This is supported by Indian tradition. According to Abhudharma-kosavatikhyā, kings, while destroying the soldiers, respect the field-labourers who is the common help of both armies (cf. Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. I p. 360).

G. H. Oldfather translates this para as follows—

The seventh case is that of the deliberators and councillors, whose concern is with the decisions which affect the common welfare. In point of number this group is the smallest, but in nobility of birth and wisdom, the most worthy of admiration, for from their body are drawn the advisers for the kings and the administrators of the affairs of state and the judges of disputes, and, speaking generally, they take their leaders and magistrates from among these men.

The reference is to Dionysus, mentioned in para 38 of Extract I.

Diodorus is obviously in error, and we should read 'Taxiles' for 'Porus' and विहीर.

Eudamus (or Eudemus) was, in conjunction with Taxiles, appointed by Alexander to govern temporarily a part of his Indian conquests till the arrival of a successor to Philip, who had been assassinated. After Alexander's death, Eudamus put Porus to death, and shortly afterwards left India to assist Eumenes in his contest with Antigonus. The elephants which Eudamus took with him from India proved of great service to Eumenes.

A slightly different translation is given in the Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 415.

Oniris is here identified with the Greek Bacchus.

Obviously intended for Palibothra, modern Patna.
V. THE GEOGRAPHY OF STRABO

For Introduction, see above, p. 93.

I. BOOK XV, I

1. The parts still left of Asia are those outside the Taurus except Cilicia and Pamphylia and Lycia, I mean the parts extending from India as far as the Nile and lying between the Taurus and the outer sea on the south. After Asia one comes to Libya, which I shall describe later, but I must now begin with India, for it is the first and largest country that lies out towards the east.

2. But it is necessary for us to hear accounts of this country with indulgence, for not only is it farthest away from us, but not many of our people have seen it; and even those who have seen it, have seen only parts of it, and the greater part of what they say is from hearsay; and even what they saw they learned on a hasty passage with an army through the country. Wherefore they do not give out the same accounts of the same things, even though they have written these accounts as though their statements had been carefully confirmed. And some of them were both on the same expedition together and made their sojourns together, like those who helped Alexander to subdue Asia, yet they all frequently contradict one another. But if they differ thus about what was seen, what must we think of what they report from hearsay?

3. Moreover, most of those who have written anything about this region in much later times, and those who sail there at the present time, do not present any accurate information either. At any rate, Apollodorus, who wrote The Parituca, when he mentions the Greeks who caused Bactriana to revolt from the Syrian kings who succeeded Seleucus Nicator, says that when those kings had grown in power they also attacked India, but he reveals nothing further than what was already known, and even contradicts what was known, saying that those kings subdued more of India than the Macedonians; that Eucratidas, at any rate, held a thousand cities as his subjects. Those other writers, however, say that merely the tribes between the Hydaspes and the Hypanis were nine in number, and that they had five thousand cities, no one of which was smaller than the Meropian Cos, and that Alexander subdued the whole of this country and gave it over to Porus.
4. As for the merchants who now sail from Aegypt by the Nile and the Arabian Gulf as far as India, only a small number have sailed as far as the Ganges; and even these are merely private citizens and of no use as regards the history of the places they have seen. But from India, from one place and from one king, I mean Pandion, or another Porus, there came to Caesar Augustus presents and gifts of honour and the Indian sophist who burnt himself up at Athens, as Calanus had done, who made a similar spectacular display of himself before Alexander.

5. If, however, one should dismiss these accounts and observe the records of the country prior to the expedition of Alexander, one would find things still more obscure. Now it is reasonable to suppose that Alexander believed such records because he was blinded by his numerous good fortunes; at any rate, Nearchus says that Alexander conceived an ambition to lead his army through Gedrosia when he learned that both Semiramis and Cyrus had made an expedition against the Indians, and that Semiramis had turned back in flight with only twenty people and Cyrus with seven; and that Alexander thought how grand it would be, when those had met with such reverses, if he himself should lead a whole victorious army safely through the same tribes and regions Alexander, therefore, believed these accounts.

6. But as for us, what just credence can we place in the accounts of India derived from such an expedition made by Cyrus, or Semiramis? And Megasthenes virtually agrees with this reasoning when he bids us to have no faith in the ancient stories about the Indians; for, he says, neither was an army ever sent outside the country by the Indians nor did any outside army ever invade their country and master them, except that with Heracles and Dionysus and that in our times with the Macedonians. However, Sesostris, the Aegyptian, he adds, and Tarchaco the Aethiopian advanced as far as Europe; and Nabocodrosor, who enjoyed greater repute among the Chaldaecans than Heracles, led an army even as far as the Pillars Thus far, he says, also Tarchaco went and Sesostris also led his army from Iberia to Thrace and the Pontus; and Idanthrysus the Scythian overran Asia as far as Aegypt; but no one of these touched India, and Semiramis too died before the attempt; and, although the Persians summoned the Hydraces as mercenary troops from India, the latter did no make an expedition to Persia, but only came near it when Cyrus was marching against the Massagetae.
7. As for the stories of Heracles and Dionysus, Megasthenes with a few others considers them trustworthy; but most other writers, among whom is Eratosthenes, consider them untrustworthy and mythical, like the stories current among the Greeks. For instance, in the Bacchae of Euripides Dionysus says with youthful bravado as follows: “I have left behind me the gold-bearing glades of Lydia and of Phrygia, and I have visited the sun-stricken plains of Persia, the walled towns of Bactria, the wintry land of the Medes, and Arabia the Blest, and the whole of Asia.” In Sophocles, also, there is someone who hymns the praises of Nysa as the mountain sacred to Dionysus: “Whence I beheld the famous Nysa, ranged in Bacchic frenzy by mortals, which the horned Iacchus roams as his own sweetest nurse, where—what bird exists that singeth not there?” And so forth. And he is also called “Metrotraphes” And Homer says of Lycurgus the Etonian as follows: “who once drove the nurses of frenzied Dionysus down over the sacred mount of Nysa” So much for Dionysus. But, regarding Heracles, some tell the story that he went in the opposite direction only, as far as the extreme limits on the west, whereas others say that he went to both extreme limits.

8. From such stories, accordingly, writers have named a certain tribe of people “Nysaeans,” and a city among them “Nysa,” founded by Dionysus; and they have named a mountain above the city “Merus,” alleging as the cause of the name the ivy that grows there, as also the vine, which latter does not reach maturity either; for on account of excessive rains the bunches of grapes fall off before they ripen; and they say that the Sydracae are descendants of Dionysus, judging from the vine in their country and from their costly processions, since the kings not only make their expeditions out of their country in Bacchic fashion, but also accompany all other processions with a beating of drums and with flowered robes, a custom which is also prevalent among the rest of the Indians. When Alexander, at one assault, took Aornus, a rock at the foot of which, near its sources, the Indus River flows, his exalters said that Heracles thrice attacked this rock and thrice was repulsed; and that the Sibae were descendants of those who shared with Heracles in the expedition, and that they retained badges of their descent, in that they wore skins like Heracles, carried clubs, and branded their cattle and mules with the mark of a club. And they further confirm this myth by the sto-
ries of the Caucasus and Prometheus, for they have transferred all this thither on a slight pretext, I mean because they saw a sacred cave in the country of the Paropamisadæ, for they set forth that this cave was the prison of Prometheus and that this was the place whither Heracles came to release Prometheus, and that this was the Caucasus the Greeks declared to be the prison of Prometheus.

9. But that these stories are fabrications of the flatterers of Alexander is obvious; first, not only from the fact that the historians do not agree with one another, and also because, while some relate them, others make no mention whatever of them; for it is unreasonable to believe that exploits so famous and full of romance were unknown to any historian, or, if known, that they were regarded as unworthy of recording, and that too by the most trustworthy of the historians; and, secondly, from the fact that not even the intervening peoples, through whose countries Dionysus and Heracle and their followers would have had to pass in order to reach India, can show any evidence that these made a journey through their country. Further, such accoutrement of Heracles is much later than the records of the Trojan War, being a fabrication of the authors of the *Herculea*, whether the author was Persander or someone else. The ancient statues of Heracles are not thus accoutred.

10. So, in cases like these, one must accept everything that is nearest to credibility. I have already in my first discussion of the subject of geography made decisions, as far as I could, about these matters. And now I shall unhesitatingly use those decisions as accepted, and shall also add any thing else that seems required for the purpose of clearness. It was particularly apparent from my former discussion that the summary account set forth in the third book of his geography by Eratosthenes of what was in his time regarded as India, that is, when Alexander invaded the country, is the most trustworthy; and the Indus River was the boundary between India and Ariana, which latter was situated next to India on the west and was in the possession of the Persians at that time, for later the Indians also held much of Ariana, having received it from the Macedonians. And the account given by Eratosthenes is as follows.

11. India is bounded on the north, from Ariana to the eastern sea, by the extremities of the Taurus, which by the natives are severally called "Paropamisus" and "Emodus" and "Imaus"
and other names, but by the Macedonians "Caucasus"; on the west by the Indus River; but the southern and eastern sides, which are much greater than the other two, extend out into the Atlantic sea, and thus the shape of the country becomes rhomboidal, each of the greater sides exceeding the opposite side by as much as three thousand stadia, which is the same number of stadia by which the cape\textsuperscript{2} common to the eastern and southern coast extends equally farther out in either direction than the rest of the shore. Now the length of the western side from the Caucasian Mountains to the southern sea is generally called thirteen thousand stadia, I mean along the Indus River to its outlets, so that the length of the opposite side, the eastern, if one adds the three thousand of the cape, will be sixteen thousand stadia. These, then are the minimum and maximum breadths of the country. The lengths are reckoned from the west to the east; and, of these, that to Palibothra can be told with more confidence, for it has been measured with measuring-lines,\textsuperscript{3} and there is a royal road of ten thousand stadia. The extent of the parts beyond Palibothra is a matter of guess, depending upon the voyages made from the sea on the Ganges to Palibothra; and this would be something like six thousand stadia. The entire length of the country, at its minimum, will be sixteen thousand stadia, as taken from the Register of Days' Journeys that is most commonly accepted, according to Eratosthenes; and, in agreement with him, Megasthenes states the same thing, though Patrocles says a thousand stadia less. If to this distance, however, one adds the distance that the cape extends out into the sea still farther towards the east, the extra three thousand stadia will form the maximum length;\textsuperscript{4} and this constitutes the distance from the outlets of the Indus River along the shore that comes next in order thereafter, to the aforesaid cape, that is, to the eastern limits of India. Here live the Coniaci, as they are called.

12. From this one can see how much the accounts of the other writers differ. Ctesias says that India is not smaller than the rest of Asia; Onesicritus that it is a third part of the inhabited world: Nearchus that the march merely through the plain itself takes four months; but Megasthenes and Deimachus are more moderate in their estimates, for they put the distance from the southern sea to the Caucasus at "above twenty thousand stadia," although Deimachus says that "at some places the distance is above thirty thousand stadia;" but I have replied to these writers.
in my first discussion of India. At present it is sufficient to say that this statement of mine agrees with that of those writers who ask our pardon if, in anything they say about India, they do not speak with assurance.

13. The whole of India is traversed by rivers. Some of these flow together into the two largest rivers, the Indus and the Ganges, whereas others empty into the sea by their own mouths. They have their sources, one and all, in the Caucasus; and they all flow first towards the south, and then, though some of them continue to flow in the same direction, in particular those which flow into the Indus, others bend towards the east, as, for example, the Ganges. Now the Ganges, which is the largest of the rivers in India, flows down from the mountainous country, and when it reaches the plains bends towards the east and flows past Pali-bothra, a very large city, and then flows on towards the sea in that region and empties by a single outlet. But the Indus empties by two mouths into the southern sea, encompassing the country called Patalene, which is similar to the Delta of Aegypt. It is due to the vapours arising from all these rivers and to the Etesian winds, as Eratosthenes says, that India is watered by the summer rains and that the plains become marshes. Now in the rainy seasons flax is sown, and also millet, and, in addition to these, sesame and rice and bosmorum, and in the winter seasons wheat and barley and pulse and other edibles with which we are unacquainted. I might almost say that the same animals are to be found in India as in Aethiopia and Aegypt, and that the Indian rivers have all the other river animals except the hippopotamus, although Onesicritus says that the hippopotamus is also to be found in India. As for the people of India, those in the south are like the Aethiopians in colour, although they are like the rest in respect to countenance and hair (for on account of the humidity of the air their hair does not curl), whereas those in the north are like the Aegyptians.

14. As for Taprobane, it is said to be an island situated in the high sea within a seven days’ sail towards the south from the most southerly parts of India, the land of the Coniaci; that it extends in length about eight thousand stadia in the direction of Aethiopia, and that it also has elephants. Such are the statements of Eratosthenes; but my own description will be specially characterised by the addition of the statements of the other writers, wherever they add any accurate information.
15. Onesicritus, for example, says of Taprobane that it is "five thousand stadia in size," without distinguishing its length or breadth; and that it is a twenty days' voyage distant from the mainland, but that it is a difficult voyage for ships that are poorly furnished with sails and are constructed without belly-ribs on both sides; and that there are also other islands between Taprobane and India, though Taprobane is farthest south; and that amphibious monsters are to be found round it, some of which are like kine, others like horses, and others like other land-animals.

16. Nearchus, speaking of the alluvia deposited by the rivers, gives the following examples: that the Plain of the Hermus River, and that of the Cayster, as also those of the Maeander and the Caicus, are so named because they are increased, or rather created, by the silt that is carried down from the mountains over the plains—that is all the silt that is fertile and soft; and that it is carried down by the rivers, so that the plains are, in fact, the offspring, as it were, of these rivers and that it is well said that they belong to these. This is the same as the statement made by Herodotus in regard to the Nile and the land that borders thereon, that the land is the gift of the Nile; and for this reason Nearchus rightly says that the Nile was also called by the same name as the land Aegyptus.

17. Aristobulus says that only the mountains and their foothills have both rain and snow, but that the plains are free alike from rain and snow, and are inundated only when the rivers rise, that the mountains have snow in the winter-time, and at the beginning of spring-time the rains also set in and ever increase more and more, and at the time of the Etesian winds the rains pour unceasingly and violently from the clouds, both day and night, until the rising of Archurus, and that, therefore, the rivers, thus filled from both the snows and the rains, water the plains. He says that both he himself and the others noted this when they had set out for India from Paropamusadae, after the setting of the Pleiades, and when they spent the winter near the mountainous country in the land of the Hypasians and of Assacanus, and that at the beginning of spring they went down into the plains and to Taxila, a large city, and thence to the Hydaspes River and the country of Porus; that in winter, however, no water was to be seen, but only snow; and that it first rained at Taxila, and that when, after they had gone down to the Hydaspes River and had conquered Porus, their journey led to the Hypanis River towards
the east and thence back again to the Hydaspes, it rained continually, and especially at the time of the Etesian winds; but that when Arcturus rose, the rain ceased; and that after tarrying while their ships were being built on the Hydaspes River, and after beginning of the Pleiades, and, after occupying themselves all autumn and winter and the coming spring and summer with their voyage down to the seacoast, they arrived at Patalene at about the time of the rising of the Dog Star, that the voyage down to the seacoast therefore took ten months, and that they saw rains nowhere, not even when the Etesian winds were at their height, and that the plains were flooded when the rivers were filled, and the sea was not navigable when the winds were blowing in the opposite direction, and that no land breezes succeeded them.

18 Now this is precisely what Nearchus says too, but he does not agree with Aristobulus about the summer rains, saying that the plains have rains in summer but are without rains in winter. Both writers, however, speak also of the risings of the rivers. Nearchus says that when they were camping near the Acesines River they were forced at the time of the rising to change to a favourable place higher up, and that this took place at the time of the summer solstice, whereas Aristobulus gives also the measure of the height to which the river rises, forty cubits, of which cubits twenty are filled by the stream above its previous depth to the margin and the other twenty are the measure of the overflow in the plains. They agree also that the cities situated on the top of mounds become islands, as is the case also in Aegypt and Aethiopia, and that the overflows cease after the rising of Arcturus, when the waters recede, and they add that although the soil is sown when only half-dried, after being furrowed by any sort of digging-instrument, yet the plant comes to maturity and yields excellent fruit. The rice, according to Aristobulus, stands in water enclosures and is sown in beds, and the plant is four cubits in height, not only having many ears but also yielding much grain, and the harvest is about the time of the setting of the Pleiades, and the grain is winnowed like barley; and rice grows also in Bactriana and Babylonia and Susis, as also in Lower Syria. Megillus says that rice is sown before the rains, but requires irrigation and transplanting, being watered from tanks. Bosmorum, according to Onesicritus, is a smaller grain than wheat; and it grows in lands situated between rivers. It is roasted when it is threshed out, since the people take an oath beforehand
that they will not carry it away unroasted from the threshing-floor, to prevent the exportation of seed.

19. Aristobulus, comparing the characteristics of this country that are similar to those of both Aegypt and Aethiopia, and again those that are opposite thereto, I mean the fact that the Nile is flooded from the southern rains, whereas the Indian rivers are flooded from the northern, inquires why the intermediate regions have no rainfall; for neither the Thebais as far as Syene and the region of Meroe nor the region of India from Patalene as far as the Hydaspes has any rain. But the country above these parts, in which both rain and snow fall, are cultivated, he says, in the same way as in the rest of the country that is outside India; for, he adds, it is watered by the rains and snows. And it is reasonable to suppose from his statements that the land is also quite subject to earthquakes, since it is made porous by reason of its great humidity and is subject to such fissures that even the beds of rivers are changed. At any rate, he says that when he was sent upon a certain mission he saw a country of more than a thousand cities, together with villages, that had been deserted because the Indus had abandoned its proper bed, and had turned aside into the other bed on the left that was much deeper, and flowed with precipitous descent like a cataract, so that the Indus no longer watered, by its overflows, the abandoned country on the right, since that country was now above the level, not only of the new stream, but also of its overflows.

20. The flooding of the rivers and the absence of land breezes is confirmed also by the statement of Onescritus; for he says that the seashore is covered with shoal-water, and particularly at the mouths of the rivers, on account of the silt, the flood-tides, and the prevalence of the winds from the high seas. Megasthenes indicates the fertility of India by saying that it produces fruit and grain twice a year. And so says Eratosthenes, who speaks of the winter sowing and the summer sowing, and likewise of rain; for he says that the finds that no year is without rain in both seasons; so that, from this fact, the country has good seasons, never failing to produce crops; and that the trees there produce fruits in abundance, and the roots of plants, in particular those of large reeds, which are sweet both by nature and by heating, since the water from the sky as well as that of the rivers is warmed by the rays of the sun. In a sense, therefore, Eratosthenes means to say that what among other peoples is called "the
ripening," whether of fruits or of juices, is called among those people a "heating," and that ripening is as effective in producing a good flavour as heating by fire. For this reason also, he adds, the branches of the trees from which the wheels of carriages are made are flexible; and for the same reason even wool\textsuperscript{9} blossoms on some. From this wool, Nearchus says, finely threaded cloths are woven and the Macedonians use them for pillows and as padding for their saddles. The Serica also are of this kind, Byssus\textsuperscript{8} being dried out of certain barks. He states also concerning the reeds,\textsuperscript{9} that they produce honey, although there are no bees, and in fact that there is a fruit-bearing tree from the fruit of which honey is compounded, but that those who eat the fruit raw become intoxicated.

21. In truth, India produces numerous strange trees, among which is the one whose branches bend downwards and whose leaves are no smaller than a shield. Onesicritus, who even in rather superfluous detail describes the country of Musicanus, which, he says, is the most southerly part of India, relates that it has some great trees whose branches have first grown to the height of twelve cubits, and then, after such growth, have grown downwards, as though bent down, till they have touched the earth; and that they then, thus distributed, have taken root underground like layers, and then, growing forth, have formed trunks; and that the branches of these trunks again, likewise bent down in their growth, have formed another layer, and then another, and so on successively, so that from only one tree there is formed a vast sunshade, like a tent with many supporting columns.\textsuperscript{10} He says also of the size of the trees that their trunks could hardly be embraced by five men. Aristobulus also, where he mentions the Acesines and its confluence with the Hyarotis,\textsuperscript{11} speaks of the trees that have their branches bent downwards and of such size that fifty horsemen—according to Onesicritus, four hundred—can pass the noon in shade under one tree. Aristobulus mentions also another tree, not large, with pods, like the bean, ten fingers in length, full of honey, and says that those who eat it cannot easily be saved from death. But the accounts of all writers of the size of the trees have been surpassed by those who say that there has been seen beyond the Hyarotis a tree which casts a shade at noon of five stadia. And as for the wool-bearing trees, Aristobulus says that the flower contains a seed, and that when this is removed the rest is combed like wool.
22. Aristobulus speaks also of a self-grown grain, similar to wheat, in the country of Muscanus, and of a vine from which wine is produced, although the other writers say that India has no wine, and therefore, according to Anacharsis, it also has no flutes, or any other musical instruments except cymbals and drums and castanets, which are possessed by the jugglers. Both he and other writers speak of this country as abounding in herbs and roots both curative and poisonous, and likewise in plants of many colours. And Aristobulus adds that they have a law whereby any person who discovers anything deadly is put to death unless he also discovers a cure for it, but if that person discovers a cure he receives a reward from the king. And he says that the southern land of India, like Arabia and Aethiopia, bears cinnamon, nard, and other aromatic products being similar to those countries in the effect of the rays of sun, although it surpasses them in the copiousness of its waters, and that therefore its air is humid and proportionately more nourishing and more productive; and that this applies both to the land and to the water, and therefore of course, both land and water animals in India are found to be larger than those in other countries, but that the Nile is more productive than other rivers, and produces huge creatures, among others the amphibious kind, and that the Aegyptian women sometimes actually bear four children. Aristotle reports that one woman actually bore seven, and he, too, calls the Nile highly productive and nourishing because of the moderate heat of the sun's rays, which, he says, leave the nourishing element and evaporate merely the superfluous.

23. It is probably from the same cause, as Aristotle says, that this too takes place—I mean that the water of the Nile boils with one-half the heat required by any other. But in proportion, he says, as the water of the Nile traverses in a straight course a long and narrow tract of country and passes across many "climata" and through many atmospheres, whereas the streams of India spread into greater and wider plains, lingering for a long time in the same "climata," in the same proportion those of India are more nourishing than those of the Nile; and on this account their river animals are also larger and more numerous; and further, he says, the water is already heated when it pours from the clouds.

24. To this statement Aristobulus and his followers, who assert that the plains are not watered by rain, would not agree.
But Onesicritus believes that rain-water is the cause of the distinctive differences in the animals; and he adduces as evidence that the colour of foreign cattle which drink it is changed to that of the native animals. Now in this he is correct; but no longer so when he lays the black complexion and woolly hair of the Aethiopians on merely the waters and censures Theodectes, who refers the cause to the sun itself, saying as follows. "Nearing the borders of these people the Sun, driving his chariot, discoloured the bodies of men with a murky dark bloom, and curled their hair, fusing it by unincreasable forms of fire." But Onesicritus might have some argument on his side; for he says that, in the first place, the sun is no nearer to the Aethiopians than to any other people, but is more nearly in a perpendicular line with reference to them and on this account scorches more, and therefore it is incorrect to say, "Nearing the borders the sun." since the sun is equidistant from all peoples, and that, secondly, the heat is not the cause of such a discoloration, for it does not apply to infants in the womb either, since the rays of the sun do not touch them. But better is the opinion of those who lay the cause to the sun and its scorching, which causes a very great deficiency of moisture on the surface of the skin. And I assert that it is in accordance with this fact that the Indians do not have woolly hairs, and also that their skin is not so unmercifully scorched, I mean the fact that they share in an atmosphere that is humid. And already in the womb children, by seminal impartation, become like their parents in colour, for congenital affections and other similarities are also thus explained. Further, the statement that the sun is equidistant from all peoples is made in accordance with observation, not reason, and in accordance with observations that are not casual, but in accordance with the observation, as I put it, that the earth is no larger than a point as compared with the sun's globe; since in accordance with the kind of observation whereby we feel differences in heat—more heat when the heat is near us and less when it is far away—the sun is not equidistant from all; and it is in this sense that the sun is spoken of as "nearing the borders" of the Aethiopians, not in the sense Onesicritus thinks.

25. The following, too, is one of the things agreed upon by all who maintain the resemblance of India to Egypt and Aethiopia: that all plains which are not inundated are unproductive for want of water. Nearcimus says that the question formerly raised in reference to the Nile as to the source of its floodings is
answered by the Indian rivers, because it is the result of the summer rains; but that when Alexander saw crocodiles in the Hydaspes and Aegyptian beans in the Acesines, he thought he had found the sources of the Nile and thought of preparing a fleet for an expedition to Aegypt, thinking that he would sail as far as there by this river, but he learned a little later that he could not accomplish what he had hoped; “for between are great rivers and dreadful streams, Oceanus first,” into which all the Indian rivers empty; and then intervene Ariana, and the Persian and the Arabian Gulfs and Arabia itself and the Troglydye country.

Such, then, are the accounts we have of the winds and the rains, and of the flooding of the rivers, and of the inundation of the plains.

26. But I must tell also the several details concerning the rivers, so far as they are useful for the purpose of geography and so far as I have learned their history. For the rivers in particular, being a kind of natural boundary for both the size and the shape of countries, are very convenient for the purposes of the whole of our present subject; but the Nile and the Indian rivers offer a certain advantage as compared with the rest because of the fact that apart from them the countries are uninhabitable, being at the same time navigable and tillable, and that they can neither be travelled over otherwise nor inhabited at all. Now as for the rivers worthy of mention that flow down into the Indus, I shall tell their history, as also that of the countries traversed by them; but as for the rest there is more ignorance than knowledge. For Alexander, who more than any other uncovered these regions, at the outset, when those who had treacherously slain Dareius set out to cause the revolt of Bactriana, resolved that it would be most desirable to pursue and overthrow them. He therefore approached India through Ariana, and, leaving India on the right, crossed over Mt. Paropamisus to the northerly parts and Bactriana; and, having subdued everything there that was subject to the Persians and still more, he then forthwith reached out for India too, since many men had been describing it to him, though not clearly. Accordingly he returned, passing over the same mountains by other and shorter roads, keeping India on the left, and then turned immediately towards India and its western boundaries and the Cophes River and the Choaspes, which latter empties into the Cophes River near a city Plemyrium, after flowing past Gorys, another city, and flowing forth through both Bandobene and Gan-
datis. He learned by inquiry that the mountainous and nor-
terly part was the most habitable and fruitful, but that the south-
ery part was partly without water and partly washed by rivers
and utterly hot, more suitable for wild beasts than for human
beings. Accordingly, he set out to acquire first the part that was
commended to him, at the same time considering that the rivers
which it was necessary to cross, since they flow transversely and
cut through the country which he meant to traverse, could more
easily be crossed near their sources. At the same time he also
heard that several rivers flowed together into one stream, and
that this was always still more the case the farther forward they
advanced, so that the country was more difficult to cross, espe-
ially in the event of lack of boats. Afraid of this, therefore, he
crossed the Cophes and began to subdue all the mountainous
country that faced towards east.

27 After the Cophes he went to the Indus, then to the
Hydaspes, then to the Acesines and the Hyarotis, and last to the
Hypanis, for he was prevented from advancing farther, partly
through observance of certain oracles and partly because he was
forced by his army, which had already been worn out by its
labours, though they suffered most of all from the waters, being
continually drenched with rain. Of the eastern parts of India,
then, there have become known to us all those parts which lie this
side the Hypanis, and also any parts beyond the Hypanis of which
an account has been added by those who, after Alexander, ad-
vanced beyond the Hypanis, as far as the Ganges and Palibothra.
Now after the Cophes follows the Indus, and the region between
these rivers is occupied by Astaceni, Massiani, Nysaei, and Hy-
panis; and then one comes to the country of Assacanus, where is
a city Mesoga, the royal seat of the country; and now near the
Indus again, one comes to another city, Peucolaitis, near which
a bridge that had already been built afforded a passage for the
army.

28 Between the Indus and the Hydaspes lies Taxila, a city
which is large and has most excellent laws, and the country that
lies round it is spacious and very fertile, immediately bordering
also on the plains. Both the inhabitants and their king, Taxiles,
received Alexander in a kindly way, and they obtained from
Alexander more gifts than they themselves presented, so that the
Macedonians were envious and said that Alexander did not have
anyone, as it seemed, on whom to bestow his benefactions until
he crossed the Indus. Some say that this country is larger than Aegypt. Above this country in the mountains lies the country of Abisarus, who, according to the ambassadors that came from him, kept two serpents, one eighty cubits in length and another one hundred and forty, according to Onesicritus, who cannot so properly be called arch-pilot of Alexander as of things that are incredible; for though all the followers of Alexander preferred to accept the marvellous rather than the true, Onesicritus seems to surpass all those followers of his in the telling of prodigies. However, he tells some things that are both plausible and worthy of mention, and therefore they are not passed by in silence even by one who disbelieves them. At any rate, others too speak of the serpents, saying that they are caught in the Êmodi mountains and kept in caves.

29 Between the Hydaspes and the Acesines is, first the country of Porus, extensive and fertile, containing about three hundred cities; and secondly, the forest near the Êmodi mountains, from which Alexander cut, and brought down on the Hydaspes, a large quantity of fir, pine, cedar, and other logs of all kinds fit for shipbuilding, from which he built a fleet on the Hydaspes near the cities founded by him on either side of the river where he crossed and conquered Porus. Of these cities, he named one Bucephalia, after Bucephalus, the horse which fell during the battle with Porus (the horse was called Bucephalas12 from the width of his forehead, he was an excellent war-horse and was always used by Alexander in his fights); and he called the other Nicaea, after his victory. In the forest above-mentioned both the number and the size of the long-tailed apes are alike described as so extraordinary that once the Macedonians, seeing many of these standing as in front-line array on some bare hills (for this animal is very human-like in mentality, no less so than the elephant), got the impression that they were an army of men, and they actually set out to attack them as human enemies, but on learning the truth from Taxiles, who was then with the king, desisted. The capture of the animal is effected in two ways. It is an imitative animal and takes to flight up in the trees. Now the hunters, when they see an ape seated on a tree, place in sight a bowl containing water and rub their own eyes with it; and then they put down a bowl of bird-lime instead of the water; go away, and lie in wait at a distance; and when the animal leaps down and besmears itself with the bird-lime, and when, upon winking,
its eyelids are shut together, the hunters approach and take it alive. Now this is one way, but there is another. They put on baggy breeches like trousers and then go away, leaving behind them others that are shaggy and smeared inside with bird-lime; and when the animals put these on, they are easily captured.

30. Some put both Cathaea and the country of Sopeithes, one of the provincial chiefs, between these two rivers, but others on the far side of the Acesines and the Hydriotis, as bordering on the country of the second Porus, who was a cousin of the Porus captured by Alexander. The country that was subject to him is called Gandaris. As for Cathaea, a most novel regard for beauty there is reported. I mean that it is prized in an exceptional manner, as, for example, for the beauty of its horses and dogs; and in fact, Onesicritus says that they choose the handsomest person as king, and that a child is judged in public after it is two months old as to whether it has the beauty of form required by law and is worthy to live or not, and that when it is judged by the appointed magistrate it is allowed to live or is put to death; and that the men dye their beards with many most florid colours for the sole reason that they wish to beautify themselves; and that this practice is carefully followed by numerous other Indian people, also (for the country produces marvellous colours, he says), who dye both their hair and their garments, and that the people, though shabby in every other way, are fond of adornment. The following too is reported as a custom peculiar to the Cathaeans: the groom and bride choose one another themselves, and wives are buried up with their deceased husbands for a reason of this kind—that they sometimes fell in love with young men and deserted their husbands or poisoned them; and therefore the Cathaeans established this as a law, thinking that they would put a stop to the poisoning. However, the law is not stated in a plausible manner, nor the cause of it either. It is said that in the country of Sopeithes there is a mountain of mineral salt sufficient for the whole of India. And gold and silver mines are reported in other mountains not far away, excellent mines, as has been plainly shown by Gorgus the mining expert. But since the Indians are inexperienced in mining and smelting, they also do not know what their resources are, and handle the business in a rather simple manner.

31. Writers narrate also the excellent qualities of the dogs in the country of Sopeithes. They say, at any rate, that Alexander
received one hundred and fifty dogs from Sopesithes; and that, to prove them, two were let loose to attack a lion, and, when they were being overpowered, two others were let loose upon him, and that then, the match having now become equal, Sopesithes bade someone to take one of the dogs by the leg and pull him away, and if the dog did not yield, to cut off his leg; and that Alexander would not consent to cutting off the dog's leg at first, wishing to spare the dog, but consented when Sopesithes said that he would give him four instead; and that the dog suffered the cutting off of his leg by slow amputation before he let go his grip.

32. Now the march to the Hydaspes was for the most part towards the south, but from there to the Hypanis it was more towards the east, and as a whole it kept to the foothills more than to the plains. At all events, Alexander, when he returned from the Hypanis to the Hydaspes and the naval station, proceeded to make ready his fleet and then to set sail on the Hydaspes. All the above-mentioned rivers, last of all the Hypanis, unite in one river, the Indus, and it is said that the Indus is joined by fifteen noteworthy rivers, all told, and that after being filled so full by all that it is widened in some places, according to writers who are immoderate, even to the extent of one hundred stadia, but, according to the more moderate, fifty at the most and seven at the least (and there are many tribes and cities all about it), it then empties into the southern sea by two mouths and forms the island called Patalene. Alexander conceived this purpose, after dismissing from his mind the parts towards the east; first, because he had been prevented from crossing the Hypanis, and, secondly, because he had learned by experience the falsity of the report which had preoccupied his mind, that the parts in the plains were burning hot and more habitable for wild beasts than for a human race; and therefore he set out for these parts, dismissing those others, so that the former became better known than those others.

33. Now the country between the Hypanis and the Hydaspes is said to contain nine tribes, and also cities to the number of five thousand—cities no smaller than Cos Meropis, though the number stated seems to be excessive. And as for the country between the Indus and the Hydaspes, I have stated approximately the peoples worthy of mention by which it is inhabited; and below them, next in order, are the people called Sibae, whom I have mentioned before and the Malli and the Sydracae, large tribes. It was in the country of the Malli that Alexander was in
peril of death, being wounded in the capture of some small city; and as for the Sydracaes, I have already spoken of them as mythenically akin to Dionysus.¹⁸ Near Patalene, they say, one comes at once to the country of Muscanus, and to that of Sabus, where is Sindomana, and also to the country of Porticanus and others, who, one and all, were conquered by Alexander, these peoples dwelling along the river-lands of the Indus; but last of all to Patalene, a country formed by the Indus, which branches into two mouths. Now Aristobulus says that these mouths are one thousand stadia distant from one another, but Nearchus adds eight hundred; and Onesicritus reckons each of the two sides of the included island, which is triangular in shape, at two thousand, and the width of the river, where it branches into the mouths, at about two hundred; and he calls the island Delta, and says that it is equal in size to the Aegyptian Delta, a statement which is not true. For it is said that the Aegyptian Delta has a base of one thousand three hundred stadia, though each of the two sides is shorter than the base. In Patalene there is a noteworthy city, Patala, after which the island is named.

34. Onesicritus says that most of the seaboard in this part of the world abounds in shoals, particularly at the mouths of the rivers, on account of the silt and the overflows and also of the fact that no breezes blow from the land, and that this region is subject for the most part to winds that blow from the high sea. He describes also the country of Muscanus, lauding it rather at length for things of which some are reported as common also to other Indians, as, for example, their length of life, thirty years beyond one hundred (and indeed some say that the Seres live still longer than this), and their healthfulness, and simple diet, even though their country has an abundance of everything. Peculiar to them is the fact that they have a kind of Laconian common mess, where they eat in public and use as food the meat of animals taken in the chase, and that they do not use gold or silver, although they have mines; and that instead of slaves they use young men in the vigour of life, as the Cretans use the Apha- miotae and the Laconians the Helots; and that they make no accurate study of the sciences except that of medicine, for they regard too much training in some of them as wickedness, for example, military science and the like, and that they have no process at law except for murder and outrage, for it is not in one's power to avoid suffering these, whereas the content of contracts
is in the power of each man himself, so that he is required to endure it if anyone breaks faith with him, and also to consider carefully who should be trusted and not to fill the city with lawsuits. This is the account of those who made the expedition with Alexander.

35 But there has also been published a letter of Craterus to his mother Aristopatra, which alleges many other strange things and agrees with no one else, particularly in saying that Alexander advanced as far as the Ganges. And he says that he himself saw the river and monsters on its banks, and a magnitude both of width and of depth which is remote from credibility rather than near it. Indeed, it is sufficiently agreed that the Ganges is the largest of known rivers on the three continents, and after it the Indus, and third and fourth the Ister and the Nile; but the several details concerning it are stated differently by different writers, some putting its minimum breadth at thirty stadia and others even at three, whereas Megasthenes says that when its breadth is medium it widens even to one hundred stadia and that its least depth is twenty fathoms.\textsuperscript{11}

36 It is said that Palbothra lies at the confluence of the Ganges and the other river, a city eighty stadia in length and fifteen in breadth, in the shape of a parallelogram, and surrounded by a wooden wall that is perforated so that arrows can be shot through the holes, and that in front of the wall lies a trench used both for defence and as a receptacle of the sewage that flows from the city, and that the tribe of people amongst whom this city is situated is called the Prasi and is far superior to all the rest; and that the reigning king must be surnamed after the city, being called Palbothrus in addition to his own family name, as, for example, King Sandrocottus to whom Megasthenes was sent on an embassy. Such is also the custom among the Parthians; for all are called Arsaces, although personally one king is called Orodes, another Phraotes, and another something else.

37 Writers are agreed that the country as a whole on the far side of the Hypanis is best, but they do not describe it accurately, and because of their ignorance and of its remoteness magnify all things or make them more marvellous. For example, the stories of the ants that mine gold and of other creatures, both beasts and human beings, which are of peculiar form and in respect to certain natural powers have undergone complete changes, as, for example, the Seres, who, they say, are long-lived, and pro-
long their lives even beyond two hundred years. They tell also
of a kind of aristocratic order of government that was composed
outright of five thousand counsellors, each of whom furnishes the
new commonwealth with an elephant Megasthenes says that
the largest tigers are found among the Prasii, even nearly twice
as large as lions, and so powerful that a tame one, though being
led by four men, seized a mule by the hind leg and by force drew
the mule to itself; and that the long-tailed apes are larger than
the largest dogs, are white except their faces, which are black
(the contrary is the case elsewhere), that their tails are more
than two cubits long, and that they are very tame and not mali-
cious, as regards attacks and thefts, and that stones are dug up of
the colour of frankincense and sweeter than figs or honey; and
that in other places there are reptiles two cubits long with mem-
branous wings like bats, and that they too fly by night, discharg-
ing drops of urine, or also of sweat, which putrefy the skin of
anyone who is not on his guard, and that there are winged scor-
pions of surpassing size, and that ebony is also produced; and
that there are also brave dogs, which do not let go the object
bitten till water is poured down into their nostrils; and that some
bite so vehemently that their eyes become distorted and some-
times actually fall out, and that even a lion was held fast by a
dog, and also a bull, and that the bull was actually killed, being
overpowered through the dog's hold on his nose before he could
be released.

38. Megasthenes goes on to say that in the mountainous
country there is a River Silas on which nothing floats, that De-
monicritus, however, disbelieves this, inasmuch as he had wandered
over much of Asia. But Aristotle also disbelieves it, although
there are atmospheres so thin that no winged creature can fly
in them. Besides, certain rising vapours tend to attract to them-
selves and "gulp down", as it were, whatever flies over them, as
amber does with chaff and the magnet with iron; and perhaps
there might also be natural powers of this kind in water. Now
these things border, in a way, on natural philosophy and on the
science of floating bodies, and therefore should be investigated
there; but in this treatise I must add still the following, and what-
ever else is close to the province of geography.

39. He says, then, that the population of India is divided
into seven castes: the one first in honour, but the fewest in num-
ber, consists of the philosophers; and these philosophers are
used, each individually, by people making sacrifice to the gods or making offerings to the dead, but jointly by the kings at the Great Synod, as it is called, at which at the beginning of the new year, the philosophers, one and all, come together at the gates of the king; and whatever each man has drawn up in writing or observed as useful with reference to the prosperity of either fruits or living beings or concerning the government, he brings forward in public; and he who is thrice found false is required by law to keep silence for life, whereas he who has proved correct is adjudged exempt from tribute and taxes.

40. The second caste, he says, is that of the farmers, who are not only the most numerous, but also the most highly respected, because of their exemption from military service and right of freedom in their farming, and they do not approach a city, either because of a public disturbance or on any other business; at any rate, he says, it often happens that at the same time and place some are in battle array and are in peril of their lives against the enemy, while the farmers are ploughing or digging without peril, the latter having the former as defenders. The whole of the country is of royal ownership, and the farmers cultivate it for a rental in addition to paying a fourth part of the produce. 29

41. The third caste is that of the shepherds and hunters, who alone are permitted to hunt, to breed cattle, and to sell or hire out beasts of burden, and in return for freeing the land from wild beasts and seed-picking birds, they receive proportionate allowances of grain from the king, leading, as they do, a wandering and tent-dwelling life. No private person is permitted to keep a horse or elephant. The possession of either is a royal privilege, and there are men to take care of them.

42. The chase of the elephant is conducted as follows: they dig a deep ditch round a treeless tract about four or five stadia in circuit and bridge the entrance with a very narrow bridge, and then, letting loose into the enclosure three or four of their tamest females, they themselves lie in wait under cover in hidden huts. Now the wild elephants do not approach by day, but they make the entrance one by one at night; and when they have entered, the men close the entrance secretly; and then, leading the most courageous of their tame combatants into the enclosure, they fight it out with the wild elephants, at the same time wearing them down also by starvation; and, once the animals are worn out, the boldest of the riders secretly dismount and each
creeps under the belly of his own riding-elephant, and then, starting from here, creeps under the wild elephant and binds his feet together; and when this is done, they command the tamed elephants to beat those whose feet have been bound until they fall to the ground; and when they fall, the men fasten their necks to those of the tamed elephants with thongs of raw ox-hide; and in order that the wild elephants, when they shake those who are attempting to mount them, may not shake them off, the man make incisions round their necks and put the thongs round at these incisions, so that through pain they yield to their bonds and keep quiet. Of the elephants captured, they reject those that are too old or too young for service and lead the rest to the stalls; and then, having tied their feet to one another and their necks to a firmly planted pillar, they subdue them by hunger; and then they restore them with green cane and grass. After this the elephants are taught to obey commands, some through words of command and others through being charmed by tunes and drum-beating. Those that are hard to tame are rare, for by nature the elephant is of a mild and gentle disposition, so that it is close to a rational animal, and some elephants have even taken up their riders who had fallen from loss of blood in the fight and carried them safely out of the battle, while others have fought for, and rescued, those who had crept between their fore-legs. And if in anger they have killed one of their feeders or masters, they yearn after him so strongly that through grief they abstain from food and sometimes even starve themselves to death.

43 They copulate and bear young like horses mostly in the spring. It is breeding-time for the male when he is seized with frenzy and becomes ferocious, at that time he discharges a kind of fatty matter through the breathing-hole which he has beside his temples. And it is breeding-time for the females when this same passage is open. They are pregnant eighteen months at the most and sixteen at the least; and the mother nurses her young six years. Most of them live as long as very long-lived human beings, and some continue to live even to two hundred years, although they are subject to many diseases and are hard to cure. A remedy for eye-diseases is to bathe the eyes with cow’s milk; but for most diseases they are given dark wine to drink; and, in the case of wounds, melted butter is applied to them (for it draws out the bits of iron), while ulcers are poulticed with swine’s flesh. Onesicritus says that they live as long
as three hundred years and in rare cases even as long as five hundred; but that they are most powerful when about two hundred years of age, and that females are pregnant for a period of ten years. And both he and others state that they are larger and stronger than the Libyan elephants; at any rate, standing up on their hind feet, they tear down battlements and pull up trees by the roots by means of the proboscis. Nearchus says that in the hunt for them foot-traps also are put at places where tracks meet, and that the wild elephants are driven together into these by the tamed ones, which latter are stronger and guided by riders; and that they are so easy to tame that they learn to throw stones at a mark and to use weapons, and that they are excellent swimmers, and that a chariot drawn by elephants is considered a very great possession, and that they are driven under yoke like camels; and that a woman is highly honoured if she receives an elephant as a gift from a lover. But this statement is not in agreement with that of the man who said that horse and elephant were possessed by kings alone.  

44 Nearchus says that the skins of gold-mining ants are like those of leopards. But Megasthenes speaks of these ants as follows: that among the Dercet, a large tribe of Indians living towards the east and in the mountains, there is a plateau approximately three thousand stadia in circuit, and that below it are gold mines, of which the miners are ants, animals that are no smaller than foxes, are surpassingly swift, and live on the prey they catch. They dig holes in winter and heap up the earth at the mouths of the holes, like moles; and the gold-dust requires but little smelting. The neighbouring peoples go after it on beasts of burden by stealth, for if they go openly the ants fight it out with them and pursue them when they flee, and then, having overtaken them, exterminate both them and their beasts; but to escape being seen by the ants, the people lay out pieces of flesh of wild beasts at different places, and when the ants are drawn away from around the holes, the people take up the gold-dust and, not knowing how to smelt it, dispose of it unwrought to traders at any price it will fetch.

45 But since, in my account of the hunters and of the wild beasts, I have mentioned what both Megasthenes and others have said, I must go on to add the following: Nearchus wonders at the number of the reptiles and their viciousness, for he says that at the time of the inundations they flee up from the plains into
the settlements that escape the inundations, and fill the houses; and that on this account, accordingly, the inhabitants not only make their beds high, but sometimes even move out of their houses when infested by too many of them; and that if the greater part of the multitude of reptiles were not destroyed by the waters, the country would be depopulated; and that the smallness of some of them is troublesome as well as the huge size of others, the small ones because it is difficult to guard against them, and the huge ones because of their strength, inasmuch as vipers even sixteen cubits long are to be seen; and that charmers go around who are believed to cure the wounds; and that this is almost the only art of medicine, for the people do not have many diseases on account of the simplicity of their diet and their abstinence from wine, but that if diseases arise, they are cured by the Wise Men. But Aristobulus says that he saw none of the animals of the huge size that are everywhere talked about, except a viper nine cubits and one span long. And I myself saw one of about the same size in Aegypt that had been brought from India. He says that you have many much smaller vipers, and asps, and large scorpions, but that none of these is so troublesome as the slender little snakes that are no more than a span long, for they are found hidden in tents, in vessels, and in hedges, and that persons bitten by them bleed from every pore with anguish, and then die unless they receive aid immediately, but that aid is easy because of the virtue of the Indian roots and drugs. He says further that crocodiles, neither numerous nor harmful to man, are to be found in the Indus, and also that most of the other animals are the same as those which are found in the Nile except the hippopotamus Oniscritus, however, says that this animal too is found in India. And Aristobulus says that on account of the crocodiles no sea-fish swim up into the Nile except the thrasa, the cestreus, and the dolphin, but that there is a large number of different fish in the Indus. Of the carides, the small ones swim up the Indus only as far as a mountain, but the large ones as far as the confluence of the Indus and the Acesines. So much, then, is reported about the wild animals. Let me now return to Megasthenes and continue his account from the point where I left off.

After the hunters and the shepherds, he says, follows the fourth caste—the artisans, the tradesmen, and the day-labourers; and of these, some pay tribute to the State and render servi-
ces prescribed by the State, whereas the armour-makers and ship- 
buiders receive wages and provisions, at a published scale, from 
the king, for these work for him alone; and arms are furnished 
the soldiers by the commander-in-chief. whereas the ships are 
let out for hire to sailors and merchants by the admiral.

47. The fifth caste is that of the warriors, who, when they 
are not in service, spend their lives in idleness and at drinking-
bouts, being maintained at the expense of the royal treasury; so 
that they make their expeditions quickly when need arises, since 
they bring nothing else of their own but their bodies.

48. The sixth is that of the inspectors, to whom it is given 
to inspect what is being done and report secretly to the king, using 
the courtesans as colleagues, the city inspectors using the city 
courtesans and the camp inspectors the camp courtesans, but the 
best and most trustworthy men are appointed to this office.

49. The seventh is that of the advisers and councillors of 
the king, who hold the chief offices of State, the judgements, and 
the administration of everything. It is not legal for a man either 
to marry a wife from another caste or to change one's pursuit or 
work from one to another, nor yet for the same man to engage 
in several, except in case he should be one of the philosophers, 
for, Megasthenes says, the philosopher is permitted to do so on 
account of his superiority.

50. Of the officials, some are market commissioners, others 
are city commissioners, and others are in charge of the soldiers. 
Among these, the first keep the rivers improved and the land re-
measured, as in Egypt, and inspect the closed canals from which 
the water is distributed into the conduits, in order that all may 
have an equal use of it. The same men also have charge of the 
hunters and are authorized to reward or punish those who deserve 
either. They also collect the taxes and superintend the crafts 
connected with the land—those of wood-cutters, carpenters, wor-
kers in brass, and miners. And they make roads, and at every 
ten stadia place pillars showing the by-roads and the distances.

51. The city commissioners are divided into six groups of five each. One group looks after the arts of the handicrafts-
men. Another group entertains strangers, for they assign them 
lodgings, follow closely their behaviour, giving them attendants, 
and either escort them forth or forward the property of those 
who die, and they take care of them when they are sick and bury 
them when they die. The third group is that of those who scru-
tinize births and deaths, when and how they take place, both for the sake of taxes and in order that births and deaths, whether better or worse, may not be unknown. The fourth group is that which has to do with sales and barter; and these look after measures and the fruits of the season, that the latter may be sold by stamp. But the same man cannot barter more than one thing without paying double taxes. The fifth group is that of those who have charge of the works made by artisans and sell these by stamp, the new apart from the old; and the man who mixes them is fined. The sixth and last group is that of those who collect a tenth part of the price of the things sold, and death is the penalty for the man who steals. These are the special duties performed by each group, but they all take care jointly of matters both private and public, and of the repairs of public works, of prices, market-places, harbours, and temples.

52 After the city commissioners there is a third joint administration, in charge of military affairs, which is also divided into six groups of five each. Of these groups, one is stationed with the admiral, another with the man in charge of the ox-teams, by which are transported instruments of war and food for both man and beast and all other requisites of the army. These also furnish the menials, I mean drum-beaters, gong-carriers, as also grooms and machinists and their assistants, and they send forth the foragers to the sound of bells, and effect speed and safety by means of reward and punishment. The third group consists of those in charge of the infantry; the fourth, of those in charge of the horses; the fifth, of those in charge of the chariots, and the sixth, of those in charge of the elephants. The stalls for both horses and beasts are royal, and the armoury is also royal; for the soldier returns the equipment to the armoury, the horse to the royal horse-stable, and likewise the beast; and they use them without bridles. The chariots are drawn on the march by oxen; but the horses are led by halter, in order that their legs may not be chafed by harness, and also that the spirit they have when drawing chariots may not be dulled. There are two combatants in each chariot in addition to the charioteer; but the elephant carries four persons, the driver and three bowmen, and these three shoot arrows from the elephant’s back.

53. All Indians live a simple life, and especially when they are on expeditions; and neither do they enjoy useless disturbances; and on this account they behave in an orderly manner.
But their greatest self-restraint pertains to theft; at any rate, Megasthenes says that when he was in the camp of Sandrocottus, although the number in camp was forty thousand, he on no day saw reports of stolen articles that were worth more than two hundred drachmae; and that too among a people who use unwritten laws only. For, he continues, they have no knowledge of written letters, and regulate every single thing from memory; but still they fare happily, because of their simplicity and their frugality; and indeed they do not drink wine, except at sacrifices, but drink a beverage which they make from rice instead of barley; and also that their food consists for the most part of rice porridge; and their simplicity is also proven in their laws and contracts, which arises from the fact that they are not litigious; for they do not have lawsuits over either pledges or deposits, or have need of witnesses or seals, but trust persons with whom they stake their interests; and further, they generally leave unguarded what they have at their homes. Now these things tend to sobriety; but no man could approve those other habits of theirs—of always eating alone and of not having one common hour for all for dinner and breakfast instead of eating as each one likes; for eating in the other way is more conducive to a social and civic life.

54. For exercise they approve most of all of rubbing, and, among other ways, they smooth out their bodies through means of smooth sticks of ebony. Their funerals are simple and their mounds small. But, contrary to their simplicity in general, they like to adorn themselves, for they wear apparel embroidered with gold, and use ornaments set with precious stones, and wear gay-coloured linen garments, and are accompanied with sun-shades; for, since they esteem beauty, they practise everything that can beautify their appearance. Further, they respect alike virtue and truth; and therefore they give no precedence even to the age of old men, unless these are also superior in wisdom. They marry many wives, whom they purchase from their parents, and they get them in exchange for a yoke of oxen, marrying some of them for the sake of prompt obedience and the others for the sake of pleasure and numerous offspring; but if the husband does not force them to be chaste, they are permitted to prostitute themselves. No one wears a garland when he makes sacrifice or burns incense or pours out a libation; neither do they cut the throat of the victim, but strangle it, in order that it may be given
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55. Now the care of the king's person is committed to women, who also are purchased from their fathers; and the bodyguards and the rest of the military force are stationed outside the gates. And a woman who kills a king when he is drunk receives as her reward the privilege of consorting with his successor; and their children succeed to the throne. Again, the king does not sleep in daytime; and even at night he is forced to change his bed from time to time because of the plots against him. Among the non-military departures he makes from his palace, one is that to the courts, where he spends the whole day hearing cases to the end, none the less even if the hour comes for the care of his person. This care of his person consists of his being rubbed with sticks of wood, for while he is hearing the cases through, he is also rubbed by four men who stand around him and rub him. A second departure is that to the sacrifices. A third is that to a kind of Bacchic chase wherein he is surrounded by women, and, outside them, by the spear-bearers. The road is lined with ropes; and death is the penalty for anyone who passes inside the ropes to the women; and they are preceded by drum-beaters and gong-carriers. The king hunts in the fenced enclosures, shooting arrows from a platform in his chariot (two or three armed women stand beside him), and also in the unfenced hunting-grounds from an elephant; and the women ride partly in chariots, partly on horses, and partly on elephants, and they are equipped with all kinds of weapons, as they are when they go on military expeditions with the men.

56. Now these customs are very novel as compared with our own, but the following are still more so. For example, Megasthenes says that the men who inhabit the Caucasus have intercourse with the women in the open and that they eat the bodies of their kinsmen: and that the monkeys are stone-rollers, and,
haunting precipices, roll stones down upon their pursuers; and
that most of the animals which are tame in our country are wild
in theirs. And he mentions horses with one horn and the head
of a deer; and reeds, some straight up thirty fathoms in length,
and others lying flat on the ground fifty fathoms, and so large
that some are three cubits and others six in diameter.

57. But Megasthenes, going beyond all bounds to the realm
of myth, speaks of people five spans long and three spans long,
some without nostrils, having instead merely two breathing orif-
ces above their mouths; and he says that it is the people three
spans long that carry on war with the cranes (the war to which
Homer refers) and with the partridges, which are as large as
goose; and that these people pick out and destroy the eggs of the
cranes, which, he adds, lay eggs there; and that it is on this
account that neither eggs nor, of course, young cranes are any-
where to be found, and that very often a crane escapes from the
fights there with a bronze arrow-point in its body. Like this,
also, are the stories of the people that sleep in their ears, and
the wild people, and other monstrosities. Now the wild people,
he continues, could not be brought to Sandroctottus, for they
would starve themselves to death; and they have their heels in
front, with toes and flat of the foot behind; but certain mouthless
people were brought to him, a gentle folk, and they live round
the sources of the Ganges; and they sustain themselves by means
of vapours from roasted meats and odours from fruits and flowers,
since instead of mouths they have only breathing orifices; and
they suffer pain when they breathe bad odours, and on this
account can hardly survive, particularly in a camp. He says that
the other peoples were described to him by the philosophers, who
reported the Ocypodes, a people who run away faster than
horses; and Enotocoetae, who have ears that extend to their feet,
so that they can sleep in them, and are strong enough to pluck up
trees and to break bowstrings, and another people, Monommati,
with dog's ears, with the eye in the middle of the forehead, with
hair standing erect, and with shaggy breasts; and that the Amys-
teres eat everything, including raw meat, and live but a short
time, dying before old age; and the upper lip protrudes much
more than the lower. Concerning the Hypermoneans who live a
thousand years he says the same things as Simonides and Pindar
and other myth-tellers. The statement of Timagenes is also a
myth, that brass rained from the sky in brazen drops and was
swept down. But Megasthenes is nearer the truth when he
says that the rivers carry down gold-dust and that part of it is paid
as a tax to the king; for this is also the case in Iberia.

58. Speaking of the philosophers, Megasthenes says that
those who inhabit the mountains hymn the praises of Dionysus
and point out as evidences the wild grape-vine, which grows in
their country alone, and the ivy, laurel, myrtle, box-tree, and
other evergreens, no one of which is found on the far side of the
Euphrates except a few in parks, which can be kept alive only
with great care, and that the custom of wearing linen garments,
imires, and gay-coloured garments, and for the king to be attended
by gong-carriers and drum-beaters on his departures from the
palace, are also Dionysiac; but the philosophers in the plains
worship Heracles. Now these statements of Megasthenes are
mythical and refuted by many writers, and particularly those about
the vine and wine; for much of Armenia, and the whole of Mesopo-
tamia, and the part of Media next thereafter, extending as far as
Persis and Carmania, are on the far side of the Euphrates; and a
large part of the country of each of these tribes is said to have
good vines and good wine.

59. Megasthenes makes another division in his discussion
of the philosophers, asserting that there are two kinds of them, one
kind called Brachmanes and the other Garmancs; that the
Brachmanes, however, enjoy fairer repute, for they are more in
agreement in their dogmas; and that from conception, while in the
womb, the children are under the care of learned men, who are
reputed to go to the mother and the unborn child, and, ostensibly,
to enchant them to a happy birth, but in truth to give prudent
suggestion and advice; and that the women who hear them with
the greatest pleasure are believed to be the most fortunate in their
offspring; and that after the birth of children different persons,
one after another, succeed to the care of them, the children always
getting more accomplished teachers as they advance in years; and
that the philosophers tarry in a grove in front of the city in an en-
closure merely commensurate with their needs, leading a frugal life,
lying on straw mattresses and skins, abstaining from animal food
and the delights of love, and hearkening only to earnest words, and
communicating also with anyone who wishes to hear them; and
that the hearer is forbidden either to talk or to cough or even to
spit; and if he does, he is banished from association with them for
that day as a man who has no control over himself; and that, after having lived in this way for thirty-seven years, they retire, each man to his own possessions, where they live more freely and under less restraint, wearing linen garments. Ornaments of gold in moderation in their ears and on their hands, and partake of meats of animals that are of no help to man in his work, but abstain from pungent and seasoned food; and that they marry as many wives as possible, in order to have numerous children, for from many wives the number of earnest children would be greater; and, since they have no servants, it is necessary for them to provide for more service from children—the service that is nearest at hand; but that the Brachmanes do not share their philosophy with their wedded wives, for fear, in the first place, that they might tell some forbidden secret to the profane if they became corrupt, and, secondly, that they might desert them if they became earnest, for no person who has contempt for pleasure and toil, and likewise for life and death, is willing to be subject to another; and that the earnest man and the earnest woman are such persons; and that they converse more about death than anything else, for they believe that the life here is, as it were, that of a babe still in the womb, and that death, to those who have devoted themselves to philosophy, is birth into the true life, that is, the happy life; and that they therefore discipline themselves most of all to be ready for death, and that they believe that nothing that happens to mankind is good or bad, for otherwise some would not be grieved and others delighted by the same things, both having dream-like notions, and that the same persons cannot at one time be grieved and then in turn change and be delighted by the same things. As for the opinions of the Brachmanes about the natural world, Megasthenes says that some of their opinions indicate mental simplicity, for the Brachmanes are better in deeds than in words, since they confirm most of their beliefs through the use of myths; and that they are of the same opinion as the Greeks about many things; for example, their opinion that the universe was created and is destructible, as also the Greeks assert, and that it is spherical in shape, and that the god who made it and regulates it pervades the whole of it and that the primal elements of all things else are different, but that water was the primal element of all creation and that, in addition to the four elements, there is a fifth natural element of which the heavens and the heavenly bodies are composed; and that the earth is situated in the centre of the universe. Anc
writers mention similar opinions of the Brachmanes about the seed and the soul, as also several other opinions of theirs. And they also weave in myths, like Plato, about the immortality of the soul and the judgments in Hades and other things of this kind. So much for his account of the Brachmanes.

60. As for the Garmanes, he says that the most honourable of them are named Hylobii and that they live in forests, subsisting on leaves and wild fruits, clothed with the bark of trees, and abstaining from wine and the delights of love; and that they communicate with the kings, who through messengers inquire about the causes of things and through the Hylobii worship and supplicate the Divinity; and that, after the Hylobii, the physicians are second in honor, and that they are, as it were, humanitarian philosophers, men who are of frugal habits but do not live out of doors, and subsist upon rice and barley-groats, which are given to them by everyone of whom they beg or who offers them hospitality; and that through sorcery they can cause people to have numerous offspring, and to have either male or female children; and that they cure diseases mostly through means of cereals, and not through means of medicaments; and that, among their medicaments, their ointments and their poultices are most esteemed, but that the rest of their remedies have much in them that is bad; and that both this class and the other practise such endurance, both in toils and in perseverance, that they stay in one posture all day long without moving; and that there are also diviners and enchanters, who are skilled both in the rites and in the customs pertaining to the deceased, and go about begging alms from village to village and from city to city; and that there are others more accomplished and refined than these, but that even these themselves do not abstain from the common talk about Hades, insofar as it is thought to be conducive to piety and holiness; and that women, as well as men, study philosophy with some of them, and that the women likewise abstain from the delights of love.

61. Aristobulus says that he saw two of the sophists at Taxila, both Brachmanes; and that the elder had his head shaved but that the younger had long hair, and that both were followed by disciples; and that when not otherwise engaged they spent their time in the market-place, being honoured as counsellors and being authorized to take as a gift any merchandise they wished; and that anyone whom they accosted poured over them sesame oil, in such profusion that it flowed down over their eyes; and that
since quantities of honey and sesame were put out for sale, they
made cakes of it and subsisted free of charge; and that they came
up to the table of Alexander, ate dinner standing, and taught him
a lesson in endurance by retiring to a place near by, where the
erald fell to the ground on his back and endured the sun's rays
and the rains (for it was now raining, since the spring of the year
had begun); and that the younger stood on one leg holding aloft
in both hands a log about three cubits in length, and when one
leg tired he changed the support to the other and kept this up
all day long; and that the younger showed a far greater self-
mastery than the elder; for although the younger followed the
king a short distance, he soon turned back again towards home,
and when the king went after him, the man bade him to come
himself if he wanted anything of him; but that the elder accom-
panied the king to the end, and when he was with him changed
his dress and mode of life; and that he said, when reproached by
some, that he had completed the forty years of discipline which
he had promised to observe; and that Alexander gave his children
a present.

62 Aristobulus mentions some novel and unusual customs
at Taxila; those who by reason of poverty are unable to marry
off their daughters, lead them forth to the market-place in the
flower of their age to the sound of both trumpets and drums
(precisely the instruments used to signal the call to battle), thus
assembling a crowd; and to any man who comes forward they
first expose her rear parts up to the shoulders and then her front
parts, and if she pleases him, and at the same time allows her-
sel to be persuaded, on approved terms, he marries her; and the
dead are thrown out to be devoured by vultures; and to have
several wives is a custom common also to others. And he further
says that he heard that among certain tribes wives were glad to
be burned up along with their deceased husbands, and that those
who would not submit to it were held in disgrace; and this custom
is also mentioned by other writers.

63 Onesicritus says that he himself was sent to converse
with these sophists; for Alexander had heard that the people al-
ways went naked and devoted themselves to endurance, and that
they were held in very great honour, and that they did not visit
other people when invited, but bade them to visit them if they
wished to participate in anything they did or said; and that there-
fore, such being the case, since to Alexander it did not seem
fitting either to visit them or to force them against their will to do anything contrary to their ancestral customs, he himself was sent; and that he found fifteen men at a distance of twenty stadia from the city, who were in different postures, standing or sitting or lying naked and motionless till evening, and that they then returned to the city; and that it was very hard to endure the sun, which was so hot that at midday no one else could easily endure walking on the ground with bare feet.

64. Onesicritus says that he conversed with one of these sophists, Calanus, who accompanied the king as far as Persis and died in accordance with the ancestral custom, being placed upon a pyre and burned up. He says that Calanus happened to be lying on stones when he first saw him; that he therefore approached him and greeted him; and told him that he had been sent by the king to learn the wisdom of the sophists and report it to him, and that if there was no objection he was ready to hear his teachings; and that when Calanus saw the mantle and broad-brimmed hat and boots he wore, he laughed at him and said: "In olden times the world was full of barley-meal and wheaten-meal, as now of dust; and fountains then flowed, some with water, others with milk and likewise with honey, and others with wine, and some with olive oil; but, by reason of his gluttony and luxury, man fell into arrogance beyond bounds. But Zeus, hating this state of things, destroyed everything and appointed for man a life of toil. And when self-control and the other virtues in general reappeared, there came again an abundance of blessings. But the condition of man is already close to satiety and arrogance, and there is danger of destruction of everything in existence." And Onesicritus adds that Calanus, after saying this, bade him, if he wished to learn, to take off his clothes, to lie down naked on the same stones, and thus to hear his teachings, and that while he was hesitating what to do, Mandanis, who was the oldest and wisest of the sophists, rebuked Calanus as a man of arrogance, and that too after censuring arrogance himself, and that Mandanis called him and said that he commended the king because, although busied with the government of so great an empire, he was desirous of wisdom; for the king was the only philosopher in arms that he ever saw, and that it was the most useful thing in the world if those men were wise who have the power of persuading the willing, and forcing the unwilling, to learn self-control; but that he might be pardoned if, conversing through three interpre-
ters, who, with the exception of language, knew no more than the masses, he should be unable to set forth anything in his philosophy that would be useful; for that, he added, would be like expecting water to flow pure through mud!

65. At all events, all he said, according to Onesicritus, tended to this, that the best teaching is that which removes pleasure and pain from the soul; and that pain and toil differ, for the former is inimical to man and the latter friendly, since man trains the body for toil in order that his opinions may be strengthened, whereby he may put a stop to dissensions and be ready to give good advice to all, both in public and in private, and that, furthermore, he had now advised Taxiles to receive Alexander, for if he received a man better than himself he would be well treated, but if inferior, he would improve him. Onesicritus says that, after saying this, Mandanis inquired whether such doctrines were taught among the Greeks; and that when he answered that Pythagoras taught such doctrines, and also bade people abstain from meat, as did also Socrates and Diogenes, and that he himself had been a pupil of Diogenes, Mandanis replied that he regarded the Greeks as sound-minded in general, but that they were wrong in one respect, in that they preferred custom to nature, for otherwise, Mandanis said, they would not be ashamed to go naked, like himself, and live on frugal fare; for, he added, the best house is that which requires the least repairs. And Onesicritus goes on to say that they inquire into numerous natural phenomena, including prognostics, rains, droughts, and diseases; and that when they depart for the city they scatter to the different market-places; and whenever they chance upon anyone carrying figs or bunches of grapes, they get fruit from that person as a free offering; but that if it is oil, it is poured down over them and they are anointed with it, and that the whole of a wealthy home is open to them, even to the women’s apartments, and that they enter and share in meals and conversation; and that they regard disease of the body as a most disgraceful thing; and that he who suspects disease in his own body commits suicide through means of fire, piling a funeral pyre; and that he anoints himself, sits down on the pyre, orders it to be lighted, and burns without a motion.

66. Nearchus speaks of the sophists as follows: That the Brachmanes engage in affairs of State and attend the kings as counsellors; but that the other sophists investigate natural phenomena; and that Calanus is one of these; and that their wives join
them in the study of philosophy; and that the modes of life of all are severe. As for the customs of the rest of the Indians, he declares as follows: That their laws, some public and some private, are unwritten, and that they contain customs that are strange as compared with those of the other tribes; for example, among some tribes the virgins are set before all as a prize for the man who wins the victory in a fist-fight, so that they marry the victor without dowry; and among other tribes different groups cultivate the crops in common on the basis of kinship, and, when they collect the produce, they each carry off a load sufficient for sustenance during the year, but burn the remainder in order to have work to do thereafter and not be idle. Their weapons, he says, consist of bow and arrows, the latter three cubits long, or a javelin, and a small shield and a broad sword three cubits long; and instead of bridles they use nose-bands, which differ but slightly from a muzzle; and the lips of their horses have holes pierced through them by spikes.

67. Nearchus, in explaining the skill of the Indians in handiwork, says that when they saw sponges in use among the Macedonians they made imitations by sewing tufts of wool through and through with hairs and light cords and threads, and that after compressing them into felt they drew out the inserts and dyed the sponge-like felt with colours; and that makers of strigils and of oil-flasks quickly arose in great numbers; and that they write missives on linen cloth that is very closely woven, though the other writers say that they make no use of written characters; and that they use brass that is cast, and not the kind that is forged; and he does not state the reason, although he mentions the strange result that follows the use of the vessels made of cast brass, that when they fall to the ground they break into pieces like pottery. Among the statements made concerning India is also the following, that it is the custom, instead of making obeisance, to offer prayers to the kings and to all who are in authority and of superior rank. The country also produces precious stones, I mean crystals and anthracites of all kinds, as also pearls.

68. As an example of the lack of agreement among the historians, let us compare their accounts of Calanus. They all agree that he went with Alexander and that he voluntarily died by fire in Alexander's presence; but their accounts of the manner in which he was burned up are not the same, and neither do they ascribe his act to the same cause. Some state it thus: that he
went along as a eulogiser of the king, going outside the boundaries of India contrary to the common custom of the philosophers there, for the philosophers attend the kings in India only, guiding them in their relations with the gods, as the Magi attend the Persian kings; but that at Pasargadae he fell ill. the first illness of his life, and despatched himself during his seventy-third year, paying no attention to the entreaties of the king; and that a pyre was made and a golden couch placed on it, and that he laid himself upon it, covered himself up, and was burned to death. But others state it thus: that a wooden house was built, and that it was filled with leaves and that a pyre was built on its roof, and that, being shut in as he had bidden, after the procession which he had accompanied, flung himself upon the pyre and, like a beam of timber, was burned up along with the house. But Megasthenes says that suicide is not a dogma among the philosophers, and that those who commit suicide are adjudged guilty of the impetuosity of youth; that some who are by nature hardy rush to meet a blow or over precipices; whereas others, who shrink from suffering, plunge into deep waters; and others, who are much suffering, hang themselves; and others, who have a fiery temperament, fling themselves into fire; and that such was Calanus, a man who was without self-control and a slave to the table of Alexander; and that therefore Calanus is censured, whereas Mandanis is commended; for when Alexander's messengers summoned Mandanis to visit the son of Zeus and promised that he would receive gifts if he obeyed, but punishment if he disobeyed, he replied that, in the first place, Alexander was not the son of Zeus, as much as he was not ruler over even a very small part of the earth, and, secondly, that he had no need of gifts from Alexander, of which there was no satiety and, thirdly, that he had no fear of threats, since India would supply him with sufficient food while he was alive, and when he died he would be released from the flesh wasted by old age and be translated to a better and purer life; and that the result was that Alexander commended him and acquiesced.

69. The following statements are also made by the historians: that the Indians worship Zeus and the Ganges River and the local deities. And when the king washes his hair, they celebrate a great festival and bring big presents, each man making rivalry in display of his own wealth. And they say that some of the ants that mine gold have wings; and that gold-dust is brought down by the rivers, as by the rivers in Iberia. And in the processions at
the time of festivals many elephants are paraded, all adorned with
gold and silver, as also many four-horse chariots and ox-teams; and
then follows the army, all in military uniform; and then golden
vessels consisting of large basins and bowls a fathom in breadth;
and tables, high chairs, drinking-cups, and bath-tubs, all of which
are made of Indian copper and most of them are set with precious
stones—emeralds, beryls, and Indian anthrases; and also variegated
garments spangled with gold, and tame bisons, leopards, and lions,
and numbers of variegated and sweet-voiced birds. And Cleitarchus
speaks of four-wheeled carriages on which large-leaved trees
are carried, and of different kinds of tamed birds that cling to these
trees, and states that of these birds the orion has the sweetest voice,
but that the catreus, as it is called, has the most splendid appear-
ance and the most variegated plumage; for its appearance approa-
ches nearest that of the peacock. But one must get the rest of the
description from Cleitarchus.

70. In classifying the philosophers, writers oppose to the
Brachmanes the Pramnae, a contentious and disputatious sect; and
they say that the Brachmanes study natural philosophy and astro-
nomy, but that they are derided by the Pramnae as quacks and
fools; and that, of these some are called “Mountain” Pramnae,
others “Naked” Pramnae, and others “City” Pramnae or “Neigh-
bouring” Pramnae; and that the “Mountain” Pramnae wear deer-
skins, and carry wallets full of roots and drugs, pretending to cure
people with these, along with witchery and enchantments and amu-
lets; and that the “Naked” Pramnae, as their name implies, live
naked, for the most part in the open air, practising endurance, as
I have said before, for thirty-seven years; and that women asso-
ciate with them but do not have intercourse with them; and that
these philosophers are held in exceptional esteem.

71. They say that the “City” Pramnae wear linen garments
and live in the city, or else out in the country, and go clad in the
skins of fawns or gazelles; but that, in general, the Indians wear
white clothing, white linen or cotton garments, contrary to the
accounts of those who say that they wear highly coloured garments;
and that they all wear long hair and long beards, and that they
braid their hair and surround it with a head-band

72. Artemidorus says that the Ganges River flows down
from the Emoda mountains towards the south, and that when it
arrives at the city Ganges it turns towards the east to Palibothra
and its outlet into the sea. And he calls one of its tributaries
Oedanes, saying that it breeds both crocodiles and dolphins. And he goes on to mention certain other things, but in such a confused and careless manner that they are not to be considered. But one might add to the accounts here given that of Nicolaius Damascenus.

73. He says that at Antioch, near Daphnē, he chanced to meet the Indian ambassadors who had been despatched to Caesar Augustus; that the letter plainly indicated more than three ambassadors, but that only three had survived (whom he says he saw), but the rest, mostly by reason of the long journeys, had died; and that the letter was written in Greek on a skin; and that it plainly showed that Porus was the writer, and that, although he was ruler of six hundred kings, still he was anxious to be a friend to Caesar, and was ready, not only to allow him a passage through his country, wherever he wished to go, but also to co-operate with him in anything that was honourable. Nicolaus says that this was the content of the letter to Caesar, and that the gifts carried to Caesar were presented by eight naked servants, who were clad only in loin-cloths be sprinkled with sweet-smelling odours; and that the gifts consisted of the Hermes, a man who was born without arms, whom I myself have seen, and large vipers, and a serpent ten cubits in length, and a river tortoise three cubits in length, and a partridge larger than a vulture, and they were accompanied also, according to him, by the man who burned himself up at Athens; and that whereas some commit suicide when they suffer adversity, seeking release from the ills at hand, others do so when their lot is happy, as was the case with that man; for, he adds, although that man had fared as he wished up to that time, he thought it necessary then to depart this life, lest something untoward might happen to him if he tarried here; and that therefore he leaped upon the pyre with a laugh, his naked body anointed, wearing only a loin-cloth; and that the following words were inscribed on his tomb: "Here lies Zarnanochegas, an Indian from Bargosa, who immortalised himself in accordance with the ancestral customs of Indians."
II. Incidental Notices

Summary of II. I. 1-3:

In the Third Book of his Geography Eratosthenes divides the inhabited world into two parts by a line drawn from west to east, parallel to the equatorial line. As an evidence of this he argues that the most southerly capes of India rise opposite to the regions about Meroe, and from the capes on to the most northerly regions of India at the Caucasus Mountains. Patroclus says the distance is fifteen thousand stadia; but the distance from Meroe to the parallel of Athens is surely about the same, and therefore the northerly parts of India, since they join the Caucasus Mountains, come to an end in this parallel.

II. 1. 4. Hipparchus controverts this view, urging the futility of the proofs on which it rests. Patroclus, he says, is unworthy of trust, opposed as he is by two competent authorities, Deimachus and Megasthenes, who state that in some places the distance from the southern sea is 20,000 stadia, and in others 30,000. Such, he says, is the account they give, and it agrees with the ancient charts of the country.

II. 1. 7. Again, Hipparchus, in the 2nd volume of his commentary, charges Eratosthenes himself with throwing discredit on Patrocles for differing from Megasthenes about the length of India on its northern side, Megasthenes making it 16,000 stadia, and Patrocles 1000 less.

II. iii. 4. He (Posidonius) also narrates how a certain Eudoxus of Cyzicus...travelled into Egypt in the reign of Euergetes II. (Physcon); and being a learned man and much interested in the peculiarities of different countries, he made interest with the king and his ministers on the subject, but especially for exploring the Nile. It chanced that a certain Indian was brought to the king by the (coast) guard of the Arabian Gulf. They reported that they had found him in a ship alone, and half dead; but they neither knew who he was nor where he came from, as he spoke a language they could not understand. He was placed in the hands of preceptors appointed to teach him the Greek language, on acquiring which he related how he had started from the coast of India, but lost his course, and reached Egypt alone, all his companions having perished with hunger; but that if he were restored to his country he would point out to those sent with him by the king the route by sea to India. Eudoxus was
of the number thus sent. He set sail with a good supply of presents, and brought back with him in exchange aromatics and precious stones, some of which the Indians collect from amongst the pebbles of the rivers, others they dig out of the earth, where they have been formed by the moisture. as crystals are formed with us. (He fancied he had made his fortune), however, he was greatly deceived, for Euergetes took possession of the whole treasure. On the death of that prince, his widow, Cleopatra, assumed the reins of Government, and Eudoxus was again despatched with a richer cargo than before. On his journey back, he was carried by the winds above Ethiopia, and being thrown on certain (unknown) regions, he conciliated the inhabitants by presents of grain, wine, and cakes of pressed figs, articles which they were without; receiving in exchange a supply of water, and guides for the journey. He also wrote down several words of their language, and having found the end of a prow, with a horse carved on it, which he was told formed part of the wreck of a vessel coming from the west, he took it with him, and proceeded on his homeward course. He arrived safely in Egypt, where no longer Cleopatra, but her son, ruled, but he was again stripped of everything on the accusation of having appropriated to his own use a large portion of the merchandise sent out.

II v 12 The entrance of a Roman army into Arabia Felix under the command of my friend and companion Aelius Gallus, and the traffic of the Alexandrian merchants whose vessels pass up the Nile and Arabian Gulf to India, have rendered us much better acquainted with these countries than our predecessors were. I was with Gallus at the time he was prefect of Egypt, and accompanied him as far as Syene and the frontiers of Ethiopia, and I found that about one hundred and twenty ships sail from Myos-Hormos to India, although in the time of the Ptolemies scarcely any one would venture on this voyage and the commerce with the Indies.

II. v. 14. That in configuration it (the habitable earth) resembles a *Chlamys* is also clear from the fact that at either end of its length the extremities taper to a point. Owing to the encroachment of the sea, it also loses something in breadth. This we know from those who have sailed round its eastern and western points. They inform us that the island called Taprobane is much to the south of India, but that it is nevertheless inhabited, and is situated opposite to the island of the Egyptians and the Cinnamon
country, as the temperature of their atmospheres is similar.

II. v. 32. After these mountaineers come the people dwelling beyond the Taurus. First among these is India, a nation greater and more flourishing than any other; they extend as far as the eastern sea and southern part of the Atlantic. In the most southern part of this sea opposite to India is situated the island of Taprobane, which is not less than Britain.

II. v. 5. Alexander too erected altars as boundaries of his Indian campaign in those parts of the Indes he arrived at, which were situated farthest towards the east, in imitation of Hercules and Bacchus.

V 11. 6 The salt mines in India mentioned by Clitarchus.

XI. v. 7. They (the Aorsi and Siraces) were thus (by their possession of the larger part of the Caspian Sea) enabled to transport on camels the merchandise of India and Babylonia, receiving it from Armenians and Medes. They wore gold also in their dress, in consequence of their wealth. The Aorsi live on the banks of the Tanais, and the Siraces on those of the Achardeus, which rises in Caucasus and discharges itself into the Maeotis.

XI vii. 2. Aristobulus says that Hyrcania has forests, and produces the oak, but not the pitch pine, nor the fir, nor the pine, but that India abounds with these trees.

XI. vii. 3. Aristobulus avers that the Oxus was the largest river, except those in India, which he had seen in Asia. He says also that it is navigable with ease...and that large quantities of Indian merchandise are conveyed by it to the Hyrcanian (Caspian) Sea, and are transferred from thence into Albania by the Cyrus, and through the adjoining countries to the Euxine.

XI. xii. 4. Eratosthenes says that the fir does grow even in India, and that Alexander built his ships of that wood.

XI. viii 9. He (Eratosthenes) assigns the following distances from the Caspian Gates to India:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Distance</th>
<th>Stadia.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To Hecatompylos</td>
<td>1,960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Alexandreia in the Country of the Aroii</td>
<td>4,530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thence to Prophthasia in Dranga</td>
<td>1,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(or according to others 1500)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thence to the city Arachotus</td>
<td>4,120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thence to OrtoSpana to the junction of the three</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roads from Bactra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thence to the confines of India</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which together amount to</td>
<td>15,300²²</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
We must regard as continuous with this distance, in a straight line, the length of India reckoned from the Indus to the Eastern Sea.

XI. xi. 1. The Greeks who occasioned its (Bactra's) revolt became so powerful by means of its fertility and advantages of the country that they became masters of Ariana and India, according to Apollodorus of Artemita. Their chiefs, particularly Menander (if he really crossed the Hypanis to the east and reached Isamus), conquered more nations than Alexander. These conquests were achieved partly by Menander, partly by Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, king of the Bactrians. They got possession not only of Patalene but of the kingdom of Sarastus, and Sigerdis, which constitute the remainder of the coast. Apollodorus, in short, says that Bactriana is the ornament of all Ariana. They extended their empire even as far as the Seres and Phryni.

XI. xi. 6 It is not generally admitted that persons have passed round by sea from India to Hyrcania, but Patrocles asserts it may be done.

XVI. iv. 2. The extreme parts (of Arabia), towards the south and opposite to Ethiopia, are watered by summer showers, and are sowed twice, like the land in India.

XVI. iv. 24. Merchandise is conveyed from Leuce Come to Petra, thence to Rhinocolura in Phoenicia near Egypt, and thence to other nations. But at present the greater part is transported by the Nile to Alexandria. It is brought down from Arabia and India to Myos Hormos, it is then conveyed on camels to Coptus of the Thebais, situated on a canal of the Nile, and to Alexandria.

XVI. iv. 25. Cassia (is) the growth of bushes in Arabia, yet some writers say that the greater part of the Cassia is brought from India.

XVI. iv. 27. Alexander might be adduced to bear witness to the wealth of the Arabians, for he intended, it is said, after his return from India to make Arabia the seat of empire.

These brief notices have been culled from Falconer's version.

FOOTNOTES

1 See later, XV, 1 78
2 Cape Comorin
3 Or, by a slight emendation of the text, "in terms of the schoenus".
4 1 e 19,000 stadia
5 The reference is to II 1 4 ff., part of which has been quoted later in this section under "Incidental Notices".
6 In II 1 14 Strabo gives the length of Taprobane as "more than five thousand stadia".
GEOGRAPHY OF STRABO

1 The e cotton
2 Probably silk is meant
3 i.e. sugar-cane
4 The reference is, of course, to the Banyan tree
5 This river is usually referred to by the Greek writers as Hydraotis, but Hyaotis more closely corresponds to the Sanskrit name Aravati.
6 i.e. ox-head
7 The Hydaspes and Acesines
8 Or “nephew”
9 i.e. to turn back from the Hypanis
10 Cf. para 28 above
11 See para 8
12 See para 8.
13 About 120 ft
14 Perhaps the more natural interpretation of the Greek passage would be, “the farmers cultivate it for wages, on condition of receiving a fourth part of the produce,” whether “wages” and “fourth part” are appositional, or “on condition of” means, as it might, “in addition to.” But Diodorus says (21.10.5) says, “the rents of the country they pay to the king... but apart from the rental they pay a fourth part into the royal treasury”). (Note by H. L. Jones in support of his translation)
15 Cf. para 41
16 The “city Commissioners” at Athens (ten in number) had charge of the police, the streets, and the public works
17 But cf. para 67 below
18 About 224 inches
19 Swift-footed
20 i.e. men that sleep in their cars
21 i.e. one-eyed
22 i.e. people without noses
23 i.e. by rivers
24 i.e. evidences of his former presence there
25 i.e. Brahmanas
26 i.e. Sarmanas (Buddhist monks)
27 Forest-dwellers
28 Onevariatus
29 i.e. the horses are controlled by the nose with a halter-like contrivance rather than by the mouth with bridles
30 i.e. spikes, or raised points, inside the nose-bands
31 e.g. carbuncles, rubies, garnets
32 Or perhaps, “for which he had no longing”
33 See paras 60-61
34 Dio Cassius refers to the same man as “Zamarus”
35 i.e. the Hindu Kush Mountain
36 This summary is based on the translation of H. L. Jones. The rest of this section (Incidental Notices) is based on McCrie’s translation (M-II, 51-2, and M-V, 97-101)
37 The sum total of the distances is 15,210, not 15,300 stadia, though this figure is repeated by Strabo in XV, II 8 (see above, p 97).
38 Apollodorus wrote a history of the Parthians. He probably flourished between 130 B.C. and 87 B.C. (W. W. Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria and India Pp 41-5)
39 Probably the Yamuna (Jumna) river
40 These two correspond to Gujarat, Kathiawar Peninsula and Cutch.
41 These refer to Central Asia. These exploits are attributed to Menander and Apollodorus by Tios (Prologue, XLI)
42 It was long supposed by the ancients that the Caspian Sea communicated with the Northern Ocean, and hence that the Caspian could be reached by sea from India and the Eastern Ocean
43 This completes Part I of Strabo’s Geography, Book XV. Part II, which follows immediately, has been reproduced above, on pp. 93 ff.
VI. PERIPLUS MARIS ERYTHRAEI

(The Commerce and Navigation of the Erythraean Sea).

The Erythraean Sea is the name given by the Greek and Roman geographers to the Indian Ocean, including the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. This Greek text gives an account of the trade of the settlements on the coast of this ocean and many interesting details of the voyage, partly along the coast and partly across the sea. The name of the author is unknown, but internal evidence seems to indicate that he was an Egyptian Greek and was probably himself actively engaged in trade in course of which he made the voyage from the head of the Red Sea to India. It is thus a very valuable and trustworthy account of the early trade and maritime activity between India and the western countries. It appears from certain statements made in the book that it was composed about the middle or second half of the first century AD. It is generally regarded as earlier than Pliny's Natural History which was published between AD 73 and 77.

The text that follows is based on the English translation by McCrindle, published in 1879. There is another English translation, with copious notes, by W. H. Scholl published in 1912. Substantial differences between the two are indicated in the footnotes. In translating the Greek names of persons and localities, the forms adopted by McCrindle have been slightly changed in order to bring them in a line with those generally used in modern times, and followed by Scholl. The most important is the substitution of κ, λ, αη, ω, ρ, and σ respectively, for κ, η, α and η. The letter ρ is also used for ι in the middle of a name. A list of important geographical names, in the order in which they occur in the text is given at the end (Appendix I) with identifications which, however, in many cases cannot be regarded as definite. Names, of which no reasonable identifications are possible, have been omitted.

A full bibliography of the manuscripts and published texts are given by Scholl on pp. 17-21 of his translation. Scholl also adds elaborate notes on the various articles of merchandise mentioned in the text. These consist, in addition to well-known cereals, textiles, and gums and precious stones of various kinds, of a number of Indian drugs and perfumes, which were known in Europe at a very early date and a detailed account of them is given in the History of Plants by Theophrastus. The general nature of these can be easily gathered from a dictionary.

It may be added that the elaborate notes given by both McCrindle and Scholl must be read with caution, as many of them are purely guesses or highly speculative hypotheses.

The text, reproduced below, is usually referred to as the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea.

1. The first of the important roadsteads established on the Red Sea, and the first also of the great trading marts upon its coast, is the port of Myos-hormos in Egypt. Beyond it at a distance of 1800 stadia is Berenike, which is to your right if you approach it by sea. These roadsteads are both situated at the furthest end of Egypt, and are bays of the Red Sea.

2. The country which adjoins them on the right below Berenike is Barbaria. Here the sea board is peopled by the Ikhthophagoi (Fish-eaters), who live in scattered huts built in the narrow gorges of the hills, and further inland are the Berbers, and beyond them the Agriophagoi (Wild-flesh-eaters) and
Moskopatalogoi (Calf-eaters),—tribes under regular government by kings. Beyond these again, and still further inland towards the west is situated the metropolis called Meroe.

3. Below the Moskopatalogoi, near the sea, lies a little trading town distant from Berenike about 4000 stadia, called Ptolemiae Theron,1 from which, in the days of the Ptolemies, the hunters employed by them used to go up into the interior to catch elephants.1 In this mart is procured the true (or marine) tortoise-shell and the land kind also, which, however, is scarce, of a white colour, and smaller size. A little ivory is also sometimes obtainable, resembling that of Aduli.5 This place has no port, and is approachable only by boats.

4. Leaving Ptolemiae Theron we are conducted at the distance of about 3000 stadia, to Aduli, a regular and established4 port of trade situated on a deep bay the direction of which is due south. Facing it, at a distance seaward of about 200 stadia from the inmost recess of the bay, lies an island called Oreine (or the mountainous) which runs on either side parallel with the mainland. Ships, that come to trade with Aduli, nowadays anchor here, to avoid being attacked from the shore, for in former times when they used to anchor at the very head of the bay, beside an island called Diodoros, which was so close to land that the sea was fordable, the neighbouring barbarians, taking advantage of this, would run across to attack the ships at their moorings. At the distance of 20 stadia from the sea, opposite Oreine, is the village of Aduli, which is not of any great size, and inland from this a three days’ journey is a city Coloe, the first market where ivory can be procured. From Coloe it takes a journey of five days to reach the metropolis of the people called the Auxumitai, whereto is brought through the province called Cyeneion,7 all the ivory obtained on the other side of the Nile, before it is sent on to Aduli. The whole mass, I may say, of the elephants and rhinoceroses which are killed to supply the trade frequent the uplands of the interior, though at rare times they are seen near the coast, even in the neighbourhood of Aduli. Besides the islands already mentioned a cluster consisting of many small ones lies out in the sea to the right of this port. They bear the name of Alalaon, and yield the tortoises6 with which the Ikhthyopatalogoi supply the market.

5. Below Aduli, about 800 stadia, occurs another very deep bay, at the entrance of which on the right are vast accumula-
tions of sand, wherein is found deeply embedded the Opsian stone, which is not obtainable anywhere else. The king of all this country, from the Moskhophagoi to the other end of Barbaria, is Zoscales, a man at once of penurious habits and of a grasping disposition but otherwise honourable in his dealings and instructed in the Greek language.

6. The articles which these places import are the following:

Cloth undressed, of Egyptian manufacture, for the Barbarian market; robes manufactured at Arsinoe; cloaks, made of a poor cloth imitating a better quality, and dyed. Linens; striped cloths and fringed; mantles with a double fringe, many sorts of glass or crystal, and of that other transparent stone called Murrhina, made at Diospolis, yellow copper, for ornaments and cut into pieces to pass for money, sheets of soft copper used for culinary vessels and cutting into bracelets and anklets worn by certain classes of women. Iron, used in making spearheads for hunting the elephant and other animals and in making weapons of war, hatchets, adzes; swords, drinking vessels of brass, large and round; a small quantity of denarii for the use of merchants resident in the country; wine, Laodikean, i.e. Syrian, from Laodike (now Latakia), and Italian, but not much; gold and silver plate made according to the fashion of the country for the king; Cloaks for riding or for the camp; dresses simply made of skins with the hair or fur on. These two articles of dress are not of much value.

The articles imported from Arike across the sea are:

Indian iron, sharp blades, Indian cotton cloth of great width; cotton for stuffing, sashes or girdles; dresses of skin with the hair or fur on; webs of cloth mallow tinted; fine muslins in small quantity; coloured lac.

The articles locally produced for export are. ivory, tortoise shell, and rhinoceros. Most of the goods which supply the market arrive any time from January to September—that is, from Tybi to Thoth. The best season, however, for ships from Egypt to put in here is about the month of September.

7. From this bay the Arabian Gulf trends eastward, and at Avalites is contracted to its narrowest. At a distance of about 4000 stadia (from Adulis), if you still sail along the same coast, you reach other marts of Barbaria, called the marts beyond (the Straits), which occur in successive order, and which, though harbourless, afford at certain seasons of the year good and safe anchorage. The first district you come to is that called Avalites,
where the passage across the strait to the opposite point of Arabia is shortest. Here is a small port of trade, called, like the district, Avalites, which can be approached only by little boats and rafts.

The imports of this place are—

Flint glass of various sorts, juice of the sour grape of Diospolis; cloths of different kinds worn in Barbaria dressed by the fuller; corn; wine; a little tin. The exports which are sometimes conveyed on rafts across the straits by the Berbers themselves to Ocelis and Muza on the opposite coast, are. Odoriferous gums; ivory in small quantity; tortoise shell, myrrh in very small quantity, but of the finest sort; macer. The barbarians forming the population of the place are rude and lawless men.

8 Beyond Avalites there is another mart, superior to it, called Malao, at a distance by sea of 800 stadia. The anchorage is an open road, sheltered, however, by a cape protruding eastward. The people are of a more peaceable disposition than their neighbours. The imports are such as have been already specified, with the addition of—

Tunics in great quantity, coarse cloaks (or blankets) manufactured at Arsinoe, prepared by the fuller and dyed; a few utensils, sheets of soft copper; iron; specie, gold and silver, but not much. The exports from this locality are—Myrrh, frankincense which we call peracite from beyond the straits, a little only; cinnamom of a hard grain, douaka (an inferior kind of cinna-nom); the gum (for fumigation) Kangkamon; ‘dekamali’, gum; the spice macer, which is carried to Arabia; slaves, a few.

9. Distant from Malao a two days’ sail is the trading port of Moundou, where ships find a safer anchorage by mooring at an island which lies very close to shore. The exports and imports are similar to those of the preceding marts, with the addition of the fragrant gum called Mokrotu, a peculiar product of the place. The native traders here are uncivilized in their manners.

10. After Munda, if you sail eastward as before for two or three days, there comes next Mousillon, where it is difficult to anchor. It imports the same sorts of commodities as have been already mentioned, and also utensils of silver and others of iron but not so many, and glass ware. It exports a vast amount of cinnamon (whence it is a port requiring ships of heavy burden) and other fragrant and aromatic products, besides tortoise shell, but in no great quantity, and the incense called mokrotu inferior to that of Moundou, and frankincense brought from parts further
distant, and ivory and myrrh though in small quantity.

11. After leaving Mosullon, and sailing past a place called Neiloptolemaios, and past Tapatege and the Little Laurel grove, you are conducted in two days to Cape Elephant. Here is a stream called Elephant River, and the Great Laurel grove called Akannai, where and where only, is produced the peratic frankincense. The supply is most abundant, and it is of the very finest quality.

12. After this, the coast now inclining to the south, succeeds the mart of Aromata, and a bluff headland running out eastward which forms the termination of the Barbarine coast. The roadstead is an open one, and at certain seasons dangerous, as the place lies exposed to the north wind. A coming storm gives warning of its approach, by a peculiar prognostic, for the sea turns turbid at the bottom and changes its colour. When this occurs, all hasten for refuge to the great promontory called Tabai, which affords a secure shelter. The imports into this mart are such as have been already mentioned, while its products are cinnamon, gizeir (a finer sort of cinnamon), asuphe (an ordinary sort), fragrant gums. magla, moto (an inferior cinnamon) and frankincense.

13. If, on sailing from Tabai, you follow the coast of the peninsula formed by the promontory, you are carried by the force of a strong current to another mart 400 stadia distant called Opone which imports the commodities already mentioned but produces most abundantly cinnamon spice, moto, slaves of a very superior sort, chiefly for the Egyptian market, and tortoise shell of small size but in large quantity and of the finest quality known.

14. Ships set sail from Egypt for all these ports beyond the straits about the month of July—that is, Epiphi. The same markets are also regularly supplied with the products of places far beyond them—Ariake and Barygaza. These products are—

Corn; rice; clarified butter, i.e. ghī; oil of sesame; fine cotton called Monakhe, and a coarse kind for stuffing called Sagmatogene; sashes or girdles; honey of a reed, called sugar.

Some traders undertake voyages expressly for these market-towns while others as they sail along the coast we are describing exchange their cargoes for such others as they can procure. There is no king who reigns paramount over all this region, but each separate seat of trade is ruled by an independent despot of its own.

15. After Opone the coast now trending more to the south
you come first to what are called the little and the great Apokopa (or Bluffs) of Azania, where there are no harbours but only roads in which one can conveniently anchor. The navigation of this coast, the direction of which is now to the south-west, occupies six days. Then follow the Little Coast and the Great Coast, occupying another six days, when in due order succeed the Dromoi (or Courses) of Azania, the one going by the name of Sarapion, and the other by that of Nikon. Proceeding thence, you pass the mouths of numerous rivers, and then a succession of other roadsteads lying apart one from another a day’s distance either by sea or by land. There are seven of them altogether, and they reach on to the Pyraloi islands and the narrow strait called the Canal, beyond which, where the coast changes its direction from south-west slightly more to south, you are conducted by a voyage of two days and two nights to Menuthias, an island stretching towards sunset, and distant from the mainland about 300 stadia. It is low-lying and woody, has rivers, and a vast variety of birds, and yields the mountain tortoise, but it has no wild beasts at all, except only crocodiles, which, however, are quite harmless. The boats are here made of planks sewn together attached to a keel, or (canoes) hollowed from single logs of wood, and these are used for fishing and for catching turtle. This is also caught in another mode, peculiar to the island, by lowering wicker baskets instead of nets, and fixing them against the mouths of the cavernous rocks which lie out in the sea confronting the beach.

16. At the distance of a two days’ sail from this island lies the last of the marts of Azania, called Rhapta, a name which it derives from the sewn boats just mentioned. Ivory is procured here in the greatest abundance, and also turtle. The indigenous inhabitants are men of huge stature, who live apart from each other, every man ruling like a lord his own domain. The whole territory is governed by the despot of Mopharitis, because the sovereignty over it, by some right of old standing, is vested in the kingdom of what is (called the Fist Arabia). The merchants of Muza farm its revenues from the king, and employ in trading with it a great many ships of heavy burden, on board of which they have Arabian commanders and factors who are intimately acquainted with the natives and have contracted marriage with them, and know their language and the navigation of the coast.

17. The articles imported into these marts are principally
javelins manufactured at Muza, hatchets, knives, awls, and glass of various sorts, to which must be added corn and wine in no small quantity landed at particular ports, not for sale, but to entertain and thereby conciliate the barbarians. The articles which these places export are ivory, in great abundance but of inferior quality to that obtained at Aduli, rhinoceros, and tortoise shell of fine quality, second only to the Indian, and little nauphus. 16

18. These marts, we may say, are about the last on the coast of Azania, the coast, that is, which is on your right as you sail south from Berenike. For beyond these parts an ocean, hitherto unexplored, curves round towards sunset, and stretching along the southern extremities of Ethiopia, Libya, and Africa, amalgamates with the Western Sea.

19. To the left, again, of Berenike, if you sail eastward from Myos Hormos across the adjacent gulf for two days or perhaps three you arrive at a place having a port and a fortress which is called Leuke Konie, and forming the point of communication with Petra, the residence of Malikhas, the king of the Nabataeans. It ranks as an emporium of trade, since small vessels come to it laden with merchandise from Arabia; and hence an officer is deputed to collect the duties which are levied on imports at the rate of twenty-five per cent of their value and also a centurion who commands the garrison by which the place is protected.

20. Beyond this mart, and quite contiguous to it, is the realm of Arabia, which stretches to a great distance along the coast of the Red Sea. It is inhabited by various tribes, some speaking the same language with a certain degree of uniformity, and others a language totally different. Here also, as on the opposite continent, the sea board is occupied by Ikhthyophagoi, who live in dispersed huts, while the men of the interior live either in villages, or where pasture can be found, and are an evil race of men, speaking two different languages. If a vessel is driven from her course upon this shore she is plundered and if wrecked the crew on escaping to land are reduced to slavery. For this reason they are treated as enemies and captured by the chiefs and kings of Arabia. They are called Carnites. Altogether therefore, the navigation of this part of the Arabian coast is very dangerous: for apart from the barbarity of its people, it has neither harbours nor good roadsteads, and it is foul with breakers, and girdled with rocks which render it inaccessible. For this reason when sailing south we stand off from a shore in every way so
dreadful, and keep our course down the middle of the gulf, strain-
ing our utmost to reach the more civilized part of Arabia, which
begins at Burnt Island. From this onward the people are under
a regular government and as their country is pastoral, they keep
herds of cattle and camels.

21. Beyond this tract, and on the shore of a bay which
occurs at the termination of the left (or east) side of the gulf is
Muza, an established and notable mart of trade at a distance
south from Berenike of not more than 12,000 stadia. The whole
place is full of Arabian shipmasters and common sailors, and is
absorbed in the pursuits of commerce, for with ships of its own
fitting out it trades with the marts beyond the Straits on the oppo-
site coast, and also with Barygaza.

22. Above this a three days' journey off lies the city of
Saue, in the district called Mopharitis. It is the residence of
Cholaibos, the despot of that country.

23. A journey of nine days more conducts us to Saphar,
the metropolis of Charibael, the rightful sovereign of two conti-
guous tribes, the Homerites and the Sabitai, and, by means of
frequent embassies and presents, the friend of the Emperors.

24. The mart of Muza has no harbour, but its sea is smooth
and the anchorage good, owing to the sandy nature of the bot-
tom. The commodities which it imports are—

Purple cloth, fine and ordinary: garments made up in the
Arabian fashion, some plain and common, and others wrought
in needlework and inwoven with gold, saffron: the aromatic rush
Kypere-, muslins; cloaks, quilts in small quantity, some plain,
others adapted to the fashion of the country: sashes of various
shades of colour, perfumes a moderate quantity; specie as much
as is required, wine and corn, but not much.

The country produces a little wheat and a great abundance
of wine. Both the king and the despot above mentioned receive
presents consisting of horses, pack saddle mules, gold plate, silver
plate embossed, robes of great value, and utensils of brass. Muza
exports its own local products: myrrh of the finest quality that
has oozed in drops from the trees, both the Gabiraean and Min-
cean kinds; white marble (or alabaster), in addition to com-
modities brought from the other side of the Gulf, all such as were
enumerated at Aduli. The most favourable season for making
a voyage to Muza is the month of September, that is Thoth, but
there is nothing to prevent it being made earlier.
25. If on proceeding from Muza you sail by the coast for about a distance of 300 stadia, there occurs, where the Arabian mainland and the opposite coast of Barbaria at Avalites now approach each other, a channel of no great length which contracts the sea and encloses it within narrow bounds. This is 60 stadia wide, and in crossing it you come midway upon the island of Diodorus, to which it is owing that the passage of the straits is in its neighbourhood exposed to violent winds which blow down from the adjacent mountains. There is situated upon the shore of the straits an Arabian village subject to the same ruler (as Muza), Ocelis by name, which is not so much mart of commerce as a place for anchorage and supplying water, and where those who are bound for the interior first land and halt to refresh themselves.

26. Beyond Ocelis, the sea again widening out towards the east, and gradually expanding into the open main, there lies, at about the distance of 1,200 stadia, Eudaemon Arabia, a maritime village subject to that kingdom of which Chanbael is sovereign, a place with good anchorage, and supplied with sweeter and better water than that of Ocelis, and standing at the entrance of a bay where the land begins to retire inwards. It was called Eudaemon (rich and prosperous) because in bygone days, when the merchants from India did not proceed to Egypt and those from Egypt did not venture to cross over to the marts further east, but both came only as far as this city, it formed the common centre of their commerce, as Alexandria receives the wares which pass to and fro between Egypt and the ports of the Mediterranean. Now, however, it lies in ruins, the Emperor (Chanbael) having destroyed it not long before our own times.

27. To Eudaemon Arabia at once succeeds a great length of coast and a bay extending 2,000 stadia or more, inhabited by nomadic tribes and Ikhthyophagor settled in villages. On doubling a cape which projects from it you come to another trading seaport, Cana, which is subject to Eleazus, king of the incense country. Two barren islands lie opposite to it, 120 stadia off—one called Orneon, and the other Troullas. At some distance inland from Cana is Sabbatha the principal city of the district, where the king resides. At Cana is collected all the incense that is produced in the country, this being conveyed to it partly on camels, and partly by sea on floats supported on inflated skins, a local invention, and also in boats. Cana carries on
trade with ports across the ocean—Barygaza, Scythia, and Omana, and the adjacent coast of Persis.

28. From Egypt it imports like Muza, corn and a little wheat,\textsuperscript{18} cloths for the Arabian market both of the common sort and the plain, and large quantities of a sort that is spurious; also copper, tin, coral, styrax and all the other articles enumerated at Muza. Besides these there are brought also, principally for the king, wrought silver plate, and specie as well as horses and carved images, and plain cloth of a superior quality. Its exports are its indigenous products, frankincense and aloes, and such commodities as it shares in common with other marts on the same coast. Ships sail for this port at the same season of the year as those bound for Muza but earlier.

29. As you proceed from Cana the land retires more and more and there succeeds another very deep and far-stretching gulf, Sachalites by name, and also the frankincense country, which is mountainous and difficult of access, having a dense air loaded with vapours and the frankincense exhaled from the trees. These trees, which are not of any great size or height, yield their incense in the form of a concretion on the bark, just as several of our trees in Egypt exude gum. The incense is collected by the hand of the king’s slaves, and malefactors condemned to this service as a punishment. The country is unhealthy in the extreme: penalential even to those who sail along the coast, and mortal to the poor wretches who gather the incense, who also suffer from lack of food, which readily cuts them off.

30. Now at this gulf is a promontory the greatest in the world, looking towards the east, and called Syagrus, at which is a fortress which protects the country and a harbour and a magazine to which the frankincense which is collected is brought. Out in the open sea, facing this promontory, and lying between it and the promontory of Aromate (Cape of spaces) which projects from the opposite coast, though nearer to Syagrus, is the island going by the name of Dioscorida, which is of great extent, but desert and very moist, having rivers and crocodiles and a great many vipers, and lizards of enormous size, of which the flesh serves for food, while the grease is melted down and used as a substitute for oil. This island does not, however, produce either the grape or corn. The population which is but scanty, inhabits the north side of the island—that part of it which looks towards the mainland (of Arabia). It consists of an intermixture o
foreigners, Arabs, Indians, and even Greeks, who resort hither for the purposes of commerce. The island produces the tortoise,—the genuine, the land, and the white sort, the latter very abundant, and distinguished for the largeness of its shell; also the mountain sort which is of extraordinary size and has a very thick shell, whereof the underpart cannot be used, being too hard to cut, while the serviceable part is made into money-boxes, tablets, escritoires, and ornamental articles of that description. It yields also the vegetable dye called Indicum (or Dragon’s blood),¹⁹ which is gathered as it distils from trees.

31. The island is subject to the king of the frankincense country, in the same way as Azania is subject to Charibael and the despot of Mopharitis. It used to be visited by some (merchants) from Muza, and others on the homeward voyage from Limyrike²⁰ and Barygaza would occasionally touch at it, importing rice, corn, Indian cotton and female slaves, who, being rare, always commanded a ready market. In exchange for these commodities they would receive as fresh cargo great quantities of tortoise shell. The revenues of the island are at present day farmed out by its sovereigns, who, however, maintain a garrison in it for the protection of their interests.

32. Immediately after Syagrus follows a gulf deeply indenting the mainland of Omana, and having a width of 600 stadia. Beyond it are high mountains, rocky and precipitous, and inhabited by men who live in caves. The range extends onward for 500 stadia, and beyond where it terminates lies an important harbour called Moscha, the appointed port to which the Sachalitic frankincense is forwarded. It is regularly frequented by a number of ships from Cana; and such ships as come from Limyrike and Barygaza too late in the season put into harbour here for the winter, where they dispose of their muslins, corn and oil to the king’s officers, receiving in exchange frankincense, which lies in piles throughout the whole of Sachalitis without a guard to protect it, as if the locality were indebted to some divine power for its security. Indeed, it is impossible to procure a cargo, either publicly or by stealth, without the king’s permission. Should one take furtively on board were it but a single grain, his vessel can by no possibility escape from harbour.

33. From the port of Moscha onward to Asich, a distance of about 1,500 stadia, runs a range of hills pretty close to the shore, and at its termination there are seven islands bearing the
name of Zenobios, beyond which again we come to another barbarous district not subject to any power in Arabia, but to Persis. If when sailing by this coast you stand well out to sea so as to keep a direct course, then at about a distance from the island of Zenobios of 2,000 stadia you arrive at another island, called that of Sarapis, lying off shore, say, 120 stadia. It is about 200 stadia broad and 600 long, possessing three villages inhabited by a savage tribe of Ikhthyophagoi, who speak the Arabic language and whose clothing consists of a girdle made from the leaves of the cocoa-palm. The island produces in great plenty tortoise-shell of excellent quality, and the merchants of Cana accordingly fit out little boats and cargo ships to trade with it.

34. If sailing onward you wind round with the adjacent coast to the north, then as you approach the entrance of the Persian Gulf you fall in with a group of islands which lie in a range along the coast for 2,000 stadia, and are called the islands of Calaeou. The inhabitants of the adjacent coast are cruel and treacherous, and see imperfectly in the daytime.21

35. Near the last headland of the islands of Calaeou is the mountain called Calon (Pulcher), to which succeeds, at no great distance, the mouth of the Persian Gulf, where there are very many pearl fisheries. On the left of the entrance, towering to a vast height, are the mountains which bear the name of Assaboi, and directly opposite on the right you see another mountain high and round called the hill of Semiramis. The strait which separates them has a width of 600 stadia and through this opening the Persian Gulf pours its vast expanse of waters far up into the interior. At the very head of this gulf there is a regular mart of commerce, called the city of Apologus, situated near Pasinou-Kharax and the river Euphrates.

36. If you coast along the mouth of the gulf you are conducted by a six days' voyage to another seat of trade belonging to Persis, called Omana. Barygaza maintains a regular commercial intercourse with both these Persian ports despatching thither large vessels freighted with copper, sandalwood, beams for rafters, horn and logs of sasamina and ebony. Omana imports also frankincense from Cana, while it exports to Arabia a particular species of vessels called madara, which have their planks sewn together. But both from Apologus and Omana there are exported to Barygaza and to Arabia great quantities of pearl, of mean quality however compared with the Indian sort, together with purple,
cloth for the natives, wine, dates in great quantity, and gold and slaves.

37. After leaving the district of Omana the country of the Parsidae succeeds, which belongs to another government, and the bay which bears the name of Terabdoi, from the midst of which a cape projects. Here also is a river large enough to permit the entrance of ships, with a small mart at its mouth called Oraea. Behind it in the interior, at the distance of a seven days' journey from the coast, is the city where the king resides, called Rambacia. This district, in addition to corn, produces wine, rice, and dates, though in the tract near the sea, only the fragrant gum called bdellium.

38. After this region, where the coast is already deeply indented by gulfs caused by the land advancing with a vast curve from the east, succeeds the seaboard of Scythia, a region which extends to northward. It is very low and flat, and contains the mouths of the Sinthus (Indus) the largest of all the rivers which fall into the Erythraean Sea, and which, indeed, pours into it such a vast body of water that while you are yet far off from the land at its mouth you find the sea turned of a white colour by its waters.

The sign by which voyagers before sighting land know that it is near is their meeting with serpents floating on the water, but higher up and on the coasts of Persia the first sign of land is seeing them of a different kind, called graat (Sanskrit graha—an alligator). The river has seven mouths, all shallow, marshy and unfit for navigation except only the middle stream, on which is Barbaricum, a trading seaport. Before this town lies a small islet, and behind it in the interior is Minagara, the metropolis of Scythia, which is governed, however, by Parthian princes, who are perpetually at strife among themselves, expelling each the other.

39. Ships accordingly anchor near Barbaricum, but all their cargoes are conveyed by the river up to the king, who resides in the metropolis. The articles imported into this emporium are,—clothing, plain and in considerable quantity, clothing, mixed, not much; flowered cottons, yellow stone, topazes, coral, Storax, frankincense, glass vessels, silver plate, specie, wine, but not much. The exports are:—Costus, a spice, bdellium, a gum; (a yellow dye, spikenard, emeralds or green stones, Sapphires), furs from China, cottons, silk thread, indigo.

Ships destined for this port put out to sea when the Indian
monsoon prevails, that is, about the month of July or Epiphi. The voyage at this season is attended with danger, but being shorter is more expeditious.

40. After the river Sinthus is passed we reach another gulf, which cannot be easily seen. It has two divisions, the Great and the Little by name—both shoal with violent and continuous eddies extending far out from the shore, so that before ever land is in sight ships are often grounded on the shoals or being caught within the eddies are lost. Over this gulf hangs a promontory which, curving from Eirinon first to the east, then to the south and finally to the west, encompasses the gulf called Baraca, in the bosom of which lie seven islands. Should a vessel approach the entrance of this gulf, the only chance of escape for those on board is at once to alter their course and stand out to sea, for it is all over with them if they are once fairly within the womb of Baraca, which surges with vast and mighty billows, and where the sea, tossing in violent commotion, forms eddies and impetuous whirlpools in every direction. The bottom varies, presenting in places sudden shoals, in others being scabrous with jagged rocks, so that when an anchor grounds its cable is either at once cut through or soon broken by friction at the bottom. The sign by which voyagers know they are approaching this bay is their seeing serpents floating about on the water of extraordinary size and of a black colour, for those met with lower down and in the neighbourhood of Barygaza are of less size, and in colour green and golden.

41. To the gulf of Baraca succeeds that of Barygaza and the mainland of Ariaca, a district which forms the frontier of the kingdom of Mombarus and of all India. The interior part of it which borders on Scythia is called Abria and its sea-board Syrastrene. It is a region which produces abundantly corn and rice and the oil of sesamum, butter, muslins and the coarser fabrics which are manufactured from Indian cotton. It has also numerous herds of cattle. The natives are men of large stature and coloured black. The metropolis of the district is Minagar, from which cotton cloth is exported in great quantity to Barygaza. In this part of the country, there are preserved even to this very day memorials of the expedition of Alexander, old temples, foundations of camps, and large wells. The extent of this coast, reckoned from Barbaricum to the promontory called Papica, near Astacapra, which is opposite Barygaza, is 3,000
stadia.

42. After Papica there is another gulf, exposed to the violence of the waves and running up to the north. Near its mouth is an island called Baeones, and at its very head it receives a vast river called the Mais. Those bound for Barygaza sail up this gulf (which has a breadth of about 300 stadia), leaving the island on the left till it is scarcely visible in the horizon, when they shape their course east for the mouth of the river that leads to Barygaza. This is called the Namadus.

43. The passage into the gulf of Barygaza is narrow and difficult of access to those approaching it from the sea for they are carried either to the right or to the left, the left being the better passage of the two. On the right, at the very entrance of the gulf, lies a narrow strip of shoal, rough and beset with rocks. It is called Herone, and lies opposite the village of Cammoni. On the left side right against this is the promontory of Papica, which lies in front of Astacapra, where it is difficult to anchor, from the strength of the current and because the cables are cut through by the sharp rocks at the bottom. But even if the passage into the gulf is secured, the mouth of the Barygaza river is not easy to hit, since the coast is low and there are no certain marks to be seen until you are close upon them. Neither, if it is discovered, is it easy to enter, from the presence of shoals at the mouth of the river.

44. For this reason native fishermen appointed by Government are stationed with well-manned long boats called trappaga and cotvmba at the entrance of the river, whence they go out as far as Syrastrene to meet ships and pilot them up to Barygaza. At the head of the gulf the pilot, immediately on taking charge of a ship, with the help of his own boat's crew, shifts her head to keep her clear of the shoals, and tows her from one fixed station to another moving with the beginning of the tide, and dropping anchor at certain roadsteads and basins when it ebbs. These basins occur at points where the river is deeper than usual, all the way up to Barygaza, which is 300 stadia distant from the mouth of the river if you sail up the stream to reach it.

45. India has everywhere a great abundance of rivers, and her seas ebb and flow with tides of extraordinary strength, which increase with the moon both when new and when full, and for three days after each, but fall off in the intermediate space. About Barygaza they are more violent than elsewhere; so that all of a
sudden you see the depths laid bare, and portions of the land
turned into sea, and the sea, where ships were sailing but just
before, turned without warning into dry land. The rivers, again,
on the access of flood tide rushing into their channels with the
whole body of the sea, are driven upwards against their natural
course for a great number of miles with a force that is irresistible.

46. This is the reason why ships frequenting this emporium
are exposed, both in coming and going, to great risk, if handled
by those who are unacquainted with the navigation of the gulf
or visit it for the first time, since the impetuosity of the tide when
it becomes full, having nothing to stem or slacken it, is such that
anchors cannot hold against it. Large vessels, moreover, if
captured are driven athwart from their course by the rapidity
of the current till they are stranded on shoals and wrecked, while
the smaller craft are capsized, and many that have taken refuge
in the side channels, being left dry by the receding tide, turn over
on one side and if not set erect on props are filled upon the return
of the tide with the very first head of the flood, and sunk. But
at new moons, especially when they occur in conjunction with a
night tide, the flood sets in with such extraordinary violence that
on its beginning to advance, even though the sea be calm, its roar
is heard by those living near the river's mouth, sounding like the
tumult of battle heard far off, and soon after the sea with its his-
sing waves bursts over the bare shoals.

47. Inland from Barygaza the country is inhabited by nume-
rous races—the Aratrioi, and the Arachosioi, and the Gandar-
aeoi, and the people of Proclais, in which is Bucephalus
Alexandria. Beyond these are the Bactrianoi, a most warlike
race, governed by their own independent sovereign. It was from
these parts Alexander issued to invade India when he marched as
far as the Ganges without, however, attacking Lumbeki and the
southern parts of the country. Hence up to the present day old
drachmai bearing the Greek inscriptions of Apollodotus and
Menander are current in Barygaza.

48. In the same region eastward is a city called Ozene, for-
merly the capital wherein the king resided. From it there is
brought down to Barygaza every commodity for the supply of
the country and for export to our own markets—onyx-stones,
porcelain, fine muslins, mallow-coloured muslins, and no small
quantity of ordinary cottons. At the same time there is brought
down to it from the upper country by way of Proclais, for trans-
mission to the coast, Kattybourne, Patropapigic, and Cabalitic\textsuperscript{31} spikenard, and another kind which reaches it by way of the adjacent province of Scythia; also costus and bdellium.

49. The imports of Barygaza are—Wine, principally Italian. Laodicean wine and Arabian, brass or copper and tin and lead, coral and Gold stone or Yellow stone,\textsuperscript{12} cloth, plain and mixed, of all sorts, variegated sashes half a yard wide, storax, sweet clover, (melilot, white glass Gum Sandarach (Stibium) Tincture for the eyes);\textsuperscript{34} gold and silver specie, yielding a profit when exchanged for native money, perfumes or unguents. neither costly nor in great quantity. In those times, moreover, there were imported, as presents to the king, costly silve. vases, instruments of music,\textsuperscript{41} handsome young women for concubinage, superi- rior wine, apparel, plain but costly, and the choicest unguents. The exports from this part of the country are—

Spikenard, costus, bdellium, ivory, onyx-stones\textsuperscript{15} and porcelain,\textsuperscript{16} box-thorn,\textsuperscript{37} cottons of all sorts, silk, mallow coloured cottons, silk thread, long pepper and other articles supplied from the neighbouring ports. The proper season to set sail for Barygaza from Egypt is the month of July or Epiphani.

50 From Barygaza the coast immediately adjoining stretches from the north directly to the south and the country is therefore called Dakhunabades, because Dakhan in the language of the natives signifies south. Of this country that part which lies inland towards the east comprises a great space of desert country, and large mountains abounding with all kinds of wild animals, leopards, tigers, elephants, huge snakes, hyenas, and baboons of many different sorts, and is inhabited right across to the Ganges by many and extremely populous nations.

51. Among the marts in this South Country there are two of more particular importance—Paethana, which lies south from Barygaza, a distance of twenty days, and Tagara, ten days east of Paethana, the greatest city\textsuperscript{38} in the country. Their commodities are carried down on wagons to Barygaza along roads of extreme difficulty,—that is, from Paithana a great quantity of onyx-stone and from Tagara ordinary cottons in abundance, many sorts of muslins, mallow coloured cottons, and other articles of local production brought into it from the parts along the coast. The length of the entire voyage as far as Limyrike is 700 stadia, and to reach Aigialus\textsuperscript{39} you must sail very many stadia further.

52. The local marts which occur in order along the coast
after Barygaza are Akabarou, Suppara, Kalliena, a city which was raised to the rank of a regular mart in the times of the elder Saraganus, but after Sandanes became its master its trade was put under the severest restrictions; for if Greek vessels even by accident enter its ports, a guard is put on board and they are taken to Barygaza.

53. After Kalliena other local marts occur—Semylla, Mandagora, Palaeapatmae, Melizeigara, Byziantion, Toparon, and Tyrannos-boas. You come next to the islands called Sesecreienae and the island of the Aigidioci and that of the Kaeneitae, near what is called the Chersonesus, places in which are pirates, and after this the island Leuke (or the White). Then follow Naura and Tyndis, the first marts of Limyrike, and after these Muziris and Nelcynda, the seats of Government.

54. To the kingdom under the sway of Ceprobrotas Tyndis is subject, a village of great note situate near the sea. Muziris, which pertains to the same realm, is a city at the height of prosperity, frequented as it is by ships (from Ariake and Greek ships from Egypt). It lies near a river at a distance from Tyndis of 500 stadia, whether this is measured from river to river or by the length of the sea voyage, and it is 20 stadia distant from the mouth of its own river. The distance of Nelcynda from Muziris is also nearly 500 stadia, whether measured from river to river or by the sea voyage, but it belongs to a different kingdom that of Pandion. It likewise is situated near a river and at about a distance from the sea of 120 stadia.

55. At the very mouth of this river lies another village, Bacare to which the ships despatched from Nelcynda come down empty and ride at anchor off shore while taking in cargo: for the river, it may be noted, has sunken reefs and shallows which make its navigation difficult. The sign by which those who come hither by sea know they are nearing land is their meeting with snakes, which are here of a black colour, not so long as those already mentioned, like serpents about the head, and with eyes the colour of blood.

56. The ships which frequent these ports are of a large size, on account of the great amount and bulkiness of the pepper and betel of which their lading consists. The imports here are principally great quantities of specie; (topaz?), gold stone, chrysolite, a small assortment of plain cloth, flowered robes; Stibium, a pigment for the eyes; coral, white glass, copper or
brass, tin, lead; wine, but not much, but about as much as at Barygaza; sandarach, arsenic (orpiment), yellow sulphuret of arsenic; and corn, only for the use of the ship company, as the merchants do not sell it.

The following commodities are brought to it for export: Pepper in great quantity, produced in only one of these marts, and called the pepper of Cottonara, pearls in great quantity and of superior quality, ivory, fine silks, spikenard from the Ganges, betel, all brought from countries further east, transparent or precious stones of all sorts, diamonds, jacinths, tortoise-shell from the Golden Island, and another sort which is taken in the islands which lie off the coast of Limyrike. The proper season to set sail from Egypt for this part of India is about the month of July, that is, Epiphi.

57. The whole round of the voyage from Cana and Eu daemon Arabia, which we have just described, used to be performed in small vessels which kept close to shore and followed its windings, but Hippalus was the pilot who first, by observing the bearings of the ports and the configuration of the sea, discovered the direct course across the ocean. For, at the same time when our own Etesian winds are blowing, a periodical wind from the ocean likewise blows in the Indian Sea, and this wind, which is the south-west, is, it seems, called in these seas Hippalus after the name of the pilot who first discovered the passage by means of it. From the time of this discovery to the present day, merchants who sail for India either from Cana, or as others do, from Aromata, if Limyrike be their destination, (must often change their tack), but if they are bound for Barygaza and Scythia, they are not retarded for more than three days, after which, committing themselves to the monsoon which blows right in the direction of their course, they stand far out to sea, leaving all the gulfs we have mentioned in the distance.

58. After Bacare occurs the mountain called Pyrrhos (or the Red) towards the south, near another district of the country called Paralia (where the pearl fisheries are which belong to king Pandion), and a city of the name of Colchoi. In this tract the first place met with is called Balita, which has a good harbour and a village on its shore. Next to this is another place called Comar, where is the cape of the same name and a haven. Those who wish to consecrate the closing part of their lives to religion come hither and bathe and engage themselves to celibacy. This
is also done by women; since it is related that the goddess (Kumari) once on a time resided at the place and bathed.

59. From Comari (towards the south) the country extends as far as Colchoi, where the fishing for pearls is carried on. Condemned criminals are employed in this service. King Pandion is the owner of the fishery. To Colchoi succeeds another coast lying along a gulf having a district in the interior bearing the name of Argalu. In this single place are obtained the pearls (collected near the island of Epiodoros). From it are exported the muslins called ebargaretides.

60. Among the marts and anchorages along this shore to which merchants from Limyrike and the north resort, the most conspicuous are Camara, Poduca, and Sopotma, which occur in the order in which we have named them. In these marts are found those native vessels for coasting voyages which trade as far as Limyrike, and another kind called sangara, large vessels formed by fastening together single logs; and also others, called kolandrophonta, which are of great bulk and employed for voyages to Chryse and the Ganges. These marts import all the commodities which reach Limyrike for commercial purposes, absorbing likewise nearly every species of goods brought from Egypt, and most kinds of all the goods exported from Limyrike and (disposed of on this coast of India)

61. Near the region which succeeds, where the course of the voyage now bends to the east, there lies out in the open sea stretching towards the west the island now called Palaeismundu, but by the ancients Taprobane. To cross over to the northern side of it takes a day. In the south part it gradually stretches towards the west till it nearly reaches the opposite coast of Azania. It produces pearl, precious (transparent) stones, muslins, and tortoise-shell.

62. (Returning to the coast), not far from the three marts we have mentioned lies Masala, the seaboard of a country extending far inland. Here immense quantities of fine muslins are manufactured. From Masala the course of the voyage lies eastward across a neighbouring bay to (Desarene, which has the breed of elephants called Bosare). Leaving Desarene, the course is northerly, passing a variety of barbarous tribes among which are the Cirrhade, savages whose noses are flattened to the face, and another tribe, that of the Bargysoi, as well as the Hippioprosopoi or Makroprosopoi (the horse-faced or long-faced men), who are re-
ported to be cannibals.

63. After passing these the course turns again to the east and if you sail with the ocean to your right and the coast far to your left, you reach the Ganges and the extremity of the continent towards the east called Chryse (the Golden Chersonese). The river of this region called the Ganges is the largest in India; it has an annual increase and decrease like the Nile, and there is on it a mart called after it, Gange, through which passes a considerable traffic consisting of betel, the Gangetic spikenard, pearl, and the finest of all muslins—those called the Gangetic. In this locality also there is said to be a gold mine and a gold coin called Calus. Near this river there is an island of the ocean called Chryse (or the Golden), which lies directly under the rising sun and at the extremity of the world towards the east. It produces the finest tortoise-shell that is found throughout the whole of the Erythraean Sea.

64. Beyond this region, immediately under the north, where the sea terminates outwards, there lies somewhere in Thina a very great city,—not on the coast, but in the interior of the country, called Thina,—from which silk, whether in the raw state or spun into thread and woven into cloth is brought by land to Barygaza through Bactria, or by the Ganges to Limyrike. To penetrate into Thina is not an easy undertaking, and but few merchants come from it, and that rarely. Its situation is under the Lesser Bear, and it is said to be conterminous with the remotest end of Pontus, and that part of the Caspian Sea which adjoins the Maeotic Lake, along with which it issues by one and the same mouth into the ocean.

65. On the confines, however, of Thina an annual fair is held, attended by a race of men of squat figure, with their face very flat, but mild in disposition, called the Sesatai, who (in appearance resemble wild animals). They come with their wives and children to this fair, bringing heavy loads of goods wrapped up in mats resembling in outward appearance the early leaves of the vine. Their place of assembly is where their own territory borders with that of Thina; and here, squatted on the mats on which they exhibit their wares, they feast for several days, after which they return to their homes in the interior. On observing their retreat the people of Thina, repairing to the spot, collect the mats on which they had been sitting, and taking out the fibres, which are called petroi, from the reeds, they put the
leaves two and two together and roll them up into slender balls, through which they pass the fibres extracted from the reeds. Three kinds of Malabathrum are thus made—that of the large ball, that of the middle, and that of the small, according to the size of the leaf of which the balls are formed. Hence there are three kinds of Malabathrum, which after being made up are forwarded to India by the manufacturers.

66. All the regions beyond this are unexplored, being difficult of access by reason of the extreme rigour of the climate and the severe frosts, perhaps because such is the will of the divine power.

FOOTNOTES
The letter S refers to the English Translation of the Text by W H Schoff, referred to in the Introduction.

Mussel Harbour (S)
1 Leves (S), also in para 20
1 Ptolemies of the Hunt (S)
1 No reference is made to elephants in S
1 Adults (S)
1 In paras 4, 21, 35, and 52, the phrase "regular and established" is replaced by "established by law" in S
1 Cyreneum (S)
1 Tortoise-shell (S)
1 Some scholars identify Zowale with Za Hakale mentioned in the Abyssinian Chronicles and refer his reign to the period 76-89 A.D. But this is at best a very doubtful hypothesis, and cannot be relied on in fixing the date of the composition of the text (For a full discussion, cf S., Fp 66-8)
1 Steel (S)
10 Rhinoceros horn (S)
11 e from Egypt
11 "the so-called little Nile River and a fine spring" (S)
13 Market and Cape of Spices (S)
12 S always substitutes "wheat" for "corn" used by McCrindle
10 under separate chiefs for each place" (S)
3 For the words in the bracket S has "become first in Arabia"
21 "palm oil" (S)
21 S omits this
21 "A little wheat and wine" (S)
21 "Cannabis, that called Indian" (S)
20 S emends it to 'Damruka' and remarks "The text has Limyrke, which previous editions have retained. That name does not appear in India, or in other Roman accounts of it, and it is clearly a corruption caused by the scribes confusing the Greek D and L. The name appears in its correct form in the XIth segment of the Peutinger Tables, almost contemporary with the Perimnes, and in Ptolemy as Damruke, and there seems no good reason for perpetuating the mistake. Damruke means the "country of the Tamils"." (P 205) The views of Schoff are now generally accepted.
21 "very little civilized" (S)
22 Bay of Gedrosia (S)
22 "spurious" (S)
24 "figured linens" (S)
25 "shifting sandbanks" (S)
25 S. emends it to Nambanus and identifies him with Nahapana, the Saka ruler in India, who flourished in the first century A.D. This seems to
be a reasonable hypothesis and serves as an important clue for the date of
the anonymous author of the Periplus

28 It represents Sanskrit 'Abhira'.

29 "Asiacoptera" (S)
30 "Aratrea, Arachosia, the Gandaran" (S)
31 "Polaus" (S)
32 "Agate and Carnelian" (S)
33 "that is, the Carpathian, and Paropamisene and Cabolitic" (S)
34 "topaz" (S)
35 For the words placed within bracket S has "flint-glass, realgar, anti-
mony" (S)
36 "Singing boys" (S)
37 "agate" (S)
38 "Cornelian" (S)
39 "Lythium" (S).
40 "very great city" (S)
41 "Coast Country" (S) Thus evidently refers to the Chola country
(Coromandel Coast)
42 S does not mention this
43 S extends it to "Sandares" and identifies him with Sundara Satakarni,
taking Satakarni as the Greek form of Satakarni. These hypotheses, if ac-
cepted, would supply valuable data for determining the date of the Periplus
44 "Logarum" (S)
45 "Amanobon" (S)
46 "Secrerciea" (S)
47 "White Island" (S)
48 "which are not of leading importance" (S)
49 "Carboothra" (S)
50 S omits this phrase.
51 S has "with cargoes from Arabia and by the Greeks" for the words
placed within brackets.
52 After this S adds The kings of both these market towns live in the
interior.
53 S has "malabathrum" for betel both in this and para 56
54 Omits by S
55 Omits by S
56 "antimony" (S)
57 "realgar" (S)
58 "sapphires" (S)
59 For the words placed within brackets S has "throw the ship's head
considerably off the wind", and discusses its meaning on pp 230-32
60 S has "keep along shore not more than three days"
61 S omits all the words after "Paralia" in this sentence, evidently be-
cause it is repeated later in the same para
62 "Comari" (S)
63 "Argar" (S)
64 S has "gathered on the coast thereabouts" for the words placed within
brackets.
65 "Argarite" (S)
66 "Colamna" (S).
67 S has "those that are carried through Paralia" for the words place-
d within brackets
68 S has "Dosarene yielding the ivory known as Dosarene"
69 S adds 'near it'
70 "just opposite" (S)
71 "This" (S).
72 "Besata" (S)
73 S has "are almost entirely uncivilized" for the words placed within
brackets.

N.B. It should be distinctly understood that the brackets are used in the
text only to facilitate comparison with the translation in S. and form no
part of the text itself
**LIST OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES WITH IDENTIFICATIONS.**

(The unit of distance, *stadia*, used in the *Periplus*, is approximately equivalent to one-tenth of an English mile).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Para</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Identification or modern name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Myos Hormos (Mussel Harbour)</td>
<td>Situated in the bay of Ras abn Somer—27°12' N, 33°55' E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Berenice</td>
<td>The remains of the town still exist—25°55' N, 35°31' E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Metoe</td>
<td>The capital of the kingdom of Nubia, Modern Beqerawiyeh on the Nile, 16°55' N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ptolemais Theron</td>
<td>Probably not far from Port Sudan—generally identified with Er-rih island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adulis</td>
<td>Massowa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ceyomen</td>
<td>Kohanto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Axummitai</td>
<td>Senmaar in Eastern Sudan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Axum, the ancient capital of</td>
<td>Abyssinia, which is still the place where the king's coronation takes place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alalaun</td>
<td>Dahalak, at the entrance of the Annesley Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Arisinoe</td>
<td>Suez</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Areta</td>
<td>The region round the Gulf of Cambay.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Avalates</td>
<td>Zula, 11°20'N. 45°28'E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Malao</td>
<td>Berbera, the capital of British Somaliland.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Cape of Spices (Aromata)</td>
<td>Cape Guardafui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Bluffs of Azania</td>
<td>The rugged coast known as el Hazin ending at Ras el Kyl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Leuke Kome</td>
<td>Probably Fl Haura, 25°7'N, 37°13'E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Petra</td>
<td>It lay in the great valley, called Wady Mus—50°19'N, 35°31'E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Muza</td>
<td>Mocha—15°19'N, 48°20'E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>The Island of Diodorus</td>
<td>Perim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Ludacmon Arabia</td>
<td>Aden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Cana</td>
<td>Probably Him Chorab—11°10'N, 48°20'E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Syagrus</td>
<td>Ras Tarti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Bay of Omana</td>
<td>Socotra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Musba</td>
<td>Kamat Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Seven Zenobian Islands</td>
<td>Khor Reiti—17°2'N, 51°26'F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Sarapis</td>
<td>Kussa Maria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Ommina</td>
<td>Masita Island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Parasida</td>
<td>Dilmamiat Islands north-west of Muscat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Oraea</td>
<td>Oman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Sinthus</td>
<td>Sunamani Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Barbaricum and Minnagara</td>
<td>The Sindhu or Indus river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>location is not possible</td>
<td>were in the delta of the Indus, but exact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Gulf of Errinon</td>
<td>Rann of Cutch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Gulf of Baraca</td>
<td>Gulf of Cutch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Barygaza (Sanskrit Bhrikatukcha, Prakrit Bharikatukcha)</td>
<td>Broach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Syrastrene</td>
<td>Surashtra—Kathiawar Peninsula.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>River Mais</td>
<td>Mahu river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nammadus</td>
<td>Narmada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Gandaraco</td>
<td>Gandhara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arachosior</td>
<td>Kandahar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Proclaus</td>
<td>Pushkalavati (Charsada).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Para.</td>
<td>Name.</td>
<td>Identification or modern name.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Ozena</td>
<td>Ujjain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Caspapyra</td>
<td>Generally taken to be Kashmir, but without sufficient grounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paropanisus</td>
<td>Hindu Kush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cabolitic</td>
<td>Kabul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Dakhinabades</td>
<td>Dakshinapatha—Deccan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Paethana</td>
<td>Paithan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tagara</td>
<td>10° 18'19&quot;N, 76° 9'9&quot;E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Suppara</td>
<td>Sopara, north of Bombay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Callienna</td>
<td>Kalyan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Semylla</td>
<td>Chaul, about 25 miles south of Bombay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mandagora</td>
<td>Probably Bankot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Palaeapatmae</td>
<td>Probably Dabhol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Melagara</td>
<td>Jaigarah or Rajapur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Byzantium</td>
<td>Probably Visadrog, or Vijayadurga.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Togarum</td>
<td>Probably Devgarh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tyrannoboa, or Auranno</td>
<td>Probably Malvan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Suscetereinae</td>
<td>Probably Vengurla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aegeidov</td>
<td>Anupur or Gop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chersonesus</td>
<td>Probably Karwar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Leuke (White) Island</td>
<td>Probably Pigeon Island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nauru</td>
<td>Probably Cannanore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tyndus (Iondi)</td>
<td>Probably Ponnam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Muziris (Muthiripattanam)</td>
<td>Ganganore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nelynda (Nilakantha)</td>
<td>Near Kottayam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Cerobotra (Keralaputra)</td>
<td>Kerala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pandion (Pandya)</td>
<td>Region round Madura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Bacare</td>
<td>Porukad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Paralia</td>
<td>Probably Purali, an ancient local name for Travancore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Balita</td>
<td>Vakkalai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Comari</td>
<td>Cape Comorin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Colchoi</td>
<td>Kolkata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Argaru</td>
<td>Uravur, the ancient capital of the Chola country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Camara</td>
<td>Kanepatpanam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Poduca</td>
<td>Pondicherry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sopatma</td>
<td>Markannam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Palaesimundu</td>
<td>Ceylon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Masala</td>
<td>Masulipatam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Desarene</td>
<td>Probably Orissa or a part of it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cirrhadasae</td>
<td>Kirata (both a tribe and a country)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Chryse</td>
<td>Malay Peninsula.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Thuna</td>
<td>China</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: These identifications are based principally on the following works:
1. *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, Translated by McCrindle
VII. The Voyage of Nearchus in the Erythraean Sea.

It is stated by Arrian that Alexander, before leaving India, sent Nearchus with a fleet to explore the Erythraean Sea, and he adds that he will write a separate work describing, on the authority of Nearchus himself, how he sailed from the river Indus to the Persian Sea (above, pp 82, 92). This promise Arrian fulfilled by narrating the voyage of Nearchus in Part II of his *Indica*, of which the first part has been translated above (pp 214 ff). Arrian's narrative, comprising Chapters XVIII to XLI of his *Indica*, was practically copied from the journal of the voyage written by Nearchus himself which unfortunately is no longer extant. The following English translation of this, the second part of Arrian's *Indica*, was made by Mr Crindle and included in the same volume in which he translated the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, for, as he aptly observed, the account of Nearchus forms an admirable supplement to the *Periplus*. Chapters XVIII and XIX are omitted in the following extract as they deal only with some technical details.

As far back as 1797, Dr William Vincent wrote an account of the voyage of Nearchus "collected from the original journal preserved by Arrian", illustrated by two maps.

As will be seen from the following extract, the account of Nearchus contains many things which appear quite incredible. Writers, both ancient and modern, have therefore been reluctant to attach much historical value to this work. It "has been condemned as spurious by Dodwell, and impeached in point of veracity by Harlouin and Huet." Among ancient writers Strabo has joined Nearchus "with DAIMACHUS, MEGASTHENES and ONOSTRATUS as a retailer of fables", and Pliny even went so far as to deny the existence of Nearchus' journal. A number of modern scholars have refuted these allegations.

Dr. Vincent belongs to this group as the following remarks will show:

"The narrative of this voyage has been preserved to us by Arrian, who professes to give an extract from the journal of Nearchus, and notwithstanding its authenticity has been disputed (which is a question that will be fully discussed hereafter), we may venture to assert, that it presents to an unprejudiced mind every internal evidence of fidelity and truth." He further observes that Strabo "is indebted to Nearchus for many facts which, however extraordinary they might appear in his age, have been confirmed by modern observation." Regarding the value and importance of this work Dr Vincent observes:

"The voyage of Nearchus from the Indus to the Euphrates is the first event of general importance to mankind, in the history of navigation... and the consequences of this voyage were such, that as, in the first instance, it opened a communication between Europe and the most distant countries of Asia, so, at a later period, was it the source and origin of the Portuguese discoveries, the foundation of the greatest commercial system ever introduced into the world, and consequently the primary cause, however remote, of the British establishments in India."

XX. Nearchus himself has supplied a narrative of this voyage, which runs to this effect. Alexander, he informs us, had set his heart on navigating the whole circuit of the sea which extends from India to Persia, but the length of the voyage made him hesitate, and the possibility of the destruction of his fleet, should it be cast on some desert coast either quite harbourless or too barren to furnish adequate supplies, in which case a great stain tarnishing the splendour of his former actions would obliterate all his good fortune. His ambition, however, to be al-
ways doing something new and astonishing prevailed over all his scruples. Then arose a difficulty as to what commander he should choose, having genius sufficient for working out his plans, and a difficulty also with regard to the men on ship board how he could overcome their fear, that in being despatched on such a service they were recklessly sent into open peril. Nearchus here tells us that Alexander consulted him on the choice of a commander, and that when the king had mentioned one man after another, rejecting all, some because they were not inclined to expose themselves for his sake to danger, others because they were of a timid temper, others because their only thought was how to get home, making this and that objection to each in turn, Nearchus then proffered his own services in these terms: “I then, O king, engage to command the expedition, and, under the divine protection, will conduct the fleet and the people on board safe into Persia, if the sea be that way navigable, and the undertaking within the power of man to perform.” Alexander made a pretence of refusing the offer, saying that he could not think of exposing any friend of his to the distresses and hazard of such a voyage, but Nearchus, so far from withdrawing his proposal, only persisted the more in pressing its acceptance upon him. Alexander, it need not be said, warmly appreciated the promptitude to serve him shown by Nearchus, and appointed him to be commander-in-chief of the expedition. When this became known, it had a great effect in calming the minds of the troops ordered on this service and on the minds of the sailors, since they felt assured that Alexander would never have sent forth Nearchus into palpable danger unless their lives were to be preserved. At the same time the splendour with which the ships were equipped, and the enthusiasm of the officers vying with each other who should collect the best men, and have his complement most effective, inspired even those who had long hung back with nerve for the work, and a good hope that success would crown the undertaking. It added to the cheerfulness pervading the army that Alexander himself sailed out from both the mouths of the Indus into the open main when he sacrificed victims to Poseidon and all the other sea-deities, and presented gifts of great magnificence to the sea; and so the men trusting to the immeasurable good fortune which had hitherto attended all the projects of Alexander, believed there was nothing he might not dare—nothing but would to him be feasible.

XXI. When the Etesian winds, which continue all the hot
season blowing landward from the sea, making navigation on that coast impracticable, had subsided, then the expedition started on the voyage in the year when Kephisidoros was Archon at Athens, on the 20th day of the month Boedromion according to the Athenian Calendar, but as the Macedomians and Asiatics reckon**, in the 1th year of the reign of Alexander. Nearchus, before putting to sea sacrifices to Zeus the Preserver, and celebrates, as Alexander had done, gymnastic games. Then clearing out of harbour they end the first day’s voyage by anchoring in the Indus at a creek called Stoura, where they remain for two days. The distance of this place from the station they had just left was 100 stadia. On the third day they resumed the voyage, but proceeded no further than 20 stadia, coming to an anchor at another creek, where the water was now salt, for the sea when filled with the tide ran up the creek, and its waters even when the tide receded commingled with the river. The name of this place was Kaumana. The next day’s course, which was of 20 stadia only, brought them to Koreatis, where they once more anchored in the river. When again under weigh their progress was soon interrupted, for a bar was visible which there obstructed the mouth of the Indus; and the waves were heard breaking with furious roar upon its strand which was wild and rugged. Observing, however, that the bar at a particular part was soft, they made a cutting through this, 5 stadia long, at low water, and on the return of the flood tide carried the ships through by the passage thus formed into the open sea. Then following the winding of the coast they ran a course of 120 stadia, and reach Krokala, a sandy island where they anchored and remained all next day. The country adjoining was inhabited by an Indian race called the Arabies, whom I have mentioned in my longer work, where it is stated that they derive their name from the River Arabis, which flows through their country to the sea, and parts them from the Oreitai. Weighing from Krokala they had on their right hand a mountain which the natives called Eiros, and on their left a flat island almost level with the sea, and so near the mainland to which it runs parallel that the intervening channel is extremely narrow. Having quite cleared this passage they come to anchor in a well sheltered harbour, which Nearchus, finding large and commodious, designated Alexander’s Haven. This harbour is protected by an island lying about 2 stadia off from its entrance. It is called Bibakta, and all the country round about Sangada. The existence of the harbour is due altogether to the
island which opposes a barrier to the violence of the sea. Here heavy gales blew from seaward for many days without intermission, and Nearchus fearing lest the barbarians might, some of them, combine to attack and plunder the camp, fortified his position with an enclosure of stones. Here they were obliged to remain for 24 days. The soldiers we learn from Nearchus caught mussels and oysters, and what is called the razor fish, these being all of an extraordinary size as compared with the sorts found in our own sea. He adds that they had no water to drink but what was brackish.

XXII. As soon as the monsoon ceased they put again to sea, and having run fully 60 stadia came to anchor at a sandy beach under shelter of a desert island that lay near, called Domai. On the shore itself there was no water, but 20 stadia inland it was procured of good quality. The following day they proceeded 300 stadia to Saranga, where they did not arrive till night. They anchored close to the shore, and found water at a distance of about 8 stadia from it. Weighing from Saranga they reach Sakala, a desert place, and anchored. On leaving it they passed two rocks so close to each other that the oar-blades of the galleys grazed both, and after a course of 300 stadia they came to anchor at Morontobara. The harbour here was deep and capacious, and well sheltered all round, and its waters quite tranquil, but the entrance into it was narrow. In the native language it was called Women's Haven, because a woman had been the first sovereign of the place. They thought it a great achievement to have passed those two rocks in safety, for when they were passing them the sea was boisterous and running high. They did not remain in Morontobara, but sailed the day after their arrival, when they had on their left hand an island which sheltered them from the sea, and which lay so near to the mainland that the intervening channel looked as if it had been artificially formed. Its length from one end to the other was 70 stadia. The shore was woody and the island throughout overgrown with trees of every description. They were not able to get fairly through this passage till towards daybreak, for the sea was not only rough, but also shoal, the tide being at ebb. They sailed on continuously, and after a course of 120 stadia anchored at the mouth of the river Arabis, where there was a spacious and very fine haven. The water here was not fit for drinking for the sea ran up the mouths of the Arabis. Having gone, however, about 40 stadia up the river, they found a pool from which, having drawn water, they returned
to the fleet. Near the harbour is an island high and bare, but the sea around it supplied oysters and fish of various kinds. As far as this, the country was possessed by the Arabies, the last Indian people living in this direction; and the parts beyond were occupied by the Oreitai.

XXIII On weighing from the mouths of the Arabis, they coasted the shores of the Oreitai, and after running 200 stadia reached Pagala, where there was a surf but nevertheless good anchorage. The crew were obliged to remain on board, a party, however, being sent on shore to procure water. They sailed next morning at sunrise and after a course of about 430 stadia, reached Kabana in the evening, where they anchored at some distance from the shore, which was a desert, the violence of the surf by which the vessels were much tossed preventing them from landing. While running the last course the fleet had been caught in a heavy gale blowing from seaward, when two galleys and a transport foundered. All the men, however, saved themselves by swimming, as the vessels at the time of the disaster were sailing close to the shore. They weighed from Kabana about midnight, and having proceeded 200 stadia arrived at Kokala, where the vessels could not be drawn ashore, but rode at anchor out at sea. As the men, however, had suffered severely by confinement on board, and were very much in want of rest, Nearchus allowed them to go on shore, where he formed a camp, fortifying it in the usual manner for protection against the barbarians. In this part of the country Leonnatus, who had been commissioned by Alexander to reduce the Oreitai and settle their affairs, defeated that people and their allies in a great battle, wherein all the leaders and 6,000 men were slain, the loss of Leonnatus being only 15 of his horse, besides a few foot soldiers, and one man of note, Appollophonos, the satrap of the Gedrosians. A full account, however, of these transactions is given in my other work, where it is stated that for this service Leonnatos had a golden crown placed upon his head by Alexander in presence of the Macedonian army. Agreeably to orders given by Alexander, corn had been here collected for the victualling of the vessels, and stores sufficient to last for 10 days were put on board. Here also such ships as had been damaged during the voyage were repaired, while all the mariners that Nearchus considered deficient in fortitude for the enterprise, he consigned to Leonnatos to be taken on by land, but at the same time he made good his comple-
ment of men by taking in exchange others more efficient from the
troops under Leonnatos.

XXIV. From this place they bore away with a fresh breeze,
and having made good a course of 500 stadia anchored near a
winter torrent called the Tomeros, which at its mouth expanded
into an estuary. The natives lived on the marshy ground near
the shore in cabins close and suffocating. Great was their aston-
nishment when they descried the fleet approaching, but they
were not without courage, and collecting in arms on the shore,
drew up in line to attack the strangers when landing. They car-
rried thick spears about 6 cubits long, not headed with iron, but
what was as good, hardened at the point by fire. Their number
was about 600, and when Nearchus saw that they stood their
ground prepared to fight, he ordered his vessels to advance, and
then to anchor just within bowshot of the shore for he had noticed
that the thick spears of the barbarians were adapted only for close
fight, and were by no means formidable as missiles. He then
issued his directions: those men that were lightest equipped, and
the most active and best at swimming were to swim to shore at a
given signal when any one had swum so far that he could
stand in the water he was to wait for his next neighbour, and not
advance against the barbarians until a file could be formed of
three men deep. That done, they were to rush forward shouting
the war-cry. The men selected for this service at once plunged
into the sea, and swimming rapidly touched ground, still keeping
due order, when forming in file, they rushed to the charge, shout-
ing the war-cry, which was repeated from the ships, whence all
the while arrows and missiles from engines were launched against
the enemy. Then the barbarians, terrified by the glittering arms
and the rapidity of the landing, and wounded by the arrows and
other missiles, against which they had no protection, being all but
entirely naked, fled at once without making any attempt at resis-
tance. Some perished in the ensuing flight, others were taken
prisoners, and some escaped to the mountains. Those they cap-
tured had shaggy hair, not only on their head but all over their
body, their nails resembled the claws of wild beasts, and were
used, it would seem, instead of iron for dividing fish and splitting
the softer kinds of wood. Things of a hard consistency they cut
with sharp stones, for iron they had none. As clothing they
wore the skins of wild beasts, and occasionally also the thick
skins of the large sorts of fish.
XXV. After this action they draw the ships on shore and repair all that had been damaged. On the 6th day they weighed again, and after a course of 300 stadia reached a place called Malana, the last on the coast of the Oreitai. In the interior these people dress like the Indians, and use similar weapons, but differ from them in their language and their customs. The length of the coast of the Arabies, measured from the place whence the expedition had sailed, was about 1,000 stadia, and the extent of the coast of the Oreitai 1,600 stadia. Nearchus mentions that as they sailed along the Indian coast (for the people beyond this are not Indians), their shadows did not fall in the usual direction, for when they stood out a good way to the southward, their shadows appeared to turn and fall southward. Those constellations, moreover, which they had been accustomed to see high in the heavens, were either not visible at all, or were seen just on the verge of the horizon while the Polar constellation which had formerly been always visible now set and soon afterwards rose again. In this Nearchus appears to me to assert nothing improbable, for at Syene in Egypt they show a well in which when the sun is at the Tropic, there is no shadow at noon. In Meroe also objects project no shadow at that particular time. Hence it is probable that shadow is subject to the same law in India which lies to the south, and more especially in the Indian ocean, which extends still further to the southward.

XXVI Next to the Oreitai lies Gedrosia, an inland province through which Alexander led his army, but this with difficulty, for the region was so desolate that the troops in the whole course of the expedition never suffered such direful extremities as on this march. But all the particulars relating to this I have set down in my larger work (VI 22-27). The seaboard below the Gedrosians is occupied by a people called the Ikthyophagi, and along this country the fleet now pursued its way. Weighing from Malana about the second watch they ran a course of 600 stadia, and reached Bagisra. Here they found a commodious harbour, and at a distance of 60 stadia from the sea a small town called Pasira, whence the people of the neighbourhood were called Pasirees. Weighing early next morning they had to double a headland which projected far out into the sea, and was high and precipitous. Here having dug wells, and got only a small supply of bad water, they rode at anchor that day because a high surf prevented the vessels approaching the shore. They left this place next day, and
sailed till they reached Kolta after a course of 200 stadia. Weighing thence at daybreak they reached Kalama, after a course of 600 stadia, and there anchored. Near the beach was a village around which grew a few palm trees, the dates on which were still green. There was here an island called Karbine, distant from the shore about 100 stadia. The villagers by way of showing their hospitality brought presents of sheep and fish to Nearchus, who says that the mutton had a fishy taste like the flesh of sea birds for the sheep fed on fish, there being no grass in the place. Next day they proceeded 200 stadia, and anchored off a shore near which lay a village called Kissa, 30 stadia inland. That coast was however called Karbas. There they found little boats such as might belong to miserably poor fishermen, but the men themselves they saw nothing of, for they had fled when they observed the ships dropping anchor. No corn was here procurable, but a few goats had been left, which were seized and put on board, for in the fleet provisions now ran short. On weighing they doubled a steep promontory which projected about 150 stadia into the sea, and then put into a well sheltered haven called Mosarna, where they anchored. Here the natives were fishermen, and here they obtained water.

XXVII. From this place they took on board, Nearchus says, as pilot of the fleet, a Gedrosian called Hydrakes, who undertook to conduct them as far as Karmanta. Thenceforth until they reached the Persian Gulf, the voyage was more practicable and the names of the stations more familiar. Departing from Mosarna at night, they sailed 750 stadia, and reached the coast of Balomon. They touched next at Barna, which was 400 stadia distant. Here grew many palm trees, and here was a garden wherein were myrtles and flowers from which the men wove chaplets for their hair. They saw now for the first time cultivated trees, and met with natives in a condition above that of mere savages. Leaving this they followed the winding of the coast, and arrived at Dendrobosa, where they anchor in the open sea. They weighed from this about midnight, and after a course of about 400 stadia gained the haven of Kophas. The inhabitants were fishermen possessed of small and wretched boats, which they did not manage with oars fastened to a row-lock according to the Grecian manner, but with paddles which they thrust on this side, and on that into the water, like diggers using a spade. They found at this haven plenty of good water. Weighing about
the first watch they ran 800 stadia, and put into Kyiza, where was a desert shore with a high surf breaking upon it. They were accordingly obliged to let the ships ride at anchor and take their meal on board. Leaving this they ran a course of 500 stadia, and came to a small town built on an eminence not far from the shore. On turning his eyes in that direction Nearchus noticed that the land had some appearance of being cultivated, and there-upon addressing Arkhaia (who was the son of Anaxidotos of Pella, and sailed in the Commander's galley, being a Macedonian of distinction) pointed out to him that they must take possession of the place, as the inhabitants would not willingly supply the army with food. It could not however be taken by assault, a tedious siege would be necessary, and they were already short of provisions. But the country was one that produced corn as the thick stubble which they saw covering the fields near the shore clearly proved. This proposal being approved of by all, he ordered Arkhaia to make a feint of preparing the fleet, all but one ship to sail, while he himself, pretending to be left behind with that ship, approached the town as if merely to view it.

XXVIII When he approached the walls the inhabitants came out to meet him, bringing a present of tunny fish broiled in pans (the first instance of cookery among the Ikhthyophagi, although these were the very last of them), accompanied with small cakes and dates. He accepted their offering with the proper acknowledgments, but said he wished to see their town, which he was accordingly allowed to enter. No sooner was he within the gates he ordered two of his archers to seize the portal by which they had entered, while he himself with two attendants and his interpreter mounting the wall hard by, made the preconcerted signal, on seeing which the troops under Arkhaia were to perform the service assigned to them. The Macedonians, on seeing the signal, immediately ran their ships towards land, and without loss of time jumped into the sea. The barbarians, alarmed at these proceedings, flew to arms. Upon this Nearchus ordered his interpreter to proclaim that if they wished their city to be preserved from pillage they must supply his army with provisions. They replied that they had none, and proceeded to attack the wall, but were repulsed by the archers with Nearchus, who assailed them with arrows from the summit of the wall. Accordingly, when they saw that their city was taken, and on the point of being pillaged, they at once begged Nearchus to take whatever corn
they had, and to depart without destroying the place. Nearchus upon this orders Arkhias to possess himself of the gates and the ramparts adjoining and sends at the same time officers to see what stores were available, and whether these would be all honestly given up. The stores were produced, consisting of a kind of meal made from fish roasted, and a little wheat and barley, for the chief diet of these people was fish with bread added as a relish. The troops having appropriated these supplies returned to the fleet, which then hauled off to a cape in the neighbourhood called Bagia, which the natives regarded as sacred to the sun.

XXIX. They weighed from this cape about midnight, and having made good a course of 1,000 stadia, put into Talmena, where they found a harbour with good anchorage. They sailed thence to Kanasis, a deserted town 400 stadia distant, where they find a well ready dug and wild palm trees. These they cut down, using the tender heads to support life since provisions had again run scarce. They sailed all day and all night, suffering great distress from hunger, and then came to an anchor off a desolate coast. Nearchus fearing lest the men, if they landed, would in despair desert the fleet ordered the ships to be moved to a distance from shore. Weighing from this they ran a course of 850 stadia, and came to anchor at Kanate, a place with an open beach and some water courses. Weighing again, and making 800 stadia, they reach Taoi, where they drop anchor. The place contained some small and wretched villages, which were deserted by the inhabitants upon the approach of the fleet. Here the men found a little food and dates of the palm tree beside seven camels left by the villagers which were killed for food. Weighing thence about daybreak they ran a course of 300 stadia, and came to anchor at Dagasira, where the people were nomadic. Weighing again they sailed all night and all day without intermission, and having thus accomplished a course of 1,100 stadia, left behind them the nation of the Ikhthyophagi, on whose shores they had suffered such severe privations. They could not approach the beach on account of the heavy surf, but rode at anchor out at sea. In navigating the Ikhthyophagi coast the distance traversed was not much short of 10,000 stadia. The people, as their name imports, live upon fish. Few of them, however, are fishermen, and what fish they obtain they owe mostly to the tide at whose reflux they catch them with nets made for this purpose. These nets are generally about 2 stadia long, and are composed of the bark (or