

WILLIAM H. WILLIS – KLAUS MARESCH

THE ENCOUNTER OF ALEXANDER WITH THE BRAHMANS: NEW FRAGMENTS OF
THE CYNIC DIATRIBE P. GENEV. INV. 271

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In 1959 Victor Martin published large parts of a papyrus roll (Pack² 2580) containing two different works: (1) a treatise about the meeting of Alexander the Great and Dandamis, the renowned leader of the Brahmans, col.i-viii; and (2) the Seventh Epistle of Ps. Heraclitus (Hercher, *Epistolographi Graeci*, [Didot, Paris 1873] 283ff), col.ix-xv.¹ The beginning and end of the roll were lost, but additional fragments of the beginning have been found in the papyrus collections of Duke University (P.Rob.inv.40) and of Cologne (P.Köln inv.907), which we publish here.² One fragment belongs to the Cologne collection, which, joined with a Robinson fragment, forms part of fr.b (col. ii 8-16); the others belong to the Robinson collection at Duke.

The new fragments, as far we can determine, are remnants of four columns which precede the fifteen columns of the Geneva papyrus, so that those columns are now to be renumbered as columns v-xix. One small Robinson fragment (fr.i) we have not been able to place, though it may well belong to the foot of col.iii or col.iv where no parallel text is extant. At any rate, our examination of the Geneva papyrus offered no likelihood that it derived from cols.v to xix.

Martin described the writing as "une petite capitale assez élégante de type plutôt ancien" and attributed the hand to the first half of the 2nd century A.C., suggesting the possibility of even an earlier date.³ We think, however, that the second half of the 2nd century should not be excluded. The form of the hand suggests to us a second-century assignment without

¹ V.Martin, *Un recueil de diatribes cyniques*, *Pap.Genev. inv.271*, *Mus.Helv.*16 (1959) 77-115. On the Geneva papyrus cf. P.Photiadès, *Mus.Helv.*16 (1959) 116-139; J.D.M.Derrett, *Class. Med.*21 (1960) 66 and 76; J.Th.Kakridis, *Mus.Helv.*17 (1960) 34-36 and *Par.Pass.*16 (1961) 383-386; G.Chr.Hansen, *Alexander und die Brahmanen*, *Klio* 43-45 (1965) 351-355 and 361-366; B.Berg, *Dandamis: An Early Christian Por-trait of Indian Asceticism*, *Class.Med.*31 (1970) 269-305; U.Crisuolo, *Per la fortuna della diatriba cinica (pap.Genevensis inv.271)*, *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell' Università di Macerata* 3-4 (1970-1971) 455-467. Ph.Brunel, *Le De moribus Brachmanorum: Histoire du texte et problèmes d'attribution*, *Centre Jean Palerne, Mémoires I* (Saint-Étienne 1978) 27-43 (esp.36ff.); R.Kassel, *Der siebente pseudoheraklitische Brief auf Pergament und Papyrus*, *ZPE* 14 (1974) 128-132; J.Th.Kakridis in *Serta Turyniana: Studies in Greek literature and palaeography in honor of Alexander Turyn* (edd. J.L.Heller and J.K.Newman, Urbana 1974) 361-373; J.Diggle, *Pseudo-Heraclitus: Pap.Genev.inv.271*, xiv 40-42, *ZPE* 20 (1976) 299. A new edition of the papyrus is planned for the *Corpus dei Papiri Filosofici*.

² The Robinson and Cologne fragments were identified and described in Willis' paper presented to the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology at Athens in May 1986, forthcoming in the *Proceedings of the Congress*.

³ *Mus.Helv.*16 (1959) 77.

narrower limits.⁴ On the new fragments there are no signs of punctuations or other lectional devices except a paragraphus, preserved on fr.e, col.iv below line 2, and an angular line filler on fr.f, col.iii in line 2.

From the Geneva papyrus we know that the height of the roll was 34 cm. The columns were 24-24.5 cm. high and, including the margin between columns, 8 cm. wide. The number of lines varied from 52 to 57 per column,⁵ the number of letters per line from 21 to 26, averaging 23.5. Our fragments, therefore, represent only a small portion of the four new columns. The measurements of the larger fragments are:

fr.b	2.8 x 8.5 cm.	fr.e	3.7 x 5.1 cm.	fr.h	1.4 x 1.7 cm.
fr.c	1.1 x 2.5 cm.	fr.f	6.5 x 8.3 cm.	fr.i	1.6 x 4.5 cm.
fr.d	7.6 x 8.7 cm.	fr.g	1.2 x 2.1 cm.		

Reconstruction of the papyrus text

To a considerable extent the text of the papyrus can be reconstructed by comparison with a later, expanded and Christianized version of our treatise incorporated in a work of a certain Palladius, *De gentibus Indiae et Bragmanibus*. This Palladius is thought to be identical with Palladius, the bishop of Helenopolis and author of the *Historia Lausiaca*.⁶ He may have written the treatise after 408/412.⁷ There are two recent critical editions: J.Duncan M.Derrett, *Palladius: De vita Bragmanorum narratio, alias Palladii de gentibus Indiae et Bragmanibus commonitorii necnon Arriani opusculi versio ornatior*, published in *Classica et Mediaevalia* 21 (1960) 100-135, and Wilhelm Berghoff, *Palladius, De gentibus Indiae et Bragmanibus* (=Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie 24, Meisenheim am Glan 1967).

Unfortunately the manuscripts of Palladius are of rather poor quality. They all preserve a more or less interpolated version of Palladius' work, expanded by scribes. Derrett, who was the first to examine the value and relationship of the manuscripts, distinguished two recensions which he called *versio ornatior* and *versio ornatior et interpolata*.⁸ Besides these there is a Latin translation bearing the name of Ambrosius which provides a shorter and

⁴ For similar hands cf. Turner-Parsons, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*² (London 1987) nos.19 and 33. Particularly characteristic is the n with its middle stroke flaring upward concavely to the left, similar to the exaggerated second stroke of l.

⁵ Martin, *op.cit.* p.77.

⁶ B.Berg, *The Letter of Palladius on India*, *Byzantion* 44 (1974) 5-16; Ph.Brunel, *op.cit.*(n.1) pp.41f. There are, however, some doubts about the authorship of Palladius, expressed by Hansen, *op.cit.*(n.1) 374-376, and J.Desanges, *D'Axoum à l'Assam, aux portes de la Chine: Le voyage du "Scholasticus de Thèbes"* (entre 360 et 500 ap.J.C.), *Historia* 18 (1969) 628. L.Cracco Ruggini, *Sulla cristianizzazione della cultura pagana: Il mito greco e latino di Alessandro dall'età antonina al medioevo*, *Athenaeum* N.S.43 (1965) 23, is also cautious about the identity of the author. She deals at great length with the *Commonitorium* (pp.21ff.).

⁷ Ph.Brunel, *op.cit.*(n.1) p.41.

⁸ For the problems connected with the restoration of the text of Palladius, see J.D.M.Derrett, *Class.Med.* 21 (1960) 64-107; G.Chr.Hansen, *Klio* 43-45 (1965) 366-369; W.Berghoff, *Palladius, De gentibus Indiae et Bragmanibus*, pp.10*-30*; and G.Chr.Hansen, *Gnomon* 41 (1969) 344-347.

better version of the text than the extant Greek manuscripts.⁹ For the reconstruction of our text the version of Ps.Ambrosius is therefore especially useful. By comparison of the Latin and the Greek texts, later additions can be recognized or suggested.

This treatise is divided into two parts, the first of which, the so-called *Commonitorium Palladii* (Pall.I 1-15 Derrett, Berghoff), is not pertinent here. In this part Palladius put together all he could learn about India and the Brahmans, using among other sources the report of a lawyer (σχολαστικός) of Egyptian Thebes who spent some years in India. The second part (Pall. II 1-57 Derrett, Berghoff) contains the enlarged and Christianized version of our treatise. Palladius tells us that this part is a work of Arrian, the disciple of the philosopher Epictetus (I 15).

This second book of Palladius' treatise and the whole of the Latin version of Ps.Ambrosius are paralleled in their entirety by the four columns of our Duke-Cologne papyrus continued immediately by the first eight columns of the Geneva papyrus. The papyrus therefore appears to be the original text from which the later versions were expanded.

Following the reconstruction of the papyrus we give the relevant portions of the text of Palladius and Ps.Ambrosius, and for a part of the fourth column of our papyrus, a passage from the so-called *Excerpta Palladii*, a third group of manuscripts in addition to the two recensions of Derrett.¹⁰

The author of the papyrus text

At the end of the *Commonitorium*, Palladius introduces the second part of his work to Lausus, to whom his work is dedicated, as follows: Ἀρριανοῦ μέντοι τοῦ μαθητοῦ τοῦ Ἐπικτήτου τοῦ φιλοσόφου . . . τούτου τὰ κατὰ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Μακεδόνα ἱστορήσαντος ... ὃ ἐκεκήμεν πονημάτων ἀπέστειλα τῇ ἀνδρείᾳ τῆς σῆς καλοκάγαθίας ὑποτάξας μου τῷ ὑπομνηματικῷ· ὅπερ ἀναγινώσκων νουνεχῶς καὶ φροντίσας ἐμμελῶς βιώσεις ἀσφαλῶς (I 15). Palladius, therefore, believes that he owes this part to Arrian. His assertion has occasioned some debate. A.Brinkmann¹¹ suspected that Pall.II 1-57 are drawn from a book which was falsely attributed to Arrian.

⁹ C.Müller, Ps.Callisthenes III 11-16 (in the appendix to the edition of Arrian by Fr.Dübner [Didot, Paris 1877] pp.106-120) and S.V.Yankowski, *The Brahman Episode, St.Ambrose's Version of the Colloquy between Alexander the Great and the Brahmans of India* (E.Kottmeier & E.G.Kostetzky, Ansbach 1962) (Ps.Callisth.III 10-16 after Cod.Vat.Lat.282). Because there is presently no critical edition of this text, we print the text of Müller modified by readings of Cod.Vat.Lat.282. L.Cracco Ruggini, Athen. N.S.43 (1965) 21 n.39, announced a new edition based on thirteen manuscripts. For the value of the Latin version see Hansen, *Gnomon* 41 (1969) 345, and Ph.Brunel, *op.cit.*(n.1) pp.30-33.

¹⁰ Derrett, *Class.Med.* 21 (1960) 97-99; 88. We did not print the other Latin version of the Brahman Episode: 'Dindimus über die Brahmanen', edited by Fr.Pfister, *Kleine Texte zum Alexanderroman* (Heidelberg 1910) 6-9, which follows the Cod.Bamberg. E.III.14, because it adds nothing useful for our reconstruction.

¹¹ A. Brinkmann, *Verhandl. d. 43.Versamml. deutscher Philol. u. Schulm.* (1895) pp.86ff.

L.Früchtel¹² conjectured that there were notes of Epictetus' lectures which Arrian published after the death of his master. Fr.Pfister, believing that Pall.II falls into two distinct parts (II 1-11 and 12-57), proposed that perhaps only Pall.II 1-11 derived from Arrian.¹³ F.Jacoby, thereafter, listed only II 1-11 among the doubtful fragments of Arrian (FGrHist 156 F 175). When the Geneva papyrus came to light, Derrett weighed the possibility that we possess an early work of Arrian in the papyrus.¹⁴ But finally, after a thorough investigation of the treatise, G.Chr.Hansen¹⁵ concluded that Arrian cannot have been the author of the prototype of the Christian text. Thanks to the Geneva papyrus, he argues, it is now evident that the text we read in Palladius is not the work of a late redactor who put together different unrelated pieces in a rather mechanical way, but that it was the author of the papyrus text himself who stitched together these separate sections. The fact that he was unable to shape a coherent story reveals his modest ability. Hansen thus arrives at the conclusion that a text teeming with such contradictions, breaks in the plot and repetitions should not be attributed to Arrian, even when young and unexperienced in writing.

And there is, moreover, a second argument, also already pointed out by Hansen, that speaks against Arrian's authorship, namely the chronology. The papyrus is written in the second century (Martin suggested the first half of the century or even an earlier date) during the lifetime of Arrian or soon after. It is improbable that at such an early date a papyrus of Arrian could have existed in Egypt.¹⁶

Now our addition to the Geneva papyrus proves that even the section II 1-11, hesitantly separated from the rest by Pfister and Jacoby, was already an integral part of the treatise in the second century, thus reinforcing and augmenting Hansen's arguments. Since in the time of Arrian the seemingly disjunctive parts of Palladius II were already joined together, perhaps by simple juxtaposition of two main overlapping sources, the possibility of Arrian's authorship of the treatise or of a part of it seems now to be definitely excluded.¹⁷ The

¹² In his unpublished dissertation *Παλλαδίου περὶ τῶν τῆς Ἰνδίας ἐθνῶν καὶ τῶν Βραγμάνων*, Erlangen 1920 (quoted after W.Berghoff, *Palladius, De gentibus Indiae et Bragmanibus*, p.9*).

¹³ *Philolog.Wochenschrift* 41 (1921) 569-575 and *Hermes* 76 (1941) 146f (=Fr.Pfister, *Kleine Schriften zum Alexanderroman* [Beiträge zur Klass.Philol. 61, Meisenheim am Glan 1976] p.56). Against Pfister A.G.Roos, *Arrian II* pp.xxxiv f.

¹⁴ *Class.Med.* 21 (1960) 74-76.

¹⁵ *Klio* 43-45 (1965) 364f.

¹⁶ B.Berg, *op.cit.*(n.1) pp.275ff, opposes the attempt to attribute Pall.II 1-11 or the Geneva papyrus (Pall.II 13-57) to Arrian for internal reasons (for Pall.II 3-11 see esp. pp.275-281, for Pall.II 13-57 pp. 281ff). He tries to show that Pall.II is based on two different works, a gnostic one (Pall.II 2-11), and an "encratic" one, Pall.II 13-57 (p.302), both written in the second century. The fact that both parts are already combined in the papyrus refutes this hypothesis.

¹⁷ Ph.Brunel, *op.cit.*(n.1) p.39, was the last who attributed the papyrus to Arrian, without knowledge, however, of Hansen's arguments.

identity of the author, whose sources include Onesicritus and Megasthenes¹⁸ besides material from popular philosophy, remains unknown.¹⁹

¹⁸ Cf. FGrHist 134 Onesicritus F 17 (=Strabo XV 1.63-65 and Plut. Alex. 65); and 715 Megasthenes F 3 (=Clem.Alex. Strom. 1.72.4) Μεγασθένης . . . ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν Ἰνδικῶν ᾧδε γράφει· ἅπαντα μέντοι τὰ περὶ φύσεως εἰρημένα παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις λέγεται καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἔξω τῆς Ἑλλάδος φιλοσοφοῦσι, τὰ μὲν παρ' Ἰνδοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν Βραχμάνων, . . . Occasional parallels with Megasthenes' fragmenta occur in col.iii, corresponding to Pall.II 15.

¹⁹ For this tradition cf. C.Morelli, *Sulle tracce del romanzo e della novella. I, Alessandro e Dandamis*, Studi Italiani di filologia classica N.S.1 (1920) 25-75, esp. pp. 31ff; G.Chr.Hansen, *Klio* 43-45 (1965) 355ff. For the later history of the story see Fr.Pfister, *Das Nachleben der Überlieferung von Alexander und den Brachmanen*, *Hermes* 76 (1941) 143-169 (=Kleine Schriften zum Alexanderroman, pp.53-79); G.Cary, *The Medieval Alexander* (Cambridge 1956) 12-14 and 91-95; and D.J.A.Ross, *Alexander Historiatus*, 2nd ed. (Beiträge zur Klass. Philologie 186, Frankfurt am Main 1988) 30-32.

Edited Text

The supplements of lacunae are offered *exempli gratia*, merely to suggest possible connectives to the preserved text whenever the wording of Palladius fits the length of the lacuna in question, a putative Greek original of suitable length can be translated from the Latin of Ps.Ambrosius, or a compromise can be hypothesized from the expanded contexts supplied by the two later versions. Alternative supplements are given in the following notes. We are indebted for suggestions offered by Professors M.Gronewald, R.Kassel, L.Koenen and R.Merkelbach.

col. i

fr. b i - - - -

1]σ	
]	
]	
]	
5] καὶ	
]	
		- - - -	

fr. a - - - - -

Pallad. 2.6

[γαστρὸς ἐπιθυμίαν ἀ]ναί[ρεῖν]
 [καὶ τοὺς ἔνδον πολέ]μου[ς μάλ]-
 [λον - - - - -]

col. ii

fr. b ii - - - - - τοιαῦ]-

1	τ[α Βραγμῶνες ζῶμεν. ὑμεῖς δὲ λέ]-		
	γ[ετε ἃ δεῖ ποιεῖν, καὶ ποιεῖτε]		
	ἃ [μὴ δεῖ· ὑμῖν οὐδεὶς φιλόσοφος]	2.8	
	ἔα[ν μὴ λαλήσῃ· ὑμῶν γὰρ νοῦς]		
5	ἔστ[ιν ἡ γλώττα, ἐπὶ τοῖς χεῖλεσιν]		
	αἰ φ[ρένες·]	
	οἰ[]	

(continued on p.8)

Later versions**First column**

Pall.II Berghoff

6. ἀνδρεία δέ ἐστι πρὸς τροπὰς
ἀέρων μάχεσθαι γυμνῶ τῷ σώματι
καὶ γαστρὸς ἐπιθυμίαν ἀναιρεῖν
καὶ τοὺς ἔνδον πολέμους μᾶλλον
νικῆσαι.

4

Ps.Ambros.12 p.108 Müller²⁰

sed nos virtutem veram vocamus
contra aurarum mutationes nudo
corpore dimicare, desideria ventris
abscindere, et varias ipsius pugnas
abstinentia patientiaque superare.

Second column

7. σιωπῶντες τοὺς πολλοὺς λό-
γους τοιοῦτα Βραγμᾶνες ζῶμεν.

8

His ergo nos Brachmani moribus con-
tenti vivimus, paucisque sermo-
nibus agitatis mox tacemus.

8. ὑμεῖς δὲ λέγετε ἂν δεῖ ποιεῖν, καὶ
ποιεῖτε ἂν μὴ δεῖ λέγειν· παρ' ὑμῖν
δὲ οὐδεὶς φιλοσόφον οὐδὲν οἶδεν,
ἐὰν μὴ λαλήσωσιν· ὑμῶν γὰρ ὁ
νοῦς ἐστὶν ἢ γλῶσσα καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς
χείλεσιν αἱ φρένες.

12

vos autem dicitis quidem quae debeant
fieri, nec tamen facitis. philosophum
vos nullum putatis nisi eum qui
noverit loqui. vester enim est omnis
sensus in lingua, vobisque in oris
vestri labiis tota sapientia est.

²⁰ We give the text of Müller modified by readings of Cod.Vat.Lat.282, edited by S.V.Yankowski. Cf. above n.9.

σθε, χρυσόν τε καὶ ἄργυρον συνά]- (P.Köln inv.907)
 γετε, δ[ούλων πολλῶν χρεῖαν ἔχετε]
 10 καὶ με[γάλων οἴκων]
 σιν οικ[]
 λοιδορε[ῖσθε κρείττο]-
 νες ὑμῶ[ν εἰσιν οἱ σιγῶντες, ἔαυ]-
 [τ]οὺς οὐ[κ ἐλέγχουσι. παρὰ προβά]- 2.9
 15 [τ]ων α[]
 []οις π[]

 [*desunt ca 1-3 lineae*]

<p>χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον συνάγετε, δούλων χρείαν ἔχετε καὶ μεγάλων οἴκων· ἀρχὰς διώκετε, ἐσθίετε καὶ πίνετε ὅσα καὶ τὰ κτήνη. οὐκ αἰσθάνεσθε δὲ οὐδὲ ὡς ἰδιῶται. περιβάλλεσθε μαλακὰ, ἐξομοι- ούμενοι τοῖς σκώληξι τοῖς σηρικο- διασταίς. ἀδεῶς πάντα πράττετε, καὶ ἐφ' οἷς πράττετε μετανοεῖτε. καθ' ἑαυτῶν λαλεῖτε ὡς κατ' ἐχθρῶν· τῆς γλώττης ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντες ὑπὸ ταύτης πολεμείσθε. κρείττονες ὑμῶν οἱ σιγῶντες, ἑαυτοὺς γὰρ οὐκ ἐλέγχουσι.</p>	<p>4</p> <p>8</p> <p>12</p>	<p>aurum argentumque colligitis, plurimis servis et magnis domibus indigetis. affectatis honores et sectamini dignita- tes, editis tantum atque potatis, quan- tum iuvat expleri, utimini aequae et vestibis delicatis semper ac mollibus, eaque facitis quorum poenitentiam mox geratis.</p>
<p>9. παρὰ προβάτων ὡς αἰχμάλωτοι ἔρια δανείζεσθε, δόξαν τοῖς δακ- τύλοις ὑμῶν ὡς ξόανα περι- τίθεσθε. χρυσὸν ὡς αἰ θήλειαι φο- ρεῖτε καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις μεγαλύνεσθε. καθ' ὁμοίωσιν τοῦ κτίσαντος δη- μιουργηθέντες ἀνημέρων θηρίων θυμὸν τίκτετε. ὅταν πολλὰς κτήσεις περιβάλλησθε, ἐπὶ τούτοις μεγαλύνεσθε μὴ βλέποντες, ὅτι πρὸς ἀλήθειαν οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς δύνα- ται ὠφελεῖν· χρυσὸς γὰρ ψυχὴν οὐκ ἀνίστησιν οὐδὲ σῶμα πιαίνει, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἄνταν- τίον μᾶλλον καὶ ψυχὴν σκοτοῖ καὶ σῶμα ἐκτῆκει.</p>	<p>16</p> <p>20</p> <p>24</p> <p>28</p>	<p>mutuam mercedem ab ovibus accipitis. gloriosum, ut putatis, ornamentum digitis vestris imponitis aurum. vos quoque ita ut feminas videmus ornatos, cum sciatis quod id ipsum, in quo magnos vos esse creditis, quantum ad rem pertinet veram vobis prodesse nihil possit.</p> <p>auro enim non extolluntur animae, ne- que corpora nutriuntur, sed e contra per illud utraque ista vitiantur.</p>

4-5 quantum iuvat expleri S : quantum unus explebit V
 convincunt V 16 ovibus Müller : omnibus VS
 magnopere S

13 profecto S : autem V 15 revincunt S :
 19 ita ut V : om. S 21 magnos vos esse V :

frr. c + d - - - -

- 1 []οις συ[διψῶντες] 2.10
 [ύδ]ωρ π[ίνομεν. χρυσὸς γὰρ οὐ]
 [παύ]ει δίψ[αν]
 []ώμε[]
- 5 [] χρυσὸ[ς οὐδ]᾽εἰ τρα[ῦμα]
 [θεραπεύει ο]ὐδὲ νόσον
 [ἰᾶται ἀλλὰ] τερον ἐξ[ε]-
 [γείρ-] χρυσὸν ἢ π[αρά]
 τ[οῖς] ἀνθρώπ[ο]ις ἐπιθυμί[α.]
- 10 δίψα φύσει ζη[τε]ῖ ὕδωρ ὃ λα[βοῦσα]
 πέπαυται· λιμὸς φύσει ζητ[εῖ]
 τροφήν ἣν λαβὼν ἀνεπα[ύσατο·]
 εἰ φύσει χρυσὸν ἐζήτει ἀνθ[ρω]-
 πος, λαβὼν ἀνεπαύσατο ἄ[ν· ἔτι]
- 15 δὲ ἐπιθυμεῖ ὅτι οὐ κατὰ φύσιν | [ἐστὶν ὁ χρυσοῦ ἔρως vel sim.]
- margin*

10. ἡμεῖς δὲ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν τὴν φύσιν ἐπιγνόντες τὰ ταύτη ἀποκληρωθέντα ἐκείνων καὶ προνοοῦμεν· πείνης παραγενομένης ἀκροδρῦοις καὶ λαχάνοις τοῖς ἐκ τῆς προνοίας ἡμῖν χορηγουμένοις ἰώμεθα ταύτην· καὶ δίψης παραγενομένης ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐρχόμενοι, χρυσὸν πατοῦντες ὕδωρ πίνομεν καὶ ταύτην θεραπεύομεν.

χρυσὸς δὲ οὐ πάυει δίψαν οὐδὲ λιμὸν παραμυθεῖται οὐδὲ τραῦμα θεραπεύει, οὐ νόσον ἰᾶται, οὐκ ἀπληστίαν ἐμπίπλησιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον καὶ προσεξεγείρει ταύτην τὴν ξένην τῆς φύσεως ἐπιθυμίαν.

καὶ διψῶν μὲν ἄνθρωπος δῆλον ὅτι ἐπιθυμεῖ πιεῖν καὶ λαβὼν ὕδωρ πέπαυται τῆς δίψης.

καὶ ὁ πεινῶν φυσικῶς ἐπιζητεῖ τροφήν καὶ φαγὼν κορέννυται καὶ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας πέπαυται. παντάπασιν οὖν δῆλον ὅτι ξένον τῆς φύσεώς ἐστι τὸ χρυσοῦ ἐπιθυμεῖν· πᾶσα γὰρ ἐπιθυμία πέπαυται βροτῶν, ὅταν λάβῃ κόρον, ἐπειδὴ τῇ φύσει τοῦτο συνέσπαρται. ὁ δὲ τῶν χρημάτων ἔρωσ ἀκόρεστός ἐστι διὰ τὸ εἶναι τοῦτον παρὰ φύσιν.

nos autem qui cognovimus veritatem ipsamque naturam, si coeperimus sitire, ibimus ad fluvium, aurumque calcantes, aquam bibemus.

4

8

12

16

20

24

28

auro enim nequit sedari fames, ac sitis nescit exstingui. non ex auro venit vulnerum cura, non aegrotorum medicina membrorum, non ulla refrenatio cupiditatis immensae, sed hortatus magis ac provocatio maior ad novam nescio quam concupiscendi libidinem. et sitis quidem illa naturalis cum fuerit, cum aquam quam desideravit acceperit, sitire mox cessat.

similiter etiam naturalis fames, quando escam quam quaerit acceperit, conquiescit. si igitur eodem modo eademque natura aurum quoque humanus animus desideraret, ubi primum accepisset quod optabat accipere, sine dubio cupiditas et ipsa cessaret. sed nedum ista non cessat, immo semper nova et sine aliqua intermissione desiderat, quia non ex commonitione naturae desiderium tale procedit.

7 ἰώμεθα Aψ : ἐστιώμεθα Q

1 cognovimus V : cognoscimus S 27-28 nedum S : sola V 29 nova S : idula V : edulia? (vel nova edulia) Kassel 30 commonitione S : admonitione V

col. iii

fr. e i ----- 2.14

- 1 [μέγαν Δάνδαμιν εὐρὼν εἶπε τ]άδε·
 [ὦ διδάσκαλε Βραγμάνων χαίρο]ις.
 [ὁ υἱὸς θεοῦ Διὸς βασιλεὺς Ἄλ]ῆξαν-
 [δρος καλεῖ σε καὶ ἐλθόντι σοι] πολ-
 5 [λὰ καὶ καλὰ παρέξει δῶρα,] μὴ
 [ἐλθόντος δέ σου τὴν κεφα]λήν
 [ἀποτεμεῖ. Δάνδαμις ἀκούσας κ]αὶ

[*desunt 3-5 lineae*]

fr. f i ----- 2.15

- 1 [ἀνθρ]ώπου
 [δέχεται ὅταν μοῖρα λ]ύσει >
 [ἐ]μὸς οὖ-
 [τος θεὸς καὶ μόνος] βασιλεὺς[ς]
 5 [ἀπο]θανεῖν.
 [πῶς πάντων ἐστὶ β]ασιλεὺς Ἄλέ-
 [ξανδρος ὃς οὐπω πέπ]ωκε ποτ[ά]-
 [μὸν -βο]αν οὐδὲ Κο-
 [σόανον οὐδὲ τὸν θρόνο]ν ἔθηκεν

(continued on p.14)

Third Column

Pall.II 14-15 Berghoff

πορευθεὶς δὲ οὗτος καὶ τὸν μέγαν
Δάνδαμιν εὐρῶν εἶπε· χαίροις, δι-
δάσκαλε Βραγμάνων. υἱὸς θεοῦ
Διὸς τοῦ μεγάλου, βασιλεὺς 4
Ἄλέξανδρος, ὅς ἐστι παντὸς
ἀνθρώπου δεσπότης, καλεῖ σε, ὅς
ἐλθόντι σοι πρὸς αὐτὸν πολλὰ
καὶ καλὰ παρέξει δῶρα, μὴ 8
ἐλθόντος δέ σου τὴν κεφαλὴν
ἀποτεμεῖ.

ὁ δὲ Δάνδαμις ἀκούσας καὶ μει-
διάσας χαριέντως οὐδ' ἐπῆρεν 12
ἑαυτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπὸ τῶν
φύλλων, ἀλλὰ καταγελάσας τού-
του κατακείμενος ἀπεκρίνατο
οὕτως· 16

15. ὁ θεός, ὁ μέγας βασιλεὺς,
ὑβριν οὐδέποτε γεννᾷ, ἀλλὰ φῶς,
εἰρήνην, ζῶην καὶ ὕδωρ, σῶμα
ἀνθρώπου καὶ ψυχάς· καὶ τὰς 20
δέχεται, ὅταν μοῖρα λύση τὰς μὴ
δαμασθείσας ἐπιθυμίας.

ἐμὸς οὗτος δεσπότης καὶ θεὸς μό-
νος, ὅς φόνον ἀποστρέφεται, πο-
λέμους οὐ κατεργάζεται. Ἄλέξαν-
δρος δὲ θεὸς οὐκ ἔστιν εἰδὼς
ἀποθνήσκειν. 24

πῶς πάντων ἐστὶ δεσπότης, ὅς 28
οὐπω παρήλθε ποταμὸν Τιβερο-
βοᾶμ οὐδὲ Κοσσόαλον,

Ps.Ambr.13 p.109-110 Müller

ubi igitur supradictus ad Dandamim
nuntius venit, his eum allocutus est
verbis: dixit filius dei Iovis magni,
Alexander imperator, qui est dominus
generis humani, ut properes ad illum
venire, qui tibi, si veneris, plurima
dabit munera. si vero venire nolueris,
veluti contemptorem te capite puniet.

quae cum ad Dandamis aures dicta ve-
nissent, non surrexit ex foliis, quibus
fultus iacebat, sed tale responsum ri-
dens reddidit ac recumbens:

deus, inquit, maximus imperator pa-
rare cuiquam nescit iniuriam, sed lu-
men aquam animas, has tamen rursus
ipse tunc suscipit, cum unamquamque
suo solverit fato.

meus ergo ille solus est dominus, qui
homicidia vetat, et qui bella non con-
citat. Alexander vero non est deus,
quia et ipse moriturus est.

quemadmodum igitur potest esse
omnium dominus, qui nondum Ty-
beroboam fluvium transfretavit,

6 qui V : quia S 7 si vero venire S : sin vero ire V 17 imperator *om.* S 18-21 sed - fato V
(aquam *Yankowski* : ad quam V) : sed lumen vitae rursus iis praestat animis, quae suo solverint fato S

10 [έν Παλιμβόθροις ἄ]λλὰ Ζηναν-
 [νάδη] οὐπω παρῆλ-
 [θεν] []ς εὐερ-
 [Σο]υραση-
 [v- έν Μεθορί]οις καὶ
 15 [Καρισσοβορίοις. Σκυθία ο]ὔπω
 [γιγνώσκει αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄν]ομα

col. iv

fr. e ii

2.18

1 σι [τὰ ὄ]-
 ___πλά [πέπτωκεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς. ἐπεὶ]
 ἤκ[ουσε ταῦτα τοῦ Ὀνησικρίτου ἐπε]-
 θύμ[ησε μᾶλλον ἰδεῖν] 2.19

5 δον[ὅτι αὐτὸν πολλὰ ἔθνη]
 λαβό[ντα εἰς ἐνίκησε γυμνός]
 γέρω[v. πορεύεται οὖν σὺν πέν]-
 τε φίλ[οις εἰς τὴν ὕλην τοῦ Δαν]-
 δάμε[ως ὃν ἐγγὺς γενόμενος εἶδε]

10 καθίζ[οντα Ἄλέ]-
 ξανδρ[ος καταβάς ἐκ τοῦ ἵππου ἄ]-
 πέθε[το τὸ διάδημα

<p>οὐδὲ θρόνον ἑαυτοῦ τέθεικεν ἐν Παλιμβόθοις οὐδὲ Ζωνενάδη οὐπω παρήλθεν οὐδὲ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ἡλίου ἴδεν τὸν δρόμον, οὔτε ἴδεν τὸν ἐν Μεθορίοις καὶ Καρισσοβορίοις. καὶ Σκυθία οὐπω γινώσκει αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα.</p>	4	<p>neque per totum mundum in Parisforis sedem suam locavit, non Zenenadem transiit, non in medio orbis cursum solis aspexit, cuius Meteorii et Carosfori et Scythia ne nomen quidem adhuc nosse potuerunt?</p>
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Fourth Column

<p>Pall.II 18-21 Berghoff 18. ταῦτα δὲ ἀπειλείτω Ἀλέξανδρος τοῖς θέλουσι χρυσὸν καὶ θάνατον φοβουμένοις· πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὰ δύο αὐτοῦ ὄπλα πέπτωκεν· οἱ γὰρ Βραγμαῖνες οὔτε χρυσὸν φιλοῦσιν οὔτε θάνατον φοβοῦνται. ἄπελθε οὖν καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ λέγε, ὅτι Δάνδαμις τῶν σῶν χρεῖαν οὐκ ἔχει· διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς σὲ οὐκ ἐλεύσεται. εἰ δὲ σὺ Δανδάμεως χρεῖαν ἔχεις, ἔλθε πρὸς αὐτόν. 19. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ταῦτα ἀκούσας παρὰ τοῦ Ὀνησικράτους μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἰδεῖν ἐπεθύμησεν, ὅτι αὐτὸν πολλὰ ἔθνη καθελόντα εἰς ἐνίκησε γυμνὸς γέρων. πορεύεται οὖν σὺν πεντεκαίδεκα φίλοις εἰς τὴν ὕλην τοῦ Δανδάμεως, καὶ ἐγγὺς γενόμενος αὐτοῦ κατέβη ἐκ τοῦ ἵππου καὶ ἀπέθετο</p>	<p>12 16 20 24 28</p>	<p>Ps.Ambr.13-14 p.110sq. Müller hoc Alexander illis minetur, qui opes desiderant, qui timent mortem, quia nos utrumque contemnimus. nam Brachmani neque aurum diligunt, neque mortem verentur. vade igitur, et hoc Alexandro referas: nihil tuorum Dandamis quaerit. verum si aliquid ex ipsius rebus tu necessarium tibi esse credis, ad eum venire ne dedigneris. 14. quae ubi Alexander per internuntium audivit, desiderare plus coepit, ut talem virum videret, utque se, qui multas vicerat gentes, unus et nudus vinceret senex. pergit igitur cum quinque vel decem amicis ad eas, quae supra diximus, silvas et cum venisset ad proximum, atque ex equo quo vehebatur exiliisset,</p>
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1-2 ἡ παλίμφορος Q : ἡ πάλιν φόροις Pψ : ἐπὶ πολλοῖς πόροις A : ἐν Παλιμφόροις Derrett : ἐν Παλιμβόθοις Engelmann 5-6 Μεθορίοις καὶ Καρισσοβορίοις Derrett : μεσορίοις καὶ βασιβάρους μεθόριοι δὲ καὶ καρσοφόροι Q : μεθορίοις καὶ μεθορίοις κρασσιβάρους A : καὶ μεθορίοις καρσιφορίοις P : καὶ μεθορίοις καρσοιφόροις ψ

1 in Parisforis V : om. S 2 Zenenadem VW : zonae Gadem S 3 in medio orbis S : in medii orbis via V 4-6 cuius - potuerunt V : quare gentes plurimae nec eius quidem nomen adhuc nosse potuerunt S

18 ne dedigneris S : debebis V 28 silvas S : ipsius silvas V

frr. g + f ii

- 1 [ἐκεί]γηι τῆ[ι ὦ]- 2.20
 [ραι καθαράν εἶ]δε γῆν [ἀπὸ
 [αἰμάτων· πάρειμι π]ρὸς σέ, [ἔφη,] Exc.Pall. 4
 []ας σο[υ θέ]-
 5 λω[φα]σὶ γὰ[ρ]
 σὲ θε[οῖς ἀντοῖς προσομιλεῖν.]
 δίδαξ[όν με τί περισσὸν τῶν Ἑλ]-
 (continued on p.18)

<p>τὸ διάδημα καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀλαζονείαν. καὶ εἰσελθὼν μόνος εἰς τὴν ὕλην, ἔνθα ὁ Δάνδαμις, ἠσπάσατο αὐτόν καὶ εἶπε·</p>	4	<p>coronam de capite deposuit omnemque qui circa ipsum erat superbiae tumorem relinquens ad memoratum senem ingressus est solus et ad pedes ipsius se dedit hoc dicens:</p>
<p>χαίροις, Δάνδαμις, διδάσκαλε Βραγμάνων καὶ πρῦτα σοφίας· πάρειμι πρὸς σὲ ἀκούσας σου τὸ ὄνομα, ἐπεὶ μὴ σὺ παρεγένου πρὸς ἡμᾶς. ὁ δὲ Δάνδαμις εἶπεν· χαίροις καὶ αὐτὸς, δι' ὃν πολλαὶ πόλεις ταράσσονται καὶ ἔθνη ἀκαταστατεῖ.</p>	8	<p>Salve Dandami, ego ad te veni, quia tu ad me noluisti venire.</p>
<p>20. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος καθεσθὲς παρὰ τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτοῦ ἐκείνην τὴν ὥραν εἶδεν καθαρὰν τὴν γῆν ἀπὸ αἱμάτων·</p>	12	
<p>καὶ ὁ Δάνδαμις· τί πρὸς ἡμᾶς, Ἀλέξανδρε, πάρει; τί θέλεις βαστάσαι ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐρημίας; ὃ ζητεῖς ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἔχομεν, ὧν ἡμεῖς κεκτήμεθα αὐτὸς οὐ χρήσεις. ἡμεῖς θεὸν τιμῶμεν, ἀνθρώπους φιλοῦμεν, χρυσοῦ ἀμελοῦμεν καὶ θανάτου καταφρονοῦμεν, ἡδονῶν οὐ φροντίζομεν.</p>	16	<p>cui ille respondit: quid ad nos venisti? aut quid de nostris solitudinibus auferre desideras? quod cupis ipse, nos habere non possumus; quod iterum nos habemus, necessarium tibi non est. nos honoramus deum et amamus hominem, negligimus aurum, contemnimus mortem.</p>
<p>ὑμεῖς δὲ θάνατον φοβεῖσθε, χρυσοῦ φιλεῖτε, ἡδονῶν ὀρέγεσθε, ἀνθρώπους μισεῖτε, θεοῦ καταφρονεῖτε.</p>	20	<p>vos autem mortem timetis, honoratis aurum, odistis hominem, deum contemnitis.</p>
<p>ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος πρὸς αὐτόν· ἐγὼ σοφόν τι ἤκω μαθεῖν παρὰ σοῦ. φασὶ γὰρ σε θεῶ προσομιλεῖν· θέλω γὰρ εἰδέναι, τί τῶν Ἑλλήνων διαφέρεις ἢ τί περισσότερον τῶν λοιπῶν βλέπεις ἢ φρονεῖς.</p>	24	<p>ad quem Alexander: doce, inquit, nos aliquid sapientiae plenum; aiunt enim te cum ipso colloqui deo. ego vero scire desidero in qua re praestantiores Graecis vos ipsos esse dicatis et in quo aut melius videas quam alii homines aut amplius sapias.</p>

5 se - dicens S : se dedit, qui hora purum (*Kassel* : parum V) ibidem solum ab omni cruore respexit, haec dicens V 18 quid V : ad quid S 32-33 plenum - deo V : plenum aiunt te divinitate et cum ipso colloqui saepius deo S 37 sapias V : scias S

λήγων φρ[ονεῖς, ὁ δὲ Δάνδαμις] 2.21
 αὐτῷ ἀποκ[ρίνεται ὦδε· θέλω]
 10 κἀγὼ σοι νο[ῦν ἐνθεῖναι παρὰ]
 θεῶν, ἀλλὰ σ[ύ μοι οὐ κατελεί]-
 που τὸν [τόπον ἐν τῇ καρδίαι.]
 πεπλη[ρώκασι τὴν ψυχὴν σου ἄπλη]-
 [σ]τοι ἐπ[ιθυμίαι αἶ μοι μάχον]-
 15 ται ὅτ[ι σὲ περισπῶ καὶ οὐ φονεύ]-
 εις ἔθ[νη λαῶν πολλῶν ἐκχέων]
 [αἶμ]α. [

fr. h

 1 [ἀνθ]ρ[ώπους σω]-
 [ζομένους, σὺ δὲ] θέλε[ις καὶ ἐπὶ]
 [τὸν Ὀκεανὸν ἐ]λθεῖν [καὶ μετ']
 [αὐτὸν ἐπ' ἄλλη]ν οἴκου[μένην]

Unplaced

fr. i

 1]λει γαρ[
] ἀπλᾶ πο[
margin

<p>21. ὁ δὲ Δάνδαμις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεκρίνατο· θέλω κάγῳ διακονῆσαί σοι λόγους σοφίας θεοῦ καὶ ἐνθεῖναί σοι νοῦν θεοπρεπῆ, ἀλλὰ σὺ τόπον οὐκ ἔχεις ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ σου ὥστε χωρῆσαι τὴν παρ' ἐμοῦ σοι διακονουμένην δωρεάν τοῦ θεοῦ·</p>	4	at ille respondit: et ego, inquit, vellem deferre ad te acceptum a deo sensum, sed ipse locum non habes, ubi donum tale suscipias.
<p>πεπληρώκασι γάρ σου τὴν ψυχὴν ἄπληστοι ἐπιθυμῖαι καὶ ἀκόρεστος φιλαργυρία καὶ δαιμονιώδης φιλαρχία, αἵτινες μάχονται μοι νῦν, ὅτι σε ἐνθάδε περισπῶ καὶ οὐ φονεύεις ἔθνη λαῶν πολλῶν ἐκχέων αἷμα.</p>	8	impleverunt enim animam tuam avidae atque immodicae cupiditates, quas nunc mecum certare considero, quia te ab ipsis conor avellere; quaeque hodie plurimum moerent, eo quod morte nullius gentis ac sanguine polluaris,
<p>καὶ λυποῦνται κατ' ἐμοῦ οἱ μετὰ σοῦ, ὅτι πόλιν βλέπουσι μένουσαν καὶ σφζομένους ἀνθρώπους. σὺ δὲ εἶπας καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ὀκεανὸν ἐλθεῖν καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἐπ' ἄλλην οἰκουμένην καὶ μετ' ἐκείνην πάλιν ἐφ' ἑτέραν.</p>	16	et quia vident adhuc homines in civitatibus commorantes. tu ad oceanum usque vis accedere, post quem aliam iterum partem orbis cupis occupare.
	20	

Excerpta Palladii 4 Derrett

ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεκρίθη· θέλω κάγῳ διακονῆσαί σοι παρὰ τῷ θεῷ μου, ἀλλὰ τόπον οὐκ ἔχεις ἐν καρδίᾳ, ἵνα χωρήσης μου τὴν δωρεάν· πεπληρώκασι γάρ σου τὴν ψυχὴν ἄπληστοι ἐπιθυμῖαι, αἵτινες ἐχθραίνουσί μοι σήμερον, καλὰ σοι συμβουλεύοντι. σὺ δὲ ἐπιθυμεῖς ἐπὶ τὸν Ὀκεανὸν ἐλθεῖν καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἐπ' ἄλλην οἰκουμένην.

16-17 οἱ μετὰ σοῦ: these words are not extant in Palladius APψ nor do they correspond to anything in the Latin Version, and so the previously mentioned ἐπιθυμῖαι are the subject of λυποῦνται.

1 et ego V : ego S vellem S : volo V 12 conor S : videor V quaeque V : quamquam S 14 ac V : vel S 18 accedere S : venire V 18-19 post - occupare S : post quem cupis ad aliam iterum partem orbis accedere V

Notes on the text

First Column

fr.a In Pall. II 1-21 these letters in this configuration are found only at II 6, which thus probably retained here the text of the papyrus.

Second Column

fr.b ii 1 Traces of a vertical stroke: π, γ, ν, ι or τ.

2 γ or π. The suggested text reading γ[follows the Latin version more closely.

1-4 Alternatively, e.g. Βραγμαῶ]-

ν[εσ ζῶμεν. ὑμεῖς δὲ λέγετε ἃ δεῖ]

π[οιεῖν, καὶ ποιεῖτε ἃ μὴ δεῖ λέγειν].

ἄ[λλ' ὑμῖν οὐδεὶς ἐστι φιλόσοφος],

ἐἰ[ν μὴ λαλήσηι. ὑμῶν γὰρ νοῦς] κτλ.

3 Or ἀ[φιλόσοφος (?) Gronewald

6-8 The later versions expand and alter the order of clauses contained in lines 6-12 so that the original is difficult to reconstruct. One possibility for lines 6-8 is suggested by Gronewald, e.g.:

αἰ φ[ρένες· πράττετε, καὶ ἐφ']

οἴ[ς πράττετε, μεταμέλε]-

σθε, though the supplements are somewhat too short.

10-12 Comparing the Lat. *linguae propriae potestatem*, Gronewald suggests, e.g.:

καὶ με[γάλων οἴκων. ἑαυτοῖς ἔχου]-

σιν οἴκ[είας γλώττης ἐξουσίαν]

λοιδορε[ῖσθε ὡς ἐχθροῖς. κρείττο]-

15 α[ῖρια (=ἔρια) δανείζεσθε (?) Gronewald. Possibly α[ιχμάλωτοι.

15-16 Perhaps δακτύλ]οις π[εριτίθεσθε.

fr. c The fibres on the verso show that c is to be placed below b. Between b and c probably little is lost, perhaps not more than a line, and c 5 and d 1 belong probably to the same line as proposed in the text, but if to two successive lines one could, for example, restore in the available space:

[1-2]οις συ[διψῶντες]

[ὔδ]ωρ π[ίνομεν, χρυσὸς δὲ οὐ]

[παύ]ει δίψ[αν. πεινῶντες δὲ]

[ἐστι]ώμεθ[α ἀκροδρύοις καὶ λαχά]-

[νοις]. χρυσὸ[ς δὲ οὐ πάυει δί]-
 [ψαν οὐδὲ λιμὸν οὐδ]ἔ τρα[ύμα]
 [θεραπεύει κτλ.

But the supplements of c 3-5 rest only upon the authority of Palladius. Ps.Ambrosius lacks the corresponding sentence.

fr. c+d 6 Since θεραπεύει does not fill the lacuna, perhaps τρα[ύμα or τρα[ύματα θεραπεύει, or [παραμυθεῖται Gronewald.

7 The remnant of the first surviving letter may represent ω (Willis) or υ (Maresch). If υ is right, perhaps ὀξ]ύτερον or βαρ]ύτερον; if ω, perhaps ξενικ]ώτερον, suggested by the wording of Palladius (Willis) : μανικ]ώτερον (Merkelbach); comparative adverbs of ἄγριος, ἄμετρος, ἄνομος, or ἀφύσικος would also fit context and space, e.g.

8 ἐξ[εγείρεται διὰ τὸν] χρυσὸν ἢ π[αροῦσα (?) Gronewald : πρὸς (εἰς)] χρυσὸν ? : ἐξ[ελγίρεται κτᾶσθαι] χρυσὸν Willis : ἐξ[εγείρει Merkelbach.

14 Or ἄ[v· πάλιν Koenen.

Third Column

The supplements that can be supplied with some certainty in this column point to an average length of 22-24 letters per line.

fr. f i 1 Of the final letter only the lower half of the sloping hasta is preserved, either υ (Willis) or ι (Maresch), yielding ἀνθρ]ώπου or ἀνθρ]ώποι[ς].

2 Perhaps the Buddhist teaching about the transition of the soul, freed from desires, to Nirvana is alluded to here. ψυχὰς ἀνθρ]ώπου | [ἄς δέχεται ὅταν μοῖρα λ]ύσει Willis : ψυχὴν ἀνθρ]ώπου | [ῆν Merkelbach.

3 The supplement according to Palladius, [τὰς μὴ δαμασθεΐσας ἐπιθυμῖαι ἐ]μὸς, is clearly too long and perhaps Christian; lines that can be restored with some confidence have only 22 or 23 letters. Therefore, to fill the probable space as well as satisfy the proposed sense one might also supply, e.g.:

[ca 4 ὁ θεὸς οὐποτε ἀνθρ]ώποι[ς]
 [ῦβριν γεννᾶι, ὅταν λ]ύσει >
 [ψυχὰς, ἀλλὰ εἰρήνην. ἐ]μὸς οὐ-
 [τός ἐστι καὶ μόνος] βασιλεὺ[ς]

1-5 Gronewald suggests: σῶμα ἀνθρ]ώποι[ς]

[καὶ ψυχὰς ὅταν μοῖρα λ]ύσει, >
 [ταύτας πάλιν δέχεται (Lat. *rursus suscipit*). ἐ]μὸς οὐ-
 [τος θεὸς μόνος καὶ] βασιλεὺ[ς]
 [ὅς οὐκ ἔστιν εἰδὼς ἀπο]θανεῖν

6 Or [θεὸς οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ β]ασιλεὺς Ἀλέ- (Willis)

7 πέπ]ωκε Merkelbach, cf. Pall.II 4 Bergh. οὐκ ἤρκεσεν αὐτῷ (sc. Καλάνῳ) Τιβεροβοάμ ποταμοῦ πίνειν ὕδωρ σωφοσύνης. Or πεπεραί]ωκε (?) Gronewald.

8 According to Palladius the name of the river in the lacuna seems to be Τιβεροβοάμ: Pall. II 15 Bergh. Τιβεροβοάμ Ρψ : Τιβέρναβον ΑQ : Τιβεροάμ RD and Pall. II 4 Bergh. Τιβεροβοάμ : Τιβέριο Α. Yet this name alone will scarcely fill the lacuna. Gronewald, therefore, suggests πέπ]ωκε ποτ[αμοῦ ὕδωρ. There are, to be sure, other variants of the name of this river: Ps.Ambros. III 12 p.107 Müller *Taberuncus*. In Hippolyt. Refut. I 24.1 p.28 Wendland (= Breloer-Bömer p.145) one reads Ταγαβενά in the same context; cf. also the treatise 'Dindimus über die Brahmanen' p.7,4 Pfister (cf. above n.10) *Taba-benus*. Besides these, L.Cracco Ruggini, *Athenaeum* 43 (1965) 37, gives the following variants from the unpublished Latin MSS. of Ps.Callisthenes: *Tharelongio*, *Tiverovoas*, *Taberroenus*, and *Taberboenus*. G.Chr.Hansen, *Klio* 43-45 (1965) 370, and L.Cracco Ruggini, *op.cit.* pp.36f, suppose that Τιβεροβοάμ is the river Ἐραννοβόας, mentioned by Megasthenes (FGrHist 715 F 9a = Arrian. Ind. 4.3 and F 18a = Arrian. Ind.10.5; cf. also Plin. N.H. VI 65 André-Filliozat, *Eramnombovam*). This river flows into the river Ganges at Palimbothra. Fr.Pfister believed that by Ταγαβενά, Τιβεροβοάμ etc. the Ganges itself is meant (*Kleine Schriften zum Alexanderroman*, p.58 n.20). Willis supplements Ἐραννοβό]αν; he regards this as geographically correct and thinks that a Christian redactor corrupted the form.

8-9 Pall. II 15 Κοσσόαλον Derrett : κονσοῦλον ΑQ : κόσμον Ρψ. Cf. Megasth. F 9a (=Arrian. Ind. 4.3) Κοσσόανον, Plin. N.H. VI 65 *Casuagum*. As the three navigable tributaries of the Γάγγης Arrian lists Καϊνάς, the Ἐραννοβόας and the Κοσσόανος. The lacuna has room for Γάγγην or Καϊνάν but not also for the necessary οὐδὲ.

9 Or θρόνον ἐ]νέθηκεν.

10 Perhaps [έν τοῖς Παλιμβόθοις. Cf. Arrian. Ind. 3.4 Παλίμποθρα; Megasth. F 4 (=Diod. II 39.3) and F 6c (=Strabo XV 1.11 p.689) Παλίμποθρα. For more evidence about this city see L.Renou, *La géographie de Ptolémée. L'Inde* (VII, 1-4) (Paris 1925) p.85. Palipothra, lying on the river Ganges near the modern city Patna, is Pataliputra, the capital of the Maurya empire.

Rather]λλα than]αλα, therefore probably ἀ]λλά. Since it is difficult to see what ζῆν αν[should mean in this context, one would rather argue that behind these letters is concealed the name of the river which Derrett emended to Ζωνενάδη (: ζῶν ἐν ἄδῃ ΑQ : ζῶν ἐν ἄδου Ρψ). In the Latin translation the river is called *Zenenades* (VW), so one is tempted to restore Ζηναν[άδη. If this were right, the Latin version would have the better reading. But Ζηναν[άδη would be unusual word-division, unless a cluster of two consonants is hypothesized. Gronewald, therefore, suggests the possibility of a corrupt text: ἀ]λλά †ζηναν[. . . † οὐδὲ Ζωνενάδη] οὐπω παρήλι[θε, or ἀ]λλά ζῆν αν[άνδρωσ (pun on Alexandros?). In any case the name of the river Ζωνενάδης/*Zenenades* may be preserved

better in the Latin tradition than in the Greek. Another example of better orthography in the Latin than in the Greek MSS. is the spelling of the Bessadae, an Indian tribe, correctly preserved only in the Latin translation (cf. Hansen, *Gnomon* 41 [1969] 345 n.2). Which river is referred to by the name Ζωνενάδης/*Zenenades* is not known; Hansen, *Klio* 43-45 (1965) 370, argued that it could be the river Κομμινάσης (Megasth. F 9a = Arrian. Ind. 4.4).

12 ὁ πάσης οἰκουμένη]ς εὐερ[γέτης (?) Gronewald (=Heracles? cf.13-14 n.). Other possible candidates might be εὐεργεσία, εὐερκής, εὐερνής.

13-14 Doubtless Σο]υραση[νῶν (or the proper case). Cf. Arrian. Ind. 8.5 (=Megasth. F 13) Ἡρακλέα μάλιστα πρὸς Σουρασηνῶν γεραίρεσθαι, Ἰνδικοῦ ἔθνεος, ἴνα δύο πόλεις μεγάλαι, Μέθορά τε καὶ Κλεισόβορα . . . Perhaps Dandamis is comparing Alexander unfavorably to Heracles, who had been honored as benefactor in Methora and Kleisobora. A reference to Heracles would naturally have held no interest for later Christian redactors.

15 Palladius II 15 gives the name as Καρισοβορίους. Cf. Plin. N.H. VI 69 *amnis Iomanes* (=Yamuna) *in Gangen per Palibothros decurrit inter oppida Methora (=Mathura) et Chrisobora* (F² : *Charisobora* cett.). According to Arrian. Ind. 8.5, cited above (*ad* 13-14), one could also expect Κλεισοβορίους.

Fourth Column

fr. e ii 1 σι could be the remnants of τοῖς (χρυσὸν) θέλου]σι; an ε[or θ[follows: θ[άνατον φοβούμενοις (?) Willis.

4-5 τὸν Ἴν]ιδὸν [σοφὸν or ἰ]δὸν[τα?

12 The traces suggest πεπ[, πετ[, or πεγ[, but perhaps Ἄλέ]ξανδρ[ος καταβὰς ἐκ τοῦ ἵππου ἀ]πέθε[το τὸ διάδημα is possible.

fr. g + f ii 1 Or, e.g. ἀρ]γῆι, τη or γη[.

2-5 e.g. [πεπόρευμαι] δὲ γῆν [πολλήν]
[καὶ πάρειμι π]ρὸς σέ, [ἐπεὶ μὴ]
ἦ[κεις πρὸς ἡμ]ᾶς. σο[φόν τι θέ]-
λω [μαθεῖν.

(Cf. e.g. Arrian. Anab. VI 23.1 ἠναγκάζοντο γῆν πολλήν πορεύεσθαι.) Another possibility is 4f ὄ[τι λόγους ὠφελεί]ας (or σοφί]ας) σο[υ θέ]λω [ἀκοῦσαι (Willis).

6 We restore the plural θε[οῖς from θεῶν in line 11 below. The Christian versions regularly have the singular.

7 Palladius has περισσότερον, which is too long here, but cf. Pall. II 25 ἀλλὰ σὺ ζητεῖς, Ἄλέξανδρε, τοῦ μαθεῖν παρ' ἐμοῦ, τί περισσὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων κέκτημαι.

11-12 The Latin version provides better sense, suggesting

θεῶν, ἀλλὰ σ[ὺ οὐκ ἔχεις ἔνδον]

που τὸν [τόπον τοιοῦται δῶροι.]

but both the syntax and enclitic που seem awkward.

15 Or ὅτ[ι σήμερον οὐ φονεύ]- Cf. Lat. *hodie*.

17 [αῖμ]α[The trace of this letter is very faint; it might be almost any other letter.

One could try to connect fr. f ii and fr. h, thus:

17 [αῖμ]α. [καὶ λυποῦνται κατ' ἑμοῦ]

18 [οἱ μετὰ σοῦ ὅτι πόλιν βλέπου]-

19 [σι μένουσαν καὶ ἀνθ]ρ[ώπους σω]-

20 [ζομένους κτλ.

fr.h According to the fibres on the verso h is to be placed below fr.g and aligned vertically with it.

1 Or possibly καὶ ἀνθ]ρ[ώπους] | [σωζομένους. σὺ δὲ] κτλ.

Unplaced fragment

fr. i 1 Rather]λει than]αει.

The preserved lower margin is equal in depth to that below col. ii (fr. d), and may belong to col. iii or col. iv.

Translation

Although our fragments are too scattered to warrant translation, we offer here an English version of our tentatively reconstructed text to show how we understand this set of suggested supplements:

col. i, fr.a

. . . to annul desire of the appetite and rather to win the internal wars. . . .

col. ii

. . . in such a way we Brahmans live. But you speak what you ought to do, and you do what you ought not. You know no one as philosopher unless he talks, for your mind is your tongue; on your lips are your wits. . . . You collect gold and silver, you have need of many slaves and big houses . . . you revile yourselves . . . The best of you are those who keep silent; they do not confute themselves. From sheep, you take wool (?) . . . When thirsty we drink water. . . . Gold does not stop thirst . . . Gold does not treat a wound . . . nor heal

disease. But desire among men to acquire gold is aroused in a more unnatural manner. Thirst by nature seeks water, getting which it subsides. Hunger by nature seeks sustenance, getting which it is checked. If man sought gold by nature, getting it he would have desisted; but he desires it further because the love of gold is not in accord with nature. ...

col. iii

Finding the great Dandamis he spoke these words: "Hail, O teacher of the Brahmans! King Alexander the son of the god Zeus summons you and when you have come will offer you many beautiful gifts, but if you do not come he will cut off your head." Dandamis on hearing (this) and ...

... souls of man which he receives when fate releases them. ... (He is) my god and only king ... to die. How can Alexander be king of all, since he has not yet drunk the river ... Tiberoboan(?) nor Kosoanos nor set his throne in Palimbothra ... but Zenannades ... he has not yet passed by ... Sousareni ... among the Methorians and Karisoborians. Scythia does not yet recognize his name. ...

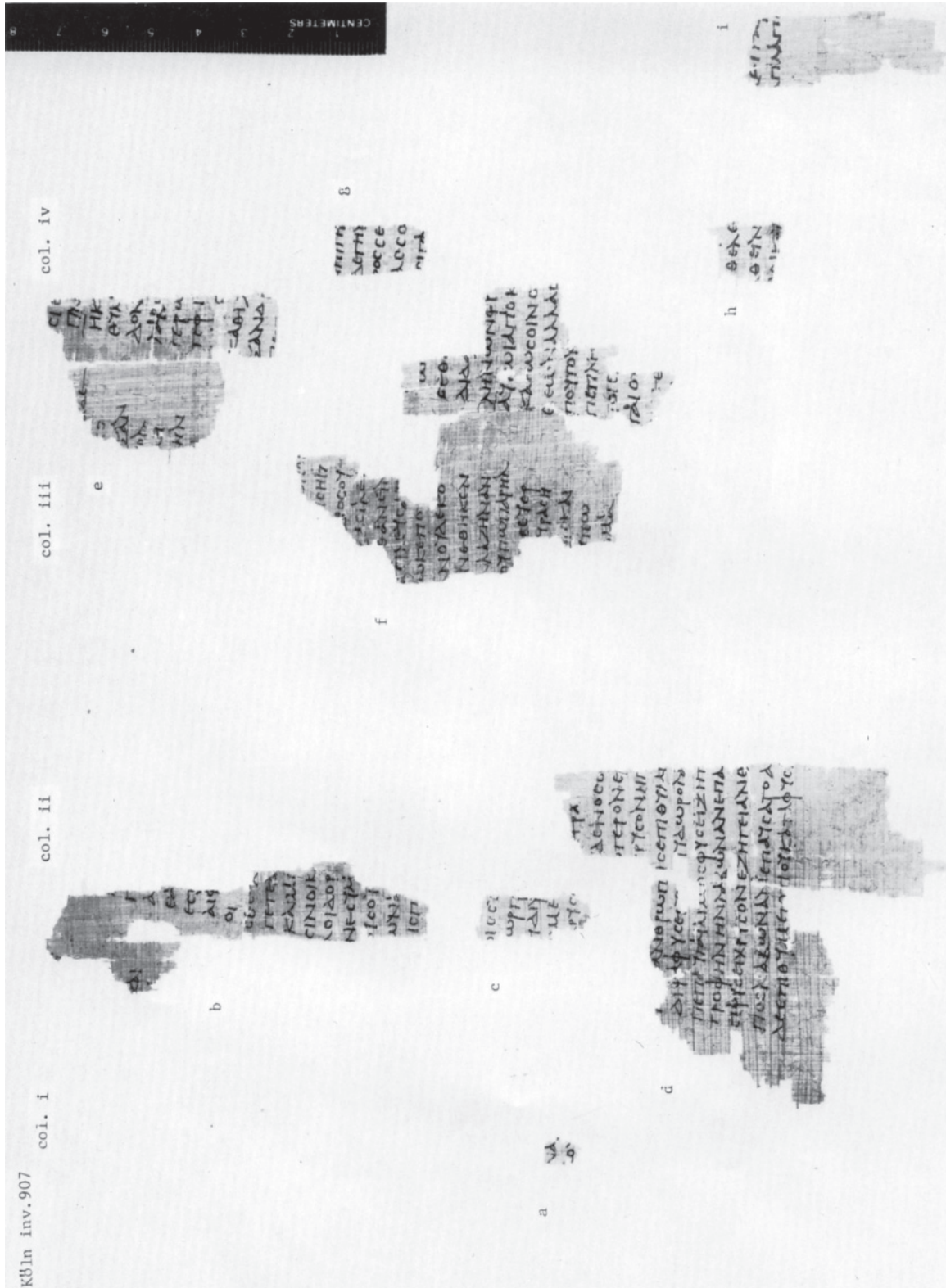
col. iv

... those fearing death. As regards us, (his) weapons have fallen." When he had heard this (report) from Onesicritus, he desired the more to see the Indian sage(?) because a single naked old man had defeated him who had taken many peoples. He proceeded therefore with five friends to the forest of Dandamis, whom on drawing near he saw sitting ... Alexander dismounting from his horse set down his diadem ... in that hour he saw earth free from blood. "I come to you," he said, "because I want to hear your words of profit ... for they say that you consort with the gods themselves. Teach me what you contemplate (that is) superior to (the thought of) the Greeks." Dandamis answers him thus: "I want to implant in you a mind from the gods, but you have not left me room in your heart. Insatiable desires fill your soul which battle with me because I detain you and you are not slaughtering peoples of many nations, pouring out (their) blood. And those with you are aggrieved with me because they see a city standing and (its) men still safe. But you want to go even to the Ocean and after it to another inhabited world. ...

Duke University, Durham
Köln

William H. Willis
Klaus Maresch*

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Begegnung Alexanders mit den Brahmanen (P. Rob. inv. 40 + P. Köln inv. 907)