fibres) of the palm, which they twine into cord in the same way as the fibres of flax are twined. When the sea recedes, hardly any fish are found among the dry sands, but they abound in the depressions of the surface where the water still remains. The fish are for the most part small, though some are caught of a considerable size, these being taken in the nets. The more delicate kinds they eat raw as soon as they are taken out of the water. The large and coarser kinds they dry in the sun, and when properly dried grind into a sort of meal from which they make bread. This meal is sometimes also used to bake cakes with. The cattle as well as their masters fare on dried fish for the country has no pastures and hardly even a blade of grass. In most parts crabs, oysters and mussels add to the means of subsistence. Natural salt is found in the country, from these they make oil. Certain of their communities inhabit deserts where not a tree grows, and where there are not even wild fruits. Fish is their sole means of subsistence. In some few places, however, they sow with grain some patches of land, and eat the produce as a viand of luxury along with the fish which forms the staple of their diet. The better class of the population in building their houses use, instead of wood, the bones of whales stranded on the coast, the broadest bones being employed in the framework of the doors. Poor people, and these are the great majority, construct their dwellings with the backbone of fish.

XXX. Whales of enormous size frequent the outer ocean, beside other fish larger than those found in the Mediterranean. Neararchus relates that when they were bearing away from Kyziza, the sea early in the morning was observed to be blown up into the air as if by the force of a whirlwind. The men greatly alarmed enquired of the pilots the nature and cause of this phenomenon, and were informed that it proceeded from the blowing of the whales as they sported in the sea. This report did not quiet their alarm, and through astonishment they let the oars drop from their hands. Neararchus, however, recalled them to duty, and encouraged them by his presence, ordering the prows of those vessels that were near him to be turned as in a sea fight towards the creatures as they approached, while the rowers were just then to shout as loud as they could the alala and swell the noise by dashing the water rapidly with the oars. The men thus encouraged, on seeing the preconcerted signal, advanced to action. Then, as they approached the monsters, they shouted the alala as loud as they could
bawl, sounded the trumpets, and dashed the water noisily with the oars. Thenceupon the whales, which were seen ahead, plunged down terror-struck into the depths, and soon after rose astern, when they vigorously continued their blowing. The men by loud acclamations expressed their joy at this unexpected deliverance, the credit of which they gave to Nearchus, who had shown such admirable fortitude and judgment.

We learn further, that on many parts of the coast whales are occasionally stranded, being left in shallow water at ebb-tide, and thus prevented from escaping back to sea, and that they are sometimes also cast ashore by violent storms. Thus perishing their flesh rots away, and gradually drops off till the bones are left bare. These are used by the natives in the construction of their huts, the larger ribs making suitable bearing beams, and the smaller serving for rafters. The jaw bones make arches for the doorways, for whales are sometimes five and twenty orguiæ (fathoms) in length.

XXXI. When they were sailing along the Ikhthyophagi coast, they were told about an island which was said to be about 100 stadia distant from the mainland, and uninhabited. Its name was Nosala, and it was according to the local tradition sacred to the sun. No one willingly visited this island, and if any one was carried to it unawares, he was never more seen. Nearchus states that a transport of his fleet, manned with an Egyptian crew, disappeared not far from this island, and that the pilots accounted for their disappearance by saying that they must have landed on the island in ignorance of the danger which they would thereby incur. Nearchus, however, sent a gally of 30 oars to sail round the island, instructing the men not to land, but to approach as near as they could to the shore, and hail the men. shouting out the name of the captain or any other name they had not forgotten. No one answered to the call, and Nearchus says that he then sailed in person to the island, and compelled his company much against their will to go on shore. He too landed, and showed that the story about the island was nothing but an empty fable. Concerning this same island he heard also another story, which ran to this effect: it had been at one time the residence of one of the Nereids, whose name, he says, he could not learn. It was her wont to have intercourse with any man who visited the island, changing him thereafter into a fish, and casting him into the sea. The sun, however, being displeased with the Nereid, ordered her
to remove from the island. She agreed to do this, and seek a home elsewhere, but stipulated that she should be cured of her malady. To this condition the sun assented, and then the Nereid, taking pity upon the men whom she had transformed into fish, restored them to their human shape. These men were the progenitors of the Ikhthyothagig, the line of succession remaining unbroken down to the time of Alexander. Now, for my part I have no praise to bestow on Nearchus for expending so much time and ingenuity on the not very difficult task of proving the falsehood of these stories, for to take up antiquated fables merely with a view to prove their falsehood, I can only regard as a contemptible piece of folly.

XXXII. To the Ikhthyothagii succeed the Gadrai, who occupy a most wretched tract of country full of sandy deserts in penetrating which Alexander and his army were reduced to the greatest extremities, of which an account is to be found in my other work. But this is an inland region, and therefore when the expedition left the Ikhthyothagii, its course lay along Karmania. Here, when they first drew towards shore, they could not effect a landing, but had to remain all night on board anchored in the deep, because a violent surf spread along the shore and far out to sea. Thereafter the direction of their course changed, and they sailed no longer towards sunset, but turned the heads of the vessels more to the north west. Karmania is better wooded and produces better fruit than the country either of the Ikhthyothagii or the Oreitai. It is also more grassy, and better supplied with water. They anchor next at Batis, an inhabited place in Karmania, where grew cultivated trees of many different kinds, with the exception of the olive, and where also the soil favoured the growth of the vine and of corn. Weighing thence they ran 800 stadia, and came to an anchor off a barren coast, whence they descried a headland projecting far out into the sea, its nearest extremity being to appearance about a day's sail distant. Persons acquainted with those regions asserted that this cape belonged to Arabia, and was called Makets, whence cinnamon and other products were exported to the Assyrians. And from this coast where the fleet was now anchored, and from the headland which they saw projecting into the sea right opposite, the gulf in my opinion (which is also that of Nearchus) extends up into the interior, and is probably the Red Sea. When this headland was now in view Onesicritus, the chief pilot, proposed that they should
proceed to explore it, and by so shaping their course, escape the
distressing passage up the gulf, but Nearchus opposed this pro-
posal. Onesicritus, he said, must be wanting in ordinary judg-
ment if he did not know with what design Alexander had sent the
fleet on this voyage. He certainly had not sent it, because there
were no proper means of conducting the whole army safely by
land, but his express purpose was to obtain a knowledge of the
coasts they might pass on their voyage, together with the harbours
and islets, and to have the bays that might occur explored, and
to ascertain whether there were towns, bordering on the ocean,
and whether the countries were habitable or desert. They ought
not therefore to lose sight of this object, seeing that they were
now near the end of their toils and especially that they were no
longer in want of the necessary supplies for prosecuting the voyage.
He feared, moreover, since the headland stretched towards the
south, lest they should find the country there a parched desert
destitute of water and insufferably hot. This argument prevailed,
and it appears to me that by this counsel Nearchus saved the ex-
pedition, for all account represent this cape and the parts ad-
jaent as an arid waste where water cannot possibly be procured.

XXXIII On resuming the voyage they sailed close to land
and after making about 700 stadia anchored on another shore
called Neoptana. From this they weighed next day at dawn, and
after a course of 100 stadia anchored at the mouth of the river
Anamus in a country called Harmoëia. Here at last they found
a hospitable region,—one which was rich in every production
except only the olive. Here accordingly they landed, and enjoyed
a welcome respite from their many toils—heightening their plea-
sure by calling to remembrance what miseries they had suffered
at sea and in the Ikhthyophagi country, where the shores were so
sterile, and the natives so brute-like and where they had been
reduced to the last extremities of want. Here, also, some of them
in scattered parties, leaving the encampment on the shore, wan-
dered inland searching for one thing and another that might sup-
ply their several requirements. While thus engaged they fell in
with a man who wore a Greek mantle, and was otherwise attired
as a Greek and spoke the Greek language. Those who first dis-
covered him declared that tears started to their eyes, so strange
did it appear, after all they had suffered, to see once more a
countryman of their own, and to hear the accents of their native
tongue. They asked him whence he came, and who he was.
He replied that he had straggled from the army of Alexander, and that the army led by Alexander in person was not far off. On hearing this they hurry the man with shouts of tumultuous joy to the presence of Nearchus, to whom he repeated all that he had already said, assuring him that the army and the king were not more than a 5 days' march distant from the sea. The Governor of the province, he added, was on the spot, and he would present him to Nearchus and he presented him accordingly. Nearchus consulted this person regarding the route he should take in order to reach the king, and then they all went off, and made their way to the ships. Early next morning the ships by orders of Nearchus were drawn on shore, partly for repair of the damage which some of them had suffered on the voyage, and partly because he had resolved to leave here the greater part of his army. Having this in view, he fortified the roadstead with a double palisade, and also with an earthen rampart and a deep ditch extending from the banks of the river to the dockyard where the ships were lying.

XXXIV While Nearchus was thus occupied, the Governor being aware that Alexander was in great anxiety about the fate of this expedition, concluded that he would receive some great advantage from Alexander should he be the first to apprize him of the safety of the fleet and of the approaching visit of Nearchus. Accordingly he hastened to Alexander by the shortest route and announced that Nearchus was coming from the fleet to visit him. Alexander, though he could scarcely believe the report, nevertheless received the tidings with all the joy that might have been expected.

Day after day, however, passed without confirmation of the fact. till Alexander, on comparing the distance from the sea with the date on which the report had reached him, at last gave up all belief in its truth, the more especially as several of the parties which he had successively despatched to find Nearchus and escort him to the camp, had returned without him, after going a short distance, and meeting no one, while others who had prosecuted the search further, and failed to find Nearchus and his company were still absent. He therefore ordered the Governor into confinement for having brought delusive intelligence and rendered his vexation more acute by the disappointment of his hopes, and indeed his looks and perturbation of mind plainly indicated that he was pierced to the heart with a great grief. Meanwhile, how-
ever, one of the parties that had been despatched in search of Nearchus, and his escort being furnished with horses and wagons for their accommodation, fell in on the way with Nearchus and Arkhias, who were followed by five or six attendants. At first sight they recognized neither the admiral himself nor Arkhias, so much changed was their appearance, their hair long and neglected, their persons filthy, encrusted all over with brine and shrivelled, their complexion shallow from want of sleep and other severe privations. On their asking where Alexander was, they were told the name of the place Arkhias, then perceiving who they were, said nearchus—"It strikes me, Nearchus, these men are traversing the desert by the route we pursue, for no other reason than because they have been sent to our relief. True, they did not know us, but that is not at all surprising, for our appearance is so wretched that we are past all recognition. Let us tell them who we are, and ask then why they are travelling this way." Nearchus, thinking he spoke with reason, asked the men whether they were bound. They replied that they were searching for Nearchus and the fleet. "Well! I am Nearchus," said the admiral. "and this man here is Arkhias. Take us under your conduct, and we will report to Alexander the whole history of the expedition."

XXXV. They were accordingly accommodated in the wagons, and conducted to the camp. Some of the horsemen, however, wishing to be the first to impart the news, hastened forward, and told Alexander that Nearchus himself, and Arkhias with him, and five attendants, would soon arrive, but to enquiries about the rest of the people in the expedition they had no information to give. Alexander, concluding from this that all the expedition had perished except this small band, which had been unaccountably saved, did not so much feel pleasure for the preservation of Nearchus and Arkhias as distress for the loss of his whole fleet. During this conversation Nearchus and Arkhias arrived. It was not without difficulty Alexander after a close scrutiny recognized who the hirsute, ill clad men who stood before him were, and being confirmed by their miserable appearance in his belief that the expedition had perished, he was still more overcome with grief. At length he held out his hand to Nearchus and leading him apart from his attendants and his guards he burst into tears, and wept for a long time. Having, after a good while, recovered some composure, "Nearchus"! he says, "since you and
Arkhius have been restored to me alive, I can bear more patiently the calamity of losing all my fleet; but tell me now, in what manner did the vessels and my people perish". "O my king!" replied Nearchus, "the ships are safe and the people also, and we are here to give you an account of their preservation". Tears now fell much faster from his eyes than before, but they were tears of joy for the salvation of his fleet which he had given up for lost. "And where are now my ships", he then enquired. "They are drawn up on shore", replied Nearchus, "on the beach of the river Anamis for repairs". Upon this Alexander, swearing by Zeus of the Greeks and Anmon of the Libyans, declared that he felt happier at receiving these tidings than in being the conqueror of all Asia, for, had the expedition been lost, the blow to his peace of mind would have been a counterpoise to all the success he had achieved.

XXXVI But the Governor whom Alexander had put into confinement for bringing intelligence that appeared to be false, seeing Nearchus in the camp, sunk on his knees before him, and said. "I am the man who brought to Alexander the news of your safe arrival You see how I am situated" Nearchus interceded with Alexander on his behalf, and he was then liberated Alexander next proceeded to offer a solemn sacrifice in gratitude for the preservation of his fleet unto Zeus the Preserver, and Herakles, and Apollo the Averter of Destruction, and unto Poseidon, and every other deity of ocean He celebrated likewise a contest in gymnastics and music, and exhibited a splendid procession wherein a foremost place was assigned to Nearchus. Chaplets were wreathed for his head, and flowers were showered upon him by the admiring multitude. At the end of these proceedings the king said to Nearchus, "I do not wish you, Nearchus, either to risk your life or expose yourself again to the hardships of sea-voyaging, and I shall therefore send some other officer to conduct the expedition onward to Susa" But Nearchus answered, and said: "It is my duty, O king! as it is also my desire in all things to obey you, but if your object is to gratify me in some way, do not take the command from me until I complete the voyage by bringing the ships in safety to Susa I have been trusted to execute that part of the undertaking in which all its difficulty and danger lay; transfer not, then, to another the remaining part, which hardly requires an effort, and that, too, just at the time when the glory of final success is ready to be won". Alexander scarcely allowed him to conclude his request, which he granted with grateful ack-
nowledgment of his services. Then he sent him down again to
the coast with only a small escort, believing that the country
through which he would pass was friendly. He was not permitted
however to pursue his way to the coast without opposition, for
the barbarians, resenting the action of Alexander in deposing their
satrap, had gathered in full force and seized all the strongholds
of Karmania before Tlepolemos, the newly appointed Governor,
had yet succeeded in fully establishing his authority. It happened
therefore that several times in the course of a day Nearchus en-
countered bands of the insurgents with whom he had to do battle.
He therefore hurried forward without lingering by the way, and
reached the coast in safety, though not without severe toil and
difficulty. On arriving he sacrificed to Zeus the Preserver, and
celebrated gymnastic games.

XXXVII These pious rites having been duly performed
they again put to sea, and after passing a desolate and rocky
island, arrived at another island, where they anchored. This was
one of considerable size and inhabited, and 300 stadia distant
from Harmozena, the harbour which they had last left. The
desert island was called Organa, and that where they anchored
Oarakta. It produced vines, palm-trees, and corn. Its length
is 800 stadia. Marennes, the chief of this island, accompanied
them all the way to Susa, having volunteered to act as pilot of
the fleet. The natives of the island professed to point out the
tomb of the very first sovereign of the country, whose name they
said was Erythres, after whom the sea in that part of the world
was called the Erythraean. Weighing thence their course lay
along the island, and they anchored on its shores at a place whence
another island was visible at a distance of about 40 stadia. They
learned that it was sacred to Poseidon, and inaccessible. Next
morning, as they were putting out to sea, the ebb tide caught them
with such violence that three of the galleys were stranded on the
beach, and the rest of the fleet escaped with difficulty from the
surf into deep water. The stranded vessels were however floated
off at the return of the tide, and the day after rejoined the fleet.
They anchored at another island distant from the mainland some-
where about 300 stadia, after running a course of 400 stadia.
Towards daybreak they resumed the voyage, passing a desert
island which lay on their left, called Pylora, and anchored at
Sisidon, a small town which could supply nothing but water
and fish. Here again the natives were fish-eaters, for the soil
was utterly sterile. Having taken water on board, they weighed again, and having run 300 stadia, anchored at Tarsia, the extremity of a cape which projects far into the sea. The next place of anchorage was Kataia, a desert island, and very flat. It was said to be sacred to Hermes and Aphrodite. The length of this course was 300 stadia. To this island sheep and goats are annually sent by the people of the adjoining continent who consecrate them to Hermes and Aphrodite. These animals were to be seen running about in a wild state, the effect of time and the barren soil.

XXXVIII. Karmania extends as far as this island, but the parts beyond appertain to Persia. The extent of the Karmanian coast was 3,700 stadia. The people of this province live like the Persians, on whom they border, and they have similar weapons and a similar military system. When the fleet left the sacred island its course lay along the coast of Persis, and it first drew to land at a place called Ila, where there is a harbour under cover of a small and desert island called Kaikander. The distance run was 400 stadia. Towards daybreak they came to another island which was inhabited, and anchored thereon. Nearchus notices that there is here a fishery for pearl as there is in the Indian Sea. Having sailed along the shores of the promontory in which this island terminates, a distance of about 40 stadia, they came to an anchor upon its shores. The next anchorage was in the vicinity of a lofty hill called Okhos, where the harbour was well sheltered and the inhabitants were fishermen. Weighing thence they ran a course of 400 stadia, which brought them to Apostana, where they anchored. At this station they saw a great many boats, and learned that at a distance of 60 stadia from the shore there was a village. From Apostana they weighed at night and proceeded 400 stadia to a bay, on the borders of which many villages were to be seen. Here the fleet anchored under the projection of a cape which rose to a considerable height. Palm-trees and other fruit-bearing trees similar to those of Greece, adorned the country round. On weighing thence they sailed in a line with the coast, and after a course of somewhere about 600 stadia reached Gogana which was an inhabited place, where they anchored at the mouth of a winter torrent called the Areon. It was difficult to anchor, for the approach to the mouth of the river was by a narrow channel, since the ebbing of the tide had left shoals which lay all round in a circle. Weighing thence they gained after run-
ning as many as 800 stadia, the mouth of another river called the Sitakos, where also it was troublesome to anchor. Indeed all along the coast of Persis the fleet had to be navigated through shoals and breakers and oozy channels. At the Sitakos they took on board a large supply of provision, which under orders from the king had been collected expressly for the fleet. They remained at this station one and twenty days in all occupied in repairing and kareening the ships, which had been drawn on shore for the purpose.

XXXIX  Weighing thence they came to an inhabited district with a town called Hieratis after accomplishing a distance of 750 stadia. They anchored in a canal which drew its waters from a river and emptied into the sea, and was called Heratemis. Weighing next morning about sunrise, and sailing by the shore they reached a winter torrent called the Padargos, where the whole place was a peninsula, wherein were many gardens and all kinds of trees that bear fruit. The name of the place was Mesambria. Weighing from Mesambria and running a course of about 200 stadia, they reach Tauke on the river Gianis, and there anchor. Inland from this lay a royal city of the Persians, distant from the mouths of the river about 200 stadia. We learn from Nearchus that on their way to Tauke a stranded whale had been observed from the fleet and that a party of the men having rowed alongside of it, measured it and brought back word that it had a length of 50 cubits. Its skin, they added, was clad with scales to a depth of about a cubit, and thickly clustered over with parasitic mussels, barnacles, and seaweed. The monster, it was also noticed, was attended by a great number of dolphins, larger than are ever seen in the Mediterranean. Weighing from Tauke they proceeded to Rhogonis, a winter torrent, where they anchored in a safe harbour. The course thither was one of 200 stadia. Weighing thence and running 400 stadia, they arrived at another winter torrent, called Brizana, where they land and form an encampment. They had here difficulty in anchoring because of shoals and breakers and reefs that showed their heads above the sea. They could therefore enter the roads only when the tide was full, when it receded, the ships were left high and dry. They weighed with the next flood tide, and came to anchor at the mouth of a river called the Arosis, the greatest, according to Nearchus, of all the rivers that in the course of his voyage fell into the outer ocean.
XL. The Arosis marks the limit of the possessions of the Persians, and divides them from the Susians. Above the Susians occurs an independent race called the Uxians, whom I have described in my other work (Anab. VII. 15, 3) as robbers. The length of the Persian coast is 4,400 stadia. Persis, according to general report, has three different climates, for that part of it which lies along the Erythraean sea, is sandy and barren from the violence of the heat, while the part which succeeds enjoys a delightful temperature. For there the mountains stretch towards the pole and the North wind, and the region is clothed with verdure and has well-watered meadows, and bears in profusion the vine and every fruit else but the olive, while it blooms with gardens and pleasure parks of all kinds, and is penetrated with crystal streams and abounds with lakes, and lake and stream alike are the haunts of every variety of water-fowl, and it is also a good country for horses and other yoke cattle, being rich in pasture, while it is throughout well-wooded and well-stocked with game. The part, however, which lies still further to the north is said to be bleak and cold, and covered with snow, so that, as Nearchus tells us, certain ambassadors from the Euxine Sea, after a very brief journey, met Alexander marching forward to Persis, whereat Alexander being greatly surprised, they explained to him how very inconsiderable the distance was. I have already stated that the immediate neighbours to the Susians are the Uxians, just as the Mardians, a race of robbers, are next neighbours to the Persians, and the Kossaeans to the Medes. All these tribes Alexander subdued attacking them in the winter time when their country was, as they imagined, inaccessible. He then founded cities to reclaim them from their wandering life, and encouraged them to till their lands and devote themselves to agriculture. At the same time he appointed magistrates armed with the terrors of the law to prevent them having recourse to violence in the settlement of their quarrels. On leaving from the Arosis the expedition coasted the shores of the Susians. The remainder of the voyage, Nearchus says, he cannot describe with the same precision; he can but give the names of the stations and the length of the courses, for the coast was full of shoals and beset with breakers which spread far out to sea, and made the approach to land dangerous. The navigation thereafter was of course almost entirely restricted to the open sea. In mentioning their departure from the mouth of the river where they had encamped on the
borders of Persis, he states that they took there on board a five days’ supply of water, as the pilots had brought to their notice that none could be procured on the way.

XLI A course of 500 stadia having been accomplished, their next anchorage was in an estuary, which swarmed with fish, called Kataderbis, at the entrance of which lay an island called Margastana. They weighed at daybreak, the ships sailing out in single file through shoals. The direction of the shoal was indicated by stakes fixed both on the right and the left side, just as posts are erected as signals of danger in the passage between the island of Leukadia and Akarnania to prevent vessels grounding on the shoals. The shoals of Leukadia, however, are of firm sand, and it is thus easy to float off vessels should they happen to strand, but in this passage there is a deep mud on both sides of such tenacity that if vessels once touched the bottom, they could not by any appliances be got off; for, if they thrust poles into the mud to propel the vessels, these found no resistance or support, and the people who got overboard to ease them off into navigable water found no footing, but sunk in the mud higher than the waist. The fleet proceeded 600 stadia, having such difficulties of navigation to contend with, and then came to an anchor, each crew remaining in their own vessel, and taking their repast on board. From this anchorage they weighed in the night, sailing on in deep water till about the close of the ensuing day, when, after completing a course of 900 stadia, they dropped anchor at the mouth of the Euphrates near a town in Babylonia called Diridotis—the emporium of the sea-borne trade in frankincense and all the other fragrant productions of Arabia. The distance from the mouth of the Euphrates up stream to Babylon is, according to Nearchus, 3,300 stadia.

XLII. Here intelligence having been received that Alexander was marching towards Susa, they retraced their course from Diridotis so as to join him by sailing up the Pasitgris. They had now Susis on their left hand, and were coasting the shores of a lake into which the Tigris empties itself, a river, which flowing from Armenia past Nineveh, a city of yore great and flourishing, encloses between itself and the Euphrates the tract of country which from its position between the two rivers is called Mesopotamia. It is a distance of 600 stadia from the entrance into the lake up to the river’s mouth at Agnis, a village in the province of Susis, distant from the city of Susa 500 stadia. The length
of the voyage along the coast of the Susians to the mouth of the Pasitigris was 2,000 stadia. Weighing from the mouth of this river they sailed up its stream through a fertile and populous country, and having proceeded 150 stadia dropped anchor, awaiting the return of certain messengers whom Nearchus had sent off to ascertain where the king was. Nearchus then presented sacrifices to the gods their preservers, and celebrated games, and full of gladness were the hearts of all that had taken part in the expedition. The messengers having returned with tidings that Alexander was approaching, the fleet resumed its voyage up the river, and anchored near the bridge by which Alexander intended to lead his army to Susa. In that same place the troops were reunited when sacrifices were offered by Alexander for the preservation of his ships and his men, and games were celebrated. Nearchus, whenever he was seen among the troops, was decorated by them with garlands and pelted with flowers. There also both Nearchus and Leonnatus were crowned by Alexander with golden diadems—Nearchus for the safety of the expedition by sea, and Leonnatus for the victory which he had gained over the Oreitai and the neighbouring barbarians. It was thus that the expedition which had begun its voyage from the mouths of the Indus was brought in safety to Alexander.

XLIII. Now the parts which lie to the right of the Erythraean Sea beyond the realms of Babylonia belong principally to Arabia, which extends in one direction as far as the sea that washes the shores of Phoenicia and Syrian Palestine, while towards sunset it borders on the Egyptians in the direction of the Mediterranean Sea. Egypt is penetrated by a gulf which extends up from the great ocean, and as this ocean is connected with the Erythraean Sea, this fact proves that a voyage could be made all the way from Babylon to Egypt by means of this gulf. But, owing to the heat and utter sterility of the coast, no one has ever made this voyage, except, it may be, some chance navigator. For the troops belonging to the army of Cambyses, which escaped from Egypt, and reached Susa in safety, and the troops sent by Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, to Seleucus Nikator to Babylon, traversed the Arabian isthmus in eight days altogether. It was a waterless and sterile region, and they had to cross it mounted on swift camels carrying water, travelling only by night, the heat by day being so fierce that they could not expose themselves in the open air. So far are the parts lying beyond this region, which
we have spoken of as an isthmus extending from the Arabian Gulf to the Erythraean Sea from being inhabited, that even the parts which run up further to the north are a desert of sand. Moreover men setting forth from the Arabian Gulf in Egypt after having sailed round the greater part of Arabia to reach the sea which washes the shores of Persis and Susa, have returned, after sailing as far along the coast of Arabia as the water they had on board lasted them, and no further. The exploring party again which Alexander sent from Babylon with instructions to sail as far as they could along the right-hand coast of the Erythraean Sea, with a view to examine the regions lying in that direction, discovered some islands lying in their route, and touched also at certain points of the mainland of Arabia. But as for that cape which Nearchus states to have been seen by the expedition projecting into the sea right opposite to Karmania, there is no one who has been able to double it and gain the other side. But if the place could possibly be passed, either by sea or by land, it seems to me that Alexander, being so inquisitive and enterprising, would have proved that it could be passed in both these ways. But again Hanno the Libyan, setting out from Carthage, sailed out into the ocean beyond the Pillars of Hercules, having Libya on his left hand, and the time until his course was shaped towards the rising sun was five-and-thirty days; but when he steered southward he encountered many difficulties from the want of water, from the scorching heat, and from streams of fire that fell into the sea. Cyrene, no doubt, which is situated in a somewhat barren part of Libya, is verdant, possessed of a genial climate, and well watered, has groves and meadows, and yields abundantly all kinds of useful animals and vegetable products. But this is only the case up to the limits of the area within which the fennel-plant can grow, while beyond this area the interior of Cyrene is but a desert of sand.

So ends my narrative relating to Alexander, the son of Philip the Macedonian.

FOOTNOTES

M·III
Ibid. 56-7
Ibid, p 2
Ibid 57
Ibid, pp 1-2
PLINY

VIII. Pliny

Caesius Plinius Secundus (c A.D. 23-79), better known as the Elder Pliny, was a Roman scholar and the author of Naturalis historia (The Natural History) which consists of 37 books. It deals with geography, ethnography, anthropology, physiology, zoology, and various other subjects. He published the first ten books himself about A.D. 77, and the rest was published by his nephew after his death.

The extracts that follow are based on the English translations of McCrindle (M-V) and Bostock (The Natural History of Pliny translated by John Bostock and H. T. Riley, London, George Bell and Sons, 1890). There are also English translations in the Loeb Classical Library series.

I. Voyages from and to India.

C. 17(19) He (M. Varro) adds that under the direction of Pompey it was ascertained that it was seven days' journey from India to the river Iachrus, which flows into the Oxus, and that people have been conveyed from the Oxus through the Caspian into the Cyrus, and that Indian merchandise can be brought by land to Phasis in Pontus in five days at most.  

Book II. c.67(67). The same Nepos, when speaking of the northern circumnavigation, relates that to Q. Metellus Celer, the colleague of Afranius in the consulship, but then a proconsul in Gaul, a present was given by the King of the Suevi consisting of some Indians who, sailing from India for the purpose of commerce, had been driven by storms into Germany.  

Book VI. c.23(26). The journal of the voyage of Onesicritus and Nearchus has neither the names of the stations nor the distances set down in it; and first of all it is not sufficiently explained where and near what river Xylenopolis was—a city founded by Alexander and that from which his expedition started when it left India. Still, the following places mentioned by them are worthy of notice—the town of Arbis, founded by Nearchus in the course of the voyage, and the river Arbis, which is navigable and opposite which lies an island at a distance of 70 stadia; Alexandria built by Leonnatus by Alexander's orders in the territories of the people; Argennus with a convenient harbour, the river Tonberos, which is navigable, and around its banks the Pasirae; then come the Ichthyophagi. . . . In after times it was considered an undeniable fact that the voyage from Syagrus the promontory (a cape) in Arabia, to Patale reckoned at 1335 miles, can be performed by aid of a west wind which is there called Hippalus. The age that followed pointed out a shorter route that was also safer by making the voyage from the same cape to Sigerus, a seaport of India; and for a long
time this route was followed until one still shorter was discovered by a merchant, and India was brought nearer us through the love of gain. So then at the present day voyages are made to India every year; and companies of archers are carried on board because the Indian seas are infested by pirates.

* It will not be amiss too, on the present occasion, to set forth the whole of the route from Egypt, which has been stated to us of late, upon information on which reliance may be placed, and is here published for the first time. The subject is one well worthy of our notice, seeing that in no year does India drain our empire of less than five hundred and fifty millions of sesterces, giving back her own wares in exchange, which are sold among us at fully one hundred times their prime cost.

Two miles distant from Alexandria is the town of Julopolis. The distance then to Coptos, up the Nile, is 308 miles; the voyage is performed, when the Etesian winds are blowing, in twelve days. From Coptos the journey is made with the aid of camels, stations being arranged at intervals for the supply of fresh water. The first of these stations is called Hysreuma (watering-place), and is distant 22 miles, the second is situated on a mountain, at a distance of one day's journey from the last; the third is at a second Hydreuma, distant from Coptos 95 miles, the fourth is on a mountain; the next to that is at another Hydreuma, that of Apollo, and is distant from Coptos 184 miles; after which, there is another on a mountain. There is then another station at a place called New Hydreuma, distant from Coptos 230 miles; and next to it there is another, called the old Hydreuma, or the Trogloodytic, where a detachment is always on guard, with a caravansary that affords lodging for two thousand persons. This last is distant from New Hydreuma seven miles. After leaving it we come to the city of Berenice, situated upon a harbour of the Red Sea, and distant from Coptos 257 miles. The greater part of this distance is generally travelled by night, on account of the extreme heat, the day being spent at the stations; in consequence of which it takes twelve days to perform the whole journey from Coptos to Berenice.

Passengers generally set sail at midsummer, before the rising of the Dog-star, or else immediately after, and in about thirty days arrive at Ocelis in Arabia, or else at Cane, in the region which bears frankincense. There is also a third port of Arabia, Muza by name; it is not, however, used by persons on their passage to India, as only those touch at it who deal in incense and the perfumes of
Arabia. More in the interior there is a city; the residence of the king there is called Sapphar, and there is another city known by the name of Save. To those who are bound for India, Ocelis is the best place for embarkation. If the wind called Hippalus be blowing, Muzaris, the nearest mart of India, can be reached in forty days. It is not a desirable place of call, pirates being in the neighbourhood who occupy a place called Ntrias, and besides it is not well supplied with wares for traffic. Ships besides anchor at a great distance from the shore, and the cargoes have to be landed and shipped by employing boats. At the time I was writing this Caecubothras was the sovereign of that country. Another more convenient harbour of the nation is Neacyndon which is called Becare. There Pandion used to reign, dwelling at a great distance from the mart, in a town in the interior of the country called Modura. The district from which pepper is carried down to Becare in canoes is called Cottonara. None of these names of nations, ports, and cities are to be found in any of the former writers—from which it appears that the names (stations) of the places are changed. Travellers sail back from India in the beginning of the Egyptian month Tybis—our December—or at all events before the 6th day of the Egyptian month Mechir, that is before the Ides of January. In this way they can go and return the same year. They sail from India with a south-east wind, and on entering the Red Sea catch the south-west or south

II. Position, boundaries, physical characteristics and the races of India.

Book VI.c. 17(21.) Where the chain of Hemodus rises the communities are settled, and the nations of India, which begin there, adjoin not only the eastern sea but also the southern Ocean. That part which faces the east runs in a straight line to the bend where the Indian Ocean begins, and measures 1875 miles. Then from this bend to the south upto the river Indus, which forms the western boundary of India, the distance, as given by Eratosthenes, is 2475 miles. But many authors have represented the total length of its coast as being a sail of forty days and forty nights, and its length from north to south as being 2850 miles. Agrippa has estimated its length at 3300 miles, and its breadth at 2300. Poseidonios has measured it from north-east to south-east, placing it opposite to Gaul, which he was measuring from north-west to
south-west, making the whole of India lie to the west of Gaul. Hence he has shown by undoubted proofs that India being most refreshed by the blowing of the west wind, and have in consequence a salubrious climate. Here the appearance of the heavens is entirely changed, and the stars rise differently; there are two summers in the year, and two harvests having winter between them, while the Etesian winds are prevalent; and during our winter the breezes there are light and the seas navigable. In this country the nations and cities are numberless should one attempt to reckon them all up. It was opened up to our knowledge not only by the arms of Alexander the Great and the kings who succeeded him, Seleucus and Antiochus, as well as by their admiral Petrocles who sailed round even into the Hyrcanian and Caspian seas, but also by certain Greek authors, who resided with Indian kings, such as Megasthenes, and Dionysius who was sent by Philadelphus, and have thus informed us of the power and resources of the Indian nations. However, there is no room for a careful examination of their statements, they are so diverse and incredible. The companions of Alexander the Great have written that in that tract of India, which he subdued, there were 5000 towns, none less than Cos—that its nations were nine in number—that India was the third part of all the world, and that the multitude of its inhabitants was past reckoning. For this there was probably a good reason, since the Indians almost alone among the nations have never emigrated from their own borders. Their kings from Father Bacchus down to Alexander the Great are reckoned at 153 over a space of 6451 years and three months. The vast size of their rivers fills the mind with wonder. It is recorded that Alexander on no day sailed on the Indus less than 600 stadia, and was unable to reach its mouth in less than five months and a few days, and yet it appears that it is smaller than the Ganges. Seneca, who was our fellow citizen and composed a treatise on India, has given the number of its rivers at 60,7 and that of the nations at 118. It would be as great a difficulty should we attempt to enumerate its mountains. The chains of Imavos, Hemodus, Parapanisus, and Caucasus are mutually connected, and from their base the whole country sinks down into a plain of immense extent and bears a great resemblance to Egypt. But that our account of the geography of these regions may be better understood, we shall tread in the steps of Alexander the Great, whose marches were measured by Dioginetes and Baeton.
[After this are given distances from the Caspian Gates to the river Cophes and Peucolaitis, a city of India.]

VI. 21. 8-23. 11. From thence (i.e. Peucolaitis) to the river Indus and the city of Taxila, 60; from thence to the famous river Hydaspes, 120; from thence to the Hypasis, a river no less famous, 290 miles and 390 paces. This last was the extreme limit of the expedition of Alexander, though he crossed the river and dedicated certain altars on the opposite side. The dispatches written by order of that king fully agree with the distances above stated. The remaining distances beyond the above point were ascertained on the expedition of Seleucus Nikator.—168 miles to the Hesidrus, and to the river Jomanes as many (some copies add 5 miles); from thence to the Ganges 112 miles 119 miles to Rhodopha (others give 325 miles for this distance). To the town Kalnipaxa 167-500 (others give 265) miles. Thence to the confluence of the Jomanes and Ganges 625 miles (many add 13 miles), and to the town Palimbothra 425. To the mouth of the Ganges 738 miles.

The races which we may enumerate without being tedious, from the chain of Emodus, of which a spur is called Imaus (meaning in the native language snewy), are the Isari, Cosyri, Izgi, and on the hills: the Chisiosagia, and the Brachmanae, a name comprising many tribes, among which are the Maccocalincae. The river Prinas and the Cainas (which flows into the Ganges) are both navigable. The tribes called Calingae are nearest the sea, and higher up are the Mandet, and the Malli in whose country is Mount Mallus, the boundary of all that district being the Ganges.

(22) This river, according to some, rises from uncertain sources, like the Nile, and inundates similarly the countries lying along its course; others say that it rises on the Scythian mountains and has nineteen tributaries of which, besides those already mentioned, the Conchoches, Erannobas, Cosoagus, and Sonus are navigable. Others again assert that it issues forth at once with loud roar from its fountain, and after tumbling down a steep and rocky channel is received immediately on reaching the level plains into a lake, whence it flows out with a gentle current, being at the narrowest eight miles, and on the average a hundred stadia, in breadth, and never of less depth than twenty paces (one hundred feet) in the final part of its course, which is through the country of the Gangarides. The royal city of the Calingae is called Parthalis.8 Over their king 60,000 foot-soldiers, 1000 horsemen, 700 elephants keep watch and ward in “precinct of war.”8a
For among the more civilized Indian communities life is spent in a great variety of separate occupations. Some till the soil, some are soldiers, some traders; the noblest and richest take part in the direction of state affairs, administer justice, and sit in council with the kings. A fifth class devotes itself to the philosophy prevalent in the country, which almost assumes the form of a religion, and the members always put an end to their life by a voluntary death on a burning funeral pile. In addition to these classes there is one half-wild, which is constantly engaged in a task of immense labour, beyond the power of words to describe— that of hunting and taming elephants. They employ these animals in ploughing and for riding on, and regard them as forming the main part of their stock in cattle. They employ them in war and in fighting for their country. In choosing them for war, regard is had to their age, strength, and size.

There is a very large island in the Ganges which is inhabited by a single tribe called Modogalingae. Beyond are situated the Modubae, Molindae, the Uberae with a handsome town of the same name, the Galmodrocis, Preti, Calissae, Sasuri, Pissalae, Colubae, Oxulae, Abaln, Taluctae. The king of these keeps under arms 50,000 foot-soldiers, 4000 cavalry, and 400 elephants. Next come the Andarae, a still more powerful race, which possesses numerous villages, and thirty towns defended by walls and towers, and which supplies its king with an army of 100,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry, and 1000 elephants. Gold is very abundant among the Dardae, and silver among the Setae.

But the Prasii surpass in power and glory every other people, not only in this quarter, but one may say in all India, their capital being Palibothra, a very large and wealthy city, after which some call the people itself the Palibothri,—nay, even the whole tract along the Ganges. Their king has in his pay a standing army of 600,000 foot-soldiers, 30,000 cavalry, and 9000 elephants; whence may be formed some conjecture as to the vastness of his resources.

After these, but more inland, are the Menedes and Suari, in whose country is Mount Maleus, on which shadows fall towards the north in winter, and towards the south in summer, for six months alternately. Baeton asserts that the north pole in these parts is seen but once in the year, and only for fifteen days; while Megasthenes says that the same thing happens in many parts of India. The south pole is called by the Indians Dramasa.
river Iomanes flows through the Palibothri into the Ganges between the towns Methora and Carisobora. In the parts which lie southward from the Ganges the inhabitants, already swarthy, are deeply coloured by the sun, though not scorched black like the Ethiopians. The nearer they approach the Indus the more plainly does their complexion betray the influence of the sun.

The Indus skirts the frontiers of the Prasii, whose mountain tracts are said to be inhabited by the Pygmies. Artemidorus sets down the distance between the two rivers at 121 miles.\textsuperscript{10a}

(23.) The Indus, called by the inhabitants Sindus, rising on that spur of Mount Caucasus which is called Paropamisus, from sources fronting the sunrise, receives also itself nineteen rivers, of which the most famous are the Hydaspes, which has four tributaries; the Cantabra, which has three; the Acesines and the Hypasis, which are both navigable; but nevertheless, having no very great supply of water, it is nowhere broader than fifty stadia, or deeper than fifteen paces. It forms an extremely large island, which is called Prasiane, and a smaller one, called Patale. Its stream, which is navigable, by the lowest estimates, for 1240 miles, turns westward as if following more or less closely the course of the sun, and then falls into the ocean. The measure of the coast line from the mouth of the Ganges to this river I shall set down as it is generally given, though none of the computations agree with each other. From the mouth of the Ganges to Cape Calingon and the town of Dandagula 625 miles; to Tropina 1225; to the cape of Perimula, where there is the greatest emporium of trade in India, 750 miles; to the town in the island of Patala mentioned above, 620 miles.

The hill-tribes between the Indus and the Iomanes are the Cesi; the Cetriboni, who live in the woods; then the Megallae, whose king is master of five hundred elephants and an army of horse and foot of unknown strength, the Chrysei, the Parasangae, and the Asangae, where tigers abound, noted for their ferocity. The force under arms consists of 30,000 foot, 300 elephants, and 800 horse. These are shut in by the Indus, and are surrounded by a circle of mountains and deserts over a space of 625 miles. Below the deserts are the Dari, the Surae, then deserts again for 187 miles, these deserts encircling the fertile tracts just as the sea encircles islands. Below these deserts we find the Maltacorae, Singhae, Marohe, Rarungae, Moruni. These inhabit the hills which in an unbroken chain run parallel to the shores of the
They are free and have no kings, and occupy the mountain heights, whereon they have built many cities. Next follow the Nareae, enclosed by the loftiest of Indian mountains, Capitaria. The inhabitants on the other side of this mountain work extensive mines of gold and silver. Next are the Orature, whose king has only ten elephants, though he has a very strong force of infantry. Next again are the Varetatae, subject to a king, who keep no elephants, but trust entirely to their horse and foot. Then the Odomboeae; the Salabastrae; the Horatae, who have a fine city, defended by marshes which serve as a ditch, wherein crocodiles are kept, which, having a great avidity for human flesh, prevent all access to the city except by a bridge. And another city of theirs is much admired—Automela, which being seated on the coast at the confluence of five rivers, is a noble emporium of trade. The king is master of 1600 elephants, 150,000 foot, and 5000 cavalry. The poorer king of the Charmae has but sixty elephants, and his force otherwise is insignificant. Next come the Pandae, the only race in India ruled by women. They say that Hercules having but one daughter, who was on that account all the more beloved, endowed her with a noble kingdom. Her descendants rule over 300 cities, and command an army of 150,000 foot and 500 elephants. Next, with 300 cities, the Syrieni, Derangae, Posingae, Buzae, Gogiarei, Umbracae, Neracae, Brancosi, Nobundae, Cocondae, Nesei, Pedatræae, Solobriasæae, Olostræae, who adjourn the island Patalæ, from the furthest shore of which to the Caspian gates the distance is said to be 1925 miles.

Then next to these towards the Indus come, in an order which is easy to follow, the Amatae, Bolingae, Gallitalutae, Dimuri, Megari, Ordabæ, Mesæ, after these the Uri and Sileni. Immediately beyond come deserts extending for 250 miles. These being passed, we come to the Organagæ, Abaortæ, Sibarææ, Suertææ, and after these to deserts as extensive as the former. Then come the Sarophagææ, Sorgae, Baraomatae, and the Umbritae, who consist of twelve tribes, each possessing two cities, and the Aseni, who possess three cities. Their capital is Bucephala, built where Alexander's famous horse of that name was buried. Hillmen follow next, inhabiting the base of Caucasus, the Soleadæae, and the Sondææ; and if we cross to the other side of the Indus and follow its course downward we meet the Samaribriae, Sambruceni, Bisambritææ, Osii, Antixeni, and the Taxilææ with a famous city. Then succeeds a level tract of country known
by the general name of Amanda, whereof the tribes are four in number—the Peucolaitae, Arsagalitae, Geretae, Asoi.

Many writers, however, do not give the river Indus as the western boundary of India, but include within it four satrapies, the Gedrosi, Arachotae, Arii, Paropamisadac, making the river Cophes its furthest limit; though others prefer to consider all these as belonging to the Arii.

Many writers further include in India even the city Nysa and Mount Merus, sacred to Father Bacchus, whence the origin of the fable that he sprang from the thigh of Jupiter. They include also the Astacani, in whose country the vine grows abundantly, and the laurel and boxwood, and every kind of fruit-tree found in Greece. The remarkable and almost fabulous accounts which are current regarding the fertility of its soil, and the nature of its fruits and trees, its beasts and birds and other animals, will be set down each in its own place in other parts of this work. A little further on I shall speak of the satrapies, but the island of Taprobane requires my immediate attention.

But before we come to this island there are others, one being Patale, which, as we have indicated, lies at the mouth of the Indus, triangular in shape, and 220 miles in breadth. Beyond the mouth of the Indus are Chryse and Argyre, rich, as I believe, in metals. For I cannot readily believe, what is asserted by some writers, that their soil is impregnated with gold and silver. At a distance of twenty miles from these lies Crocala, from which, at a distance of twelve miles, is Bibaga, which abounds with oysters and other shell-fish. Next comes Toralibba, nine miles distant from the last-named island, beside many others unworthy of note.

III. Description of Taprobane (Ceylon)

Book VI. e. 22 (24) Taprobane, under the name of the ‘Land of the Antichthones’, was long regarded as another world. The age and achievements of Alexander the Great made it clear that it is an island. Onesicritus, the commander of his fleet, had stated that its elephants are larger and more bellicose than those of India, and from Megasthenes we learn that it is divided by a river, and that its inhabitants are called Palaeogoni, and that it is more productive of gold and pearls of great size than India itself. Eratosthenes has also given its dimensions as 700 stadia in
length and 5000 stadia in breadth, while he states that it has no cities, but villages to the number of seven hundred. It begins at the Eastern Sea, and lies extended over against India east and west. The island in former days, when the voyage to it was made with vessels constructed of papyrus and rigged after the manner of the vessels of the Nile, was thought to be twenty days’ sail from the country of the Prasii, but the distance came afterwards to be reckoned at a seven days’ sail, according to the rate of speed of our ships. The sea between the island and India is full of shallows not more than six paces in depth, but in some channels so deep that no anchors can find the bottom. For this reason ships are built with prows at each end to obviate the necessity of their turning about in channels of extreme narrowness. The tonnage of these vessels is 3000 amphorae. In making sea-voyages, the Taprobane mariners make no observations of the stars, and indeed the Greater Bear is not visible to them, but they take birds out to sea with them which they let loose from time to time and follow the direction of their flight as they make for land. The season for navigation is limited to four months, and they particularly shun the sea during the hundred days which succeed the summer solstice, for it is then winter in those seas.

So much we have learned from the old writers. It has been our lot, however, to obtain a more accurate knowledge of the island, for in the reign of the Emperor Claudius ambassadors came to his court therefrom, and under the following circumstances. A freedman of Annius Placamus, who had farmed from the treasury the Red Sea revenues, while sailing around Arabia was carried away by gales of wind from the north beyond Carmania. In the course of fifteen days he had been wafted to Hippuri, a port of Taprobane, where he was humanely received and hospitably entertained by the king; and having in six months’ time learned the language, he was able to answer the questions he was asked. The king particularly admired the Romans and their emperor as men possessed of an unheard-of love of justice, when he found that among the money taken from the captive the denarii were all of equal weight, although the different images stamped on them showed that they had been coined in the reigns of several emperors. This influenced him most of all to seek an alliance with the Romans, and he accordingly despatched to Rome four ambassadors, of whom the chief was Rachia (i.e Rajah).

From these it was ascertained that in Taprobane there are
500 towns, and that there is a harbour facing the south, adjacent to the city of Palaesimundus, the most famous city in the island, the king’s place of residence and inhabited by a population of 200,000. They stated also that in the interior there is a lake called Megisba 375 miles in circuit, and containing islands which are fertile, but only for pasturage. From this lake, they said, there issued two rivers, one of which, called Palaesimundus, flows into the harbour near the city of the same name by three channels, the narrowest of which is five stadia wide, the largest fifteen, while the third, called Cydara, has a direction northward towards India. They further said that the nearest point in India is a promontory called Coliacum, four days sail distant from the island, and that midway between them lies the island of the Sun, also that those seas are of a vivid green colour, and that a great number of trees grow at the bottom, so that the rudders of the ships frequently break their crests off. They saw with astonishment the constellations visible to us—the Greater Bear and the Pleiades—as if they were set in a new heaven, and they declared that in their country the moon can only be seen above the horizon from the eighth to the sixteenth day, while they added that Canopus, a large bright star, illumined their nights. But what most of all excited their wonder was that their shadows fell towards our part of the world and not to their own, and that the sun rose on the left hand and set on the right, and not in the opposite direction. They also informed us that the side of their island which lies opposite to India is 10,000 stadia in length, and runs south-east—that beyond the Hemodi mountains they look towards the Seres, with whom they had become acquainted by commerce, also that the father of Rachua had often gone to their country, and that the Seres came to meet their visitors on their arrival. These people, they said, exceeded the ordinary stature of mankind, and had yellow hair and blue eyes; the tones of their voice were harsh and uncouth, and they could not communicate their thought by language. In other particulars their account of them agreed with the reports of our own merchants, who tell us that the wares that they deposit near those brought for sale by the Seres, on the further bank of a river in their country, are removed by them if they are satisfied with the exchange. The detestation of luxury could not in any way be better justified than by our transporting our thoughts to these and reflecting what the things are that are sought for to gratify it, from what vast distances they are brought,
and for what low ends.

But yet Taphroban even, though isolated by nature from the rest of the world, is not exempt from our vices. Even there gold and silver are held in esteem. They have a marble which resembles tortoiseshell, pearls also and precious stones, and these are all held in high honour. Their articles of luxury surpass our own, and they have them in great abundance. They asserted that their wealth is greater than ours, but acknowledged that we excelled them in the art of deriving enjoyment from opulence.

There are no slaves in the island, the inhabitants do not prolong their slumbers till daybreak. nor sleep during the day; their buildings are only of a moderate height from the ground; the price of corn is never enhanced, they have no courts of law and no litigation. Hercules is the God they worship; their king is chosen by the people, and must be an old man, of a gentle disposition and childless, and if after his election he should beget children, he is required to abdicate, lest the throne should become hereditary; thirty counsellors are provided for him by the people, and no one can be condemned to death except by the vote of the majority—the person so condemned has, however, the right of appeal to the people, in which case a jury of seventy persons is appointed; if these should acquit the accused, the thirty counsellors lose all the respect they enjoyed, and are subjected to the uttermost disgrace. The king dresses like Father Bacchus, the people like the Arabs. The king, if he offend in aught, is condemned to death, but no one slays him—all turn their backs upon him, and will not communicate with him in any way, not even by speech. Their festive occasions are spent in hunting, their favourite game being the tiger and the elephant. The land is carefully tilled; the vine is not cultivated, but other fruits are abundant. Great delight is taken in fishing, especially in catching turtles, beneath the shells of which the whole families can be housed, of such vast size are they to be found. These people look upon a hundred years as but a moderate span of life. Thus much we have learned about Taphroban.

IV. Incidental Notices.

Book II. c. 73(75). In the same way they inform us that in the town of Syene, which is 5000 stadia south of Alexandria, no shadow is cast at noon on the day of the solstice, and that a
well dug for the purpose of the experiment was completely illuminated, from which it appears that the sun is vertical at that place, and Onesicritus writes that in India this is the case at that time at the river Hypasis. . . . In the country of the Oretes, a people of India, is the mountain Maleus, near which the shadows in summer are cast to the south and in winter to the north. The stars of the Great Bear are visible there for fifteen days only. In India also, at Patala, a celebrated port, the sun rises on the right hand and the shadows fall to the south. It was observed, while Alexander was staying there the seven stars of the Bear were seen only at the early part of the evening. Onesicritus, one of his generals, states that in those parts of India where there are no shadows the Bear is not seen; these places, he says, are called ‘ascia’, and time there is not reckoned by hours.

C 108(112). One part of the earth . . . stretches out to the greatest extent from east to west, that is, from India to the Pillars of Hercules at Gades, being a distance of 8578 miles according to Artemidorus, but according to Isidorus 9818 miles.

Book VI. c. 16(18). This nation (the Bactrian) lies at the back of the mount Paropanisus over against the sources of the river Indus.

FOOTNOTES

1 Strabo (xii viii. 3) writes to the same effect. Aristobulus says that the Oxus is easy to navigate (a circumstance which both he and Eratosthenes borrow from Ptolemy), and that large quantities of Indian merchandise are conveyed by it to the Heraclean sea, and are thence transferred into Albania by the Carus and through the adjoining countries to the Euxine. From the Euxine the merchandise was conveyed in four days along a carriage road to the fortress of Sarapanda, whence it was carried down the Phasis to the Euxine. See Stabo, xi, 11. A passage to the same effect is quoted by Lassen from Fragm Hist Graec, ed. C. Miller, ii, 411. The Iaxthrus is supposed to be the Bactrus, which from Bactra (Balkh) joins the Oxus. There may have been an error in the transcription of the name. For a discussion of this question, see W. W. Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria and India, pp. 488-493. (M-V, 110)

2 Murphy, the translator of Tacitus in one of his notes to the Agricola, remarks thus upon this passage. ‘The work of Cornelius Nepos has not come down to us, and Pliny, as it seems, has abridged too much. The whole tract would have furnished a considerable event in the history of navigation. At present, we are left to conjecture whether the Indian adventurers sailed round the Cape of Good Hope, through the Atlantic Ocean, and thence into the northern seas, or whether they made a voyage still more extraordinary, by passing the island of Japan, the coast of Siberia, Kamchatka, Zembla in the Frozen Ocean and thence round Lapland and Norway, either into the Baltic or the German Ocean. It may be proper to mention that about the year 1770, a set of navigators, from Japan were driven by tempestuous weather to the northern coast of Siberia, and having landed at Kamchatka were conveyed to Petersburg, and there
received by the Empress of Russia with the greatest humanity,' (M-V, 110).

*Onesicritus* was chief pilot of the fleet with which Nearchus made his famous voyage from the Indus to the head of the Persian Gulf. The Journal of this voyage (written by Nearchus) has been preserved by Arrian. It contains both the names of the stations and the distances between them, of which some are mentioned in the sequel of Pliny's text, which must here be corrupt. This account of Nearchus is given later in this volume.

*Sigerus* has been taken to be the same as Meluygera in para 53 of the *Periplus*. Many other geographical names in Pliny's account will be found in the same work.

*a* Equivalent to $1,400,000 Sterling

*b* The portion within the two asterisks "It will not be place for embarcation"—is not included in McElvindale's translation and is taken from Bostock's Translation

7.65, according to Bostock's Translation

8. Bostock translates "The last nation situated on the banks of the Ganges is that of the Ganga-nades Calagae, the city where their king dwells has the name of Protalas", and adds in a footnote against Protalas, "called Parthulas in most of the editions."

9. Bostock translates "This king has 60,000 foot soldiers, 1000 horse and 700 elephants, always at parisoned, ready for battle."

10. Bostock translates "The people are divided into several classes"

11. Bostock translates "by means of their stations all the classes previously mentioned are supported. It is their duty to hunt"

12. 2100 miles according to Bostock

13. Independent of all kings (Bostock)

14. Bostock translates "After passing this island, the other side of the Indus is occupied as we know by clear and undoubted proofs, by (the)"

15. The amount of cargo carried by ancient ships was generally computed by the talent of the amphora, each of which weighed about a fourth of a ton. The largest ships carried 10,000 talents or 250 tons. The talent and the amphora each represented a cubic foot of water, and as a Greek or Roman foot measured about 97 of an English foot, the talent and the amphora each weighed very nearly 57 lbs. See Toms' Ancient Ships, p 25.

16. Evidently corn seeds.

17. Compare Arrian, *Hist Anim.* xvi 18. 'In the sea which surrounds the island' (Iapollinu) tortoises have such enormous shells that these are employed to make roofs of the houses, for a shell being fifteen cubits long can hold a good number of people under it, screening them from the scorching rays of the sun besides affording them a welcome shade.'
IX. Ptolemy's Geography of India and Southern Asia.

I Introduction

Ptolemy and his System of Geography.

Claudius Ptolemaeus, or as he is commonly called, Ptolemy, was distinguished alike as a Mathematician, a Musician, an Astronomer and a Geographer, and was altogether one of the most accomplished men of science that antiquity produced. His works were considered as of paramount authority from the time of their publication until the discoveries of modern times had begun to show their imperfections and errors. It is surprising that with all his fame, which had even in his own lifetime become pre-eminent, the particulars of his personal history should be shrouded in all but total darkness. Nothing in fact is known for certain regarding him further than that he flourished in Alexandria about the middle of the 2nd century of our era, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, whom he appears to have survived.

His work on Geography formed a sequel to his great work on Astronomy, commonly called (by its Arabic title) the Almagest. From its title An Outline of Geography, we might be led to infer
that it was a general treatise on the subject, like the comprehensive work of Strabo, but in reality it treats almost exclusively of Mathematical, or what may be called Cosmical, Geography. Ptolemy's object in composing it was not like that of the ordinary Geographer to describe places, but to correct and reform the map of the world in accordance with the increased knowledge which had been acquired of distant countries and with the improved state of science. He therefore limits his argument to an exposition of the geometrical principles on which Geography should be based, and to a determination of the position of places on the surface of the earth by their latitudes and longitudes. What he considered to be the proper method of determining geographical positions he states very clearly in the following passage: "The proper course," he says, "in drawing up a map of the world is to lay down as the basis of it those points that were determined by the most correct (astronomical) observations, and to fit into it those derived from other sources, so that their positions may suit as well as possible with the principal points thus laid down in the first instance."

Unfortunately, as Bunbury remarks, it was impossible for him to carry out in practice—even approximately—the scheme that he had so well laid down in theory. The astronomical observations to which he could refer were but few—and they were withal either so defective or so inaccurate that he could not use them with confidence. At the same time his information concerning many parts of the earth, whether owing to their remoteness or the conflicting accounts of travellers regarding them, was imperfect in the extreme. The extent, however, of his geographical knowledge was far greater than that possessed by any of his predecessors, and he had access to sources of information which enabled him to correct many of the errors into which they had fallen.

He was induced to undertake the composition of Geography through his being dissatisfied more or less with all the existing systems. There was however one work—that of his immediate precursor, Marinus of Tyre—which approximated somewhat closely to his ideal, and which he therefore made the basis of his own treatise. Marinus, he tells us, had collected his materials with the most praiseworthy diligence, and had moreover sifted them both with care and judgment. He points out, however, that his system required correction both as to the method of delimiting the sphere on a plane surface, and as to the computation of distances, which he generally exaggerated. He censures him likewise for
having assigned to the known world too great a length from west to east, and too great a breadth from north to south.

Of Ptolemy’s own system, the more prominent characteristics may now be noted: He assumed the earth to be a sphere, and adopting the estimate of Poseidonios fixed its circumference at 180,000 stadia, thus making the length of a degree at the equator to be only 500 stadia, instead of 600, which is its real length. To this fundamental miscalculation may be referred not a few of the most serious errors to be found in his work. With regard to the question of the length and the breadth of the inhabited part of the earth, a question of first importance in those days, he estimated its length, as measured along the parallel of Rhodes which divided the then known world into two nearly equal portions, at 72,000 stadia, and its breadth at 40,000 stadia. The meridian in the west from which he calculated his longitudes was that which passed through the Islands of the Blest, probably the Canary Islands, and his most eastern meridian was that which passed through the Metropolis of the Sinai, which he calls Sinai or Thinai, and places in 180° 40’ E. Long. and 3° S. Lat. The distance of this meridian from that of Alexandria he estimated at 119 ½ degrees, and the distance of the first meridian from the same at 60 ½ degrees, making together 180 degrees, or exactly one-half of the circumference of the earth. His estimate of the breadth he obtained by fixing the southern limit of the inhabited parts in the parallel of 16 ½ degrees of South Latitude, which passes through a point as far south of the Equator as Meroe is north of it. And by fixing the northern limit in the parallel of 63 degrees North Latitude, which passes through Thoule (probably the Shetland Islands), a space of nearly 80 degrees was thus included between the two parallels, and this was equivalent in Ptolemy’s mode of reckoning to 40,000 stadia.

Having made these determinations he had next to consider in what mode the surface of the earth with its meridians of longitude and parallels of latitude should be represented on a sphere and on a plane surface—of the two modes of delineation that on the sphere is the much easier to make, as it involves no method of projection, but a map drawn on a plane is far more convenient for use, as it presents simultaneously to the eye a far greater extent of surface. Marinus had drawn his map of the world on a plane, but his method of projection was altogether unsatisfactory. It is thus described by Ptolemy: Marinus, he says, on account of the importance of the countries around the Mediterranean, kept
as his base the line fixed on of old by Eratosthenes, viz., the parallel through Rhodes in the 36th Degree of north latitude. He then calculated the length of a degree along this parallel, and found it to contain 400 stadia, the equatorial degree being taken at 500. Having divided this parallel into degrees he drew perpendiculars through the points of division for the meridians, and his parallels of latitude were straight lines parallel to that which passed through Rhodes. The imperfections of such a projection are obvious. It represented the parts of the earth north of the parallel of Rhodes much beyond, and those south of it much below, their proper length. Places again to the north of the line stood too far apart from each other, and those to the south of it too close together. The projection, moreover, is an erroneous representation, since the parallels of latitude ought to be circular arcs and not straight lines.

Ptolemy having pointed out these objections to the system of Marinus proceeds to explain the methods which he himself employed. We need say nothing more regarding them than that they were such as presented a near approximation to some of those which are still in use among modern Geographers.

Ptolemy's treatise is divided into 8 books. In the 1st or introductory book he treats first of Geography generally—he then explains and criticizes the system of Marinus, and concludes by describing the methods of projection which may be employed in the construction of maps. The next 6 books and the first 4 chapters of the 7th book consist of tables which give distinctly in degrees and parts of a degree the latitudes and longitudes of all the places in his map. These places are arranged together in sections according to the country or tribe to which they belong, and each section has prefixed to it a brief description of the boundaries and divisions of the part about to be noticed. Descriptive notices are also occasionally interspersed among the lists, but the number of such is by no means considerable. The remainder of the 7th book and the whole of the 8th are occupied with a description of a series of maps which, it would appear, had been prepared to accompany the publication of the work, and which are still extant. The number of the maps is twenty-six, viz. 10 for Europe, 4 for Libya, and 12 for Asia. They are drawn to different scales, larger or smaller, according as the division represented was more or less known. He gives for each map the latitudes and longitudes of a certain number of the most important cities contained in it, but these positions were
not given in the same manner as in the tables, for the latitudes are now denoted by the length of the longest day and the longitudes according to the difference of time from Alexandria. It might be supposed that the positions in question were such as had been determined by actual astronomical observations, as distinguished from those in the Tables, which were for the most part derived from itineraries, or from records of voyages and travels. This supposition is however untenable, for we find that while the statements as to the length of the longest days at the selected places are always correct for the latitudes assigned them, they are often glaring wrong for their real positions. Ptolemy, it is evident, first mapped out in the best way he could the places, and then calculated for the more important of these places the astronomical phenomena incident to them as so situated. I conclude by presenting the reader with a translation of some chapters of the Introductory Book, where Ptolemy in reviewing the estimate made by Marinus of the length of the known world from west to east, has frequent occasion to mention India and the Provinces beyond the Ganges, which together constitute what is now called Indo-China.

Book I., Chap. II.

1. What has now been stated will suffice to show us what extent in breadth it would be fair to assign to the inhabited world. Its length is given by Marinus at 15 hours, this being the distance comprised between his two extreme meridians—but in our opinion he has unduly extended the distance towards the east. In fact, if the estimate be properly reduced in this direction the entire length must be fixed at less than 12 hours, the Islands of the Blest being taken as the limit towards the west, and the remotest parts of Sera and the Sinai and Kattigara as the limit towards the east.

2. Now the entire distance from the Islands of the Blest to the passage of the Euphrates at Hierapolis, as measured along the parallel of Rhodes, is accurately determined by summing together the several intervening distances as estimated in stadia by Marinus, for not only were the distances well ascertained from being frequently traversed, but Marinus seems moreover in his computation of the greater distances, to have taken into account the necessary corrections for irregularities and deviations. He understood, besides, that while the length of a single degree of the 360 degrees into which the equatorial circle is divided measures, as in the com-
monly accepted estimate, 500 stadia, the parallel circle which passes through Rhodes in 36 degrees of N. latitude, measures about 400 stadia.

3. It measures, in fact, a little over that number if we go by the exact portion of the parallels, but the excess is so trifling as in the case of the equatorial degree, that it may be neglected. But his estimates of the distances beyond Hierapolis require correction.

4. He computes the distance from the passage of the Euphrates already mentioned to the Stone Tower at 876 schoeni or 26,280 stadia, and from the Stone Tower to Sera, the metropolis of the Seres, at a 7 months' journey or 36,200 stadia as reckoned along the same parallel. Now in neither case has he made the proper deductions for the excess caused by deviations; and for the second route he falls into the same absurdity as when he estimated the distance from the Garamantes to Agysymba.

5. Where he had to deduct above half of the stadia in the march of the 3 months and 14 days, since such a march could not possibly have been accomplished without halting. The necessity for halting would be still more urgent when the march was one which occupied 7 months.

6. But the former march was accomplished even by the king of the country himself, who would naturally use every precaution, and the weather besides was all throughout most propitious. But the route from the Stone Tower to Sera is exposed to violent storms, for as he himself assumes, it lies under the parallels of the Hellas Pont and Byzantium, so that the progress of travellers would be frequently interrupted.

7. Now it was by means of commerce this became known, for Marinus tells us that one Maes, a Macedonian, called also Titianus, who was a merchant by hereditary profession, had written a book giving the measurement in question, which he had obtained not by visiting the Seres in person, but from the agents whom he had sent to them. But Marinus seems to have distrusted accounts borrowed from traders.

8. In giving, for instance, on the authority of Philemon, the length of Ivernia (Ireland) at a 20 days' journey, he refused to accept this estimate, which was got, he tells us, from merchants, whom he reprobates as a class of men too much engrossed with their own proper business to care about ascertaining the truth, and who also from mere vanity frequently exaggerated distances. So too, in the case before us, it is manifest that nothing
in the course of the 7 months' journey was thought worthy either of record or remembrance by the travellers except the prodigious time taken to perform it.

Cap. 12.

1. Taking all this into consideration, together with the fact that the route does not lie along one and the same parallel (the Stone Tower being situated near the parallel of Byzantium, and Scra lying farther south than the parallel through the Hellespont) it would appear but reasonable in this case also to diminish by not less than a half the distance altogether traversed in the 7 months' journey, computed at 36,200 stadia, and so let us reduce the number of stadia which these represent at the equator by one-half only, and we thus obtain (22,625) stadia or 45½ degrees.

2. For it would be absurd, and show a want of proper judgment, if, when reason enjoins us to curtail the length of both routes, we should follow the injunction with respect to the African route, to the length of which there is the obvious objection, viz., the species of animals in the neighbourhood of Agisymba, which cannot bear to be transplanted from their own climate to another, while we refuse to follow the injunction with regard to the route from the Stone Tower, because there is not a similar objection to its length, seeing that the temperature all along this route is uniform, quite independently of its being longer or shorter. Just as if one who reasons according to the principles of philosophy could not, unless the case were otherwise clear, arrive at a sound conclusion.

3. With regard again to the first of the two Asiatic routes, that, I mean which leads from the Euphrates to the Stone Tower, the estimate of 870 schoeni must be reduced to 800 only, or 24,000 stadia, on account of deviations.

4. We may accept as correct his figures for the entire distance as the several stages had been frequently traversed and had therefore been measured with accuracy. But that there were numerous deviations is evident from what Marinus himself tells us.

5. For the route from the passage of the Euphrates at Hierapolis through Mesopotamia to the Tigris, and the route thence through the Garamaioi of Assyria, and through Media to Ecbatana and the Caspian Gates, and through Parthia to Hecatompylos Marinus considers to lie along the parallel which passes
through Rhodes, for he traces (in his map) this parallel as passing through these regions.

6 But the route from Hecatompylos to the capital city of Hyrcania must, of necessity, diverge to the north, because that city lies somewhere between the parallel of Smyrna and that of the Hellespont, since the parallel of Smyrna is traced as passing below Hyrcania and that of the Hellespont, through the southern parts of the Hyrcanian Sea from the city bearing the same name, which lies a little farther north.

7 But, again, the route herefrom to Antiokheia (Merv) of Margiana through Areia, at first bends towards the south, since Areia lies under the same parallel as the Caspian Gates, and then afterwards turns towards the north, Antiokheia being situated under the parallel of the Hellespont. The route after this runs in an eastward direction to Bactra whence it turns towards the north in ascending the mountains of the Komedoi, and then in passing through these mountains it pursues a southern course as far as the ravine that opens into the plain country.

8 For the northern parts of the mountain region and those furthest to the west where the ascent begins, are placed by him under the parallel of Byzantium, and those in the south and the east under the parallel of the Hellespont. For this reason, he says, that this route makes a detour of equal length in opposite directions, that in advancing to the east it bends towards the south, and thereafter probably runs up towards the north for 50 schoeni, till it reaches the Stone Tower.

9 For to quote his own words, "When the traveller has ascended the ravine he arrives at the Stone Tower, after which the mountains that trend to the east unite with Imaus, the range that runs up to the north from Palimbothra."

10 If, then, to the 60 degrees made up of the 24,000 stadia, we add the 45\(\frac{1}{2}\) degrees which present the distance from the Stone Tower to Sera, we get 105\(\frac{1}{2}\) degrees as the distance between the Euphrates and Sera as measured along the parallel of Rhodes.

11 But, further, we can infer from the number of stadia which he gives as the distance between successive places lying along the same parallel, that the distance from the Islands of the Blest to the sacred Promontory in Spain (Cape St. Vincent), is 2\(\frac{1}{4}\) degrees, and the distance thence to the mouth of the Baetis (Guadalquivir), the same. From the Baetis to Kulpe, and the entrance of the Straits, 2\(\frac{1}{4}\) degrees. From the Straits to Karallis
in Sardinia, 25 degrees. From Karallis to Lilybaion, in Sicily, 4\frac{1}{2} degrees. From this Cape to Pakynos, 3 degrees. Then again, from Pakynos to Tainaros, in Lakonia, 10 degrees. Thence to Rhodes, 8\frac{1}{2} degrees. From Rhodes to Issus, 11\frac{1}{2} degrees, and finally from Issus to the Euphrates, 2\frac{1}{2} degrees.

12. The sum of these particular distances gives a total of 72 degrees, consequently the entire length of the known world between the meridian of the Islands of the Blest and that of the Seres is 177\frac{1}{2} degrees, as has been already shown.

Caps. 13

1 That such is the length of the inhabited world may also be inferred from his estimate of the distances in a voyage from India to the Gulf of the Sinai and Kattigara, if the sinuosities of the coast and irregularity of the navigation be taken into account, together with the positions as drawn into nearer proximity in the projections; for, he says, that beyond the Cape called Kory where the Kolkhe Gulf terminates, the Argarc Gulf begins, and that the distance thence to the City of Kouroula, which is situated to the north-east of Kory is 3,400 stadia.

2. The distance right across may, therefore, be estimated at about 2,030 stadia, since we have to deduct a third because of the navigation having followed the curvature of the Gulf, and have also to make allowances for irregularities in the length of the courses run.

3. If now we further reduce this amount by a third, because the sailing, though subject to interruption, was taken as continuous, there remain 1,350 stadia, determining the position of Kouroula as situated north-east from Kory.

4. If now this distance be referred to a line running parallel to the equator and towards the East, and we reduce its length by half in accordance with the intercepted angle, we shall have as the distance between the meridian of Kouroula and that of Kory, 675 stadia, or 1\frac{1}{2} degree, since the parallels of these places do not differ materially from the great circle.

5. But to proceed: the course of the voyage from Kouroula lies, he says, to the south-east as far as Paloura, the distance being 9,450 stadia. Here, if we deduct as before one-third for the irregularities in the length of the courses, we shall have the distance on account of the navigation having been continuous to the south-
east about 6,300 stadia.

6. And if we deduct from this in like manner as before one-sixth, in order to find the distance parallel to the equator, we shall make the interval between the meridians of these two places 5,250 stadia, or 10\(\frac{1}{2}\) degrees.

7. At this place the Gangetic Gull begins, which he estimates to be in circuit 19,000 stadia. The passage across it from Paloura to Sada in a direct line from west to east is 1,300 stadia. Here, then, we have but one deduction to make, viz., one-third on account of the irregularity of the navigation, leaving as the distance between the meridians of Paloura and Sada 8,670 stadia, or 17\(\frac{1}{2}\) degrees.

8. The voyage is continued onward from Sada to the City of Tamala, a distance of 3,500 stadia, in a south-eastward direction. If a third be here again deducted on account of irregularities, we find the length of the continuous passage to be 2,330 stadia, but we must further take into account the divergence towards the south-east, and deduct one-sixth, so we find the distance between the meridians in question to be 1,940 stadia, or 3° 50' nearly.

9. He next sets down the passage from Tamala to the Golden Khersonese at 1,600 stadia, the direction being still towards the south-east, so that after making the usual deductions there remain as the distance between the two meridians 900 stadia, or 1° 48'. The sum of these particulars makes the distance from Cape Kory to the Golden Khersonese to be 34° 48'.

Cap. 14.

1. Marinos does not state the number of stadia in the passage from the Golden Khersonese to Kattigara, but says that one Alexander had written that the land thereafter faced the south, and that those sailing along this coast reached the city of Zaba in 20 days, and by continuing the voyage from Zaba southward, but keeping more to the left, they arrived after some days at Kattigara.

2. He then makes this distance very great by taking the expression "some days" to mean "many days", assigning as his reason that the days occupied by the voyage were too many to be counted,—a most absurd reason, it strikes me.

3. For would even the number of days it takes to go round
the whole world be past counting? And was there anything to prevent Alexander writing "many" instead of "some", especially when we find him saying that Dioskoros had reported that the voyage from Rhapta to Cape Prasum took "many days". One might in fact with far more reason take "some" to mean "a few", for we have been wont to censure this style (of expression).

4. So now lest we should appear to fall ourselves into the same error, that of adapting conjectures about distances to some number already fixed on, let us compare the voyage from the Golden Khersonese to Kattigara, consisting of the 20 days to Zaba and the "some days" thence to Kattigara with the voyage from Aromata to Cape Prasum, and we find that the voyage from Aromata to Rhapta took also 20 days as reported by Theophilos, and the voyage from Rhapta to Prasum "many more days" as reported by Dioskoros, so that we may set side by side the "some days" with the "many days" and like Marinos take them to be equivalent.

5. Since then, we have shown both by reasoning and by stated ascertained facts, that Prasum is under the parallel of 16° 25' in South latitude, while the parallel through Cape Aromata is 4° 15' in North latitude, making the distance between the two capes 20° 40', we might with good reason make the distance from the Golden Khersonese to Zaba and thence to Kattigara just about the same.

6. It is not necessary to curtail the distance from the Golden Khersonese to Zaba, since as the coast faces the south it must run parallel with the equator. We must reduce, however, the distance from Zaba to Kattigara, since the course of the navigation is towards the south and the east, in order that we may find the position parallel to the equator.

7. If again, in our uncertainty as to the real excess of the distances, we allot say one-half of the degrees to each of these distances, and from the 13° 20' between Zaba and Kattigara we deduct a third on account of the divergence, we shall have the distance from the Golden Khersonese to Kattigara along a line parallel to the equator of about 17° 10'.

8. But it has been shown that the distance from Cape Kory to the Golden Khersonese is 34° 48', and so the entire distance from Kory to Kattigara will be about 52°.

9. But again, the meridian which passes through the sources of the River Indus is a little further west than the Northern Promontory of Taprobane, which according to Marinos is opposite
to Kory, from which the meridian which passes through the mouths of the River Baetis is a distance of 8 hours or 120°. Now as this meridian is 5° from that of the Islands of the Blest, the meridian of Cape Kory is more than 125° from the meridian of the Islands of the Blest. But the meridian through Kattigara is distant from that through the Islands of the Blest a little more than 177° in the latitude of Kory, each of which contains about the same number of stadia as a degree reckoned along the parallel of Rhodes.

10. The entire length then of the world to the Metropolis of the Sinai may be taken at 180 degrees or an interval of 12 hours, since it is agreed on all hands that this Metropolis lies further east than Kattigara, so that the length along the parallel of Rhodes will be 72,000 stadia.

Cap. 17. (part).

3 For all who have crossed the seas to those places agree in assuring me that the district of Bakhalites in Arabia, and the Gulf of the same name, lie to the east of Syagros, and not to the west of it as stated by Marinus, who also makes Simylla, the emporium in India, to be further west not only than Cape Komari, but also than the Indus.

4. But according to the unanimous testimony both of those who have sailed from us to those places and have for a long time frequented them, and also of those who have come thence to us, Simylla, which by the people of the country is called Timola, lies only to the south of the mouths of the river, and not also to west of them.

5. From the same informants we have also learned other particulars regarding India and its different provinces, and its remote parts as far as the Golden Khersonese and onward thence to Kattigara. In sailing thither, the voyage, they said, was towards the east, and in returning towards the west, but at the same time they acknowledged that the period which was occupied in making the voyages was neither fixed nor regular. The country of the Seres and their Metropolis was situated to the north of the Sinai, but the regions to the eastward of both those people were unknown, abounding, it would appear, in swamps, wherein grew reeds that were of a large size and so close together that the inhabitants by means of them could go right across from one end of a swamp to the other
In travelling these parts there was not only the road that led to Bactriane by way of the Stone Tower, but also a road that led into India through Palimbothra. The road again that led from the Metropolis of the Sinai to the Haven at Kattigara runs in a south-west direction, and hence this road does not coincide with the meridian which passes through Sera and Kattigara, but, from what Marinos tells us, with some one or other of those meridians that are further east.

I may conclude this prefatory matter by quoting from Mr. Bunbury his general estimate of the value of Ptolemy’s Indian Geography as set forth in his criticism of Ptolemy’s Map of India. His strictures, though well grounded, may perhaps be considered to incline to the side of severity. He says (vol. II, pp. 642-3), “Some excellent remarks on the portion of Ptolemy’s work devoted to India, the nature of the different materials of which he made use, and the manner in which he employed them, will be found in Colonel Yule’s introduction to his Map of India, in Dr. Smith’s Atlas of Ancient Geography (pp. 22-24) These remarks are indeed in great measure applicable to the mode of proceeding of the Alexandrian Geographer in many other cases also, though the result is particularly conspicuous in India from the fulness of the information—crude and undigested as it was— which he had managed to bring together. The result, as presented to us in the tables of Ptolemy, is a map of utter confusion, out of which it is very difficult to extract in a few instances any definite conclusions.” The attempt of Lassen to identify the various places mentioned by Ptolemy, is based throughout upon the fundamental error of supposing that the geographer possessed a Map of India similar to our own, and that we have only to compare the ancient and modern names in order to connect the two. As Col Yule justly observes. “Practically, he (Lassen) deals with Ptolemy’s compilation as if that Geographer had possessed a collection of real Indian surveys, with the data systematically co-ordinated. The fact is, that if we should take one of the rude maps of India that appeared in the 16th century (e.g. in Mercator or in Linschoten), draw lines of latitude and longitude and then more Ptolemaico construct tables registering the co-ordinates of cities, sources and confluences as they appeared in that map, this would be the sort of material we have to deal with in Ptolemy’s India”. But, in fact, the case is much stronger than Col Yule puts it. For such a map as he refers to, of the
16th century, however rude, would give a generally correct idea of the form and configuration of the Indian Peninsula. But this, as we have seen, was utterly misconceived by Ptolemy. Hence he had to fit his data, derived from various sources such as maritime and land itineraries, based upon real experience, into a framework to which they were wholly unsuited, and this could only be effected by some Procrustean process, or rather by a repetition of such processes, concerning which we are left wholly in the dark.

Col. Yule's map of Ancient India is undoubtedly by far the best that has yet been produced: it is indeed the only attempt to interpret Ptolemy's data, upon which such a map must mainly be founded, upon anything like sound critical principles. But it must be confessed that the result is far from encouraging. So small a proportion of Ptolemy's names can find a place at all, and so many of those even that appear on the map are admitted by its author to rest upon very dubious authority; that we remain almost wholly in the dark as to the greater part of his voluminous catalogues; and are equally unable to identify the localities which he meant to designate, and to pronounce an opinion upon the real value of his materials.

II. Text.

Book VII

Cap. I.

Description of Indu within the Ganges.

1. India within the river Ganges is bounded on the west by the Paropamsadai and Arakhosia and Gedrosia along their eastern sides already indicated; on the north by Mount Imaos along the Sogdianoi and the Sakai lying above it; on the east by the river Ganges; and on the south and again on the west by a portion of the Indian Ocean. The circuit of the coast of this ocean is thus described:—

2. In Syrastrene, on the Gulf called Kanthi, a roadstead and harbour . . 109° 30' 20'

The most western mouth of the River Indus called Sagapa . . 110° 20' 19° 50'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Longitude</th>
<th>Latitude</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The next mouth called Sinthon</td>
<td>110°40'</td>
<td>19°50'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The 3rd called Khrysoun (the Golden)</td>
<td>111°20'</td>
<td>19°50'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The 4th called Kariphron</td>
<td>111°40'</td>
<td>19°50'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The 5th called Sapara</td>
<td>112°30'</td>
<td>19°50'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The 6th called Sabalaessa</td>
<td>113°</td>
<td>20°15'</td>
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<tr>
<td>The 7th called Lonibare</td>
<td>113°30'</td>
<td>20°15'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Bardaxema, a town</td>
<td>113°40'</td>
<td>19°40'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syrastra, a village</td>
<td>114°</td>
<td>19°30'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monoglosson, a mart</td>
<td>114°10'</td>
<td>18°40'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. In Larike.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mouth of the River Mophis</td>
<td>114°</td>
<td>18°20'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakidare, a village</td>
<td>113°</td>
<td>17°50'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Maleo</td>
<td>111°</td>
<td>17°30'</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. In the Gulf of Barygaza</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kamane</td>
<td>112°</td>
<td>17°</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mouth of the River Namados</td>
<td>112°</td>
<td>17°45'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nausaripa</td>
<td>112°30'</td>
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<tr>
<td>Poulipoula</td>
<td>112°30'</td>
<td>16°</td>
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<td>6. Ariake Sadinon</td>
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<td>Soupara</td>
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<td>Mouth of the River Goaris</td>
<td>112°15'</td>
<td>15°10'</td>
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<td>Dounga</td>
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<td>15°</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mouth of the River Benda</td>
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<td>15°</td>
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<tr>
<td>Smyylla, a mart and a cape</td>
<td>110°</td>
<td>14°45'</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hippokoura</td>
<td>111°45'</td>
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<td>Baltipatna</td>
<td>110°30'</td>
<td>14°20'</td>
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<tr>
<td>7 (Ariake) of the Pirates</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mandagara</td>
<td>113°</td>
<td>14°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Byzanteion</td>
<td>113°40'</td>
<td>14°40'</td>
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<tr>
<td>Khersonesos</td>
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<td>Armagara</td>
<td>114°20'</td>
<td>14°20'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mouth of the River Nanagouna</td>
<td>114°30'</td>
<td>13°50'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nitra, a mart</td>
<td>115°30'</td>
<td>14°40'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Limyrike.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Tyndis, a city</td>
<td>116°</td>
<td>14°30'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bramagara</td>
<td>116°45'</td>
<td>14°20'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalaikarias</td>
<td>116°40'</td>
<td>14°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mouziris, an emporium</td>
<td>117°</td>
<td>14°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mouth of the River Pseudostomos</td>
<td>117°20'</td>
<td>14°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Podoperoura</td>
<td>117°40'</td>
<td>14°15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semne</td>
<td>118°</td>
<td>14°20</td>
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</table>
Koreoura . . . . . . . . 118° 40' 14° 20'
Bakarei . . . . . . . . 119° 30' 14° 30'
Mouth of the River Baris . . . . 120° . . 14° 20'


Melkynda . . . . . . . . 120° 20' 14° 20'
Elangkon (or Elangkor), a mart . . . . 120° 40' 14°
Kottiara, the metropolis . . . . . . 121° 14°
Bammala . . . . . . . . 121° 20' 14° 15'
Komaria, a cape and town . . . . . . 121° 45' 13° 30'

10. Country of the Kareoi

In the Kolkhic Gulf, where there is the Pearl Fishery:—

Sosikourai . . . . . . . . 122° 14° 30'
Kolkhoi, an emporium . . . . . 123° 15°
Mouth of the river Solen . . . . . . 124° 14° 40'

11. Land of Pandion.

In the organic Gulf, Cape

Kory, called also Kalligikon . . . 125° 40' 12° 20'
Argierou, a town . . . . . . . . . 125° 15' 14° 30'
Salour, a mart . . . . . . . . . 125° 20' 15° 30'


Nikama, the Metropolis . . . . . . 126° 16°
Theilkheir . . . . . . . . . 127° 16° 10'
Kouroula, a town . . . . . . . . 128° 16'

13. In Paralia specially so called: the country of the Toringoi.

Mouth of the River Khaberos . . . . 129° 15° 15'
Khaberi, an emporium . . . . . . . 128° 30' 15° 40'
Sabouras, an emporium . . . . . . 130° 14° 30'


Podouke, an emporium . . . . . . . 130° 15' 14° 30'
Melange, an emporium . . . . . . . 131° 14° 20'
Mouth of the River Tyna . . . . . . 131° 40' 12° 45'
Kottis . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 132° 20' 12° 10'
Manarpha (or Manaliarpha, a mart) . . . . 133° 10' 12°

15. Maisolia.

Mouth of the River Maisolos . . . . 134° 11° 40'
Kontakossyla, a mart . . . . . . . . 134° 30' 11° 40'
Koddoura . . . . . . . . . . . . . 135° 11° 30'
Allosygne, a mart . . . . . . . . . 135° 40' 11° 20'

The point of departure (apheterion)
for ships bound for Khryse . . . . 136° 20' 11°
16. In the Gangetic Gulf.

Paloura or Pakoura, a town . 136° 40' 11° 20'
Nanigaina . . . 136° 20' 12°
Katikardama . . . 136° 20' 12° 40'
Kannagara . . . 136° 30' 13° 30'
Mouth of the River Manada . 137° 14°
Kottobara . . . 137° 15' 14° 40'
Sippara . . . 137° 40' 15° 30'
Mouth of the River Tyndis 138° 30' 16°

17. Mapoura . . . 139° 16° 30'
Minagara . . . 140° 17° 15'
Mouth of the Dosaron 141° 17° 40'
Kokala . . . 142° 18°
Mouth of the River Adamas 142° 40' 18°
Kosamba or Kosaba . . . 143° 30' 18° 15'

The Kambyson mouth, the most western 144° 30' 18° 15'
Poloura, a town . . . 145° 18° 30'
The second mouth, called Mega 145° 45' 18° 30'
The third called Kamberikhon 146° 30' 18° 40'
Tilogrammon, a town . . . 147° 20' 18°
The fourth mouth, Pseudostomon 147° 40' 18° 30'
The fifth mouth, Antible 148° 30' 18° 15'

19. The mountains belonging to Intragangetic India are named as follows:—

The Apokopa, called Pounai Theon, which extended from long. 116° to 124° and from lat. 23° at their western limit to 26° at the eastern.

20. Mount Sardonyx, in which is found the precious stone of the same name, and whose middle point is in long 117° and lat. 21°.

21. Mount Ouindion (Vindion) which extends from 126° to 135° and preserves from its western to its eastern limit a uniform latitude of 27°.

22. Bettigo, which extends from 123° to 130°, and whose western limit is in lat. 21° and its eastern in 20°.

23. Adeisathron, whose middle point is in long. 132° and in lat. 23°.

24. Ouxenton, which extends from 136° to 143°, and whose western limit is in lat. 22° and its eastern in 24°.
25. The Oroudian Mountains, which extends from 138° to 133°, and whose eastern limit is in 18° lat. and its western 16°.

26. The rivers which flow from Mount Imaos into the Indus are arranged as follows:—

Sources of the River Koa, 120° 37°
Sources of the River Souastos 122° 30' 36°
Sources of the River Indus 125° 37°
Sources of the River Bidaspes 127° 30' 36° 40'
Sources of the River Sandabali 129° 36
Sources of the River Adris or Rouadis 130° 37°
Sources of the River Bibasis 131° 35° 30'

27 Sources of the River Zaradros 132° 36°
Confluence of the Koa and Indus 124° 31°
Confluence of the Koa and Souastos 122° 30' 31° 40'
Confluence of the Zaradros and Indus 124° 30°
Confluence of the Zaradros and Bidaspes 125° 30
Confluence of the Zaradros and Bibasis 131° 34
Confluence of the Bidaspes and Adris 126° 30' 31° 30'
Confluence of the Bidaspes and Sandabali 126° 40' 32° 40'

28 Divarication from the Indus running towards Mt. Oundion 123° 29° 30'
The source of (tributary joining) the Divarication 127° 27°
Divarication of the Indus towards Arakhosia 121° 30' 27° 30'
Divarication of the Koa towards the Parapanisadai 121° 30' 33°
The source of (tributary joining) the Divarication 115° 24° 30'
Divarication of the Indus towards the Arbita Mountains 117° 25° 10'
Divarication of the Indus towards the Parapanisadai 124° 30' 31° 20'
Divarication of the Indus into the Sagapa mouth 113° 40' 23° 15'
From the Sagapa into the Indus 111° 21° 30'
Divarication of the Indus into the Khrysoun (or Golden) mouth 112° 30' 22°
Divarication of the Indus into the Khariphon mouth 113° 30' 22° 20'
From the Khariphon to the Sapara 112° 30' 21° 45'
### PTOLEMY

**Divarication of the same River Khariphon**
- into the Sabalaessa mouth .. 113° 21° 20’

**Divarication from the River Khariphon**
- into the Lombare mouth .. 113° 20’ 21° 40’

29. Of the streams which join the Ganges the order is this:—

| Sources of the River Diamouna | 134° 30’ 36° |
| Sources of the Ganges itself | 136° 37° |
| Sources of the River Sarabos | 140° 36° |
| Junction of the Diamouna and Ganges | 136° 34° |
| Junction of the Sarabos and Ganges .. | 136° 30’ 32° 30’ |

30. **Divarication from the Ganges towards the Ouindion range to the mouth of the River Soa** 136° 10’ 31° 30’

| The Sources of the river | 131° 28° |

**Divarication of the Ganges**
- towards the Ouxenton range .. 142° 28°
- The sources of the divarication .. 137° 23°

**Divarication from the Ganges into the Kambyson Mouth** .. 146° 22°

**Divarication from the Ganges into the Pseudostomos** .. 146° 30’ 20°

**Divarication from the Ganges into the Antibole Mouth** .. 146° 30’ 21°

**Divarication from the Kambyson River into the Mega Mouth** .. 145° 20°

**Divarication from the Mega Mouth into the Kamberikhon Mouth** .. 145° 30’ 19° 30’

31. And of the other rivers the positions are thus:—

| The sources of the River Namados in the Ouindion range | 127° 26° 30’ |
| The bend of the river at Seripala | 116° 30’ 22° |
| Its confluence with the River Mophus | 115° 18° 30’ |

32. **Sources of the River Nanagouna from the Ouindion range** .. 132° 26° 30’

Where it bifurcates into the

| Goaris and Binda | 114° 16° |

33. **Sources of the Pseudostomos from the Bettigo range** .. 123° 21°

| The point where it turns | 118° 30’ 17° 15’ |

34. **Sources of the River Baris in the Bettigo range** .. 127° 26° 30’

24
Sources of the River Solen
in the Bettigo range . . . 127° 20° 30'
The point where it turns . . . 124° 18°

35. Sources of the River Khaberos
in the Adeisathron range . 132° 22°

36. Sources of the River Tyna in the
Oroudian (or Arouedan) Mountains 133° 17°

37. Sources of the River Maisolos
in the same mountains 134° 30' 17° 30'

38. Sources of the River Manda
in the same mountains . . . 136° 30' 16° 30'

39. Sources of the River Toundis
in the Ouxenton range . . . 137° 22° 30'

40. Sources of the River Dosaron
in the same range . . . 140° 24°

41. Sources of the River Adamas
in the same range . . . 140° 24°

42. The order of the territories in this division (India intra
Gangem) and of their cities or villages is as follows —

Below the sources of the Koa are located the Lambatai, and
their mountain region extends upwards to that of the Komeda.

Below the sources of the Souastos is Souastene

Below those of the Indus are the Daradrai, in whose country
the mountains are of surpassing height.

Below the sources of the Bidaspes and of the Sandabal and
of the Adris is Kaspeiria.

Below the sources of the Bibasis and of the Zaradros and of
the Diamouna and of the Ganges is Kylintrine, and below the
Lambatai and Souastene is Goryaia.

43. And the cities are these:—

Kaisana . . . 120° 34° 20'
Baborana . . . 120° 15' 33° 40'
Gorya . . . 122° 34° 45'
Nagara or Dionysopolis . . 121° 45' 33°
Drastoka . . . 120° 30' 32° 30'

44. Between the Souastos and the Indus the Gandarai and
these cities:—

Próklais . . . 123° 32°
Naulibi . . . 124° 20' 33° 20'
45. Between the Indus and the Bidaspes towards the Indus the Arsa territory and these cities:—
Ithagouros 125° 40’ 33° 20’
Taxiala 125° 32° 15’

46. Around the Bidaspes, the country of the Pandooouoi, in which are these cities:—
Labaka 127° 30’ 34° 15’
Sagala, otherwise called Euthymedia 126° 20’ 32°
Boukephala 125° 30’ 30° 20’
Iomousa 124° 15’ 30°

47. The regions extending thence towards the east are possessed by the Kaspeiraioi, and to them belong these cities:—
Salagissa 129° 30’ 34° 30’
Astrassos 131° 15’ 34° 15’
Labokla 128° 33° 20’
Batanagra 130° 33° 30’
Arispara 130° 32° 50’
Amakatis 128° 15’ 32° 20’
Ostobalasara 129° 32°

49. Kaspeira 127° 31° 15’
Pasikana 128° 30’ 31° 15’
Daiddala 128° 30° 30’
Ardone 126° 15’ 30° 10’
Indabara 127° 15’ 30°
Liganeira 125° 30’ 29°
Khonnamagara 128° 29° 20’

50. Modoura, the city of the gods 125° 27° 30’
Gagasmira 126° 40’ 27° 30’
Erarasa, a Metropolis 123° 26°
Kognandaua 124° 26°

51. Still further to the east than the Kaspeiraioi are the Gymnosophistai, and after these around the Ganges further north are the Daitikhai with these towns:—
Konta 133° 30’ 34° 40’
Margara 135° 34°
Batangkaissara and east of the river 132° 40’ 33° 20’
Passala 137° 34° 15’
Orza 136° 33° 20’

52. Below these are the Anikhai with these towns:—
Persakra 134° 32° 40’
Sannaba . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 135° 32° 30'
Toana to the east of the river . . . . . . . . 136° 30' 32°

53. Below these Prasiake with these towns:

Sambalaka . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 132° 15' 31° 50'
Adisdara . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 136° 31° 30'
Kanagora . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 135° 30° 40'
Kindia . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 137° 30° 20'
Sagala, and east of the river . . . . . . . . 139° 30° 20'
Annakha . . . . . . . . . . . . 137° 20' 31° 40'
Koangka . . . . . . . . . . . . 138° 20' 31° 30'

54. South of this Saurabatte with these towns:

Empelathra . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 130° 30°
Nadoubandagar . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 138° 40° 29°
Tamaus . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 133° 29°
Kouraporcim . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 130° 29°

55. And further, all the country along the rest of the course of the Indus is called by the general name of Indo-Scythia. Of this, the inland portion formed by the bifurcation of the river towards its mouth is Patalene, and the region above this is Abhiria, and the region about the mouths of the Indus and Gulf of Kanthi is Syrastrene. The towns of Indo-Scythia are these, to the west of the river at some distance therefrom.

56 Artoartha . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 121° 30' 31° 15'
Andrapana . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 121° 15' 30° 40'
Sabana . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 122° 20' 32°
Bonagara . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 122° 15' 30° 40'
Kodrana . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 121° 15' 29° 20'

57. And along the river:

Embolima . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 124° 31°
Pentagramma . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 124° 30° 20'
Asigrama . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 123° 29° 30'
Trausa . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 121° 30' 28° 50'
Aristobathra . . . . . . . . . . . . . 120° 27° 30'
Azika . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 119° 20' 27°

58. Pardabathra . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 117° 23° 30'
Piska . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 116° 30' 25°
Pasipeda . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 114° 30' 24°
Souvikana . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 112° 22° 20'
Bonis . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 111° 21° 30'
Kolaka . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 110° 30' 20° 40'
59. And in the islands formed by the river are these towns:

- Patala: \(112^\circ 30'\) \(21^\circ\)
- Barbarei: \(113^\circ 15'\) \(22^\circ 30'\)

60. And east of the river at some distance therefrom are these towns:

- Xodiake: \(116^\circ\) \(24^\circ\)
- Sarbana: \(116^\circ\) \(22^\circ 50'\)
- Auxoamis: \(115^\circ 30'\) \(22^\circ 20'\)
- Asinda: \(114^\circ 15'\) \(22^\circ\)
- Orbidarou or Ordabari: \(115^\circ\) \(22^\circ\)
- Theophila: \(114^\circ 15'\) \(21^\circ 10'\)
- Astakapra: \(114^\circ 40'\) \(20^\circ 15'\)

61. Along the river are these towns:

- Paphaia: \(122^\circ 30'\) \(29^\circ\)
- Boudaia: \(121^\circ 15'\) \(28^\circ 15'\)
- Naagramma: \(170^\circ\) \(27^\circ\)
- Kamugara: \(119^\circ\) \(26^\circ 20'\)
- Binagara: \(118^\circ\) \(25^\circ 20'\)
- Patabali: \(116^\circ 30'\) \(24^\circ 30'\)
- Sydros: \(114^\circ\) \(21^\circ 20'\)
- Epitausa: \(113^\circ 45'\) \(22^\circ 30'\)
- Xoana: \(113^\circ 30'\) \(21^\circ 30'\)

62. The parts east of Indo-Scythia along the coast belong to the country of Larike, and here in the interior to the west of the river Namadios is a mart of commerce, the city of

- Barvagaza: \(113^\circ 15'\) \(17^\circ 20'\)

63. To the east of the river:

- Aginagara: \(118^\circ 15'\) \(22^\circ 30'\)
- Siripalla: \(118^\circ 30'\) \(21^\circ 30'\)
- Bammograura: \(116^\circ\) \(20^\circ 45'\)
- Sazantion: \(115^\circ 30'\) \(20^\circ 30'\)
- Zerogeiri: \(116^\circ 20'\) \(19^\circ 50'\)
- Ozene, the capital of Tiastanes: \(117^\circ\) \(20^\circ\)

64. The parts farther inland are possessed by the Poulindei Agriophagoi, and beyond them are the Khatriaioi, to whom belong these cities, lying some east and some west of the Indus:

- Nigranigramma: \(124^\circ\) \(28^\circ 15'\)
Antakhara . . . . 122° 27° 20'
Soudasanna . . . . 123° 26° 50'
Symisaka . . . . 121° 26° 30'
Patistama . . . . 121° 25°
Tisapatinga . . . . 123° 24° 20'

65. But again, the country between Mount Sardonyx and Mount Bettigo belongs to the Tabasoi, a great race, while the country beyond them as far as the Vindhya range, along the eastern bank of the Namados, belongs to the Prapiotai, who include the Rhamnai, and whose towns are these:

Kognabanda . . . . 120 15' 23°
Ozoabis . . . . 120 30' 23° 40'
Ostha . . . . 122 30' 23° 30'
Kosa, where are diamonds . . . . 121 20' 22° 30'

66. About the Nanagouna are the Phyllitai and the Bettigoi, including the Kandaloi along the country of the Phyllitai and the river, and the Ambastai along the country of the Bettigoi and the mountain range, and the following towns:

67. Agara . . . . 129° 20' 25°
Adeisathra . . . . 128° 30' 24° 30'
Sora . . . . 124° 20' 24°
Nygdosora . . . . 125° 23°
Anara . . . . 122° 30' 22° 20'

68. Between Mount Bettigo and Adeisathros are the Sorai nomads, with these towns:

Sangamarta . . . . 133° 21°
Sora, the capital of Arkatos . . . . 130° 21°

69. Again to the east of the Vindhya range is the territory of the (Biolingai or) Bolingai, with these towns:

Stagabaza or Bastagaza . . . . 133° 28° 30'
Bardaotis . . . . 137° 30' 28° 30'

70. Beyond these is the country of the Porouaroi with these towns:

Bridama . . . . 134° 30' 27° 30'
Tholoubana . . . . 136° 20' 27°
Malaita . . . . 136° 30' 25° 50'

71. Beyond these as far as the Ouxentos range are the Adeisathroi with these towns:

Maleiba . . . . 140° 27° 20'
Aspathus . . . . 138° 30' 25° 20'
Panassa . . . . . . . . . . . . 137° 40' 24° 30'
Sageda, the Metropolis . . . . . . 133° 23° 30'
Balantipygon . . . . . . . . . . . . 136° 30' 23° 30'

72. Farther east than the Adeisathroi towards the Ganges are the Mandalai with this city:—

Asthagoura . . . . . . . . . . . . 142° 25'

73. And on the river itself these towns:—

Sambalaka . . . . . . . . . . . . 141° 20° 30'
Sigalla . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 142° 28'
Palimbothra, the Royal residence . . . . . . 143° 27'
Tamalites . . . . . . . . . . . . 144° 30' 26° 30'
Oreophanta . . . . . . . . . . . . 146° 30' 24° 30'

74. In like manner the parts under Mount Bettigo are occupied by the Brakhmanai Magoi as far as the Batai with this city:—

Brakhme . . . . . . . . . . . . 128° 19'

75. The parts under the range of Adeisathros as far as the Aouraioi are occupied by the Badiamaioi with this city:—

Tathilba . . . . . . . . . . . . 134° 18° 50'

76. The parts under the Ouxentos range are occupied by the Drilophyllitai, with these cities:—

Sibrion . . . . . . . . . . . . 139° 22° 20'
Opotoura . . . . . . . . . . . . 137° 30' 21° 40'
Ozoana . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 138° 15' 20° 30'

77. Further east than these towards the Ganges are the Kokkonagai with this city:—

Dosara . . . . . . . . . . . . 142° 30' 22° 30'

78. And on the river farther west:—

Kartinaga . . . . . . . . . . . . 146° 23°
Kartasina . . . . . . . . . . . . 146° 21° 40'

79. Under the Maisolai the Salakenoi towards the Oroudian (or Aouraian) Mountains with these cities:—

Benagouron . . . . . . . . . . . . 140° 20° 15'
Kasta . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 138° 19° 30'
Magaris . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 137° 30' 18° 20'

80. Towards the Ganges River the Sabarai, in whose country the diamond is found in great abundance, their towns are:—

Tasopion . . . . . . . . . . . . 140° 30' 22°
Karikardama . . . . . . . . . . . . 141° 20° 15'

81. All the country about the mouths of the Ganges is occupied by the Gangeridai with this city:—

Gange, the Royal residence . . . . . . 146° 19° 15'
82. In the parts of Ariake which still remain to be described are the following inland cities and villages: to the west of the Benda these cities:—

Malippala  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  119° 30’  20° 15’
Sarisabis  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  119° 30’  20°
Tagara  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  118°  19° 20’
Baithana (the royal seat of [Siro]
  Ptolemaios or Polemaios)  .  .  117°  18° 30’
Deopali or Deopala  .  .  .  115° 40’  17° 50’
Gamaliba  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  115° 15’  17° 20’
Omenogara  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  114°  16° 20’

83. Between the Benda and Pseudostomos.—

Nagarouris (or Nagarouraris)  .  .  120°  20° 15’
Tabaso  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  121 30’  20° 40’
Inde  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  123°  20° 45’
Tripangalida  .  .  .  .  .  121° 15’  19° 40’
Hippokoura, the royal seat of
  Baleokouros  .  .  .  .  .  .  119° 45’  19° 10’
Souboutou  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  120° 15’  19° 10’
Sirimalaga  .  .  .  .  .  .  119° 20’  18° 30’
Kalligeris  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  118°  18°
Modogoulla  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  119°  18°
Petirgala  .  .  .  .  .  .  117° 45’  17° 15’
Banauouasei  .  .  .  .  .  .  116°  16° 45’

84. The inland cities of the Pirates are these:—

Olokhaira  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  114°  15°
Mousopalle, the metropolis  .  .  115° 30’  15° 45’

85. Inland cities of Limyrike, to the west of the Pseudostomos are these:—

Naroulla  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  117° 45’  15° 50’
Kouba  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  117°  15°
Paloura  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  117° 51’  14° 40’

86. Between the Pseudostomos and the Baris, these cities:—

Pasage  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  124° 50’  19° 50’
Mastanour  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  121° 30’  18° 40’
Kourellour  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  119°  17° 30’
Pounnata, where is beryl  .  .  121° 20’  17° 30’
Aloe  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  120° 20’  17°
Karoura, the royal seat of Kerobothros  119°  16° 20’
Arembour  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  121°  16° 20’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Longitude</th>
<th>Latitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bideris</td>
<td>119°</td>
<td>15° 50'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pantipolis</td>
<td>118°</td>
<td>15° 20'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adarima</td>
<td>119° 30'</td>
<td>15° 40'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koreour</td>
<td>120°</td>
<td>15°</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

87. Inland town of the Aioi:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Longitude</th>
<th>Latitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Morounda</td>
<td>121° 20'</td>
<td>14° 20'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

88. Inland cities of the Kareoi:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Longitude</th>
<th>Latitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mendela</td>
<td>123°</td>
<td>17° 40'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selour</td>
<td>121° 45'</td>
<td>16° 30'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tittoua</td>
<td>122°</td>
<td>15° 20'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mantittour</td>
<td>123°</td>
<td>15° 10'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

89. Inland cities of the Pandionoi:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Longitude</th>
<th>Latitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tamour</td>
<td>124° 45'</td>
<td>18° 40'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per agkarei</td>
<td>123° 20'</td>
<td>18°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koundiour</td>
<td>125°</td>
<td>17° 40'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tangala or Taga</td>
<td>123° 30'</td>
<td>16° 50'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modoura, the royal city of Pandion</td>
<td>125°</td>
<td>16° 20'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akour</td>
<td>12° 45'</td>
<td>15° 20'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

90. Inland cities of the Batoi:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Longitude</th>
<th>Latitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kalundoia</td>
<td>127° 40'</td>
<td>17° 30'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bata</td>
<td>126° 30'</td>
<td>17°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talara</td>
<td>128°</td>
<td>16° 45'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

91. Inland cities of the Parala of the Soretas:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Longitude</th>
<th>Latitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kaliour</td>
<td>129°</td>
<td>17° 20'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennagora</td>
<td>132°</td>
<td>17°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eikour</td>
<td>129°</td>
<td>16° 40'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orthoura, the royal city of Somagos</td>
<td>130°</td>
<td>16° 20'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bere</td>
<td>130° 20'</td>
<td>16° 15'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abour</td>
<td>129°</td>
<td>16°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karmara</td>
<td>130° 20'</td>
<td>15° 40'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magour</td>
<td>130°</td>
<td>15° 15'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

92. The inland cities of the Arvarnoi are these:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Longitude</th>
<th>Latitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kerange</td>
<td>133°</td>
<td>16° 15'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phourion</td>
<td>132°</td>
<td>15°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karige</td>
<td>132° 40'</td>
<td>15°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poleour</td>
<td>131° 30'</td>
<td>14° 40'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pikendaka</td>
<td>131° 30'</td>
<td>14°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iatour</td>
<td>132° 30'</td>
<td>14°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skopoloura</td>
<td>134° 15'</td>
<td>14° 35'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ikarta</td>
<td>133° 30'</td>
<td>13° 40'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Malanga, the royal city of Basaronagos 133° 13°
Kandipatna . . . 133° 30' 12° 20'

93. The inland cities of the Maisoloi —
Kalliga . . . 138° 17°
Bardamana . . 136° 15' 15° 15'
Koroungkala . . . 135° 15°
Pharytra or Pharetra . . 134° 20' 13° 20'
Pityndra, the metropolis . 135° 20' 12° 30'

94. Islands lying near the part of India which projects into the ocean in the Gulf of Kanthi:—
Barake . . . 111° 18°

95. And along the line of coast as far as the Kolkhic Gulf:—
Milizegyris (or Miluzigeris) . 110° 12° 30'
Heptanesia . . 113° 13°
Trikadiba . . . 113° 30' 11°
Peperine . . . 115° 12° 40'
Trinesia . . . 116° 20' 12°
Leuke . . . 118° 12°
Nanigeris . . . 122° 12°

96 And in the Argaric Gulf:—
Kory . . . 126° 30' 13°
List of place-names which occur, sometimes in the same form and sometimes with slight modifications, in both Ptolemy's *Geography* and the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*.

The names are alphabetically arranged and spelt according to the Latin system (i.e. *r* for *k* and *us* for *os* of Greek spelling).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abria</th>
<th>Latire</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arachomi</td>
<td>Leuce (Island)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argaru</td>
<td>Limyrico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arace</td>
<td>Madoura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashtacapra</td>
<td>Masalia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arana</td>
<td>Melizeyras (Melizeigara)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baithana (Paethana)</td>
<td>Minagara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bakare</td>
<td>Musius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barace</td>
<td>Nelsynada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbarae (Barbarion)</td>
<td>Pandion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barlama</td>
<td>Parilia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Byzantium</td>
<td>Paropanisus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camane</td>
<td>Patalane, Patala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caspertia (Casparyra)</td>
<td>Proclais</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chersonesus</td>
<td>Semylla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colchi</td>
<td>Supparia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comar</td>
<td>Srastrene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gandarai</td>
<td>Tagara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ganges</td>
<td>Tyndis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTES**

The notes are arranged separately under each para indicated by the Arab numeral on the left.

1 Strabo and Eratosthenes regarded the Indus as the western boundary of India, but Ptolemy extends it to the Hindu Kush and includes modern Afghanistan, Baluchistan and Kandahar within India. Sogdiana lay to the north of Bactria, and the Sakai were located to the east of the Sogdians.

2 The Gulf called Kantha is the Gulf of Cutch, and the south coast of Cutch is still called Kantha.

3 Monogloson is Mangrol, a port on the south-west coast of the Kathiawar Peninsula.

4 Mophus is the river Mahi.

5 Goaros may denote the Godavari.

6 'Pseudostomos' means false mouth. The Dravidian literature has *alemukham* (Sanskrit *Alilamukham*).

7 Klangkon is Quilon, also written as Kulam. Melkunda is evidently the same as Melkonda of the *Periplus*.

8 Cape Kory was the promontory in the island of Ramavaram, which was also called Korv.

9 Nikama is probably Nagapattam.

10 Khaberis is the Kaveri river, and Khaberis is probably Kaveripattam, a little to the north of Tranquebar.

11 Arouamor probably represents Tamil *Aruvalar* near the mouth of the Krishna river.

12 Kontakosilla is undoubtedly the same as Kantakasela (or Kantakasola), mentioned in the *Nagarjunikonda* Inscription dated in the 14th year of the Ikshvaku king Virapuraikuttra, which has been identified with the town of Chantasala, between the village of Guduru and the mouth of the Krishna. Ptolemy's *Kodlloura* is undoubtedly represented by this Guduru.
S. Levi has shown that Paloura was the famous city of Dantapura, near Chiracole (Journal Asiatique, 1925, pp 46-57).

The river Dosaron is evidently the river in ancient Dvarana mentioned in the Meghaduta of Kalidasa and referred to in the Periplus as Dosarana. It is still known as the Dasari river.

The Kathasen mouth may represent the river Kansai (old name Kapisa) on the banks of which stands the city of Midnapore in Bengal. It is however generally identified with the Houghly river which flows by Calcutta.

Oundion is, of course, Vindhyas.

S. N. Majumdar has traced the original Sanskrit form of Bactro to the mountain called Butta in a Sanskrit Vedic work (Ptolemy, p 376).

Oxentian seems to represent Rikshavat, a mountain range mentioned in the Puranas.

The Ormavan mountain is taken by Yule to represent Vandyas and identified with the southern section of the Western Ghats. It is more likely that Ormavan represents Aminda or Mount Abu.

The six rivers unhesitatingly represent the Kondia or Kabul river, the Suvastu or Swat, Indus or Sarob, Hystes or Jhelum, Chandabhaga or Chenab, Hydnaotes or Jatava (Ravi), and the Bippa or B as.

Zaradus is of course Sindaur or Sutlej.

The Diamanta and the Sambas are the Yamuna and the Sana (Chenab).

The Soa is probably the Son river.

The Namadus is the Narmada.

The Lambata were the Lambakas or the people of Jamhan, and the Dantabhs represent the Pershs who inhabited the country still called Dantabhs. Khalidruke probably represents the Kuldas or Lukadas, the distribution of whose coins suggests that the tribe occupied a narrow strip of land at the foot of the Swat hills and the adjacent region. For the history of the Kunjaras, cf. The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol II, p 161. Guptas is evidently the valley of the Gouran as in abounds of the Kabul river.

'Nagasa' is probably Nagasura or Jelabara.

'Jata' is a variant of the name Javana, generally used by Classical writers to denote the famous city of Javana in Asia. It evidently Sanskrit 'Usana, the ancestor of& the Javanese historians.

The location of the country of the Pandavas indicates that a portion of the Punjab was still known as the Pandy country, named after the Pandavas, and this name was transferred to the Pandya country in the south. Sagala is Salkot and figures prominently in the narratives of Alexander's expedition in India (see above, pp 18-50). Its alternative name Lathydhana was usually emended to Lathydhana, and associated with the Bactrian Greek king Lathydhana. But this view has been opposed by W. W. Tarn (The Greeks in Bactria and India, pp 217-8, 486-7). For Boukephala, see above, p 43.

Labokla has been identified with Lahore, but S. N. Majumdar says that this is impossible according to the data supplied by the Ramayana (Ptolemy, pp 366-7).

Indabata has been taken to represent Indhaprastha, the ancient capital of the Pandavas, whose ruins lie near New Delhi.

The Prasada is the same as the Prasat who figure prominently in the narratives of Alexander's invasion of India, see above p 128. Adrastata is undoubtedly the ancient city of Alutchatra, whose ruins lie near Aoula in the Bareilly District, U.P. Kanagora has been emended to Kanykudha or Kanauj.

Ambolina, on the bank of the Indus, about 60 miles above Attock, is now represented by the two adjacent ruined sites, known as Amb and Balkh.
Naagramma has been identified with Nowshera, as both mean "new town". Kamugara has been identified with Aror, the ancient capital of the kingdom of Sindh, whose ruins are still known to the local people as Kaman. By adding the affix nagar we have a near approach to Kamugara.

Hastenes, whose capital was Oozone or Ujajini, is undoubtedly the same as the Saka Satrap Chashthana, well-known in Indian history as the founder of the Western Ashatrapa Dynasty. Nasika is, of course, modern Nasik.

The Poutindas are undoubtedly the Pulindas and the Khatriaou probably represent the Cathaenaeans (above, p 47).

The Luba or, according to S N Majumdar, are the Tapasas mentioned in the Vayuras and Kuma Purana (Ptolemy, p 375). He also identifies the Charmar with the Rams of the Mahabharata (Sahibpanha, IX, 371).

The Schistras are the Ambhistas of Sanskrit literature. The Phyllta and the Lankalas have been taken by some to denote the Bhils and Gonds.

Sora may be the same as Choda or Chola of South India. The Phraonata have been taken by some to be the Pauravas, mentioned in the Mahabharata and the Puranas.

The Khaddar was probably the country round the modern town of Madhabpura, about 50 miles south-east of Jabalpur.

Palghatpura is Pataliputra or Patna, and Tanjore stands for Tamra-jj, the ancient capital of Bengal, now called Tamluk (Midnapur District). Sambhur has been identified with Sambalpur.

According to S N Majumdar the 'Bikshmayo Magat' refers to the Mogha Bhatmanas (Ptolemy, pp 319, 324).

The Salakener is no doubt stands for the Solankayanas (C 1, D C Sagar, The Successors of the Satavahanas in Lower Deccan, Chapter IV). They lived between the Godavari and Krishna deltas.

The Sabatas denote the Sabatas.

For the Cangalidas, see above, p 128.

Battiswalla is the same as Battiwalla of the Puytis and Soro Polumtis is Srir Pulumt, the Satavahana king, whose capital city was Patthan on the Godavari. Pattham is the Prakrit form of Sanskrit Pratishtana.

Balacakouras may be reasonably conjectured to be the same as Vilyayakuna who is known from coins to have ruled over the Kolhapur region. Opinions, however widely differ regarding the identification of this ruler (C 1, R G Bhandarkar, A History of the Deccan (3rd edition), p 35, The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. II, pp 210-11, A Compendious History of India, Vol. II, pp 314-5).

Mudigere has been identified with Mudge in Raichur District, Mysore Province. It undoubtedly Baravas, capital of Kuntal, in Cuntal, Banavasi obvras or represents Avaras of Indian literature.

Kamena, the royal seat of Keralapathis, is generally identified with Kamna in the Combatore District, which is mentioned in the Tamil literature as the ancient capital of the Chera or Keralapathis. Poornata is probably the same as Punnada of South Indian inscriptions, which denoted a part of Mysore.

Mononida has been reasonably identified with Murunda, found in the dynasty list of the Puranas. The Murundas ruled in the Gangetic valley. S Levi has collected all available information on the Murundas in Melanges Charles de Haeck, p 176-75. C 1, also Col. Allan, on L. Coins of the Gupta Dynasties by J Allan, p xxiv.

Sonagrou evidently refers to the Chola (also called Chola and Sora). The royal city Ompoura is undoubtedly Urai, a few miles south-east of Tuttumpur (see footnote of para 68).

Puthunda, the metropolis, has been identified by S Levi with Puthunda of the Jina Umapalliyama Sutra and Puthunda of the Harihara inscription of Khattala (Indian Antiquary, 1920, p 147), and D C Sagar regards it as the capital city of the Brhatphalavasa dynasty who ruled in the Masulipatnam region (The Successors of the Satavahanas, p 48).
X. Apollonius of Tyana.

All that is known of the visit of Apollonius to India is derived from his biography written by Philostratus. According to this biography, Apollonius was born about the beginning of the Christian era at Tyana, in Cappadocia (Asia Minor). Early in life he became a staunch follower of the Neo-Pythagorean philosophy, and rigidly observed the monastic rules ascribed to Pythagoras. He renounced wine, animal food, and the married life, never used shoes or any dress made of animal skin, did not cut hair or beard, and condemned the sacrifice of animal to gods. He observed complete silence for five years, though he toured in various parts of Asia Minor during this period. He preached rigid asceticism, condemned dancing and other amusements and carried no money, having distributed his patrimony among his brother and other relations. He acquired great reputation for sanctity, and it is said that the Roman Emperor Alexander Severus set up a statue of Apollonius, along with those of Alexander, Christ and a few others, in his private shrine, in place of images of gods. Apollonius travelled widely, and visited Persia, India, Egypt, and Italy. Temples and shrines were erected in his honour in various parts of Asia Minor, and he was held up as a rival to Jesus Christ by the opponents of Christianity.

Philostratus, the biographer of Apollonius, was born in the island of Lemnos about A.D. 172. He was a reputed sophist and became a distinguished member of the salon of the Empress Julia Domna, a great patron of philosophers and literate men, and the wife of the Roman Emperor Septimus Severus (A.D. 193-211). "Realizing the need of finding a historical figure fitted to counter the propaganda of subversive gospels, she sought particularly to revive the memory of a hero of pagan hagiology, Apollonius of Tyana." For, chance to come upon the memoirs of Damis, a Babylonian and companion of Apollonius in his Indian travels, which gave a detailed account of that sage, she was very much impressed by the favourable light in which the character of Apollonius was presented. The Empress entrusted the memoirs of Damis to Philostratus with a request to write the life of Apollonius. Besides the memoirs of Damis, Philostratus utilized an account of the career of Apollonius at Egypt written by Maximos and also many letters of Apollonius which were then in circulation. The Empress, however, did not live to see the book which was published in or some time after A.D. 217.

Various opinions have been expressed by modern scholars about the value and authenticity of the memoirs of Damis, which formed the basis of the work of Philostratus. Professor Bigg, writing in 1910, argued that the so-called memoirs of Damis never really existed and that Damis was merely invented by Philostratus. Others have taken a more liberal view. They admit the existence of the memoirs of Damis, but regard him as an "arrant story-teller" who reproduced old popular stories and passed them on as witnessed by him. In any case there is little doubt that not much reliance can be placed on anything mentioned in the work of Philostratus so long as it is not corroborated by independent sources.

The biography of Apollonius by Philostratus was first translated into English in 1811, by E. Berwick. Another translation with the original Greek text by F.C. Conybeare was published in 1912 and reprinted in 1917 and 1927. The book is divided into eight parts of which the second and third deal with his visit to India. A very brief account of it, in English, was given by McGraw, while an extensive summary, with a short introductory note, and a short commentary at the end, in English, by Osmond De Beauvoir Pratla, was published in 1875. This is reproduced below.
INDIAN TRAVELS OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA,
By PRIAULX.

I. Introduction.

Philostratus, in his life of Apollonius Tyanensis, has given an account of that philosopher’s visit to India. And as he professes to have drawn his materials from the note-book of Damis, Apollonius’s fellow-traveller and friend, as moreover he professes to have edited that note-book much as Hawkesworth edited the journals of Cook, we may fairly assume that he has given an original and authentic account of India—and indeed the only one that has come down to us from the olden world in a complete state. Again, as Apollonius was the only Greek who up to his time had visited India for other purposes than those of war, negotiation, or commerce; as he visited it to make himself acquainted with its rites, discipline, and doctrines, and as he travelled unencumbered by a retinue, and was welcomed by its kings, and was with Damis for four months the guest of its Brahmins; he and Damis with him had every opportunity of familiar intercourse with all classes of its population, and of thus acquiring much and accurate information on matters beyond the reach of ordinary travellers. Philostratus’s account then is full of promise; and I propose to give a condensed translation of it, and afterwards to examine into its authority and value.

II. Summary of Philostratus’s book

Towards the close of the first half century of our era, Apollonius, then upwards of forty years of age and resident at Antioch, set out to visit India, its Brahmins and Sramans, taking with him two family slaves to act apparently as his secretaries. At Nineveh he met with and was joined by Damis, a native of the place, who recommended himself to his notice by a practical knowledge of the road to Babylon, and an acquaintance with the Persian, Armenian and Cadusian languages. Together they journey on to Babylon, but warned by a dream first turn aside to visit Sissia and those Eretrians, whom Darius five hundred years before had settled there, and whom they find still speaking Greek, and still as they heard using Greek letters, and still dwelling near that wondrous petroleum well so carefully described by Herodotus.
After a stay at Babylon of eighteen months, Apollonius, his
friend and attendants, in the beginning of summer proceed for
India on camels and with a guide furnished by the Parthian king
Bardanes. Of their route we know only that it lay through a
rich and pleasant country, and that the villages they traversed
hurried to do them honour and to supply their wants; for a gold
plate on their leading camel announced them guests of the king.
We then hear of them enjoying the perfumed air at the foot of
Caucasus, the mountain range which, while it separates India from
Media, extends by one of its branches to the Red Sea. Of this
Caucasus, they heard from the barbarians myths like those of
the Greek. They were told of Prometheus and Hercules, not
the Theban, and of the eagle; some pointed to a cavern, others
to the mountain's two peaks, a stadium apart, as the place where
Prometheus was bound; and his chains, though of what made it is
not easy to guess, still hung, Damis says, from the rocks. His
memory too is still dear to the mountaineers, who for his sake
still pursue the eagle with hate; and now lay snares for it, and
now with fiery javelins destroy its nest. On the mountain they
find the people already inclined to black, and the men four cubits
high: on the other side of the Indus the men reached five cubits.
On their way to the river, as they were going along in the bright
moonshine, they fell in with an Empusa, who now in this form
now in that followed after them; until Apollonius, and at his
instigation his companions, attacked it with scoffs and jeers, the
only safeguard against it, and it fled away jabbering.

As they approached the summit of the mountain,—the dwel-
ing of the Gods as their guide told them,—they found the road
so steep that they were obliged to go on foot. On the other side,
in the country between Caucasus and the Coppen, they met men
riding on elephants, but they were only elephant herdsmen; others
on dromedaries, which can run 1000 stadia in a day without rest.
Here an Indian on a dromedary rode up to them and asked their
guide whither they were going; and when he was told the object
of their journey he told it again to the herdsmen, who shouted
for joy, called to them to come near, and gave them wine and
honey, both got from the palm; and also slices of lion and panther
flesh just killed. They accepted everything but the flesh, and
rode onward in an easterly direction.

At a fountain they sat down to dine; and, in the course of
conversation, Apollonius observed that they had met many Indians
singing, dancing, and rolling about drunk with palm wine: and that the Indian money was of orichalcum and bronze—purely Indian, and not stamped like the Roman and Median coins.

They crossed the Cophen, here not very broad or deep, themselves in boats, their camels on foot, and now entered a country subject to a king. Here they saw Mount Nysa; it rises up to a peak, like Tmolus in Lydia. It is cultivated, and its ascent has thus been made practicable. On its summit they found a moderate sized temple of Bacchus; this temple was a circular plot of ground, enclosed by a hedgerow of laurels, vines, and ivy, all of which had been planted by Bacchus himself, and had so grown and intertwined their branches together as to form a roof and walls impervious to the wind and rain. In the interior Bacchus had placed his own statue—in form an Indian youth, but of white stone. About and around it lay crooked knives, baskets and wine-vats in gold and silver, as if ready for the vintage. Aye, and the cities at the foot of the mountain hear and join in his orgies, and Nysa itself quakes with them.

About Bacchus, Philostratus goes on to say whether speaking in his own person or from the journal of Damis I know not—Greeks and Hindus are not agreed; for the former assert that the Theban Bacchus with his bacchanals conquered and overran India, and they cite, among other proofs, a discus of Indian silver in the treasury at Delphi, with this inscription: “Bacchus, Jove and Semele’s son, from India to the Delphian Apollo”. But of the latter, the Indians of the Caucasus believe that he was an Assyrian stranger, not unacquainted however with him of Thebes; while those of the Indus and Ganges declare that he was the son of the Indus, and that the Theban Bacchus was his disciple and imitator, though he called himself the son of Jove, and pretended to have been born of Jove’s thigh, Meros, a mountain near to Nysa. They add, that in honour of his Indian prototype, he planted Nysa with vines brought from Thebes, and on Nysa the Greek historians assert that Alexander celebrated the Bacchic orgies, but the mountaineers will have it that Alexander, notwithstanding his love of glory and of antiquity, never ascended the mountain, but satisfied himself with prayer and sacrifice at its foot. He so feared lest the sight of the vines should raise in his soldiers, long accustomed to water, a longing for wine and the ease and pleasures of home.

The rock Aornus, though at no great distance from Nysa,
Damis says they did not visit, as it was somewhat out of their way. He heard however that it had been taken by Alexander, and was fifteen stadia in height; and that it was called Aormus, not because no bird could fly over it, but because there was a chasm on its summit which drew down to it all birds, much like the Parthenon at Athens, and several places in Phrygia and Lydia.

On their way to the Indus, they fell in with a lad about thirteen years old riding an elephant and urging him on with a crooked rod, which he thrust into him like an anchor. On the Indus itself they watched a herd of about thirty elephants whom some huntsmen were pursuing. Apollonius admired the sagacity the elephants displayed in crossing the river; the smallest and lightest led the way, the mothers followed holding up their cubs with their tusks and trunks, while the largest brought up the rear. He spoke of their docility; their love for their keeper, how they would eat out of his hand like dogs, coax him with their trunks, and as he had seen among the nomads, open wide their mouths for him to thrust his head down their throats. He told too, how during the night they would bewail their slavery, not with their usual roar, but with piteous moans; and how, out of respect for man, they would at his approach stay their wailing; and he referred their docility and ready obedience more to their own self-command and tractable nature, than to the skill or power of their guide and rider. From the people they heard that elephants were found in the marsh, the mountain, and the plain. According to the Indians, the marsh elephant is stupid and idle, its teeth are few and black, and often porous or knotted, and will not bear the knife. The mountain elephants are treacherous and malignant, and save for their own ends, little attached to man; their teeth are small, but tolerably white, and not hard to work. The elephants of the plain are useful animals, tractable and imitative; they may be taught to write, and to dance and jump to the sound of the pipe, their teeth are very long and white and may be easily cut to any shapes. The Indians use the elephant in war; they fight from it in turrets, large enough for ten or fifteen archers or spearmen; and they say that it will itself join in the fight, holding and throwing the spear with its trunk as with a hand. The Indian elephant is of a large size, as much larger than the Lybian as this than the Nisaean horse. It lives to a great age, and Apollonius saw one in Taxila which had fought
against Alexander about three hundred and fifty years before, and which Alexander had honoured with the name of Ajaz. On its tusks were golden bracelets with this inscription: "Ajax to the sun, from Alexander, the son of Jove". The people were accustomed to anoint it with unguents, and ornament it with garlands.

When about to cross the Indus, their Babylonian guide, who was unacquainted with the river, presented to the Satrap of the Indus a letter from Bardanes. And the Satrap, out of regard to the king, though no officer of his, supplied them with his own barge for themselves, boats for their camels, and a guide to the Hydriotis. He also wrote to his sovereign to beg him that in his treatment of this Greek and truly divine man, he would emulate the generosity of Bardanes.

Where they crossed, the Indus was forty stadia in breadth. It takes its rise in the Caucasus, and from its very fountain, is larger than any other river in Asia. In its course it receives many navigable rivers. Like the Nile it overflows the country, and deposits a fertilizing mud, which as in Egypt, prepares the land for the husbandman. It abounds, like the Nile, with sea-horses and crocodiles, as they themselves witnessed in crossing it and it produces, too, the same flowers. In India the winter is warm, the summer stifling; but the heat, providentially, is moderated by frequent rains. The natives told him, that when the season for the rise of the river is at hand, the king sacrifices on its banks black bulls and horses (black among them, because of their complexion, being the nobler colour), and after the sacrifice throws into the river a gold measure like a corn measure—why, the people themselves knew not; but probably as Apollonius conjectured, for an abundant harvest, or for such a moderate rise of the river as would benefit the land.

The Indus passed, their new guide led them straight to Taxila, where was the palace of the Indian king. The people here wore cotton, the produce of the country, and sandals made of the fibre or bark of the papyrus and a leather cap when it rained. The better classes were clad in byssus, a stuff with which Apollonius, who affected a sombre colour in his dress, was much pleased. This byssus grows on a tree like the poplar in its stem, but with leaves like the willow; it is exported into Egypt for sacred uses.

Taxila was about the size of Nineveh, walled like a Greek
city, and was the residence of a sovereign who ruled over what of old was the kingdom of Porus. Just outside the walls was a temple of near a hundred feet, of porphyry, and in it a shrine, small considering the size of the temple and its many columns, but still very beautiful. Round the shrine were hung pictures on copper tablets, representing the feats of Alexander and Porus. The elephants, horses, soldiers, and armours were portrayed in a mosaic of orichalcum, silver, gold, and oxydised copper, the spears, javelins, and swords in iron; but the several metals were all worked into one another with so nice a gradation of tints, that the pictures they formed, in corrections of drawing, vivacity of expression, and truthfulness of perspective, reminded one of the productions of Zeuxis, Polygratus and Euphranor. They told too of the noble character of Porus, for it was not till after the death of Alexander that he placed them in the temple and this, though they represented Alexander as a conqueror, and himself as conquered and wounded, and receiving from Alexander the kingdom of India.

In this temple they wait until the king can be apprised of their arrival. Apollonius whiles away the time with a conversation upon painting, in the course of which he remarks that colour is not necessary to a picture; that an Indian drawn in chalk would be known as an Indian and black of colour, by his somewhat flat nose, his crisp hair, his large jaws, and wild eyes. While they are thus talking, a messenger and interpreter arrive from the king, with a permit for them to enter the city, and to stay in it three days, beyond which time no strangers are allowed in Taxila.

They are taken to the palace. They found the city divided by narrow streets, well-arranged and reminding them of Athens. From the streets, the houses seemed of only one storey, but they all had an underground floor. They saw the Temple of the Sun, and in it statues of Alexander and Porus, the one gold, and the other of bronze; its walls were of red marble, but glittering with gold; the image of the god was of pearls, having, as is usual with the barbarians in sacred things, a symbolical meaning.

The palace was distinguished by no extraordinary magnificence, and was just like the house of any citizen of the better class. There were no sentinels or bodyguards and but few servants about, and perhaps three or four persons who were waiting to talk with the king. The same simplicity was observable in the courts, halls, waiting and inner rooms; and it pleased Apollonius more than
all the pomp of Babylon. When admitted to the king's presence, Apollonius, through the interpreter, addressed the king as a philosopher, and complimented him on his moderation. The king, Phraotes, in answer, said that he was moderate because his wants were few, and that as he was wealthy, he employed his wealth in doing good to his friends and in subsidizing the barbarians, his neighbours, to prevent them from themselves ravaging, or allowing other barbarians to ravage his territories. Here one of his courtiers offered to crown him with a jewelled mitre, but he refused it, as well because all pomp was hateful to him as because of Apollonius's presence.

Apollonius inquired into his mode of life. The king told him that he drank but little wine, as much as he usually poured out in libation to the sun; that he hunted for exercise and gave away what he killed; that, for himself, he lived on vegetables and herbs, and the head and fruit of the palm, and other fruits which he cultivated with his own hands. With this account of his kingly tastes and occupations Apollonius was delighted, and he frequently looked at Damis. They now talked together a long time about the road to the Brahmins; and when they had done, the king ordered the Babylonian guide to be treated with the hospitality which was to be shown to travellers from Babylon, and the satchel guide to be sent back home with the usual travelling allowance. Then taking Apollonius by the hand, and ordering the interpreter to leave them, Phraotes addressed him in Greek, to receive him, the king, as a true companion. Apollonius, surprised, inquired why he had not spoken Greek from the first. "Because", answered the king, "I would not seem bold, or to forget that I am, after all, only a barbarian; but your kindness, and the pleasure you take in my conversation, have got the better of me, and I can no longer conceal myself from you. And how I became thus acquainted with Greek I will presently show you at large". "But why", again asked Apollonius, "instead of inviting me, did you here me to invite you to dinner?" "Because", said the king, "I look on you as the better man; for wisdom is above royalty. So saying, he led him to the place where he was accustomed to bathe. This was a garden, about a stadium long, with a swimming bath of cold running water in the middle of it, and on each side an exercising ground. Here he practised the discus and the javelin, Greek fashion, and then, when tired, jumped into the water, and exercised himself with swimming. After the bath they went to dinner,
crowned with garlands, as is usual with the Indians when they feast in the king's palace.

Of the dinner Damis has given a detailed account. The king, and about five of his family with him, lay on a low couch; the other guests sat on stools. The table was like an altar, about as high as a man's knee; it was in the middle of the room, and as large as would be a circle formed by thirty people with joined hands standing up to dance. It was strewed over with laurel, and a sort of myrtle from which the Indians prepare their unguents, and was set out with fish and birds, the carcases of lions and goats and sows, and with tiger loins—the only part of the tiger they eat, and this because they suppose that at its birth it raises its forepaws to the rising sun. Each guest, as he wanted anything, got up and went to the table; and taking a bit of this, cutung off a slice of that, he returned to his seat and ate his fill, always eating bread with his meat. When they had had enough, gold and silver bowls, each one large enough for ten guests, were brought in, and from these they drank, stooping down like cattle. In the meanwhile, they were amused by various feats which required no little skill and courage: a javelin was thrown upward, and at the same time a boy leaped at it and tumbled head over heels in the air, but in such a way that he passed over the javelin as it fell, and with the certainty of being wounded if he did not properly time his somersault, indeed the weapon was carried round, and the guests tested its sharpness. One man also was so good a marksman, that he set up his own son against a board, and then threw his darts, so aiming them that, fixed in the board, they traced out his son's outline.

Damis: and the others were much amused with these entertainments; but Apollonius, who was at the king's table, paid little attention to them; and, turning to the king, asked him, how he came to know Greek, and where he acquired his philosophy. The king, smiling, answered: "In old times when a ship put into port, the people used to ask its crew if they were pirates, piracy was then so common. But now, though philosophy is God's most precious gift to man, the first question you Greeks put to a stranger, even of the lowest rabble, is 'Are you a philosopher?' And in very truth with you Greeks, I speak not of you Apollonius, philosophy is much the same as piracy, for to the many who profess it, it is like an ill-fitting garment which they have stolen, and in which they strut about awkwardly, trailing it on the ground. And
like thieves, on whom the fear of justice presses, they hurry to enjoy the present hour, and give themselves up to gluttony, debauchery, and effeminacy; and no wonder, for while your laws punish coiners of bad money, they take no cognizance of the authors and utterers of a false philosophy. Here, on the other hand, philosophy is a high honour, and before we allow any one to study it, we first send him to the home of the Brahmans, who inquire into his character and parentage. He must shew that his progenitors, for three generations, have been without stain or reproach, and that he himself is of pure morals and of a retentive intellect. The character of his progenitors*, the king went on to say, "if of living men, was ascertained from witnesses; and if of dead, was known from the public records. For when an Indian died, a legally appointed officer repaired to his house, and inquired into, and set down in writing, his mode of life, and exactly, under the penalty of being declared incapable of holding any public office. As to the youth himself, they judged him worthy or otherwise from his eyes, eyebrows, and cheeks which, as in a mirror reflect the mind and disposition*.

The king then told how his father, the son of a king, had been left very young an orphan; and how during his minority two of his relatives according to Indian custom acted as regents, but with so little regard to law, that some nobles conspired against them, and slew them as they were sacrificing to the Indus, and seized upon the government;—how on this his father, then sixteen years of age, fled to the king beyond the Hydaspes, a greater king than himself, who received him kindly, and offered either to adopt him, or to replace him on his throne; and how declining this offer, he requested to be sent to the Brahmans; and how the Brahmans educated him; and how, in time he married the daughter of the Hydaspian king, and received with her seven villages as pin-money and had issue one son,—himself, Phraates. Phraates told of himself that he was brought up by his father in the Greek fashion till the age of twelve; that he was then sent to the Brahmans, and treated by them as a son, for "they especially love", he observed, "those who know and speak Greek, as akin to them in mind and disposition", that his parents died; and that in his nineteenth year, just as, by the advice of the Brahmans, he was beginning to take into his own hands the management of his estates, he was deprived of them by the king, his uncle, and was then supported with four servants by willing contributions from his mother’s freedmen. As
however he is one day reading the Heraclidae, he hears from a friend of his father's, that if he will return home, he may recover his family kingdom, but he must be quick. The tragedy he was reading he accepts as an omen; and he goes on to say: "When I crossed the Hydraotis, I heard that, of the usurpers, one was already dead, and the other besieged in this very palace; so I hurried on, proclaiming to the villages I passed through who I was, and what were my rights: and the people received me gladly; and declaring I was the very picture of my father and grandfather, they accompanied me, many of them armed with swords and bows, and our numbers increased daily; and when we reached this city, the inhabitants, with torches lit at the altar of the Sun, and singing the praises of my father and grandfather, came out and welcomed me, and brought me hither. But the drone within they walled up, though I begged them not to kill him in that way.

Apollonius then enquired whether the Sophoi of Alexander and these Brahmins were the same people. The king told him they were not; that Alexander's Sophoi were the Oxydracae, a free and warlike race, but rather dabblers in philosophy than philosophers, that the Brahmin country lay between the Hyphasis and the Ganges; and that Alexander never invaded it—not through fear, but dissuaded by the appearance of the sacrificial victims. "And though," said Phraates, he might, it is true, have crossed the Hyphasis and occupied the neighbouring lands, yet the strongholds of the Brahmins he never could have taken—no, not though every man in his army had been an Ajax or an Achilles. For these sacred and god-loved men would have driven him back—not with human weapons, but with thunders and lightnings, and tempests, as they had routed the Egyptian Hercules and Bacchus, who thought with united arms to have stormed their fort; and so routed them, that Hercules it is said threw away his golden shield, which, because of its owner's renown and its own embossments, they then set up as an offering in their temple.

While they were thus conversing, music and song were introduced, on which Apollonius enquired what the festal procession meant. The king explained to him that it was usual with the Indians to sing to the king, before he retired to rest, songs of good counsel wishing him good dreams, and that he may rise in the morning a good man and a wise counsellor for his people. And so talking, they went to bed. The next morning, Apollonius discourses upon sleep and dreams, and the king displays his knowledge.
of Greek legends. They then separate, the king to transact the business of his kingdom and to decide some lawsuits—Apollonius to offer his prayers to the Sun. When they again meet, the king tells Apollonius that the state of the victims had not permitted the Court to sit on that day; and he lays before him a case in dispute—one of treasure-trove and in land which has just changed hands, the buyer and seller both claiming the treasure. The king is in much perplexity, and states the pleas on both sides; and the suit might have been drawn out to the same length, and become as celebrated as that of the ass and the shadow at Abdera, had not Apollonius come to his assistance. He inquires into the life and character of the litigants; finds that the seller is a bad, and the purchaser a good man; and on the last therefore awards the treasure.

When the three days of their sojourn expired, and the king learns that their camels from Babylon are worn out, he orders that of his white camels, on the Indus, four shall be sent to Bardanes, and four others given to Apollonius, together with provisions and a guide to the Brahmanas. He offers him besides gold and jewels and linen garments; the gold Apollonius refuses, but he accepts the linen garments because they are like the old genuine Attic cloak, and he picks out besides one jewel, because of its mystic and divine properties. He receives also a letter for Iarchas, to this effect:—'The king Phraotes to the Master Iarchas and the wise men with him, greeting: Apollonius, a very wise man, thinks you wiser than himself and has travelled hither to learn your doctrine. Send him back knowing all you know. Your lessons will not be lost, for he speaks better, and has a better memory than any man I ever knew. Shew him Father Iarchas, the throne on which I sat when you gave me the kingdom. His followers are worthy of all praise, if only for submitting to such a man. Farewell'.

They leave Taxila, and after two days' journey reach the plain, where Porus is said to have encountered Alexander. There they saw a triumphal arch serving as a pediment to a statue of Alexander in a four-horse chariot, as he appeared on the Issus. A little farther on, they came upon two other arches on one of which was Alexander, on the other Porus—the one saluting, the other in an attitude of submission.

Having passed the Hydrolus, they pursued their way through several countries to the Hyphasis. Thirty stadia from the river, they saw: the altars Alexander had built there "To Father Ammon and Brother Hercules, to the Providence Minerva and Olympian
Jove, and to the Samo-Thracian Cabiri and the Indian Sun and Brother Apollo”, and also a bronze pillar with this inscription:—“Here Alexander halted”. And this pillar Philostratus conjectures was raised by the Indians in joy at the return homeward of Alexander.

In reference to the Hyphasis and its marvels, we are told that it is navigable at its very source, in a plain; but that lower down alternate ridges of rock impede its course, and cause eddies which render navigation impossible. It is about as broad as the Ister, the largest of our European rivers, and the same sort of trees grow upon its banks. From these trees the people obtain an unguent with which if the marriage guests neglect to anoint the bride and bridegroom, the marriage rite is thought informal and not pleasing to Venus. To Venus indeed its groves are dedicated, as also a fish found here only, the peacock, so called from its caerulean crest, spotted scales, and golden tail, which it can open out at its pleasure. In this river is also found a sort of white worm, the property of the king, which is melted into an oil so inflammable, that nothing but glass will hold it. This oil is used in sieges, and when thrown on the battlements it burns so fiercely, that its fire, so far as yet known, is unextinguishable.

In the marshes they catch wild asses with a horn on their foreheads, with which they fight, bull-fashion. From this horn is made a cup of such virtue that if any one drank out of it, he need for that day fear no sickness, nor wounds, nor fire, nor poison. It belongs to the king, who also reserves to himself the right of hunting the ass. Apollonius saw the animal, and admired it; but when Damus asked him if he could believe all that was said of the virtue of the cup, he answered, “Yes, when I see any Indian king immortal”.

Here they met with a woman black to her breasts, white from her breasts downwards. She was sacred to the Indian Venus, and to this godless piebald women are sacred from their birth, as to Aps among the Egyptians. Here they crossed that spur of the Caucasus which stretches down towards the Red Sea; it was full of all sorts of aromatic plants. The headlands produced cinnamon, a shrub very like a young vine and so grateful to goats, that if you hold it in your hands they will follow you and whine after you like dogs. On the cliffs grow the tall, and all other sorts of frankincense, and pepper trees. The pepper tree resembles the cumin both in its leaves and the clustered form of its fruit.
It grows on precipices inaccessible to man, but frequented by apes, which, as they gather for them the pepper fruit, the Indians make much of and protect with arms and dogs against the lion; for the lion will lie in wait for the ape, and eat its flesh as medicine when he is sick, and as food when he is old and no longer able to hunt the stag and wild boar. The pepper harvest is gathered in this way:—Directly under the cliffs where the peppers grow, the people dig small trenches into which they throw as something worthless the fruit of the neighbouring trees. The monkeys from the heights watch them, and as soon as it is night, begin like them to tear the clustered fruits from the pepper, and like them to fling it into the trenches. In the morning the people come back and carry off the pepper, which they thus obtain without any labour.

On the other side of the mountain was a large plain—the largest in India, being fifteen days' journey to the Ganges, and eighteen days to the Red Sea. It was intersected with dykes running in different directions, and communicating with the Ganges, and serving the double purpose of landmarks and canals for irrigation. The land here is the best in India; black and very productive; its wheat stalks are like reeds, and its beans three times as large as the Egyptian; its sesame and millet are also extraordinarily fine. Here are grown those nuts, which for their rarity and size are, as a sort of curiosity, often found in Greek temples. The grapes of the country however are small, like the Lydian and Macedonian, and with an uneatable bouquet when gathered. A tree is also found here like the laurel but with a fruit like a large pomegranate, within the husk of which is an apple of the colour of a fine hyacinth, and the very best flavoured fruit they ever ate.

As they came down the mountain, they witnessed a dragon-hunt. India, its marshes, plains, and mountains, are full of dragons. Of these they tell us that the marsh-dragon is thirty cubits long, sluggish, and without a crest; the male very like the female. Its back is black, and it has fewer scales than the other kinds. Homer, when he speaks of the dragon at the fount in Aulis as of blood-red back, describes the marsh-dragon better than the other poets, who make the Nemeaean dragon crested, for crested you will hardly find any marsh-dragon.

The plain and hill-dragons are superior to, and larger than, the marsh-kind. They move along more swiftly than the swiftest rivers, and nothing can escape them. They are crested; and though in the young the crest is small, when they are full-grown, it
rises to a great height. They are of a fiery colour, with serrated backs, and bearded; their necks are erect, and their scales shine like silver. The pupils of their eyes are a fiery stone of wonderful and mystic properties. They are hunted for the sake of their eyes, skin, and teeth. A dragon of this kind will sometimes attack an elephant; both then perish and are a “find” for the huntsmen. They resemble largest fish, but are more lithe and active; their teeth are hard as those of the whale.

The mountain-dragons are larger than those of the plain, and with a fiercer look; their scales are golden, their beard too, which hangs in clusters; they glide on the earth with a sound as of brass; their fiery crests throw out a light brighter than that of a torch. They overpower the elephant, but become themselves the prey of the Indian. They are killed in this fashion. The Indians spread out before the serpent’s hiding-place a scarlet carpet wrought with golden characters, upon which, should the dragon chance to rest his head, he is charmed to sleep. They then, with incantations, call him out of the hole; and if everything goes well—for often he gets the better of them and their “grammar”—as soon as with outstretched neck he is lulled in magic sleep, they rush on him with hatchets and ... of his head, and extract ... bright coloured spines, ... with ever live, and of powers wonderful as those of Ganges. These dragons are also found in the mountains bordering on the ... Sen. They are said to live to an incredible age, but of this nothing sure is known.

At the foot of the mountain was situated Paraka, a very large city. Its inhabitants are, from their youth, trained to hunt the dragon, and it is full of their trophies—the heads of dragons. They eat the hearts and livers, and in this way, as was proved by Apollonius himself, they acquire a knowledge of the language and thoughts of animals.

Proceeding onwards, our travellers hear the sound of a shepherd’s pipe, and presently see a herd of white stags grazing. The Indians keep them for their milk, which is very nourishing.

Thence, after a four days’ journey through a fertile and well-cultivated country, they approached the stronghold of the Sophoi; and now their guide ordered his camel to kneel, and jumped down sweating with fear. Then Apollonius knew where they were, and laughed at the Indian and bade him again mount his camel. The fact is, the near neighbourhood of the Sophoi frightened him; and indeed, the people fear them more than the king; for the king
consults them as he would an oracle, and does nothing without their advice and concurrence.

When they had reached a village, not the eighth of a mile from the hill of the Sophoi, and were preparing to put up there, they perceived a young man running towards them. He was the very blackest Indian they had yet seen, with a bright spot, crescent-shaped, between his brows, much such a mark as Menon, the Ethiopian foster-child of the sophist Herod, had in his youth. He bore a golden anchor, which, as symbolical of holding fast, the Indians have made their caduceus.

When the messenger coming up addressed Apollonius in Greek, as the villagers also spoke Greek, his companions were not much surprised, but when he addressed Apollonius by name, they were struck with astonishment, all but Apollonius who, now full of confidence, looking at Damis, said, “The men we have come to visit are wise indeed; they know the future”: and then turning to the Indian, he asked him what he should do, for he wished to converse with the Sophoi immediately. The man answered, “Leave your people here, but come you, just as you are, so they request”. This “they” seemed to Apollonius quite Pythagorean, and he followed the messenger rejoicing.

The hill of the Sophoi rose sheer up from the plain, and was about as high as the Acropolis at Athens. It was besides fortified by a goodly belt of rock, on which you might trace the impressions of hoofs, and beards, and faces, and what seemed the backs of falling men. And they heard that when Bacchus and Hercules attempted the place, Bacchus ordered his Pans, as able to shake it to its foundation, to storm it; but thunder-struck by the Sophoi, they fell headlong one upon the other and so left these marks upon the stones. They said also, that about and around this hill a cloud hung within which the Sophoi dwelt visible and invisible at will, and that their stronghold was without gates, so that it could not be called either enclosed or open.

Apollonius and his guide ascended the hill on the south side. He saw a well some twenty-four feet about. Over its mouth hung a dark vapour which rose as the heat of the day increased and at noon gave out all the colours of the rainbow. He was told that here the subsoil was cinnabar and that the water of the well was sacred, and never used, and that all the neighbourhood swore by it. Near this place was a crater, which threw out a lead-coloured flame without smell or smoke, and
which bubbled up with a volcanic matter that rose to its brim, but never overflowed: here the Indians purified themselves from all involuntary sins. The well, the Sophoi called the well of the test; the crater, the fire of pardon. Here were also seen two vessels of black stone—the urns of the winds and of the rain, and the one or the other is opened or shut just as wind or rain is wanted or otherwise. Here too they found statues of the most ancient Greek gods, and worshipped in the Greek manner; of the Polian Minerva, and of Bacchus, and of the Delian and Amyclaean Apollo. The Sophoi look upon their stronghold as the very navel of India. They here worship fire obtained from the sun’s rays, and at noon daily hymn its praise.

Apollonius, in an address to the Egyptians, somewhat enigmatically describes the life of the Sophoi:—“I have seen”, he says, “Brahmans who dwell on the earth, and yet not on the earth; in places fortified, and yet without walls; and who possess nothing, and yet all things”. According to Damis they used the earth as a couch, but first strewed it with choice grasses; they walked too the air—Damis himself saw them—and this not to excite wonder—all ostentation is abhorrent to their nature—but in imitation of and as a more fitting service to the sun. He saw too the fire which they drew down from the sun’s rays,—and which though it flamed on no altar and was confined by no hearth, took shape and body and floated in mid-air, where spite of the darkness, under the charm of their hymned praise it stayed unchanged. As in the night they worshipped this fire, so in the day they worshipped the sun and besought it to order the seasons for India’s good. In this way is to be understood Apollonius’s first assertion: “The Brahmans live on the earth, and yet not on the earth”. His second, Damis refers to that covering of clouds which they draw over themselves at pleasure, and which no rain can penetrate. His third, to those fountains which bubble up for his Bacchanals when Bacchus shakes the earth and them, and from which the Indians themselves drink and give to others to drink. Well therefore may Apollonius say, that men, who at a moment’s notice and without preparation can get whatever they want, possess nothing and yet all things. They wear their hair long, like the old Macedonians, and on their head a white mitre. They go bare-foot; and their coats have no sleeves, and are of wild cotton, of an oily nature, and white as Pamphylian wool, but softer. Of this cotton the sacred vestments are made; and
the earth refuses to give it up if any but themselves attempt to
gather it. They carry a stick, and wear a ring, both of infinite
and magic power.

Apollonius found the Sophoi seated on brazen stools, their
chief, Iarchas, on a raised throne of bronze ornamented with
golden images. They saluted him with their hands, but Iarchas
welcomed him in Greek, asked him for the King’s letter, and
added, that it wanted a delta. As soon as he had read it, he
asked Apollonius, “What do you think of us?” “Oh!” said Apol-
lonius, “the very journey I have undertaken—and I am the first
of my countrymen who has undertaken it—answers that question.”
“In what, then”, enquired Iarchas, “do you think us wiser than
you?” “I think your views wiser, more divine”, answered Apol-
lonius, “and should I find that you know no more than I, this at
least I shall have learned that I have nothing more to learn”.
“Well”, said the Indian, “other people usually ask of those who
visit them, whence they come, who they are; but we, as a first proof
of our knowledge, show strangers that we know them;” and so
saying, he told Apollonius who his father was, who his mother,
all that happened to him at Aegae, and how Damis joined him,
and what they had said and done on the journey; and this so dis-
tinguished and fluently, that he might have been a companion of their
route. Apollonius, greatly astonished, asked him how he knew
all this. “In this knowledge,” he answered, “you are not wholly
wanting, and where you are deficient we will instruct you, for we
think it not well to keep secret what is so worthy of being known,
especially from you, Apollonius, a man of most excellent memory.
And Memory, you must know, is of the Gods the one we most
honour. “But how do you know my nature?” asked Apollonius.
“We,” he answered, “see into the very soul, tracing out its qualities
by a thousand signs. But as midday is at hand, let us to our devo-
tions, in which you also may, if you will, take part.” They then
adjourned to the bath, a spring like that of Dircae in Boeotia as
Damis says who afterwards saw Dircae. They first took off their
clothes, and then anointed their heads with an unguent which made
their bodies run down with sweat, and so jumped into the water.
After they had well bathed they put garlands on their heads and
proceeded to the temple, intent on their hymn. There standing
round in a circle with Iarchas as their leader they beat the ground
with their staves, till bellying like a wave it sent them up into the
air about two cubits; and then they sang a hymn, very like the
Paean of Sophocles sung at Athens to Aesculapius. When they had again come down to the earth and had performed their sacred duties, Iarchas called the youth with the anchor, and bade him take care of Apollonius's companions; and he in a shorter space of time than the swiftest birds, was gone and was back again, and told Iarchas, "I have taken care of them".

Apollonius was then placed on the throne of Phraotes, and Iarchas bade him question them on any matter he pleased, for he was now among men who knew all things. Apollonius therefore asked, as though it was of all knowledge the most difficult, "Whether the Sophoi knew themselves?" But Iarchas answered quite contrary to his expectation, that they knew all things, because they first knew themselves. That, without this first and elementary knowledge, no one could be admitted to their philosophy. Apollonius, remembering his conversation with Phraotes and the examination they had been obliged to undergo, assented to this, more especially as he felt the truth of the observation in himself. He then asked "What opinion they held of themselves?" and was told, "that they held themselves to be gods, because, they were good men". Apollonius then enquired about the soul, and, when he heard that they held the opinions of Pythagoras, he further asked, whether, as Pythagoras remembered himself as Euphorbus, so Iarchas could speak of some one of his previous lives, either as Greek or Trojan, or other man? Iarchas, first reproving the Greeks for the reverence they pay to the Trojan heroes and to Achilles as the greatest of them, to the neglect of better men, Greek, Egyptian, and Indian, related: how years long ago he had been one Ganges, king of the Indian people, to whom the Ethiopians, then Indians, were subject: how this Ganges, ten cubits in stature and the most comely of men, built many cities and drove back the Scythians who invaded his territories: and how, though robbed of his wife by the then king of Phraotes's country, he had unlike Achilles kept sacred his alliance with him: how, too, he had rendered his father, the Ganges river, propitious to India, by inducing it to keep within its banks and to divert its course to the Red Sea: how, notwithstanding all this, the Ethiopians murdered him, and were driven by the hate of the Indians and the now sterile earth and the abortive births of their wives to leave their native land: and how, pursued by his ghost, and still suffering the same ill, they wandered from place to place, till having at length punished his murderers they settled in that part of Africa from them called
Ethiopia. He told, too, how Ganges had thrust seven adamantine swords deep into the ground in some unknown spot, and how when the gods without indicating it ordered that on that spot a sacrifice should be offered, he, then a child of four years old, immediately pointed it out. But ceasing to speak of himself, he directed Apollonius's attention to a youth of about twenty, and he described him as patient under all suffering and by nature especially fitted for philosophy, but beyond measure averse to it; and his aversion was attributed to the ill treatment and injustice he had received from Ulysses and Homer in a former life. He had been Palamedes.

While they were thus talking, a messenger announced the king's approach and that he would arrive towards evening, and came to consult with them on his private affairs. Iarchas answered that he should be welcome, and that he would leave them a better man for having known "this Greek". He then resumed his conversation with Apollonius, and asked him to tell something of his previous existence. Apollonius excuses himself, because as it was undistinguished he did not care to remember it. "But surely", observed Iarchas, "to be the pilot of an Egyptian ship is no such ignoble occupation, and a pilot I see you once were". "True", replied Apollonius, "but an office which should be on a par with that of the statesman or the general has by the fault of sailors themselves become contemptible and degraded. Besides my very best act in that life no one deemed worthy even of praise". "And what was that?" asked Iarchas. "Was it the doubling with slackened sail Malea and Sunium, or the carefully observing the course of the winds, or the carrying your ship over the reefs and swell of the Euboean coast?" "Well", said Apollonius, "if I must speak of my sailor life, I will tell you of something I did then which I think was wise and honest. In those days pirates infested the Phoenician Sea. And some of their spies knowing that my ship was richly laden came to me and sound me, and asked me what would be my share of the freight. I told them a thousand drachmas, for we were four pilots. 'And what sort of a home have you?' they asked. "A hut on Pharos, where Proteus used to live", I answered, 'Well', they went on, 'would you like to change the sea for land—a hut for a house—receive ten times the pay you look for, and rid yourself at the same time of the thousand ills of the tempestuous sea?' 'Aye, if I would', I said. They then told me who they were, and
offered me ten thousand drachmas, and promised that neither
myself nor any of my crew should suffer harm if I gave them an
opportunity of taking my ship. So we agreed that I should set
sail in the night, but lie-to under the promontory; and that the
pirates, who were at anchor on the other side, should then run
out and seize my ship and cargo. All this took place in a temple,
and I made them swear to fulfil their promises; while I agreed
on my part to do as they wished. But instead of lying to I made
sail for the open sea and so got off”. “And this”, observed
Iarchas, “you think an act of justice?” “Yes”, said Apollonius,
“and of humanity; for to save the lives of my men, and the pro-
erty of my employers, and to be above a bribe, though a sailor,
I hold to be a proof of many virtues”.

Iarchas smiled, and remarked: “You, Greeks, seem to think
that not to do wrong is to be just. Only the other day, an Egyp-
tian told us of the Roman proconsuls: how, though knowing noth-
ing of the people they were to govern, they entered their provinces
with naked axes; and of the people: how they praised their go-
vernors if they only were not venal, just like slave-dealers who to
vaunt their wares warrant that their Carians are not thieves!
your poets too scarcely allow you to be just and good. For Minos
the most cruel of men and who with his fleets enslaved the neigh-
bouring peoples, they honour with the sceptre of justice as the
judge of the dead. But Tantalus, a good man, who made his
friends partakers of immortality, they deprive of food and drink”.
And he pointed to a statue on the left inscribed “Tantalus”. It
was four cubits high, and of a man of about fifty, dressed in the
Argolic fashion with a Thessalian chlamys. He was drinking
from a cup as large as would suffice for a thirsty man, and a
pure draught bubbled up in it without overflowing.

Their conversation was here interrupted by the noise and
tumult in the village occasioned by the king’s arrival; and Iarchas
angrily observed, “Had it been Phraotes, not the mysteries had
been more quiet”. Apollonius, seeing no preparations made,
inquired whether they intended offering the king a banquet? “Aye,
and a rich one, for we have plenty of everything here”, they said,
“and he is a gross feeder. But we allow no animal food, only
sweetmeats, roots and fruits such as India and the season afford.
But here he comes”. The king, glittering with gold and jewels,
now approached. Damis was not present at this interview, for
he spent the whole of the day in the village, but Apollonius gave