Lat. arma)
- ἀρματώνω - arm 519, 521, 462 et passim.
- ἀρματωσία, ἡ - pl. -ίαις armaments, panoplies 1435 (cf. Chron. Mor. 6127 etc.)
- ἀρμηνεύω - advise, give instruction, reach 257, 593; also ἐρμηνεύω 482, 720 (Konon Lex. s.v. ὀρμηνεύω).
- ἀρπάζω - seize, snatch 577, 430, 436, 445; ἀρπάσσω 452, 1680, 1704, 1952.
- ἀρχηγός, ὁ - leader, commander, 730, 2453, 2825, 2828, 2906.
- ἀρχινῶ (or ἀρχινίζω) - always in aor. 589, 929, 1875, 2722, 2728.

- ἀρχοντας, ὁ - commander, acc. ἀρχοντα 1094; generally
pl. ἀρχοντες 195, 763, 1172 etc.
- ἀρχω - command, rule 2438 (perhaps to be corrected, see
ad loc.)
- ἀσεβής - disrespectful, impious, fem. acc. sing. ἀσεβήν
2546.
- ἀσπώνω = σπώνω raise, lift etc. 633, 957, 1619, E42.
Elsewhere always σπώνω. (The form with prothetic ἀ-
also occurs in Thes. 730, 9604, Katsaitis If. IV 518
etc., Minotou Param. A. p. 387, 388, 414, and is
quoted by Cor. Pret., Du Gange 1369, Zois Lex. etc.)
- ἀσπυτος - abundant, precious 2320 (Hist. Lex. B 1) and 2))
- ἀσποχρυσάφο, τό - gold and silver coins or vessels
2596 (Hist. Lex. cf. Katsaitis If. V 604, Alosis
Konst. 314.)
- ἀσπονδάπτω - stumble 375. cf. ἀσποντῶ and σπονδάπτω.
ἀσποντῶ or -ίζω - stumble 260 (MG σπονδάπτω)
- ἀσπίδα, ἡ - mythical dragon or horse (?) gen. ἀσπίδος
418 (Hist. Lex.)
- ἀσπλαγχνία, ἡ - mercilessness 1022.
- ἀστρο, τό - star, pl. ἀστρα 2, 64, 65 259, etc.; also
ἀστήρ 2913, ἀστέρας 334, ἀστέρι 2911.
- ἐγὼς μου etc. pers. pron., myself etc. 355, 930, 1106,
1237 etc.; also ἀπατός 671. (Hist. Lex. s.v. αὐτός
39) Chron. Mor. 328 et passim)
- αὐθέντης, ὁ - lord 679, 718 etc. Voc. αὐθέντη 1045 gen.
αὐθέντη 411; more common is ἀφέντης q.v.
- αὐθεντία, ἡ - rule, command, majesty 328, 602; αὐθεντιά
274, 464 etc.; ἀφεντιά 922, 1334, 2678; as a periphrastic

- personal pron. ἡ αὐθεντιᾶ/ἀφεντιᾶ σου etc. 577, 722, 789, 794 etc.
- αὐλῶν, ὁ - water channel, acc. pl. αὐλῶνας 571 (ex corr.)
- αὐξαίνω - see ἀξαίνω
- αὐτεῖνος - see αὐτός.
- αὐτοκράτωρ, ὁ - voc. αὐτοκράτορ 305.
- αὐτός (αὐτεῖνος/αὐτός etc. demonstrative adj. and personal pron. See Introd. p.180f. for the range of forms.
- αὐτοῦ - here, 806, 999, 1065, 1497, 2530, 2534.
- ἀφανίζω - destroy 669, 740 et passim; with aphaeresis 'φανίζω 1754.
- ἀφέντης, ὁ - passim; gen. ἀφεντός 1844, otherwise ἀφέντη; cf. αὐθέντης.
- ἀφεντεύω - trans. and intrans. rule, govern, 6a, 7, 264, 294, 398 et passim.
- ἀφεντιᾶ, ἡ - see αὐθεντιᾶ.
- ἀφῆνω - aor. ἀφῆσα or ἀφῆκα (5, 2420, 790, 1288, 2007 etc. subj. ν'ἀφῆκη 2268); aor. imp. ἀφεῖς 25, 1978, ἀφῆσε 274, 543 etc. and ἀς 346, 461, 708 (especially for the formation of 3rd person imperatives), pl. ἀφῆτε 708, 2415, 2418.
- ἀφοῦ - since, seeing that, 1137, 1417.
- ἀφτω - 3rd pl. aor. ἀψαν 455.
- ἀφωνάζω = φωνάζω 261 (The form with prothesis also occurs in Chron. Turc., 33 etc.)
- ἀχαμνίζω - weaken, enfeeble p.p.p. ἀχαμνισμένοι 2873.

βαβίζω - bark 705 (cf. Hist. Lex. and Konomos Lex.);
a by-form βαβῶ appears in ἐβαβοῦσαν 1600, but is
not otherwise attested.

βάνω - put, place, throw passim; hold, have a capacity
of, 2035, 2036, 2646 (Hist. Lex. s.v. A5η); appoint
1419; call, name, 2836 (Hist. Lex. s.v. A15); utter
1415, 2814 (Hist. Lex. A15); middle, apply oneself to,
resort to βάνουνται στ' ἄρματα, 2796.

βαρυναστενάζω - sigh heavily 2802 (normally βαρυναστε-
νάζω or βαρσναστενάζω - see Hist. Lex.).

βαρῶ - strike (with acc. or gen. of the person struck)
964, 1346, 1892, 2715; πόλεμον βαροῦσαν did battle,
1864; sound (of a musical instrument) 839, 841, 1876
(Hist. Lex. s.v. A 13))

βασιλέας/βασιλεύς/βασιλιάς, ὁ - passim. For the forms in
use see Introd. p.172.

βασταίνω - hold, support 1401 (commonly βαστῶ; βασταίνω
occurs in Zakynthos, Kefalonia, Crete & Peloponnese-
Hist. Lex. s.v.)

βαστῶ - carry, bring 676, 1772, 2797; support, sustain-
τὸν ἐβάσταξε καρδίᾳ he had the nerve for 1192, οὐδὲ
βαστῶ σε ἢ ζωὴ you have not much time left to live
1714; intrans. survive 1601.

βγάίνω - take out, extract, send out, draw (a sword), etc.
aor. ἐβγάλα passim. See also ἐκβάλλω.

βγοδώνω - send, dispatch 762; p.p.p. βγοδαμένοι
equipped, prepared 494, 770. Cf. βοδώνω and εδοδώνω.

βδομάδι, τό - dim. of ἐβδομάδα, 1551 (see commentary
ad loc.)

- βέρος - pl. βέροι good men and true 495 (< Ital. vero)
 βημερία, ἡ - calm, prosperity 2845 (< εὐημερία q.v.)
 βία, ἡ - phrases: στήν βίαν in time of need 182a; με
 βιά with difficulty 1664, με βίας do. 2075 (cf.
 μετὰ βιῆς with the same meaning Mach. 334¹⁶); με
 βία or με βιά, hastily 1183, 2094, 2255, 2636.
 βιάζω - middle, hasten 1331; passive, be smitten with
 pain ἐβιάσθη 225.
 βιβλόκουλον, τό - dim. of βιβλίον 81 (cf. Thes. 235, 10, 8069,
 Portulans p. XIII line 26).
 βιγλάτορας, ὁ - sentry pl. βιγλατόροι 1113, βιγλάτορες
 1119 (< Lat. vigitator).
 βλέπω and ἐβλέπω (for the latter cf. Synax. Gad. 169,
 Poulol. 178, Xen. 33, 528 etc). passim; impf. ἐβλεπα
 and ἤβλεπα (250, 852, 2306, 2608); aor. ἐβλεψε 2668;
 imp. sing. δέξ 68, 255, ἐδ(ε) 1349 (cf. ἐδ'έχετ Thes.
 I 63. 7), pl. ἰδέτε 226, 851; archaic part. ἰδών
 1333 (? see commentary ad loc.)
 βλογητικὸς - adj. lawfully wedded (then as a noun-
 "husband") 363 (see commentary ad loc. and Hist. Lex.)
 βοδώνω and εὐοδώνω prepare, equip, put in order (always
 in p.p.p.) 779, 837, 1569; achieve, do 1505 (cf. νὰ
 τὸ 'βοδῶσου Def. Sus. 90, Chron. Mor. P 2390, 2740)
 calm, reconcile 2399; intrans. be in time (=προφταίνω)
 1331 (Hist. Lex. s.v. A4)); p.p.p. βοδομένη
 situated (?) 2859.
 βοῦσθαι - with gen. 81; in the form βοῦσθαι : 442, 466, 878,
 1059, 2234 (cf. Prod. 3, 10, Gad. 276, Thes. 179,
 10, 497 etc.).

βολεῖ - impers. it is convenient, it suits; impf.

ἐβόλει 2030 (cf. Chron. Mor. 1669, Chron. Turc. p. 111, Hist. Lex.).

βούκινο, τό - trumpet, 839, 841, 1876 (< Lat. bucina).

βουλεύομαι - intrans. take thought (Hist. Lex. s.v.

βουλεύω 1)); trans. advise 571 (= συμβουλεύομαι;

for the act. βουλεύω with this meaning, see Hist.

Lex. 2) but the pass. form is not apparently found elsewhere in the trans. sense).

βουλευτής, ὁ - adviser pl. βουλευτῶδες 562.

βουλιᾶζω - trans. sink 2018 (Hist. Lex.)

βούλομαι - wish, desire 1012, 1074 (survives in dialects- see Hist. Lex.)

βουλῶ - intrans. sink 20, 2776.

βουλώνω - seal, 161, 761. (< med. Gk. βούλλα < Lat. bulla)

βουλατήριον, τό - a seal or a ring used as a seal 161 (see Hist. Lex. s.v. βουλλατήριον).

βουνί, τό - mountain 2607, pl. βουνία 174, 2284;

the commoner EG. form βουνά occurs at 2278 (Erot. Gloss.)

βουοκᾶνω - well with tears 148, 1340.

βραδύ, τό - for more normal βράδυ 116 (see commentary ad loc.)

βρουχοῦμαι - roar, groan pres. βρουχᾶται 2919,

βρουχέται 1984; impf. ἐβρουχάτου 1231 (See Hist.

Lex. s.v. βρουχεῖσθαι)

βρώμα, τό - food pl. βρώματα 636

βρώση and βρώσεις, ἡ - food, meat 698, 1563 (Hist. Lex.)

Erot. Gloss.)

βυζάνω - suck 1970 (see Erot. Gloss. s.v., Andriotis Lex.)

γάδαρος, ὁ - donkey pl. γαδάροι 1654 (Hist. Lex. s.v. γάιδαρος).

γαμῶ - have sexual intercourse aor. subj. pass.
(of a woman) 2545 (for another example of the obscene use of the word in an early text see Mach. 574 n.4)

γάρ - redundant conj. 7, 117, 178 et passim.

γγαρεύω - p.p.p. γγαρεμένοι in servitude 406 (see commentary ad loc.)

γγίζω - see ἐγγίζω

γελῶ - laugh 1271, 2519; trans. laugh at, mock 34c;
deceive 956, 1965.

γενή, ἡ - kind of garment? 1441 (perhaps to be emended - see comment. ad loc.)

γενιά, ἡ - date of birth 69; γεναῖ race (of animals) 1826.

γένος, τό - dat. γένει 234, dat. as nom./acc. 80
(see comment. ad loc.)

γέροντας, ὁ - old man gen. γερόντου 575, acc. pl. γέροντας 477.

γέρος, ὁ - old man 571, 2673.

γεύομαι - taste (with acc.) 1566 (Dimitrakos Lex.)

γῆ, ἡ - passim; nom. γῆς 1942, 1944, 2622 (cf. MNE I 469)

γιά and διά (the latter generally disyllabic) passim;
γιά νά and διά νά frequently for simple νά as a

metrical convenience.

γιά - particle, with imperative γιά δέε 255, γιά πέτε 2409.

γιαυιά - at once 217, 1220, 1602, 1885, 2068, 2381, 2519, 2735 (Erot. Gloss., Dimitrakos Lex.; the modern Zakynthian form is γιαυιά - see Konomos Lex.)

γιατά and διατά = γιά. διατ'έμένα 2221, γιατ'έμένα 2863, γιατ'αυτό therefore 1468, 2340 (the prepositions, formed from γιά or δια + n. pl. article or on the analogy of μετά - see Erot. Gloss. p. 611 n. - occur frequently in popular texts e.g. Xen. 308, 312, Thes. 55, 233, Katsaitis Kl. II 902, Koron. 6 etc. See also Thumb § 163 n. 2.)

γιατί and διατί - interr. adv. and conj. passim.

γίνομαι - 2nd aor. ἐγένετο(ν) 53, 847, aor. 3rd. sing. γίνη, 194, 1706, 2926, ἐγίνη 49, 106 etc., ἐγίνηκε 129, 378, subj. νὰ γένη 79, 265 etc. νὰ γενῇ 1014, 2936 part. γεναμένος 550, 793 etc. (for the -ε- forms in aor. subj. + part. and the variation in a accentuation of aor. subj. see MNE II 133-4); γεναμένος real, thorough-going 550, 1338.

γινώσκω - know, 409, 945, 1807, 2445.

γιοφύρι, τό - bridge 925, 932a, 934, 941 (< γέφυρα with change of ε to ο)

γκρεμνίζω - cast down from a height 260; (cf. Erot. IV 610); the form ἐγκρεμνίζω with prothetic ἐ- 261, 268 (cf. Chron. Mor. H890 and the noun ἐγκρεμνός Erot. Gloss.)

γλήγορα - quickly 521, 762 et passim; ἐγλήγορα 484,

- 798; ὀγλήγορα 544, 726 (Erot. Gloss.) comp. adv.
 γληγορώτερα and γληγορώτερο (sometimes with def.art.)
 as quickly as possible, as soon as possible 467, 476, 520
 etc. (For an explanation of how ὀγλήγορα < ὀγείρω
 came to mean "quickly" see Schmitt, Chron. Mor.
 p. 606.)
- γλυκοχαιρεῖν - greet affectionately 514 (Dimitrakos Lex.)
- γλυῶ - escape 2822 (see Erot. Gloss. s.v.)
- γλωσσόχομον, τό - chest, casket 2181 (originally a box
 for keeping the tongues or reeds of musical
 instruments - see L-3; in LXX sometimes used for the
 Ark of the Covenant, see Dimitrakos Lex.)
- γνεῦα - turn the eyes 1291; trans. look at, examine 2006
 (cf. AG νεῦα L-3; MG γνεῦα or γνέω is otherwise
 only attested with the meaning "nod agreement" -
 Dimitrakos Lex.)
- γνέφος, τό - cloud pl. γνέφη 2280 (< νέφος cf. γνέφος
 Katsaitis Thy. V 266. Dimitrakos Lex.; also σύγνεφο
ibid.)
- γνώθω - perceive, feel, understand 145, 2039; with
 prothetic vowel ἐγνώθω 1377 (see Erot. Gloss.)
- γνωρίζω and ἐγνωρίζω - recognise, know, discern etc.
 Forms with prothesis occur at 262, 755, 870, 1175,
 1265, 1371, 2590.
- γογγύζω - grumble, complain 1757. (post-class. See
 L-3, Dimitrakos Lex.)
- γονεῖς, οἱ - parents 1513, acc. γονιούς 475, gen.
 γονιῶν 2125 (Erot. Gloss.)
- γονικό, τό - patrimony 486; pl. τὰ γονικά parentage,

ancestry 72, ancestral home 222 (Erot. Gloss.,
Dimitrakos Lex.)

γούμενη, ἡ - respectful term of address 131 (< ἡγούμενη,
generally (ἡ)γούμενισσα in MG but cf. Imb. 581
δείχνουν τὸ τὴν 'γούμενην and Sachlikis II 476,
664 σὺν 'γούμενη).

γοῦν - therefore 2027 (AG, cf. Koron. 13 et passim)

γοργά - adv. quickly 992 (< γοργά; for the form cf.
Def. Sus. 101, Thes. XI 15,2, Chron. Mor. P 2481
[γοργὸν ibid. 2615],

γραμματικός, ὁ - secretary, scribe 2817, 2839 (cf.
Mach. 296 23).

γραφή, ἡ - letter 476, 661 et passim.

γρῖχῶ - hear, listen, perceive, understand etc. passim;
sometimes with object in gen. 1303, 1345; pass.
with act. meaning 2381; form with prothesis ἔγρῖχῶ
909, 1949; pass. have a reputation, be reputed (cf.
ἀκούομαι) 1131 (cf. Erot. 159).

For etymology, see Erot. Gloss.

γυναικα, ἡ - woman, wife gen. γυναικός 2000, nom. γυνή
835, acc. γυνή 886, 1390, 2235 etc. (See Erot. Gloss.
where this last form is attributed to influence of
ecclesiastical language.)

γυναικόμορφος - of womanish form 2021.

γύναιο, τό - synonymous with γυναικα 2246 (cf. Call.
119) but in MG sometimes signifies an immoral woman.

γυρίζω - intrans. turn, return, passim; trans. wander
through, roam 775; go round, complete a circuit of
2482; surround 2483; give back 412; govern, rule 2685

(cf. Dimitrakos Lex. s.v. 13)); have a circumference of 2622 (cf. Chron. Turc. 112); heed, respect(?) 1372.

γύρου γύρου - adv. all around 1292 (γύρου γύρου Katsaitis Kl. II 62 cf. γύρου περιγύρου Erot. Gloss.)

ἄδ - now, any longer 449 (< AG δῆ MNE I 55 cf. ἔδδ Erot. Gloss.)

ἀμύδι - a little 751 (for a list of occurrences in Cretan texts see Erot. Gloss. s.v. but for etymology see Hatzidakis in 4th . 28, 1916, Lex. Arch. 101-3)

ἄσο, τό - wood 1592, gen. ἄσου 954.

δαῦτος = αὐτός only with prepositions με δαῦτον 110 με δαῦτο 1568 (cf. Def. Sus. 118 γὰρ δαῦτο Katsaitis if. prol. 197, 1232 etc., Chron. Turc. 30 et passim, Thumb §136, Konomos Lex., Dimitrakos Lex.)

δέ - AG δέ 42a, 195, 978 et passim.

δειλιάζω - be afraid 1759, 2432; p.p.p. δειλισσόμενοι terrified 277 (Erot. Gloss.)

δένδρο(ν) and δενδρόν, τό - sing. δένδρον 2551, pl. δένδρα 1553, 1609, 2096 or δένδρη 1611, 1618 etc. sing. δενδρόν 2553 gen. δενδροῦ 1508, pl. δενδρά 1605, 2098 etc. (for oxytone forms, see MNE II 97).

δεξιός - right fem. δεξιά 1966, δεξία (n.b. accent) 2607.

δεξιότης, ἡ - skill dat. δεξιότητι 158.

δέομαι - trans. pray to, beseech 525, 625, 816.

δερμάτι, τό - pelt of a animal, 2803 (Erot. Gloss.)

- δεσπότης, δ-voc. δέσποτα my lord, 576, 2733, 2794.
 δεύτερον - secondly 1798.
 δηλῶ - indicate 3rd. sing. δηλοῖ 585, 2674 (MG δηλώνω).
 δημηγέρτης, δ - rebel, traitor 1043 (by assimilation
 from AG δημεγέρτης which is also the common MG form;
 δημηγέρτης is found in other medieval texts:
 Chron. Mor. 657, 682, 5831, Belis. (Georg.) 441,
 Koron. 35, 85, Chron. Turc. 77, 83, 99, 120 etc.)
 διὰ - see γιὰ
 διαβάζω - (as now) read 642, 2818, 231; spend, pass (time)
 2773 (for this use cf. Lib. 3 1572, 22721 etc.,
 and Historia Imperatorum line 4 - published in I.
 Rochow Studien zu der Person, den Werken und dem
 Nachleben der Dichterin Kassia, (BBA 38), 1967, p.194)
 διαβαίνω - pass, travel 57, 174, 191 et passim.
 διαβουλώνω - enslave p.p.p. διαβουλωμένοι 405 (not
 found elsewhere).
 διαλαλιά, ἡ - proclamation 1464, 1466, 1410a (Dimitrakos
 Lex.)
 διαλαλῶ - proclaim 1449.
 διαλέγω - p.p.p. διαλεγμένος choice, select, picked 335,
 2528, 2543, 2573.
 διαλεκτός - picked, excellent, outstanding 1682 (see
 Dimitrakos Lex. s.v. διαλεκτός)
 διαλύω - explain, interpret, make clear 600.
 διαρμηνεύω - interpret 616; instruct (in p.p.p.) 6, 60,
 478, 838, 1410; destine 266.
 διατά - see γιὰτά
 διατί - see γιὰτί

- διδασκαλεύω - teach, p.p.p. διδασκαλεμένο expert
1946. (See Erot. Gloss., Dimitrakos Lex. s.v.
δασκαλεύω)
- διδάσκαλος, ὁ - teacher 1508a, 1511 etc. nom. pl.
διδασκάλοι 2339.
- δίδω = δίνω 409, 960, 1970, 2427, 2539, 2541, 2896
(the more common MG δίνω is also found, 370, 976,
2712, but is less frequent); aor. ἔδωσα and ἔδωκα
(with subj. νὰ δώκη 424 cf. Chron. Turc. 70).
- δικαιοσύνη, ἡ - justice 2692, E26; also δικαιοσύνη
650, 2868.
- δικάσιμον, τό - quarrel or (perhaps) conversation
322a (< AG ἡ δικάσιμος (ἡμέρα) judgement day;
in MG texts a variety of meanings is found: trial
or judgement Thes., 5334, Fort. Interm. 167, III96,
dispute, quarrel Pouloul. 7, conversation Katsaitis
lf. III287, Thy. V464 etc.; see MNE I. 423).
- διορθῶ - realise, put into practice (?) 276d.
- διότι and διότις - because 351, 450 et passim (διότις
like τότες, ὄντες etc.)
- διχάλι, τό - pitchfork 2062.
- δίχως and διχῶς - δίχως without 391, 502, 1278, 1764,
1809, 1185; διχῶς 1431, 1452, 2214, 2354; μὲ δίχως
340; phrase (μὲ) δίχως ἄλλο without fail, without
more ado, certainly 1312, 2510, 2916 (Erot. Gloss.)
- διώχνω - pursue, 796, 885 etc.; aor. ἔδωξα (loss of
ι) 1781; part. διωκόντων from AG διώκω 944.
- δοκεῖ - aor. ἔδοξε it seemed 2309 (AG δοκεῖ survives
in Cretan in the forms διόχνει, ἡδοξε - see

Prot. Gloss. p. 540).

δοξεύω - shoot with a bow 543 (< τοξεύω)

δουκάτο, τό - ducat 508, 693, 760, 1438.

δουλένω(?) - enslave aor. ἐδούλεσε 502 (see comment.)

δουλεύω - trans. serve 982; look after, groom(a horse) (?) 2915.

δουλοσύνη, ἡ - servitude, slavery 1042, 2156, 2164, 2176, 2194, 252.

δουλώνω - enslave 648 etc.; pass. submit 634, 650.

δραγουμάνος, ὁ - dragoman, interpreter 2115

(Dimitrakos Lex., Andriotis Lex.)

δράκοντας, ὁ - see δράκος

δρακοντία, ἡ or δρακοντίας, ὁ - a precious stone, draconites 2521 (Lat. dracontia(s). See Lewis-Short)

δράκος, ὁ - serpent, snake; δράκος acc. δράκον 106, 189, 590, 591; δράκοντας pl. δράκοντες 193, 1623.

δραπανομάχο, τό - scythed chariot, Lat. currus falcatus 855, 1222 (for δραπάνι < δρέπανον see MNE I.235)

δύναμη, ἡ - strength, force, power etc.; acc. δυνάμη (with accent of dat. δυνάμει) 566, 1080, 1354, etc.; δύναμις 1342 and acc. δύναμιν 795, 1304 etc.

δύνομαι - be able 52, 76, 558, 1460.

δωδεκάπατος - twelve-storied 1292.

δωδεκάρης - twelve years old 247 (for the suffix -άρης see Andriotis Lex.)

δῶμα, τό - house, chamber 2791 (MG δῶμα - in MG the word signifies the flat roof of a house).

ἐβγαίνω - βγαίνω passim. See also ἐκβαίνω.

- ἐβλάπτω = βλάπτω 1430 (for the prothetic vowel compare ἐβλέπω etc.; cf. Thes. I 102.8 νὰ μᾶς ἐβλάψῃς, Chron. Turc. 62 νὰ μὴν τοῦσε βλάβῃ. The form with prothesis is not, however, recorded by the Hist. Lex.)
- ἐβλέπω - see βλέπω.
- ἐγγίζω - approach, touch 706, 2280, 2440; with aphaeresis γγίζω 1380, 1614, 1858.
- ἐγκρεμνίζω - see γκρεμνίζω.
- ἐγλήγορα - see γλήγορα.
- ἐγνώθω - see γνώθω.
- ἐγνωρίζω - see γνωρίζω.
- ἐγρικῶ - see γρικῶ.
- ἐδεξαῖ - there 569, 874, 2890. (Common in demotic texts e.g. Katz. I331, II32, Def. Sus. 5, Katsaïtis Kl. III 354 etc.)
- ἐδεπά - here 24, 2410 (for other instances see Erot. Gloss. s.v.; to that list may be added Def. Sus. 118 id. Log. Did. 413, Katsaïtis If. Prol. 140, Thy. I14 and in the form ἐδαπᾶ Batrach. 18)
- ἐδέετις - thus 570, 1044 (Cf. Triv. Tag. 84, Stavrinou 494, Xen. 210; the more usual form is ἐδέτοι - see Erot. Gloss.)
- ἐδικός μου etc. - poss. adj. 71, 221, 272 et passim; the normal form δικός μου is also found.
- ἐδοῦθεν - hence 622, 1780, 1781; here 1115 (cf. Katsaïtis Thy. I13 and Dimitrakos Lex. s.v. ἐδοῦσε(ς))
- ἐζητῶ - seek out, avenge inf. ἐζητήσαι 1343 (either < ἐκζητῶ avenge, see L-8, or prothetic ἐ- + ζητῶ

- cf. Achel. 149 δὲν οὐκ ἐζητῶ βουλήν).
- ἐθυμοῦμαι = θυμοῦμαι 1820; see commentary ad loc.
- εἶδος, τό - form, appearance 1652; dat. εἶδει used as acc. 2657.
- εἰμητα - except, but for 1422, 1922 (< εἰ μὴ + adv. ending - τα (cf. διχωστιά) - see Pangalos s.v., compare the Naxian εἰ μὴ τό μου Psaltis, Lex. Arch. 5, 41.)
- εἴτις = ὅποιος whoever 346, 1425, 1427, 1439 etc.; εἴτι κι(καί) ᾧ 801, 2193 (occurs frequently in the texts e.g. Xen. 64, 101, Apokor. 257, Katsaitis Kl. I 882, II 483)
- ἐκ + acc. = ἀπό 72, 153, 146 et passim; often suffers aphaeresis before def. art. - 'κ τὸν, 'κ τὴν etc.; before vowels ἐξ or ἐ' (see Introd. p.224f).
- ἐκβαίνω - to leave, go out, only in impf. ἐξέβαινε 11 and aor. ἐέβηκα 2555, ἐέβηκα 2685 ἐέβη 2046, ἐέβημαν 2047, ἐέβησαν 1593. See also ἐβγαίνω.
- ἐκβάλλω - cast out; aor. ἐέβαλες 2609. See also βγάνω.
- ἐκεῖθε(ν) and κεῖθεν - thence 509, 514, 547 et passim.
- ἐκλέγω - select p.p.p. ἐκλελεγμένους 2726.
- ἐκπλήσσω - astonish aor. pass. ἐξεκλάγη 1552.
- ἐκτελεῶ - celebrate, perform rites νὰ ἐκτελάστε 1424 (the meaning probably from ecclesiastical ἐκτελέσαι λειτουργίαν, the form -άστε perhaps due to influence of γελῶ or simply a licence employed for the sake of rhyme.)
- ἐλεμονοῦμαι - have pity on 1259 (the verb is also found in Mach. 540¹²⁽⁰⁾, 254⁴ and Thes. 1105 and in the

form ἐλεημονῶ Panor. IV 274, 290).

ἐλενός - wretched, pitiful 42 (< ἐλεεινός; the contracted form occurs at Sachlikis 2.711 οἱ 'λενέες and at Chron. Turc. 104, 33 where Zoras "corrects" ἐλενούς to ἐλεεινούς; also in Thes. - see Du Cange).
ἐλέφας, ὁ - elephant acc. pl. ἐλέφαντας 2025; see also λέφας.

ἐμορφιά, ἐμορφος, - see ὁμορφιά, ὁμορφος.

ἐμπαίνω = μπαίνω passim.

ἐμπασία, ἡ - entrance, access 538; with aphaeresis
μπασία, change, attack 855, frontier, marches of a country, 2904, 1436 (cf. Du Cange App. 67-8 ἐμβασία, ἐμπασία, Dimitrakos Hex. ἐμβασία, ἐμπασιᾶ Konomos Lex. μπασία; Katsaltis Thy. I 21 ἐμπασιᾶ "entrance", Choumnos ms 706 ἐμπασιᾶ = "frontier": ποῖος εἶσαι καὶ πόθεν ὁδεύεις/ τῆς Παλαιστίνης ἐμπασιᾶν;).

ἐμποδος (prob. ἡ) - hindrance, obstacle 142, 1426 (generally fem. cf. Chron. Mor. 443, Thes. 1128.5 οἷως καμψίαν ἐμποδον, but may also be neut. e.g. Thes. 135.6 ἄλλον τίποτες ἐμποδον, Katsaltis Thy. 11390 ἐμποδο κανένα; in Alosis Konst. 657 the gender is indeterminate.)

ἐμπρός, ἐμπροστιά - see ὁμπρός, ὁμπροστιά.

ἐναντίο(ν), τό - the opposite, the contrary 1276, 127.

ἐνεμπαίζω - deceive, delude 124 (< ἐμπαίζω reformed from aor. ἐνέπαίξα; cf. Triv. Hist. 345, Choumnos ms 74, 544, Cor. pret. dillegiare, ἐνεμπαίζεσθαι).

ἐντόπιος - local, native 1541, 1547, 2037, 2105; pl. οἱ ἐντόποι 2093.

ἐξεκδίκησις, ἡ - revenge 1530.

ἐξεκδικῶ and ξεκδικῶ - avenge a person or a thing 78, 84, 626, 1368, 2388; in the form νὰ ξεδικήσῃ 1344; pass. ξεκδικοῦμαι be avenged, have one's revenge 2410, 2417. (ξεκδικῶ also occurs in Thes. I4 νὰ ξεδικήσῃ; cf. ξεγδικῶ Katsaltis If, II 715, V 209 etc. and γδικιῶμαι Erot. Gloss.)

ἐξοδος, ἡ - expense pl. ἐξοδες 687; acc. ἐξοδον at 559 may be either from ἡ ἐξοδος or τὸ ἐξοδον. (For ἐξοδες = expenses cf. Chron. Mor. 601, 8597, Achel. 1239, Chron. Turc. 26 and see Erot. Gloss. for other examples.)

ἐξουσία, ἡ - authority, power, capability; the word occurs in a variety of forms: ἐξουσία E29, 44, ἐξουσιὰ 179, 2559, 'ξουσία 2154, ἐξουσιὰ 1362, 1693, 2677. (See Erot. Gloss. s.v. ἐξά and ibid. commentary on I1000.)

ἐπαίρων = παίρων 480, 613, 1168 etc.; imp. ἐπαρε 257, 1068 etc.

ἐπεὶ - since, because 1082, 1418, 1269, 1776, 2346, 2821, E15.

ἐπειδὴ - since 987.

ἐπικέρνης, ὁ - cup-bearer, attendant pl. ἐπικέρνοι 1157.

(ἐπικέρνης occurs in β III131; cf. πικέρνης Du Cange.)

ἐπταχίλιοι - seven hundred 487, 488, (hybrid from AG

ἐπταχισχίλιοι and MG ἑπτὰ χιλιάδες).

ἐργάζομαι - make, fashion 13.

ἐρημάζω - destroy, ruin 1228.

ἐρμηνεύω - see ἄρμηνεύω.

- ἐσπλαγχνοσύνη, ἡ - pity, compassion 1686
 (< εὐσπλαγχνοσύνηq.v.)
- ἕτερος - other acc. pl. ἑτέρους 2937, ἑτέρους 2463,
 dat. pl. ἑτέροις 1147.
- ἔτοιμος - phrase στό 'τοιμο να on the point of 892
 (for a similar phrase, compare σιδοτερο
 afterwards Achel. 576 et passim.)
- ἐτότε = τότε, 373, 378, 455 et passim; see Erot.
 Gloss. s.v.
- ἐτοῦτος - this, 180, 285, 361 et passim; see τοῦτος.
- ἔτσι - thus 356, 641 et passim (always printed ἐτζη
 by the early editions).
- εὐεργετῶ - provide someone with something, acc. of
 thing, gen. of person E 13.
- εὐλογοῦμαι - trans. intrans. marry, get married 1010,
 1503 (cf. Dig. Akkr. (EBC) 217, Chron. Mor. 1194,
 2509, Def. Log. Did. 295, Thes. I Hyp. 14,
 I 135.7, I 136.2. See Hist. Lex. s.v. βλογῶ 4β).
- εὐμορφος - see ὁμορφος.
- εὐνοῦχος - eunuch E55; with incorrect accentuation
 εὐνουχος 1329.
- εὐοδῶνω - see βοδῶνω
- ἐσπλαγχνοσύνη, ἡ - pity, compassion 1926; formed
 from εὐσπλαγχνία and the suffix -οσύνη for which
 a marked preference may be noted in the poem.
 See also ἐσπλαγχνοσύνη.
- εὐτεῖνος = αὐτός; see Introd. p. 180.
- ἐχθρεύομαι - intrans. be at enmity, be hostile 830.

ἐχρήζω - see χρήζω.

ἐψέζ - last night 283.

ἔως - with numbers, about 492, 2036.

ζάλη, ἡ - confusion, dizziness 227, 699, 1183,
2560 (see Erot. Gloss.)

ζαρώνω - intrans. shrink, huddle up, cower 198.

ζό, τό - animal 1945, 2921; see Dimitrakos Lex. etc.

The type ζῶον pl. ζῶα also occurs at 2488, 2492,
2628.

ἡδέως - pleasantly 2935.

ἡμέρα, ἡ - day 207 et passim; μέρα is equally common,
331, 791 etc.

ἡμερώνω - calm, pacify 2400; with aphaeresis μεράνω
2401.

ἡμισυς - half n. pl. τό 'μιου 1318; see commentary
ad loc.

ἡμπορῶ = μπορῶ, 244, 1048, 2566, 2763, 2822, 219;
but μπορῶ is also frequently used.

ἡξεύρω = see ξεύρω.

ἡύρισκω - find passim; a wide variety of forms occurs:
pres. ἡύρισκω, εύρισκω, βρίσκω, aor. ἡύρα, ἡύρηκα,
εύρηκα, ἡύρηκα, βρήκα etc.

- θάλασσα, ἡ - sea 1669, 1942 etc.; gen. τῆς θαλάσσης
3 (see commentary ad loc.)
- θάμα, τό - marvel, wonder 2330.
- θάμασμα, τό - marvel 2662 (see Erot. Gloss.)
- θανή, ἡ - death 1484, 1928, 2443.
- θαρρετός - phrase θαρρετὰ κρατῶ hold as certain
124d (see commentary ad loc.)
- θάρρο, τό - courage, belief 1496; cf. θράσο.
- θαρρῶ - believe, hope, trust, expect, think 800, 1822,
1870, 1882, 1894, 2258.
- θαυμάζω - trans. + intrans. admire, be amazed passim;
passive θαυμάζομαι with same meaning 196, 789,
2338 etc.
- θάπτω - bury 456 et passim; aor. pass. (νὰ) θαπτῇ
2449, 2936 (pseudo-erudite form).
- θὲ - θὲ νὰ used for all persons to form future tense.
110, 115, 385 et passim; see Introd. p.214.
- θεραπεία, ἡ - cure, consolation, comfort 115;
proparoxytone θεράπεια (104 (cf. Cretan θεράπειο
Erot. Gloss.))
- θεραπεύω - cure, console, satisfy 1826 aor. pass.
(ἐ)θεραπῆν 136, 181 (cf. Dimitrakos Lex. s.v. 14))
- θέτω - set, place p.p.p. θεμένον 619.
- θεωρία, ἡ - appearance, sight, view 2139 (cf. θεωρῶ
Erot. Gloss.)
- θηρίον, τό - beast 1307, 2071 etc. with synizesis
θηρίδ pl. θηρίδ 1543, 1825, 2046 et passim;
θερίδ(ν) pl. θερίδ 1552, 1578, 2018 etc.
- θιός, ὁ - θεός 940, 1016 (Dimitrakos Lex.)

- ἐράω, τό - courage, daring 1559 (AG ἐράω [ἐραρός Attic] and ἐράος were distinguished by the Grammarians as meaning "courage" and "reckless daring" respectively; but Homer used both indiscriminately and so sometimes did the Attic poets, to suit the needs of their metre).
 ἐρασσοῖω - encourage, embolden 947 (cf. the Byzantine ἐρασσοῖω - Sophocles Lex. No other instance of ἐρασσοῖω has been discovered at any stage of the language.)
 ἐρέω - nourish, bring up 83, 233, 586, 918.
 ἔρονι, τό - throne 615 (see Erot. Gloss.)
 ἐροφή, ἡ - nourishment, food 2481.
 θυγάτηρ, ἡ - daughter 1009; learned for θυγατέρα which also occurs, 2369, gen. θυγατέρας 2377.
 θυμῶνω - anger, pass. get angry 1731, 1953; pass. θυμῶνομαι with acc. be angry with something, resent, 419, 1133.
 θυσιάζω - sacrifice, with acc. of the deity sacrificed to, 522, 608, 1434 etc.
 ὥρῳ - see, watch, 404, 1384, 1698, 2402 (see Erot. Gloss.)
 ἱερεύς, ὁ - priest 2939; acc. ἱερέα 2630 pl. ἱερεῖς 2111.
 ἵπκος, ὁ - horse 1319 (always ἄλογο elsewhere in the poem.)
 ἴσος - similar, equal 2580; cf. ἴστω 2101.

- ἱστία, ἡ - fire 1595, 1628, 2069, 2247; with
synizesis ἱστιά 1576, 1596. (From AG ἱστία
"hearth". See also σιδά.)
- ἱστορία, ἡ - ἱστορία story E54; the accentuation
is due to influence of Italian storia cf. στόρια
Georg. Than. 520 ἱστορίες Thes. 94, ἱστορία
Triv. Hist. title of 1683 ed., and in the title
of the 1654 ed. of the kimada.
- καβαλάρης - horseman 246; pl. καβαλάρει 1267;
with dissimilation καβελάρης 875 (for this ~~form~~
cf. Chron. Mor. 5752, Chron. Turc. 28 et passim,
Katsaitis Kl. II61; on the word in general see
Erot. Gloss.)
- καβαλικεύω - ride a horse 306a, 919, 1182 etc.
- καβελάρης - see καβαλάρης.
- κάβουρας - crab pl. καβοῦροι 1680.
- καθάριος - clean, pure, distinguished, excellent
496, 508, 852, 2000, 2884; adv. καθάρια clearly,
distinctly 157, 218, 1657, 1836.
- καθαρός - pure; phrase με καθαρὴ καρδίᾳ 532, με
καθαρὰ καρδίᾳ 747, 865.
- καθαροσύνη, ἡ - purity, independence, liberty (?) 2891.
(The text may be corrupt; perhaps λευθεροσύνη
should be read.)
- κάθε or κάθα every, generally with εἷς/ἕνας: κάθα
εἷς 332, τὸ κάθε ἕνα 1404, ὁ κάθε εἷς 1653, καθέ-
νας 1021, 1583 etc. Also καθ' ἡμέρα 1020.

(For complete range of forms see Introd. p.185.)

καθίζω - sit passim; aor. ἐκάθισα or ἔκατσα

(ἐκάτσα 615. This form also occurs in Chron.

Mor. 3228 cf. ἐκάτσα Choumnos ms 122); κάθομαι
is also found.

καίω - burn 1634, 2628; aor. ἔκαψα etc. 1285,
2254, 2298.

κακιώνω - get angry, p.p.p. κακιωμένος angry,
rancoured, on bad terms 2405.

κακοπαθεῖν - intrans. (with p.p.p. with active meaning)
suffer misfortune, undergo hardship 477, 1746,
2477, 2635.

κακότροπος - evil-intentioned voc. κακότροπε 825
(reformed < κακότροπων).

καλαμιώνας - bed of reeds, 1595.

καλεστική, ἡ - invitation 2723 (more normally
κάλεσμα; derived from καλεστής, perhaps from the
phrase καλεστική ἐπιστολή. The word also occurs
in Thes. 4647.)

κάλλιος - better, (with def. art.) best, 497, 560,
1453, 2442; phrase διὰ τὸ κάλλιο σας for your
own good 659.

καλλιότερος - better, fem. καλλιότέρα 1965. The more
learned καλύτερος is also found, 2445.

καλογεναμένος - well-made 2578.

καλοκαρδίζω - intrans. be heartened 1801 (Erot. Gloss.)

καμήλη, τό - camel 1039 (generally καμήλα in MG
see Dimitrakos Lex.)

καμπόσος - some 145, 1086, 1907 (see Erot. Gloss.)

- κανακίζω - caress, pet 681 (see Erot. Gloss.)
 κανενεῖς = κανένας, one 848, 1544, 2480 etc.
 κανισκεύω - give a present to someone (with acc. of person) 2178, 2190 (Erot. Gloss.; See also κανισκίζω).
 κανίσκι, τό - present 242, 724, 2396, 2568 (Erot. Gloss. etc.; the word is very common in medieval Greek.)
 κανισκίζω - give a present (with acc. of person) 612, 2378. (Usual form is κανισκεύω q.v.)
 καρκαρίζω - cackle (of birds) aor. pass. καρκαρίθη 208 (by assimilation < κακ(κ)αρίζω. The form καρκαρίζω is cited by Zois Lex., and occurs in Koron. 86 μηδέν καρκαρίσης).
 κασίδι, τό - helmet 959 (Erot. Gloss.)
 κάστρο, τό - fortress 260, 421, 534 etc.; pl. κάστρη 1050, 1420.
 καταβάλλω - lay low, humiliate 664.
 καταβοδώνω - see κατενοδώνω.
 καταλεκτῶς - in detail 1044, 2230.
 καταλύω - destroy, aor. pass. ἐκαταλύθη 209 (Erot. Gloss.)
 καταντῶ - come to, arrive at 1663, 2049 (Dimitrakos Lex.; cf. καταντίζω Chron. Mor. 766, Thes. I 14 see Kriaras, BNJ 19, 1966, 79.)
 κατασταίνω - put down, reduce p.p.p. καταστημένους 2413. (κατασταίνω/καθιστῶ normally means "to make something something" with a predicate; with the present passage may be compared, Katsaitis Kl.

II 658: Μὰ ἐγὼ σοῦ λέγω, 'Ανάκλι κουρσεμένο, |
 πῶς ἦσουνε καὶ πῶς καταστημένο | τῶρα σὲ βλέπω....
 and Belús. 483 τὸ πῶς τὸν ἐκατέστησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς
 ὁ μέγας.)

κατατάσσω - subdue, conquer 246, 1061, 1264. (Erot.Gloss.)

καταφιλῶ - cover with kisses 2200.

κάτεργο, τό - galley 17, 20, 319 etc.

κατευοδῶνω - escort, grant a fair journey to 532;

passive, καταβοδῶνομαι (with assimilation)

succeed 1317 (Cf. κατευοδῶνω/-ομαι Chron. Mor.

2131, 3646, 8547 to have good success; Mach. 68²⁹ νῦν

κατευοδωθῆ set off on a journey favourably;

Katsaltis If. V 141 καταβόδωσέ μας "grant us a
 fair journey" etc.)

κατόνα, ἡ - equipment, baggage esp. of an army 924,
 2212. The poet appears to distinguish κατόνα from
 the more usual κατοῦνα tent, encampment (q.v.);
 κατοῦνα in the sense of equipment is recorded by
 Du Cange (for the metonymy see Triand. Lehnw. 94)
 but the form κατόνα is not found elsewhere. It
 may be influenced by Venetian canton or it may be
 merely a poetic licence, since in both places
 where the form occurs it constitutes a rhyme-word.

κατορθῶνω - trans. succeed in making, fashion, create(?)
 95.

κάτου = κάτω 133, 2414.

κατοῦνα, ἡ - encampment, tent 2496. (The word is very
 common in medieval texts e.g. Chron. Mor. 1458, etc.
 Mach. 488¹⁶ etc., Achill. 764, Imb. 417, Lib. 29 etc.)

κάτωθεν - below 1406.

κάψα, ἡ - heat; with "metrical accentuation" - καψά
'καμε 2565.

κάψις, ἡ - heat acc. κάψιν 1596 (< AG καθοις; AG
morphology is imposed on MG phonology in the form κάψιν)
κελεύω - order 2251.

κελί, τό - cell, room 2729, 2765, 2775.

κένδρος, ὁ - cedar 2652. (< κέδρος. The MG form κέντρος
is perhaps phonetically identical; for it, see
Dimitrakos Lex. and Andriotis Lex. The form κένδρος
also occurs in Cor. Pret. cedro, κένδρος and in
Thes. 9485 κένδρους, ὅπου 'ραχλιασμός ποτὲ οὐ
σέβη σ' αὐτούς.)

κεντρί, τό - sting (of an insect) pl. κεντριά 2058.

κερδαίνω and κερδίζω - win, profit, gain; from κερδαίνω
pres. 1977, 1986, aor. (έ)κέρδαισα 352, 1920, 2392,
2523; from κερδίζω aor. (έ)κέρδισα 1343, 2125. (For
the aor. έκέρδαισα cf. Erot. 1203, 1096 etc.
Katsaltis If. II 591, 729 etc.)

κερένη - irregular fem. of κερένιος, waxen 96.

κέρινος - waxen 13.

κερνάτορας, ὁ - cup-bearer, attendant who serves the
wine 1161 (κερνάτωρ Du Cange)

κερνῶ - serve wine to someone 1157; with acc. of person
1158, 1159; with gen. of person 2758.

κεφάλη, ἡ - head 113 (for the form and accentuation see
Commentary ad loc.; elsewhere the usual forms ἡ
κεφαλή and τὸ κεφάλι are found e.g. 959, 1007;
127, 169, 435 etc.)

κηνηνάρη, τό - a hundred pounds, a quintal 492, 507, 2542, 2870, 2883 (by assimilation < κεννηνάρη(ν) < Lat. centenarium - see Triand. Lehnw. 15. The assimilated form is found in Dig. Akr. (ECC) 992, 995 Def. Log. Did. 456, Apokop. 272, Sklav. 281, while κεννηνάρη occurs in Dig. Akr. (GRD) 1785, Sachlikis (Papad.) 464, 481, 701, Prod. 2. 115 etc. κεννηνάρη is still used in Crete and the Peloponnese to refer to hundreds of certain commodities, see Martha Apostolou, "Κρητοπελοποννησιακά" Kr. Chron. 9, 1955, 210.

κηρύττω - proclaim 823 (Attic for κηρύσσω).

κιβούρι, τό - coffin, tomb 926, 1296, 1902 (Erot. Gloss.) Dimitrakos Lex.)

κλαίω and κλαίγω - weep; the form with γ is more common, 148, 704, 1340 etc.; κλαίω occurs at 2370, 2806; aor. ἔκλαυσα 280, 2020, ἔκλαψαν 2908.

κλινάρη, τό - bed 129, 2315.

κλωθογυρόζω - walk around 189. (The word also occurs in Dellap. 12; See MNE I 478, Koukoules, Νεοελλ. λέξεων καὶ φράσεων παλαιότερα μνῆματα p. 48 and Dimitrakos Lex.)

κοιτώνας, ὁ - bed-chamber 2331, 2347.

κολόνα, ἡ - column 616, 1579.

κολύμπου - adv. by swimming 1679; see commentary ad loc.

κόλφος, ὁ - bosom, fold of a garment 1160, 1161, 1164.
See also κόρφος.

κόμης, ὁ - captain of a ship 610 (< Lat. comes; cf. Chron. Mor. 2190 (II) καὶ ὤρισε τὸν κόμιτα, τοῦ

- κατέργου τὸν κύρην, | εἰς τοὺς κορφοὺς διαβαίνοντα
ἐκατὶ νῦν τὸν ἀφήκουν, Apokor. 327, Belth. 1228 etc.)
- κομπῶνω - deceive, trick 816, 888, 1470, 1707, 1815
(See Erot. Gloss. and Dimitrakos Lex.)
- ῥόνα, ῥ = εἰκόνα, portait, picture 2348.
- κονδαρέα, ῥ - a blow from a lance 249, see commentary
ad loc. κονταριά 1880; pl. κονδαρές 542 see
Introd. p. 155. For the irrational archaism see on
κονδάρι.
- κονδάρι, τό - lance 438, 441, 488 et passim; the more
correct κοντάρι occurs only once, 844. The δ in
κονδάρι is a false archaism, perhaps on the analogy
of κονδύλι. See Introd. p. 158.
- κονομῶ - get hold of, find 1093; p.p.p. κονομημένα
equipped, prepared 2518 (for similar uses of (οἰ)κονομῶ
cf. Apokor. 348, Choumnos (M) VIII 103,)
- κονταρά, κοντάρι - see κονδαρέα, κονδάρι.
- κονταροχτυπῶ - fight with a lance, joust 1874 (see
Erot. Gloss. s.v. κονταροχτυπῶ.)
- κοπανιά, ῥ - blow (from a weapon) 960; pl. κοπανές
856, 877 (for κοπανές cf. Thes. I 71.4, 73.3; on the
word in general see Erot. Gloss.)
- κοπιᾶζω - toil, work hard 2863; p.p.p. κοπιασμένος
worn out with fatigue 1284, 2604.
- κόπτω - cut 1611, 1618, 2504.
- κορκόνδειλος, ὁ - crocodile acc. pl. κορκόνδαιλους
2081. (For the metathesis and epenthesis of γ see
Introd. p. 160f. Du Cange lists a form κορκόνιλος

- from the Life of St. Pachomius no. 45, where the scribe may well have intended to write κορκόνδειλος.)
 κορμάκι, τό - wretched body (of Alexander's corpse) 2871, 2927.
- κορνιακτός, δ - dust 376, 1090, 1091 (< κονιορτός - see Hatzidakis in Athe 22, 1910, 205 and Glotta 3, 70.)
- κορόνα, ἡ - crown 864.
- κόρπος, δ - bosom, fold of a garment 40, 63. See also κόλπος.
- κοσμοκράτωρ, δ - ruler of the world 2819 (Dimitrakos Lex.)
- κουδουνισμός, δ - ringing, clash (of metal) 1213 (< AG κωδωνισμός. Normal MG is κουδούνισμα.)
- κουμούνι, τό - republic, commonwealth, government 2892 (Usually of the Republic of Genoa or Venice e.g. Mach. 13815, 2849 etc. Dellap. 1256, but here of Rhodes. See Triand. Lehnw. 27)
- κούπα, ἡ - cup, goblet 369, 370, 1159, 1164, 1168, 1181, 1442, 2887.
- κούρσεμα, τό - plunder gen. pl. κουρσεμάτων 1318.
- κουρσεύω - pillage 995, 1275, 1774.
- κουρσιμιό, τό - spoils or prisoners pl. κουρσιμιά 1453 (< κουρσιμαῖος which Du Cange gives, supported by quotations from "Nicetas Barbaro gr. MS. de Urbis Statu" and "Joannes Cananus de Bello Constantinopol." The latter refers to τὰ κουρσιμαῖα, ἡγουν αἰχμαλῶ- τους.)
- κουρτεσία, ἡ - courtesy 2732 (but perhaps here the meaning is "court").
- κράζω - call, summon 15, 99, 107 et passim.

κρατάρχης, ὁ - emperor 2457. (The word occurs at Thes. 1514, Th~~ese~~ Konst. 900, and Choumnos ms 325; see also Dimitrakos Lex.)

κρατημάρια, ἡ - paralysis 576 (< κρατῶ + suffix -μάρια [see Andriotis Lex.]; the word appears not to be found elsewhere, but cf. MG κομμάρια, "lassitude".)
 κρατίζω = κρατῶ 1761 (See Erot. Gloss. Other instances of this form are to be found in Def. Log. Did. 211, Choumnos ms 1668, 2223, Katsaltis If. V 373, Id. Kl. III 197.)

κρατῶ - hold, possess, snatch 286, 369, 1050, 1144 etc.; consider 124d; κρατῶ ὁμῶς continue, keep going 673.

κρείττων - better, neut. κρεῖττον 2811 (Attic form of AG κρείσσω, also found in Koron. 18.)

κρεμνός, ὁ - precipice, cliff 2587. (cf. κρεμνός Chron. Turc. 117. MG γκρεμνός also occurs in the poem, 1549)

κρένω = κρίνω judge, consider 988, 1478, 1883. (For the phonology, see MNE I 295; κρένω in MG often has the meaning of "speak" - see Dimitrakos Lex. - but here the original meaning is preserved, as also in Def. Sus. 64, 174, Katsaltis Kl. I 433, II 666 etc.)

κρίνω - judge, consider 1024, 2027; κρίνομαι be tormented 1360 (see Erot. Gloss.)

κριτής, ὁ - judge pl. κριτάδες 1477 (this plural also in Def. Sus. 60 et passim.)

κρούσταλλο, τό - ice 1189, 1225.

κρούω - strike; phrase, πόλεμον κρούω do battle, πόλεμον γιὰ νὰ κρούξουν 1857, ἐκρούσανε τὸν πόλεμον 1859.

κρύβομαι - intrans. hide, aor. ἐκρυβήσανε 954,

κρυβηθήσαν 1644. (For aor. κρύβησα -ήθηκα cf.
ἐκρύβησαν Koron. 6, κρυβήθη Batrach. 467, νὰ κρυβηθῇ
Log. Par. 62, ἐκρυβήθησαν Pikat. 490.)

κτείνω - kill 279.

κτηῖμα, τό - beast of burden, gen. pl. κτημάτων 847.

κτίσις, ἡ - all creation, the world 698.

κτίστης, ὁ - mason pl. κτιστάδες 561, 579 (This plural
quoted by Du Cange from Crusius Turcograecia p. 255.)

κτύπος, ὁ - crashing noise 12134

κτῶμαι - acquire, possess, pluperf. ἐκέκτητο E25.

κυβερνίζω - govern, break in (an animal) p.p.p. κυβε-
ρονισμένα broken in 1039. (Neither the form - a
reformation from the aorist on the analogy of -ίζω,
-ισα verbs - nor this meaning have been discovered
in any other text.)

κυβερνῶ - govern, command 2222, 2864 p.p.p. κυβερνημένα
under orders, ready for action, well-trained (?) 2173.

κύρ, ὁ - apocopated form of κύριος, 553.

κυρά, ἡ - lady, mistress, madam 131, 143, E39; pl.
κυράδες E37.

λαθαίνω - see λανθάνω,

λαχταρῶ - (of the heart) palpitate, be anxious 2405
(Dimitrakos Lex. s.v. λαχταρῶ.)

λαλιά, ἡ - speech 16.

λαλῶ - speak, talk, play (of instruments) 846, 1673,
1678, 1710, 2106, 2113, 2096 (ex corr.).

λαμβάνω - take, receive 1159; aor. ἔλαβα 106, 2124,

2944 etc.

λανθάνω - escape one's notice 817; pass. λανθάνομαι be mistaken 816; aor. ἐλαθόσθη you were deluded 1057 (a similar form ἐλαθόσθη in Chron. Turc. 111 - phonological development from ἐλανθόσθη etc.); from λαθαίνω (cf. μαθαίνω < μανθάνω) λαθαίνουν 1057.

λαρνάκι, τό - coffin 2872, 2928 (λαρνάκι generally means in MG a cooking vessel while the meaning "coffin" is proper to λάρναξ - see Dimitrakos Lex.)

λεμοσύνη, ἡ - mercy 654 (< ἐλεημοσύνη; the form λεμοσύνη is found in the Lexica of Du Cange + Meursius and occurs in Georg. Than. 485, Thes. 85; ἐλεμοσύνη is found in Mach. 74²⁶ etc., Thes. 57 etc.)

λεύθερος = ἐλεύθερος free 1300.

λευθερώνω = ἐλευθερώνω 1298, 1898.

λέφας, ὁ - elephant acc. sing. λέφα 2071, nom. pl. λέφες 2335, acc. pl. λέφαντες 1826, λέφαντας 1831, λέφας 1853, λεφάδες 2569 (< ἐλέφας q.v. The forms with aphaeresis are very common in the text and so have been written without an apostrophe.)

λεφάντειος - of an elephant, λεφαντείων (sc. ὀδόντων) ivory 2322.

λεφάντινος - ivory 2181, 2187, 2886.

λέω, ὁ - lion 2919, acc. pl. λέοντες 2059 (λέω < λέων; λέων is found in popular poetry e.g. Achill. 1303, 1714, but more common are λέοντας, λιόντας and λιοντάρι.)

λιγαίνω - intrans. decrease, diminish 1606 (see Erot. Gloss.)

λίτρα, ἡ - "pound" in weight 2180, 2190, 2585.

λογάρι, τό - treasure 2180, 2320 (see Erot. Gloss.)

λογαριάζω - reckon, take into account, consider,
intend, aim for, 72, 434, 959, 942, 1344, 1370,
2718.

λογίζομαι - reckon, consider 2522.

λογοῦμαι - be reckoned as, be considered, be called
861, 2285, 2344 2nd. pers. sing. λογῶμαι 1776, 1777.
(Erot. Gloss.)

λοιπόν and τὸ λοιπόν - well, then, passim; often
redundant; other forms found are τὸ λοιπονέ 1531,
2673, τὸ λοιπονές 1431 and τὸ λοιπονίς 1203 (for
this last form cf. Stathis III 554, Erot. After.
53, I 1, Katsaitis If. II 679, III 593 etc.)

λοντάρι, τό - lion 235 (< λιοντάρι; the form with loss
of ι occurs in Pent. G. 24.9, cf. λοντάριον Thes.
4882, λονταρόπουλλον ibid. I 43.1, λοντάριν Vedram.
Gyn. 9, and as a place-name λοντάρι Chron. Turc. 102.)

λυχνάρι, τό - (dim. of λύχνος) lamp 97.

λωλιά, ἡ - folly, stupidity 1014. (cf. late-Byz. G p. 286.
30 λωλίαν; other nouns from λωλός are λωλάγρα,
λωλάδα and λωλαμάρα.)

λωλός - foolish, stupid 124a, 1885 (see Erot. Gloss.)

μό - but, 560, 636, 820 et passim.

μό - particle with acc., in the name of, by 1169.

μαγεία and μαγεία, ἡ - magic, magic arts, magic spell
9, 44, 73, 91 etc.

μαγεύω - perform magic, act as μάγος 215.

μάγεραι and μάγεραι, ὁ - cook acc. μάγεραι 1703;

μάγεραι 1704, 1707, 1729.

μαζώνω - gather together 687, 821; pass. μαζώνομαι

intrans. gather 692 aor. ἐμαζάχθησαν 489, 1267,

ἐμαζώκησαν 2265, ἐμαζώκηκε 2789 (cf. ἐμαζώκησαν

Chron. Turc. 27 et passim, ἐμαζωκήκασι Katsaltis

if. Prol. 137; see also Erot. Gloss.)

μαθητεύω-instruct, teach 258; pass. μαθητεύομαι

learn, find out 316. (μαθητεύω, trans., is Biblical

and Patristic - see Lampe Lex. μαθητεύομαι

occurs in Cretan with the meaning "become known"

- see Erot. Gloss. The meaning "learn, find out"

has otherwise been found only in Minotou Param.

A 388 ἐμαθητεύηκε.)

μαθητής, ὁ - pupil 1994; gen. pl. μαθητῶν 298.

μακελεῖο, τό - slaughter-house; phrase τοῦ μακελείου

destined for the slaughter 738 cf. Erot. II 1243

and see Erot. Gloss.

μακρύς and μακρός - long; from μακρύς neut. μακρὺ

2639, 2640; from μακρός masc. acc. pl. μακρούς 1556,

fem. acc. pl. μακράς 2613, adv. μακρά, far off 1732.

μαλέα and μαλία, ἡ - strife, war, battle; μαλέα 22, 808,

824, 2461; μαλία 502, 1217. (< ὁμαλία; μαλιὰ is the

commonest form - see Erot. Gloss. μαλία is also

found in Thes. 293, 4145, 5338 and Choumnos ms 845,

914, 1808; μαλέα also occurs in Thes. I Hyp. 9-10

παραγιαλέαν-μαλέαν. It must be treated as a false

resolution of -ιά on the analogy of βασιλιάς < βασιλέας

see Introd. p. 163.)

μαλλιάζω - p.p.p. μαλλιασμένος hairy 1584.

μάλλιο - adn. rather 830 (< μάλλον which is also found, at vv. 1954, 2539 - with perhaps influence of Ital. meglio. See Erot. Gloss. s.v. μάλλιος, which is the usual Cretan form. μάλλιο also occurs in Def. Log. Did. 178.)

μαλωτιά, τὰ - strife; quarrelling 2420

(< μαλώνω on the model of the many adjectives in -τός derived from verbs; but the word is not found in any other text.)

μανιώνω - middle /pass. μανιώνομαι be angry, rage 238, 1002, 1747, 2691.

μαντιάτο, τὸ - pl. news 396, 421, 426.

μαντατοφόρος, ὁ - messenger 640, 674, 712, 1140 (the word is common in med. popular texts: Chron. Mor. 300, Achill. 386, Erot. IV 195 etc.)

μαντεία and μαντειά, ἡ - divination 12, 36, 37, 269.

μάντειο and μαντεῖό, τό - oracle 292, 295 (< μαντεῖον.

The accentuation μαντεῖό is in accordance with MG phonetic laws, but that of μάντειο is irregular.)

μαντεύω - consult an oracle 292; more commonly medio-pass. μαντεύομαι 290a, 315. (See Dimátrakos Lex. s.v. μαντεύω.)

μάντης, ὁ - diviner, seer pl. μάντες 666.

μαρτυρίο, τό - evidence 1064 (For μαρτύριο, with the accentuation of μαρτυρία or of dat. μαρτυρίῳ.)

μάστορας, ὁ - master-builder 589 (see Erot. Gloss.)

μαστορεύω - make skillfully p.p.p. μαστορεμένα 2338.

- ματοχυσία, ἡ - bloodshed 854 (< αἱματοχυσία: the form with aphaeresis is also found in Katsaltis Kl. II294)
- ματσούκι, τό - club, stick 676 (< Ital. mazucco - see G. Meyer, Neugr. Stud. 4.51; see also Kononios Lex. s.v.)
- μαχοῦμενος - fighting 2185 (on the participles in -οῦμενος see Thumb §254.2.)
- μεγαλόκερος - with large horns 112 (< AG μεγαλόκερος, for which normal MG would be μεγαλοκέρατος.)
- μεγαλύνω - middle μεγαλύνομαι boast of, pride oneself on (+dat.) 1795 (see L-3; the use with the dat. is known only from Aeschylus).
- μέγας and μέγας - both types are common; superlative μέγιστος 645; adv. μέγας 341, 419, 749 etc. and μέγας 2432, E2.
- μελανώδης - blackish, neut. μελανώδη (?) 2839.
- μέλλω - be fated, due 276b, 2128; τὸ μελλόμενον the future 1241 (for τὸ μελλόμενον cf. Katsaltis If. II317, 550 etc., Chasis p. 56 and compare τὰ μελλούμενα Erot. IV141)
- μέμφομαι - blame, reproach 715, 716, 1484 aor. ἐμέφθη 287, 990 (ex corr.)
- μέν - on the one hand 2799; τοὺς μὲν.... τοὺς δὲ... some... others... 2925.
- μερσιδί, ἡ - share, portion 784 (< μοιρασία with influence of μέρος etc. Not found elsewhere. For μοιρασία see Dimitrakos Lex., and Pangalos s.v. μοιρασία.)
- μερῆς, ἡ - side 250, 2034, 2531; with synizesis μερῆς

954, 2099, 2607; with resolution of the synizesis
 μερά 343, 634, 866, 1666. (μερά is the earliest
 form, giving rise to common Greek μερά, East Cretan
 μερά - see Erot. Gloss. - and in idioms like
 Zakynthian which admit only of -ρα, μερά; see
 Konomos Lex. and Introd. p. 163.)

μερτικό(ν), τό - portion, share 2826; ἀπὸ τὸ μερτικόν
 σου perhaps "of his own volition" 1992. (On the word
 see Erot. Gloss.; other instances are to be found
 in Def. Sus. 334, Chron. Turc. 67, 103, Apokop. 296
 etc.)

μερώνω - see ἡμερώνω.

μέσα ἐκ - out of + gen. 173, + acc. 210, 1593, 2775.

μέση, ἡ - middle 972, 1835, 1874, 2322 etc.; waist
 2658; phrase βάνω στὴ μέση surround 1522.

μεταγεννοῦμαι - be born again, be changed (?) 276c
 (μεταγεννῶμαι be born again, L-S; otherwise the
 word is unknown and may be the result of corruption.)

μετάγνωση - change of mind, repentance 1888.

μετανῶθω - repent, regret aor. ἐμετάνωος 1287, 2514.
 (-γνώθω > -νώθω > -νιώθω see Erot. p. 406 note on I 2144
 and Gloss. s.v. μετανιώθω. The form μετανῶθω /-ωσα
 also occurs in Choumnos ms 1337, 2302, Mach. 2129,
 166²², Thes. I 88.5 etc.)

μετρητά, τά - ready cash 508 (Perhaps this is one of
 the earliest occurrences of the MG expression.)

μηδέ - nor 2126, 2694 (used as equivalent to οὐτε).

μηδέν - not at all; after νὰ 158, 520, 580, 688 etc.;
 with subj. to form negative imp. 942, 1075, 1250,
 1381 etc.

- μήλιγγας, ὁ - temple 370 (Erot. Gloss.).
- μηνῶ - inform, sent word aor. (ἐ)μήνησα 203, 327, 428, 994, 1015 et passim (Erot. Gloss.).
- μήπως - lest, in case 440, 558, 1640; μήπως καὶ what if...? 149.
- μητέρα, ἡ - mother 362, 386, 441 et passim; gen. μητρός 378, 389, etc.; dat. μητρὶ used as acc. 464, 2236, 2272, as voc. 2295.
- μηχανεύομαι - act cunningly, plot 1516 (cf. Chron. Mor. 849 οἱ θράγκοι ἐμηχανεύτησαν.).
- μηχανή, ἡ - crafty device pl. wiles 1757.
- μίλι(ον), τό - mile 2622 (see Dimitrakos Lex.).
- μιλιὰ, ἡ - (faculty of) speech 1218.
- μισεύω - depart, leave 319, 429 et passim (see G. Meyer, Neugr. Studien 3.45).
- μνέ(γ)ω - swear 142, 1363, 1364 (see Erot. Gloss. μνέγω and ἀμνόγω. Cf. ὁμνέω.).
- μνημόσυνον, τό - remembrance, memory 2888.
- μνημόρι, τό - grave, tomb 1295 (Dimitrakos Lex.).
- μόδι, τό - measurement of weight 2890 (< μόδιον < Lat. *modius* cf. μόδιον Mach. 436¹⁸, 608³, Prod. 2.420.).
- μοιάζω - resemble + gen. 234, 821; with οὐκ or ὡςπερ 2071, 2078; impers. μοιάζει it seems 1132.
- μοιράζω - separate, divide 1750.
- μοιχεύω - commit adultery 528; pass. of the woman aor. ἐμοιχεύθη 288 (cf. L-S.).
- μολογῶ - confess, reveal 2362; the usual ὁμολογῶ also occurs 2785.
- μόν - immediately, just then (like μόλις) 438; but 522,

- 752, 1831; $\mu\acute{o}\nu$ $\nu\acute{\alpha}$ as long as, provided that 710, 1007. This apocopated form, sometimes (but unnecessarily) written with an apostrophe, also occurs in Def. Log. Did. 143, 656, Triv. Tag. 129, id. Hist. 313, Thes. I 39.7, Chron. Mor. passim, Sklav. 32, 72 etc., Ger. Kor. 636, Fort. interm. 150 etc. See also $\mu\acute{o}\nu\epsilon$.
- $\mu\omicron\nu\alpha\chi\acute{\epsilon}$, η - solitude, 2117; $\mu\omicron\nu\alpha\chi\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$ 2421. (For $\mu\omicron\nu\alpha\chi\acute{\epsilon}$ see Erot. Gloss.; it also occurs in Thes. 3911 and Choumnos ms 1663.)
- $\mu\acute{o}\nu\epsilon$ - only 120, 155, 464 (see Erot. Gloss.)
- $\mu\omicron\nu\eta$, η - dwelling-place (of a god) 2611; position, station (of a star) 2913.
- $\mu\acute{o}\nu\omicron(\nu)$ - only, but (conj.) 717, 1636, 1666, 1783 etc.
- $\mu\omicron\nu\omicron\chi\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\rho$, δ - sole ruler 306 (cf. Prod. 1.33, Sophocles Lex.)
- $\mu\omicron\rho\phi\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ - intrans. be or become beautiful 2140 (for the intransitive use of the verb, see Erot. Gloss. S.V.)
- $\mu\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu\omega$ - cower, huddle up, in fear, p.p.p. $\mu\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omega\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota$ cowering 880, 1624 (Erot. Gloss.)
- $\mu\pi\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$ - see $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$.
- $\mu\pi\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta$, η - confidence, trust 800; $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta$ 2867.
- $\mu\pi\omicron\delta\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ - hinder, prevent 1762.
- $\mu\pi\rho\acute{\delta}\varsigma$ - see $\delta\mu\pi\rho\acute{\delta}\varsigma$.
- $\mu\pi\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ - set on fire, burn 2254, 2298. (See Dimitrakos Lex. and L-S s.v. $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$. Cf. MG $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\upsilon\rho\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omega$.)
- $\mu\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ - intrans. smell 1607, 1611, 2279; anoint 2926a, 2927 (AG $\mu\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ anoint, MG $\mu\upsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\nu\omega$.)

νεκροκρέβατον, τό - bier 1401.

νεκρώνω - mortify p.p.p. νεκρωμένος, dead 350.

νησάκιν, τό - dim. islet 2002.

νός = νοῦς, mind, spirit 1231 (for the form νός see
Introd. p. 149f.).

νοῶ - contrive, propose 1693 (see commentary on II 39).

ντροπή and τροπή(?), ἡ - shame 2546, 2524.

νύκτα, ἡ - night nom. 878, acc. 118, 124 passim;

gen. νυκτός 2055; AG nom. νύξ 1958, 1959.

νυκτερίς, ἡ - bat 2083.

νυμφικός - bridal 1500.

νύφη, ἡ - any female relation by marriage, daughter-in-law,
sister-in-law 2380, 2385, 2394.

ἐξαιρετός - particularly, specially 1512 (< ἐξαιρετός).

ἐανοίγω - see, observe (see Erot. Gloss.) 1642.

ἐαυμάτωτος - unarmed 2112 (Erot. Gloss., Katsaitis If.
V 560 etc.)

ἐέ = ἐκ; see Introd. p. 225.

ἐεγνοιάζω - be free of care p.p.p. ἐεγνοιασμένος
care-free 1583 (Erot. Gloss.)

ἐεγνοιαστός - free of cares 2054.

ἐε(κ)διχῶ - see ἐεεκδιχῶ.

ἐενοχάραγος - strange 2060, 2284. (The word also occurs
in Call. 1242, Dig. Akro. (ESC) 1632, Flor. 1462,
Lib. S1968 etc. Pol. Tr. 72, 630, and Thes. 2223,
6713, Georg. Than. 104, 214 and in the form
ἐεενοχάραγος Chron. Mor. 3874, Lib. 189 - see Schmitt

in the Glossary to Chron. Mor. for an etymology.)

Ξεσπαθώνω - intrans. draw one's sword 373, 1346;

P.P.P. Ξεσπαθωμένοι with swords drawn 1400.

Ξετρέχω - intrans. make an attack, go beyond the bounds(?)

1137. (Usual meaning is "pursue" - see Erot. Gloss.

- but other meanings are also found: "follow"

Koron. 8, "search high and low for" Katsaitis If.

I 188 etc., "save" Choumnos ms 137. Here the meaning

seems closest to that of AG ἐκτρέχω "go beyond the bounds".)

Ξεύρω = ξέρω, know 61, 108 passim; also ἡξεύρω 6,9 passim;

MG forms are also found: ἡξερες 267, ξέρεις 2436.

Ξεφλῶ - finish off 97 (< ἐξεφλῶ < AG δφλίσκω).

MG ξεφλῶ "pay a debt", "finish with".)

ἔξήντα = ἐξήντα 1562, 2570.

ἔζω = ἐξίζω 3946 .

Ξορθώνω - arrange, fix up 991. (The word occurs in Thes.

2186 with the same meaning and in Stavrinou 1008

= "reorganize". Compare also Cypriot ξορτώνω

"succeed", Cypr. Erot. 27.14 and Mach. 478³. Both

are from AG ἐξορθῶ set up, correct.)

Ξορίζω - banish, exile 1780, 1782 (Erot. Gloss.)

Ξυλόκαστρο, τό - wooden castle 911 (The word is known

to Du Cange and Meursius qq.v. who also quote from

Thes. I: καὶ παρευθὺς γὰρ ὄρισε ξυλόκαστρα νὰ ποίουν.

The usual meaning in Byzantine writers is the fortified

part of a warship; See Sophocles Lex. Another meaning

- a type of wooden siege engine - occurs in Mach.

482³⁶.)

ἔσπερνός - later 1888. (< ἔξ + ὑστερινός cf. ἔσπερα
Mach. 400²³, Cypr. Erot. 125³⁶. See commentary
ad loc.)

ὁ - def. art. (for forms in use see Introd. p. 165).
as rel. pronoun only in accusative, τὸ 482, 825,
1414, 1458, etc., τὰ 551, 716, 2438, 2470, 2654,
τὴν 1313, 1349, 1515.

ὀγλήγορα - see γλήγορα.

ὀγοιός - ὀκοιός 364. (Various spelt, the form is
quite well known in texts and Lexicographers e.g.
Thes. 5366 ὁ καθελὶς ὀγιον ἀγαπᾷ ἀπὸ τοῦς δυὸ ἀηβαίους,
Koron. 90 τιμὴν ὀγοιός ἔγαπᾷ πολλὰ οὐδὲν κοιμᾶται.
See Du Cange Lex. s.v. ὀγοιός Lang. Gloss., Konomos
Lex., MNE II 596, Thumb §150 n. 2.)

ὀδύρομαι - wail, mourn 2802, 2806.

ὅθεν - when 250, 1649; ὅθεν κι ἂν wherever 1222, 2030.
(The usual meaning of ὅθε(ν) is of course "whence",
and by extension "where". For the temporal use, as
here, cf. Chron. Turc. 34, 119.)

οἶδα - know E 18.

οἶνος, ὁ - wine 2738.

ὅκ = ἔκ, 37, 41, 63, 143, 400 etc. For the various forms
and usages of these propositions see Introd. p. 224f.

ὀλιγούτισκος - very little, very few 183; see
commentary ad loc. and Erot. Gloss.

ὀλόγομος - completely full 2175 (cf. Ermon. 651 ὁ-
λόγομος σελήνη. The commoner forms are ὀλόγεμος and

- ' ὁλόγιτος, see Dimitrakos Lex.)
 ὁλόγυρα- all around 582, 775, 1126 etc.
 ὅλος - all passim; gen. pl. ὁλῶν 660, ὁλωνῶν 839,
 ὁλωνῶν 1106. See οὖλος.
 ὁλοχρυσώνω - gild completely; p.p.p. ὁλοχρυσωμένοι 2624.
 ὁπίδα, ἡ - hope 652, 1056.
 ὁπίζω - hope, trust, expect 124d, 704, 1005, 1077, 1797,
 1882, 2478, 2508; ἐλπίζω 709, 1242. (Erot. Gloss. etc.)
 ὁμάδι - together 138, 1552. (See Erot. Gloss.)
 ὁμάδα, ἡ - group, band, company 425, 490, 850, 1211,
 1510, 2554; gen. ὁμάδος 730.
 ὁμιλία, ἡ - talk, perhaps here magic spell 140. See also
 μιλιά.
 ὁμνέω - swear 827 (< AG ὁμνυμι. This form also occurs in
 Chron. Mor. P 7930, Thes. 4127 etc. and as ὁμνέω
 in Koran. 96, Gad. 390, Choumnos ms 1580, Thes. 686
 etc. See also μνέ(γ)ω.)
 ὁμονοιάζω - be in accord with, (conspire with) 822
 (< AG ὁμονοῶ cf. νοιάζω. Usually μονοιάζω- see
 Erot. Gloss., Dimitrakos Lex.)
 ὁμορφάδα, ἡ - beauty 2309 (Dimitrakos Lex.)
 ὁμορφαρδιντιασμένος - beautifully arrayed 515 (from
 ὁμορφα and ὁρδιντιασμένος).
 ὁμορφαρματωμένος - splendidly-armed 495, 2574.
 ὁμορφιά, ἡ - beauty 1124, 1294; also ἐμορφιά 2326.
 ὁμορφος - beautiful, fine, superb etc. 474, 1296, 1902
 etc.; adv. ὁμορφα 837, 1166 etc.; ἐμορφος 724, 1388,
 2626, E32, adv. ἐμορφα 530; εὐμορφος 2158, 2531, adv.

εὐμορφα 2004. (On the derivation of ἄμορφος < ὁ
ἄμορφος < εὐμορφος see MNE I 233).

ὁμορφοσύνη, ἡ beauty 2104, 2886.

ὀμπρός - as "improper" prep. in front of 70, 148, 447,
448 etc. as adv. forward, in front 348, 542, 673 etc.;
μπρός adv. 1399, τὰ μπρός 178; ἐμπρός + gen. pronoun
1597.

ὀμπροστά - forward, in front 342; similarly ἐμπροστά
2788; ὀμπροστά + gen. pronoun in front of, before
2208.

ὁμῆτρο, τό - for ὁνῆτρο 665; see commentary ad loc.

ὄντα - when 1940. Several other forms of this conjunction
occur: ὄνταν 1940, ὄντά 2682, ὄντεν 422, besides
the usual ὅταν from which they all derive. According
to Hatzidakis (MNE II 505) the ντ is due to the
influence of εἶντα, but it may come from ὄντας, the
participle of the verb "to be". For ὄντα cf. Chron.
Turc. 58, 123, Thes. 1203 etc.; for ὄνταν cf. Def.
Sus. 238, Choumnos ms 2068, Achel. 163 etc.; for
ὄντά cf. ὄντάν Achel. 730 and for ὄντεν cf. Apokop.
126, Choumnos ms 194, 976.

ὀπίσω - adv. behind 347, 412 passim; never as an improper
preposition.

ὀπισθεν - behind, back 1227, 1400, 1428.

ὀποῖος(ὸ) - rel. pron. who, which 746, 2755; (τ')ὀποῖο(ν)
wherefore(?), 738, 2508.

ὀπού - rel. pron. = κού, passim; often combined with
verbs e.g. ὀπόρχετον, ὀπόναί, ὀπόκι etc. See Introd.p.152.

- ὀρδινιά, ἡ - order, command, precept 320, 394b, 1097,
 2712; without synizesis ὀρδινία 474, 1032, 1854 etc.
 (See Erot. Gloss.)
- ὀρδινιάζω - put in order, array, draw up, command 16,
 100, 151 et passim; often undergoes aphaeresis e.g. *vā*
 'ρδινιάζη 16, τὰ 'ρδινιάσε 1501, 'ς Περσίδα
 'ρδινιασμένοι 2143(?)
- ὀρέγομαι - desire, wish 110, 651, 1495 (very common in
 medieval popular texts e.g. Flor. 1334, 1419 Imb. 592,
 Gad. 72, Apokop. 20, 316 etc.; see also Erot. Gloss.)
- ὀρθομαντεία, ἡ - true divination 61 (L-S.)
- ὀρθρος, ὁ - dawn 2132 (Dimitrakos Lex.)
- ὀρίζω - wish, rule, command etc. 46, 70, 132 et passim;
 often with aphaeresis 'ρίζω 302, 316, 470 etc.; aor.
 ἔρισε 1502 (based on the form with aphaeresis).
- ὀρισμός, ὁ - order, command 771, 1410, 1413. etc.
- ὀρνεον, τό - bird (in general) pl. ὀρνεα 583, 587, 1633,
 1709; ὀρνια (disyllabic) 1665.
- ὀρνίθι - bird (perhaps chicken) 206a, 207, 213.
- ὄς - rel. pron., only in fem. acc. sing. ἧν 786a, 798a,
 814a, 990a, 1004a.
- ὅσοις - as much as, as many as, 569, 671, 810 etc.; ὅσο
vā until 912.
- ὅτι - that 328, 372 etc.; because (=διότι) 22.
- οὐ - not 1009, 1016, 1783, 2748, E47; before a vowel
 οὐκ 242, 342, 1010, 1252 etc.
- οὐαί - alas! 1233; as noun, τὸ οὐαί lament 1395.
- οὐδέ(ν) - not 366, 594, 596, 655 etc. (MG δέν); 'δὲ...
 'δὲ neither...nor 1218, 1506; οὐτε.... οὐδέ

neither ...nor 875, 2614.

οὔλος = ὄλος 196; see commentary ad loc.

οὖν - therefore 2753.

οὐχί - not 1829.

ὄφιδι(ον), τό - snake, pl. ὄφιδια 2038. (Dimin. of ὄφις.

See also φιδάκι, φιδόπουλο.)

παγαίνω = πηγαίνω passim.

παθάνω - suffer, experience 2644; elsewhere the usual παθαίνω is found. (For παθάνω cf. Flor. 469, 473 and see MNE I, 289-90; compare also Cypriot παθοάννω, Cypr. Erot. 29.3.)

παιγνίδι, τό - musical instrument 849; see commentary ad loc.

παίγνιο, τό - toy, plaything 685.

παιδάκι, τό - little child 691, 752, 766,

παιδάρι, τό - little child 717, 2831.

παῖς, ὁ - child, pl. παῖδες 54a.

παισιότητα, ἡ - old age E 10.

καλάτι, τό - palace 36, 38, 102, 1143, 1229, 2313, 2659; also pl. καλάτια 1285, 2033, 2138, 2287, 2637, (the plural on the analogy of βασίλεια).

κάλε-again, on the other hand 2503. For κάλε instead of κάλι(ν) (on the analogy of τότε etc. - MNE II 343) cf. Prod. 2.248, Fort. III 65, Mach. passim, Katsaltis Thy. Prol. 22, 188, etc. And see A. Papadopoulos in Lex. Arch. 3, 74.

καλικαρία and καλικαρτιά, ἡ - bravery 317, 510, 513.

- κάμπολυς - very many n.pl. κάμπολλα 1514 (L-S.)
- πανδρεύομαι - get married (of a man) aor. πανδρεύτη
559.
- παντελῶς - entirely 1250.
- πανώριος - very beautiful 2324 (Dimitrakos Lex.)
- παρά - prep. + gen. from 2935; prep. + acc. in
comparison with, contrary to, 1777, 2497; conj. than
1551, 1940, 2812; δὲν ἐν παρὰ νὰ γένη it is bound
to happen 265; conj. πρὶν παρὰ νὰ before 1494.
- παραβάλλω - put side by side p.p.p. παραβαλμένες
drawn up, arrayed 2486.
- παραδέρνω - trans. torment 1978. (For this use cf.
Lib. 1299 πρόσεχε τὴν καρδίαν σου νὰ μὴν τὴν παρα-
δείρῃ κῦμα τῆς ἀσχήλῃσεως. The word is generally
intransitive - see Erot. Gloss.)
- παραθαλασσία, ἡ - sea-shore 537, 540. (Noun formed from
fem. of adj. παραθαλάσσιος cf. NT Matt. 4, 13 εἰς
Καπερναοὺμ τὴν παραθαλασσίαν. It is also found in
Lib. 2694 and Chron. Turc. 44.
- παραχάτου = παραχάτω 1150.
- παραλαμβάνω - receive, take charge of 2275; take over
from, succeed (someone) 1279.
- παραμπρός - further 1640. (Erot. Gloss.)
- παράνω - upwards, further up 2613 (< ὑπεράνω).
- πάραυτα - at once 212, 228, 371, 499, 1578 (Erot. Gloss.)
- παραυτίκα - at once 1634, 2019 (Dimitrakos Lex.; the
word is not common in popular texts, but occurs in
Thes. 166.8, Lib. 31236, 33702 etc. and Batrach. 153).

πάρδος, ὁ - leopard 2182.

παρευθύς - at once 443, 662, 1704 (Dimitrakos Lex.)

παρθενίζω - prob. belong, befit 1279. (< Ital.

appartenere cf. Hist. Lex. s.vv. ἀπαρθενεύω, ἀπαρθενίζω and Hadjioannou, "Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ μεσαιωνικῇ καὶ νεωτέρᾳ κυπριακῇ ἑξένων γλωσσικῶν στοιχείων", Texte und Forschungen zur byz. - newgr. Phil. 18, 1936, 66 ἀπαρτενιδίζω. A derivation from παρθένος, with the meaning "be young" or something similar, is less probable.)

παριδίνω - surrender, hand over 2858 (< παραδίνω with ι apparently on the same analogy as ἀντιμένω, ἀπιλογοῦμαι etc., for which see Hatzidakis in Ath. 24, 1912, 29, & 57, unless it is simply a printing error for παραδίνω (?)).

παρησία, ἡ - freedom of speech, right of approach 2731 (cf. Chron. Turc. 110, εἶχε τόση πολλὴν παρησίαν εἰς τὸν σουλτάνο. See Lampe Lex. s.v. II.)

πᾶς - all; neut. πᾶν 143, fem. πᾶσαν 2203, πᾶσης 646, 730, 1034; pl. πάντες 576, 743, 787, acc. πάντας 1777.

πᾶσα - indecl. adj. every 137, 550, 791, 1437; with plural noun 2489. (See MNE II 152 and Erot. Gloss.)

πασαεῖς and πασαένας - everyone 840, 946, 1425, 1727; 1938, 2822.

πασόνας - everyone 1789, 2057, 2108, 2338, 2674, 2728, 2800, 2826, 2874.

πατάσσω - strike, crush, overthrow 429, 1202, 1237, 1263 (Erot. Gloss.)

- πατήρ, ὁ - father 463, 524; acc. πατήρ 1533, 2930;
 gen. πατρός 234, 377, 390, 448; elsewhere ὁ πα-
 τέρας etc. gen. κατέρα 629.
- πατρικό, τό - patrimony 485 (generally τὰ πατρικά -
 see Dimitrakos Lex.)
- παῦ-~~tread~~ (on) 403, 1090; arrive, come(?) 1606.
- πέβω - send 50, 397, 426 etc. (formed < ἐπε(μ)ψα
 <AG πέμπω on analogy of verbs in -εύω. See MNE I 185.
 πέβω also occurs in Def. Sus. 332, Katsaitis If.
 Af. 128 etc.)
- πεζεύω - dismount 920, 1108, 1604, 1724, 2026, 2242;
 with prothetic δ-, δπεζεύω 949, 1770, 2042.
 (δπεζεύ(γ)ω occurs in Mach. passim and in Thes.
 4879, Choumnos ms 762, 2638.)
- πεθυμιά, ἡ - desire 1588, (Erot. Gloss.)
- πέθομαι - obey (+gen.) 390; submit 2550.
- πελελός - foolish 3946 (see Erot. Gloss.)
- περαζόμενος - only in the phrase (σὲ) (ἡ)μέρας περα-
 ζόμενες one day 207, 331, 395, 2201. See commentary
 on v. 207, and on the participle form see MNE I 13,
 Einl. 146.
- περηφανῶ - treat with, scorn, disdain 1312 (<p.-c.
 ὑπερηφανῶ see Dimitrakos Lex. s.v. and MNE I 442,
 and compare περσιανίζω (sic) with the same transitive
 meaning in Thes. I 40.4.)
- περί - prep. concerning esp. in the phrase περί τὸ πῶς
 6a, 100a, 124a, 258a, etc.; with gen. 222a, 240a;
 περί = παρὰ than 1512 (for this substitution cf.
 Chron. Mor. 1135, 2106 etc.).

- περίγυρο, τό - surrounding region; 594, pl. environs 2842, 2852, 2898 (For the pl. see Erot. Gloss.; the use of the singular is rarer but occurs in Imb. 453, Call. 459, + Chron. Turc 32 εἰς ἑκάτω τὸ περίγυρο, + Thrin. Konst. 772.)
- περιδιδάσκω - enjoy oneself, celebrate a festival 431. (See Erot. Gloss. and commentary on I 24.)
- περιδιασμός, ὁ - pleasure, enjoyment 23, 1505 (cf. Lib. N 2894; the more usual form is παραδιασμός pleasure Lib. 934 and with the meaning of "conversation", Chron. Mor. 8295.)
- περιθάλασσαν, τό - sea-shore 1664 (The word is recorded in the Lexica of Du Cange + Meursius and in Cor. Pret. lito, περιθάλασσο, littus, ἀκτή.)
- περιχαρτερῶ - tarry, linger 1620, 2031.
- περιλαμβάνω - receive, take possession of, aor. ἔπε-
ρλάβε 1084.
- περικατῶ = περκατῶ 1546, 2041, 2086.
- περικλέω - surround 2044; become entangled with, embrace(?) 1856.
- περίσσο(ι)ος - very much 1, 104, 980, 2605 adv. περίσσια very greatly 136, 165, 214, 741 etc. (Erot. Gloss.)
- περισσός - ample, plenty 608, 908, 1850, 2629;
syncopated form περοά 507; adv. περισσὰ very greatly 2496; comparative n.pl. περισσότερα E50.
- περίφουμος - famous 54, 1456, 1472, 1476 (For the vowel change in this root cf. φοῦμος Chron. Mor. 4058, and see Erot. Gloss. s.vv. φήμη, φημίζω.)
- περιχρυσώνω - gild all around 1442 (Dimitrakos Lex.)

- κέρπυρο, τό - Byzantine gold coin, byzant 1443.
 κέρσικος - Persian 867, 1207 (Proparoxytone accentuation probably due to influence of Italian persico; oxytone form also occurs 1085.)
 περισσότερο(ν) - adv. more 830, 2502
 περισός - see περισσός.
 πετσοκοπισμός, ὁ - slaughter, massacre 1214 (cf. πε-
 τσόκομμα Dimitrakos Lex.)
 πετῶ - fly 1709; aor. subj. νᾶ πετάσουν 1636 (cf. Achill. 1015.)
 πέψη - a sending, an omen 585 (<AG πέμψις).
 πήζω - freeze p.p.p. πηγμένο 1187.
 'πηρεσιᾶ, ἡ = ὑπηρεσία, service, use 498.
 πηχάρι, τό - a cubit 1571, 1645.
 πήχας, ὁ - cubit acc. πήχαν 2057 (<AG πήχυς).
 πήχη, ἡ - cubit pl. πήχες 1579, 2080, 2579, 2580.
 πιάνω - take, catch, seize, get, acquire etc. passim;
 prevail 345; set to, begin 379; occupy, take possession
 of a place 610.
 πιβουλή, ἡ - treachery 2416 (see commentary ad loc.)
 πιβουλιά, ἡ - treachery 986 (see Erot. Gloss. + commentary
 on v.2416.)
 πίθακος, ὁ - ape acc. pl. πίθακους 2283. (πίθακος
 is the AG Doric form, and also occurs in a papyrus
 - see Preisigke Lex. It is possible that it was a
 contemporary dialectal form - but a misprint may
 also be suspected.)
 πίθος, ὁ - a large jar 2175.
 πικρός - bitter; noun πὸ πικρὸ bitterness, grief 381.

- πιλαλῶ - run 1649 (Erot. Gloss.).
- πισαυρίζου- on the following day 978, 1072. The word occurs frequently in Machairas (see Dawkins Gloss.); for the modern Cypriot πισάριον, see MNE I 336.
- πιτάκι, τό - letter 765, 2161, 2712 (see Dimitrakos Lex. s.v. πιτάκι(ον) for examples in popular literature).
- πιτηδέως (?) - suitably, fittingly 1155 (for ἐπιτηδέως with distortion for the sake of the rhyme?).
- πλακώνω - crush 351; cover (in erotic sense) 105.
- πλαντάζω - intrans. choke, die (of thirst, emotion etc.) 882, 891, 1602, 2920; p.p.p. κλαντασμένο 2922.
- πλέα - any longer 1650.
- πλέο - more, (no) more, (not) any longer 276c, 862, 1551, 1614, 1899, 1954, 2450, 2452, 2763. See also κλιδ and κλιδ.
- πλερώνω - see κληρώνω.
- πλεύσιμο, τό - boat pl. πλευσίματα B17 (πλεύσιμο(ν) also occurs with this meaning in Choumnos ms 1850 and Koran. 81.)
- πλέω - sail, aor. ἐπλεύσαμε 2620.
- πλεώτερος - bigger, greater 1777, 1941, 1944, 1957, 1959; adv. πλεώτερο more, a greater amount 1939. Cf. κλιότερος Erot. Gloss.
- πλήθιος - numerous, abundant 693 (see Erot. Gloss. s.v. πλήσιος and Hatzidakis in Ath. 29, 1917, 215.)
- πληθύνω - fill with (?), p.p.p. κληθυσμένοι 1929.
- κληρῶ - τὸν χρόνον νὰ κληροῦμε at the end of every year, 2541.
- κληρώνω - pay (for), fulfil, finish 400, 407, 414, 454,

- 1438, 2134, 2271, 2547 etc.; p.p.p. κλερωμένος
(η>ε) 1444.
- κλιῖ - any longer 1194. See κλέα.
- κλιῖ - any longer 884, 2070. See κλέο.
- κλούσος - rich acc. pl. κλούσους 1478. (Erot. Gloss.)
- κοῦδρι, τό - foot 376, 1646.
- κοδιῖ, ἡ - lap 170, 206a, 208.
- κόθεν - whence? 1839, 2209.
- κόθεσις and κόθησις, ἡ = ὑπόθεσις 1445, 1446 (Erot. Gloss.)
- κοῖος and κοιός - interrog. pron. 294, 316, 332, 337
etc. pl. κοιοί 804, 871, 1678; as rel. pron. with
article, τὰ κοιῖ 1057.
- κοῖω - make, do 68, 76, 82 et passim; aor. ἐποίηκα
963, 1287, 1669, ἐποίησα 2464, subj. νὰ ποιήσῃ 1451,
2377 but generally νὰ ποιήσῃ 76, 82, 157 etc.; medio-
passive κοιῖσθαι esteem, value 1817 (see commentary
ad loc.)
- κολεμάρχος, ὁ - warrior 1756 (Dimitrakos Lex.)
- κολεμίζω = κολεμῶ 1748, 1753. This by-form occurs quite
frequently in popular texts e.g. Mach. 100²⁶ etc.,
Achill. 416, Triv. Tag. 127, Koron. 37, 63, 122,
cf. MNE I 275.
- κόληψις, ἡ - respect, reputation 1021 (< ὑπόκλησις - see
Kononios Lex. s.v.).
- κολιτεῖα, ἡ - experience (?) 1871 (cf. the phrase βίος
καὶ κολιτεῖα in the titles of the Synaxaria.)
- κολλάκος - often 1385.
- κολυδάμαντος - with many diamonds 2426.
- κονηρεύομαι - p.p.p. κονηρεμένος wily 1945.

- κονῶ - trans. and intrans. pain, grieve for, pity
 790, 1013, 1023, 1395, 1396, p.p.p. κονεμένοι
 grief-stricken 2795. (Erot. Gloss.)
- κοῶς - (not) at all (always with negative) 326, 366,
 706, 735 etc.
- κοίζω - water, pass. to drink νὰ ποτιστοῦσι 2056.
- κοιστήρι, τό - watering-place 950 (the same meaning
 in Choumnos ms 1295, 1475, 2123.).
- κοῦς, ὁ - foot dat. pl. κοῦ 2925.
- κραματεῖα, ἡ - trade 1432 (Normally κραμάτεια, but the
 paroxytone form also occurs in Chron. Turc. 101,
 Katsaltis If. II 161 and Coron. Pret.)
- πρίκα, ἡ - grief 330, 2020, 2374. (< πίκρα with
 metathesis of ρ - see Erot. Gloss.)
- πρικαίνω - embitter p.p.p. πρικαμένο bitter 1373.
 Elsewhere the unmetathesised form πικραίνω is found:
 935, 1190, 1789.
- πρικιά, ἡ - grief 882, (metathesised < πικρία; the form
 is found in Panor. I 62, Thysia 128 etc.)
- προβαίνω - appear, come forth aor. (ἐ)πρόβαλα 1596,
 2910. (Erot. Gloss.)
- προβατοντύματα - sheep-skins 1037.
- προβοῶ - send 1094, 2187, 2516, 2530, 2548. (Usual
 meaning is "see someone off on a journey"; see
 Anadiotis Lex. for etymology.)
- προκομμένος - distinguished, excellent, expert, 165,
 1912. In MG the meaning is rather "industrious".
 See Dimitrakos Lex. s.v. προκόπτω; the word also
 occurs in Def. Sus. 11.)

πρόνοια - in the phrase ἡ ἀνα πρόνοια, divine providence 741, 1985.

προσδέχομαι - consent, condescend 1310.

προσέχω - medio-pass. προσέχεται, pay attention to 162 (see commentary ad loc.).

προσηκύνουμαι - rise out of respect for someone 2756 (cf. Chron. Mor. 5517, 5787, Thes. I 98.6, Choumnos ms 747; Dimitrakos Lex.)

προσφάγι, τό - food eaten with bread 1703 (Dimitrakos Lex.).

προυτοῦ νᾶ - before 999 (by assimilation < προτοῦ).

πτερό, τό - feather 2767, 2769, 2771.

κυξόμηλον, τό - box 2701. A popular equivalent for the ecclesiastical term κυξέον, a pyx or ciborium. Elsewhere the word has only been found in the writings of Du Cange: in his Gloss. he cites only the form μηξόμηλον, but in his Descriptio Constantinopolis Christianae (Historia Byzantina duplici commentario illustrata....., Paris 1680, Book 3 no. 63), while discussing the κυξέον, he states: "recentiores vero [vocant] μυξόμηλον, corrupto, ut par est credere, vocabulo ex κυξόμηλον, quamobrem non desunt qui μυξόμηλονidem esse opinantur, quod ἀρτοφόριον." κᾶς - how? 575, 583, 1115 etc.; why? 268, 1127, 1128, 1135, 2479.

ραβδίά, ἡ - a blow with a stick 2715.

ραθυμίζω - p.p.p. ραθυμισμένος angry 2406 (< δραθυμῶ, perhaps influenced by ὀργισμένος.)

ρίζικό, τό - fate 121b, 269, 364, 2356. (< ρίζα. For the semantic development, see Xanthoudidis, Erot. Gloss. and Ahh. 26, 1914, Lex. Arch. 174 ff.)

ρίμα, ἡ - rhyme B11, B21 (< Ital. rima.)

ρίπτω - throw off aor. ἔριψε 1230 (elsewhere the usual MG ρίχνω is found).

ρομφαία, ἡ - two-edged sword 377.

ροπή, ἡ - storm 2091.

ρωταπόκριση, ἡ - question and answer, here "answers to your questions", 1924. (< ἑρωταπόκρισις; the form with aphaeresis also occurs in Katsaïtis lf. III 60.)

σαβανώνω - wrap in a shroud 289.

σαγίτα, ἡ - arrow 121b, 1378, 1379, 2762; also (with loss of intervocalic γ) σαῖτα 545. (< Lat. sagitta; see Erot. Gloss.)

σαγόνι, τό - jaw 1557.

σαῖτα - see σαγίτα.

σαλεύω - move; intrans. in pass. aor. ἐσαλεύθη 829.

σατραπής, ὁ - satrap 461, 770, 770a etc.

σεβαίνω - enter; only in aor. ἐσέβη 36, 2729, 2793, σέβηκε 102, 2916, ἐσέβην (3rd sing.) 190, σέβηκεσ 2352, subj. νὰ σέβω 2110. (< εἰσβαίνω)

σεῖω - shake 663; pass. tremble, quiver 1384 (bis), 3rd sing. pres. σέται 1983.

σεντούκι, τό - chest 675 (Turkish sendik - see Maidhof

in Glotta 10, 17.)

σερνικός - male 159 (< ἀρσενικός - see Andriotis Lex.)

σήμερον - today 864, 1055.

σιδῶ - put in order, administer 251, 1122. (Dimitrakos Lex. cf. Cretan σάζω Erot. Gloss.)

σιδερώνω - clap in irons, p.p.p. σιδερωμένοι 782.

σκάθω - dig 1732 (σκάπτω > σκάπτω > σκάθω
- falsely reconstituted ancient form).

σκιᾶναι, τό - hat 1096 (< AG σκιᾶδαιον - common in medieval texts).

σκοντάπτω - stumble, trip 350. See also ἄσκοντάπτω.

σκοπῶ - observe, examine 1848.

σκοτίζομαι - be confused, vexed 872.

σκοτώνω - kill 351, 355 et passim; act. with pass.
meaning, ἐσκοτώσα 894.

σκυλοκέφαλοι - Dog-headed 2616.

σουρίζω - hiss 190, 590 (< συρίζω).

σπαθοκοπῶ - wound with a sword 1358.

σπλαγχνότητα, ἡ - compassion, love 530 (see Erot. Gloss.
s.v. σπλαχνότη(τα)).

σκουδᾶζω - intrans. hasten 1323 (Erot. Gloss.)

στάμενα, τά - coins, money 40, 507, 631, 2883. (See bibliography given by Irmischer in Trivolis Gloss.
+ esp. Stadt müller, Ell. 7, 1934, 105-6; the word also occurs in Koron. 85, Jor. Pret. etc.)

στανικῶς - against someone's will, by force 2172 (cf. Erot. I 868, V359 and see Erot. Gloss.)

στανιό(ν) - against one's will; with gen. 2394; μετὰ τὸ
στανιόν του 1256. (For etymology and examples from

- popular texts, see Prot. Gloss.; for the phrase *μή τὸ στανιό του* cf. Thes. 970, 7515, and Komoutos p.15 *μή τὸ στανιό τῆς*).
- σταύρωμα, τό - probably, crossing 774 (see commentary *ad loc.*)
- σταυράνω - to make a cross movement, intercept 1521.
- στέκα - stand still 198, 258 *et passim*; middle *στέκομαι* 652, 857, 858; aor. *ἑστάθη(κα)* 859, 972 etc.; part. *στεκούμενος* 1376.
- στέλλω - send 1508, 1803, 1994, 2141, 2147, 2457 (elsewhere always common MG *στέλνω, ἔστειλα*).
- στενωσία, ἡ - straitened circumstances, difficulties 1921 (from *στένωσις*, with perhaps influence of *στενοχωρία* - see commentary *ad loc.*)
- στερά, ἡ - dry-land; *τῆς στερεᾶς* by land 494. (< *στεριά* < *στερεά* - see Introd. p.155.)
- στερεός - solid; comp. fem. *στερεωτέρα* 1942.
- στεριώνω - make firm, strengthen; p.p.p. *στεριωμένη* 757.
- στερρός - firm, strong 1383 (cf. Achill. 689 where *στερρὸν* is used of Achilles - "sturdy").
- στερῶ - deprive (of) 848 (with gen. of person and acc. of thing, contrary to AG usage); p.p.p. *στερημένος*, deprived 1812.
- στήνω - set up, erect 1145; p.p.p. *στημένος* 2577; *σταμένος* 2646; *εἶχαν βουλήν σταμένην*, they were firmly resolved 2749.
- σιδιά, ἡ - fire 1575 (MNE 1224). See also *ἱστία*.
- σισιβάζω - cram; pass. squeeze together, bunch, aor.

ἑστοιβάκησαν 339.

στορικὸς, ὁ - historian 832 (< ἱστορικὸς).

στορεῖν - paint 2199 (< ἱστορεῖν for which see Sophocles Lex. and Du Cange; στορεῖν also occurs in Thes. 8230; cf. στόρησι painting, Erot. Gloss.)

στράτα, ἡ - way, road, 853, 1089, 2076, 2087, 2277, 2451. (< Lat. strata (via) Trian Lehnw. 123.)

στρατεία and στρατιά, ἡ - army, expedition passim; see commentary on v. 11.

στρατεύω - campaign 458 (not the same as Cretan στρατεύγω < στράτα - see Erot. Gloss. s.v.)

στρατηγός, ὁ - general, commander 20c, 965, 990a etc.; often means simply "soldier", 984, 1631, 1679 etc. (For this meaning cf. Erot. Gloss.)

στρατορῖκι, τό - (collectively) commanders-in-chief 2787, 2908. (See commentary on v. 2787.)

στρέφω - return, go back 217, 681, 1428; pass. στρέφομαι 221, 695, 1639, 2547, 2634.

συβουλεύω - advise 556, 557, 659, 794 etc.; pass.

συβουλεύομαι advise 1101; consult 1105; take counsel, consider 1065, 2512 (For the use of the medio-passive as act., see Dimitrakos Lex. s.v. συμβουλεύω 4).)

συβούλιον, τό - conspiracy 2746.

συγγίζω - draw near 1852 (? < συνεγγίζω).

συγκαταβαίνω - condescend, climb down 1272 (Erot. Gloss.)

συγκλίνω - medio-passive συγκλίνομαι, lie with (a woman) 171.

συγκρούω - intrans. clash, come into conflict, aor.

συνέκρουσαν 851.

- συζώνταρος - alive 2811. The only other instance of the word which has been found is in Katsaitis Kl. II 314, 322 (but cf. συζώνταρος Sachlikis II 451).
- συμβάζομαι - agree, come to terms, be reconciled aor. imp. συνηβαστήτε 2409, with lengthened internal augment cf. ἐσυνηβαστήσαν Chron. Mor. 1842, vā συνηβαστή Achel. 1244, συνηβαστήσαν id. 591, συνηβάζονται Synax. Gyn. 27 (which Krumbacher alters to συμβιβάζονται), and the nouns συνήβασις and συνήβασμα Thes. 1373, 5225. The Cretan forms are usually συμβάζω / συμβάζομαι, ἐσυνβάστηκα - see Erot. Gloss.
- συμμαζώνω - gather together, group together 1973, 2112, 2174, 2603 (see Dimitrakos Lex. s.v. συμμαζεύω).
- συμμαχίζομαι - be allied p.p. συμμαχισμένοι 1751 (cf. συμμαχῶ and see Introd. p. 217).
- συγκαθῶ - forgive (with acc. of thing, gen. of person) 828, 1766; p.p.p. συγκαθημένοι 2824.
- συναπανταίνω - come to meet, meet in battle 2288, 2480 (cf. Cretan συναπαντήχνω, Erot. Gloss.).
- συναπάντηση, ἡ - meeting 2454.
- συνάσω - gather, collect 795, 971, 1029, 1266, 1610. The present συνάσω - 1029, 1266, 1610 - is reformed from aor. σύναξα < συνάγω on analogy of τανάσω etc. This form of the present is also found in Lib. E767 and Koron. 113. See MNE I 117, 280-1.
- συνελδοός, τό - conscience 830.
- σύνθρονος - sharing the throne with, co-regent with (+gen.) 698, 737, 1259.

- συννοῦμαι - deliberate with oneself, conceive a plan,
 aor. συννοήθη 1165.
 συντηρᾶν - observe, watch 2023, 2758 (Erot. Gloss.).
 συντυχαίνω - speak, converse, utter 1486, 1766, 2231,
 2375, 2404, 2641 (Erot. Gloss.).
 συντυχιδά, ἡ - speech 972; power of speech, utterance
 1506.
 σύρνω - trans. and intrans. draw, drag, take, lead,
 throw, go etc. 258, 370, 386, 439 etc. (Dimitrakos
 Lex.).
 συτέρνην - resemble 1554, 1652 (From AG συμφέρω, cf.,
 with the same meaning, modern Cretan συνηφέρνω,
 see Alexiou on Vosk. 42. In Erot. συνηφέρνω has the
 meaning of "come round", "recover one's senses".)
 συχώρησις, ἡ - forgiveness 2824 (intermediate between
 purist συγχώρησις and demotic συχώρεση).
 σφαλιτός - mistaken, **erroneous** E9 (Erot. Gloss.).
 σφύρα, ἡ - ball 676 (for σφαίρα).
 σφυρί, τό - ball 685, 757 (dim. of σφύρα, used **erroneously**
 for σφαίρα, perhaps with additional confusion with
 σφυρί < σπυρί, "seed" - See commentary on v. 676).
 σῶνω - arrive at, reach, catch up with 357, 545, 999 **etc.**;
 manage to, succeed in 4, 1356; impers. be enough
 (for) (with acc.), satisfy 1277, 1739, 1743. (Erot.
 Gloss. and cf. Konomos Lex. s.v.)
 σώφρονας - prudent, sensible E26 (demotic form of
 σώφρων, also found in Katsaitis If. Af. 88).

τάβλα, ἡ - table 1145, 2502 (< Lat. tabula, Triand. Lehnw. 99.)

ταδῆ - otherwise, or else 2796. Many examples of the expression occur in Choumnos the first of which is at VII 39-40 (vv. 694-5):

γοργὸν κατέβα σύντομα ἀπὸ τὴν κλίνην κάτω, | ταδ' ὀλη
σου τὴν φαμελιὰν κ' ἐσέναν βάνω κάτω.

In his review of Marshall's ed. (*SEBS* 3, 1926, 337-344) Xanthoudidis emended away the expression, refusing to believe in its existence. But there are other examples in portions of the text not published by Marshall - vv. 1829, 2250, 2378, -

where it occurs in the forms τὰ δὲ or τὰ δέν. Its derivation is perhaps from τὸ δν δέν (κάνεις).

Compare the Chaniote δκαὶ τὰ δὲ quote by Alexiou on Apokop. 9, and cf. τεδέ, below.

τάξη, /-ις, ἡ - order, propriety, array, battle ranks 336, 838, 858, 1062, 2942; phrase κατὰ τὴν τάξη, as is right and proper 1201.

ταπεινοσύνη, ἡ - humility 653, 2631 (Erot. Gloss., Dimitrakos Lex.)

ταράσσω - stir up, make a commotion 1075, 1951.

τάραχος, ὁ - smoked or dried fish 1704 (AG τάρτιχος, see commentary *ad loc.*)

τάσσω - promise, vow 299, 516, 1311, 2117, 2171, 2409, 2541; heed, esteem, value 1026; ἄς τάξω suppose, 1009 (see Erot. Gloss.)

ταυρί(ον), τό - pl. ταυρία young bulls 2059, 2184, 2185 (dim. of ταῦρος).

- ταυρῶ - drag away 1599 (the ancestor of MG ταρῶ, q.v., by metathesis; the commoner form in medieval popular texts is ταυρίζω e.g. Triv. Hist. 7 etc., Thes. 6550 - see Du Cange, MNE I 85 and n.).
- ταφιαστής, ὁ - burier, undertaker pl. ταφιασταί 2927 (properly ἐνταφιαστής - Sophocles Lex.)
- ταχυτέρου - early tomorrow, early in the morning 913, 951 (see Erot. Gloss. - for the meaning "early" cf. Choumnos ms 523: δὲν ἦτον σύναυγα πᾶλλὰ ἀμ' ἦτον ταχυτέρου).
- τεδέ - otherwise, or else 2792. Its etymology may be clearly seen in two passages from Chron. Turc. : εἴτε δὲ ἀλλέως, "otherwise" p.100, which is shortened to εἴτε δέ, with the same meaning, p.120. From εἴτε δὲ to τεδέ is a simple step. The present instance seems to be the sole example of the word surviving in literature, but cf. also ταδέ, above.
- τέλος, τό - tax, tribute 400, 401, 412 etc.; pl. τὰ τέλη authority, responsibility 240.
- τελῶ - pay tribute to (with acc. of person) 760, 2171, 2465, 2515, 2542.
- τεντώνω - encamp, bivouack (cf. Erot. Gloss. and Achill. 574, Apokop. 123 etc.)
- τέσσαροι - four acc. τέσσαρους 2865 cf. δεκατέσσαροι 2623 (For these forms, cf. Katsaitis Kl. I 193, Koron. 43 and Chron. Turc. 93.)
- τήξη, ἡ - a wasting away, consumption 1352 (AG τήξις).
- τηρῶ - look, observe, watch over, guard 858, 2488, 2492, 2619.

τί; - often means why? 1711, 1712, 1845, 1893 etc.

τι = δτι that 124c, 269, 463, 524 et passim.

τίβοτες - something 2240 (For the form cf. Def. Log. Did. 99, 101, Choumnos ms 350, and for the positive rather than negative sense cf. Chron. Turc. 81. See also τίποτες, τίποτα, below.)

τινάς = κανένας (no)-one 80, 142, 164, 469 etc.

τίποτα and τίποτες -(not) anything 366, 409, 692, 827 et passim.

τιτρώσκω - wound, aor. pass. (έ)τρώθη 420, 1134, 2127; with "internal" acc. τὰ τρώθη 1134 (cf. τὸ ἐπικράνθη Def. Sus. 10, πικραίνεται το ibid. 176).

τοιούτως - in such as way, as follows 2681.

τόμου - conj. when, as soon as 1576, 1598, 2756, 2907, 2913. (See Erot. Gloss. and on III 1591; it still survives in modern Cretan - see Pangalos - and in modern Zakynthian - see Konomos Lex.)

τούτος - this 79, 150, 266 et passim; n. pl. ταῦτα 1345, 1394, 1507 etc.; gen. sing. τουτουνοῦ 2368; with prothesis, ἐτούτος (q.v.) passim.

τραβῶ - draw, lead 1142, 2312; see also ταυρῶ.

τρακόσοι - three hundred 2075; neuter τρακόσια 507.

τρίαντα - thirty, 1565; the more usual τριάντα is also found 2943. (cf. τραντάφυλλο Erot. IV 649, Minotou Param. A p.433 etc.)

τρέμω - intrans. tremble 700, 2308, 2350; trans. fear, be terrified of 2355, 2926.

τρίβω - shatter, break into pieces 853 (cf. συντρίβω.)

τριγυρίζω - surround, besiege 611, 1307.

τριπηδῶ - trot, make a horse trot 243. (< τριποδίξω with assimilation and perhaps influence of πηδῶ cf. τρίπηδος (δρόμος) Dimitrakos Lex. and for, the verb itself, Choumnos ms 1046 (=M)IX 46): ὁ μύσχος ἐνεστῆθηκεν, καὶ τριπηδῶ καὶ τρέχει, and Sachlikis II 523:

τριπηδήσας σὺν ἑνὶ καλλιγάρνῳ.

τρομάσσω - frighten 197, 202a, 702, 872; intrans. tremble with fear 2669. (Dimitrakos Lex.)

τρομῶ - dare to do something 1858 (see Konomos Lex. s.v. τρομάω.)

τροπή, ἡ - see ντροπή.

τσακίζω - crush, weaken, exhaust 866; phrase τσακίζω κονδύρι, ply the lance 874 (see Commentary ad loc.)

τσακισμός, ὁ - defeat 936, 938 (cf. τζακισμός Chron. Turc. 33 etc., Stavrinou 977, and Du Cange s.v. τζάκισμα).

τσουγκάνι - polo 691 (see Commentary ad loc.)

τυραννῶ - torment, torture 690 (< τυραννῶ cf. σύννεφο < σύννεφο.)

τυραννίζω - torment 1740 (< τυραννῶ; the -ίζω form is not common in popular texts - but see Katsaitis If. 180, Thy. 126, Kl. III 305-but the p.p.p. τυραννισμένος is quite common: see Erot. Gloss. s.v. τυραννῶ τυραννίζω is also cited in MNE I 275 and by Du Cange).

τυχάνω = τυχαίνω, happen to be 2346 (-άνω on the analogy of βάνω etc. and, of course, τυγχάνω. The perversion is probably solely for the sake of rhyme i.e. τυχάνω was never a spoken form.)

τύχης, ἡ = τύχη fate 1236, 1360, 1382. With the form ἡ τύχης may be compared ἡ γῆς. It occurs also in Chron. Turc. 60, 91, 144.

ὕπαγαίνω and ὑπηγαίνω = πηγαίνω passim.

ὕπνοφαντασία, ἡ - vision seen in a dream, reverie 154.

(cf. Thes. 1544 (=II 2.7) στήν ὕπνοφαντασίᾳ του
and Dimitrakos Lex.)

ὕστερος - last 8; phrase ἐξ ὕστερου consequently, 1796;

adv. ὕστερον afterwards 2292 (cf. Lib. 5381, P 1451,
Alosis Konst. 396, Chron. Turc. 29, 54, 73); ὕστερον
289; ὕστερα 19, 208, 704 etc.

ὕψηλός - high; superl. fem. acc. sing. ὕψηλότατην

470. Elsewhere with aphaeresis ψηλός, adv. ψηλά
858, 1243, 1244 etc.

φανελία and φανελιά, ἡ - family, household 1018, 1026,
1246, 1259, 1274, 1309, 2150, 2204, 2214. Very common
in popular texts e.g. Chron. Mor. 2164, 2286, 2981,
Def. Sus. 147, Apokop. 232, Choumnos ms 695 etc. and
in the form φανιλιά e.g. Choumnos ms 236. Derivation
is from Latin familia - see Andriotis Lex.

φαντάζω - intrans. appear, reveal oneself 108. This intrans.
use is proper to the middle voice of the verb - see
Dimitrakos Lex.

φαντασία, ἡ - impressive sight, display 2315, 2431.

φαρμακίζω - poison 2700, 2720, 2750 (φαρμακεύω and
φαρμακώνω are also in use, vv. 1379, 1544, 2682, 2774.
The form φαρμακίζω is uncommon but also occurs in
Chron. Turc. 131.)

φελῶ - help, benefit 943 (< ὠφελεῖν - see Erot. Gloss.)

φέρνω - bring, carry, bear etc. passim; aor. ἤφερα

- etc. 396, 447, 477, 675 etc.; εφερε 321.
- φεύγω - trans. and intrans. flee (from) 622, 879, 884
et passim. For the trans. use cf. Erot. III 205, 1590,
 Panor. I 103 etc.
- φθάνω - reach, arrive, catch up with 43, 338, 547, 1356;
 also φτάνω 841, 1223.
- φθαρτός - corruptible, mortal 739, E44.
- φθειάνω - arrange, put in order, restore 578, 1498.
 (< *εὐφθειάζω - Andriotis Lex. MG φτ(ε)ιάνω see Erot.
 Gloss. s.v. φτειάνω.)
- φθειδισμα, τό - work, task, repair 2585 (cf. Du Cange Lex.
 φτίσμα, "opus". In Katsaifitis φτειδισμα has the
 meaning of "make-up", If. V 1083, and according to
 Kriaras the word also occurs in "Συνήγορος ψυχῶν
 τοῦ Ρωσσερίου (1657) p.256.)
- φθέρνω - destroy 1865 (< AG φθείρω. The word also occurs
 in the forms φθέρνω and ἐφθέρνω in Thes. 7418, 10,187,
 and, 10,324, and in Batrach. 207)
- φθύνω - trans. spit on (someone) 325 (a pseudo-emitite
 form created from φτύνω < AG πτύω).
- φιόδι, τό - little snake or serpent 210.
- φιόδουλο(ν), τό - little snake 211, 216.
- φιλοτιμῶ - honour with gifts 2266 (For the verb and
 meaning cf. Achill. 241, Pikat. 127.)
- φιλῶ - kiss 193, 628, 2260; p.p.p. φιλημένο beloved 2921,
 κεφιλημένω 1305.
- φχαριστῶ = εὐχαριστῶ; see φχαριστῶ.
- φλουρί, τό - gold coin, florin 2890 (< φλωρίον < Lat.
florinus. φλωρί(ον) is the form in most early popular

- texts but Chron. Turc. 26 also has *φλουρ(α)*, which is also the common MG form - see Dimitrakos Lex.)
- φοράνω* - put a garment on someone 2220 (present re-formed from aor. *φόρεσα* < *φορῶ* cf. Achill. 812 and see MNE I 288 *φορένω*.)
- φορεσά, ἡ* - clothes, garment 39 pl. *φορεσῶς* 955; elsewhere *φορεσιά* is found 954a, 1114, 1125.
(Erot. Gloss.)
- φόρτις* - if perchance, in case 1303, 1588. (The word occurs in the same form in Panor. III 274 and in Katsaitis If. III 531, 600 etc. and in the form *φόρτοι* in Fort. IV 342 and Chron. Turc. 72, and as *φόρτζι* in Mach. 246³ et passim. The origin of all of these is Ital. forsi.)
- φούρκα, ἡ* - gallows 470 (< Lat. furca)
- φουρκίζω* - hang on a gallows 470, 662, 670, 712 etc.
(see Erot. Gloss.)
- φουσότο, τό* - army 23, 173 et passim. (< Lat. fossatum. It is still current in Zakynthos with the same meaning; see Param. A No.1 etc. and Konomos Lex. s.v.)
- φρόνεση, ἡ* - prudence, good sense 336 (< *φρόνησις*; the present form also occurs in Xen. 68, Gad, 505, Katsaitis If. Af. 86, III 343 etc.)
- πᾶνω* - see *φθάνω*.
- πτήνια, ἡ* - abundance, plenty 1429 (< *εὐθηνία*; MG *πτήνια* usually bears the sense of "cheapness", but the original AG meaning, as here, is also found in Cor. Pret. and Katsaitis Thy. V 708, Kl. II 690.)
- φτυχῶ* = *εὐτυχῶ*, be fortunate 2438.

φυλάγω and φυλάσσω - guard, keep; both forms are found
 φυλάγω 672, 2365, 2791 and (with loss of intervocalic
 γ) φυλάει 1110, 1118; φυλάσσω 2026, 2496; p.p.p.
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 εχαριστῶ - thank 1437, 1443; also φαριστῶ 1140 and
 the original εὐχαριστῶ 2875, E38, E43.
 φώκη - seal 1659 (Dimitrakos Lex.; MG demotic φώκια.)
 φωλεύω - nest 2640 (Dimitrakos Lex.; MG demotic is
 φωλιάζω).

χαίρω and χαίρομαι - generally passive, rejoice, be glad
 29, 205, 230, 2304 etc.; part. χαιράμενος 2236;
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 greet(?) 531; opt. χαίροις hail! 305. (For the part.
 χαιράμενος see Erot. Gloss. s.v. and Jannaris § 2111.
 For the use of χαίροις in popular texts cf. Gad. 149.)
 χαλινώνω - bridle(a horse) 312.
 χαλῶ - destroy 48, 932a, 934 etc.; active used as pass.
 19, 2670; aor. pass. χαλᾶθη 1189, 1225.
 χάμω - to the ground 380.
 χαντάκι, τό - ditch, water channel 564 (< Arabic handaq
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 44 etc.)
 χαρτοφόρος, ὁ - messenger 662 (hap. leg.?)
 χεῖρ, ἡ - hand acc. pl. χεῖρας 668, 1566, E42, (Elsewhere
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 χλαμύδα, ἡ - cloak 2427.
 χλιμιτρίζω - neigh 309.

χλιμιτῶ - neigh aor. χλιμίτηξε 2919 (< AG χρεμετίζω, see Erot. Gloss. χιλιμιντρ(ίζω).)

χολομανίζω and χολομανῶ - be angry, lose one's temper; from χολομανῶ 327, 367; from χολομανίζω, aor. pass. ἐχολομανίσθησαν they got angry with one another 367. (The word also occurs in Def. Log. Did. 66, and Choumnos ms 1495.)

χρειάζομαι - need 2446; p.p.p. χρειασμένοι in need, needy 902, 905, 2048.

χρήζω - need 671, 1018, 2408; heed, pay attention to, respect 366, 960, 1466; ἐχρήζω be worth 1764. (For the meaning "heed" cf. Batrach. 83, Koron. 50, Gad. 222 etc. and for the sense "be worth" cf. Koron. 84 and Erot. Gloss. For the form ἐχρήζω, with prothesis, cf. ἀχρήζω Katsaitis If. I 219, III 489 and Koron. 72)

χρυσοκαλαμισμένος - overlaid with gold 2004.

χρυσοράντιστος - gold-bespangled 290. (The word also occurs in Thes. 1430, 5918, 6251.)

χυμῶ - rush, swoop, aor. ἐχύμησα 584, 865, 1590.

χώρα, ἡ - sometimes means "city" e.g. 553, 559, 586 etc.

χώρια - separately from; with gen. pron. 2336 (Erot. Gloss.)

ψάττακος, ὁ(?) - parrot, acc. pl. ψαττάκους 2178

(=ψιττακός - see Commentary ad loc.)

ψένω - cook 1632. The commoner ψήνω is found at vv. 1626, 1630.

ψηλοφρονῶ - be proud, arrogant, boastful 1249, 1381

(< ὑψηλοφρονῶ - a biblical word, see L-S, Lampe Lex. etc.)

ψήνω - see ψένω.

ψυχώνω - bring to life, aor. pass. ψυχώθη(κε) 1708,

1731 (cf. Lib. 3525 ἐψυχώθη, and Dimitrakos Lex. s.v. ψυχῶ.)

ᾧδε - here; used adjectivally - "these" 2286.

ᾠριοῦμαι - become or be beautiful; only in p.p.

ᾠριωμένος beautiful 1553, 2157, 2593, 2637, with aphaeresis ᾠριωμένα 2877, and without synizesis ᾠραιωμένη 2145. (Cf. ᾠραιωμένην Lib. 1730, and Dimitrakos Lex. s.v. ᾠριοῦμαι.)

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'Ολκιδς, δ - 2740.

'Ολυμπιδς, -ίδα, η - 58, 65, 67, 79, 89, 96 etc., see

also Γιολυμπιδδα, Λυμπιδς.

'Ονυφατός, δ - 1153.

'Οξειδέρης, δ - 1148.

'Ορμηλος = δ 'Ερμηλος 1110, 1193, see 'Ερμηλος.

- Παμφαλα, ἡ - 2841 Paphlagonia.
 Πανταφέρνης, ὁ - 2901 Phrataphernes.
 Παρανησιδαί, αἱ - 2896 Parapanisadae.
 Παρισόρης, ὁ - 1173.
 Παρμένιος, -ης, ὁ - 1269, 1271, 2129 Parmenion.
 Πausανίας, ὁ - 425, 430, 432, 440, 444, 450.
 Παφυλία, ἡ - 2843 Pamphylia.
 Πέχιστας, ὁ - 2903 Peucestas, cf. Πευστικής.
 Πέρδικας, ὁ - 2737, 2793, 2860, 2863, nom. Πέρδιξ 2747.
 Πέρσης, ὁ - 731, 831, 866, 872, 879, 955 etc., acc. pl.
 Πέρσεας 951, gen. pl. Πέρσων 1407, Περσῶν 731, 1063, 1225,
 1262, 1538.
 Περσία, ἡ - 48, 618, 748, 1116, 1478, 2903.
 Περσίδα, ἡ - 1111, 2137, 2143.
 Πλατόνι, τό - 546.
 Ποθανάς, ὁ - 2738 Peithon, cf. Πύθων.
 Ποσειδών, ὁ - 2610.
 Πούλια, ἡ - 503.
 Πουλιέζος, ὁ - 504.
 Πριάνης, ὁ - 2556 Prytanis river.
 Πτολεμαῖος, ὁ - 2208, 2209, 2219, 2223, 2239 etc., see
 also Πτολεμίδος.
 Πτολεμίδος, ὁ - 2268, 2269, 2937.

Πύθων, ὁ - 2851 Peithon, see also Πυθωνίδας, Ποθωνίδας.

Πυθωνίδας, ὁ - 2894 Peithon, cf. Πύθων, Ποθωνίδας.

Πῶρος, ὁ - 1054a, 1055, 1061, 1062a, 1063 etc.

Ραχωσία, ἡ - 2897 Arachosia.

Ροδογόνη, ἡ - 1073 Rhodogune, cf. Ροδογυνή.

Ροδογυνή, ἡ - 1481 Rhodogune, cf. Ροδογόνη.

Ρόδος, ἡ - 2892.

Ρωξάνη, ἡ - 1390, 1481, 1493, 1500, 1503, 2862.

Σαλονικιός, ὁ - 425, native of Salonika.

Σαρακήνος, ὁ - 1622, 2630 Saracen.

Σέλευκος, ὁ - 2853, see also Σέλευχος.

Σέλευχος, ὁ - 2867 Seleucus.

Σεραμίς, ἡ - 2138 Semiramis.

Σερβέντιος, ὁ - 2897 Sibyrtius.

Σικελία, ἡ - 501.

Σίρις, ὁ - 548 Siris.

Σμᾶδος, ὁ - 2627.

Σοβραπίδης, ὁ - 606 Serapis.

Σολομών, ὁ - 394a.

Σουβλάκης, ὁ - 1155.

Σουλδας, ὁ - E 32.

Συρία, ἡ - 633, 646, 648, 1525 Syria, see also Συρία.

Σουσόνη, ἡ - 2905 Susiana.

Σπευστικής, ὁ - 2739 Peucestas, see also Πέκιστας.

Στραγγάλης, ὁ - 1223 see Στράγγαλος.

Στράγγαλος, ὁ - 1108, 1186, 1206, 1353 tranguas.

Συρβία, ἡ - 2851, 2855, see also Σουρβία.

Συρβίνη, ἡ - 2899.

Σφόντλοι, οἱ - 1555, 1567.

Ταξίδης, ὁ - 2895 Taxiles.

Τέγρης, ὁ - 949.

Τρέπολη, ἡ - 610.

Τρωγλοσύτης, ὁ - 2617.

(Τρώς), ὁ - 2²⁴. Τρώς 578.

Τυρίτης, ὁ - 638 Tyrian.

Τύρος, ἡ - 635, 639, 666; nom. ἡ Τύρο 636, 667.

(Φάγιστος), ὁ - 2²². Φαγίστου 614 Pheraestus.

Φέρος, ἡ - 576 Pharos.

Φηνένιος, ὁ - 2885.

Φίλιππος, ὁ - 55, 57, 68, 77 etc. Philip II of Macedon.

Φίλιππος, ὁ - 2900 Philip, satrap of Bactria.

Φίλιππος, ὁ - 2740 Philip the engineer.

Φίλιππος, ὁ - 2268 Philip Arrhianus (?).

Φίλιππος, ὁ - 2129 Philip, friend of Alexander.

Φιλόνδς, δ - 2744, 2748, 2850 Philotas.

Φραγκία, ή - 1031, 1032a, 1033, 2844.

Φωκίδα, ή - 519.

Χαναναῖοι, οἱ - 28.

Χοδσης, δ - 2437 see also Χουσης.

Χουσης, δ - 2452.

**APPENDIX I: ELEMENTS OF THE RIMADE NOT FOUND IN PSEUDO-
CALLISTHENES A OR B⁺**

Reference	Element not in A/B	Other witnesses
50-52 I 3	Egyptians write letter to Nect. begging him to return.	(misunderstanding)
111-114 I 6	Nect. asks Cl. in what form the god appeared to her, and she replies, "Like a goat with horns."	P
121-123 I 6	Nect. promised to bring the god to her that night, and received permission from her to do so.	cf. P
195-196 I 10	All the courtiers and servants were afraid and amazed by what they saw.	Byz. 460-L
198-200 I 11	Ph. cowered and cried in terror that the gods were angry with him.	cf. Ath. p. 15

- 1) The list includes both elements which are witnessed in other branches of the tradition of the Romance and may therefore be considered to have been present in the Rimade's prose model and elements which do not appear in any other version. Single lines added by the versifier as "padding" are not included. A reference in brackets indicates that only a part of the Rimade's passage is present in that witness and "cf." indicates an approximate correspondence.

217-8 I 11	Antiphotos cast a spell to interpret the sign to Ph.	Eth. p. 27 Val. I 5
249-50 I 14	Al. fought in the front ranks and all made way for him.	
261-8 (esp. 267-8) I 14	Al.'s dialogue with Nect. after pushing him over the cliff is somewhat changed.	
280-2 I 14	That evening Al. wept bitterly for Nect. and Ol. came and found Nect.'s body.	
307-8 I 17	One day Al. sought a horse to go to war with.	
335-348 I 19	Al. having won the race, Nikolaos asks for a second race with just the two of them competing.	cf. two races in Syr.
351 I 19	Nikolaos is crushed by his saddle (i.e. the race is on horse-back).	(misunderstanding)
387-8 I 22	Al. goes to fetch his mother so that she may always be with Ph.	cf. P
404-6 I 23	(Darius' tax is...) for the water you drink and the sun you see - for this you are in servitude to the great king.	(P) (Val. I 16) (Syr. p.31)
419-420 I 23	When D. heard it he was greatly angered by Al.'s words.	P
441-2 I 24	Ol. cried, "Hurl your lance! For Ammon is my helper."	Arm. 68 Val. I 17 Byz. 1099-1102

447-450 I 24	Al. killed Paus. in the sight of Ph. who said, "I am no longer angry with you, because you have killed my enemy."	cf. Leo I 24
455 I 24	On Ph.'s death large candles were lit.	
457-8 I 24	Cl. and Al. remained in solitary rule.	
459-472 (esp. 459-60 & 463-4) I 25	Al.'s speech to the Greeks in the form of a <u>letter</u>	
469-472 I 25	Any objector will be hung. Greetings to all.	cf. Leo I 25
493-494 I 26	All of them were well armed.	cf. Am. 73
509-514 I 30	The men of "Veria" exhibit <u>bravery</u> and are therefore treated peaceably by Al.	(misunderstanding)
595-596 I 32	They were in the city when and if it was founded and did not leave till it was finished.	
599-600 I 32	You will hear the interpretation of the 5 letters.	
652-4 I 35	"In what do you hope? Surrender your fortress to me humbly and I will be merciful with you."	P
671-2 I 36	Al. left a garrison at Tyre	cf. P

719-724 I 37	They answered, "We are sent by D. Do what you will with us." Al. said he was trying them out and gave them a gift.	(distortion of ps-Call.)
727-8 I 38	The letter will tell all that Al. said.	cf. Arm. 107 cf. Byz. 1807
734-6 I 38	Letter of Al. to D. (greatly modified and amplified)	cf. P
777-9 I 39	"Arm yourselves and prevent them from returning to Macedonia."	cf. P
800-803 I 39	"I thought you trusted me. Whatever damage Al. does, he will pay for it. Because you are not obedient to me..."	cf. P
809-812 I 39	"Sit tight and I will arrest and hang the disobedient." He wrote this letter to his lands, that all might be obedient night and day.	cf. P
825-6 I 40	"Wicked Al., what do you want? Go home and rule there."	cf. P
835-6 I 41	The "Amazonoi" were drawn up to charge the Macedonians.	cf. P
845 I 41	Many were killed, young men and warriors.	
849-858 I 41	Description of battle	(P)
859-864 and 867-870 I 41	Hortatory speech of Al. and battle description.	

879-880 I 41	The Persians fled in terror and sheltered in the branches.	
887-888 I 41	Al. was victorious and poor D. was deceived.	
893-4 I 44	On the way they found water and drank, but some died of hunger.	
909-918 I 44 - II 9	"If we are attacked we can fight on foot. Let us erect a wooden fort and shelter until the help arrives for which I have sent." In two days Al. came to a meadow where they found horses of D.	P (Syr. p. 56)
951-4 II 9	They saw five Persians and pursued them, but they hid in a wood.	cf. P
989-990 II 10	Al. did not receive him but reproached him in his heart.	cf. P
1006-8 II 10	"Because you seized my mother you say you will destroy me. I don't care as long as my head is all right and my army at my command."	cf. P
1017-1028 II 10	Letter of Al. to D. (much modified).	cf. P cf. Val. II 25(?)
1041-2 II 11	"I hope my letter finds you well and subservient to me."	cf. P
1055-1060 II 11	Letter of D. to Porus (in actual letter form).	cf. P
1069-1070 II 12	When D. heard it he wanted to do battle with the Macedonians.	P

1089-1090 II 13	The dust cloud is raised by <u>laying down branches for the horses to trample on.</u>	cf. Leo II 13
1119-1120 II 14	The sentries conducted him to D.	P V-1. II 26
1143-6 II 14	He ordered the table to be set up and they all went and sat down.	
1191-2 II 15	D. admired Al.'s wisdom and daring.	P
1204 II 16	"...How many sheep stand against one wolf."	P
1211-2 II 16	When the two sides met many women became widows.	
1229-1244 esp. 1230-4 II 16	D.'s lament after the battle (much expanded).	
1257-8 II 17	"You have seized my mother, wife and sister and stripped me of my honour."	cf. P
1275-6 II 17	"D. complains that I plundered him, on the contrary he says that I wronged him."	
1279-1280 II 17	"Now another to whom it belongs succeeds him, to rule it for a time."	
1347-1352 II 20	They kill their lord, and what did they gain? Behold their wickedness! May their bread choke them and their bodies waste away!	
1373-1386 II 20	Speech of D. on fate and death (much expanded).	(P)

1403 II 21	There were other kings buried there.	cf. Arm. 198 cf. P
1404-8 II 21	Each grave had an inscription. So they wrote an inscription on D.'s tomb.	(misunderstanding)
1435-6 II 21	"Let the soldiers take arms from the armouries to guard the frontiers."	cf. Syr. p. 83 cf. P
1487-8 II 22	"I spoke to him, he told me what he wanted and I buried him as if he were my father."	P cf. Eth. p.102 cf. Syr. p.85
1521-2 II 23	"Seeing them in flight we intercepted them and cut them to pieces."	P
1547-8 II 32	Taking some natives we walked away from those places.	P cf. Arm. 209
1619-20 II 36	We left there and came to a river.	(misunderstanding)
1631-2 II 36	The soldier showed everyone and they cooked the fish like him.	P rm. 209
1635-5 II 36	I ordered the soldiers not to catch them, but to let them fly away.	P Arm. 209
1675-8 II 38	We wished to land on the island but we were afraid of the words we heard. I ordered the soldiers to go and see who the speakers were.	P (Eth. p. 154)
1681-2 II 38	They drowned 40 of my best soldiers.	cf. rm. 209 cf. Eth. p. 154 cf. Syr. p. 100
1687-8 II 39	The nobles desired to see it because they said those wise men live for ever.	

1696-8 II 39	(It was dark) for 20 days, and 5 more during which we walked and saw no-one.	cf. Eth. p. 154
1723-4 II 40	The birds told us to dismount and take whatever we found there.	(misunderstanding)
1745-6 III 1	"Now he is dragging us to do battle again, to lose our bodies and suffer affliction."	cf. Eth. p. 108
1797-1800 III 2	"I hope first in the gods, in our forbearance, and secondly in our love and concord. We will fight not only Perus but other kings too."	
1821-2 III 2	"I am coming against you with a mighty rod; I think you will suffer the same as D."	cf. Byz. 4560
1845-6 III 3	"Why does Al. wish to fight with me, whose forces are so great?"	Arm. 215
1873-6 III 4	The two of them armed to fight and stood in the midst. Then they began and trumpets sounded.	(P) (A)
1882-1890 III 4	Gnomic observations on Perus' death. When the soldiers saw that Perus was killed.....	(Cyr. p. 91)
1899-1900 III 4	Hearing this the soldiers no longer fought but came and did homage to Al.	cf. Eth. p. 125
1923-4 III 5	"If you come to us with love we have some questions to answer for you."	cf. Arm. 222
1927-8, '31- 2, '35-40, '67-72 III 3	Dialogue with Brahmins modified - some answers in particular changed.	(cf. Eth. p. 131f.) (cf. Cyr. pp. 92-3) (cf. Arm. 223)

1997-8 III 17	"I take some of us, embark in ships, go to a shore and land there."	cf. Syr. p. 94
2005-6 III 17	"I wished to travel inland in the island and see that tomb."	Eth. p. 142 (Syr. p. 95) (rm. 224)
2031-2 III 17	"We come to India and set out into the wilderness."	cf. Syr. p. 96 (Eth. p. 145)
2065-2078 III 17	Various encounters with wild beasts.	(Vol. III 20) (Leo III 17 IV) (Arm. 224) (Eth. p. 149) cf. Syr. pp. 96-8
2089-2090 III 17	Whirlwind snatches up men and <u>horses</u> .	cf. Eth. p. 159
2143-4 III 18	They came, as we said before, to Persis and all the soldiers were well-armed.	
2155-2160 III 18	Al.'s letter to Candace (much modified).	(cf. Byz. 5030-1)
2161-2 III 18	Then he sent the letter to her and Candace read it.	(Syr. p. 118) cf. Byz. 5034-5
2166-2172 III 18	Introductory matter in Candace's reply to Al.	
2203-4 III 19	He was hastening to the masons with his army, his wife and family.	Syr. p. 119 Byz. 5077-8 (Eth. p. 191)
2217-8 III 19	"Now your army has captured me. Do what you will with me."	
2228-2230 III 19	Ptol. told <u>Candaules</u> to recite his story and he did so.	
2237-8 III 20	"...because Candace has sent you many gifts and you must remember them in the hour of need."	λ

2267-8 III 20	Candaules sought from Al. the favour of letting him take "Antigonus" home with him.	Arm. 234 cf. Ath. p. 196 cf. Syr. p. 121
2293-4 III 21	They all greeted "Antigonus", then Candaules.	(Comes later in α/β)
2295-8 III 21	Candaules talks to his mother - in <u>direct</u> speech.	
2303-4 III 21	They did Al. great honour and all rejoiced to see Candaules.	
2311-2 III 22	She took Al. by the hand and joyfully led him into the house.	
2339-2340 III 22	"These were made by Greeks."	(misunderstanding)
2355-2360 III 22	Candace's speech to Al. after recognising him - amplified with a gloomic expression added.	
2405-6 III 23	He says to him, "Your grudge is against I."	
2411-12 III 23	"If you kill me Al. will seek my revenge. But let me bring him to you and then you can have your revenge on him."	
2447-8 III 24	"As for your death, know this: Your life is brief."	
2497-8 III 25	"We are unnaturally strong in battle and invincible."	
2525-6 III 26	"I do not condescend to begin war with you; I only wish to frighten you."	
2531-4 III 26	"Send me some of the things from your country and let them be beautiful. If you do not want me to rule you, I will destroy you all."	(L. p. 210) (5)

2551 III 26	Al. went to the Amazons	Eth. p. 215 cf. Syr. p. 130.
2598-9 III 27	"They brought me 1500 brave women and took back the others."	
2657-2678 III 30	Episode of monstrous child told in 1st person as part of letter.	P Byz. 5814 ff. cf. Leo
2679-2680 III 30	"From your son Al. May this find you and all the household well."	cf. Byz. 5889
2681-2698 III 31	The death of Al. was on this wise, when his friends poisoned him. When he left Macedonia, he left Antipater to reign. (Antipater's quarrel with Olympias.)	(Val. III 56) (Epit. 87)
2719-2722 III 31	There were others in the conspiracy to poison Al. Let us leave these matters and begin about Al.	
2753-6 III 31	Now let us return to the conspiracy - that profligacy! All of them were in the plot and when they saw Al. they rose to greet him.	
2761-2 III 31	Al. cries in pain to his "friends" (not direct speech in ps-Coll.).	
2809-2810 III 32	"Was it for this you brought us from Macedonia - to leave us orphaned in Babylon?"	
2813-4 III 32	Again the Macedonian army wept.	γ Eth. p. 344
2821-6 III 33	"As I see death approaching which none can escape, I leave love and forgiveness to all the world. Lest there be strife among my captains let each have a share of my territory."	

2844-6 III 33	and France (!) and Italy. To Cassander I leave calm that he may rule all Castoria.	cf. Leo cf. Epit. (cf. Syr. p.140)
2849-2852 III 33	I leave Elykia to Philonas, to Python, Syria and all the regions around Mesopotamia.	cf. Syr. p. 140 cf. Epit., Leo, Barb.
2863-8 III 33	Because Perdiccas has toiled much for me and always guided me in difficulties. I leave 4 principal rulers: Demetrius, Seleucus, Philip and Ptolemy.	(Hippolytus' Commentary on Daniel)
2877-8 III 33	To Athens send beautiful gifts and royal, dyed garments.	Arm. 274 Syr. p. 141 Leo III 32.4 Epit.
2905-8 III 33	In the land of Susa I leave Coursus as ruler." When they read the will all the captains wept.	(Epit.)
2915-2926 III 33	Death of Bucephalus.	cf. γ, late-Byz.
-	All the <u>Γυναικες</u>	

APPENDIX II: THE WOODCUTS OF THE EDITIO PRINCEPS - THEIR
ORIGIN AND LATER REUSE¹⁾

The origin of the fourteen woodcuts used in the editio princeps of the Rimada has been discussed in Chapter 4: thirteen of them originate from a set of illustrations produced for the first edition of Loukanis' Iliad (1526), while the fourteenth is borrowed from an Italian version of the Alexander Romance, the Alexandreida in rima of 1521. This last illustration, which depicts Alexander riding Bucephalus, appears in only the 1529 edition of the Rimada, and in no other Greek work.

The other thirteen, however, were reused frequently in many other Greek publications. The original set of illustrations for the Iliad seems to have consisted of 133 different scenes.²⁾ Five of these are

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- 1) The only extensive study of these woodcuts is that of E. Follieri in "Su alcuni libri greci stampati a Venezia nella prima metà del cinquecento", Contributi alla storia del libro italiano - Miscellanea in onore di Lamberto Donati, Florence 1969, 119-164. The present Appendix is an extension of the information given there.
 - 2) In one copy of the ed. princ. - Holkham e. 60 of the Bodleian Library - one of these, no. 114, is replaced by another, no. 127. It does not appear in the second edition of the Iliad, nor in any other work. The obvious inference is that this woodcut was damaged or lost in the course of printing.

repeated, so that the 1526 edition of the Iliad in fact contains 138 illustrations. For the sake of convenience the woodcuts have been numbered from 1 to 133, according to the order in which they appear in the 1526 Iliad.¹⁾

By the time the second edition of Loukanis' work was published in 1603 it appears that several of the woodcuts were no longer available. Nos. 3, 6, 7, 9, 14, 25, 26, 33, 35, 45, 48, 50, 53, 54, 55, 63, 68, 72, 84, 85, 92, 113, 114, 116, 117, 122, 123, 126, 127, 130, 131, and 132 are not present in the 1603 edition, while their absence is partly compensated for by the repetition of others of the series, with little regard for their appropriateness to the context into which they are introduced: nos. 11, 15, 27, 29, 30, 39, 56, 64, 67, 71, 97, 100, 102, 104 and 124 are found repeated, though they occur only once in the first edition, and no. 41

1) This numbering does not quite coincide with the reference numbers which seem to have been used by the printers themselves: where the Thesaid has woodcut no. 36 of the Iliad set, the printers' ms. indicates that no. 37 was to be used (see E. Follieri, "La versione in greco volgare del Teseida di Boccaccio", Studi Bizantini e Neocellenici 7, 1953 [= Atti dello VIII Congresso Internazionale di Studi Bizantini] p.70.). The reason for this discrepancy is not immediately obvious.

is used three times in the 1603 edition (twice in the first edition). As will appear later, the reason for the absence of many of the original illustrations in the second edition is probably connected with their use in other publications, which may have resulted in loss or irreparable damage.

The first work to employ any of this set of illustrations for a purpose other than that for which they were originally designed was the Apokopos of Bergadis, first published in 1526. That edition (and subsequent ones of 1534 and 1543) uses on its title page the woodcut of a man sleeping in bed while a winged figure hovers above his head (no. 12 of the Iliad set).

Next, thirteen of the set were used to illustrate the Alexander poem of 1529 - the subject of this study. In the context of the Alexander Romance they are supposed to depict: King Nectanebus (no. 44 of the Iliad set), Nectanebus' general reporting to him the news of enemy invasion (no. 51), Philip's dream (no. 12), the horse-race of Nikolaos and Alexander (no. 117), Philip's death (no. 126), the first battle with Darius (no. 25), a battle scene (no. 33), Alexander at

Darius' banquet (no. 53), the Macedonian army on the march (no. 49), the Persians being drowned in the Strangas (no. 103), a battle scene (no. 60), another battle scene (no. 62), and the duel of Porus and Alexander (no. 6).

The second edition of 1553 used nearly all of these woodcuts: nos. 6, 12, 49, 51, 53, 60, 62, 103, 117 and 126. The "Bucephalus" picture of the 1529 edition (which is not from the Iliad set) is replaced by no. 16 of the Iliad illustrations. Probably the remaining woodcuts - the frontispiece (= Iliad no. 44) and nos. 25 and 33 - were also used, but the only copy of the 1553 edition available for consultation lacks the relevant pages. The two following editions of the Rimada used only a few of these illustrations: the 1600 edition has nos. 12, 33, 51, 53, 117 (twice) and 126 and adds nos. 13 and 54 which are not in the earlier editions of the Rimada; the 1603 edition has nos. 12 and 51 only of the original (1529) ones, to which are added nos. 13, 91, 97, 124 and 128 (twice) of the Loukanis illustrations.

Later in the same year as the first edition of the Rimada the Greek translation of the Fiore di Virtù was first published, under the title "Ἀνθός τῶν

Χαρίτων.¹⁾ It contained only one illustration, depicting Homer as a blind bard playing a stringed instrument and dictating to two scribes - no. 1 of the Loukanis series. Later editions of the "Ανθός" - in 1537 and 1546 - also used the same woodcut.

Another work in popular Greek which was published for the first time in 1549 is the translation of Boccaccio's Teseida, entitled Θησέος καὶ γάμοι τῆς Ἑμηνίδας.²⁾ It is illustrated by eleven woodcuts, of which ten derive from the Iliad set (nos. 7, 33, 34, 36, 48, 60, 63, 64, 65 and 127) and one appears to have been specially executed for the Greek Theseid and is by a different artist.³⁾ In this case some attempt has been made to render the Iliad illustrations as appropriate as possible by the crude expedient of chiselling away parts of the woodcut which were not apt to the context of the Theseid. Thus in no. 65, in which is depicted an eagle killing a dragon in the sight of the Trojan defenders, both the eagle and the dragon have been removed; and in no. 127 one of the six figures gazing

1) BH XV/XVI Vol. III, 328, no. 305.

2) BH XV/XVI Vol. I, 206, no. 84.

3) See Follieri, "Su alcuni libri....." p. 136.

out over the city's battlements (Priam) has been eliminated. When the first of these blocks was reused in the 1603 edition of Loukanis' Iliad, the modification necessitated by its use in the Theseid was, of course, still present.

By 1603 - a year which saw the publication of editions of both the Iliad and the Rimada - signs of wear and tear are clearly visible in the woodcuts. Many of the original set had probably been lost or irreparably damaged by this time. In many cases the woodcuts which do not appear in the 1603 Iliad are just those which were repeatedly used in other works e.g. nos. 6 (1529 and 1553 Rimada), 7 (1529 Theseid), 25 (1529 and probably also 1553 Rimada), 33 (1529, probably 1553, and 1600 Rimada, 1529 Theseid), 48 (1529 Theseid), 53 (1529, 1553, 1600 Rimada) etc. Research in this direction is still far from complete and it may well be that further investigations will uncover other uses of these woodcuts in other works.

In conclusion it is fascinating to note that one of Carnesecca's woodcuts influenced the illustrator of a manuscript of the poem Cosmogennesis by Georgios Choumnos. On f.31^r of the British Museum manuscript (Addit. 40724) there is a banquet scene remarkably similar to that in the Iliad (no. 53), which is also

used in the Rimada. In the manuscript there are two additional figures, one of them a woman (Sarah), and the tent which forms the backdrop of the scene in the woodcut is absent. Otherwise the two scenes are almost identical. Particularly noteworthy are the shape of the legs of the benches and trestles, the posture of the figure with the raised glass and the shape of his hat, the position of the leg visible beneath the table, and the standing figure handing a glass to the king. In addition it may be noted that unlike almost all the other miniatures of the Choumnes manuscript this one does not have the names of the persons represented written in. All this makes it virtually certain that this miniature was copied from a printed book which contained woodcut no. 53 of the Iliad set. 1526 thus constitutes a new terminus post quem for the copying of ms. Brit. Mus. Addit. 40724.

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