him an account of it which he wrote in his diary. He says that
the king approached with outstretched hands as a suppliant, and
that the sages from their seats nodded as if granting his petition,
at which he rejoiced greatly as at the oracle of a god; but of his son
and brother they took no more notice than of the slaves who
accompanied him. Iarchas then rose and asked him if he would
eat. The king assented, and four tripods like those in Homer’s
Olympus rolled themselves in, followed by bronze cup-bearers.
The earth strewed itself with grass, softer than any couch; and
sweets and bread, fruits and vegetables, all excellently well pre-
pared, moved up and down in order before the guests. Of the
tripods two flowed with wine, two with water hot and cold. The
cups, each large enough for four thirsty souls, and the wine
coolers, were each one of a single stone, and of a stone in Greece
so precious as to be set in rings and necklaces. The bronze cup-
bearers poured out the wine and water in due proportions, as
usual in drinking bouts. They all lay down to the feast, the king
with the rest, for no place of honour was assigned him.

In the course of the dinner Iarchas said to the king, “I pledge
you the health of this man”, pointing to Apollonius, and with his
hand signifying that he was a just and divine man. On this the
king observed, “I understand that he, and some others who have
put up in the village, are friends of Phraotes”. “You under-
stand rightly”, said Iarchas, “for even here he is Phraotes’ guest”.
“But what are his pursuits?” asked the king. “Those of Phrao-
tes”, answered Iarchas. “Worthless guest worthless pursuits!
they prevent even Phraotes from becoming a man indeed”, said the
king. “Speak more modestly of philosophy and Phraotes”, ob-
erved Iarchas,—“this language does not become your age”. Here
Apollonius, through Iarchas, inquired of the king “what advantage
he derived from not being a philosopher?” “This, that I possess
all virtue and am one with the sun”, answered the king. Apollo-
nius: “You would not think thus if you were a philosopher”. The
king: “Well friend as you are a philosopher, tell us what you
think of yourself”. Apollonius: “That I am a good man so
long as I am a philosopher”. The king: “By the sun, you come
here full of Phraotes”. Apollonius: “Thank heaven then, that
I have not travelled in vain; and if you could see Phraotes, you
would say he was full of me. He wished to write to you about
me, but when he told me that you were a good man, I bade him
not take that trouble, for I had brought no letter to him”. When
the king heard that Phraotes had spoken well of him; he was pacified and forgot his suspicions; and in a gentle tone said: "Welcome, best friend", "Welcome you", said Apollonius, "one would think you had but just come in". "What brought you to this place?" asked the king. "The Gods and these wise men", answered Apollonius. "But tell me stranger, what do the Greeks say of me?" he next inquired. "Just what you say of them", said Apollonius. "But that is just nothing", he replied. "I will tell them so, and they will crown you at the Olympic games", Apollonius observed. Then turning to Iarchas: "Let us leave this drunken fool to himself. But why pray do you pay no attention to his son and brother and do not admit them to your table?" "Because", answered Iarchas, "they may one day rule, and by slighting them we teach them not to slight others". Apollonius then perceiving that the number of the Sophoi was eighteen observed to Iarchas that it was not a square number, nor indeed a number at all honoured or distinguished. Iarchas, in answer, told him that they paid no attention to number, but esteemed virtue only; he added, that the college when his grandfather entered it consisted of eighty-seven Sophoi, and that his grandfather then found himself its youngest, and eventually in the one hundred and thirtieth year of his age, its only surviving member; that no eligible candidate having in all that time offered himself for admission, he remained four years without a colleague; and that when he then received from the Egyptians congratulations on his alone occupying the seat of wisdom he begged them not to reproach India with the small number of its wise men. Iarchas then went on to blame the Elians, in that as he had heard from the Egyptians, they elected the Olympic dikasts by lot, and thus left to chance what should be the reward of merit; and that they always elected the same number,—never more, never less; and that they thus sometimes excluded good men and sometimes were obliged to choose bad ones. Better, he said, it had been if the Elians had allowed the number of the dikasts to vary with circumstances, but had always required in them the same qualifications.

The king here rudely interrupted them, and expressed his dislike of the Greeks, and spoke of the Athenians as the slaves of Xerxes; Apollonius turning to him asked if he had any slaves of his own. "Twenty thousand", he answered, "and born in my house. "Well, then", said Apollonius (always through Iarchas), "as you do not run away from them but they from you, so Xerxes
fled like a worthless slave from before the Athenians when he had been conquered at Salamis". "But surely", observed the king, "Xerxes, with his own hands, set fire to Athens?" "Yes", said Apollonius, "but how fearful was his punishment! He became a fugitive before those whom he had hoped to destroy; and in his very flight was most unhappy: for had he died by the hands of the Greeks, what a tomb would they not have built for him! what games not instituted in his memory!—as knowing that they honoured themselves when they honoured those whom they had subdued". On this the king burst into tears, and excused himself, and attributed his prejudices against the Greeks to the tales and falsehoods of Egyptian travellers, who while they boasted of their nation as wise and holy and author of those laws relating to sacrifices and mysteries which obtain in Greece, described the Greeks as men of unsound judgment, the scum of men, insolent and lawless, romancers, and miracle-mongers, poor, and parading their poverty not as something honourable but as an excuse for theft. "But now", he went on to say, "that I know them to be full of goodness and honour, I hold them as my friends, and as my friends praise them and wish them all the good I can. I will no longer give credit to these Egyptians". Iarchas here observed that though he had long seen that the Egyptians had the ear of the king, he had said nothing but waited till the king should meet with such a counsellor as Apollonius. "Now however that you are better taught, let us", he concluded, "drink together the loving cup of Tantalus and then to sleep: for we have business to transact to night. I will however as occasion offers indoctrinate you in Grecian learning, the fullest in the world. And so stooping to the cup he first drank and then handed it to the other guests; and there was enough for all, for it bubbled up as if from a fountain.

They lay down to rest, and arose at midnight, and aloft in the air hymned the praises of the sun’s ray. The Sophoi then gave private audience to the king. Next morning early, after the sacred rites, the king, for the law forbade his remaining more than one day at the college, retired to the village and vainly pressed Apollonius to visit him there. The Sophoi then sent for Damis, whom they admitted as a guest. The conversation now began; and Iarchas discoursed on the world: how it is composed of five elements—water, fire, air, earth, and aether, and how they are all co-ordinate, but that from aether the Gods, from air mortals, are generated; how moreover the world is an animal and herma-
phrodite; and how as hermaphrodite it reproduces by itself and of itself all creatures; and how as intelligence it provides for their wants, and with scorching heats punishes their wrong doing. And this world Iarchas further likened to one of those Egyptian ships which navigate the Red Sea. "By an old law no galley is allowed there; but only vessels round fore and aft fitted for trade. Well, these vessels the Egyptians have enlarged by building up their sides, and fitting them with several cabins, and they have manned them with pilots at the prow, seamen for the masts and sails, and marines as a guard against the barbarians; and over and above them all have set one pilot who rules and directs the rest. So in the world there is the first God, its creator; next him, the gods who rule its several parts—sung by the poets, as gods of rivers, groves, and streams; gods above the earth, and gods under the earth; and perchance too below the earth, but distinct from it, is a place terrible and deadly". Here, unable to contain himself, Damis cried out, in admiration: "Never could I have believed that any Indian was so thoroughly conversant with the Greek language, and could speak it with such fluency and elegance";

A messenger now announced and introduced several Indian suppliants—a child possessed, a lame and blind man, etc.—all of whom were cured.

Iarchas further initiated Apollonius, but not Damis, in astrology and divination and in those sacrifices and invocations in which the gods delight. He spoke of the divining power as raising man to an equality with the Delphian Apollo, and as requiring a pure heart and a stainless life, and as therefore readily apprehensible by the aethereal soul of Apollonius. He extolled it as a source of immense good to mankind, and referred to it the physician's art—for was not Aesculapius the son of Apollo? and was it not through his oracles that he discovered the several remedies for diseases, herbs for wounds, etc?

Then turning in a pleasant way, to Damis,—"And you Assyrian", he said, "do you never foresee anything—you, the companion of such a man?" "Yes, by Jove", answered Damis, "matters that concern myself; for when I first met with this Apollonius, he seemed to me a man full of wisdom and gravity and modesty and patience; and for his memory and great learning and love of learning I looked upon him as a sort of Daemon; and I thought that if I kept with him, that instead of a simple and ignorant man I should become wise,—learned instead of a barbarian; and that
if I followed him and studied with him I should see the Indians
and see you; and that through his means I should live with the
Greeks, a Greek. As to you then, you are occupied with great
things, and think Delphi and Dodona or what you will. As for
me, when Damis predicts he predicts for himself only like an old
witch”. At these words all the Sophoi laughed.

Apollonius enquired about the Martichora, an animal the
size of a lion, four-footed with the head of a man, its tail long with
thorns for hairs which it shoots out at those who pursue it;—
about the golden fountain too; and the men who use their feet for
umbrellas, the sciapods. Of the golden fountain and Martichora
Iarchas had never heard; but he told Apollonius of the Pentarba
and showed him the stone and its effects. It is a wonderful gem
about the size of a man’s thumbnail and is found in the earth
at a depth of four fathoms; but though it makes the ground to
swell and crack, it can only be got at by the use of certain cere-
monies and incantations. It is of a fiery colour and of extraordi-
nary brilliancy, and of such power, that thrown into a stream it
draws to it and gathers round it all precious stones within a cer-
tain considerable range. The pigmies he said lived on the other
side of the Ganges and under ground; but the Sciapods and Long-
heads were mere inventions of Scylax. He described also the gold-
digging griffins; that they were sacred to the Sun (his chariot is
represented as drawn by them), about the size of lions, but stronger
because winged; that their wings were a reddish membrane, and
hence their flight was low and spiral; that they overpowered lions,
elephants, and dragons; and that the tiger alone because of his
swiftness was their equal in fight. He told of the Phoenix, the
one of his kind, born of the sun’s rays and shining with gold, and
that his five hundred years of life were spent in India; and he
confirmed the Egyptian account of this bird—that singing his own
dirge he consumed himself in his aromatic nest at the fountains of
the Nile. Similarly also swans it is said sing themselves to death,
and have been heard by those who are very quick of ear.

They remained four months with the Sophoi. When they
took their departure, Iarchas gave Apollonius seven rings named
after the seven planets; these rings he ever afterwards wore each
in its turn on its name-day. The Sophoi provided him and his
party with camels and a guide, and accompanied them on the
road; and prophesying that Apollonius would even during his life
attain the honours of divinity they took leave of him, and many
times looking back as in grief at parting with such a man returned to their college. Apollonius and his companions, with the Ganges on their right the Hyphasis on their left (sic), travelled down towards the sea-coast, a ten days' journey, and on their road they saw many birds and wild oxen, asses and lions, panthers and tigers, and a species of ape different from those that frequent the pepper-groves, black, hairy, and dog-faced, and like little men. And so conversing as their custom was of what they saw, they reached the coast, where they found a small factory and passage-boats of a Tuscan build and the sea of a very dark colour. Here Apollonius sent back the camels with this letter to Iarchas:

"To Iarchas and the other Sophoi from Apollonius, greeting: I came to you by land, with your aid I return by sea, and might have returned through the air—such is the wisdom you have imparted to me. Even among the Greeks I shall not forget these things, and shall still hold commerce with you—or I have indeed vainly drunk of the cup of Tantalus. Farewell, ye best philosophers."

Apollonius then embarked, and set sail with a fair and gentle breeze. He admired the Hyphasis, which at its mouth narrow and rocky hurries through beetling cliffs into the sea with some danger to those who hug the land. He saw too the mouth of the Indus, and Patala, a city built on an island formed by the Indus, where Alexander collected his fleet. And Damis confirms what Orthagoras has related of the Red Sea—that the Great Bear is not there visible; that at noon there is no shadow; and that the stars hold a different position in the heavens.

He speaks of Byblius with its large mussel, and of Pagala of the Oritae where the rocks and the sands are of copper; of the city Stobera and its inhabitants the Ichthyophagi, who clothe themselves in fish-skins and feed their cattle on fish; of the Carnani, an Indian race and civilized, who of the fish they catch keep only what they can eat, and throw the rest living back into the sea; and of Balara where they anchored, a mart for myrrh and palms. He tells too of the mode in which the people get their pearls. In this sea which is very deep the white-shelled oyster is fat, but naturally produces no pearls. When however the weather is very calm and the sea smooth and made still smoother by pouring oil upon it, the Indian diver equipped as a sponge-cutter, with the addition of an iron plate and a box of myrrh, goes down to hunt for oysters. As soon as he has found
one he seats himself beside it, and with his myrrh stupefies it and makes it open its shell. The moment it does this, he strikes it with a skewer and receives on his iron plate cut into shapes the ichor which is discharged from its wound. In these shapes the ichor hardens, and the pearls thus made differ in nothing from real pearl. This sea, he adds, is full of monsters, from which the sailors protect themselves by bells, at the poop and prow. Thus sailing, they at last reach the Euphrates, and so up to Babylon, and again meet Bardanes.

III. Commentary

In reviewing this account of India, our first enquiry is into the authority on which it rests. Damis was the companion of Apollonius, so Philostratus and not impossibly public rumour affirmed. Damis wrote a journal, and though no scholar, was, according to Philostratus, as capable as any man of correctly noting down what he saw and heard. But Damis died, and his journal, if journal he kept and such a journal ever existed, lay buried with him for upwards of a century, till one of his family presented it to the Empress Julia Domna, the wife of Severus, curious in such matters. But in what state?—untouched?—with no additions to suit the Empress’s taste? Who shall tell? Again, the Empress did not order this journal to be published, but gave it to Philostratus, a sophist and a rhetorician, with instructions to rewrite and edit it; and so re-written and edited he at length published it, but not till after the death of his patroness, the Empress. Weighing then these circumstances, all open to grave suspicion, every one must admit that the journal of Damis gives no authority to Philostratus’s work; but that this last, and more especially the books which relate to India, may give authority to the journal and history. By their contents then they must be judged.

That Apollonius should pay little attention to, and not very accurately describe, external objects might be expected. One can understand that, occupied with the soul and gods, he should toil up the Hindu-kush without one remark on its snow-covered peaks—one plaint on the difficulties and dangers of its ascent. But how explain these lengthy descriptions of animals and natural wonders that never had existence? If you put forward Damis—of the earth, earthy, the Sancho Panza of this Quixote—an eager and credulous listener, you have still to show how it is, that these
descriptions so exactly tally with those of Ctesias and the historians of Alexander; how it is they are never original, except to add to our list of errors or to exaggerate errors already existing. Thus on Caucasus, more fortunate than the soldiers of Alexander, he not only hears of Prometheus but sees his chains. He climbs Mount Nysa, and has to tell of Bacchus and his orgies, and they are now no longer the inventions of flattery as Eratosthenes so shrewdly suspected, for Damis there found his temple and his statue. Similarly in general terms Seleucus Nicator and Onesicritus had vaunted the long life of elephants; but in Taxila Damis admired the elephant of Porus and on its golden bracelets read its name and age. Copying Ctesias, he speaks of the Indus as forty stadia broad where narrowest, of giant Indians five cubits high; of warms with an inextinguishable oil; of winged griffins, but instead of large as wolves he makes them as large as lions: and of the swift one-horned ass and the jewel Pantarbus, both of which he and Apollonius saw. Again Onesicritus knew by hearsay of serpents the pots of Aposeisares, of eighty and a hundred and forty cubits. Damis had been present at a dragon-hunt and had seen dragons' heads hanging as trophies in the streets of Paraka. Surely such information, not put forward as mere reports but solemnly vouched for, can never have come from a man who had really visited India, or they came from one of as little authority as Mendez Pinto, when he gives an account of his expedition to and a description of the imperial tombs of China.

But, it will be said, these wonders were the common stock in trade of Indian travellers; every man believed in them, and every man who went to India and wrote of India, was ashamed of not seeing at least as much as his predecessors. Leaving then these common-places, examine Damis where he is original, or nearly so. To him we owe the porphyry temple and the metal mosaics at Taxila; to him, that spur of Caucasus, stretching down from the Indian side of the Hyphasis to the Indian Ocean; to him, its pepper forests, and its monkeys, so useful in gathering the pepper harvests. Through him we know of the groves sacred to Venus, and the unguent so necessary to an Indian marriage. He alone tells of the wondrous hill; its crater fire of pardon, its rain-cask, and its brimming-cup of Tantalus; and though of wind-bags and of self-acting tripods Homer had already written, and though of a well of the test Ctesias had vaguely heard and its qualities Bardesanes has described, Damis gives them local habita-
tion, has seen them all.

With the Sophoi Damis lived four months in closest intimacy, and yet from his description of them, who shall say, who and what they were? To the powers he ascribes to them both Buddhists and Brahmans pretend. But while their mode of election determined by ancestral and personal character points them out as Buddhists, their name, their long hair, their worship of the sun, declare them Brahmans. But Buddhist or Brahman, at their feet after a long and weary travel Apollonius sits a disciple, and they instruct him—in doctrines and opinions which were current at Athens. In the very heart of India he finds its sages though "inland far they be", well acquainted with Greek geography and the navigation of the Grecian seas, worshipping Greek gods, speaking Greek, thinking Greek,—more Greek than Indian. Absurd and impossible as this description seems to us, our Damis, if I judge him rightly, was not the man to advance what the Greek mind was wholly unprepared to receive. Accordingly, long ago Clitarchus and the historians of Alexander had announced an Indo-Greek Bacchus; to him Megasthenes added a Hercules; and more recently Plutarch had proclaimed, I know not on what authority, that the Indians were worshippers of the Greek gods; vague rumours therefore of such a worship were not improbably current, and Damis's journal merely confirmed them. Again Nicolaus Damascenus was the first who spoke of the Greek language in connection with India. He states, that when at Antioch Epidaphe he met with some Indian ambassadors on their way to Augustus Caesar, and that their letter of credentials was in Greek. Diodorus, quoting Iambulus, speaks of the king of Palibothra as a lover of Greeks. Plutarch (end of the first century), though he does not name the Indians, in enumerating the great deeds of Alexander, narrates that by his means Asia was civilised and Homer read there, and that the children of Persians, Susians, and Gedrosians sang the tragedies of Euripides and Sophocles. Dio Chrysostom, contemporary with Plutarch and a friend of Apollonius, in a Panegyric upon Homer, insists upon his wide-spread reputation; that he lived in the memory not only of Greeks but of many of the barbarians; "for his poems it is said are sung by the Indians, who have translated them into their own language; so that a people who do not contemplate the same stars as ourselves, in whose heaven our polar star is not visible,—are not unacquainted with the grief of Priam and the tears and
wailings of Hecuba and Andromache and the courage of Achilles and Hector". Aelian, of about the same age as Philostratus, tells us that not only the Indians but the kings of Persia also have translated and sung the poems of Homer, "if one may credit those who write on these matters". On such vague authority, coupled doubtless with the fact that an Indo-Greek kingdom had formerly existed and had at one time extended to the Jumna, and that barbaric kings so honoured Greece that on their coins they entitled themselves Philhellenes, Damis built up this part of his romance, which flattered Greek prejudices and soothed Greek vanity and was willingly received by that influential and educated class to whom it was addressed, and who were struggling to give new life and energy to the perishing religion of Greece.

Of Damis's geography I can only say that it reminds me of a fairy tale. As soon as he leaves the well-known scene of Alexander's exploits, he crosses mountains unknown to any map, and then describes an immense plain of fifteen days' journey to the Ganges and eighteen days to the Red Sea, but which he himself travels over in fourteen days; for in four days he reaches the hill of the Sophoi, and thence in ten days arrives at the one mouth of the Hyphasis. Who shall explain these discrepancies, account for these mistakes, and fix localities thus vaguely described?

Reviewing the whole work of Philostratus, it seems to me that Apollonius either pretended or was believed to have travelled through, and made some stay in India, but that very possibly he did not really visit it; and that if he did visit it, our Damis never accompanied him, but fabricated the journal Philostratus speaks of, for it contains some facts, from books written upon India and tales, current about India, which he easily collected at that great mart for Indian commodities and resort for Indian merchants—Alexandria.

FOOTNOTES

2 The Cambridge Ancient History, XII. 618.
3 Ibid., 614 Conybeare, op cit., v-vii.
4 Conybeare, op. cit., vii.
5 M-V, p. 195. Also cf. section III of the following extract.
6 Cf. fn., 1.
7 M-V, pp. 191 ff.
8 The Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana and the Indian Embassies to Rome, by Osmond de Beauvoir Piaulx (1879).
XI. AELIAN

Claudius Aelianus, who flourished in the second-third century A.D., settled in Rome and taught rhetoric in the days of the Emperor Hadrian. He wrote two books, one of which, entitled On the Peculiarities of Animals, became popular and was regarded as a standard work on Zoology. It deals with quite a large number of birds and animals of India. A considerable portion of the work relating to India has been translated by McConville. A few selected passages from this are given below.¹

III. 46². An Indian elephant-trainer fell in with a white elephant-calf, which he brought when still quite young to his home, where he reared it, and gradually made it quite tame and rode upon it. He became much attached to the creature, which loved him in return, and by its affection requited him for its maintenance. Now the king of the Indians, having heard of this elephant, wanted to take it; but the owner, jealous of the love it had for him, and grieving much, no doubt, to think that another should become its master, refused to give it away, and made off at once to the desert mounted on his favourite. The king was enraged at this, and sent men in pursuit, with orders to seize the elephant, and at the same time to bring back the Indian for punishment. Overtaking the fugitive they attempted to execute their purpose, but he resisted and attacked his assailants from the back of the elephant, which in the affray fought on the side of its injured master. Such was the state of matters at the first, but afterwards, when the Indian on being wounded slipped down to the ground, the elephant, true to his salt, bestrides him as soldiers in battle bestride a fallen comrade, whom they cover with their shields, kills many of the assailants, and puts the rest to flight. Then twining his trunk around his rearer he lifted him on to his back, and carried him home to the stall, and remained with him like a faithful friend with his friend, and showed him every kind attention. [O men! how base are ye! ever dancing merrily when ye hear the music of the frying-pan, ever revelling in the banquet, but traitors in the hour of danger, and vainly and for nought sullying the sacred name of friendship.]

VI. 37. Repeats Plutarch's story of the elephant of Porus (see above, p. 197).

XII. 8. The elephant when feeding at large ordinarily drinks water, but when undergoing the fatigues of war is allowed wine,—not that sort, however, which comes from the grape, but another which is prepared from rice. The attendants even go in
advance of their elephants and gather them flowers; for they are very fond of sweet perfumes, and they are accordingly taken out to the meadows, there to be trained under the influence of the sweetest fragrance. The animal selects the flowers according to their smell, and throws them as they are gathered into a basket which is held out by the trainer. This being filled, and harvest-work, so to speak, completed, he then bathes, and enjoys his bath with all the zest of a consummate voluptuary. On returning from bathing he is impatient to have his flowers, and if there is delay in bringing them he begins roaring, and will not taste a morsel of food till all the flowers he gathered are placed before him. This done, he takes the flowers out of the basket with his trunk and scatters them over the edge of his manager, and makes by this device their fine scent be, as it were, a relish to his food. He strews also a good quantity of them as litter over his stall, for he loves to have his sleep made sweet and pleasant.

The Indian elephants were nine cubits in height and five in breadth. The largest elephants in all the land were those called the Praisian, and next to these the Taxilan.

XII. 44. In India an elephant if caught when full-grown is difficult to tame, and longing for freedom thirsts for blood. Should it be bound in chains, this exasperates it still more, and it will not submit to a master. The Indians, however, coax it with food, and seek to pacify it with various things for which it has a liking, their aim being to fill its stomach and to soothe its temper. But it is still angry with them, and takes no notice of them. To what device do they then resort? They sing to it their native melodies, and soothe it with the music of an instrument in common use which has four strings and is called a skindapsos. The creature now pricks up its ears, yields to the soothing strain, and its anger subsides. Then, though there is an occasional outburst of its suppressed passion, it gradually turns its eye to its food. It is then freed from its bonds, but does not seek to escape, being enthralled with the music. It even takes food eagerly, and, like a luxurious guest riveted to the festive board, has no wish to go, from its love of the music.

XII. 48. Not only the Indians, but the kings of Persia have translated and sung the poems of Homer, if one may credit those who have written on these subjects.

XIII. 18. In the Indian royal palace where the greatest of all the kings of the country resides, besides much else which is
calculated to excite admiration, and with which neither Memnonian Susa with all its costly splendour, nor Ecbatana with all its magnificence can vie (for, methinks, only the well-known vanity of the Persians could prompt such a comparison), there are other wonders besides, which I cannot undertake to describe in this treatise. In the parks tame peacocks are kept, and pheasants which have been domesticated; and among cultivated plants there are some to which the king's servants attend with special care, for there are shady groves and pasture-grounds plated with trees, and branches of trees which the art of woodsman has deftly interwoven. And these very trees, from the unusual benignity of the climate, are ever in bloom, and, untouched by age, never shed their leaves; and while some are native to the soil, others are with circumspect care brought from other parts, and with their beauty enhance the charms of the landscape. The olive is not of the number, this being a tree which is neither indigenous to India, nor thrives when transported thither. Birds and other animals that wander at freedom and have never been tamed resort of themselves to India and there build their nests and form their lairs. Parrots are natives of the country, and keep hovering about the king and wheeling round him, and vast though their numbers be, no Indian ever eats a parrot. The reason of all this is that they are believed to be sacred and that the Brachmans honour them highly above all other birds. They assign a specious enough reason for their doing so—namely, that the parrot alone, from the admirable conformation of its vocal organs, can imitate human speech. Within the palace ground there are also artificial ponds of great beauty in which they keep fish of enormous size but quite tame. No one has permission to fish for these except the king's sons while yet in their boyhood. These youngsters amuse themselves without the least risk of being drowned while fishing in the unruffled sheet of water and learning how to sail their boats.8

XIII. 22. An elephant trained for the purpose is the first to make an obeisance to the king of the Indians when he leaves the place to administer justice, and never forgets this duty, or refused to perform it. Close by the animal stands its keeper, who gives it a reminder of the lesson it has been taught by a stroke of the goad, and by accents of the native speech which elephants through a mysterious endowment of nature peculiar to themselves are capable of understanding. They are also stirred by the war-
spirit as if showing that they keep this lesson in mind. Four-and twenty elephants are constantly kept as guards of the king's person, and they relieve each other in turn just like other guards. They are trained likewise not to fall asleep when on guard, for they are tutored even to do this by the skill of the Indians. Hekataios the Milesian relates that Amphiaraos, the son of Aikles, being oppressed with sleep, neglected his watch and just escaped suffering what this writer mentions. But elephants are wakeful, and as they are not overpowered by sleep, they are, next to men, the most faithful of all sentinels.

XIII. 25. Horses and elephants being animals of great use in arms and warfare are held in the highest esteem by the Indians. In their king's service they fetch bundles of hay, which they deposit in the stalls, and provender also, which they bring home fresh and green and undamaged. When the king finds their freight in this condition, he expresses his satisfaction, but if not, he punishes most severely the men in charge of the elephants and horses. Even very small animals are not beneath his regard, and he even accepts them when brought to him as presents; for the Indians do not look down with contempt at any animal whatever, whether it be tame or even wild. For instance, subjects that are of rank offer the king such presents as cranes and geese, hens and cocks, turtle-doves and attagens, partridges and pindals (birds like the attagens), and other that are smaller than the above mentioned, such as bokalides and fly-catchers, and what are called kestrels. They show these below the feathers to prove the extent of their fatness. They give also animals which they have caught, stags, and antelopes, and gazelles and oryxes and unicorn asses (of which I have made previous mention), and also different kinds of fish, for they bring even these as presents.

XV. 7. In India, and more especially in the country of the Prasians, liquid honey falls like rain upon the herbage and the leaves of marsh-reeds, and supplies sheep and oxen with an admirable kind of nutriment, the exceeding sweetness of which the animals highly relish. Now the herdsmen drive them to those spots where this delicious dew falls and lies, and the cattle return supply the herdsmen with a delicious repast, for they yield a very sweet milk which does not require honey to be mixed with it as is done in Greece.

XV. 8. The Indian pearl-oyster (I have already spoken of the Erythraean kind) is caught in the following manner. There
is a city which a man of royal extraction called Soras governed at the time when Eucratides governed the Bactrians, and the name of that city is Perimuda. It is inhabited by a race of fish-eaters who are said to go off with nets and catch the kind of oysters mentioned, in a great bay by which a vast extent of the coast is indented. It is said that the pearl grows upon a shell like that of a large mussel, and that the oysters swim in great shoals, and have leaders, just as bees in their hives have their queen-bees. I learn further that the leader is bigger and more beautifully coloured than the others, and that in consequence the divers have a keen struggle in the depths which of them shall catch him, since when he is taken they catch also the entire shoal, now left, so to speak, forlorn and leaderless, so that it stirs not, and, like a flock of sheep that has lost its shepherd, no longer moves forward against any incipient danger. As long, however, as the leader escapes and skilfully evades capture, he guides their movements and upholds discipline. Such as are caught are put into tubs to decay, and when the flesh has rotted and run off, nothing is left but the round pebble. The best sort of pearl is the Indian and that of the Red Sea. It is produced also in the Western Ocean where the island of Britain is. This sort seems to be of a yellowish colour, like gold, while its lustre is dull and dusky. Juba tells us that the pearl is produced in the straits of the Bosporus and is inferior to the British, and not for a moment to be compared with the Indian and Red Sea kind. That which is obtained in the interior of India is said not to have the proper characteristics, but to be a rock crystal.

XV. 14. The Indians bring to their king tigers made tame, domesticated panthers, and oryxes with four horns. Of oxen there are two kinds—one fleet of foot, and the other extremely wild, and from (the tails of) these oxen they make fly-flaps. The hair on their body is entirely black, but that of the tail is of the purest white. They bring also pigeons of a pale yellow plumage which they aver cannot be tamed or ever cured of their ferocity; and birds which they are pleased to call kerkoronoi, as well as dogs of that noble breed of which we have already spoken; and apes, some of which are white, and others again black. Those apes that are red-coloured they do not bring into towns, as they have a mania for women, and, if they assault them, are put to death from the abhorrence roused by such a lascivious outrage.

XV. 15. The great King of the Indians appoints a day
every year for fighting between men, as I have mentioned elsewhere, and also even between brute animals that are horned. These butt each other, and with a natural ferocity that excites astonishment, strive for victory, just like athletes straining every nerve whether for the highest prize, or for proud distinction, or for fair renown. Now these combatants are brute animals—wild bulls, tame rams, those called meson, unicorn asses, and hyænas, an animal said to be smaller than the antelope, much bolder than the stag, and to butt furiously with its horns. Before the close of the spectacle, elephants come forward to fight, and with their tusks inflict death-wounds on each other. One not unfrequently proves the stronger, and it not unfrequently happens that both are killed.

XV. 21. When Alexander was assaulting some of the cities in India and capturing others, he found in many of them, besides other animals, a snake, which the Indians, regarding as sacred, kept in a cave and worshipped with much devotion. The Indians accordingly with every kind of entreaty implored Alexander to let no one molest the animal, and he consented to this. Now when the army was marching past the cave, the snake heard the sound that arose (that kind of animal being very sharp both of hearing and sight), and hissed so loud and emitted such gusts of rage that every one was terrified and quite confounded. It was said to be seventy cubits long, and yet the whole of it was not seen, but only its head that projected from the cave. Its eyes, moreover, are reported to have equalled the size of the large, round Macedonian shield.

XV. 24. The Indians make much ado also about the oxen that run fast; and both the king himself and many of the greatest nobles take contending views of their swiftness, and make bets in gold and silver, and think it no disgrace to stake their money on these animals. They yoke them in chariots and incur hazard on the chance of victory. The horses that are yoked to the car run in the middle with an ox on each side, and one of these wheels sharp round the turning-post and must run thirty stadia. The oxen run at a pace equal to that of the horses, and you could not decide which was the fleeter, the ox or the horse. And if the king has laid a wager on his own oxen with any one, he becomes so excited over the contest that he follows in his chariot to instigate the driver to speed faster. The driver again pricks the horses with the goad till the blood streams, but he keeps his hand off
the oxen, for they run without needing the goad. And to such a pitch does the emulation in the match between the oxen rise, that not only do the rich and the owners of the oxen lay heavy bets upon them, but even the spectators, just as Idomeneus the Cretan and the Locrian Ajax are represented in Homer betting against each other. There are in India oxen of another kind, and these look like very big goats. These are yoked together, and run very fast, being not inferior in speed to the horses of the Getae.

XVI. 2. I hear that parrots are birds found in India, and I have made mention of them already; but some particulars, which I then omitted, I take the opportunity of setting down here. There are, I am told, three kinds of them. All of them however, if taught like children, become like them able to talk and utter words of human speech. In the woods, however, they emit notes like those of other birds, but do not utter sounds that are significant and articulate—for without teaching they cannot talk. There are also peacocks in India, the largest of their kind anywhere found, and wood-pigeons with pale-green feathers, which one ignorant of ornithology on seeing for the first time would take to be parrots and not pigeons. They have bills and legs of the same colour as Greek partridges. There are in India cocks also of the largest size, with crests not red-coloured like those of our cocks at least, but many-hued like a coronal of flowers. Their rump feathers are neither curved nor curled, but broad, and they trail them as peacocks do their tails when they do not lift and erect them. The plumage of these Indian cocks is of a golden and a gleaming azure colour like the smaragdus stone.

XVI. 17. In the sea which has been mentioned they say there is a very large island, of which, as I hear, the name is Taprobane. From what I can learn, it appears to be a very long and mountainous island, having a length of 7000 stadia and a breadth of 5000. It has not, however, any cities, but only villages, of which the number amounts to 750. The houses in which the inhabitants lodge themselves are made of wood, and sometimes also of reeds.

XVI. 18. In the sea which surrounds the islands, tortoises are bred of so vast a size that their shells are employed to make roofs for the houses. For a shell, being fifteen cubits in length, can hold a good many people under it, screening them from the scorching heat of the sun, besides affording them a welcome
shade. But more than this; it is a protection against the violence of storms of rain far more effective than tiles, for it at once shakes off the rain that dashes against it, while those under its shelter hear the rain rattling as on the roof of a house. At all events they do not require to shift their abode, like those whose tiling is shattered, for the shell is hard and like a hollowed rock and the vaulted roof of a natural cavern.

The island, then, in the great sea, which they call Taprobane, has palm-groves, where the trees are planted with wonderful regularity all in a row, in the way we see the keepers of pleasure-parks plant out shady trees in the choicest spots. It has also herds of elephants, which are there very numerous and of the largest size. These island elephants are more powerful than those of the mainland, and in appearance larger, and may be pronounced to be in every possible way more intelligent. The islanders export them to the mainland opposite in boats, which they construct expressly for this traffic from wood supplied by the thickets of the island, and they dispose of their cargoes to the king of the Kalingai. On account of the great size of the island, the inhabitants of the interior have never seen the sea, but pass their lives as if residents on a continent, though no doubt they learn from others that they are all around enclosed by the sea. The inhabitants, again, of the coast have no practical acquaintance with elephant-catching, and know of it only by report. All their energy is devoted to catching fish and the monsters of the deep; for the sea encircling the island is reported to breed an incredible number of fish, both of the smaller fry and of the monstrous sort, among the latter being some which have the heads of lions and of panthers and of other wild beasts, and also of rams; and, what is still a greater marvel, there are monsters which in all points of their shape resemble satyrs.

XXIV. 13-15. When it is said that an Indian by springing forward in front of a horse can check his speed and hold him back, this is not true of all Indians, but only of such as have been trained from boyhood to manage horses; for it is a practice with them to control their horses with bit and bridle, and to make them move at measured pace and in a straight course. They neither, however, gall their tongue by the use of spiked muzzles, nor torture the roof of their mouth. The professional trainers break them in by forcing them to gallop round and round in a ring, especially when they see them refractory. Such as undertake this
work require to have a strong hand as well as a thorough knowledge of horses. The greatest proficient test their skill by driving a chariot round and round in a ring; and in truth it would be no trifling feat to control with ease a team of four high-mettled steeds when whirling round in a circle. The chariot carries two men who sit beside the charioteer. The war-elephant, either in what is called the tower, or on his bare back in sooth, carries three fighting men, of whom two shoot from the side, while one shoots from behind. There is also a fourth man, who carries in his hand the goad wherewith he guides the animal, much in the same way as the pilot and captain of a ship direct its course with the helm.

L. 4. The Indians neither put out money at usury, nor know how to borrow. It is contrary to established usage for an Indian either to do or suffer a wrong, and therefore they neither make contracts nor require securities.

Footnotes

1 (M. II. 73, 89, 93, 117-19, 169-70, 177—fn. 1; M-V. 141-7
2 Schwanbeck, and following him, McCrindle, ascribe this extract to Megasthenes (M-II 118), but on very insufficient grounds.
3 The palace described in this passage seems to be that of the Maurya Emperor at Pataliputra, but there is no evidence to show that it was copied from Megasthenes, as McCrindle supposes (M-V. 142). A similar account is given by Curtius (see above p 103)
XII. DIONYSIOS PERIEGETES

Dionysios is distinguished from a host of writers of the same name by the surname of Periegetes from his authorship of a work in hexameter verse which contains a Description of the whole world. Nothing is known for certain either of the age or the country of this Dionysios, but he probably wrote towards the end of the third century A.D. His poem became so popular that it was translated into Latin verse and used as a schoolbook for teaching geography. The original consists of 1187 lines, of which 85 are devoted to the description of India and its conquest by Barchus. The work is one of considerable poetic merit. The following extracts are based upon the English Translation of McCrindle (M.V., 187-90)

LI 1080-1165. Direct now they attention eastwards to the part of Asia that still is left over, for the delineation of the continent is now nearing its completion. Hard by the Persian waters of the ocean dwell the Carmanians under the orient sun—settled not far off from the Persian land in separate spheres of the country, some along the shores of the sea and others in the interior. To the east of these stretches away the land of the Gederians, lying on the verge of the vast ocean, next to whom in the orient dwell the Scythians of the South, on the banks of the river Indus, which welling from fountains amid the soaring peaks of Caucasus, and rushing with furious speed straight south, goes, in ending its course, to encounter the tides of the Erythracian. The river has two mouths, and dashes against the island enclosed between them, called in the tongue of the natives, Patalene. Many, need I say, are the races of men whom it disperses. On the side where the sun sinks to his couch, are the Oreotans and Aribes and the Ara-chotians clad in linen mantles, and the Satradians and the dalesmen of Parnasos—all bearing the common name of Arcianians. Far from delectable is the land of their abode—here a wilderness of barren sand, and there a dense jungle. But within there are ways by which help comes to these poor mortals, for the earth yields them unalloyed wealth in another form—for they find the stone of red coral everywhere, and everywhere again the veins of underlying rocks give birth to beauteous tablets of the golden-hued and azure sapphire-stone, which they detach from the parent rock and part with at prices which yield them a livelihood. But on the eastern side the lovely land of the Indians lies outspread, the last of all lands, on the very lips of the ocean where the ascending sun with his earliest beams scatters heat and radiance over the works of gods and men. Hence the complexions of the dwellers there are dark, their limbs exquisitely sleek and smooth, and
the hair of their head surpassing soft, and dark-blue like the hyacinth. They are variously occupied—some by mining seek for the matrix of gold, digging the soil with well-curved pickaxes; others ply the loom to weave textures of linen; others saw the tusks of elephants and burnish them to the brightness of silver; and others along the courses of mountain torrents search for precious stones—the green beryl, or the sparkling diamond, or the pale-green translucent jasper, or the yellow-stone of the pure topaz, or the sweet amethyst, which with a milder glow imitates the hue of purple. For India enriches her sons with wealth in every form, being everywhere watered with perennial streams; nay, having moreover its meadows bedecked even with perpetual verdure, for while in one place the fields are covered with crops of grain, they flourish elsewhere with whole forests of the red-hued reed.

Attend to me now while I tell thee of the shape of India, and of its rivers and high-soaring mountains, and of the races of men who possess it. It has four sides which make oblique angles at their points of junction, so that it thus somewhat resembles a rhombus in shape. On the west its frontier is determined by the waters of the Indus, on the south by the billows of the Erythraean sea, on the east by the Ganges, and in the quarter of the polar Bears by Caucasus. Many are the men who possess this country, and happy the lives they lead, but they do not form a single community bearing a common name; on the contrary, they are separated into various tribes, each with a name of its own. Thus those called Dardanians have their seats by the mighty flood of the Indus, where the tortuous Akesines, sweeping down from his rock, is received by the navigable waters of the Hydaspes. After these follows thurd the Kophes with its silver eddies—and between them dwell the Sibai and Taxlans and then the Skodroi. Next come the wild tribes of the Peukalensians, beyond whom lie the seats of the Gargaridae, worshippers of Bacchus, where, swiftest of streams, the Hypanis, and the divine Magarses carry down the shining seeds of gold. Rushing down from the heights of Emodos these rivers take their course to the regions of the Ganges, sweeping on to the frontiers of the realms of Kolis in the south. Now, the land here projects into the deep-whirling ocean in steep precipices, over which the fowls of heaven in swift flight can hardly wing their way, whence men have named the Rock Aornis. Then again, hard by the fair-flowing Ganges is wondrous spot of holy ground greatly honoured, having once on a time been trodden by
the infuriated Bacchus, when his soft fawn-skins were exchanged for shields, and his thyrsi rushed into swords of steel, and their ivy-wreaths and curling tendrils of the vine became coils of snakes, because at that time the people in their folly paid no heed to the festival of the god. Hence arose the name they gave the place, that of the Nysaean track, and hence along with their children they began to celebrate the orgies with all the due rites. But the god himself, when he had crushed the dark-coloured Indian races, advanced to the mountains of Emodos, at whose base rolls the mighty stream of the Eastern Ocean.

Priscian, the celebrated grammarian, translated the poem of Dionysios into Latin hexameter verse, in which occur the following lines, to which I can find nothing correspondent in the original text:

Some of the Indians are so tall that they can mount elephants with as much ease as they mount horses. Others who pursue wisdom go about naked, and, what is wonderful, look with eyes undazzled on the sun, and, while concentrating their vision on his rays, concentrate also their minds on the holy themes, and in his light grasp the meaning of the secret signs of what is to be. Indigenous here is the green parrot adorned round the neck with a ring of red feathers—the bird which imitates the accents of the human tongue.

FOOTNOTES.

1 Evidently Mount Paropamisas (Hindu Kush).
2 The Himalayas
XIII. ACCOUNTS OF THE BRAHMANAS AND SRAMANAS

This chapter contains extracts from different writers describing the lives and habits of Indian Brahmanas and Sramanas. The latter term seems to include both Buddhists and Jains. The last section concerns two individual ascetics named Calanus and Dandamus who flourished at the time of Alexander (4th century B.C.).

The extracts in sections 1-4 are based on McCrindle's Translation (M-V, pp. 167-186, and M-II, 105-4), and those in section 5 are taken from M-II, 115-6, 120-9

1. BARDAISAN (BARDESANES)

Bardasian was an early teacher of Christianity and wrote a number of works in Syriac which are all lost. According to the Chronicle of Edessa which is a trustworthy work, he was born in that city in A.D. 154. Porphyry states that on one occasion at Edessa (a city in the northern extremity of Mesopotamia) he met an Indian delegation to the Roman Emperor and learnt from them the nature of Indian religion. According to Stobæus (who probably flourished about the beginning of the sixth century A.D.) the Indian embassy was headed by Dandamus or Sandanes, and came to Syria during the reign of the Emperor Elagabalus (A.D. 218-22). The information regarding the Indian Gymnosophists which Bardasian gathered from the Indians was embodied in a work. This work is lost but an extract has been preserved by Porphyry (A.D. 235-305) in the fourth Book of his treatise On Abstinence from Animal Food. This is reproduced below from McCrindle (M-V, pp. 169 ff.) as Extract A.

It is to be noted that Porphyry calls Bardasian a Babylonian, but there is hardly any doubt that he refers to the Christian writer of that name, born in Edessa, mentioned above.

Two extracts from the work of Bardasian have been preserved by Joannes Stobæus mentioned above, who compiled a valuable series of extracts from Greek authors. The first Extract B, is more or less identical with A, and the second Extract C, deals with other matters. Both are reproduced from McCrindle-V, pp. 167-9 and 172-4.

De Ablutentia, Book IV. 16. But since we have already made mention of one of the foreign nations which is known to fame, and righteous and believer to be pious towards the gods, we shall proceed to further particulars regarding them.

17. For since in India the body politic has many divisions, one of them is the order of the holy sages, whom the Greeks are wont to call the Gymnosophists, and of whom there are two sects—the Brachmans and the Samaeans. The Brachmans form the leading sect, and succeed by right of birth to this kind of divine wisdom as to a priesthood. The Samaeans, on the other hand, are selected, and consist of persons who have conceived a wish to devote themselves to divine wisdom. Their style of life is described as follows by Bardesanes, a Babylonian who lived in the days of our fathers, who met with those Indians who accompanied
Damadamis on his embassy to the emperor. For all the Brach-
mans are of one race, all of them deducing their origin from one
(common) father and one (common) mother. The Samanaeans,
again, are not of their kindred, but are collected, as we have said,
from all classes of the Indians. The Brachman is not subject to
the authority of the king, and pays no tribute with others to the
state. Of these philosophers, some live on the mountains, and
others on the banks of the river Ganges. The mountain Brach-
mans subsist on fruits and cow-milk, curdled with herbs, while the
dwellers by the Ganges subsist on the fruits which grow in great
plenty on the banks of that river, for the soil produces an almost
constant succession of fresh fruits—nay, even much wild rice which
grows spontaneously, and is used for food when there is a lack of
fruit. But to taste anything else, or so much as to touch animal
food, is held to be the height of impurity and impiety. They in-
culcate the duty of worshipping the deity with pious reverence.
The whole day and greater part of the night they set apart for
hymns and prayers to the gods. Each of them has a hut of his
own in which he passes as much time as possible in solitude. For
the Brahmanes have an aversion to society and much discourse.
and when either occurs, they withdraw and observe silence for
many days, and they even frequently fast. The Samanaeans, on
the other hand, are, as we have observed, collected from the people
at large, and when any one is to be enrolled in their order, he pre-
sents himself before the magistrates of the city or of the village to
which he happens to belong, and there resigns all his possessions
and his other means. The superfluous parts of his person are
then shaved off, and he puts on the Samanaean robe and goes away
to join the Samanaeans, taking no concern either for his wife or
his children, if he has any, and thinks of them no more. The
king takes charge of his children and supplies their wants, while
his relatives provide for his wife. The life of the Samanaeans is
on this wise. They live outside the city, and spend the whole
day in discourse on divine things. Their houses and temples are
founded by the king, and in them are stewards who receive a fixed
allowance from the king for the support of the inmates of the
convents, this consisting of rice, bread, fruits, and pot-herbs. When
the convent bell rings all strangers then in the house withdraw, and
the Samanaeans entering offer up prayers. Prayer over, the bell
rings a second time, whereupon the servants had a dish to each
(for two never eat out of the same vessel). The dish contains
BRAHMANAS AND SRAMANAS

rice, but should one want a variety he is supplied with vegetables, or some kind of fruit. As soon as dinner, which is soon despatched, is over, they go out and betake themselves to their usual occupations. They are neither allowed to marry nor to possess property. They and the Brahmans are held in such high honour by the other Indians that even the king himself will visit them to solicit their prayers when the country is in danger or distress and their counsel in times of emergency.

18. Both classes take such a view of death that they endure life unwillingly, as being a hard duty exacted by nature, and accelerate the release of their souls from their bodies; and frequently, when their health is good and no evil assails or forces them, they take their leave of life. They let their intention to do so be known to their friends beforehand, but no one offers to prevent them; on the contrary, all deem them happy, and charge them with messages to their dead relatives, so firm and true is the belief in their own minds, and in the minds of many others, that souls after death have intercourse with each other. When they have heard the commissions entrusted to them, they commit their body in complete purity, and then they die amid hymns resounding their praises, for their most attached friends dismiss them to death with less reluctance than it gives us to part with our fellow-citizens who set out on a distant journey. They weep, but it is for themselves, because they must continue to live, and those whose death they have witnessed they deem happy in their attainment of immortality. And neither among those Samanæans nor among the Brachmances whom I have already mentioned, has any sophist come forward, as have so many among the Greeks, to perplex with doubts by asking where would we be if every one should copy their example.

B.

According to Stobæus (who flourished probably about the beginning of the sixth century) an Indian embassy came to Syria in the reign of Antoninus of Emesa (Flagabalis), who reigned from A.D. 218-222 (Physica, i 54). The chief of this embassy, Dandamis or Sandanes, having in Mesopotamia met with Bardanes¹, communicated to him information regarding the Indian Gymnosophists which Bardanes embodied in a work now lost, but of which the following fragment has been preserved by Stobæus from Porphyry.
The Indian Theosophs, whom the Greeks call Gymnosophists, are divided into two sects, Brahmons and Shamans, Samaeanoi. The Brahmons are one family, the descendants of one father and mother, and they inherit their theology as a priesthood. The Shamans, on the other hand, are taken from all Indian sects indifferently, from all who wish to give themselves up to the study of the divine things. The Brahmons pay no taxes like other citizens, and are subject to no king. Of the philosophers among them, some inhabit the mountains, others the banks of the Ganges. The mountain Brahmons subsist on fruit and cow's milk, curdled with herbs. The others live on the fruit of trees which are found in plenty near the river and which afford an almost constant succession of fresh fruits, and, should these fail, on the self-sown wild rice that grows there. To eat any other food, or even to touch animal food, they hold to be the height of impiety and uncleanness. Each man has his own cabin, and lives as much as he can by himself, and spends the day and the greater part of the night in prayers and hymns to the gods. And they so dislike society, even that of one another, or much discourse, that when either happens, they expiate it by a retirement and silence of many days. They fast often.

The Shamans, on the other hand, are, as I said, an elected body. Whoever wishes to be enrolled in their order presents himself to the city or village authorities, and there makes cession of all his property. He then shaves his body, puts on the Shaman robe, and goes to the Shamans, and never turns back to speak or look at his wife and children if he have any, and never thinks of them any more, but leaves his children to the king and his wife to his relations, who provide them with the necessaries of life. The Shamans live outside the city, and spend the whole day in discourse upon divine things. They have houses and temples of a royal foundation, and in them stewards, who receive from the king a certain allowance of food, bread, and vegetables for each convent. When the convent bell rings, all strangers then in the house withdraw, and the Shamans enter and betake themselves to prayer. Prayer ended, at the sound of a second bell the servants place before each individual, for two never eat together, a dish of rice, but to any one who wants variety they give besides either vegetables or fruit. As soon as they have done dinner, and they hurry over it, they go out to their usual occupations. They are not allowed to marry or to possess property. They and
the Brahmins are so honoured by the Indians, that even the king will come to them to solicit their counsel in matters of moment, and their intercession with the gods when danger threatens the country.

Both Shamans and Brahmins have such a notion of death that they impatiently bear with life, and view it but as a necessary though burdensome service imposed upon them by nature. They hasten, therefore, to free the soul from the body. And often when a man is in good health, and no evil whatever presses upon him, he will give notice of his intention to quit the world, and his friends will not try to dissuade him from it, but rather account him happy, and give him messages for their dead relations; so firm and true is the conviction of this people that souls after death have intercourse with one another. When he has received all his commissions, he throws himself, in order that he may quit the body in all purity, into a burning pile, and dies amid the hymns of the assembled crowd. And his nearest friends dismiss him to his death more willingly than we our fellow-citizens when about to set out on some short journey. They weep over themselves that they must continue to live, and deem him happy who has thus put on immortality. And among neither of these sects, as among the Greeks, has any sophist yet appeared to perplex them by asking, "If everybody did this, what would become of the world?"

C.

Physica, i. 56. Gaisford's Edition—Bardisanes has recorded that a lake in India still exists called the Lake of Probation, into which any Indian goes down who professes his innocence of a crime with which he is charged. The Brachmans apply the ordeal in this way. They ask the man if he is willing to undergo the trial by water, and if he declines they send him to be punished as being guilty. But should he consent, they conduct him to the lake with his accusers, for these also are subjected to the ordeal by water, lest the charge they prefer should be fictitious or malevolent. On entering the water they pass through to the other side of the lake, which is everywhere knee-deep for every one who goes in. Now should the accused be innocent, he goes in and passes through without any fear, and is never wet above the knee; but if guilty, before he goes far the water is over his head. Then the Brachmans drag him out of the water and deliver him
up alive to his accusers, considering him to deserve any punishment short of death. But this is of rare occurrence, since no one cares to deny his guilt through dread of the ordeal by water.

The Indians, then, have this lake for the trial of voluntary offences, and they have another besides for the voluntary and involuntary alike—in fact, for the trial of a man’s whole life. Bardisanes gives the account of it, which I transcribe in his own words: They (the Indian ambassadors) told me further that there was a large natural cave in a very high mountain almost in the middle of the country, wherein there is to be seen a statue of ten, say, or twelve cubits high, standing upright with its hands folded crosswise—and the right-half of its face was that of a man, and the left that of a woman; and in like manner the right hand and right foot, and in short the whole right side was male and the left female, so that the spectator was struck with wonder at the combination, as he saw how the two dissimilar sides coalesced in an indissoluble union in a single body. In this statue was engraved, it is said, on the right breast the sun, and on the left the moon, while on the two arms was artistically engraved a host of angels and whatever the world contains, that is to say, the sky and mountains and a sea, and a river and ocean, together with plants and animals—in fact, everything. The Indians allege that the deity had given this statue to his son when he founded the world as a visible representation thereof. And I inquired, adds Bardisanes, of what material this statue was made, when Sandales assured me, and the others confirmed his words, that no man could tell what the material was, for it was neither gold, nor silver, nor brass, nor stone, nor indeed any known substance, but that though not wood it most resembled a very hard wood, quite free from rot. And they told how one of their kings had tried to pluck out one of the hairs about the neck, and how blood flowed out, whereat the king was so struck down with terror that, even with all the prayers of the Brachmans, he hardly recovered his senses. They said that on its head was the image of a god, seated as on a throne, and that in the great heats the statue ran all over with sweat, so copiously discharged that it would have moistened the ground at the base, did not the Brachmans use their fans to stop the flux. Farther on in the cave, a long way behind the statue, all, the Indians say, was dark, and those who wish, go in advance with lighted torches till they come to a door from which water issues and forms a lake around the far end of
the cave. Through this door those must pass who desire to prove themselves. Those who have lived unstained with vice pass through without impediment, the door opening wide to them, and find within a large fountain of water clear as crystal and of sweetest taste—the source of the stream spoken of. The guilty, however, struggle hard to push in through that door, but fail in the attempt, for it closes against them. They are thus compelled to confess their offences against others, and to entreat the rest to pray for them. They also fast for a considerable time.

Sandanes further stated that himself and his companions found the Brachmans on an appointed day assembled together in this place, that some of them spent their life there, but that others come in the summer and autumn when fruit is plentiful both to see the statue and meet their friends, as well as to prove themselves whether they could pass through the door. At the same time, it is said, they examine the sculptures on the statue and try to discover their meaning, for it is not easy to attend to the whole representation, the objects being numerous, while some of the plants and animals are not to be found in any part of the country. Such then is the account which the Indians give to the ordeal by water. It is, I think, of this water in the cave that Apollonius of Tyana makes mention, for when writing to the Brachmans he swears this oath. 'No, by the water of Tantalus, you shall not initiate me into your mysteries'; for, it seems to me, he speaks of this water of Tantalus because it punishes with the disappointment of their hopes those who come eagerly to it, and try to drink of it.

2. DION CHRYSOSTOM

Dion, surnamed Chrysostom or the golden-mouthed, on account of his shining abilities as an orator, was born at Prusa, a city of Mysea, about the middle of the first Christian century. He found occupation at first in his native place, where he held important offices, practised the composition of speeches and rhetorical essays, and studied philosophy. Eight of his Orations are still extant, and these sufficiently justify the opinion of the ancients that Dion is one of the most eminent among the Greek rhetoricians and sophists. His style is praised for its Attic purity and grace.

Oratio. XXXV. 434. No men live more happily than you (the Phrygians), with the exception of the Indians, for in their country, 'tis said, the rivers flow not, like yours, with water, but one river with pellucid wine, another with honey, and another with oil, and they have their springs among the hills—in the breasts, so to speak, of the earth. In these respects there is a world of
difference between you and them as regards pleasure and power; for what you have here, you get with difficulty and in a shabby way, pilfering trees of their fruits, calves of their milk, and bees of their honey; but in India things are altogether purer, except, I imagine, for violence and rascality. The rivers flow for one month for the king, and this is his tribute, but for the rest of the year they flow for the people. So then they pass each day in the society of their children and their wives at the sources and by the streams of the rivers, playing and laughing as if at a festival. Along the river banks there flourishes in great vigour and luxuriance the lotus—and this is about the sweetest of all comestibles, and not like our lotus, which is no better than food for cattle. Sesame also grows there in abundance, and parsley, as one might conjecture from their similarity—but in respect of excellence of quality there can be no comparison. In the same country is produced another seed yielding a better and much more suitable food than wheat and barley. This grows in large enveloping leaves like a rose, but these leaves are more fragrant and of larger size. The roots of these plants they eat as well as the fruit, and they require not to labour. There are many channels to convey water from the rivers, some of them large and others which are smaller and mingle with each other. These are made by the inhabitants as suits their pleasure; and they convey water in ducts with facility, just as you convey water for the irrigation of your gardens. They have besides at hand water-baths of two kinds; that which is hot and clearer than silver, and the other dark-blue by reason of its depth and coldness. In these the women and children swim about together—all of them models of beauty. Emerging from the bath, I can fancy them lying down in the meadows, commingling their sweet voices in mirth and song. And there the meadows are of ideal loveliness, and decked by nature with flowers, and with trees, which from overhead cast a protecting shade, and offer fruit within reach of all who would pluck it from the descending branches. Of birds, again, there is a great plenty, which make the hills where they have their homes resound with their songs, while others, from the spray of overhanging boughs, warble notes more melodious than those played by your instruments of music. The wind, too, blows gently, and there is always an equable temperature, such as prevails at the beginning of summer, and besides all this, the sky is there clearer than yours, and surpasses it in the multitude and splendour of its stars. Their span
of life is not less than forty years, and for all this time they are in the bloom of youth and they know neither old age nor disease nor want. But, though India is actually in the enjoyment of all these blessings, there are nevertheless men called Brachmans, who, bidding adieu to the rivers and turning away from those with whom they had been thrown in contact, live apart, absorbed, in philosophic contemplation, subjecting their bodies to sufferings of astonishing severity, though no one compels them, and submitting to terrible endurances. It is said, further, that they possess a remarkable fountain—that of truth—by far the best and most divine of all—and that any one who has once tasted it can never be satiated or filled with it.

These statements are not fictions, for some of those who come from India have ere now asserted them to be facts, and some few do come in pursuit of trade. Now these do business with the inhabitants of the sea coast, but this class of Indians is not held in repute, and are reprobated by the rest of their countrymen. You must needs then acknowledge that the people of India are more blest than yourselves, while you are yourselves more blessed than all others, with the solitary exception of a race of men that are the richest in gold. This gold, let me tell you, they take from ants—creatures that are larger than foxes, though in other respects like your own foxes. They dig under the earth in the same way as other ants, but the gold which they heap up is purer than all other gold and of greater brilliancy. The mounds are piled up close to each other in regular order like hillocks of gold dust, and flash their splendour all the plain over. It is difficult in consequence to look towards the sun, and many who have tried to do so have ruined their eyesight. The men who are next neighbours to the ants, in seeking to plunder these mounds, cross the intervening space—a desert of no great extent, mounted on wagons drawn by their swiftest horses. They arrive at noon when the ants have gone underground, and seizing at once the contents of the mound, take to flight. The ants on discovering the theft give chase, and overtaking the robbers, close with them in fight till they conquer or die; for in prowess they surpass all other wild beasts.

Oratio. XLIX. 538. The Indians have the Brachmans, who excel in self-control and in righteousness and their love of the Diving Being, whence they have a better knowledge of the future than other men have of the present
Oration. XXXII. 373. For I see in the midst of you (the Alexandrians) not only Greeks, Italians, Syrians, Libyans, Cilicians, Ethiopians, Arabians, but even Bactrians and Scythians and Persians, and some Indians who view the spectacles with you and are with you on all occasions.

Oration. LIII. 554-55. It is said that the poetry of Homer is sung by the Indians, who had translated it into their own language and modes of expression, so that even the Indians, to whom many of our stars are invisible since it is said that the Bears do not show themselves in their horizon, are not unacquainted with the woes of Priam, and the weeping and wailing of Andromache and Hecuba, and the heroic feats of Achilles and Hector, so potent was the influence of what one man had sung.

3. PSEUDO-KALLISTHENES

Kallisthenes, the nephew of Aristotle, was one of the men of learning who accompanied Alexander on his Asian expedition. He offended Alexander by reproaching him for introducing the dress and manners of the Persian Court into his own. He was accused at Bakthia of having instigated the conspiracy of the Count Pegas, was imprisoned and cruelly put to death. The Romance History was falsely ascribed to him.

C. Muller, who is so well known as the editor of the "Geographici Graeci Minores" and other classical texts, published in 1816, along with the "Anabasis" and the "Indicae" of Arrian, the Romance History of Alexander the Great under the title "Pseudo-Kallisthenes." In his Preface to this work, after expressing a fear lest, in composing the "Pseudo-Kallisthenes" with Ptolemy and Aristobulus, he should be charged with wandering from his proper into an alien sphere, he says it is very remarkable how widely the myths about Alexander were spread throughout the world and how it came to pass that, in days when Europe, spurred by the crusading spirit, invaded Asia, these myths became themes of song. Since Muller thus wrote, much light has been thrown on their origin and the traditions by which they reached their present form.

The Greek MSS. which contain them were long lost sight of, buried in the depths of various European libraries. There existed, however, translations in Italian, French, and German, not made from the original Greek, but from a Latin version made in Egypt by Julius Valerius not later than the beginning of the fifth century of our era. The original appears to have been composed before the middle of the fourth century. No single MS. is complete but what is wanting in the one which forms the basis of the text is supplied from other MSS. To the Greek text is subjoined the Latin version of Julius Valerius. In the third of the three books into which the history is divided, we find Alexander in India. He is represented to have entered it after overcoming the reluctance of his army to encounter toils and dangers anew after the conquest of Pimp. He was opposed by Porus, whom he slew in single combat. He then proceeded to the country of the Ondrakai, where he lived with the Brahmins or Gymnosophists, with whose doctrines and practices he had a great desire to become acquainted. An account is given at great length of his intercourse with these pious ascetics, who condescended to receive his visit, instruct his philosophy, and failed not to impress upon him the superior grandeur of their view of life to his. From the Brahmins he marched forward to Praisac, the capital of India, which was seared on a promontory which overlooked the sea. From Praisac Alexander wrote a long epistle to his old master, Aristotle, in which he described the difficulties and dangers...
which he had encountered on his march, and the many kinds of strange animals and other marvels which he had seen and witnessed. On leaving India he went on his way to visit Candace, the Queen of Meroe, who was famous for her beauty and the splendour of her capital.

In the midst of the report of the conversations held between Alexander and the Brahmins, is abruptly inserted in the leading MS. a small treatise about the Natious of India and the Brachmanas, which does not belong to the History of Alexander, but to the Lausac Histories of Palladius, who wrote about 420 A.D. Muller has subjoined the Latin version of this little work prepared by St. Ambrose. Here I give it in English from the Greek text.

Book-III. vii. Your great love of labour, of learning, and of the beautiful, and your piety—a disposition of mind which adorns the best men—have induced us to take in hand yet another work, a narrative full to overflowing of wise instruction. We then, prompted by our regard for you, in addition to what we have already related, will further give you a description of the Brachmans, whose country I have neither visited, nor met with any of its people; for they live far remote, dwelling near the Ganges, the river of India and Serica. But I merely reached the Akrotèria of India a few years ago with the blessed Moses, the Bishop of Adulê, for, being distressed by the heat, which was so fierce that water which on gushing from its fountain was excessively cold began to boil when put into a vessel, I turned back when I noticed this, as I found no shelter from the burning heat.

This river Ganges is in our opinion that which is called in Scripture the Phison, one of the rivers which are said to go out from Paradise. A story is told of Alexander, the King of the Macedonians, in which their (the Brahman’s) mode of life is described; but to connect the story with him is perhaps a mistake, for he did not, I think, make his way to the Ganges, but penetrated to Sèrica, where the Sèrcs produce silk, and where he erected a stone pillar with the inscription: ‘Alexander, the King of the Macedonians, reached this place’.

Now, for what I have been able to learn about the Brachmans I am indebted to a certain Theban scholar, who willingly left his home to travel abroad, but had unwillingly to endure captivity. This person, so he told me, was unfitted by nature to succeed in the legal profession, and, regarding it with indifference, resolved to explore the land of the Indians. So he set sail with an elderly man and came first to Adoulis (Adulê), and next to Auxoumê... in which a petty Indian King resided. After spending some time there and making many acquaintances, he formed a wish to visit the island of Taprobanê, inhabited by the people called Makro-
biot (that is, the long-lived). For in the island the old live to 150
years by reason of the extreme goodness of the climate and through
the unsearchable will of Heaven. In this island, too, resides the
Great King of the Indians, unto whom all the petty kings of that
country are subject as satraps, as the scholar himself explained to
me, who had himself learned the fact from some one else, for he
had not been able to enter the island. In the neighbourhood of this
island, if I have not been falsely informed, are a thousand other
islands in the Erythraean Sea lying close to each other. Since,
then, the magnet stone which attracts iron exists in these islands,
which are called the Maniolai, if any vessel that has iron nails
approaches them, it is held back by the property inherent in the
magnet so that it cannot reach the shore. But there are boats
specially adapted for crossing over into that great island, being
fastened with the wooden pegs.

viii. ‘This island,’ the traveller says, ‘has five very large rivers,
which are navigable. As the islanders informed him, the trees in
these parts were never without fruit—for, as he states, while on
the same tree one spray is budding, another has unripe fruit, and a
third fruit that is quite ripe. The island has also palm-trees and
nuts of the largest size produced in India, as well as the small
odoriferous nut. The inhabitants of that country live on milk,
icce, and fruit. As neither cotton nor flax is a product of their
soil, they wear round their loins the fleeces of sheep beautifully
worked, but leave the rest of the body bare. The sheep have hair
instead of wool, give great quantities of milk, and have broad tails.
They use as food mutton and goat flesh, but not pork—for from
the Thebaid to the farthest confines of India and Ethiopia the swine
is not to be found on account of the excessive heat. The scholar
therefore relates, that “when I found certain Indians engaged in
commerce, embarking on a voyage across from Auxoumê, I was
tempted to go farther afield, and reached the people called the
Bisadace, who gather the pepper. They are a feeble folk, of very
diminutive stature, and live in caves among the rocks. They un-
derstand how to climb precipices through their intimate know-
ledge of the localities, and are thus able to gather the pepper from
the bushes”. For, as my informant, the scholar, told me, pepper
grows on a low dwarf tree, while the Bisadace are small men of
stunted growth, but with big heads, the hair of which is straight
and is not cut. The Ethiopians and Indians elsewhere are black
and of a youthful appearance and have bristly hair. When I pluc-
ked up courage and endeavoured to enter that country, I was prevented by the sovereign, and neither did they understand what I said in my own behalf, as they knew not the language of my country, nor did I again know what inquiries they were addressing to me, for I knew not their language. All we could do was to keep in line with each other by employing distortions of the eyes as intelligible signs. For my part, I conjectured the import of what was charged against me from the bloodshot colour of their eyes and from the fierce grinding of their teeth. They, on the other hand, were quick to perceive from the trembling of my limbs, the paleness of my face, from my terror and anguish, the pitiable state of my mind and the coward fears that shook my frame. I was accordingly detained among them for six years, during which I had to work in the service of a baker to whom I was handed over. The expenditure of their king, he says, was a peck (Modus, Latin Modus) of flour for the whole palace. Where this king came from I knew not as I was in captivity for six years, I thus by degrees learned a good deal of their language, and acquired also some knowledge of the adjacent tribes. I got away, he proceeds, from that place in the manner following. Another king, who made war upon the one who detained me, accused him to the Great King, who resided in Tapa-robanâ, of having made a Roman citizen of importance prisoner, and of subjecting him to the meanest of employments. Then the Great King sent one of his officers to investigate the case, and he, on learning the truth, ordered the offender to be flayed and his skin to be made into a bag, for his insolent treatment of a Roman. For the people there are said to have a profound respect for the Roman Empire, yea, even to entertain a dread of the Romans, who could invade their country, owing to their matchless courage and their prowess in war.

9. The traveller stated that the Brahman nation was not an order like that of the monks, which one could enter if he chose—but a society, admission into which was allotted from above by the decrees of God. They live in a state of nature near the river, and go about naked. They have no quadrupeds, no tillage, no iron, no house, no fire, no bread, no wine, no implement of labour, nothing tending to pleasure. The air they breathe is at once bracing and temperate, and altogether most delightful. They reverence the Deity, and are not so scant of wit as to be unable to discern aright the principles of divine Providence. They pray without ceasing, and, while so engaged, instead of looking towards the East, they
direct their eyes steadfastly towards heaven without averting their gaze to the East. They subsist on such fruits as chance offers, and on wild lupines that grow spontaneously. They drink water as they roam about the woods, and they take their repose on the leaves of trees. In their country *persunon* (elecampane?) grows abundantly and acantha wood, and the soil elsewhere yields fruits for the sustenance of man. And the men dwell by the shores of the ocean on yonder side of the river Ganges, for this river discharges its waters into the ocean—but their women live on the other side of the Ganges, towards the interior of India. The men cross over to their wives in the months of July and August. These months are colder with them than the other months, because at that season the sun is elevated in our direction and over the North; and it is said that the temperature is more exhilarating and adapted to excite the sexual desires. After spending forty days with their wives they recross the river. When the wife has borne two children, her husband does not again cross over nor go near his wife. When, therefore, they have given sons as their substitutes, they abstain for the rest of their lives from intercourse with their wives. But if it happens that a wife proves barren, her husband crosses over to her for five years and cohabits with her. And if she does not then bear a child, he no longer goes near her. The race accordingly does not multiply much, both because of the hardships to which life is exposed in these regions, and also the strict control of the impulse to procreation. Such is the body politic of the Brachmans.

x. They say that the crossing of the river is rendered difficult by the monstrous creature called the Odontotyrannos. For it is an animal of most enormous size that lives in the river, and that can swallow down whole the amphibious elephant. At the time when the Brachmans cross over to their wives it is not seen thereabouts. There are besides huge snakes in those parts seventy cubits long. I saw the skin of one of them, and its breadth measured five cubits. There, too, are the ants of old renown, and scorpions a cubit long. Travelling in these places, need I say, is beset with great peril and difficulty. But enormous animals are not found everywhere in the country, but only in uninhabited places. There are large herds of elephants.

Arrian, the disciple of Epiktētos the philosopher, who had been a slave, but whose genius for philosophy led him to take up its pursuit in the days of the Emperor Nero, who put to death the
illustrious apostles, the blessed Peter and Paul—this Arrian wrote a history of Alexander the Macedonian, a work which I acquired and sent to thee, brave and worthy sir, packed up along with my own Memoir, which if you read intelligently, and study with care, you will live in security.

4. INCIDENTAL NOTICES

A. CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS

Clemens was a native of Athens and was probably born about A.D. 150, but as he spent the greater part of his life in Alexandria, the capital of Egypt, he was surnamed the Alexandrian. During his residence there he became the disciple of Pantaenus, who was the head of the Christian School of Alexandria, and whom he succeeded in that office in 211 A.D. His notice of the Brachmans or Brahman is contained in his work which he called Stromateis, to indicate the miscellaneous nature of its contents. He probably lived till A.D. 220.

Stromateis. III. 194. The Brachmans neither eat anything having life nor drink wine, but some of them every day, like ourselves, take food, while others of them do so once in three days, as Alexander Polyhistor relates in his Indika. They despise death, and set no value on life; for they are persuaded that there is a new birth (paliggenesia), and these worship Herakles and Pan. But those Indians who are called Semnoi go naked all their lives. These practise truth, make predictions about futurity, and worship a kind of pyramid beneath which they think the bones of some divinity lie buried. But neither the Gymnosophists nor the Semnoi use women, for they regard this as contrary to nature and unlawful; for which reason they keep themselves chaste. The Semnai, too, remain virgin. They observe closely the heavenly bodies, and by the indications of futurity which these offer, make some predictions.

I. 305. That the Jewish race is by far the oldest of all these, and that their philosophy, which has been committed to writing, preceded the philosophy of the Greeks, Philo the Pythagorean shows by many arguments, as does also Aristoboulos the Peripatetic, and many others whose names I need not waste time in enumerating. Megasthenes, the author of a work on India, who lived with Seleukos Nikator, writes most clearly on this point, and his words are these:—"All that has been said regarding nature by the ancients is asserted also by philosophers out of Greece, on the one part in India by the Brachmanes, and on the other in Syria by the people called the Jews."
Philosophy, then, with all its blessed advantages to man, flourished long ages ago among the barbarians, diffusing its light among the Gentiles, and eventually penetrated into Greece. Its hierophants were the prophets among the Egyptians, the Chaldaeans among the Assyrians, the Druids among the Gauls, the Sarmanaeans who were the philosophers of the Bactrians and the Celts, the Magi among the Persians, who, as you know, announced beforehand the birth of the Saviour, being led by a star till they arrived in the land of Judaea, and among the Indians the Gymnosophists, and other philosophers of barbarous nations.

There are two sects of these Indian philosophers—one called the Sarmânaí and the other the Brachmânaí. Connected with the Sarmânaí are the philosophers called the Hyloboios, who neither live in cities nor even in houses. They clothe themselves with the bark of trees, and subsist upon acorns, and drink water by lifting it to their mouth with their hands. They neither marry nor beget children [like those ascetics of our own day called the Enkratéatai. Among the Indians are those philosophers also who follow the precepts of Boutta, to whom they honour as a god on account of his extraordinary sanctity.

B. ST. JEROME (C.A.D. 340-420)

II. Adv. Jovm. 14. Bardesanes, a Bactrianian, divides the Indian Gymnosophists into two sects, one of which he calls Brachmâns and the other Samanaeans, who are so abstemious that they subsist on the fruits of trees or a public allowance of rice or flour. And the king on coming to them worships them, and the peace of his dominions depends according to his judgement on their prayers.

Contra Jov, Epist. pt. I., Tr. ii. 26. Hence among the Gymnosophists there is a tradition which lends authority to this opinion (the honour of virginity), that Buddha (Buddas), the founder of their doctrine, was born from the side of a virgin.

C. PLUTARCH. (See p. 194)

T. II. p. 36. To bewail him who enters life because of the many ills he comes to, but on the other hand to dismiss from his earthly home him whom death hath released from his miseries with gladness and expressions of felicitation.
D. ARCHELAOS.

Archeaos, the Bishop of Catha in Mesopotamia, is famous for the discussion which he held in public with the heretic Manes in A.D. 278.

Archeaioi et Munetis Disputation, I. 97. Terebinthus proclaimed himself learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and gave out that his name was no longer Terebinthus, but that he was a new Buddha (Buddhas), for such was the name he now assumed, and that he was born of a virgin, and had been brought up on the mountains by an angel.

E. KEDRENOS

Kedrene, a Greek monk of the eleventh century was the compiler of a Synopsis of History, which begins with the creation of the world and goes down to the year 1057. As an author he shows himself deficient alike in historical knowledge and in judgment. Of his life nothing is known.

Synopsis. Hist. I. pp. 516-17. Bohn's Edition.—And in this year of the Emperor Constantine, Metrodorus, a Persian by birth, on pretence of philosophy, went off to India and the Brachmans, and by leading a strictly ascetic life won their respect and reverence. He constructed for them water-mills and baths—things previously unknown in the country. This man for his piety was admitted into the most sacred recesses of their temples, and stole their precious stones and pearls. He received also from the king of the Indians presents to carry to the emperor, and those he gave to him as if they were his own.

F. HIEROKLES

Hierokles, a native of Byzantium in Kreta, is supposed to have been the author of a work called Ornomata, of which Stobaeus has preserved some extracts.

Hierokles—From Stephanos of Byzantium, s.v. Brachmanes. After this I thought it worth my while to go and visit the Brahman caste. These men are philosophers dear to the gods, and especially devoted to the sun. They abstain from all flesh meats and live out in the open air, and honour truth. Their dress is made of the soft and skin-like fibres of stones, which they weave into a stuff that no fire burns or water cleanses. When their clothes get soiled or dirty, they are thrown into a blazing fire, and come out quite white and bright.—Priaulx's Trans.
Hierokles—from the *Chiliads* of Tzetzes (VII. *Hist.* 144-716).—Then I came to a country very dry and burnt up by the sun. And all about this desert I saw men naked and houseless, and of these some shaded their faces with their ears, and the rest of their bodies with their feet raised in the air. Of these men Strabo has a notice, as also of the no-heads and ten-heads and four-hands-and-feet men, but none of them did I ever see, quoth Hierokles.

5. CALANUS AND DANDAMIS

a. Arrian—*Anabasis of Alexander* (See p. 5) VII. ii. 3-9.

This shows that Alexander, notwithstanding the terrible ascendency which the passion for glory had acquired over him, was not altogether without a perception of the things that are better; for when he arrived at Taxila and saw the Indian gymnosophists, a desire seized him to have one of these men brought into his presence, because he admired their endurance. The eldest of these sophists, with whom the others lived as disciples with a master, Dandamis by name, not only refused to go himself, but prevented the others going. He is said to have returned this for answer, that he also was the son of Zeus as much as Alexander himself was, and that he wanted nothing that was Alexander’s (for he was well off in his present circumstances), whereas he saw those who were with him wandering over so much sea and land for no good got by it, and without any end coming to their many wanderings. He coveted, therefore, nothing Alexander had it in his power to give, nor, on the other hand, feared aught he could do to coerce him: for if he lived, India would suffice for him, yielding him her fruits in due season, and if he died, he would be delivered from his ill-assorted companion the body. Alexander accordingly did not put forth his hand to violence, knowing the man to be of an independent spirit. He is said, however, to have won over Calanus, one of the sophists of that place, whom Megasthenes represents as a man utterly wanting in self-control, while the sophists themselves spoke opprobriously of Calanus, because that, having left the happiness enjoyed among them, he went to serve another master than God.

There is among the Brachhmans in India a sect of philosophers who adopt an independent life, and abstain from animal food and all victuals cooked by fire, being content to subsist upon fruits, which they do not so much as gather from the trees, but pick up when they have dropped to the ground, and their drink is the water of the river Tagabena. Throughout life they go about naked, saying that the body has been given by the Deity as a covering for the soul. They hold that God is light, but not such light as we see with the eye, nor such as the sun or fire, but God is with them the Word,—by which term they do not mean articulate speech, but the discourse of reason, whereby the hidden mysteries of knowledge are discerned by the wise. This light, however, which they call the Word, and think to be God, is, they say, known only by the Brachhmans themselves, because they alone have discarded vanity, which is the outermost covering of the soul. The members of this sect regard death with contemptuous indifference, and, as we have seen already, they always pronounce the name of the Deity with a tone of peculiar reverence, and adore him with hymns. They neither have wives nor beget children. Persons who desire to lead a life like theirs cross over from the other side of the river, and remain with them for good, never returning to their own country. These also are called Brachhmans, although they do not follow the same mode of life, for there are women in the country, from whom the native inhabitants are sprung, and of these women they beget offspring. With regard to the Word, which they call God, they hold that it is corporeal, and that it wears the body as its external covering, just as one wears the woollen surcoat, and that when it divests itself of the body with which it is enwrapped it becomes manifest to the eye. There is war, the Brachhmans hold, in the body where-with they are clothed, and they regard the body as being the fruitful source of wars, and, as we have already shown, fight against it like soldiers in battle contending against the enemy. They maintain, moreover, that all men are held in bondage, like prisoners of war, to their own innate enemies, the sensual appetites, gluttony, anger, joy, grief, longing desire, and such like, while it is only the man who has triumphed over enemies who goes to God. Dandamis accordingly, to whom Alexander the Mace-
donian paid a visit, is spoken of by the Brachhmans as a god because he conquered in the warfare against the body, and on the other hand they condemn Calanus as one who had impiously apostatized from their philosophy. The Brachhmans, therefore, when they have shuffled off the body, see the pure sunlight as fish see it when they spring up out of the water into the air.


c. Pallad. *de Bragmanibus*, pp. 8, 20 *et seq.*, ed. Londin. 1668

*(Camerar libell. gnomolog. pp. 116, 124 *et seq.* )

They (the Bragmanes) subsist upon such fruits as they can find, and on wild herbs, which the earth spontaneously produces, and drink only water. They wander about in the woods, and sleep at night on pallets of the leaves of trees.

“Calanus, then, your false friend, held this opinion, but he is despised and trodden upon by us. By you, however, accomplice as he was in causing many evils to you all, he is honoured and worshipped, while from our society he has been contemptuously cast out as unprofitable. And why not? when everything which we trample under foot is an object of admiration to the lucre-loving Calanus, your worthless friend, but no friend of ours,—a miserable creature, and more to be pitied than the unhappiest wretch, for by setting his heart on lucre he wrought the perdition of his soul! Hence he seemed neither worthy of us, nor worthy of the friendship of God, and hence he neither was content to revel away life in the woods beyond all reach of care, nor was he cheered with the hope of a blessed hereafter. for by his love of money he slew the very life of his miserable soul.

“We have, however amongst us a sage called Dandamis, whose home is the woods, where he lives on a pallet of leaves, and where he has nigh at hand the fountain of peace, whereof he drinks, sucking, as it were, the pure breast of a mother.”

King Alexander, accordingly, when he heard of all this, was desirous of learning the doctrines of the sect, and so he sent for this Dandamis, as being their teacher and president.

Onesicrates was therefore despatched to fetch him, and when he found the great sage he said, “Hail to thee, thou teacher of the Bragmanes. The son of the mighty god Zeus, king Alexander, who is the sovereign lord of all men, asks you to go to him, and if you comply, he will reward you with great and
splendid gifts, but if you refuse will cut off your head."

Dandamis, with a complacent smile, heard him to the end, but did not so much as lift up his head from his couch of leaves, and while still retaining his recumbent attitude returned this scornful answer:—"God, the supreme king, is never the author of insolent wrong, but is the creator of light, of peace, of life, of water, of the body of man, and of souls, and these he receives when death sets them free, being in no way subject to evil desire. He alone is the god of my homage, who abhors slaughter and instigates no wars. But Alexander is not God, since he must taste of death; and how can such as he be the world's master, who has not yet reached the further shore of the river Tiberoboas, and has not yet seated himself on a throne of universal dominion? Moreover, Alexander has neither as yet entered living into Hades, nor does he know the course of the sun through the central regions of the earth, while the nations on its boundaries have not so much as heard his name. If his present dominions are not capacious enough for his desire, let him cross the Ganges river, and he will find a region able to sustain men if the country on our side be too narrow to hold him. Know this, however, that what Alexander offers me, and the gifts he promises, are all things to me utterly useless; but the things which I prize, and find of real use and worth, are these leaves which are my house, these blooming plants which supply me with dainty food, and the water which is my drink, while all other possessions and things, which are amassed with anxious care, are wont to prove ruinous to those who amass them, and cause only sorrow and vexation, with which every poor mortal is fully fraught. But as for me, I lie upon the forest leaves, and, having nothing which requires guarding, close my eyes in tranquil slumber; whereas had I gold to guard, that would banish sleep. The earth supplies me with everything, even as a mother her child with milk. I go wherever I please, and there are no cares with which I am forced to cumber myself, against my will. Should Alexander cut off my head, he cannot also destroy my soul. My head alone, now silent, will remain, but the soul will go away to its Master, leaving the body like a torn garment upon the earth, whence also it was taken. I then, becoming spirit, shall ascend to my God, who enclosed us in flesh, and left us upon the earth to prove whether when here below we shall live obedient to his ordinances, and who also will require of us, when we depart hence to his presence, an account of our life,
since he is judge of all proud wrong-doing; for the groans of the oppressed become the punishments of the oppressors.

"Let Alexander, then, terrify with these threats those who wish for gold and for wealth, and who dread death, for against us these weapons are both alike powerless, since the Bragmanes neither love gold nor fear death. Go, then, and tell Alexander this: 'Dandamis has no need of aught that is yours, and therefore will not go to you, but if you want anything from Dandamis come you to him.'"

Alexander, on receiving from Onesicratês a report of the interview, felt a stronger desire than ever to see Dandamis, who, though old and naked, was the only antagonist in whom he, the conqueror of many nations, had found more than his match, &c.


They (the Brachmans) eat what they find on the ground, such as leaves of trees and wild herbs, like cattle . . . . . . .

"Calanus is your friend, but he is despised and trodden upon by us. He, then, who was the author of many evils among you, is honoured and worshipped by you; but since he is of no importance he is rejected by us, and those things we certainly do not seek, please Calanus because of his greediness for money. But he was not ours, a man such as has miserably injured and lost his soul, on which account he is plainly unworthy to be a friend either of God or of ours, nor has he deserved security among the woods in this world, nor can he hope for the glory which is promised in the future."

When, the emperor Alexander came to the forests, he was not able to see Dandamis as he passed through . . . . . .

When, therefore, the above-mentioned messenger came to Dandamis, he addressed him thus:—"The emperor Alexander, the son of the great Jupiter, who is lord of the human race, has ordered that you should hasten to him, for if you come, he will give you many gifts, but if you refuse he will behead you as a punishment for your contempt." When these words came to the ears of Dandamis, he rose not from his leaves whereon he lay, but reclining and smiling he replied in this way:—"The greatest God," he said, "can do injury to none, but restores again the light of life to those who have departed. Accordingly he alone is my
lord who forbids murder and excites no wars. But Alexander is no God, for he himself will have to die. How, then, can he be the lord of all, who has not yet crossed the river Tyberobaos, nor has made the whole world his abode, nor crossed the zone of Gades, nor has beheld the course of the sun in the centre of the world? Therefore many nations do not yet even know his name. If, however, the country he possesses cannot contain him, let him cross our river and he will find a soil which is able to support men. All those things Alexander promises would be useless to me if he gave them: I have leaves for a house, live on the herbs at hand and water to drink; other things collected with labour, and which perish and yield nothing but sorrow to those seeking them or possessing them—these I despise. I therefore now rest secure, and with closed eyes I care for nothing. If I wish to keep gold, I destroy my sleep; Earth supplies me with everything as a mother does to her child. Wherever I wish to go, I proceed, and wherever I do not wish to be, no necessity of care can force me to go. And if he wish to cut off my head, he cannot take my soul; he will only take the fallen head, but the departing soul will leave the head like a portion of some garment, and will restore it to whence it received it, namely, to the earth. But when I shall have become a spirit I shall ascend to God, who has enclosed it within this flesh. When he did this he wished to try us, how, after leaving him, we would live in this world. And afterwards, when we shall have returned to him, he will demand from us an account of this life. Standing by him I shall see my injury, and shall contemplate his judgement on those who injured me: for the sighs and groans of the injured become the punishments of the oppressors.

"Let Alexander threaten with this them that desire riches or fear death, both of which I despise. For Brachmans neither love gold nor dread death. Go, therefore, and tell Alexander this:—"Dandamis seeks nothing of yours, but if you think you need something of his, disdain not to go to him."

When Alexander heard these words through the interpreter, he wished the more to see such a man, since he, who had subdued many nations, was overcome by an old naked man, &c.

1 OOTNOTES

1 The Edesan Barileanes is referred to by Prophyr as Babylonian.

2 Frequent references are made by Classical writers to this practice. Pomponius Mela (III vii 40) thus writes: "But when old age or disease
affects them they go far away from others, and await death...without any anxiety...Those that are wise...do not await its coming, but for the sake of the glory to accrue, gladly invite it by casting themselves into a burning pyre”.

1 This refers to the combined image of Siva and Sakti known as Ardhanarishvara

2 Plutarch, in enumerating the great deeds of Alexander, says, that by his means Asia was civilized and Homer read there, and that the children of Persians, Susans, and Gedrosians sang the tragedies of Euripides and Sophocles

3 McCullock adds that it appears to be a citation from Megasthenes, although the author definitely cites Alexander Polyhistor as his authority. It is a curious commentary on the tendency to ascribe to Megasthenes every ancient text whose authorship is not known.

4 These were probably Janas

5 This may be a reference to Stupas

6 This passage is, however, attributed to Aristobulus by Cyril (M.-II. 101)

7 The passage may also be translated as follows: “They (the Hylobatai) are those among the Indians who follow the precepts of Bouutta.” Bouutta is of course Buddha

8 Terebinthus was the disciple of Sphthamus, who was a Saracen, born in Palestine, and who traded with India. In his visits to India, Sphthamus acquired an knowledge of Indian philosophy and, settling afterwards in Alexandria, made himself conversant with the lore of Egypt. With the help of Terebinthus, he embodied in four books the peculiar doctrines which are said to have formed the basis of those of the Manichaeans.
XIV. MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES

1. Polybius.

Polybius, the historian, was born at Megalopolis in Arcadia about 204 B.C. His History, which consisted of forty books, of which some are lost, has been described as the History of the growth of the Roman power to the downfall of the independence of Greece (from 220 B.C. to 146 B.C.). Polybius died at the age of 82.

XI. 34. Antiochus (the Great) received the young prince (Demetrius, son of Euthydemus), and judging from his appearance, conversation, and the dignity of his manners that he was worthy of royal power, he first promised to give him one of his own daughters, and secondly conceded the royal title to his father. And having on the other points caused a written treaty to be drawn up, and the terms of the treaty to be confirmed on oath, he marched away, after liberally provisioning his troops, and accepting the elephants belonging to Euthydemus. He crossed the Caucasus and descended into India; renewed his friendship with Sophagasesus, the king of the Indians; received more elephants, until he had 150 altogether; and having once more provisioned his troops set out again personally with his army, leaving Androstenes of Cyzicus the duty of taking home the treasure which this king had agreed to hand over to him. Having traversed Arachosis and crossed the river Erymanthus, he came through Dragnea to Carmania; and as it was now winter, he put his men into winter quarters there.—Shuckburgh’s Trans.

2 PAUSANIAS.

Pausanias, who appears to have been a native of Lydia, and who belonged to the age of the Antonines was the author of a work called Hellados Periegesis, that is, an Itinerary of Greece, in which the objects worth notice are described.

IV. xxxiv. The rivers of Greece do not breed animals that kill human beings like the Indus, the Egyptian Nile, the Rhine, the Danube, the Euphrates, and the Phasis; for these rivers produce monsters the most noted for preying on human flesh and resembling in shape the shades of the Hermos and Maeander, but darker in colour and stronger. The Indus and the Nile have both of them crocodiles. The Nile has besides the hippopotamus, which is as deadly an enemy to man as the crocodile.

IV. xxxii. But I know that the Chaldaeans and the Indian
sages have asserted that the soul of man is immortal.

IX. xxi. The wild beast described in the Indika of Ktesias, which is called by the Indians Martikhora, and by the Greeks Androphagos (man-eater), I take to be the tiger. In each jaw it has three rows of teeth, and at the tip of its tail it is armed with stings, by which it defends itself in close fight, and which it discharges against distant foes, just like an arrow shot by an archer. This report which the Indians, it appears to me, receive by tradition, is not true, but has arisen from their dread of this ferocious beast. They have been mistaken even as to its colour, for when the tiger is seen by them in the sunlight, it appears to be all of one red colour through the speed with which it runs, or, should it not be running, through the agility with which it is ever turning its body from this to that side, especially as one cannot without risk get a near view of it.

VIII. xxix. (From the passage which precedes the following quotation we learn that a Roman emperor, when advancing against Antioch, had dug a canal into which he diverted the waters of the river Orontes). When the old bed had been left dry, there was found at it an earthen coffin about eleven cubits in length containing a human body, with all its parts and of the same size as the coffin. When the Syrians consulted the oracle of the Karian Apollo, the response declared that the body was that of Orontes, and that he belonged to the Indian nation. Now if the earth in the beginning was humid and full of moisture, and, being warmed by the sun, made the first men, where in the world was there a moister country than India, or one better fitted to produce bigger men, when even to our day it breeds animals of a marvellous appearance and of extraordinary size?

III. xii. 3. Traders to India tell us that the Indians give their own wares in exchange for those of the Greeks without employing money, even though they have gold and copper in abundance.

3. TOTIUS ORBIS DESCRIPTIO.

A Latin translation of a lost Greek original composed either at Antioch or Alexandria between A.D. 350 and 355

Section 16. Next comes India Major, from which silk and all kinds of necessaries are said to be exported. Its people live like their next neighbours and spend their years agreeably, inhabiting
a country of great extent and fertility, which it takes 210 days to traverse.

17. Beyond and adjoining these is a country which is said to be inhabited by men remarkably industrious—good at fighting and at work of every kind. India Minor accordingly seek their aid as often as war is waged upon them by the Persians. They are abundantly supplied with everything, and the country they inhabit takes 150 days to traverse.

18. Beyond these lie the inhabitants of India Minor, who are governed from India Major. They have elephants without number, which they dispose of to the Persians. Their country is traversed in fifteen days.

4 ANONYMI GEOGRAPHIAE EXPOSITIO

COMPENDIARIA.

An unknown writer who follows Stratothenes and Ptolemy.

VI. 24 All the rest of the continent as far as China (Thinas) is of vast extent and inhabited by many nations, and belongs to the Indians, whose dominions are bounded by the Sinae on the east, by Gediosia on the west, by the Paropanisadae, Arachosia, the Sogdians and Sacae, Scythia, and finally Serica on the north.

25 To this continent belongs also an immense island in the Indian Sea, called formerly Simunda, but now Salice, which they say produces all the necessaries of life and metals of all kinds. The men who inhabit it are reported to encircle their heads with tresses of hair like those of women.

5 DION CASSIUS

Dion Cassius, the grandson by the mother's side of the famous orator, Dion Chrysostomus, was born at Nicaea in Bithynia, about A.D. 155. When about twenty-five years of age he proceeded to Rome, where he twice held the consulship. He was the author of several works, of which the greatest is his History of Rome (Romaia Historia), contained in eighty books, which embrace the whole history down to A.D. 229. Much of the work has been lost, but the books, which still exist complete, are among the most valuable.

Hist. Rom. IX. 58. Many embassies came to him (Augustus), and the Indians having previously proclaimed a treaty of alliance, concluded it now with the presentation, among other gifts, of tigers, animals which the Romans, and, if I mistake not, the Greeks as well, saw then for the first time. They gave
also a lad without arms, like the statues of Mercury one sees, but who made up for the want of hands by employing his feet, with which he could bend a bow, throw a dart, and play on the trumpet.

Dion then relates that one of the Indians, Zamaros, burned himself, after the manner of his country, on a funeral pile, in presence of Augustus and the Athenians. Strabo, who mentions the incident, calls Zamaros Zarmanochezas. Florus, in his *Epitome of Roman History* (iv. 12), mentions that the ambassadors complained of the length of the journey, which occupied four years, and that among their presents were precious stones, pearls, and elephants. Florus wrote in the days of Trajan. Orosius, who flourished about 420 A.D., states in his *History* (vi. 12) that an embassy from the Scythians and the Indians reached Caesar (Augustus) at Tarraco in Hither Spain, having thus traversed the world from end to end.

And to Trajan after he had arrived in Rome there came a great many embassies from barbarian courts, and especially from the Indians, and he offered shows ...... in which wild beasts without number were slaughtered, because Trajan made the deputies who came from the kings sit in the seats of the senators when viewing the show.

LXVII. 28 He (Trajan) having reached the ocean (at the mouth of the Tigris) saw a vessel setting sail for India

6. AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS

Ammianus Marcellinus was a native of Antioch in Syria. He settled in Rome and there composed his "History" (fourth century A.D.)

XXII. vii. 10 Embassies from all quarters flocked to him (the Emperor Julian in 361 A.D.), the Indian nations vying with emulous zeal in sending their foremost men with presents, as far as from the Divi (Maldives) and the Serendivi (Cylonese).

7. SEXTUS AURELIUS VICTOR.

This historian was of humble origin but, by the cultivation of literature, rose even to the consular office. He flourished in the middle of the fourth century under the Emperors Constantius and his successors. He was the author of a work *De Caesaribus*, consisting of short biographies of the emperors from Augustus to Constantius. The quotation given below is from an *Epitome of Victor*.

*Epit.* XVI. Yea, even the Indians, Bactrians, Hyrca-
nians sent ambassadors, having had knowledge of the justice of a prince so mighty (of the Emperor Julian).

8. JOANNES MALALA.

Malala was a native of Antioch and a Byzantine historian. He wrote subsequently to the death of Justinian, but how long after that event is not known. His History is full of absurd stories but is valuable for the history of Justinian and his immediate predecessors.

P. 477. At the same time (A.D. 530) an ambassador of the Indians was sent to Constantinople.

9. APPIAN

Appian flourished early in the second century A.D.

De Bell. Civ. V 9. They (the people of Palmyra) being merchants, bring from Persia to Arabia Indian commodities, which they dispose of to the Romans.

10. EUSEBIUS PAMPHILI.

Eusebius Pamphili of Caesarea, the Father of Ecclesiastical History, was born in Palestine in the year A.D. 264. While attending the Nicene Council, he sat at the right hand of Constantine the Great. He died, three years after the death of the emperor, in 340. We are indebted to him for the notice of the mission of Pantainos to India.

De Vita Constant. IV. 50. Ambassadors from the Indians of the East brought presents... which they presented to the king (Constantine the Great) as an acknowledgement that his sovereignty extended to their ocean. They told him, too, how the Princes of India had dedicated pictures and statues in his honour in token that they recognised him as their autocrat and king.

E.H. V 10. They say that he (Pantainos) showed such a zeal for the divine word that he was consecrated to preach the Gospel of Christ to the nations of the East, being sent all the way to the Indians. For there were even up till that time many evangelists of the word, who, with a holy zeal of imitating the Apostles, sought to contribute to the spread and upbuilding of the divine word. One of these was Pantainos, and he is said to have gone to the Indians. There, report says, he found that the Gospel according to Matthew had been introduced before his arrival,
and was in the hands of some of the natives, who acknowledged Christ, and to whom Bartholomew, one of the Apostles, had preached, and left with them that Gospel written in the Hebrew character and preserved to this day.  

11. PROPERTIUS.

Sextus Propertius was the greatest of the Elegiac poets of Rome. His poems as they have come down to us consist of four books containing 4046 lines of elegiac verse. He flourished in the first half of the first century B.C.

Book IV. Flegy 3.—Thee but now did Bactra see marching through the traversed and retraversed cast—thce but now the Sciric foe on his armed steed and the wintry Getae and Britannia in her painted battle-car. and the sun-scorched tawny Indian on his orient steed.

12. HORACE.

Horace, the famous Roman poet, was born in 65 B.C. and composed his Odes about 24 B.C.

Odes. I. 12. He (Augustus) whether he drives along in proper triumph the Parthians . . . or the Sercis and Indians who dwell hard by the confines of the East . . . . . . shall rule with equity the wide world.

Odes. I. 22. The regions which Hydaspes laves, the river of romance.

Odes. III 24. Although possessed of wealth beyond the untouched treasures of the Arabs and opulent India.

Odes. IV 14. You (Augustus) the Cantabrians . . . . . . . . revere and the Medes and the Indians.

Epistles. I. 6. What deem you of . . . . . . . . . . . . the gifts of the sea which enriches the far distant Arabs and Indians?

13. VIRGIL

Virgil, the great Roman poet and author of the Georgics (composed between 37 and 30 B.C.) and Aeneid (finished in 19 B.C.)

Georg. I. 57. India produces ivory
Georg. II. 116-17. India alone produces black ebony.
Georg. II. 122-24. Why speak of . . . . . . . . . the forests which India bears hard by the Ocean—the utmost corner of the world-
forests where no shot of the arrow can reach the sky that tops the trees, and the natives are not slow when they take up the quiver?

_Georg._ II. 136-39. But neither Median forests, wealthiest of climes, nor lovely Ganges, nor Hermus, whose mud is gold, may vie with the glories of Italy. No, nor Bactra, nor India, nor Panchaia, with all the richness of its incense-bearing sands.

_Aeneid._ IX. 30-31. Like Ganges with his seven calm streams proudly rising through the silence.\footnote{11}

14. PHLEGON.

An extract from the book _On Marvels_ by Phlegon, of Trales in Asia Minor, a Greek writer who flourished in the second century A.D.

Megasthenes says that the women of the Pandaian realm bear children when they are six years of age.\footnote{12}

15. NICOLAUS DAMASCENUS.

Nicolaus Damascenus, Greek historian and philosopher of Damascus, flourished in the time of Augustus. The two following passages are preserved by Johannes Stobaeus, mentioned above (Stab. Serm. 12).

Among the Indians one who is unable to recover a loan or a deposit has no remedy at law. All the creditor can do is to blame himself for trusting a rogue.\footnote{13}

He who causes an artisan to lose his eye or his hand is put to death. If one is guilty of a very heinous offence the king orders his hair to be cropped, this being a punishment to the last degree inimous.\footnote{11}

16. ATHENAEUS.

Athenaeus (of Naucratis in Egypt), Greek rhetorician and grammarian (2nd-3rd century A.D.), author of _Deipnosophistae_, or authorities on banquets.

IV. p. 153. Megasthenes, in the second book of his _Indica_, says that when the Indians are at supper a table is placed before each person, this being like a tripod. There is placed upon it a golden bowl, into which they first put rice, boiled as one would boil barley and then they add many dainties prepared according to Indian receipts.\footnote{15}

17. POLYAESUS.

Polyaenus, a Macedonian (second century A.D.), lived at Rome and wrote a book called _Strategica_ or _Strategemata_, a historical collection of stratagems.
I. 1. 1-3. Dionysos, in his expedition against the Indians, in order that the cities might receive him willingly, disguised the arms with which he had equipped his troops, and made them wear soft raiment and fawn-skins. The spears were wrapped round with ivy, and the thyrsus had a sharp point. He gave the signal for battle by cymbals and drums instead of the trumpet, and by regaling the enemy with wine diverted their thoughts from war to dancing. These and all other Bacchic orgies were employed in the system of warfare by which he subjugated the Indians and all the rest of Asia.

Dionysos, in the course of his Indian campaign, seeing that his army could not endure the fiery heat of the air, took forcible possession of the three-peaked mountain of India. Of these peaks one is called Korasibhe, another Kondaské, but to the third he himself gave the name of Méros, in remembrance of his birth. Thereon were many fountains of water sweet to drink, game in great plenty, tree-fruits in unsparing profusion, and snows which gave new vigour to the frame. The troops quartered there made a sudden descent upon the barbarians of the plain, whom they easily routed, since they attacked them with missiles from a commanding position on the heights above.

Dionysos, after conquering the Indians, invaded Baktria, taking with him as auxiliaries the Indians and Amazons. That country has for its boundary the river Saranges. The Baktrians seized the mountains overhanging that river with a view to attack Dionysos, in crossing it, from a post of advantage. He, however, having encamped along the river, ordered the Amazons and the Bakkhai to cross it, in order that the Baktrians, in their contempt for women, might be induced to come down from the heights. The women then essayed to cross the stream, and the enemy came downhill, and advancing to the river endeavoured to beat them back. The women then retreated, and the Baktrians pursued them as far as the bank; then Dionysos, coming to the rescue with his men, slew the Baktrians, who were impeded from fighting by the current, and he crossed the river in safety. 18

I. 3. 4. Herakles begat a daughter in India whom he called Pandia. To her he assigned that portion of India which lies to southward and extends to the sea, while he distributed the people subject to her rule into 365 villages, giving orders that each village should each day bring to the treasury the royal tribute, so that the queen might always have the assistance of those men whose
turn it was to pay the tribute in coercing those who for the time being were defaulters in their payments. 17

18. SOLINUS.

Gaius Julius Solinus, Latin grammarian and compiler (first half of the third century A.D.), was the author of Collectanea rerum memorabilium, a description of curiosities in a chorographical framework.

52. 5. Father Bacchus was the first who invaded India, and was the first of all who triumphed over the vanquished Indians. From him to Alexander the Great 6451 years are reckoned with 3 months additional, the calculation being made by counting the kings who reigned in the intermediate period to the number of 153. 18

52. 6-17. The greatest rivers of India are the Ganges and Indus, and of these some assert that the Ganges rises from uncertain sources and inundates the country in the manner of the Nile, while others incline to think that it rises in the Scythian mountains. [The Hypanis is also there, a very noble river, which formed the limit of Alexander's march, as the altars erected on its banks prove.]

The least breadth of the Ganges is eight miles, and its greatest twenty. Its depth where it is shallowest is fully a hundred feet. The people who live in the furthest-off part are the Garciaides, whose king possesses 1000 horse, 700 elephants, and 60,000 foot in apparatus of war.

Of the Indians some cultivate the soil, very many follow war, and others trade. The noblest and richest manage public affairs, administer justice, and sit in council with the kings. There exists also a fifth class, consisting of those most eminent for their wisdom, who, when sated with life, seek death by mounting a burning funerary pile. Those, however, who have become the devotees of a sterner sect, and pass their life in the woods, hunt elephants which, when made quite tame and docile, they use for ploughing and for riding on.

In the Ganges there is an island extremely populous, occupied by a very powerful nation whose king keeps under arms 50,000 foot and 4000 horse. In fact no one invested with kingly power ever keeps on foot a military force without a very great number of elephants and foot and cavalry.

The Prasian nation, which is extremely powerful, inhabits
a city called Palibotra, whence some call the nation itself the Palibotri. Their king keeps in his pay at all times 60,000 foot 30,000 horse, and 8000 elephants.

Beyond Palibotra is Mount Maleus, on which shadows in winter fall towards the north, in summer towards the south, for six months alternately. In that region the Bears are seen but once a year, and not for more than fifteen days, as Beton informs us, who allows that this happens in many parts of India. Those living near the river Indus in the regions that turn southward are scorched more than others by the heat, and at last the complexion of the people is visibly affected by the great power of the sun. The mountains are inhabited by the Pygmies.

But those who live near the sea have no kings.

The Pandaean nation is governed by females, and their first queen is said to have been the daughter of Hercules. The city Nysa is assigned to this region, as is also the mountain sacred to Jupiter, Meros by name, in a cave on which the ancient Indians affirm Father Bacchus was nourished; while the name has given rise to the well-known fantastic story that Bacchus was born from the thigh of his father. Beyond the mouth of the Indus are two islands, Chryse and Argyre, which yield such an abundant supply of metals that many writers allege their soils consist of gold and of silver.¹⁰

FOOTNOTES

¹ This important and interesting episode of Indian history is known only from this passage

² The Helmund in Kandahar. It is also called Erymandros and Erymandros by Classical writers

³ Sinae and Serica probably refer respectively, to South-East and North-West China

⁴ See p. 481

⁵ See p. 282

⁶ This embassy reached Constantinople in the last year of the Emperor Constantine the Great, 336-7 A.D

⁷ Pantinos, who seems to have been of Sicilian parentage, was educated, if not also born, in Alexandria. The principles of Stoicism, which he first embraced, he abandoned for those of Christianity. In A.D. 181 he was appointed Head of the Catechetical School of Alexandria. He was alive in A.D. 211.

⁸ Some prefer to translate 'Teachers of the Gospel'.
St. Jerome states that Pantainos, on returning from India to Alexandria, brought with him the Gospel of Matthew written in Hebrew. But Eusebius does not say so; he merely says that the Gospel was in existence when Pantainos was in India.

10 The passage is very obscure.

11 The passages in sections 1-13 are reproduced from M-V, pp. 209-16

12 M-II, 114.

13 Ibid, 73.

14 Ibid, 73-4.

15 Ibid, 74.


17 Ibid, 158-9

18 Ibid, 115.

19 Ibid, 154-6.