

Mc CRINDLE'S

# ANCIENT INDIA

AS DESCRIBED BY

## Classical Literature

BEING A COLLECTION OF  
GREEK AND LATIN TEXTS RELATING TO INDIA  
EXTRACTED FROM HERODOTOS, STRABO, PLINIUS,  
AELIANUS, KOSMAS, BARDESANES, PORPHYRIUS  
STROBAIOS, DION CHRYSOSTOM, DIONYSIOS,  
PHILOSTRATOS, NONNOS,  
DIODORUS SICULUS, THE ITINERARY AND ROMANCE  
HISTORY OF ALEXANDER AND OTHER WORKS  
TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH, WITH COPIOUS NOTES,  
A CRITICAL INTRODUCTION AND AN INDEX



ANCIENT INDIA  
AS DESCRIBED IN  
CLASSICAL LITERATURE



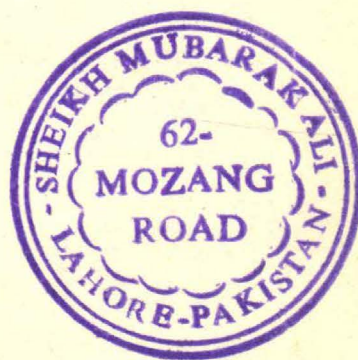
JOHN W. McCRINDLE

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AND AN INDEX



EASTERN BOOK HOUSE

PATLIPUTRA PATH, RAJENDRA NAGAR,  
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**PREFACE**

THIS is the sixth and last volume of a series of works designed to contain annotated translations of all the texts in Greek and Latin literature which relate to ancient India. The five already published are :—

The *Indika* of Ktésias the Knidian.

The *Indika* of Megasthenes and Arrian.

*The Commerce and Navigation of the Erythraean Sea.*

Ptolemy's *Geography of India.*

*The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great.*

Such other texts as have not been included in these volumes are given here. They have been extracted from numerous sources, such as the Histories of Herodotus, Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, and Dion Cassius; the Geographies of Strabo and Dionysius Periêgêtes; the *Natural History* of Pliny, the *Christian Topography* of Kosmas Indikopleustes, the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* by Philostratus; the *Romance History of Alexander*; and Notices in Aelian, Nonnus, Porphyry, Stobæus, Dion Chrysostom, Eusebius, and others.

Though the extracts have not been arranged in their order of sequence in accordance with any fixed principle, as that of their chronology, yet some of them have been placed side by side as treating in the main of the same subjects, namely Brahmanism and Buddhism.

Since I entered on the undertaking thus, after an interval of three-and-twenty years, brought to completion, Indian Archæology has advanced apace, and some of its discoveries



## PREFACE

have enabled me to correct, in later volumes, what proved to have been errors in the earlier.

To nearly all the extracts will be found prefixed a brief notice of the life of the author.

With regard to the variation in the spelling of proper names according as the translation in which they occur is from a Greek or a Latin text, I must express my hope that it may not occasion any inconvenience to the reader. In the Greek form the letter *k* takes the place of *c*, *ai* of *ae*, and *os* of *us*.

In conclusion, I must express the gratification and encouragement which I derived from the very favourable notices accorded to each volume of the series as it appeared, alike from the Home, the Continental, and the Indian press.

J. W. M'C.

42 FOUNTAINHALL ROAD,  
EDINBURGH, 1901.

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## INTRODUCTION

THIS is the sixth and last volume of a series of works, which, in accordance with the original design announced in the first volume which appeared in 1877, contains annotated translations of all the Greek and Roman Classics which throw any light upon the distant past of India.

The volumes already published are :—

I. *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian.* Calcutta, 1877. This volume includes the fragments of the *Indika* of Megasthenes collected by Dr. Schwanbeck of Bonn, and the first part of the *Indika* of Arrian, in which that careful writer supplies a general account of India derived from the best authorities.

II. *The Commerce and Navigation of the Erythræan Sea.* Calcutta, 1879. This volume contains a translation (with commentary) of the *Periplus Erythræi Maris* by an unknown writer of the first Christian century, and of the second part of the *Indika* of Arrian, in which is described the memorable voyage of Nearchos from the mouth of the Indus to the head of the Persian Gulf.

III. *Ancient India as described by Ktésias the Knidian.* Calcutta, 1882. Ktésias was the first writer who gave the Greeks a special treatise on India. The work is lost, but we have an epitome of its contents by Phôtios, and fragments of it in other writers.

IV. *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy.* Calcutta, 1885. This volume contains not only Ptolemy's *Geography of India*, but also his *Geography of Central and Eastern Asia*, and a copy of his Map of India.

V. *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great.* First edition,



Westminster, 1893. New edition, 1896. This work contains translations of the accounts of Alexander's campaigns in India and Afghanistan found in Arrian, Q. Curtius, Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, and Justinus. The Introduction contains a sketch of the History of Alexander, and the Preface to the new edition brings the work up to date.

The present volume, which completes the series, contains translations of all the remaining accounts of India which occur in the Classics, and which are all either extracts from larger works, or merely incidental notices.

The extracts have been collected from the following sources:—

I. The *History* of Herodotos, who mentions the voyage of discovery made by Skylax down the Indus from Kaspatyros to the ocean, tells the story of the gold-digging ants, and names a few Indian tribes with brief notices of their characteristics.

II. The *Geography* of Strabo, who has devoted the greater part of his fifteenth book to a description of India and Ariana.

III. The *Natural History* of Pliny, which contains a Geography of India and numerous notices of its natural productions.

IV. Aelian's *Peculiarities of Animals*, a work in which occur many notices of the animals of India.

V. The *Itinerary of Alexander the Great*. An excellent work (by an unknown author) dedicated to the Emperor Constantius, and meant for his guidance in the war against Sapor for which he was preparing.

VI. The *Christian Topography* of Cosmas Indicopleustes, a work which contains valuable information regarding Taprobane (Ceylon), the Malabar coast towns, and the trade carried on in the eastern seas in the sixth century A.D.

VII. Works containing passages about the Brachmans and Buddhists of India:—

A. The *De Abstinentiâ* of Porphyry, who cites from the lost work of Bardesanes a fragment about the Indian Gymnosophists.

B. The *Physica* of Stobæus, who has preserved another fragment from that author on the same subject.

C. The *Orations* of Dion Chrysostom, in one of which a glowing picture of Indian life is presented, and in another a short notice of the Brachmans.

D. The *Pseudo-Kallisthenes*, or Romance History of Alexander, which contains the short treatise by Palladius *About the Nations of India and the Brachmans*.

E. Various authors by whom the Brachmans are incidentally noticed: Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, St. Jerome, Archelaus, Kedrenus, Rufinus, and Hierokles.

VIII. *A Description of the Whole World*, a poem in hexameter verse, consisting of 1187 lines, of which eighty-five are descriptive of India and its conquest by Bacchus, composed by Dionysius Periêgêtes.

IX. The *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* by Philostratus of Lemnos, whose account of the journey which Apollonius is said to have made into India is based on the Journal of Damis, by whom the famous Thaumaturgist was accompanied on his eastern journey.

X. The *Dionysiaka* of Nonnus, an enormous epic in forty-eight books devoted to the history of Bacchus, including his greatest achievement, the conquest of India.

XI. The *Bibliotheca*, or Universal History of Diodorus Siculus, from which have been extracted the story (here abridged) of Iambulus, and the story of the Indian widow who burned herself on her husband's funeral pile.

XII. Various works in which India is incidentally noticed, as in Polybius, Pausanias, Frontinus, Plutarch, Appian, Ammianus Marcellinus, Dion Cassius, and some Latin poets.

The texts which we have thus enumerated contain all, or nearly all, the information of worth relating to India that can be gathered from classical sources, and we propose in the sequel to offer a few general observations directed chiefly to show the value of these texts and how they may best be classified. It may be said at once that their value cannot well be overrated in view



of the fact that without them our knowledge of India before the era of the Mohammedan Conquest would have remained all but an utter blank on the page of history. The Indians themselves did not write history. They produced, no doubt, a literature both voluminous and varied, and containing works which rank as masterpieces in various departments of Philosophy, Poetry, and Science, but within its vast range History is conspicuous by its absence. Their learned men were Brahmans whose modes and habits of thought almost necessarily incapacitated them for the task of historical composition. Absorbed in devout meditation on the Divine Nature or in profound speculations on the insoluble mystery of existence, they regarded with indifference or contempt the concerns of this transitory world which they accounted as unreal, as a scene of illusion, or, to use their own expression, as *Mâya*. Hence they allowed events, even those of the greatest public moment, to pass unrecorded, and so to perish from memory. With regard, for instance, to such a memorable episode in the national history as the Macedonian Invasion, scarcely an allusion can be traced in Sanskrit writings. So, too, the existence of a line of Græco-Baktrian kings, some of whom extended their rule into Afghanistan and far into Northern India is a fact that remained unknown until brought to light by modern researches. We are, again, left still to this day in darkness as to the origin and progress of that great revolution by which the Brahmans succeeded not only in overthrowing Buddhism, which had for centuries been the state religion, but even in all but completely extirpating it from the land of its birth. These, and other instances that might be cited, let us see that so far as the native literature is concerned, the ancient history of India would have remained for ever shrouded in all but impenetrable darkness. That the case is not so is mainly due to the classical records, which for a period of more than a thousand years give us from time to time some insight more or less into the internal condition of the country, as well as into the nature and extent of its commerce with foreign nations. It was fortunate, again, that about the time when the light from the Classics began to

fail, light was vouchsafed from another source—the narratives of Buddhist pilgrims who between the fourth and eighth centuries of our era came from China to India to visit the scenes which had been consecrated by the presence of their great Teacher, as well as to procure authentic copies of the laws of their Faith. The classical accounts, however, are not only earlier than the Chinese by some six or seven centuries, but deal with a far greater variety of subjects. Oriental scholars and archæologists, by combining the knowledge derived from these sources with that which has been elicited from a close scrutiny of the native literature and such memorials of the past of India as time has spared, have succeeded not only in materially mitigating the obscurity in which Indian antiquity lay enshrouded, but even in constructing an outline of the early national history and in bringing its chronology into order and into line with the chronology of the outside world.

For the classification of the classical accounts of India, we have selected as the most useful principle of division that of the order of time in which they were produced. They thus fall into two classes according as they appeared *before* or *after* the Christian era, and are at the same time further differentiated by the fact that while the former were nearly all written by observers on the spot, this signal advantage cannot be claimed with certainty for more than one or two works of the latter class. It is a matter of profound regret that, with the exception of the *History* of Herodotus, all the works of the earlier date are lost and only known from fragments of their contents cited in works of the later date.

#### WRITERS ON INDIA BEFORE THE CHRISTIAN ERA

The early works again admit of a subdivision according as they appeared *before* or *after* the Macedonian Invasion (326 B.C.), which was the means of opening up India and its wonders to the knowledge of mankind, which antecedently to that event was as meagre as it was vague and nebulous. There were four works in which that knowledge, such as it was, was found embodied :—



1. The narrative of Skylax of Karyanda, in which he described his voyage of discovery made down the Indus from Kaspatyros to the sea—a voyage undertaken by order of Darius Hystaspis, who had in view to annex the lower valley of the Indus to his dominions.

2. The *Geography* (Περὶ γῆς) of Hekataëus of Miletus, in which are mentioned some Indian names: Indoi, Indus, Kallatai, Argante, Gandarii, Kaspapyros, and Opiai, a people on the Indus.

3. The *History* of Herodotus, for which see pp. 1-5.

4. The treatise on India, called the *Indika*, written by Ktésias the Knidian (about 400 B.C.), a work full of wonderful stories about India, with which the author had been entertained while resident for seventeen years in Persia as physician to the royal family.

The work of Ktésias had been some seventy years before the world, when Alexander's Asiatic expedition showed to what extent that author's accounts of India squared or otherwise with the facts as observed. The great conqueror's expedition was not entirely military; it was also partly scientific, and made vast additions to the sum of human knowledge. Alexander himself had been a disciple of the great master of knowledge, and among the officers who accompanied him into India, not a few were distinguished for their literary and scientific culture. Some of these employed their pens in recording his warlike achievements and in describing the countries into which he had carried his arms. Among these the more eminent were: Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, who became King of Egypt; Aristobulus of Potidæa; Nearchus, the admiral of Alexander's fleet; Onesikritus, the pilot of the fleet; Eumenes of Kardia, Alexander's secretary; Chares of Mitylene; Kallisthenes, Aristotle's kinsman; Kleitarchus, son of Deinon of Rhodes; Polykleitus of Larissa; Anaximenes of Lampsakus; Diognetus and Bæton, the measurers of Alexander's marches; Kyrtilus of Pharsalus, and a few others. These writers were succeeded by three others, ambassadors sent successively by Greek sovereigns to the Indian court at Palibothra (Patna), namely,

Megasthenes and Deimachus sent from the Syrian court, and Dionysius sent from the Egyptian. These all had the advantage which only one or two writers of the later period enjoyed, that of describing India from what they had seen with their own eyes. To them belongs the merit of having been the first who communicated to the world conceptions of India approximating to the truth on points of such principal importance as its position relative to other countries, its boundaries, its general configuration, its total dimensions both in length and breadth, its physical features and productions, the character of its inhabitants and the nature of their social and political institutions. It must be noted, however, that the personal acquaintance of Alexander and his companions with India was limited to the North—to the regions traversed by the Kophen (Kabul river) and the Indus, and the tributaries of these great rivers. Megasthenes, however, saw more of the country than the writers who preceded him, for while their knowledge of it terminated at the Hyphasis (Beias river), he crossed that river near its junction with the Hesidrus (Satiej river), and, pursuing his journey along the Royal Road, which ran from the Indus to the Jumna and the Ganges, arrived at Palibothra, the capital of Sandracottus (Chandra Gupta), the founder of the celebrated Mauryan Dynasty. This city, the ruins of which now lie buried to a depth of twelve or fifteen feet below the site of its modern representative, Patna, lay about two degrees to the north of the summer tropic, on the southern bank of the Ganges, at the point where up till 1379 A.D. it received the waters of the Erannoboas, now the Sôn river. Here Megasthenes resided for several years, in the course of which he was admitted, as we are told, to several interviews with Sandracottus, and, as we may suppose, to interviews also with his Queen, who was the daughter of his friend and sovereign, Seleukus Nikator, the King of Syria. Here also with assiduous observation and inquiry he collected the materials from which he composed his famous work on India, called the *Indika*, the merits of which were so conspicuous that it became of paramount authority, and the main source whence subsequent writers derived their accounts



of India. Strabo, indeed, accused him of mendacity, but in spite of this censure he frequently cites him. Megasthenes, moreover, is now recognised as a writer of scrupulous veracity, for it is found that the picture which he presents of Indian life, customs, and institutions is, so far as can now be judged, singularly correct. The ground on which Strabo has mainly based his attack is, that Megasthenes has described as existing in India some races of men which were not only of monstrous, but even of impossible, deformity. Now the names of these races are either transliterations or translations of names, all of which occur in Sanskrit literature, a fact which shows that Megasthenes did not invent the stories about those races, but must have heard them from natives—descendants of the Aryan conquerors of India, who were in the habit of holding up to contempt and odium the indigenous tribes who had resisted their arms.

Deimachus also wrote a work on India, but nothing more is known of it than that it consisted of two books and grossly exaggerated the dimensions of the country. Still less is known of Dionysius, who, as Pliny tells us, was sent by Ptolemy Philadelphus to the Indian King, and like Megasthenes made known the forces of the Indian nations.

Somewhat later than the work of Megasthenes on India, another was written by Patrokles, not however restricted to that country, but embracing also the provinces between the Indus and the Kaspian Sea, which he governed both for Seleukus Nikator and Antiochus I. Patrokles is often cited by Strabo and commended for his veracity.

The information contained in the works of Patrokles was held in high esteem and much used by Eratosthenes, the President (from 240 to 196 B.C.) of the Alexandrian Library, and the first who raised Geography to the rank of a science, by collecting its facts hitherto scattered and disjointed, and arranging them in a system framed on scientific principles. The conclusions, however, at which Eratosthenes arrived with regard to the position and configuration of India were far from correct. He conceived, for instance, that the projecting point of the peninsula faced south-east instead of south, and even

advanced towards the east farther than the mouth of the Ganges, herein departing from the guidance of Patrokles. Like Herodotus, moreover, he conceived that India lay at the world's end on the verge of the Eastern Ocean.

The *History* of Polybius, who wrote about 144 B.C., contained, there is reason to believe, valuable information about India relating to the times of the Seleucid sovereigns. But most of the books of that work have been lost, and we have only the one short notice which is given in this volume (pp. 209, 210).

The next writer after Polybius who notices India and belongs to the period under consideration was Artemidorus of Ephesus, who flourished about 100 B.C. and was the author of an excellent work on Geography, extracts from which were preserved by Marcianus of Herakleia (about 400 A.D.). With regard to India he seems to have followed inferior authorities, and his account of it is pronounced by Strabo to be inaccurate. He avoided, however, the too common error of making the Ganges flow from west to east. Some of his estimates of distances along the coasts of India have been preserved.

From this review of the early literature about India it will be seen that after the time of Megasthenes very scanty additions were made to the knowledge of India during the period under notice. We may attribute this in great measure to the rise and spread of the Parthian power, which interposed as a barrier to prevent communication between Syria and her provinces in the East which had revolted from her authority in the reign of Antiochus II. How effective this barrier proved in preventing the knowledge of what was happening in the East from penetrating to the West, may be judged from the fact that we are indebted to the researches of modern scholars<sup>1</sup> for our knowledge of the existence of the Græco-Baktrian sovereigns, some of whom had extended their sway into Northern India as far, perhaps, as to the mouth of the Narbada. The conclusions of these scholars have been based on a few incidental notices in the classical writers, but mainly on the inscriptions on coins of

<sup>1</sup> Such as Bayer, Grottefend, Masson, Bartholomæi, Prinsep, Wilson, von Sallet, Lassen, Thomas, etc.



the sovereigns found in great abundance in North Afghanistan and Baktria.

It is greatly to be regretted that, with the exception of Herodotus, not one of the works on India penned by any of the foregoing writers who knew the country personally has come down to us except in epitomes or citations from later authors.

#### WRITERS ABOUT AND AFTER THE TIME OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA

These later writers on India differ from their predecessors in this respect, that, with only one or two doubtful exceptions, they all write without personal knowledge of the country. The author of the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea* probably visited the seats of commerce on the western seaboard, and Kosmas Indikopleustes, the island of Ceylon and the Malabar coast, but so much as this cannot, so far as I am aware, be said safely of any other writers on India who belonged to this period. We are indebted, however, to these writers not only for having preserved much of what they had learned themselves from the earlier works, all lost since their time, but also for much valuable information which they had gathered from merchants engaged in the Indian trade, from travellers who had visited India, from ambassadors sent from India to the emperors either at Rome or at Constantinople, and from Indians themselves settled in Alexandria, if not also in other places.

The writers who have made most additions to the old stock of information are the unknown author of the *Periplus* referred to, Pliny, Ptolemy the Geographer, Porphyry, Stobæus, and Kosmas Indikopleustes. The author of the *Periplus* and Pliny have thrown much light on the geography of India, and on the nature of its commerce with Egypt and the West. Ptolemy, again, made important additions to the knowledge of the geography of Ceylon, the interior of India, and India beyond the Ganges. His map of India, however, has been distorted out of recognition by a portentous error, which makes the west coast, instead of running direct south to Cape Comorin,

turn round, a little below the latitude of Bombay, and run eastward, thus altogether effacing the peninsula. Porphyry and Stobæus have preserved from Bardesanes, who flourished in the later half of the second century A.D., interesting particulars regarding the Brahman and Buddhist ascetics.

The story of Alexander's conquest of India, as related by his companions and other contemporaries, has been preserved by six authors in more or less detail: Diodorus Siculus, Arrian, Plutarch, Q. Curtius, Justinus, and the unknown author of the *Itinerarium Alexandri Magni*, a work written for the guidance of the Emperor Constantius II. in his war against Persia. Polyænus in his *Stratagems of War*, and Frontinus, who was at one time the Roman governor of Britain, in his work on the same subject, notice stratagems employed by Alexander in his Indian campaigns.

The period we are considering produced the two greatest works on Geography that antiquity can boast: the *Geography* of Strabo, completed about 19 A.D., and that of Claudius Ptolemy, which appeared about the middle of the second century A.D. Strabo's colossal work embraced Geography in all its branches—mathematical, physical, political, commercial, and historical. Ptolemy's *Guide to Geography*, which continued to be the paramount authority on the science till the discoveries of the great navigators of the later years of the fifteenth century showed its errors, differed from Strabo's production as does a skeleton from the living body. It contained very few descriptive notices, for Ptolemy's object in composing it was to correct and reform the map of the world, to expound the geometrical principles on which Geography should be based, and to determine the position of places on the surface of the earth by their latitudes and longitudes. Thus the bulk of his work consists of tables of names of places, followed by the figures for their latitudes and longitudes. In the Indian tables we find the names of many places which occur nowhere else. These he probably found in itineraries now lost, or in Sanskrit texts brought to Alexandria from India. Four other geographical works may be mentioned which make reference to



## INTRODUCTION

India: The *Compendium of Geography* by Pomponius Mela, another *Compendium* by Solinus, the *Periëgësis* of Dionysius, and the *Periplûs of the Outer Sea* by Marcianus of Herakleia. Geography was a science about which the Romans cared but little, and in their literature only two regular treatises on the subject have come down to us, the *Compendiums* of Mela and Solinus. Mela wrote about 42 A.D. India has a place in his work, but Mela's knowledge of it was very vague, and his descriptive notices are borrowed from the ordinary Greek authorities. He regarded the promontory of Kolis (Cape Kory) as forming the eastern extremity of Asia in the South, and otherwise shows that he took no advantage of the increased knowledge in his day of the shores of India resulting from the extension of Roman commerce in the East. Solinus, who wrote about 238 A.D., derived nearly all his materials from Pliny's *Natural History*, the language of which he sometimes copies word for word without acknowledgment. He was partly also a copyist from Mela. His work was popular, and became the medium through which Pliny was best known in the middle ages. The eighty-five hexameter verses in which Dionysius Periëgëtes has described India and its conquest by Bacchus will be found translated in this volume. This poem was translated into Latin hexameters both by Avienus and Priscian the Grammarian. Marcianus, who wrote in Greek (about A.D. 400?), follows Ptolemy, but his *Periplûs* gives no information about India that is not to be found in the great Alexandrian geographer. With regard to the Romance History of Alexander the Great (*Pseudo-Kallisthenes*), I have briefly indicated the nature of its contents, and translated the account given by Palladius in his *Lausiæc Historiæ* of the Indian experiences of the Theban scholar. Within the present decade Dr. Budge of the British Museum has published translations both of the Syriac and the Ethiopic versions of the Romance. It has been translated into numerous other languages, and no book in the world, he says, except the Bible has been so widely read. I have sketched briefly the account given by Nonnus in his vast epic of the conquest of India by Bacchus.

## INTRODUCTION

India is very frequently mentioned incidentally in the Classics. Many of the notices have been cited in the five previous volumes. Those given here throw some light on Roman commerce with India, and on the embassies sent from thence to the Imperial Courts of Rome and Constantinople. From the brevity with which these embassies are noticed, we can gather little more than that the greatness of the Roman power had made a deep impression on the Indian mind, especially along the western seaboard, where, until the third century of our era, the commerce with Alexandria was still maintained, though with such an abatement of its former activity as foreboded its approaching extinction.

With regard to the traffic conveyed by the shorter route of the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates, one or two notices give us glimpses as to its condition both before and after the fall of Palmyra (273 A.D.), which had risen to vast opulence, splendour, and power, from being the intermediary of that traffic.

We seldom find the classical writers on India failing to mention the legends concerning Bacchus, Prometheus, and Herakles, who is said to have been, fifteen generations later than Father Bacchus, the civiliser of India and its first king. Pliny, citing Megasthenes, tells us that from the days of Father Bacchus to Alexander the Great their kings are reckoned at 154, whose reigns extended over 6451 years and 3 months. Megasthenes seems to have been the first who began the practice of connecting or identifying the mythic gods or heroes of Indian tradition with the mythic heroes of Greek poetry.

I may in conclusion notice as a remarkable feature in the classical accounts of Taprobanê (Ceylon), that they persistently exaggerate to an enormous extent the dimensions of that island. Even Ptolemy himself, who otherwise describes it very accurately, fell in with the common error, and made it almost twenty times exceed its actual size.



## SECTION I

### HERODOTOS

HERODOTOS of Halikarnassos, the *Father of History*, had a most vague and meagre knowledge of India. He knew that it was one of the remotest provinces of the Persian Empire towards the east, but of its extent and exact position he had no proper conception. His work contains the first notice of the famous gold-digging ants, whose labours yielded the vast tribute in gold which India in the days of Darius paid to the Persian crown. Herodotos was born in B.C. 484, and died at Thurii, a city in Magna Græcia, situated on the Tarentine Gulf, where he spent the later years of his life, and where he wrote his *History*. His death was subsequent to the breaking-out of the Peloponnesian War in 431 B.C.

BOOK III. 89-96. *In these chapters Herodotos relates that Darius on ascending the throne of Persia divided his empire into twenty governments called Satrapies, and fixed the amount of tribute which each of these should pay into his treasury. India stands last in his enumeration of these Satrapies.*

97. Of the Indians, the population is by far the greatest of all nations whom we know of, and they paid a tribute proportionately larger than all the rest, 360 talents of gold dust ;<sup>1</sup> this was the twentieth division.

98. The Indians obtain the great quantity of gold from which they supply the before-mentioned dust to the king, in the manner presently described. That part of India towards the rising sun is all sand ; for of the people with whom we are acquainted, and of whom anything certain is told, the Indians live the farthest towards the east and the sunrise, of all the inhabitants of Asia, for the Indians' country towards the east is a desert by reason of the sands. There are many nations of Indians, and they do not speak the same language as each other ; some of them are nomades, and others not. Some inhabit the marshes of the river, and feed on raw fish, which they take going out in boats made of reeds ; one joint of the

<sup>1</sup> This tribute must have been levied mainly from countries situated to the west of the Indus, for it is certain that the Persian power never extended beyond the Panjâb and the lower valley of the Indus. In the time of Alexander it was bounded by that river.



reed makes a boat. These Indians wear a garment made of rushes, which, when they have cut the reed from the river and beaten it, they afterwards plait like a mat and wear it like a corselet.

99. Other Indians, living to the east of these, are nomades, and eat raw flesh; they are called Padæans. They are said to use the following customs. When any one of the community is sick, whether it be a woman or a man, if it be a man the men who are his nearest connections put him to death, alleging that if he wasted by disease his flesh would be spoilt; but if he denies that he is sick, they, not agreeing with him, kill and feast upon him. And if a woman be sick, in like manner the women who are most intimate with her do the same as the men. And whoever reaches to old age, they sacrifice and feast upon; but few among them attain to this state, for before that, they put to death every one that falls into any distemper.<sup>1</sup>

100. Other Indians have the following different custom: they neither kill anything that has life, nor sow anything, nor are they wont to have houses, but they live upon herbs, and they have a grain the size of millet in a pod, which springs spontaneously from the earth, this they gather, and boil it and eat it with the pod. When any one of them falls into any disorder, he goes and lies down in the desert, and no one takes any thought about him, whether dead or sick.

101. The intercourse of all these Indians whom I have mentioned takes place openly as with cattle; and all have a complexion closely resembling the Ethiopians. The seed they emit is not white as that of other men, but black as their skin; the Ethiopians also emit similar seed. These Indians are situated very far from the Persians, towards the south, and were never subject to Darius.

102. There are other Indians bordering on the city of Caspatyrus<sup>2</sup> and the country of Pactyice, settled northward of the other Indians, whose mode of life resembles that of the Bactrians. They are the most warlike of the Indians, and

<sup>1</sup> This revolting practice did not exist among the Aryan Indians, but may have prevailed among barbarous tribes on the borders of India Proper. We learn from Duncker (*Gesch. des Alt.* ii. 268) that the practice still prevails among the aboriginal races inhabiting the Upper Nerbudda among the recesses of the Vindhya. The Padæans are mentioned by Tibullus, iv. i. 144.

<sup>2</sup> Kaspatyros is evidently the city called Kaspapyrus by Hekataëus, who speaks of it as a city of the Gandarians. The Sanskrit name *Kasyapapur* by a slight contraction gives the form used by Hekataëus. The position of this place has been much discussed. Heeren took it to be Kabul, but in the opinion held by Lassen, Humboldt, and other writers Kaspatyrus is taken

these are they who are sent to procure the gold; for near this part is a desert by reason of the sands.<sup>1</sup> In this desert, then, and in the sand, there are ants in size somewhat less indeed than dogs, but larger than foxes.<sup>2</sup> Some of them are in possession of the King of the Persians, which were taken there. These ants, forming their habitations underground, heap up the sand, as the ants in Greece do, and in the same manner; and they are very like them in shape. The sand that is heaped up is mixed with gold. The Indians therefore go to the desert to get this sand, each man having three camels, on either side a male one harnessed to draw by the side, and a female in the middle. This last the man mounts himself, having taken care to yoke one that has been separated from her young as recently born as possible; for camels are not inferior to horses in swiftness, and are much better able to carry burdens.

103. *Is occupied with a short description of the camel.*

104. The Indians then adopting such a plan and such a method of harnessing, set out for the gold, having before calculated the time, so as to be engaged in their plunder during the hottest part of the day, for during the heat the ants hide themselves under the ground. Amongst these people the sun is hottest in the morning, and not, as amongst others, at mid-day, from the time that it has risen some way, to the breaking up of the market; during this time it scorches much more than at mid-day in Greece, so that, it is said, they then refresh themselves in water. Mid-day scorches other men much the same as the Indians; but as the day declines, the sun becomes to them as it is to others in the morning; and

to be Kashmir. On the latter supposition the river on which Skylax embarked would be the Hydaspes or Jihlam. In Ptolemy's *Geography* Kashmir appears in the form Kaspeiria, whose sovereigns had extended their rule far beyond the limits of the present kingdom of Kashmir.

<sup>1</sup> 'The vague idea that all to the east of the Indians was a sandy desert probably arose in the first instance from the real fact of the occurrence of a broad desert tract to the east of the fertile lands of the Indus, and would be confirmed by vague reports that similar deserts were found also to the east of Bactria and the adjoining countries.'—Bunbury's *Hist. of Anc. Geog.* i. 229, 230.

<sup>2</sup> The story of the ant-gold was repeated by Megasthenes, and Nearchos, who is a trustworthy writer, says that he saw somewhere in India the skin of one of the gold-digging ants. It has been supposed that this was the skin of a marmot, or some such burrowing animal. The fable is a genuine Indian tradition, for in his *Ariana* (p. 135), Professor Wilson cites a passage from the Mahābhārata wherein mention is made of 'that gold which is dug up by Pipilikas (ants) and is therefore called Pippilikas (ant-gold).' The Pippilikas were therefore probably Thibetan miners, since Megasthenes states that the gold was carried away from the Derdai, that is the people of Dardistan.



after this, as it proceeds it becomes still colder, until sunset; then it is very cold.

105. When the Indians arrive at the spot, having sacks with them, they fill them with the sand, and return with all possible expedition. For the ants, as the Persians say, immediately discovering them by the smell, pursue them, and they are equalled in swiftness by no other animal, so that the Indians, if they did not get the start of them while the ants were assembling, not a man of them could be saved. Now the male camels (for they are inferior in speed to the females) slacken their pace, dragging on, not both equally, but the females, mindful of the young they have left, do not slacken their pace. Thus the Indians, as the Persians say, obtain the greatest part of their gold; and they have some small quantity more that is dug in the country.

106. The extreme parts of the inhabited world somehow possess the most excellent products; as Greece enjoys by far the best tempered climate. For in the first place, India is the farthest part of the inhabited world towards the east, as I have just observed: in this part, then, all animals, both quadrupeds and birds, are much larger than they are in other countries, with the exception of horses; in this respect they are surpassed by the Medic breed called the Nysæan horses. In the next place, there is abundance of gold there, partly dug, partly brought down by the rivers, and partly seized in the manner I have described. And certain wild trees there bear wool instead of fruit, that in beauty and quality excels that of sheep; and the Indians make their clothing from these trees.

Book IV. 44. A great part of Asia was explored under the direction of Darius. He being desirous to know in what part the Indus, which is the second river that produces crocodiles, discharges itself into the sea, sent in ships both others on whom he could rely to make a true report and also Scylax of Caryanda.<sup>1</sup> They accordingly setting out from the city of Caspatyrus and the country of Pactyice,<sup>2</sup> sailed down the river

<sup>1</sup> Karyanda was a city of Karia on the coast, not far from Halikarnassos, of which Herodotos was a native. As Skylax was the fellow-countryman of the historian there seems little if any ground for doubting, as some have done, whether this voyage was actually made.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. M. A. Stein (in his *Memoir on Maps illustrating the Ancient Geography of Kas'mir*, 1899) identifies the land of Paktyikê with the territory of Gandhara, the present Peshawar District. While thinking it unlikely that the exact site of Kaspatyros will ever be identified, he suggests that the expedition of Skylax may have started from some point near Jahângîra, a place on the Kabul-river some

towards the east and sunrise to the sea;<sup>1</sup> then sailing on the sea westward, they arrived in the thirtieth month at that place where the King of Egypt despatched the Phœnicians, whom I before mentioned, to sail round Libya. After these persons had sailed round, Darius subdued the Indians and frequented this sea.

*The translation of the foregoing extracts has been taken from Bohn's Herodotus translated by Cary.*

six miles distant from its junction with the Indus. Paktyikê is probably now represented by the ethnic name *Pakhtûn*, or the Indian *Pathân*. Dr. Stein rejects the idea that Kaspatyros or Kaspapyros was ever taken to designate Kashmîr.

<sup>1</sup> The Indus, however, after emerging from the mountains, holds its course southward.



## SECTION II

## STRABO

STRABO'S *Geography* is the most important and most comprehensive work on that science which has come down from the ancient world. Humboldt says of it: 'It surpasses all the geographical writings of antiquity both in grandeur of plan, and in the abundance and variety of its materials.' It is in fact a universal geography, treating not only of the subjects which fall under mathematical, physical, and political geography, but containing besides much valuable information regarding the antiquities, history, and commerce of the old world. The author himself describes it as a colossal work meant for such as took a prominent part in public affairs, that is, as we say, for the general reader. It differs therefore essentially from Ptolemy's *Geography*, which, being meant chiefly for the cartographer, contains little beyond long and dry lists of names with figures of latitude and longitude to indicate the position of places on the map of the world.

Strabo was a native of Amasia, a city in the interior of Pontos on the river Iris (Yekil Irmak R.). The dates of his birth and death are both uncertain. He lived in the reign of Augustus and was living in that of Tiberius in 21 A.D. Groskurd assigns his death to three years later. Strabo like Herodotos was a great traveller, and many of his descriptions embody the results of his personal observation. He speaks indeed somewhat boastfully of the extent of his peregrinations, which towards the east led him as far as Armenia. Had his travels extended to India, his conviction that the accounts of it in such writers as Nearchos and Megasthenes were mostly mendacious would have been very rudely shaken. With his friend Aelius Gallus, the Prefect of Egypt under Augustus, he made a voyage up the Nile as far as Syênê, whence he visited the first cataract and the island of Philæ. His information about Egypt is very full and accurate. We may quote the passage in which he mentions Myos Hormos, as this place was the emporium of the Egyptian trade with India: 'The entrance of a Roman army into Arabia Felix under my friend and companion Aelius Gallus, and the traffic of the Alexandrian merchants, whose vessels pass up the Nile and Arabian Gulf to India, have rendered us much better acquainted with these countries than our predecessors were. I was with Gallus at the time he was Prefect of Egypt, and accompanied him as far as Syênê and the frontiers of Ethiopia, and I found that about 120 ships sail from Myos Hormos to India, although in the time of the Ptolemies scarcely any one would venture on this voyage and the commerce with the Indies.' Myos Hormos was founded by Ptolemy Philadelphos in 274 B.C., on the Egyptian coast (lat. N. 27° 12'). It was a seven days' journey from Koptos on the Nile, a port which formed the medium of commerce with Alexandria.

The edition of Strabo from which I have translated is Teubner's, which follows the text of Kramer as revised by Meineke.

BOOK XV. This book contains India, Arianê, and Persis, but the last does not fall within the scope of this work.

1. The remainder of Asia embraces the parts beyond the Tauros except Kilikia and Pamphylia and Lykia, extending from India to the Nile, and lying between the Tauros and the exterior southern sea.<sup>1</sup> Next to Asia is Libya, which we shall afterwards describe. At present I shall begin from India, the first country situated towards the east and the largest.

2. I must ask the reader to receive my description of this country with some indulgence, for it lies at a great distance off, and not many persons of our nation have seen it; such as have visited its shores have seen a part of it only, and their accounts consist chiefly of what they heard from report. What they did see came under their notice while the army in which they served marched in haste through the country. Hence they give us conflicting accounts of the very same things, though they write about them as if they had very carefully examined them. Some of these writers were fellow-soldiers, who lived together in close intimacy as serving together in the army with which Alexander conquered Asia. Yet they frequently contradict each other. But when they differ so widely in describing what they actually saw, what must we think of what they relate from report?

3. Nor do those writers who many ages after Alexander wrote about these countries nor those who in these days make voyages thither give any precise information. Thus Apollodôros who wrote the history of Parthia,<sup>2</sup> when he mentions the Greeks who made Baktrianê revolt from the Syrian Kings, who succeeded Seleukos Nikator,<sup>3</sup> informs us that when they waxed

<sup>1</sup> Strabo describes the nations of Asia according to their position with respect to the great chain of Tauros, which in his opinion traversed that continent almost without change of latitude from Lykia, where it abuts on the Aegean, to its termination in the Eastern Ocean. The nations which lay to the north of the chain were said to be *within* Tauros, and those to the south, *without* Tauros. Bunbury notes that this phrase must have originated with the Greeks at an early period with reference to the nations of Asia Minor, who were limited to the south by the range of Tauros, properly so called, and points out that when this appellation came to be extended by geographers (as it was by Eratosthenes and Strabo) to a great mountain chain traversing the whole length of Asia, the expression became singularly inappropriate. By the southern sea is meant the Indian Ocean.

<sup>2</sup> Apollodôros was a native of Artemita, a town in Babylonia. It is not known when he lived. His work on Parthian history is several times quoted by Strabo and once by Athênaios and is also mentioned by Stephanos of Byzantium.

<sup>3</sup> Seleukos Nikator accompanied Alexander on his Asiatic expedition, and distinguished himself particularly in the Indian campaigns. In the second partition of the empire the rich and important province of Babylonia fell to his share. He was for a time dispossessed of it by Antigonos, to whose dictation he had refused to submit, but in 312 B.C. he recovered Babylon from his ambitious rival, and thus laid the foundations of the Syrian monarchy. He



strong these Greeks invaded India. He adds nothing to what was previously known, but even contradicts it when he asserts that the Baktrians<sup>1</sup> had subjected to their rule a greater portion of India than the Macedonians; seeing that Eukratidas<sup>2</sup>

afterwards reduced to his power Sousiana and Media and all the eastern dominions conquered by Alexander from the Euphrates to the banks of the Oxus and the Indus. In 306 B.C. he formally assumed the regal title and diadem. He then undertook an expedition into India with a view to recover the Macedonian provinces in that country which had been seized by Sandrokottos (Chandragupta) a few years after Alexander's death. No incidents of the war between these two mighty potentates have been recorded. We only know that the hostilities were terminated by a treaty, in virtue of which Seleukos surrendered to the Indian King all the Macedonian conquests in India as well as those to the west of the Indus as far as the Paropanisos range, in exchange for 500 elephants. Seleukos appears to have energetically pursued throughout his reign the policy which Alexander had formed for the Hellenization of his Asiatic empire. In the year 280 B.C. he crossed the Hellespont to possess himself of the throne of Macedonia which had fallen vacant by the death of Lysimachos, but he was soon afterwards assassinated by Ptolemy Keraunos. He had then reigned for thirty-two years and reached his 78th year.

<sup>1</sup> Baktria was conquered by Seleukos Nikator, who made it a dependency of the Syrian kingdom which he had founded. It was wrested from the third prince of his line about 256 B.C. by Antiochos Theos or Theodotos who raised the province to the rank of an independent kingdom. His successors extended their authority over the valley of the Indus and southward along the coast as far as the mouth of the Narbada. The names of the kings who belonged to this warlike dynasty have been recovered from their coins, of which great numbers have been found. Their empire, after subsisting for about 130 years, was invaded and conquered by hordes of the Sakai, who, as Strabo tells us (XI. viii. 2), came from beyond the Jaxartes, and were called respectively the Asioi, Pasianoi, Tocharoi, and Sakarauoi (Sara-kaul-oi?). These Sakai yielded in their turn to barbarians of their own type, and their king, Kanishka, in our author's own days, extended his authority from Baktria to Kas'mir and from the Oxus to Surashtra. Apollodōros was therefore correct in his assertion that the Baktrians had subjected to their power a larger portion of India than the Macedonians. Strabo quotes from this author another passage which runs to the same effect (XI. xi. 2): 'The Greeks who effected the revolt of Baktra became so powerful in consequence of its fertility and other advantages, that they became masters of India and Ariana. Their chiefs, especially Menandros, if he really crossed the Hypanis (Beas) to the east and reached Isamos (Jomanes or Jumna R.?) conquered more nations than Alexander.'

<sup>2</sup> Eukratidas ascended the throne of Baktria in the year 181 B.C. The history of his reign is involved in great obscurity and confusion. Justin (xli. 6) briefly notices his career: 'Two great men,' he says, 'Mithridates and Eucratidas, began to reign almost simultaneously, the one over the Parthians and the other over Bactra. Fortune was more propitious to the Parthians under their king, who conducted them to supreme power, while the Bactrians on the other hand were so harassed by various wars, that they lost not only their sway but even their liberty. For when they had been broken by the wars which they had waged with the Sogdians, the Drangians and the Indians, they at last feebly succumbed to the once weaker power of the Parthians. Eucratidas nevertheless engaged in many wars which he prosecuted with great energy. He was besieged by Dēmētrius the King of the Indians, but though he had by this time been worn down by his wars, he made incessant sallies with 300 soldiers upon the besiegers and defeated them, although they were 60,000 strong. Having been thus in the fifth month liberated from the siege, he made India subject to his power. When he was

had a thousand cities which acknowledged his authority. But we know from previous writers that the Macedonians conquered nine nations situated between the Hydaspes and the Hypanis,<sup>1</sup> and possessed 5000 cities, not one of which was less than Kōs Meropis,<sup>2</sup> and that Alexander after having reduced all this country delivered it over to Pōros.

4. The merchants of the present day who sail from Egypt to India by the Nile and the Arabian Gulf have seldom made a voyage as far as the Ganges. They are ignorant men and unqualified for writing an account of the places they have visited. From one place in India and from one king, Pandion,<sup>3</sup> but according to other writers, Pōros,<sup>4</sup> there came to Cæsar Augustus gifts and an embassy accompanied by the

returning thence, he was assassinated on the way by his son, whom he had made the partner of his throne, and who, so far from pretending innocence of the parricide, drove his chariot through his father's blood, and ordered his body to be 'thrown away without sepulture, as if he had been a public enemy.' The Dēmētrius here mentioned by Justin was the son of Euthydēmos, who made Baktria for the first time a powerful kingdom. He seems to have succeeded his father, and to have reigned over Baktria for ten years. It is supposed that Eukratidas then revolted from him while he was occupied with his wars in India, and succeeded in establishing his authority over Baktria Proper, while Dēmētrius retained the regions to the south of the Indian Kaukasos. The date of his death is uncertain. Lassen places it in 160 B.C., but others thirteen years later. His coins have been found in great numbers both to the north and to the south of the Paropanisos.

<sup>1</sup> The Hydaspes is now the Jehlam or river of Behat. By the natives of Kās'mir it is called the *Bedasta*, which represents its Sanskrit name, the *Vitastā*. Ptolemy alone of all the classical authors calls it the Bidaspes. The Hypanis is generally called in the classics the Hyphasis. It is the Vipās'ā of Sanskrit, now called the Beas, and is the river which marked the limit of Alexander's advance eastward into India. It is a tributary of the S'atadru or Satlej.

<sup>2</sup> Meropis was one of the earlier names of the island of Kōs or Stanco.

<sup>3</sup> The kingdom of Pandion, which was situated on the southern extremity of the Indian peninsula, was founded by an Aryan race whose ancestors had occupied the regions watered by the Jamnā. This may be inferred both from the name of the king and that of his capital, which was called *Madura* after the celebrated city which adorned of old, as it does still, the banks of that great tributary of the Ganges. The kingdom is mentioned by Pliny, by the author of the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, and by Ptolemy. The name *Pāndion* is derived from the Sanskrit Pāndu, the name of the father of the five Pāndava brothers who are such conspicuous figures in Indian epic poetry. Pliny mentions a *gens Pandæ* as the only one in India which was ruled by female sovereigns. This branch of the race seems to have occupied a considerable portion of the basin of the river Chambal, a great tributary of the Jamnā.

<sup>4</sup> Three princes of this name are mentioned in the classics: (1) The great Pōros who was defeated by Alexander on the banks of the Hydaspes; (2) a contemporary Pōros, a kinsman of the former and sovereign of a district situated to the east of the Hydraotes (Ravi); (3) the Pōros here mentioned, whom Strabo notices again at more length in his last chapter on India. These princes, as their name shows, were descendants of Puru, and thus belonged to one of the most illustrious families in Indian story—that from which sprung the first kings of the Lunar Dynasty which swayed the extensive regions included between the Jamnā and the Upper Ganges.



Indian Sophist who committed himself to the flames at Athens,<sup>1</sup> like Kalanos, who had exhibited a similar spectacle in presence of Alexander.<sup>2</sup>

5. If, then, we set aside these accounts and turn to those which were current before Alexander's expedition, we shall find them to be still more obscure. It is probable that Alexander believed these stories from the vanity with which his wonderful successes had inspired him. Thus Nearchos<sup>3</sup> tells us that he was ambitious to conduct his army through Gedrôsia because he learned that Semiramis and Cyrus had each led an expedition against the Indians (through that country),<sup>4</sup> but that they had both been forced to retreat, the former escaping

<sup>1</sup> For further particulars regarding this Gymnosophist, see the last chapter of this book.

<sup>2</sup> Frequent mention is made of Kalanos from the 61st to the 68th chapter of this book. The manner in which he immolated himself is described by several classical authors, as Arrian, vii. 3; Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, c. 69; Lucian, *De Morte Peregrini*, c. 25; Diodôros Sic. xvii. 107. From Lucian we learn that Nearchos was present at the sacrifice, which must therefore have taken place at Sousa, and not at Persepolis as stated by some writers.

<sup>3</sup> Nearchos was a native of Crete, but settled at Amphipolis. He was brought up at the Macedonian court, where he was educated along with Alexander, who conceived for him an affection and esteem which time but served to confirm and deepen. He accompanied his master into India, where he rendered important services as admiral of the fleet, which had been constructed on the banks of the Hydaspes, and which he conducted in safety to the mouth of the Indus and thence to the head of the Persian Gulf. He committed to writing his Indian experiences and the incidents of the great voyage which has made his name for ever memorable. His memoirs have been lost, but their contents have been in great measure preserved in the works of Strabo and Arrian. In the division of the provinces made after Alexander's death he received the government of Lykia and Pamphylia, which he was content to hold in subordination to Antigonos. The time of his death is not known, but he is mentioned for the last time in history in the year 314 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> The invasions of India by Semiramis and Cyrus are as mythical as those which had been ascribed to Dionysos and Herakles. An account of the Assyrian invasion will be found in Diodoros (ii. 16-20), who excerpted it from the *Assyriaka* of Ktésias the Knidian. Semiramis, it is there stated, started on her Indian expedition from Baktra, and on reaching the Indus, defeated Stabrobates the Indian King in a naval engagement fought upon that river. She was less successful, however, when fighting on land, and was eventually compelled to return to Baktra after losing two-thirds of her vast army. It has been supposed that the form of the legend as it appears in Diodôros was not taken direct from Ktésias, but from Kleitarchos, who accompanied Alexander into India, and modified the narrative of Ktésias to harmonise it with his better knowledge of the country. Dunccker is of opinion that Ktésias derived his information from some Median story which celebrated the fall of Assyria before the Median arms, but the story is of purely mythic origin. Ktésias, who was a contemporary of Xenophon, lived for a number of years in Persia at the court of Artaxerxes Mnêmôn. Semiramis appears to have flourished in the eighth century B.C. The Assyrians extended their conquests into Ariana, but neither they nor the Persians under Cyrus penetrated into India. The first invasion of India by the latter people was made in the days of Darius Hystaspes.

with twenty men and Cyrus with only seven; for he thought it would be a glorious achievement if he led his victorious army in safety through those countries and nations where Semiramis and Cyrus had suffered such great disasters. He then no doubt believed the stories.

6. How can any just confidence be placed in the accounts of India derived from such an expedition as that of Cyrus or that of Semiramis? The same view is taken by Megasthenes, who enjoins us to put no faith in the ancient histories of India. No army, he says, was ever sent beyond their borders by the Indians, nor did any foreign army ever enter and conquer their country except the expeditions of Heraklês and Dionysos and the later invasion of the Macedonians. Yet Sesôstris the Egyptian<sup>1</sup> and Tearkôn the Ethiopian advanced as far as Europe, and Nabokodrosoros,<sup>2</sup> who is more famous among the Chaldæans than Heraklês (among the Greeks), marched to the Pillars,<sup>3</sup> which Tearkôn also reached, he who led his army from Ibêria to Thrace and the Pontos. Idanthysos again, the Skythian,<sup>4</sup> overran Asia as far as Egypt; but none of all these conquerors approached India, and Semiramis died before her enterprise was undertaken. The Persians did indeed

<sup>1</sup> Sesôstris has been generally identified with Ramses the Great, the third king of the nineteenth dynasty, and the father of Menephthah, the Pharaoh who oppressed the Israelites. Lepsius has however identified him with the Sesortasen or Osirtasen of the great twelfth dynasty. According to Greek writers Sesôstris extended his conquests to all parts of the world, even to the land of the Ganges and to Skythia. They seem indeed to have united in ascribing to him all the great deeds of the Pharaohs. Thus Diodôros, who calls him Sysôsis, says that he conquered the Ethiopians and made them tributary—that he then sent forth a fleet of 400 ships into the Red Sea, by the help of which he gained all its islands and subdued the neighbouring nations as far as to India, while he himself marching by land conquered all Asia, for he not only invaded all those nations which Alexander the Macedonian afterwards subdued, but even others whose territories he did not enter, for he both passed over the river Ganges and likewise pierced through all India to the main ocean and then subdued the Skythians as far as the Tanais which divides Europe from Asia.—Book i. c. 4.

<sup>2</sup> This is the Nebuchadnezzar of Scripture. The native form of his name is Nabu-kuduri-utsuri, and in the Behistun inscription the form is Nabukudracha.

<sup>3</sup> These are not the Pillars of Hercules, but those called by Ptolemy the Pillars of Alexander. These are situated above Albania and Iberia, on the borders of Asiatic Sarmatia. The line of march followed by Sesôstris led him to Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Iberia, and Kolchis. See Falconer's *Strabo*, iii. p. 75, note, also see *Annals* of Tacitus, ii. 60.

<sup>4</sup> According to Justin (ii. 3) the Skythian invasion of Egypt was frustrated by the swamps on its borders. He adds that the Skythians occupied fifteen years in the reduction of Asia, on which they imposed a moderate tribute. Herodotos (i. 103-106) mentions an invasion of Asia by Skythians under a king called Madyes. As Idanthysos may have been a common appellative of the Skythian Kings, Strabo may be here referring to that invasion.



summon the Hydrakai<sup>1</sup> to attend them as mercenaries, but they did not invade India, but only approached its frontiers when Cyrus marched against the Massagetai.<sup>2</sup>

7. Megasthenes and a few others think the stories of Heraklēs and Dionysos credible, but most writers, and among them Eratosthenēs, regard them as incredible and fabulous like the Grecian stories. In the *Bacchai* of Euripides, for instance, Dionysos uses this bombast:<sup>3</sup> 'And having left the lands abounding in gold of the Lydians and Phrygians and the sun-parched plains of the Persians and the Baktrian walls; and having come over the frozen land of the Medes and the happy Arabia and all Asia.'

In Sophokles again a person appears singing the praises of Nysa<sup>4</sup> as a mountain consecrated to Dionysos: 'Whence I beheld the renowned Nysa, the haunt of the Bacchanals, which the horned Iacchos<sup>5</sup> has made his most beloved seat, where is heard the scream of no bird,' and so forth.

<sup>1</sup> The Hydrakes are generally called the Oxydrakai. 'It has been thought,' says Bunbury, 'that a trace of their name may be found in that of Ooch, a city situated just below the junction of the Sutledge with the Chenab. Very little reliance can be placed on this etymology; but the position thus suggested would accord well with the narrative of Arrian, and on the whole it seems not improbable that the Oxydracæ may have occupied the district of Ooch together with the adjoining province of Bahawalpoor.' Arrian, however, in his *Indika* (c. iv.) places them on the Hydaspes above its confluence with the Akeshes, and if this was their real position they must have been situated to the north of the Malloi. They have been identified with the Sudras, a tribe of aborigines, or, at all events, of non-Aryan origin. The final *ka* in the Greek form of their name is a common Sanskrit suffix to ethnic names. They are called the Sydracæ by Pliny (xii. 6).

<sup>2</sup> Strabo (xi. viii. 2) indicates the geographical position of the Massagetai thus: 'Most of the Skythians, beginning from the Kaspian Sea, are called Dahai Skythai, and those situated more towards the east Massagetai and Sakai; the rest have the common appellation of Skythians, but each separate tribe has its peculiar name, and all, or the greater part of them, are nomads.' Herodotos (i. 201) had written to the same effect, adding that the Massagetai dwelt beyond the river Araxes over against the Issedonians. He winds up the first book of his *History* with an account of the war waged by Cyrus against this people and their gallant leader, Queen Tomyris. In the battle which terminated the war Cyrus was defeated and slain. The ethnic affinities of the Massagetai are uncertain. Some, as Rawlinson, judging from the latter half of their name, take them to be a Gothic race, while others would assign them a Mongolian origin. Some of their customs, as described both by Herodotos (*loc. cit.*) and by our author (xi. viii. 6, 7), who here copies him, were extremely barbarous.

<sup>3</sup> See the *Bacchai*, l. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Many places bore the name of Nysa. That of which Sophokles here speaks cannot be the Indian Nysa, which did not become known to the Greeks till Alexander's expedition, which was made more than a century after the poet's death.

<sup>5</sup> Iacchos was the solemn name of the mystic Bacchos at Eleusis. Diodoros (iii. 72) explains how he came by his horns: 'It is reported that Ammôn was portrayed with a ram's head because he always wore a helmet of that shape in

The poet (Homer) speaks of Lykourgos the Edonian<sup>1</sup> thus: 'Who formerly chased the nurses of the infuriated Dionysos along the holy mountain of Nysa.' So much regarding Dionysos. But with regard to Heraklēs, some relate that he penetrated only to the opposite extremities of the west, but others assert that he advanced both ways (both to the west and the east).

8. From such like stories they gave the name of Nysaia to some nation or other, and called their city Nysa, ascribing its foundation to Dionysos, and the hill above their city they called Meros, assigning as the reason for giving these names that the ivy and vine grew there, although the latter tree does not produce perfect fruit, for the bunches of grapes fall off on account of the excessive rains before they become ripe. The Oxydrakai are, they say, the descendants of Dionysos, because the vine grows in their country and because they display great pomp in their processions, for their kings set out on their military expeditions in the Bacchic manner, and on other occasions issue from the palace flaunting in flowered robes and attended with musicians beating drums—a custom which prevails among other Indians. When Alexander at the first assault had captured a rock called Aornos,<sup>2</sup> the foot of

his wars. Some report that he had horns naturally growing out at his temples; and hence his son Dionysos is represented in the same manner, and men of later times hand this down as a most certain truth.' The Egyptian Osiris is sometimes identified with Dionysos.

<sup>1</sup> The Edonians were a Thracian people settled along the river Strymôn. The legend of the persecution of Dionysos by Lykourgos and the punishment inflicted on the latter for the impious outrage will be found in the sixth book of the *Iliad*, 130-140. The story as there given has been much varied by later poets and other writers.

The Indian Nysa may perhaps be the city which in Ptolemy's *Geography* is called Nagara or Dionysopolis. If so, it must have been situated in the valley of the Kabul river, four or five miles to the west of Jalālābād. Colonel Holdich places the Nysæans on the 'well-watered slopes of those mountains which crown the uplands of Swat and Bajour, where they cultivated the vine for generations.' The vine grows in some parts of India as far south as Patna.

<sup>2</sup> In my work on *Alexander's Invasion of India* I have examined the various conflicting theories regarding the identification of this celebrated rock, and adopted the theory of General Abbott that Aornos was that part of Mount Mahābān which abuts on the western bank of the Indus. Dr. Bellew in his work on the ethnography of Afghanistan suggests that the Greek name of the rock, *Aornos*, is a transformation of the native word *Aranai*, which, he says, is a common Hindi name for hill-ridges in that part of the country, adding that there is an *aranai* spur of Mahābān, near Charorai, in the Chāmā Valley. He seems to identify the rock with the modern *Malika*, near the summit of Mahābān, the stronghold in recent years of the Wahabi fanatics of Hindustan, at the destruction of which he was himself present at the close of the Ambela campaign of 1863-64.



which is washed by the Indus near its source,<sup>1</sup> the Macedonians magnified the achievement, declaring that Heraklēs had thrice assailed the rock and been thrice repulsed. The Sibai,<sup>2</sup> it is said, were the descendants of the men who had accompanied Heraklēs in his expedition. They had preserved tokens of their descent, for they wore skins like Heraklēs, and carried the club, and had the figure of a club branded on their oxen and mules. They confirmed this fable by the story about the Kaukasos and Promêtheus, for they transferred the tale thither from Pontos on the slight pretext of their having seen a sacred cave among the Paropamisadai.<sup>3</sup> They asserted that this was the prison of Promêtheus, that Heraklēs came thither for the deliverance of Promêtheus, and that this was the Kaukasos<sup>4</sup> which the Greeks represented to be the prison of Promêtheus.

9. That these are the inventions of the flatterers of Alexander is evident, first because the writers do not agree with each other, for while some speak of these things, others make no mention of them at all. For it is not probable that deeds so glorious and well adapted to foster pride were not ascertained, and if ascertained, were not thought worth mentioning, especially by writers of the highest credit. It is evident next from the fact that the intervening nations through which the expeditions of Dionysos and Heraklēs must have passed on their way to India have no proof to show of their passage through their territories. Besides, the dress worn by Heraklēs of the nature mentioned

<sup>1</sup> The Indus rises in Tibet, near the sources of the Satlej, on the north side of Mount Kailāsa. The ancients, however, supposed that it had its sources in the mountain gorges, whence it issues into the Indian plains at a distance of some seventy miles above Attak. By the time it reaches these gorges it has described a course of about eight hundred miles, and has a course still before it of upwards of a thousand.

<sup>2</sup> The territories of the Sibai were situated to the west of the Akesines, below its junction with the Hydaspes. What is here stated regarding this people is repeated by Arrian in his *Indika* (c. v.), by Curtius (ix. 4), who calls them the Sobii, and by Diodoros (xvii. 96). Their name, as Bohlen points out, indicates that they worshipped Siva.

<sup>3</sup> The Paropamisadai are more correctly denominated by Ptolemy the Paropanisadai. The tribes comprised under this name were located along the southern and eastern sides of the Hindu-Kush, and thus occupied Kabulistan and a considerable part of Afghanistan. Some have supposed that the caves here mentioned were those of Bamiān, but Abbott has suggested a different identification.

<sup>4</sup> The Macedonians transferred the name of the Kaukasos situated between the Euxine Sea and the Caspian to the Indian Mountains, either because they thought that the one range was really connected with the other, or because the Indians gave then, as they do now, the name of *K'ho*, which signifies *white*, to the great chain of mountains covered with snow from which the Indus and its main tributaries descend. See Falconer's *Strabo*, iii. 77, note 3.

is much later than the Trojan record, being the invention of those who composed the *Herakleia*, whether the author of this work was Peisander<sup>1</sup> or some one else. The old wooden statues do not represent Heraklēs in that attire.

10. We ought therefore in such circumstances to receive everything that makes the nearest approach to probability. I have already to the best of my ability discussed this question in the introduction to this work,<sup>2</sup> and I shall now at once make use of what was then settled, and add other particulars which may serve to elucidate the subject. From the former discussion it appeared that the views set forth by Eratosthenes in the third book of his *Geography*, in a summary concerning the country regarded as India at the time of its invasion by Alexander, are the most credible of all. At that period the Indus formed the boundary between India and Arianē, which lay immediately to the west,<sup>3</sup> and was subject to the Persians; for in later times the Indians occupied a great part of Arianē which they received from the Macedonians.<sup>4</sup> The account given by Eratosthenes is as follows:—

11. India is bounded on the north from Ariana to the eastern sea by the extremities of the Tauros<sup>5</sup> which the Macedonians call the Kaukasos, while the natives give distinctive names to the several parts, such as Paropamisos, Emōdos, and Imaös, and

<sup>1</sup> Peisander, a native of Kameiros, in the island of Rhodes, flourished about the middle of the seventh century B.C. His poem, which, as its name indicates, celebrated the exploits of Hēraklēs, consisted of two books, of which only a few lines have been preserved. In this poem Hēraklēs was for the first time represented as armed with a club, and covered with the lion's skin, instead of the usual armour of the heroic period.

<sup>2</sup> Book II. i. 2.

<sup>3</sup> That India was limited to the eastern side of the Indus was the view generally held in antiquity, and that which was favoured by the Hindus themselves. The name was, however, sometimes extended to comprise the regions lying between that river and the great mountain ranges of the Hindu-Kush and Paropanisos (see Pliny, vi. 23). This extension of the name seems to be justified when we consider that in many cases the names of the tribes, mountains, and rivers of Northern Afghanistan, as we find them given in the historians of Alexander and in Ptolemy's *Geography*, were of Sanskrit origin, and that this region was at one time more or less fully occupied by Aryan settlers, who thence diffused themselves over the Panjāb and other parts of India. This subject is discussed at length in Elphinstone's *History of India*, pp. 331-36, and also by V. de Saint-Martin, *Étude*, pp. 9-14.

<sup>4</sup> Strabo here refers to the cession made by Seleukos Nikator to Sandrokottos of the provinces to westward of the Indus—a matter to which he subsequently refers in his description of Ariana, sec. 9.

<sup>5</sup> 'Eratosthenes and Strabo believed that the eastern parts of Asia terminated at the mouth of the Ganges, and that, consequently, this river discharged itself into the Eastern Ocean at the place where terminated the long chain of Tauros.'—Falconer, iii. p. 78, n. 3.



others besides;<sup>1</sup> on the west it is bounded by the river Indus; the southern and eastern sides are much greater than the others and project into the Atlantic Ocean,<sup>2</sup> and the country becomes of the shape of a rhomboid, each of the greater sides exceeding the opposite by 3000 stadia; and this is the extent of the extremity common to the eastern and southern coast which projects equally on both sides beyond the rest of the coast. The western side from the Kaukasian Mountains to the southern sea along the river Indus to its outlets is estimated at 13,000 stadia, so that the opposite eastern side with the addition of the 3000 stadia of the promontory will extend to 16,000 stadia. Such then is the smallest and the greatest breadth of India. As regards the length from west to east,<sup>3</sup> we can state it with greater confidence as far as Palibothra, since it has been measured in *schoinoi*,<sup>4</sup> and is a royal road of 10,000 stadi. The extent of the parts beyond can only be conjectured from the ascent of vessels from the sea by the Ganges to Palibothra. The entire length at the shortest computation will be 16,000 stadia. This is the estimate of Eratosthenes, who says that he took it chiefly from the register of the stages on the royal road which was of unquestionable authority, and herein Megasthenes agrees with him. Patrokles however says that the length was less by 1000 stadia. If

<sup>1</sup> Compare what is said in Arrian's *Indika*, c. 2: 'The range (of Tauros) bears different names in the various countries which it traverses. In one place it is called Parapamisos, in another Emodos, and in a third Imaos, and it has perhaps other names besides these. The Macedonians who served with Alexander called it Kaukasos.' The eastern part of the Indian Kaukasos is called the *Hindu-Kush*, and the western *Paropamisos*, or, as Ptolemy and Pliny spell it, *Paropanisos*. Writers are not agreed as to the etymology of the name. In the first work of this series, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian* (p. 182, note), their different views will be found stated. Dr. Bellew advanced yet another. The word, he says, is supposed to be derived from the Hindi *parvabâma*, 'flat-topped mountain.' Emodos generally designated that part of the Himâlayan range which extended along Nepâl and Bhûtan and onward towards the east. Lassen derives the name from the Sanskrit *haimavai*, in Prâkrit *haimota*, 'snowy.' Other forms are *Emodo*, *Emodon*, and *Hemodes*. Imaos designated the *Bolor* chain which has been for ages the boundary between China and Turkestan. Pliny (vi. 21) calls it a *promontorium* of the Hemodus Mountains, and says correctly that it means 'snowy' in the speech of the inhabitants.

<sup>2</sup> At the time when Strabo wrote, the name of the *Atlantic* was applied to the whole body of water by which the world was surrounded.

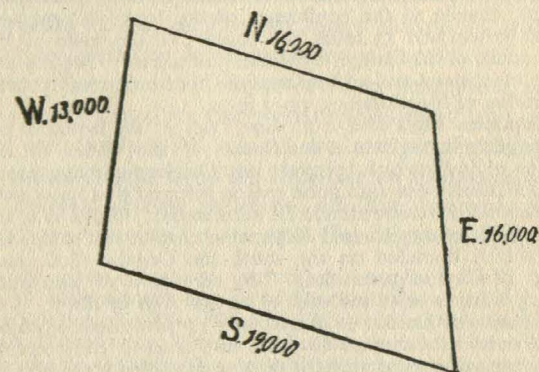
<sup>3</sup> The length, however, should be reckoned as from north to south. The extent so reckoned is 1870 miles.

<sup>4</sup> According to Herodotos the *schoinos* was equal to two Persian parasangs or sixty stadia, but by Eratosthenes it was taken as equal to forty stadia, while by others it was reduced to thirty-two only (Pliny xii. 30). The stathmos or distance from station to station was not a strict measure of distance but was longer or shorter according to the time occupied in traversing it.

again we add to this distance the extent of the promontory which runs far out to the east, this addition of 3000 stadia will make India of its greatest length.<sup>1</sup> This length is measured

<sup>1</sup> Falconer has here a strange rendering: 'If again we add to this distance the extent of the extremity which advances far towards the east, the greatest length of India will be 3000 stadia.'

In stating the dimensions of India, Strabo, like Eratosthenes, adopted the computations of Patroklès in preference to those of Megasthenes. Patroklès was an officer in high command under Seleukos Nikator, and also under his son and successor, Antiochos I., by whom he was entrusted with the government of all the provinces situated between the frontiers of India and the Kaspian Sea. He availed himself of his position to advance the cause of geography, and Eratosthenes in reforming the map of the world found valuable material for his purpose in the information regarding India and Central Asia which Patroklès had collected and reduced to writing. Strabo considered him a trustworthy authority, and quotes him in several passages, as for instance in Book ii. c. 6, where he says: 'Nor does Patroklès appear to state anything improbable when he says that the army of Alexander took a very hasty view of everything (in India), but Alexander himself a more exact one, causing the whole country to be described by men well acquainted with it; which description, he says, was afterwards put into his hand by Xenokles the treasurer. Strabo's description, as here given, of the configuration of India may be represented by a rhomboid of this construction, where



the north side is represented by a line drawn from the supposed sources of the Indus to the mouth of the Ganges; the west side by a line drawn from the same point to the mouth of the Indus; the south side by a line drawn to Cape Comorin, and the east side by a line from that Cape to the mouth of the Ganges, beyond which Strabo's knowledge of the east did not extend. As the Olympic stadium was equal to 606½ English feet, the length of the western side (13,000 stadia), measured along the course of the Indus from its sources downward to the sea, would be 1494 British miles. The actual length of the Indus is however 1810 miles. The ancients did not know the real position of its sources, nor in fact was this point ascertained till comparatively recent times. Strabo appears to have estimated the distance of the sources from Alexander's Bridge at 3000 stadia (= 345 miles), since all the accounts agreed in taking 10,000 stadia as the distance of the Bridge from the sea. This estimate, we may remark, is excessive, as the distance is only 940 miles instead of 1149, the equivalent of 10,000 stadia. The distance from the Bridge to the sources was estimated by Patroklès at 2000 stadia only, or 228 miles. Arrian in the third chapter of his *Indika* quotes, like Strabo, the



from the mouths of the Indus along the coast of the outer sea to the promontory already mentioned and its eastern limits. There the people live called the Kôniakoi.<sup>1</sup>

12. From this it will be seen how discrepant are the statements of other writers. Thus Ktésias<sup>2</sup> says that India is not less than the rest of Asia; Onésikritos regards it as the third part of the habitable world, and Nearchos says that to traverse the plains only, occupies a journey of four months. Megasthenes and Déimachos are more moderate in their computations, for they set down the distance from the southern sea to Kaukasos

statements of Eratosthenes with regard to the dimensions of India, and compares them with those of Megasthenes. See Cunningham's *Anc. Geog. of India*, pp. 1-3.

With regard to the stages on the Royal Road, Pliny (vi. 21), citing Diognetos and Bæton, the measurers of Alexander's marches, thus records their names and the intervening distances: 'From Peucolatis, a town of the Indians, to the river Indus and the town of Taxilla 60 miles; to the famous river Hydaspes 120 miles; to the Hypasis, a no less notable river [(xxix)], 390, which was the limit of the marches of Alexander: the river however having been crossed, and altars dedicated on the opposite banks, the letters too of the king himself agree with these figures. The rest of the stages were traversed for Seleucus Nicator: to the Sydrus 169 miles; to the Jomanes river the same number of miles (some copies add 5 miles); thence to the Ganges 112 miles 500 (paces); to Rhodapha 568 miles (others give 325 miles for this distance); to the town of Callinipaxa 167 miles 500 paces (others give 265 miles); thence to the confluence of the Jomanes river and the Ganges 625 miles (most writers add 13 miles 500 paces); to the town of Palibothra 425 miles; to the mouth of the Ganges 637 miles 500 paces.' For the identification of the places here mentioned and an explanation of the figures of distance, see my work on the *Indika* of Megasthenes, pp. 130-32.

<sup>1</sup> From Pomponius Mela and from line 1148 in the beautiful poem in which Dionysios Periégētēs has given a description of the world, we learn that the southern portion of India which 'projects into the deep-eddy ocean' was called Kôlis, and hence it has been with good reason inferred that for Kôniakoi, a name which is inexplicable, Kôliakoi should be substituted. Kôlis is a form of Kôry, which is itself a form of the Sanskrit Kôti, which means *end* or *tip*, and designated the headland which bounded on the south the Orgalic Gulf, into which the northern point of Ceylon protrudes. The curvature of this gulf was called Râmadhanuh or Râma's bow, and each of its tips Kôti or Kôry.

<sup>2</sup> Ktésias, a native of Knidos in Karia, was by profession a physician, and in this capacity lived for a number of years in Persia at the court of Artaxerxes Mnêmon. He turned to good account the opportunities which this position gave him of making himself acquainted with the history of the country, for he not only obtained permission from the king to consult the state archives, but had the further advantage of being able to collect information from conversing with the envoys who came to the court from the various provinces of the empire. The result of his inquiries, followed by a record of events which befell in his own time, he gave to the world in a great work called the *Persika*, which exists only in an abridgment of its contents made by Phôtios and in citations made by other writers. He wrote also an *Indika*, a work for which he collected the materials during his residence in Persia, and which therefore describes India in accordance with the ideas which were current about it among the Persians, who seem to have taken it for their wonderland. It was written in a very attractive style, and hence, though discredited on account of the fictions with which it abounded, it enjoyed nevertheless a great popularity such as was accorded in our own country to *Gulliver's Travels*. This work, like the *Persika*, survives only in an abridgment made by Phôtios and in extracts found in other writers.

at more than 20,000 stadia; Déimachos<sup>1</sup> says that in some places the distance exceeds 30,000 stadia.<sup>2</sup> To these writers we have replied in the earlier parts of this work.<sup>3</sup> At present it is sufficient to say that all this pleads in behalf of those who crave indulgence, if in treating on Indian matters they do not state their views with confidence.

13. The whole of India is watered by rivers, some of which unite with the two greatest, the Indus and the Ganges, while others enter the sea through mouths of their own. They all have their sources in the Kaukasos. At first they flow southward, but while some continue their course in this direction—those especially which fall into the Indus—others are diverted like the Ganges towards the east. This river, which is the largest in India, descends from the mountainous country and turns eastward upon its reaching the plains. Then flowing past Palibothra, a very large city, it pursues its way to the sea in that quarter and discharges into it by a single mouth.<sup>4</sup> The Indus falls into the southern sea by two mouths,<sup>5</sup> encompassing the country called Patalênê,<sup>6</sup> which resembles the Delta in Egypt. By the vapours which ascend from so many rivers, and by the Etesian winds, India, as Eratosthenes states, is watered by the summer rains, and the level country is inundated. During the rainy season flax and millet, as well as sesamum, rice, and bos-moron are sown; and in the winter season, wheat, barley, pulse, and other esculents with which we are unacquainted. Nearly the same animals are bred in India as in Ethiopia and in Egypt, and the Indian rivers produce all the animals found in the rivers of these countries, except the hippopotamus,<sup>7</sup> although

<sup>1</sup> Déimachos, as we learn from our author's second book (i. 10), was sent as ambassador to Allitrochades, the son of Sandroktotos and King of Palimbothra, by Seleukos Nikator, the King of Syria. He wrote a work on India which consisted at least of two books. Strabo singles him out as the most mendacious of all the writers on India. How far this censure is deserved we have no means of judging.

<sup>2</sup> 20,000 stadia are equivalent to 2030 English miles. The measurement is made from the mouth of the Indus to some part of the Hindu-Kush. The distance is grossly exaggerated.

<sup>3</sup> Book II. i. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Ptolemy, who wrote more than a century later than Strabo, assigns to the Ganges five mouths and gives the name of each. He was the first writer who gave any definite information regarding the shores of Bengal at and beyond the mouths of that river.

<sup>5</sup> The number of mouths by which the Indus enters the sea has frequently varied. Ptolemy gives it seven.

<sup>6</sup> Patalênê, the Delta of the Indus, received its name from the city of Patala, which was its capital and stood where the river in Alexander's time bifurcated, probably, as Major-General Haig thinks, not far from a spot 35 miles from Haidarâbâd in the direction of S.-E.

<sup>7</sup> This animal is exclusively confined to Africa.



Onêsikritos affirms that even these animals are found in them. With regard to the inhabitants, the men of the south resemble the Ethiopians in their complexion, but in their face and in their hair they are like other people; for their hair does not curl on account of the moistness of the atmosphere. The men of the north again are like the Egyptians.

14. They say that Taprobanê<sup>1</sup> is an island lying out in the sea, distant from the most southern parts of India which are next to the country of the Kôniakoi, a seven days' voyage to southward, and extending about 8000 stadia in the direction of Ethiopia. It too produces elephants. Such are the accounts of Eratosthenes; and these, when supplemented by the accounts of other writers when they convey exact information, will determine the nature of our description of India.

15. Onêsikritos, for example, says with regard to Taprobanê that it has a magnitude of 5000 stadia, without distinction of length or breadth; that it is distant from the mainland a voyage of twenty days, but that the vessels employed for the voyage sail badly owing to the wretched quality of their sails and to the peculiarity of their structure;<sup>2</sup> that other islands lie between it and India, but that Taprobanê lies farthest to the south; that there are found around its shores cetaceous animals

<sup>1</sup> Taprobanê is Ceylon. Our author in his Second Book (c. i. 14) writes of it thus: 'Taprobanê is universally believed to be a large island situated in the high seas, and lying to the south opposite India. Its length in the direction of Ethiopia is, they say, more than 5000 stadia. From thence ivory, tortoise-shells, and other articles are brought in large quantities to the Indian markets. Now if this island is broad in proportion to its length we cannot suppose that the whole distance, inclusive of the space which separates it from India is less than 3000 stadia, which represents the distance of the (southern) extremity of the habitable earth from Meroë, since the extremities of India are under the same parallel as Meroë.' Meroë, however, lies seventeen degrees to the north of the equator, while Cape Comorin the S. extremity of India only eight degrees. The ancient accounts are singularly erroneous with regard to the position, size, and shape of this island. Ptolemy, who has given a long and minute description of it, makes it to be about fourteen times its actual size, although he determined properly its general form and outline. The author again of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* has made it extend so far westward as almost to adjoin the African continent. Its real length from north to south is 271½ miles, and its greatest width 137½ miles. Its area is one-sixth smaller than that of Ireland. Our author, however (ii. v. 32), makes it to be no less than Britain. Its name *Taprobanê* is generally regarded as a transliteration of *Tāmrāparṇi*, the name which Vijaya, who led the first Indian colony into the island, gave to the place where he first landed. The Pali form of this name, *Tāmapanni*, is found in the inscription of As'oka on the Girnār rock. Another name of Ceylon—one given to it by Brahmanical writers—is *Dwīpa Rāvana*, i.e. 'the island of Rāvana,' and this may be perhaps the origin of *Taprobanê*. 'The voyage from the Ganges to Ceylon, in the time of Eratosthenes, occupied seven days, whence he (Strabo) concluded that Ceylon was seven days' sail from the continent.'—Falconer's *Strabo*.

<sup>2</sup> The text seems to be here corrupt. It is thus translated by Falconer: 'Vessels built with prows at each end, but without holds and keels.'

which are amphibious and in appearance like oxen, horses, and other land animals.<sup>1</sup>

16. Nearchos,<sup>2</sup> speaking about the accretion of land produced by the rivers, advances these instances. The plains of the Hermos, Kaystros, Maiandros, and Kaikos are so named, because the plains owe their growth, or rather their production, to the deposition of great quantities of soft and fertile soil which the rivers bring down from the mountains, so that the plains are, so to speak, the offspring of the rivers, and it is said with truth that the plains belong to them. This exactly agrees with what is said by Herodotos<sup>3</sup> in speaking of the Nile and the land about it, namely, that the land is the gift of the river. Hence Nearchos says that the Nile was properly called by the same name as Egypt.

17. Aristoboulos<sup>4</sup> states what follows: Rain and snow fall only on the mountains and the regions which lie at their base, and the plains experience neither the one nor the other, and are never laid under water except when the rivers rise; the mountains are covered with snow in winter, and early in spring the rains set in and continue to increase, pouring down in torrents both night and day without any intermission<sup>5</sup> while the Etesian winds, which last till the rising of Arcturus,<sup>6</sup> prevail; the rivers, on becoming full by the

<sup>1</sup> Aelian in his *History of Animals* (xvi. 18, 19) names and describes a number of very peculiar cetaceans found in the seas which surround Taprobanê. 'The sea,' he says, 'is reported to breed an incredible number of fish, both of the smaller fry and of the monstrous sort, among the latter being some which have the heads of lions and of panthers and of other wild beasts, and also of rams; and, what is still more wonderful, there are monsters which in shape closely resemble satyrs; others are in appearance like women, but instead of having locks of hair are furnished with prickles. It is affirmed, moreover, that this sea contains certain strangely formed creatures to represent which in a picture would baffle all the skill of the artists of the country, who for sensational effect are in the habit of painting monsters which consist of different parts of various animals pieced together. . . . They say whales also frequent this sea, though it is not true that they approach the shore lying in wait for tunnies. The dolphins are reported to be of two sorts. . . . There are also sea-hares which in all respects but the fur resemble land-hares.'

<sup>2</sup> This passage from Nearchos has been quoted by Arrian also. See his *Anabasis*, Book v. c. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. ii. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Aristoboulos, a native of Kassandreia, accompanied Alexander on his eastern expedition and wrote a history of his wars, which was one of the principal sources used by Arrian in the composition of his *Anabasis*, and by Plutarch in his *Life of Alexander*. It is said that he began the composition of his history when he was eighty-four years of age, and that he lived to ninety.

<sup>5</sup> The rains however do not set in before the month of June, but the rivers begin to rise earlier than this, owing to the melting of the snows.

<sup>6</sup> The rising of Arcturus indicated the beginning of autumn, and the setting of the Pleiades the beginning of winter. The rainy season in India extends to the middle of October or a little later.



melting of the snow and by the rains, irrigate the level country. These things, he says, were observed by himself and others when they were proceeding to India from the Paropamisadai, after the setting of the Plêiades, and while they remained in the mountainous country belonging to the Aspasioi and to Assakanos<sup>1</sup> during the winter. In the beginning of spring they descended to the plains and the great city of Taxila, whence they went on to the Hydaspes and the land of Pôros. During the winter they saw no rain but only snow. Rain fell for the first time while they were at Taxila.<sup>2</sup> When they descended to the Hydaspes<sup>3</sup> and conquered Pôros they

<sup>1</sup> Alexander recrossed the Indian Kaukasos to invade India in the spring of the year 327 B.C. and spent all the remainder of that year in subduing the fierce and warlike tribes that occupied the mountainous regions which lay to the north of the Kabul river. The Aspasioi are no doubt the Hippasioi whom Alexander defeated in a great pitched battle. The word *Hippasioi* is probably a Greek translation of the name of this people, which may be rendered by the English word *cavaliers*. Their country is still famous as in the days of old for its breed of horses. Assakanos was the King of Massaga, and was slain in the course of its siege by the troops of Alexander.

<sup>2</sup> The site of Taxila has been precisely determined by General Sir A. Cunningham, who places it in the immediate neighbourhood of Kâlaka-Serai, where he found the ruins of a fortified city which must have been one of great extent, as the ruins were scattered over a wide space. They lie about eight miles to the south-east of Hasan Abdâl, and are a three days' journey distant from the Indus. Through the midst of the ruins runs a small stream, the Tabrâ-Nâlâ, which is manifestly the river called variously in different MSS. of the *Pseudo-Kallisthenês* the Tiberoboam, Boroam, Baroam, Tiberiopotamus, and Tibernâbon. The *nâbon* of the last name is evidently an error made in transcription for *nâlon*, the Greek form of the Indian word *nâlâ*, which means a *rivulet*. The name of the city in Sanskrit is Taksha-s'ilâ, a compound which, according to Dr. H. Wilson, means *hewn rock*, according to others, *the Rock of the Takkas*, but more probably, as Professor Bühler explains it, *the Rock of Takshaka*, the great Nâga King. The Pâli form of the name, as found in a copper-plate inscription, is Takkasila, while in Ptolemy the form is Taxiala. At the time of the Macedonian invasion, Taxila was a very rich and flourishing city, and it continued to be such for many centuries thereafter. The great Asôka made it his place of residence while he held the vice-royalty of the Panjâb. It was then for some time held under subjection to the Græco-Baktrian throne, but in the year 126 B.C. was seized by the Sus or Abars, who in their turn were dispossessed of it by the Kushans under the celebrated Buddhist King, Kanishka, whose death is referred to the earlier years of the first century of our era. Towards the middle of that century Taxila is said to have been visited by Apollonios of Tyana and his companion Damis, who says it reminded the former of Athens by the appearance which it presented to his eyes. Outside the walls they found a beautiful temple of porphyry containing a shrine, around which were hung pictures on copper tablets, which represented the feats of Alexander and Pôros. The city was visited in later times by the Chinese pilgrims, Fa-hian (in 400 A.D.) and Hwen Thsiang, first in 630 and afterwards in 643. After this Taxila disappears entirely from history, and we do not so much as know how or when its ruin was accomplished. See further n. 4, p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> The Hydaspes is now the Jihlam or river of Behat. It drains the whole of the valley of Kas'mîr and discharges its waters into the Akesinês or Chandra-bhâgâ, the river now called the Chenâb. By the natives of Kas'mîr it is called

advanced eastward to the Hypanis and returned thence to the Hydaspes. At this time it rained incessantly, especially while the Etesian winds were blowing. The rains ceased, however, at the rising of Arcturus. After spending some time in building boats on the Hydaspes, they set sail a few days before the setting of the Plêiades, and having occupied all the late autumn and the winter and the following spring and summer in making the downward voyage, they reached Patalênê about the rising of the dog-star. They spent ten months on the voyage without ever seeing rain,<sup>1</sup> even when the Etesian winds were at their height. The rivers, however, were full, and inundated the plains. The sea was found unnavigable from the prevalence of contrary winds, but no land breezes succeeded.

18. Nearchos writes to the same effect, but does not agree with Aristoboulos regarding the summer rains, for he says that the plains are watered with rain in summer, but are without rain in winter. Both writers speak about the rising of the rivers. Nearchos says that when they encamped near the Akesinês<sup>2</sup> they were obliged to shift their quarters to higher ground when the river rose, and that this occurred at the summer solstice. Aristoboulos even sets down the measure of the height to which the river rose above its former level, and this was forty cubits, of which twenty filled the channel up to the brim and the other twenty inundated the plains.<sup>3</sup> They concur also in stating that the cities built upon mounds become islands, as in Egypt and Ethiopia, and that the inundation ceases after the setting of Arcturus when the waters subside. They add that the land, while still but half dried, is sown, and

the Bedasta—a form of its Sanskrit name Vitastâ, which means 'wide-spread.' The form used by Ptolemy is *Bidaspes*, which is closer to the indigenous name than the more common *Hydaspes*.

<sup>1</sup> The climate of Sindh is remarkably dry and sultry. Tarkhana has been known to have had no rain for three years in succession.

<sup>2</sup> The Akesinês, now the Chenâb, the largest of all the Panjâb rivers, issues high up on the mountains from a small lake, which, Vigne says, is called the Chandrabhâgâ. It reaches the level country after a descent of 300 miles. It is joined by all the other Panjâb rivers, receiving on the right the Hydaspes, on the left the Hydraôtes, and farther down on the same side, the mingled waters of the Hyphasis and the S'atadru or Satlej. In Alexander's time it joined the Indus near Uchh, but now the point of junction is lower down, near Mithankôt, whence the distance to the sea is 470 miles. The word *Akesinês* is the Greek form of *Asiknî*, the name under which the river is found mentioned in one of the Vedic hymns. This name appears to have been given it on account of the dark colour of its waters. Its other Sanskrit name, the *Chandra-bhâgâ*, has been inaccurately transformed by Ptolemy into *Sandabal*.

<sup>3</sup> The ordinary depth of the river is not more than half this depth.



though scratched into furrows by any common labourer, it nevertheless brings what is planted to perfection and makes the fruits of good quality. Rice, according to Aristoboulos, stands in water and is sown in beds.<sup>1</sup> The plant is four cubits in height, has many ears, and yields a large produce. The time of its ingathering is about the setting of the Pléiades, and it is husked in the same way as barley. It grows elsewhere also—in Baktrianê, Babylônia, Sousis, and in Lower Syria. Megillos says that rice is sown before the rains, and that it does not require to be irrigated and transplanted, as it is supplied with abundance of water. Onêsikritos says of bosmoron<sup>2</sup> that it is a smaller grain than wheat, and is grown in countries between rivers. It is roasted after being threshed out, and the men are bound by oath not to take it away before it has been roasted, to prevent the seed from being exported.

19. Aristoboulos, on comparing in what respects this country resembles Egypt and Ethiopia, and in what others it differs from them, and finding that while the Nile is flooded with the rains of the south, the Indian rivers are flooded from the north, inquires why the intermediate places have no rain; for rain does not fall in the Thêbaïs as far as Syênê and the places near Meroê, nor in the parts of India between Patalênê and the Hydaspes. But in the country beyond, which has rain and snow, the land, he tells us, is cultivated very much in the same way as in the country without India, for it is supplied with

<sup>1</sup> This is the practice still. The beds are squares, of which the sides are from twenty to thirty yards in length. They are separated from each other by dikes of earth about two feet in height.

<sup>2</sup> It has often struck me as strange that in discussions on the antiquity of civilisation more stress has not been laid on the lapse of time proved by the great variety of kinds of cereals, pulses, and vegetables. To take rice, I, when settlement officer in Central India, had a list of about forty different kinds of rice, most of which I was able to discriminate, as in discussions on the quality of the soil, the ryots used constantly to point out certain kinds as infallibly indicating certain soils. But the number of kinds of rice is not restricted to forty or fifty. Dealers used to tell me of about two hundred kinds. The exceeding great antiquity of the cultivation of rice in India is proved by the name "rice" and the Greek *ῥιζα*, both of which are derived from the Tamil "arisi." Rice was exported to Europe from the ancient seaports of Barygaza, the modern Broach, and Sûrpâraka (Surat), which were the headquarters of the western trade, and its exports must date from a time when the people in the west of Bombay and at the mouths of the Indus spoke Dravidian tongues, and the Aryan Sanskrit and dialects derived from it were unknown to the country traders. But before a foreign trade began, numerous varieties must have been developed, and the development of these varieties, with the culture and agricultural skill necessary for their preservation, must have required a vast lapse of time, to be numbered by hundreds if not thousands of years.—From a paper by J. F. Hewitt in the *Journal of the R.S.A.*, Oct. 1890, p. 730.

<sup>2</sup> Bosmoron is perhaps wild barley, or perhaps millet.

moisture by the rains and snows. It appears probable from what he has stated, that India is also liable to earthquakes as it becomes porous from the excess of moisture and opens into fissures, whence even the course of the rivers is altered. He says that when he was sent on some business, he saw a tract of land deserted which contained more than a thousand cities with their villages, for the Indus, having forsaken its proper channel, turned itself into another on the left much deeper, into which it burst like a cataract, so that it no longer watered the country on the right, from which it receded, for this had been raised by the inundations not only above the level of the new channel but even above that of the new inundations.<sup>1</sup>

20. What has been said about the inundations of the rivers and the absence of a land breeze is confirmed by Onêsikritos; for he says that the coast is marshy, especially at the mouths of the rivers, on account of the deposit of silt, the action of the flood-tides and the violence of the winds which blow from the sea.<sup>2</sup> Megasthenes indicates the fertility of India by the fact of the soil producing two crops every year both of fruits and grain. Eratosthenes writes to the same effect, for he speaks of a winter and a summer sowing and of rains at both seasons alike; for a year, he says, never passes in which rain does not fall at these periods, whence ensues a great abundance, the soil never failing to bear crops. An abundance of fruit is produced by trees; and the roots of plants, particularly of large reeds, are sweet, both in their nature and by coction; for the water, whether it comes from the clouds or the rivers, is warmed by the rays of the sun. He means, I think, to say, that what is called by other nations the ripening of fruits and juices is called by the Indians *coction*, and this tends to produce a flavour no less agreeable than the coction by fire. To the same cause he attributes the great flexibility of the branches of trees from which the wheels of carriages are made, as well as the fact that the country has trees upon which wool grows. Nearchos says that their webs of fine cotton were made from

<sup>1</sup> 'For ages the Indus has been pushing its bed across the valley from east to west, generally by the gradual process of erosion, which effectually wipes out every trace of town and village on its banks; but at times also by a more or less sudden shifting of its waters into entirely new channels, leaving large tracts of country to go to waste, and forcing the inhabitants of many a populous place to abandon their old homes, and follow the river in search of new settlements.' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N. S., vol. xvi. p. 281.

<sup>2</sup> The alluvial deposits of the Indus make the swampy soil of which the rice-fields of lower Sindh are formed.



this wool,<sup>1</sup> and that the Macedonians used it for stuffing mattresses and the padding of saddles. The Sêric fabrics are of a similar kind and made from some sorts of byssos bark, by combing the fibres.<sup>2</sup> About reeds he has noted that they yield honey,<sup>3</sup> although there are no bees; and he mentions a fruit-bearing tree, the produce of which causes intoxication.

21. India produces many remarkable trees: among others, one having branches which bend downwards, and leaves which are not less in size than a shield. Onêsikritos when describing minutely the country of Mousikanos,<sup>4</sup> which he says is situated in the most southern part of India, relates that there are some large trees from which branches grow out to the length even of twelve cubits. These branches then grow downwards as if they had been bent until they touch the ground. They next penetrate into the soil and take root like shoots that have been planted. Then they spring upwards and form a trunk, whence again, in the manner described, branches bend themselves downward and plant the ground with one layer after another, and so on in this order, so that from a single tree there is formed a long shady canopy like a tent supported by numerous pillars. As regards the size of the trees, he states that

<sup>1</sup> India has two distinct species of cotton, *gossypium herbaceum*, and *gossypium arboreum* or tree-cotton. The former only is made into cloth, while the latter yields a soft and silky texture, which is used for padding cushions, pillows, etc. Pliny says (xix. 1) that Upper Egypt produces a shrub bearing a nut from the inside of which wool is got white and soft.

<sup>2</sup> The Sêric fabrics were silk-webs imported from the northern provinces of China. The first ancient author who refers to the use of silk is Aristotle (*H. A. V.* 19). It may be inferred from what he states, that silk in the raw state was brought from the interior of Asia and manufactured in Kôs as early as the fourth century B.C. Florus states (iii. 11) that in the Parthian expedition in which Crassus was defeated and slain, the lieutenants of the Parthian King displayed before the Roman army their gilded standards, oscillating with the silken flags which were attached to them. The opinion prevailed among the Romans that silk in its natural state was a fleece found on trees, whence the well-known line in Virgil:—

‘Velleræque ut foliis depectant tenuia Seres.’

<sup>3</sup> The sugar-cane is here indicated. The author of the *Periplus* mentions honey from canes called *sakkhar*. This name represents the Sanskrit *sârkharâ* in its Prâkrit form *sâkharâ*. Aelian in his *History of Animals* speaks of a kind of honey pressed from reeds, which grew among the Prasioi. Seneca (*Epist.* 84) speaks of sugar as a kind of honey found in India on the leaves of reeds, which had either been dropped as dew, or had been exuded from the reeds themselves. Lucan, referring to the Indians of the Ganges, says that they quaff sweet juices from tender reeds.

<sup>4</sup> The kingdom of Mousikanos, to which Strabo makes reference in sundry subsequent passages, lay in Upper Sindh. The ruins of Alôr indicate the site on which the capital of this rich and flourishing kingdom stood. According to Saint-Martin, the Moghsis of the present day are the representatives of the ancient Mousikani.

their trunks could scarcely be clasped by five men. Aristoboulos also, where he mentions the Akesinês and its confluence with the Hyarôtis,<sup>1</sup> speaks of trees with branches bent downward, and of such a size that fifty horsemen could be sheltered from the noontide heat under the shade of a single tree. According to Onêsikritos, however, four hundred horsemen could be so sheltered.<sup>2</sup> Aristoboulos mentions another tree which has large pods, like the bean, ten fingers long and full of honey. Those who ate it did not easily escape with their lives.<sup>3</sup> But in assertions about the size of trees, those writers surpass all others, who affirm that beyond the Hyarôtis, a tree was seen which cast a shade at noonday of five stadia. Aristoboulos, speaking of the wool-bearing trees, says that there is a stone within the flower-pod, and that when this is extracted the remainder is combed like wool.<sup>4</sup>

22. In the country of Mousikanos there grows of itself, he says, a kind of grainlike wheat, and also a vine which produces wine, though other writers assert that there is no wine in India;<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The river now called the Râvi is called by Arrian and Curtius the Hydraôtes, by Ptolemy the Adris or Rhoudis, but by our author the Hyarôtis, which makes a nearer approach to its Sanskrit name the Airavati. The point of its confluence with the Akesinês is now thirty miles above Multân, but in Alexander's time the junction occurred fifteen miles below that city.

<sup>2</sup> This tree is the *ficus Indica* (συκῆ Ἰνδική), so well known under the name of the *banyan-tree*. It is noticed at length by Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* ii. 255-260. It is mentioned by Theophrastos, *Hist. pl.* i. vii. 3, and iv. iv. 4; Arrian, *Ind.* xi.; Pliny vii. 2, 10, and xii. 11.

<sup>3</sup> The fig-tree there (in India) has a small fruit. It always plants itself, and spreads out in vast branches, the lowest of which are so bent into the earth, that in a year's time they are firmly rooted and make new layers for themselves around the parent stem in a circle as in garden work. Shepherds pass the summer time within this enclosure, which is both shady and well fenced, and covered completely with a dome of noble appearance, whether you behold it from underneath or from a distance off. The upper boughs of the tree ramify profusely as they shoot up high aloft, while the parent stems are of such vast bulk that in most cases they are sixty paces in circumference, while each has a shade that covers two stadia. The breadth of the leaves is such as to give them the likeness of an Amazonian shield. As these leaves completely cover the fruit, they prevent its growth, and it is rarely any bigger than a bean. Being ripened however through the leaves by the rays of the sun, it has a singularly sweet taste, quite in consonance with the wonderful nature of the tree. It grows chiefly near the river Akesinês. Plin. *Nat. Hist.* xii. 11.

<sup>4</sup> ‘Probably the Carouba (*Lotus Zizyphus*), but it does not produce the effect here mentioned.’—Falconer's *Strabo*, iii. 86.

<sup>5</sup> A long notice of the wool-bearing trees of India will be found in Lassen's *Ind. Alt.* i. 249-251.

<sup>6</sup> Q. Curtius (viii. 9) asserts that wine is much used by all the Indians, whereas Megasthenes, who had the best means of knowing, says that they used it only on sacrificial occasions. The Brahmans of the Ganges punished intoxication with great severity. The people of the Panjâb, on the other hand, were by no means abstemious. The author of the *Periplus* mentions wine as one of the Indian imports.



on which account, according to Anacharsis,<sup>1</sup> they had neither the pipe nor any other musical instruments except cymbals and drums and the rattles used by jugglers. Both Aristoboulos and other writers relate that India produces many medicinal plants and roots, both of a salutary and a noxious quality, and plants which yield a great variety of dyes.<sup>2</sup> He adds that it was ordained by law that if any person discovered a deadly substance, he should be put to death unless he also discovered an antidote. If he discovered one, he was rewarded by the king. India, like Arabia and Ethiopia, produces cinnamon and spikenard and other aromatics. It has a temperature like theirs in respect of the sun's rays, but it surpasses them in having copious supplies of water, whence the atmosphere is humid, and therefore more nutritious and productive, as is equally the case with the land and the water. On this account the land and the water animals in India are found to be of a larger size than they are in other countries. The Nile likewise surpasses in fecundity other rivers, and breeds amphibians besides other animals of great bulk. The Egyptian women too are so prolific that they sometimes bring forth four children at a birth. Aristotle says that one woman produced seven children at one birth.<sup>3</sup> He calls the Nile fecund and nutritive on account of the moderate coction by the sun's rays, which

<sup>1</sup> Anacharsis the Skythian, who is sometimes reckoned as one of the seven wise men of antiquity, was the brother of Saulios the King of Thrace, and uncle of the next king—that Idanthyrsos in whose reign the Skythians were invaded by Darius, the son of Hystaspès. He travelled through many countries in pursuit of knowledge, and came to Athens in the days when Solon was occupied with his legislative measures. He knocked, Plutarch tells us, at Solon's door, and requested his friendship. Solon answered that friendships are best formed at home. Then, do you, said Anacharsis, who are at home, take me into your house and make me your friend. The sharp and ready wit of this reply is said to have impressed the great legislator so favourably that he admitted Anacharsis to a share both of his friendship and of his counsels. In Athens his simple mode of life, the shrewdness of his observations, and his acute criticisms of Greek manners and institutions excited much public attention and admiration. After he had returned to his own country he was slain by his brother Saulios, whose wrath had been kindled on finding him engaged in celebrating foreign rites—the orgies of Kybelê. He is said to have written a work on legislation and the art of war. Several letters ascribed to him are still extant, and one of these is quoted by Cicero in his *Tusculan Disputations* (v. 32). Some of these particulars, besides others, will be found in Herodotos iv. 46, 76, 77; in Plutarch's *Solon*; in Lucian's *Anacharsis* and *Skytha*, and in several passages of Athênaios.

<sup>2</sup> Indigo (the *Indikon Melan* of the *Periplus*, and the *Nilt* of Sanskrit) may be specified as one of the principal, for it appears pretty certain that the culture of the indigo plant, and the preparation of the drug, have been practised in India from a very remote period.

<sup>3</sup> See Aristotle, *Hist. An.* vii. 4. Strabo probably quoted this passage from memory, for Aristotle speaks of five only, not seven. He mentions in the same passage the case of a woman who had produced twenty children, five at each birth.

leave behind what is nutritious in the substances exposed to their action, but take away in vapour all that remains over.

23. To this cause another fact which he mentions may perhaps be due, that the water of the Nile boils with half the heat that other water requires. In proportion, at least, he says, as the water of the Nile traverses in a straight course a long and narrow tract of country undergoing many changes of climate and atmosphere, while the Indian rivers pour their waters into plains of greater length and breadth and linger in the same climate, these rivers are to that extent more nutritive than the Nile, and consequently produce cetaceous animals in greater numbers, and of greater size; while the water which descends from the clouds has already been subjected to coction.

24. This the followers of Aristoboulos would not admit, for they allege that the plains of India are not watered by rain.<sup>1</sup> Onêsikritos, however, thinks that the peculiarities which the animals exhibit are due to the water, and adduces in proof that the colour of foreign cattle which drink it is changed into that of the indigenous breed. He says well, but on the other hand he errs in taking water to be the sole cause why Ethiopians have black complexions and curly hair, and in blaming Theodektês<sup>2</sup> for ascribing the cause to the sun himself in these words: 'The sun, driving his chariot in close proximity to their borders, dyes with the dusky hue of smoke the skins of men and curls their hair, making it soft with the growthless shapes of fire.' Onêsikritos, however, may have some ground for his blame, for the sun, as he says, does not approach nearer to the Ethiopians than to the rest of mankind, but that the reason why they are more scorched by his rays than others is that to them he is vertical, so that Theodektês was certainly wrong in asserting that the sun approached nearer to the Ethiopians than to other men, although he is in fact equally distant from all parts of the world. Nor is it the heat which causes the black complexion, as the blackness of children in the womb, who are quite out of the sun's reach, proves. Their opinion is to be preferred who attribute this effect to the scorching influence of the sun causing a great deficiency of moisture on the surface of the skin. Hence, we say, it is that the Indians neither have

<sup>1</sup> What Aristoboulos here says holds good with regard to the plains through which the Indus passes, but not to other parts of India.

<sup>2</sup> Theodektês, a native of Phaselis, a Dorian city of Pamphylia, flourished in the days of Philip, King of Macedonia. He spent the greater part of his life in Athens where he gained high distinction as a rhetorician and afterwards as a tragic dramatist. He died at the early age of forty-one.



woolly hair, nor complexions so intensely dark as those of the Ethiopians, since they live in a humid atmosphere. With regard to children in the womb, they become like their parents according to the composition of the seed whence they spring, on the same principles which account for hereditary diseases and other points of likeness. The statement, again, that the sun is equally distant from all men has reference to perception by sense (*πρὸς αἰσθῆσιν*), not to reason, and not even to casual perception, but in the meaning that the earth bears the proportion of a point to the orb of the sun; for as regards that kind of perception by which we feel heat to be greater when we are near it, and less when we are farther away, there is not equality (among men) and the sun from this point of view is said to be near the Ethiopians, but not from the point of view of Onêsikritos.<sup>1</sup>

25. Those who agree in maintaining the resemblance of India to Egypt and Ethiopia, admit also that the plains which are not inundated are unproductive from the want of water. Nearchos says that the case of the Indian rivers answers the old question to what the rise of the Nile was due, by showing that it was caused by the summer rains. He states that Alexander on seeing crocodiles in the Hydaspes, and Egyptian beans in the Akesinês, imagined he had discovered the sources of the Nile, and was about to equip a fleet in hopes of reaching Egypt by that river, but he ascertained not long afterwards that this project was impracticable.<sup>2</sup>

‘For midway were mighty rivers and formidable streams and first the ocean,’<sup>3</sup> into which all the Indian rivers discharge themselves; then Arianê, the Persian Gulf and the Arabian, Arabia itself and the country of the Trôglodytes. The above is what is said on the subject of the winds and the rains, the swelling of the rivers and the inundation of the plains.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo here uses *αἰσθῆσις* in two meanings, which may, I think, be expressed, the one by *perception*, and the other by *sensation*. The drift of his argument is clear enough, but I find it difficult to catch the exact import of one or two of the expressions he uses. His meaning is evidently this: ‘As the earth is *perceived* to be but a mere point as compared with the sun, the sun must be at an equal distance from all parts of the earth. As his heat however is *felt* to be greater in one country and less in another, this leads to the opposite view which Onêsikritos rejected, that these countries are not at equal distances from the sun.’

<sup>2</sup> Arrian in his *Anabasis* (vi. 1) writes to the same effect, and adds that Alexander, in a letter to his mother Olympias, had informed her that he had discovered the sources of the Nile, but that on discovering his mistake he had deleted what he had written on the subject. The Egyptian bean is the *nelumbium speciosum*, the sacred Egyptian or Pythagorean bean.

<sup>3</sup> A quotation from Homer, *Od.* ii. 157.

26. We must speak of these rivers in detail, pointing out in what respects they are useful to geography, and what description we have received of them from historians—for, since rivers, besides this, form the natural boundaries of countries and determine their figure, they prove of great service in every part of the present treatise. The Nile and the Indian rivers have an advantage over the others, because the country could not be inhabited without them. Through the rivers it is open to navigation and fit for tillage, and but for them would be inaccessible and without any population. We shall now describe the rivers worth notice which fall into the Indus and the countries which they traverse. With respect to the others our ignorance is greater than our knowledge. Alexander, who had the chief share in discovering this country, when those who had treacherously murdered Darius sought to effect the revolt of Baktrianê, decided first of all that it was his most expedient course to pursue and destroy these traitors. He therefore approached India through the country of the Arianians, and then leaving India on the right crossed over the Paropamisos into the northern parts and into Baktrianê.<sup>1</sup> Having reduced to his authority all the countries in that direction that had been subject to the Persians, and even others besides, he then aspired to the conquest of India, about which he had received many but obscure reports from a variety of sources. He therefore turned back and recrossed the same mountains but by other and shorter roads, having India on his left hand. He then turned again towards it and towards its western frontiers and the rivers Kôphês and Choaspês.<sup>2</sup> The latter river falls into the Kôphês near Plêmyrion,<sup>3</sup> after passing by another city, Gôrys, in traversing Bandobênê and Gandaritis.<sup>4</sup> He ascer-

<sup>1</sup> Alexander turned aside from the pursuit of Bessos, one of the principal conspirators against Darius, to quell a revolt of the Areians. Having reduced that people and founded a city in their country, which he called Alexandria (now represented by Herât), he marched by way of Seistân and Kabulistân to the foot of the Hindu-Kush Mountains, where he founded another Alexandria, distinguished as Alexandria of the Paropamisadai. He then crossed over the great mountain barrier into Baktriana, and was occupied for nearly three years in reducing that province and the neighbouring province of Sogdiana.

<sup>2</sup> The Kôphês is the Kabul river, and the Choaspês is its great tributary, the Kunâr or Kâneh. The Kôphês is called by Arrian the Kôphên, and by Ptolemy the Kôa. Its Sanskrit name is the Kubhâ. It is a river of old renown, being mentioned in one of the Vedic hymns.

<sup>3</sup> Plêmyrion must have been situated at or near where Jalâlâbâd now stands.

<sup>4</sup> Gandhâra is a name of high antiquity, as it is mentioned in one of the Vedic hymns, and frequently in the *Mahâbhârata* and other Sanskrit works. The Gandhâric territory lay on both sides of the Kabul river, immediately above its



tained that the mountainous and northern country was the most habitable and fertile, while the south country was one-where waterless and elsewhere liable to be inundated by the rivers and scorched to the last degree by burning heat, fit enough to be occupied by wild beasts, but not by human beings. He resolved therefore to make himself master first of that part of India which had a good report, thinking at the same time that the rivers which had to be passed and which flowed transversely through the countries which he was going to attack would be crossed with greater facility near their sources. He at the same time learned that many of the rivers united to form a single stream and that this occurred more frequently the farther they advanced into the country, so that it would be difficult to traverse it, especially without the help of boats. Fearing therefore he might be thus obstructed, he crossed the Kôphês and subdued the mountainous country which lay to the east.

27. After the Kôphês was the Indus, then the Hydaspes, then the Akesinês and the Hyarôtis, and lastly the Hypanis.<sup>1</sup> He was prevented from proceeding farther partly out of deference to certain oracles and partly compelled by his army, which was now exhausted with its toils, and suffering most of all from its constant exposure to rain.<sup>2</sup> Hence we came to know the eastern parts of India lying on this side the Hypanis, and whatever parts besides have been described by those who, after Alexander, proceeded beyond the Hypanis to the Ganges and Palibothra.<sup>3</sup> Next to the Kôphês there comes the River Indus. The regions

junction with the Indus. In very early times, however, it extended even to the country east of the Indus, where was situated one of its two capitals, Takshasîla, a great and flourishing city—that which the Greeks called Taxila. The western capital was Peukelaôtis, or, as Ptolemy calls it, Proklais. It is singular that the name of Gandhâra does not occur in the works of the writers who accompanied Alexander into India, and recorded his deeds in that country.

<sup>1</sup> The Hypanis is the river now called the Beas, the Vipâs'â of Sanskrit. It is called the Hyphasis by Arrian and Diodôros, and the Hypasis by Pliny and Q. Curtius. It joins the S'atadru or Satlej, and its name is sometimes, contrary to Sanskrit usage, given to the combined stream.

<sup>2</sup> The rainy season prevails in India from June or July to the middle or October. The rains had set in before Alexander crossed the Hydaspes to encounter Pôros.

<sup>3</sup> Megasthenês and Dêimachos, or Daimachos, were both ambassadors at Palibothra (Patna), sent thither by Seleukos Nikator, the King of Syria. A passage in Pliny (vi. 17) has led to the belief that Seleukos himself had carried his arms to the regions of the Ganges: 'Reliqua (itineraria) Seleuco Nicatori peragrata sunt,' but this does not mean that the journeys were made by Seleukos himself, but for him, by his ambassadors. Pliny mentions another Greek ambassador who had been sent to the court of Palibothra—Dionysios, the representative of Ptolemy Philadelphos, the King of Egypt.

between these two streams are possessed by the Astakênnoi,<sup>1</sup> the Masianoi, the Nysaioi, and the Aspasioi; then there is also the realm of Assakanos, in which is Massaga, the chief city of the country and the royal residence.<sup>2</sup> Next the Indus again there is another city, Peukolaîtis,<sup>3</sup> in the neighbourhood of which Alexander transported his army across that river by means of a bridge which had been constructed for the purpose.

28. Between the Indus and the Hydaspes is Taxila, a large city and governed by good laws.<sup>4</sup> The surrounding country

<sup>1</sup> Arrian mentions that at the time of Alexander's invasion a chief called Astês ruled the district of Peukelaôtis, which lay near the Indus, and hence it appears not unlikely that the Astakênnoi here mentioned may have been the people who occupied this district.

<sup>2</sup> This celebrated city was very strongly fortified, and when besieged by Alexander made an obstinate resistance until the Indian mercenaries by whom it was defended, being disheartened by the death of the chief of the place, surrendered on terms, which Alexander afterwards shamefully violated. Its Sanskrit name must have been Masâka, while the classic authors call it variously Massaga, Massaka, Mazaga, and Masoga. Saint-Martin in his map of the basin of the Kôphês has conjecturally placed it near the Souastos or river of Swât in 34° 40' N. Lat. Some traces of its name are still to be found in the regions which must have been subject to the authority of its sovereign. Thus Court states that at a distance of twenty-four miles from Bajour a ruined site exists which is called Massangar (Massanagar), and it may be added that in the *Grammar* of Pânini, who was a native of Gandhâra, the word Mâsâkâvatî occurs as the name both of a river and a district. It is somewhat singular that Ptolemy makes no mention in his *Geography* of this famous capital.

<sup>3</sup> Peukolaîtis, or as Arrian calls it (iv. 22) Peukelaôtis, was the western capital of Gandhâra. The name is a transliteration of *Pukkalaoti*, the Pâli form of the Sanskrit *Pushkarâvatî* or *Pushkalâvatî*, a compound which means 'abounding in lotuses.' Its name in Ptolemy and the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* is *Proklais*. It was situated on the river now called the Landai.

<sup>4</sup> The ruins of this great capital, which was one of the most ancient cities in all India, lie at the distance of a three days' journey to the east of the Indus in the neighbourhood of a town called Kâla-ka-Serâi. They are scattered over a wide space extending about three miles from north to south, and two miles from east to west. Immediately adjacent to them is the rock-seated village of Shah-Dheri, and through their midst flows a stream called the Tabrâ-Nâlâ, which is identical, no doubt, with the river called in one of the MSS. of the romance history of Alexander, falsely ascribed to Kallisthenes, the *Tibero-boam*, and in others the *Boroam*, *Baroam*, *Tiberio-potamos*, and *Tiber-nabon* respectively. The *nabon* of the last form is an evident error for *nalon*, which is the Greek transcription of *nâlâ*, the Indian name commonly applied to small affluents. The discovery of these ruins and their identification as those of Taxila is one of the great services which Sir A. Cunningham has rendered to the cause of Indian archaeology. The name of Taxila in Sanskrit is *Taksha-sîlâ*, and in the Pâli form, as found in a copper-plate inscription, *Takhasila*, which sufficiently accounts for the Greek form. As *sîlâ* means 'a rock,' the name of the city has been taken by some authorities to mean 'the Rock of the Takkas,' but it more probably means 'the Rock of Takshaka,' the great Nâga King. At the time of Alexander's invasion Taxila was ruled by Omphis (Sansk. *Ambhi*), who is generally called by his dynastic title, Taxilês. He surrendered himself and his kingdom unreservedly to the great conqueror. About eighty years after his time Taxila was taken by



is thickly peopled and extremely fertile, as the mountains here begin to subside into the plains. The inhabitants and their king, Taxilês, received Alexander with kindness, and in return came by more than they bestowed, so that the Macedonians were jealous, and said it appeared as if Alexander had found none worthy of his bounty until he had crossed the Indus.<sup>1</sup> Some say that this country was larger than Egypt. Above this country among the mountains lie the dominions of Abisaros,<sup>2</sup> by whom, as the envoys who came from him related, were kept two serpents, one of which was 80 and the other 140 cubits in length. This we learn from Onêsikritos, who may as well be called the master fabulist as the master pilot

Asôka, who afterwards ascended the throne of Magadha and made Buddhism the state religion of his vast dominions. In the early part of the second century B.C. it became a province of the Græco-Baktrian monarchy, but soon changed masters, for in 126 B.C. the Indo-Skythian Sus or Abars acquired it and held it till it was wrested from their grasp by the celebrated Kanishka. Towards the middle of the first century of our era it was visited, 'tis said, by Apollonios of Tyana and his companion Damis, who described it as the residence of a sovereign who ruled over what had formerly been the kingdom of Pôros. Outside the walls they are said to have seen a beautiful temple of porphyry containing a shrine around which were hung pictures on copper tablets representing the feats of Alexander and Pôros. The city was afterwards visited by the Chinese pilgrims, Fa-hian in 400, and Hwen Thsiang in 630 and afterwards in 643. After this Taxila disappears altogether from history, and we know neither how nor when its ruin was accomplished.

<sup>1</sup> According to Curtius (viii. 12), Taxilês presented Alexander and all his friends with golden crowns, together with eighty talents of coined silver, while Alexander not only returned to Taxilês the presents he had given, but added a thousand talents with many banqueting vessels of gold and silver, a vast quantity of Persian drapery, and thirty chargers from his own stalls, caparisoned as when he rode them himself. The Macedonian who made the envious remark was Meleager. He made it at supper while heated with wine, and in Alexander's own presence. The king, remembering what agonies of remorse he had suffered after killing Kleitos, mastered his anger, and contented himself with saying that envious persons were nothing but their own tormentors.

<sup>2</sup> Abisaros or Abisarês is called by Arrian the King of the Indian Mountaineers, and as he seems to have ranked as a potentate on a level with Taxilês and Pôros, we may infer that Kashmir either in whole or in part was included in his dominions. His name is derived from that of his kingdom, *Abhisâra*, a mountainous country situated to the east of the Indus, and now called *Hazâra*, a name which retains some traces of the old designation. Abisarês became alarmed for the safety of his kingdom when he learned that Alexander had taken such a strongly fortified city as Massaga and was advancing towards the Indus, and he therefore sent troops across that river to succour the inhabitants in their resistance to the invader. He was in alliance with Pôros, and had he but arrived with a body of troops in time to support his friend while Alexander still lay encamped on the western banks of the Hydaspes, it is extremely probable that Alexander would have been effectually prevented from crossing that river. After the defeat of Pôros he sent an embassy to the conqueror with presents and proffers of submission, and was in consequence permitted to retain his kingdom. He did not long survive, and his son, with Alexander's permission, ascended the vacant throne.

of Alexander.<sup>1</sup> For all the companions of Alexander preferred the marvellous to the true, but this writer seems to have surpassed them all in telling tales of wonder. Some of his statements, however, are probably true and worthy of record, and must not be passed over even though one distrusts their veracity. Other writers also mention the serpents, and say that the natives hunt them among the Emôdoi mountains and rear them in caves.

29. Between the Hydaspes and Akesinês is the country of Pôros—an extensive and fertile district containing somewhere about 300 cities. Here in the neighbourhood of the Emôdoi mountains<sup>2</sup> is the forest where Alexander cut a great quantity of pine, fir, cedar,<sup>3</sup> and various other trees fit for shipbuilding. This timber he brought down the Hydaspes, and with it constructed a fleet on that river near the cities which he founded on its opposite bank, where he crossed it and conquered Pôros. Of these cities he called one Boukephalia<sup>4</sup> after his horse, which was killed in the battle with

<sup>1</sup> The charge of mendacity with which Onêsikritos is here so tartly assailed is not supported by the instance adduced, for he does not assert that he had himself seen the serpents, but merely that he heard what the envoys of Abisarês had stated regarding their size. He has even done a good service in citing the report, for it leads us to infer that the kingdom of Abisarês was one of the many seats of serpent-worship which were at that time to be found in India. The serpents referred to were probably kept in a temple as objects of worship, in which case their enormous dimensions would be more a matter of faith than of sight. Onêsikritos accompanied Alexander in his Asiatic expedition, and wrote a history of his life which is now lost. His credibility has been much impugned, but on insufficient grounds, if we may judge of the whole work from the fragments which are to be found in other writers. It must be admitted, however, that his love of the marvellous led him to indulge in occasional exaggerations. He must have been an expert in seamanship since he acted as chief pilot to Alexander's fleet during its voyage down the Indus, and afterwards during its long voyage, under the command of Nearchos, from the mouth of that river to the head of the Persian Gulf. Alexander at Sousa rewarded both the commander and the pilot for their services by bestowing upon each a golden crown in presence of the whole army. In philosophy Onêsikritos was a follower of Diogenes the Cynic, and on that account Alexander, while halting at Taxila, appointed him to converse with the Gymnosophists of that place. His account of the mode of life followed by these naked sages, and of the conversation which he held with Kalânos and Mandanes is given in the sequel, sec. 63 to 65. He appears to have spent some of the later years of his life at the court of Lysimachos, the King of Thrace, who, like himself, had accompanied Alexander throughout his Asiatic expedition.

<sup>2</sup> The Emôdoi mountains were the Western Himalaya. Other forms of the name are *Emoda*, *Emodon*, *Hemodes*. Lassen derives the word from the Sanskrit *haimavata*, in Prâkrit, *haimota*, meaning 'snowy.'

<sup>3</sup> Conf. Diodôr. xvii. 89. The cedars are the deodars which abound in the Himalayan forests, where they sometimes attain a height of 150 feet and a girth of upwards of 30.

<sup>4</sup> Diodôros and Plutarch agree in placing Boukephalia or Boukephala on the eastern bank of the Hydaspes, but their authority is of little weight against that



Pôros. This steed was called Boukephalas from the breadth of his forehead. He was an excellent war-horse, and Alexander always rode him in battle.<sup>1</sup> The other city he called Nikaia from the victory which he had gained. In the forest just mentioned it is said that long-tailed apes of an uncommon size are to be found in vast numbers. On one occasion the Macedonians, seeing a great host of these apes on some bare hill-crests standing in line of battle in front of them (for this animal is not less intelligent than the elephant), and fancying that what they saw was an army of soldiers, prepared to attack them as enemies. On learning however from Taxilês, who was then with the king, the real fact, they desisted. The chase of this animal is conducted in a twofold manner. It is an imitative creature, and takes refuge up in trees. The hunters, when they see it sitting on a tree, set down in its sight a basin containing water with which they wash their own eyes; then they set down a basin full of bird-lime instead of water, go away, and lie in wait some distance off. The ape now leaps down and besmears its eyes with the bird-lime, and when it can no longer use its eyes thus tightly closed, the hunters come up and capture it alive. This is one method, and the other is as follows: The hunters, having dressed themselves in bags like trousers, go off to hide themselves, leaving other bags behind them of a rough, shaggy texture, smeared over inside with bird-lime. Then the apes get inside these and are easily captured.<sup>2</sup>

30. Some writers say that Kathaia and the country of Sôpeithês, one of the petty kings, are situated in the tract

of Strabo and Arrian, who both place it on the west bank. Strabo in saying that it was built where Alexander embarked to cross the river differs from Arrian, who states that it was built on the site of Alexander's great camp, thus indicating that its real position was that now occupied by Jalâlpur. It rose to be a city of great importance, and seems to have flourished for centuries, for it is noticed by Pliny (vi. 20) as the chief of three cities which belonged to the Asini, as well as by the author of the *Periplus* (sec. 47), and by Ptolemy in his *Geography* (vii. 46). Nikaia is only mentioned as a city founded by Alexander. It is now represented by Mong.

<sup>1</sup> Arrian (v. 19) says that Boukephalas was not wounded at all, but died of fatigue and old age. He then adds: 'Boukephalas was never mounted by any one except Alexander, for all other riders he held in disdain. He was of an extraordinary size and of most generous mettle. For a distinguishing mark he had the head of an ox impressed upon him, and from this circumstance, as some will have it, he received his name. But others say that though his colour was black, he bore on his forehead a white mark closely resembling the brow of an ox.' An interesting notice regarding this famous horse will be found in A. Gellius (*N. A.* v. 2), who drew the particulars from Chares.

<sup>2</sup> A similar account of the Indian method of catching monkeys, but with additional particulars, is given by Diodôros (xvii. 90).

between the two rivers (the Hydaspes and the Akesinês). Others again place them beyond both the Akesinês and the Hyarôtis, on the borders of the territory of the other Pôros, the nephew of Pôros who was taken prisoner by Alexander, and call the country subject to him Gandaris.<sup>1</sup> A very singular thing is noticed by the historians about beauty, that in Kathaia an uncommon value is attached to this quality as much when

<sup>1</sup> All the authorities are at one in recording that Alexander, in advancing eastward, had crossed the Hydraôtes or Râvi before he encountered the Kathaia and defeated them at their great stronghold Sangala. It thus appears that Kathaia must have been situated to the east of that river and may probably have been nearly if not altogether coextensive with what is now called the district of Amritsar. There is not the same agreement with regard to the position of the kingdom of Sôpeithês, for while Diodôros and Curtius represent it as adjacent to Kathaia, Arrian relegates it to the regions of the Hydaspes, and places its capital on that river at some distance below where Alexander defeated Pôros, probably in the neighbourhood of Ahmedâbâd. Arrian would be right, if the Salt hills, as Strabo states below, formed part of the kingdom of Sôpeithês, since these hills extended from the Hydaspes to the Indus, but there is reason to think that both authors are here in error, for while Arrian places the Kathaia to the east of the Hydraôtes, Strabo allows that they had the subjects of Sôpeithês for their next neighbours, and ascribes to the former certain peculiar customs which other writers ascribe to the latter. The Kathaia were not ruled by kings like the tribes which lay nearer the Indus, but were autonomous, each of the communities into which they were divided being self-governed. In point of martial skill and prowess they were superior to all their neighbours. Their very name indeed indicates their warlike propensities and predominance, for it is doubtless a modified form of *Kshatriya*, the designation of the military caste. It has not yet been ascertained where their capital, Sangala, stood. General Cunningham identified it with Sâkala, a city of great note in ancient times, but this lay sixty miles to westward of the Hydraôtes, and besides, *Sangala* is not, as he has supposed, a transcription of *Sâkala*, but of *Sâmkala*, which designates a place mentioned in Pânini's *Grammar* in connection with the name of Sôpeithês. The following quotation from an editorial article in *The Times of India* (7/xi/96) shows that General Cunningham's theory is no longer tenable: 'General Cunningham, however, taking Sâkala (the Sagala of Ptolemy's *Geography*) to be the name in Sanskrit of the place which the Greeks called Sangala, found a site for it at Sanglawala-Tiba, a small rocky hill with ruins upon it, and a large swamp at its base—all features of Arrian's Sangala—situated between the Ravi and the Chenab, at about a distance of sixty miles to the west of Lahore. As Mr. M'Crindle points out, this cannot have been the site of the Grecian Sangala, because all the historians place that city between the Ravi and the Beas; and he also gives other reasons, mainly philological, against General Cunningham's hypothesis. A settlement of this important site question has lately been considerably advanced by the researches undertaken by the Punjab Government at Sanglawala-Tiba, with the positive result of showing that no such large fortified city as Sangala can have ever existed there. This result, which has presumably reached Mr. M'Crindle too late for incorporation in his present edition (new edition of the *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*), leaves the exact site of Sangala still to be sought for, most probably in the direction indicated generally on the "Map of Alexander's route in his Asiatic Expedition," by Mr. M'Crindle.'

The proper form of the name of Sôpeithês is Sôphytês, as we learn from an ancient coin of which the legend is in Greek characters. It is a transcription of the Sanskrit *Saubhuta*, which, as M. Sylvain Levi has shown, must have been the name of the country which Sôpeithês ruled. General Cunningham has identified Gandaris with the present district of Gundulbâr or Gundurbâr.



possessed by men as by horses and dogs, for Onésikritos tells us that the handsomest man is chosen as king,<sup>1</sup> and that a child two months after its birth is subjected to examination by public authority to determine whether it has the beauty of form prescribed by law and whether it deserves to live or not. The presiding magistrate, on concluding the examination, pronounces whether it is to be permitted to live or must be put to death.<sup>2</sup> By way of embellishing their persons, they dye their beards with a great variety of the most florid hues. This custom prevails elsewhere among many of the Indians, who bestow great attention on dyeing both their hair and their garments with the colours of surprising beauty which their country produces. The people in other respects are frugal, but are fond of ornament. A peculiar custom is mentioned as existing among the Kathaians—that the husband and wife choose each other, and that the wives burn themselves along with their deceased husbands. The reason for this practice is that the wives would sometimes fall in love with young men, and desert their husbands or poison them. This law was therefore instituted with a view to suppress the practice of administering poison. But it is probable that the law never existed nor the circumstances to which its origin is ascribed. It is said that in the country of Sôpeithês there is a mountain of fossil salt which could supply all India. Good mines, both of gold and silver, are said to exist in other mountains not far off, as Gorgos the miner has testified. The Indians being unacquainted with mining and the smelting of ores do not know their own wealth, and therefore traffic with greater simplicity.

31. It is related that the dogs in the country of Sôpeithês are of astonishing courage. Alexander received one hundred and fifty of them as a present from Sôpeithês. To prove their mettle, two were set on to attack a lion, and when these were overpowered, two others were set on. When the contest was about equal, Sôpeithês ordered a man to seize one of the dogs

<sup>1</sup> Strabo here in effect says that the Kathaians chose their king on the principle which determines our choice of a dog or a horse—their superior beauty—but Falconer misses this point by translating the passage thus: 'A very singular usage is related of the high estimation in which the Kathaians hold the quality of beauty which they extend to horses and dogs.' Strabo's remark is applicable to the subjects of Sôphytês rather than to their neighbours, the Kathaians, whose institutions were republican.

<sup>2</sup> The same account of the practice of infanticide is given by Diodôros xvii. 91, and by Q. Curtius ix. 2. These authors, however, state that the practice prevailed in the kingdom of Sôpeithês.

by the leg and to drag him away, or if he still held on, to cut off the limb. Alexander at first refused to let the dog be so mangled, as he wished to save its life, but when Sôpeithês said, 'I will give you four instead of it,' he consented, and saw the dog allow its leg to be cut off by slow incision rather than let go its hold.<sup>1</sup>

32. The route, as far as the Hydaspes, lay for the most part towards the south, and thereafter, to the Hypanis, more towards the east.<sup>2</sup> All throughout, however, it was nearer to the country at the foot of the mountains than to the plains. Alexander, therefore, on returning from the Hypanis to the Hydaspes and the station for his ships, prepared a fleet and sailed down the Hydaspes. All the rivers we have mentioned, of which the Hypanis is the last, flow into one, the Indus, which is said to receive in all fifteen considerable streams.<sup>3</sup> Filled with all these, it attains in some places a breadth of 150 stadia, as writers who exaggerate say, but 50 at the most, according to more moderate writers, while 7 stadia is the smallest estimate. It then by two mouths discharges its waters into the southern sea, and forms an island called Patalênê. It is said that many nations and cities lie all around it. Alexander's intention was to withdraw from the parts situated to the east, first, because he was thwarted in his design of crossing the Hypanis, and next because he learned from experience that the report he had formerly received was false, which represented the plains as burnt up with fire and more fit to be inhabited by wild beasts than by human beings. He therefore relinquished the eastern parts, and directed his march to the southern, so that these parts became better known than the other (the Gangetic) parts.

33. The country between the Hypanis and Hydaspes is said

<sup>1</sup> A large, powerful, and ferocious breed of dogs is still found in that part of the Panjâb where the dominions of Sôpeithês were situated. Aristotle, Diodôros, Pliny, and Aelian agree in stating that tiger blood ran in the veins of these dogs. The story of the dog-and-lion fight is related almost as here by Curtius ix. 1, Diodôros xvii. 92, and by Aelian viii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> This statement with regard to the direction of Alexander's march after he left Taxila is important, for it enables us to determine that Alexander reached the Hydaspes at Jalâl-pûr, and not at Jihlam some thirty miles higher up the river, as some authorities have maintained. The scene of the battle with Pôros has also by this indication been accurately determined.

<sup>3</sup> The same number is given by Arrian in the fourth chapter of his *Indika*, citing Megasthenes as his authority. He has given their names in the following order: Hydraôtes, Hyphasis, Saranges, Neudros, Hydaspes, Sinaros, Akesinês, Toutapos, Kôphên, Malantos, Soastos, Garroia, Parenos, Soparnos, and Soanos. Some of these are mentioned as confluent of the larger tributaries of the Indus.



to contain nine nations and 5000 cities not less in size than Kôs Meropis, but the number seems to be exaggerated. Nearly all the nations of importance by which the country between the Indus and the Hydaspes is inhabited have been already mentioned. Lower down, the people called the Sibai come next, but of these we have spoken already. Then succeed the Malloi and Oxydrakai, great nations. Among the Malloi, Alexander was in danger of losing his life from a wound he received in the capture of a small town.<sup>1</sup> The Oxydrakai, as we have stated, were fabled to be akin to Dionysos. Near Patalênê lies the country of Mousikanos, that of Sabos<sup>2</sup> which has for its capital Sindomana, that of Portikanos,<sup>3</sup> and other chiefs whose dominions lay along the banks of the Indus. All these were conquered by Alexander, and last of all he reduced Patalênê, which the Indus forms by splitting into two branches. Aristoboulos says that these two branches are 1000 stadia distant from each other, but Nearchos adds on 800 to that amount. Onêsikritos again gives 2000 stadia as the length of each side of the island, which is cut off from the mainland in the shape of a triangle, and about 200 stadia as the width of the river where it splits into two mouths. He calls the island Delta, and says that it equals in size the Egyptian Delta—but incorrectly; for the Egyptian Delta is said to have a base of 1300 stadia, and each of the sides to be less than the base. Patalênê contains a considerable city Patala, which gives its name to the island.<sup>4</sup>

34. Onêsikritos says that the sea-coast in this quarter

<sup>1</sup> The Malloi occupied the district situated between the lower Akesinês and the Hydraôtes, which in Alexander's time joined the former river below Multan—a city which owes its name to the Malloi. For an account of Alexander's serious misadventure in attacking a stronghold of this warlike people, see Arrian's *Anab.* vi. 9-11, Curtius ix. 4, 5, Diodôros xvii. 98, 99, Justin xii. 9, 10, Plutarch's *Alex.* c. 63, the *Itinerarium Alexandri*, c. 115, and *Pseudo-Kallisthenes*, III. iv.

<sup>2</sup> Sabos is called Sambos by Arrian. His capital Sindomana, or Sindimana, has been satisfactorily identified with Sehwan, which stands on a site of very high antiquity, past which now flows the Indus. In Alexander's time, however, the river pursued a course from which Sindomana lay at a considerable distance to westward.

<sup>3</sup> Portikanos is called by Arrian Oxykanos, while Diodôros and Curtius follow our author. Curtius calls his subjects Præsti, a name which represents the Sanskrit *prastha*, a 'table-land.' General Cunningham places them to the west of the Indus in the level country around Tarkhâna, which though now near the Indus was in Alexander's time forty miles to eastward of it. Lassen however and Saint-Martin place it differently—to eastward of the river. The name *Portikanos* represents perhaps the Sanskrit *Pârtha*, 'a prince.' The dominions of the three kings here mentioned lay higher up the Indus than Strabo has indicated.

<sup>4</sup> Aristoboulos is more accurate in his estimate here than Nearchos and Onêsikritos, for the interval from the west to the east arm measures at present 125

abounds in swamps, and especially at the mouths of the rivers, on account of the mud, the tides, and the absence of land breezes, for in these parts the prevailing winds blow from the sea.<sup>1</sup> He expatiates in praises of the country of Mousikanos,<sup>2</sup> and notices those characteristics which its inhabitants share with other Indians, that they are long-lived and that the term of life extends to 130 years (the Sêres, however, according to some writers, are still longer-lived<sup>3</sup>), that they live sparingly and are healthy, even though their country produces everything in abundance. The following customs, however, are peculiar to them: to have a common meal which they eat in public as did the Lacedemonians, their food consisting of the produce of the chase; to use neither gold nor silver though they have mines of these metals; to employ instead of slaves young men in the flower of their age, as the Cretans employ the Aphamiôtai,<sup>4</sup> and the Lacedemonians the Helots; to study no science with attention except that of medicine, for they regard the excessive pursuit of any art, as war for instance and the like, as wickedness; to have no actions at law but for murder and outrage, for to escape these evils does not lie in one's own power, but it is otherwise in the case of contracts where each one can protect his own interests, so that if one of the parties violates his faith, the other must endure the wrong, for a man must be cautious whom he trusts, and not engross the attention of the city with his lawsuits. Such are the accounts given by men who accompanied Alexander in his expedition.

miles. The sea-front of the Egyptian Delta is underestimated, for its extent is not less than 160 miles. The name of *Patala* seems to be the Sanskrit word *patāla*, 'a station for ships,' from *pôta*, 'a vessel.'

<sup>1</sup> This description still holds good of these shores.

<sup>2</sup> The country of Mousikanos must have corresponded more or less closely with what was known subsequently as the kingdom of Upper Sindh, of which the capital was for many ages Alor. The country was described to Alexander as the richest and most populous in all India. The inundations of the Indus made an Eden of all the lands they overspread.

<sup>3</sup> The Sêres were only known in Strabo's time as a people of the far east, from whose country silk was brought to the nations of the west. The first mention of their name in any classical work is to be found in the *Indika* of Ktésias. Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 121, refers to their silk as a tree-product:—

Velleraque ut foliis depectant tenuia Sêres.

Longevity was ascribed to the Hyperboreans of India, the Uttarakuru, and also, as we learn from Ktésias, to the Kynoskephalai—a dog-headed race with tails. The Greeks after the expedition of Alexander became acquainted with the fictions of Brahmanic poetry as well as with a good many other stories which made them look upon India as a land of prodigies.

<sup>4</sup> The Aphamiôtai were, like the Helots, serfs, *ascripti glebe*. Their name is said to be from *aphamia*, 'an allotment of land.' They are mentioned also by Athénaios.



35. A letter written by Krateros to his mother Aristopatra has been published, which contains many other singular statements, and differs from every other writer, especially in saying that Alexander advanced as far as the Ganges.<sup>1</sup> He says that he himself saw the river and the whales it produces, and gives such an account of its size, breadth, and depth as far exceeds rather than approaches credibility; for that the Ganges is the greatest of known rivers in the three continents is a fact generally allowed; next to it is the Indus, while the Danube ranks third, and the Nile fourth. But different writers report of it differently, some assigning 30 and others 3 stadia as its least breadth. Megasthenes says that its ordinary breadth is 100 stadia and its least depth 20 fathoms.<sup>2</sup>

36. At the confluence of this river with another (the Eranno-boas) is situated Palibothra, a city 80 stadia in length and 15 in breadth. It is of the shape of a parallelogram, and is surrounded by a wooden wall, pierced with loopholes for the discharge of arrows. It has a ditch in front for the purpose of defence and for receiving the sewage of the city. The people in whose country this place is situated are the most distinguished in all India, and are called the Prasioi.<sup>3</sup> The king in

<sup>1</sup> Krateros, who was one of Alexander's most distinguished generals, and, next to Hephaistion, his greatest favourite was a Macedonian of Orestis. He commanded that division of Alexander's army which marched homewards from India by way of Seistan and the Kerman desert, and rejoined the rest of the army in Karmania. At Sousa he married Amastris, the niece of Darius, and then led the discharged veterans back to Europe. In the division of the empire after Alexander's death, Macedonia, Greece, and other provinces fell to the share of Antipater and Krateros. In 321 B.C. he fell in battle against Eumenes, who honoured him with a magnificent funeral. It is difficult to believe that Krateros wrote such a letter as that mentioned in the text unless in jest. Plutarch, however, and the author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, represent Alexander as having advanced to the Ganges.

<sup>2</sup> 'The exaggeration of Megasthenes is nothing in comparison of Aelian, who gives to the Ganges a breadth of 400 stadia.'—Falconer.

<sup>3</sup> Palibothra, or Palimbothra, as it is less properly designated in Arrian, is now represented by the city of Patna, which extends for about ten miles along the right bank of the Ganges, a little above where it receives on the opposite side the waters of the Gandak. The name is a transcription of Pāliputra, the spoken form of Pātaliputra, the name of the ancient capital of Magadha. Its earliest designation, according to the Rāmāyana, was Kausambi, while its poetical was Kusumapura, *the city of flowers*. According to Diodōros (ii. 39), it was founded by Heraklēs, who adorned it with many sumptuous palaces, settled within its walls a numerous population, and fortified it with deep trenches of great width, which he filled with water introduced from the river. It became the capital of the celebrated Sandrakottos (Chandragupta), whose empire extended from the Bay of Bengal to the foot of the Indian Kaukasos. For about eight centuries after his time it continued to be a great and flourishing city, adorned with a magnificent palace and many temples and other public buildings of great splendour. Its happy position at the junction of the Ganges and the

addition to his family name must adopt the surname of Palibothros, as Sandrokottos,<sup>1</sup> for instance, did, to whom Megasthenes was sent on an embassy. This custom also prevails among the Parthians, for all are called Arsakai, though each

Erannoboas or Sōn, made it a great and opulent seat of commerce. The wooden wall by which it is here said to have been surrounded, was seen still standing about the beginning of the fifth century of our era by the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hian. To judge from the description he has given, Palibothra, or, as he calls it, Pa-lien-fu, had not then experienced any diminution of its prosperity. Causes, however, tending to its ruin must have been at work, for when about two centuries later, another Chinese pilgrim, Hwen Tsiang visited the place, he found instead of a splendid metropolis, nothing but heaps of ruins and an insignificant village consisting of about two or three hundred miserable houses. The ruins seen by this traveller now lie deep entombed below the foundations of the modern city. This fact was brought to light in 1876, when the workmen employed in digging a tank between the market-place of Patna and its railway station discovered at a depth of some twelve or fifteen feet below the swampy surface the remains of a long brick wall with a line of palisades of strong timber running near and almost parallel to it, and slightly inclined towards it. It would thus appear that the wooden wall of Palibothra mentioned by Megasthenes was in reality a line of palisades running in front of a wall of brick. The Erannoboas is the river Sōn, which entered the Ganges immediately to the west of Patna up till the year 1379, when with the caprice characteristic of Indian rivers, it forsook its old channel, so that the point where the two rivers now meet is some sixteen miles above Patna. Its name represents either the Sanskrit Hiranyavāha, *carrying gold*, or Hiranyabāhu, *having golden arms*. Pliny and Arrian agree with our author in calling the inhabitants of Palibothra, Prasii, a name which transliterates the Sanskrit Prāchya, *i.e. Eastern*, and which must therefore have been given them by the people of the Panjāb.

<sup>1</sup> The great Indian King called by the Greeks Sandrokottos has been on sufficient grounds identified with the Chandragupta mentioned in Buddhist writings as the Founder of the Mauryan dynasty of Magadha, to which As'oka, who made Buddhism the state religion of India, belonged. He was a native of the Panjāb, and when a very young man had an opportunity, as Plutarch tells us, of seeing Alexander. He must soon afterwards have left his country for Palibothra, which was at that time ruled by the last of the Nanda Kings, called Xandrames by Diodōros, and less correctly Agrammes by Curtius. Here he was employed by a countryman of his own, Kanakya, a Brahman from Taxila, who put under his command a body of troops to be used against the king, from whom Kanakya had received some mortal insult. The conspiracy was foiled, and Sandrokottos, obliged to seek safety in flight, returned to the Panjāb. A great crisis in the affairs of this province was then impending, for the great Pōros was soon afterwards treacherously murdered by Eudēmos, the Greek Governor; and this dastardly crime, being fiercely resented by the natives, led them to form plots for the expulsion of their foreign masters. Fortune favoured their design, for Eudēmos, having been recalled soon after the murder of Pōros to succour Eumenes, led away with him a great part of the troops by which the Panjāb was held in subjection. Sandrokottos, who had put himself at the head of the disaffected, expelled the Greek troops that still remained in the country, and made himself master of all the Indian provinces Alexander had conquered. He then turned his arms towards the regions of the Ganges, and having defeated Agrammes, put him to death and seated himself on the vacant throne. This took place in 315 B.C., eight years after Alexander had passed away, leaving the world a legacy of distracting wars which so engrossed the attention of his successors, that for some ten years after his death no attempt was made to recover his Indian conquests. Sandrokottos employed that interval in extending and consolidating his power.



has his own peculiar name, as Orôdês, Phraatês,<sup>1</sup> or some other appellation.

37. All the country beyond the Hypanis<sup>2</sup> is allowed to be very fertile, but little is accurately known regarding it. Both from ignorance and the remoteness of its situation everything about it is exaggerated or represented as marvellous: for instance, the stories of the gold-digging ants,<sup>3</sup> of animals and

For the defence of his vast dominions he maintained an army so numerous and well disciplined, that when Seleukos Nikator, the King of Syria, somewhere about the year 305 B.C. led an expedition against him, the invasion, so far from being successful, terminated in a treaty, the conditions of which were altogether to the advantage of the Indian King, since Seleukos, in exchange for five hundred elephants, ceded to him a great portion of Ariana, and gave him his daughter in marriage. The alliance thus formed between the kingdoms of India and Syria was maintained not only while these two kings lived, but even for many years afterwards, when their thrones were filled by their successors. Our author in the sequel, quoting Megasthenes, gives us an insight both into the manners which prevailed at the court of Sandrokottos in Palibothra, and also into the system by which he administered the affairs of his empire, which after the treaty he made with Seleukos extended from the Bay of Bengal to the foot of the Indian Kaukasos. He died in the year 291 B.C. before he had reached his fifty-fifth year. It is surprising that Strabo, who makes a more liberal use of Megasthenes than of any other writer for his description of India, nevertheless stigmatises him as a mendacious writer who seldom deviates into truth. This charge, which is based on the accounts given by Megasthenes of certain fabulous Indian races, is stated in the first chapter of his second book, when he says: 'No faith whatever can be placed in Dëimachos and Megasthenes. They coined the fables concerning men with ears large enough to sleep in, men without any mouths, without noses, with only one eye, with spider legs, and with fingers bent backwards. They renewed Homer's fables concerning the battles of the Cranes and the Pygmies, and asserted the latter to be three spans high. They told of ants digging for gold, of Pans with wedge-shaped heads, of serpents swallowing down oxen and stags, horns and all.' Now it is certain that neither Megasthenes nor Dëimachos, who was ambassador after him at the Palibothran court, coined these fables. That they were but fictions of the Indian imagination is clearly proved by the fact that the names by which Megasthenes designates the races in question are but translations or transliterations of their names as found in Sanskrit literature. Pliny also has mentioned these races and others besides in his seventh book about the beginning.

<sup>1</sup> Arsakês the founder of the Parthian empire is variously represented by ancient writers as a Skythian, a Baktrian, or a Parthian. He revolted from Syria in the reign of Antiochos II., in the year 250 B.C. Phraates was contemporary with Strabo.

<sup>2</sup> The Hypanis, usually called the Hyphasis, now the Beas, is described by Diodôros as a river with a width of 7 stadia, a depth of 6 fathoms, and a violent current, which made its passage difficult. He adds, agreeing herein with Curtius, that beyond it lay a desert which it would take some eleven or twelve days to cross. This statement seems at variance with that of our author, but can be easily reconciled with it if we suppose that, while Diodôros had in view the country beyond the Hypanis at a lower part of its course, Strabo's description was meant for the country lying near the mountains along its upper course.

<sup>3</sup> The so-called myth of the gold-digging ants was not cleared up till, by chance, information was received as to the customs and habits of the Thibetan gold-miners of the present day. Then Sir H. Rawlinson, and, independently, Dr. Schiern of Copenhagen, were enabled to come forward and state beyond

men of peculiar shapes, and possessed of wonderful faculties, as the Sêres, who are said to be so long-lived that they attain an age of more than two hundred years. They mention also an aristocratical form of government, consisting of five thousand councillors, each of whom furnishes the state with an elephant. According to Megasthenes, the largest tigers are found in the country of the Prasioi, almost twice the size of lions, and so strong that a tame tiger led by four men seized a mule by the hinder leg, overpowered it, and dragged it to him. The monkeys are larger than the largest dogs. They are of a white colour, except the face, which is black, though the contrary is observed elsewhere. Their tails are more than two cubits in length. They are very tame and not of a mischievous disposition, and neither attack persons nor steal.<sup>1</sup> Stones are dug up which have the colour of frankincense, and are sweeter than figs or honey.<sup>2</sup> In some parts of the country there are serpents

a question of doubt that the *myrmeces* of Herodotos and Megasthenes were Thibetan miners, and, it may be added, their dogs. The same dogs are now for the first time identified, as will be seen further on, with the griffins. The full account of this discovery by the above-named authors would find its proper place in a paper on races of men, so that I pass from it now, save that I mention a contribution which I have made to it, namely, that the horn of the gold-digging ant, which we are told by Pliny was preserved in the temple of Hercules at Erythræ, and which for centuries has been the subject of much speculation, was probably merely one of the gold-miners' pick-axes. I have been informed by an eye-witness, Mr. R. Lydekker, that the picks in use by agriculturists and miners in Ladak consist of horns of wild sheep mounted on handles. I believe it probable that Dr. Schiern would be willing to accept this in preference to his own suggestion, namely, that the horns were taken from the skins, which are worn as garments by the Thibetans. Perhaps it is as well to add here further, for the benefit of those who may not be aware of the origin of the connection between ants and gold, that independently that part of the myth was cleared up some years ago, first by Dr. Wilson, who pointed out that the Sanskrit name for the small fragments of alluvial gold (gold dust) was *paippilaka*, meaning "ant-gold," in reference to the size and form, but the characteristics of the "ants" were always supposed, up to the year 1867, to have been wholly imaginative. Then, however, it was found, as related above, that these characteristics were in the most minute particulars identical with those Thibetan miners. The whole is an example of what has occurred in reference to other subjects also, namely, the too literal acceptance by the Greeks of the signification of Oriental words, the merely symbolical meaning not having been understood as such.—From a Paper read before the Royal Irish Academy, June 9, 1884, by the late Professor V. Ball, Director, Science and Art Museum, Dublin.

<sup>1</sup> Regarding this kind of monkey, called in Greek *κερκωίθηκος*, Professor Ball, whom I have already cited, thus speaks: 'There can be little doubt that another species of monkey, described by Megasthenes, as recorded by Strabo and Aelian, belonged to the genus *Presbytis*, and it may, I think, be identified with the Madras species *priamus*, rather than with the Bengal species *entellus*.' He then quotes a longer description of this animal from Aelian (*Hist. Anim.* xvi. 10).

<sup>2</sup> We are told by Dioskoridês that sugar is a sort of concreted honey found upon canes in India and Arabia Felix, while Pliny states that it is collected from canes like a gum, and describes it as white and brittle between the teeth, and of the



two cubits long, which have membraneous wings like bats. They fly about by night and let fall drops of urine or sweat, which blister the skin of the unwary with putrid sores. There are also winged scorpions of an extraordinary size.<sup>1</sup> Ebony grows there.<sup>2</sup> There are also dogs of great strength and courage which will not relax their hold till water is poured into their nostrils. Through the eagerness with which they bite, the eyes of some become distorted, while the eyes of others fall out of their sockets. Both a lion and a bull were held fast by one of these dogs. The bull was clutched by the muzzle, and died before the dog could be taken off.<sup>3</sup>

38. In the mountainous country there is said to be a river, the Silas, on the surface of which nothing will float. Demokritos, who had travelled over a great part of Asia, disbelieves this, and so does Aristotle, although some atmospheres are so rare that they cannot sustain the flight of birds. Among vapours, moreover, which rise upwards some have the power of attracting to themselves, and, as it were, absorbing sub-

size of a hazel-nut. It has been conjectured that the sugar described by these two authors was sugar-candy obtained from China. Dr. V. Ball has suggested that this was the origin of the 'stones sweeter than figs or honey,' which were supposed to have been dug out of the earth. See *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 2nd sec., vol. ii., No. 6, p. 330 and also p. 335.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Ball, in the Paper already cited, has identified these flying serpents with the Flying Fox. 'Aelian,' he says, 'gives a similar account (xvi. 41). There can be little doubt that this is an exaggerated account of the great fruit-eating bats of India which are known to Europeans as flying foxes. The extent of their wings, according to Jerdon, sometimes amounts to 52 inches, and in length they reach 14½ inches. Though noisome animals in many respects, their droppings have not the properties above attributed. . . . As to the winged scorpions, I can only suggest that they were hornets of large size.'

<sup>2</sup> Ebony is mentioned in Ezekiel (xxvii. 15) as an article of Tyrian commerce, and Theophrastos in his *History of Plants* (iv. 4, 6) says that this wood is peculiar to India. Herodotos, however, says (iii. 97, 114) that it is a product of Ethiopia, and that the Ethiopians sent every third year to the Persian King a present of two hundred blocks of ebony. The passage in Virgil's 2nd *Georgic* is well known: 'India alone produces black ebony.' Pliny tells us that ebony was exhibited at Rome by Pompey in his Mithridatic triumph. There are two kinds of it, he says, the better kind scarce, its wood surprisingly free from knots and of a brilliant black colour, even without being polished. The other kind was a shrub-like cytisus, and scattered all over India. The author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* states that logs of ebony were exported from Barygaza (Bharôch) to the marts of Omana and Apologos (Obeleh).

<sup>3</sup> Diodoros and Curtius relate that Sôphytês (a king whom they call Sôpeithês), whose dominions lay between the Hydraôtes and Hyphasis (Râvi and Beas) exhibited before Alexander the spectacle of a fight in which four dogs of great strength and ferocity were let loose upon a lion. Pliny, speaking of these Indian dogs (viii. 40), ascribes their ferocity to their tigrine paternity. Aristotle, in his *History of Animals* (viii. 28), refers to these dogs and the story of their tigrine descent. They had been previously mentioned by Xenophon (*Œyn.* c. 10). See also Aelian (viii. 1).

stances which fly over them, just as amber attracts straw and the magnet iron, and a similar power may perhaps exist in water. These matters, however, belong to physics and what concerns floating bodies, so that their investigation must be referred to these sciences;<sup>1</sup> but we must now proceed to what follows, and to subjects more closely related to geography.

39. He (Megasthenes) says that the population of India is divided into seven castes.<sup>2</sup> The first in rank but smallest in number are the philosophers. Persons who wish to offer sacrifices or perform other sacred rites employ their services on their private account, but the kings employ them on the public account, at what is called the Great Assembly, where at the beginning of the New Year all the philosophers repair to the

<sup>1</sup> Arrian in the sixth chapter of his *Indika* gives from Megasthenes the following account of this river. 'Its name is the Silas; it flows from a fountain, called after the river, through the country of the Sileoi, who are called after the river and the fountain; the water possesses this kind of property, that there is nothing which it can buoy up, nor anything which can swim or float in it, but everything sinks down to the bottom, so that nothing in the world is less substantial or more like air than this water.' Diodoros (ii. 37) mentions the Silas in somewhat similar terms. Pliny evidently refers to it, but under a different name. 'Ctésias,' he says, 'relates that there is a lake among the Indians called *Sida* (v. l. *Lide*) on which nothing floats, but everything sinks' (*N. H.* xxxi. 18). Lassen has illustrated this fable from Indian literature: 'The Indians think that the river Silas is in the north, that it petrifies everything plunged in it, whence everything sinks and nothing swims.' Conf. *Mahâbhârata*, ii. 1858. *Sila* is the Sanskrit word for a stone.

<sup>2</sup> This account of the Indian castes which Strabo has extracted from Megasthenes is to be found also in Diodoros (ii. 40-42), and in the *Indika* of Arrian (cc. 11 and 12). It is well known that in the Hindu code of laws attributed to Manu, the number of castes is stated to be four and not seven as in Megasthenes. Was Megasthenes then in error? We incline to think he was not, but that he had ascertained from the Brahmans whom he no doubt consulted on all important matters about which he meant to write, that the Indian community was divided into seven distinct orders, to each of which were assigned separate occupations which its members exclusively discharged. The four castes of Manu were the following: 1. The Sacerdotal caste, consisting of the Brahmans who concerned themselves with religion, learning, and legislation. 2. The Kshatriya or Military caste, entrusted with the government and defence of the states. 3. The Vaisyas, comprising those engaged in the production and distribution of commodities—agriculturists and traders. 4. The Sudras or Servile caste, comprising those who ministered to the wants of the three upper classes, the members of which were styled the twice-born. A moment's reflection will show that this is a scientific division of the members of the body politic applicable not only to the Indian community, but to any political community wherever it may exist. Manu's principle of division, it will be seen, is the same as that of Megasthenes, namely, difference of occupation. The Indian name for *Caste* is *Varna*, which means colour. The Aryan conquerors of India were of a fairer complexion than the races which occupied the country before their coming, and hence it has been supposed that the distinction of *caste* had its origin in difference of race. Whether the Code of Manu was compiled before or after the time of Megasthenes is a question which has not yet been conclusively settled.



king at the gates. Here any of them who may have committed anything useful to writing, or observed any means for improving the crops and the cattle, or anything of advantage to the state, declares it publicly. If any one is detected giving false information, thrice the law enjoins him to be silent for the rest of his life, but he who proves to have been correct in his observations is exempted from paying any taxes or contributions.<sup>1</sup>

40. The second caste consists of the husbandmen, who form the bulk of the population and are of a very mild and gentle disposition. They are exempted from military service, and cultivate their lands undisturbed by fear. They do not go to cities, either on business or to take part in their tumults. It therefore frequently happens that at the same time, and in the same part of the country, men may be seen marshalled for battle and risking their lives against the enemy, while other men are ploughing or digging in perfect security under the protection of these soldiers. The whole of the land belongs to the crown, and the husbandmen till it on condition of receiving as wages one-fourth of the produce.<sup>2</sup>

41. The third caste consists of shepherds and hunters, who alone are permitted to hunt and to keep cattle and to sell beasts of burden or to let them out on hire. In return for clearing the land of wild beasts and birds which infest sown fields, they receive an allowance of corn from the king. They lead a wandering life and dwell in tents. No private person is permitted to keep a horse or an elephant. The possession of either is regarded as a royal privilege. These animals are under the charge of grooms.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the extracts of Diodóros and Arrian will be found a few further particulars regarding this caste—that they do no bodily labour—that they go naked, living in winter in the open air, and in summer in meadows and low grounds under large and shady trees, and that they live upon fruits and the bark of trees if the bark is sweet and nutritious. Strabo again stands alone in stating that the Brahman who makes correct observations is rewarded by exemption from payment of taxes and other contributions.

<sup>2</sup> Diodóros states this fact less concisely. 'The ryots,' he says, 'pay the king a land-rent (*χώρας μισθοῦς*), because all the land in India is the property of the Crown, and no private person can own land. Besides the rent, however, they pay into the royal treasury the fourth part of the produce.' The institutes of Manu recognise land as the property of him who first cleared and tilled it, and to this day in some parts of India the maxim of the ryot is: 'The government is owner of the rent, but I am the master of the land.' He is, however, the perpetual lessee rather than the proprietor of the acres he cultivates.

<sup>3</sup> Diodóros and Arrian place neatherds (*βοικόλοι*) as well as shepherds in this class, but do not mention hunters. Dr. Burgess has noted that shepherds and hunters were not a caste of Hindus, but were probably tribes like the Abhirs or

42. The manner of hunting the elephant is as follows.<sup>1</sup> Round a bare piece of ground is dug a deep ditch about five or six stadia in extent, and over this a very narrow bridge is thrown at the place of entrance. Into the enclosure three or four of the tamest female elephants are then driven. The men themselves lie in wait in concealed huts. The wild elephants do not approach this trap by day, but they enter it by night in single file. When all have passed the entrance, the men secretly close it. They then introduce the strongest of the tame combatants, the drivers of which fight with the wild animals, and also subdue them by hunger. When the latter are at length overcome with fatigue, the boldest of the drivers dismount unobserved, and each of them creeps under his own elephant, and from this position creeps under the belly of the wild elephant and ties his legs together. When this has been done they incite the tame elephants to beat those which are tied by the legs till they fall to the ground. Thereupon they bind the wild and tame elephants together by the neck with thongs of raw ox-hide, and to prevent them shaking themselves in order to shake off those who attempt to mount them, they make cuts round their neck, and then put thongs of leather into the incisions, so that the animals are forced by pain to submit to their bonds and remain quiet.<sup>2</sup> From the number taken, such as are too old or too young to be serviceable are rejected and the rest are led away to the stables. Here they tie their feet one to another, and their necks to a pillar firmly fixed in the ground, and tame them by hunger. Their strength they restore afterwards with green reeds and grass. In the next place they teach them to obey, effecting this by soothing them, some by words, and others by song and the music of the drum. Few of them are difficult to be tamed, for they are naturally of a mild and gentle disposition, so as to approximate to

Abhirs, Dhangars, etc. Arrian states that this caste pays tribute to the king in kind. This appears to be inconsistent with our author's statement that the king gives its members an allowance of corn. At the present day the Indian Government grants rewards to destroyers of snakes and wild beasts.

<sup>1</sup> Arrian has also extracted from Megasthenes the same passage about elephant-hunting, but somewhat more fully, in the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters of his *Indika*.

<sup>2</sup> Aelian in his *History of Animals* (xii. 44) says: The Indians on finding the elephant still refractory after its capture, charm its ears with their native melodies, and soothe it with the music of an instrument in common use which has four strings and is called a *skindapsos*. The same author (xiii. 7) writes more diffusely than Strabo about the means employed for curing the diseases of elephants. The mode of capturing elephants described in the text is still employed, and without much variation.



rational beings. Some of them have taken up their drivers who have fallen in battle and carried them off in safety from the field. Others have fought in defence of their masters who had sought refuge by creeping between their forelegs, and have thus saved their lives. If in a fit of anger they kill either the man who feeds them or the man who trains them, they are so overpowered with regret that they refuse food, and sometimes die of hunger.

43. They copulate like horses, and produce young chiefly in the spring. It is the season for the male, when he is in heat, and becomes ferocious. At this time he discharges some fatty matter through an orifice in the temples. It is also the season for the females, when the corresponding passage is open. They go with young for a period never less than sixteen months and never more than eighteen. The dam suckles her young for six years. Most of them live as long as men who attain the utmost longevity, some even to the protracted age of two hundred years. They are subject to many diseases which are difficult to be cured. A remedy for diseases of the eye is to bathe it with cow's milk. For most of their complaints they are dosed with dark wine, and for wounds they drink butter, for it draws out iron instruments. Their sores are fomented with swine's flesh. Onésikritos says that they live three hundred years, and seldom five hundred, and that they are very vigorous when about two hundred, and that they go with young ten years. He and other writers say that they are larger and stronger than the African elephants. They can thus pull down battlements with their trunks, and tear up trees by the roots, standing erect on their hind legs. We learn from Nearchos that in the hunting-grounds traps are laid at certain places where roads meet, and that the wild elephants are forced into these traps by the tame ones, which are stronger and directed by a driver. They become so tame and docile that they even learn to throw a stone at a mark, to use weapons of war, and to swim most admirably. A chariot drawn by elephants is regarded as a very important possession, and they are driven without bridles. A woman is signally honoured who receives from her lover the present of an elephant,<sup>1</sup> but this statement does not agree with what has been said (by another writer) that a horse and an elephant are the property of kings only.

<sup>1</sup> On this point Arrian says (*Ind. c. 17*), 'Indian women if very prudent would not sacrifice their virtue for any reward short of an elephant, but on receipt of one their scruples vanish. Nor do the Indians consider it any disgrace to a woman to grant her favours for an elephant. On the contrary, it is taken as a high honour to the sex that their charms should seem to be worth an elephant.'

44. This writer says that he saw skins of the ants which dig up gold, and that these resembled the skins of leopards. Megasthenes gives the following account of these ants: 'Among the Derdai, a great nation of Indians living towards the east and among the mountains,<sup>1</sup> there is a high table-land of about 3000 stadia in circumference. Underneath this are mines of gold which are worked by ants. These animals are not inferior in size to wild foxes, are marvellously fleet, and subsist on what they catch. They dig into the ground in winter, and pile up heaps of earth, as moles do, at the mouths of the mines. The gold dust requires but little melting. The neighbouring people go after it by stealth with beasts of burden, for if they came openly the ants would fiercely set upon them and pursue those that fled, and kill both them and their beasts should they be overtaken. To elude discovery they lay down in different places pieces of the flesh of wild beasts, and when the ants are variously dispersed, they carry off the gold dust, and being unacquainted with the method of smelting it, sell it in the state of ore for any price to merchants.'<sup>2</sup>

45. As we have mentioned what Megasthenes and other writers have told us about the hunters and about the wild beasts, we must add some more particulars. Nearchos expresses his surprise at the multitude and malignancy of the tribe of reptiles. They retreat from the plains to the villages which do not disappear under water at the time of the inundations, and fill the houses. On this account the people raise their beds to a great height from the ground, and are sometimes compelled to abandon their homes, through the presence of these pests in overwhelming numbers.<sup>3</sup> In fact, were it not that a great

<sup>1</sup> The name of this people is preserved in that of the Dards, whose country Dardistan is situated to the north-west of Kashmir, along the banks of the Indus. The Derdai are the Daradas of Sanskrit literature. Schwanbeck gives the following list of authors who have noticed the gold-digging ants: Herod. iii. 102-5; Arrian, *Anab.* v. 4-7; Aelian, *Hist. Anim.* iii. 4; Clem. Alex. *Ped.* ii. p. 207; Tzet. *Chil.* xii. 330-340; Pliny, *H. N.* xi. 36, xxxiii. 21; Propert. iii. 13, 5; Pomp. Mela, vii. 2; Isidor. *Orig.* xii. 3; Albert. Mag. *De Animal.* vol. vi. p. 678, *ex subdit.* Alex. epist.; Anonym. *De Monstris et Belluis*, 259, ed. Berger de Xivrey; Philostratos, *Vit. Apoll.* vi. 1; and Heliodor. *Aeth.* x. 26, p. 495, etc.

<sup>2</sup> 'The people who are next neighbours to the ants, with a view to plunder their heaps of gold, cross the intervening desert, which is of no great extent, mounted on waggons drawn by their swiftest horses. They arrive at noon when the ants have gone underground, and at once seizing the booty make off at full speed. The ants, on finding what has been done, pursue the robbers and fight with them till they conquer or die.'—Dio Chrysost. *Or.* 35.

<sup>3</sup> Marco Polo states (iii. 17) that the people of Maabar have their beds made of very light cane-work, so arranged that, when they have got in and are going to sleep, they are drawn up by cords nearly to the ceiling and fixed there for the night. This is done to get out of the way of tarantulas as well as of fleas and such vermin.



proportion of the tribe suffered destruction by the waters, the country would be reduced to a desert. The minute size of some and the immense size of others are sources of danger; the former, because it is difficult to guard against their attacks, the latter by reason of their strength, for snakes are to be seen of sixteen cubits in length. Charmers go about the country who are supposed to be able to cure snake-bites, and their art of medicine is all but entirely restricted to this, for they are seldom attacked by disease, as they live frugally and abstain from wine.<sup>1</sup> When diseases do attack them their wise men treat them for recovery. Aristoboulos says that he did not see a single example of the magnitudes so much talked of—except a snake which was nine cubits and a span in length—I myself saw one in Egypt much about that size which had been brought from India.<sup>2</sup> He says also that he saw many serpents of a much smaller size, and asps and large scorpions.<sup>3</sup> None of these however are so dangerous as the slender small snakes, not more than a span long, which are found concealed in tents, in house utensils, and in walls and hedges. Persons wounded by them bleed at every pore, and suffer great pain, and die if assistance is not immediately rendered; but assistance is at command on account of the efficacy of Indian roots and drugs. Not many crocodiles, he says, are to be found in the Indus, and these are harmless to mankind, but most of the other animals of that river are the same as those bred in the Nile, except the hippopotamus. Onésikritos however says that this animal also is found there.<sup>4</sup> According to Aristoboulos, none of the sea-fish ascend the Nile, except the thrissa, the mullet, and the dolphin, on account of the crocodiles, but great numbers ascend the Indus. Small prawns (*κάριδες*) find their way up as far as the mountains, and the larger sort as far as the junction of the Indus and Akesinês. So much then on the subject of wild animals. Let us now return to Megasthenes, and resume from where we digressed.

<sup>1</sup> Ktésias, as quoted by Photios, writes to the same effect: 'The Indians are not afflicted with headache or toothache or ophthalmia, nor have they mouth sores or ulcers in any part of their body.'

<sup>2</sup> Strabo was in Egypt with his friend Aelius Gallus in the year 24 B.C., some six years after the death of Cleopatra.

<sup>3</sup> By asps are probably meant *cobras*, the bite of which is so deadly. Houses in India are not unfrequently infested both by cobras and scorpions. The sting of the latter is seldom fatal but is very painful. The cobra is from three to four feet in length. Aelian in his *Nat. Anim.* (iv. 36) describes, on the authority of Ktésias, an Indian serpent of a span long from which a most virulent poison was obtained. The description is found also in Photios's *Extracts* from Ktésias. Dr. Ball, Director of the Dublin Museum, thinks it may perhaps be identified with the Biscopra of the natives.

<sup>4</sup> Onésikritos must here be in error, as the hippopotamus belongs exclusively to Africa.

46. After hunters and shepherds, the fourth caste follows, consisting, he says, of those who work at trades, vend wares, and are employed in bodily labour. Some of these pay taxes, and render to the state certain prescribed services. But the armour-makers and shipbuilders receive wages and provisions from the kings for whom alone they work. The commander-in-chief supplies the army with weapons, and the admiral of the fleet lets out ships on hire both to those who undertake voyages and to merchants.<sup>1</sup>

47. The fifth caste consists of fighting-men, who, when not engaged in active service pass their time in idleness and drinking. They are maintained at the king's expense, and hence are always ready, when occasion calls, to take the field, for they carry nothing of their own with them but their own bodies.<sup>2</sup>

48. The sixth caste consists of the inspectors. To them is entrusted the superintendence of all that goes on, and of making reports privately to the king. The city inspectors employ as their coadjutors the courtesans of the city, and the inspectors of the camp the courtesans who follow the army. The best and most trustworthy men are appointed to fill these offices.<sup>3</sup>

49. The seventh caste consists of the counsellors and assessors of the king. To them belong the offices of state, the tribunals of justice and the general administration of public affairs. No one is allowed to marry out of his own caste, or to exchange one profession or trade for another, or to follow more than one business. An exception is made in favour of a member of the philosopher caste on account of his superior merit.<sup>4</sup>

50. Of the magistrates some have the charge of the market, others of the city, others of the soldiery. Some superintend the rivers, measure the land, as in Egypt, and inspect the sluices by which water is let out from the main canals into their branches, so that every one may have an equal supply of it. These persons have charge also of the hunters, and have the

<sup>1</sup> River voyages and river traffic are here meant, as is shown by a reference to the corresponding passage in Arrian (*Indika*, c. 12).

<sup>2</sup> Arrian, in describing this class, states they received such liberal pay that they maintained others besides themselves, and kept servants to attend on them in the camp, to clean their arms and to take care of their horses, elephants, and chariots.—*Indika*, c. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Arrian calls this class *ἐπιτοκοί*, but Diodôros agrees with Strabo in calling them *ἐφοροί*. The terms however are synonymous and mean overseers.

<sup>4</sup> Arrian (*Indika*, c. 12) specifies the officials comprised in this governing class. 'In point of numbers,' he says, 'this is a small class, but it is distinguished by superior wisdom and regard for justice. From its ranks are chosen governors, provincial rulers, deputy-governors, treasurers, generals of the army, admirals of the fleet, quaestors and the superintendents of agriculture.'



power of rewarding or punishing them according to their deserts. They collect the taxes and superintend the occupations connected with land, as those of the woodcutters, the carpenters, the blacksmiths, and the miners. They make the public roads, and at every ten stadia set up a pillar to indicate the byroads and distances.

51. Those who have charge of the city are divided into six bodies of five each. The first have the inspection of everything relating to the industrial arts, the second entertain strangers, assign them lodgings, observe their mode of life by means of the attendants whom they attach to them, and escort them out of the country, or, if they die, send home their property, take care of them in sickness, and when they die, bury them. The third body consists of those who enquire at what time and in what manner births and deaths occur, not only for the purpose of imposing a tax, but also of preventing births or deaths, whether among the high or the low from being concealed. The fourth body is occupied with retail and barter. Its members have charge of weights and measures, and see that products in season are sold by public notice. No one is allowed to deal in a variety of articles unless he pays a double tax. The fifth body supervises manufactured articles and sells them by public notice. What is new is sold separately from what is old, and there is a fine imposed for mixing them together. The sixth and last body consists of those who collect the tenth of the price of the articles sold. Fraud in the payment of this tax is punished with death.<sup>1</sup> Such are the functions which these bodies separately discharge. In their collective capacity they have charge both of their special departments and of matters affecting the public welfare, such as the repairs of public works, the regulation of prices, and the care of markets, harbours, and temples.

52. Next to the city-magistrates there is a third governing body which directs military affairs. This also consists of six divisions with five members to each. One division is associated with the admiral of the fleet, another with the superintendent of the bullock-teams, used for transporting military engines, food for the soldiers, provender for the cattle, and other military requisites. They supply attendants who beat a drum, and others who carry gongs; grooms also for the horses, and

<sup>1</sup> The Laws of Manu also specify this as a penal offence, but we learn from this authority that the king claimed only a twentieth of the price of goods sold, and that fraud was not so severely punished as is stated in the text.

mechanists and their assistants. By the sound of the gong they send out foragers to bring in grass, and by rewards and punishments ensure the work being done with despatch and safety. The third division has charge of the infantry, the fourth of the horses, the fifth of the war-chariots, and the sixth of the elephants. There are royal stables for the horses and elephants, and also a royal magazine for the arms, because the soldier has to return his arms to the magazine, and his horse and his elephant to the stables. They use the elephant without bridles. The chariots are drawn on the march by oxen, but the horses are led along by a halter, that their legs may not be galled and inflamed, nor their spirits damped by drawing chariots. In addition to the charioteer two men-at-arms sit beside him in the chariot. The war-elephant carries four men—three who shoot arrows from his back—and the driver.<sup>1</sup>

53. The Indians all live frugally, especially when in camp. They care not to congregate in large unruly masses, and they consequently observe good order. Theft is a thing of very rare occurrence. Megasthenes, who was in the camp of Sandrokottos which consisted of 400,000 men, says he found that the thefts reported on any one day did not exceed the value of 200 drachmai,<sup>2</sup> and this among a people who have no written laws, but are ignorant of writing, and conduct all matters by

<sup>1</sup> Here Arrian supplies from Megasthenes information omitted by Strabo: 'The custom of the country prohibits intermarriage between the castes; for instance, the husbandman cannot take a wife from the artisan class, nor the artisan a wife from the husbandman class. Custom also prohibits any one from exercising two trades, or from changing from one caste to another. One cannot, for instance, become a husbandman from a herdsman, or a herdsman from an artisan. This only is permitted, that the sophist (*i.e.* philosopher) become of any class whatever (*ἐκ παντὸς γένους γενέσθαι*), for the life of the sophist is not an easy one, but the severest of all.' The expression *become of any class* does not imply that the sophists who formed the Brahman caste could become a member of any of the lower orders, but merely that they were permitted, as they still are, to do the work of any of the castes. Pliny (vi. 22) thus summarises the accounts given of the castes: 'Life among the more civilised peoples of India is spent in diversified occupations. Some till the ground, others serve as soldiers, others export their wares and import others from abroad, the men of highest rank and wealth rule the state, administer justice, and are the king's assessors. The fifth class devoted to philosophy (*sapientia*), which is there much cultivated and esteemed and mainly applied to the service of religion, always end their life by a voluntary death on a funeral pile ignited beforehand. Besides these classes there is one which leads a half-savage life full of immense labour—that of hunting and taming elephants.' This sketch of the system by which Sandrokottos governed his vast dominions has not been extracted by Arrian—we are indebted for it solely to Strabo.

<sup>2</sup> The drachma was a silver coin nearly equal in value to the Roman denarius or a franc=9<sup>3</sup>d.



memory.<sup>1</sup> They lead nevertheless happy lives, being simple in their manners and frugal. They never drink wine except at sacrifices. Their beverage is prepared from rice instead of barley, and their food is principally a rice-pottage. The simplicity of their laws and their contracts appears from the fact that they seldom go to law. They have no suits about pledges or deposits, nor do they require either seals or witnesses, but make their deposits and confide in one another. Their houses and property are for the most part unguarded. These things show their moderation and good sense, but other things they do which one cannot approve—that they always eat alone, and that they have no fixed hours when all take their meals in common, but each one eats when it pleases himself. The contrary custom would be better for the interests of social and political life.

54. Their favourite mode of exercising the body is by friction

<sup>1</sup> Megasthenes could not possibly have been ignorant of the fact that the art of writing was known to the Indians. What he said must have been that the Indians in their judiciary transactions did not employ written laws because the judges knew the laws by heart. That the art of writing was known in India at the time of the Macedonian Invasion is evident from the statement which our author (c. 67) quotes from Nearchos: 'The Indians write letters upon cloth very closely woven.' How long the Cadmus of India preceded the invasion has not yet been determined. In an article contributed to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (vol. XIII. pt. ii., n.s., p. 208), Mr. J. H. Nelson endeavours to prove that in ancient times, law, considered as an aggregate of rules of conduct which courts of justice of whatever kind habitually recognise and enforce, never was administered to Hindus by Hindus or others. With regard to the works commonly supposed to contain the Law of the Hindus, he remarks that 'from the time of Megasthenes to that of Sir William Jones, few persons, if any, appear to have noticed their existence. The observant Greek envoy, who lived for years at the court of Chandragupta, and wrote the earliest and most valuable description of the Indians that has come down to us from ancient times cannot have seen or heard of the "Laws of Manu." Not only does he expressly say that the Indians "use unwritten laws," he also describes a state of things wholly inconsistent with the idea that justice was administered to the people by judges in accordance with the provisions of written laws like those attributed to Manu.' Mr. Nelson then proceeds to show from passages extracted from Strabo and Arrian what the state of things was of which Megasthenes had given a description, and then adds: 'When we consider these matters, and what Megasthenes tells us of the people's habits in respect to eating and drinking, and of the king's guard of Amazons, and particularly the fact that the writer divides the people, not into the four classes of Manu, but into seven classes quite different from those four, it becomes very difficult, it seems to me, to believe that the Code of Manu gives a picture even proximately correct of the state of Indian society in the fourth century before Christ. Still less can we believe that it contains the laws then observed by that society. Nearchos confirms Megasthenes' statement to the effect that the Indians had no written laws, whilst he knew that they possessed the art of writing. Next we come to the Chinese pilgrims Fah Hian and Hiouen Tshang, of the fifth and seventh centuries of our æra respectively.' Of these Mr. Nelson says that they appeared to know nothing of the existence among the Hindus of written laws.

in various ways, but especially by passing smooth ebony rollers over the surface of the body.<sup>1</sup> Their tombs are plain, and the mounds raised over the dead, lowly.<sup>2</sup> In contrast to the simplicity they observe in other matters, they love finery and ornament. They wear dresses worked in gold, and adorned with precious stones, and also flowered robes made of fine muslin. Attendants follow them with umbrellas; for they hold beauty in high esteem and resort to any device which helps to improve their looks.<sup>3</sup> They respect alike truth and virtue. Hence they assign no special privileges to the old unless they possess superior wisdom. They marry many wives,<sup>4</sup> whom they purchase from their parents, giving in exchange a yoke of oxen. Some they marry, hoping to find in them obedient attendants, and others for pleasure and to fill their houses with children.<sup>5</sup> The wives prostitute themselves, unless their chastity is enforced by compulsion. Not one is crowned with a garland when sacrificing, or burning incense, or pouring out a libation. They do not stab the victim, but strangle it, so that nothing mutilated, but only what is entire may be offered to the deity. A person convicted of bearing false witness suffers a mutilation of his extremities. He who maims another not only suffers in return the loss of the like limb, but his hand also is cut off. If he causes a workman to lose

<sup>1</sup> Lassen remarks that this account is in strict accordance with truth. In the Epic poems the practice is mentioned, and in those dramas in which daily life is most accurately represented there appears among the servants of a man of quality a shampooer (*samvāhaka*) whose duty it was to rub and press the joints and limbs of his master. In the *Ramāyana* this function is assigned to women. They are still adepts in the art.

<sup>2</sup> Compare what Arrian says (*Indika*, c. 10): 'It is said that the Indians do not rear monuments to the dead, but consider the virtues which men have displayed in life, and the songs in which their praises are celebrated, sufficient to preserve their memory after death.'

<sup>3</sup> Compare the account given by Q. Curtius (IX. i.) of the dress in which King Sopithes (Sophytes) had arrayed himself when he came forth from his capital to meet Alexander the Great: 'His royal robe which flowed down to his very feet was all inwrought with gold and purple. His sandals were of gold and studded with precious stones, and even his arms and wrists were curiously adorned with pearls. At his ears he wore pendants of precious stones which from their lustre and magnitude were of inestimable value. His sceptre, too, was made of gold and set with beryls.'

<sup>4</sup> The number of wives an Indian might have depended upon the caste to which he belonged. A Brahman was permitted by Manu to have four or three, a warrior three or two, a Vaisya two or one, and a Sudra one only. The two upper castes seldom stretched their prerogative to its limit. The kings, however, did so.

<sup>5</sup> One of the main reasons is omitted—the duty incumbent on every Indian of begetting a son to perform the sacrifice to his ancestors. That form of marriage by which presents were given to the parents of the bride was only one of many, and one moreover that was seldom observed. See Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* ii. 725.



his hand or his eye, he is put to death. The same writer says that none of the Indians employ slaves. Onêsikritos however says that the custom was peculiar to the people in the country of Mousikanos. He speaks of this as a right thing, and mentions with like approbation many other things to be found in this country, resulting from the excellent laws by which it is governed.

55. The care of the king's person is entrusted to women, who also are bought from their parents.<sup>1</sup> The bodyguards and the rest of the soldiery are posted outside the gates. A woman who kills a king when drunk is rewarded by becoming the wife of his successor. The sons succeed the father. The king may not sleep during the daytime, and at night he is obliged to change his couch from time to time to defeat plots against his life. The king leaves his palace not only in time of war, but when he has to sit in court to try causes. He remains there for the whole day without allowing the business to be interrupted, even though the time arrives for attending to his person. This attention consists in the friction of his person with cylinders of wood. He continues hearing cases while the friction, which is performed by four attendants, is still proceeding.<sup>2</sup> Another purpose for which he leaves his palace is to offer sacrifice; a third is to go to the chase, and this in a sort of bacchanalian fashion. Crowds of women surround him, and on the outside are spearmen. The road is marked off with ropes, and it is death for a man or even for a woman to pass within the ropes. Men with drums and gongs lead the procession. The king hunts in the enclosures and shoots arrows from a platform. At his side stand two or three armed women. If he hunts in the open grounds, he shoots from the back of an elephant. Of the women, some ride in chariots, some on horses, and some even on elephants, and they are equipped with all sorts of weapons, as if they were going on a military expedition.

56. These customs are very strange when compared with our own, but the following are still more extraordinary, for Megasthenes states that the tribes which inhabit the Kaukasos have

<sup>1</sup> From Curtius we learn that the food eaten by the king was prepared by women. Women also, he adds, served him with wine, and, when he fell into a drunken sleep, carried him away to his bedchamber, while invoking the gods of the night in their native hymns (viii. 9).

<sup>2</sup> Curtius represents the king as so engaged *within* the palace: 'The palace,' he says (viii. 9), 'is open to all comers, even when the king is having his hair combed and dressed. It is then that he gives audience to ambassadors and administers justice to his subjects. His slippers are after this taken off and his feet are rubbed with scented ointments.'

intercourse with women in public, and eat the bodies of their relatives.<sup>1</sup> He says also that there are monkeys, rollers of rocks, which climb precipices and roll down stones upon their pursuers,<sup>2</sup> and that most of the animals which are tame with us are wild in India. He speaks of horses which are one-horned and have heads like those of deer,<sup>3</sup> and also of reeds, of which some grow straight up to the height of thirty *orguiai*,<sup>4</sup> while

<sup>1</sup> Herodotos (iii. 99) notices that cannibalism prevailed among the race of Indian nomads called the Padaioi, *see* page 2. Herodotos elsewhere mentions that cannibalism prevailed among the Massagetai and the Essedones, and Strabo that it prevailed among the Kaspians and the Derbikes. From Elphinstone's *Cabul* we learn that this horrible practice still exists in the countries bordering on the Upper Indus. Ptolemy the Geographer, in his description of Transgangetic India, mentions three groups of islands which he says were inhabited by cannibals. The author of the *Periplus* mentions two Indian tribes, the Bargousoi and the Hippioprosôpoi, which, he says, were reported to be cannibals. Marco Polo again relates that in his day it prevailed in Sumatra in the kingdom called Dagroian. 'If the sorcerers foretell that the sick man is to die, the friends send for certain judges of theirs to put to death him who has thus been condemned by the sorcerers to die. These men come and lay so many clothes upon the sick man's mouth that they suffocate him. And when he is dead they have him cooked, and gather together all the dead man's kin and . . . eat him up rump and stump.'—Yule's *Marco Polo*, B. III. c. x.

<sup>2</sup> In a Paper read before the Royal Irish Academy in 1884, Dr. V. Ball, referring to this passage, says: 'I am not prepared to deny that this story may have originated in the title of monkey which, as is well known, was freely bestowed upon the wild tribes of men who inhabited the jungles of India, and who, when attacked, often had recourse to this mode of defence against their better-armed assailants. But that it is not impossible that the story may have referred to real monkeys will be apparent from the following personal experience of my own: When at Malwa Tal, a lake near Naini Tal, in the Himalayas, I was warned that in passing under a landslip, which slopes down to the lake, I should be liable to have stones thrown at me by monkeys. Regarding this as being possibly a traveller's tale, I made a particular point of going to the spot in order to see what could have given rise to it. As I approached the base of the landslip, near the road on the north side of the lake, I saw a number of brown monkeys (*Inuus rhesus*) rush to the sides and across the top of the landslip, and presently pieces of loosened stone and shale came tumbling down near where I stood. I fully satisfied myself that this was not merely accidental, for I distinctly saw one monkey industriously with both forepaws, and with obvious *malice prepense*, pushing the loose shingle off a shoulder of rock. I then tried the effect of throwing stones at them, and this made them quite angry, and the number of fragments which they set rolling was speedily doubled. This, though it does not actually amount to throwing or projecting an object by monkeys comes very near to the same thing, and makes me think that there may be truth in the stories of their throwing fruit at people from trees, or at least dropping them on their heads.'

<sup>3</sup> Aelian in his *History of Animals* has quoted at considerable length, perhaps even quite fully, the remarks of Megasthenes upon Indian animals which Strabo has here very curtly summarised. He mentions as the tame animals which run wild in India—sheep, dogs, goats, and oxen. The Kartazônos, of which he has given a minute description, is no doubt the one-horned horse of the text, and the same animal as the horned wild ass of Ktésias. Each of these unicorns has been identified with the rhinoceros, and for reasons which appear sufficient.

<sup>4</sup> The *orguia* was equal to four cubits or six feet one inch. The reed here described has been generally taken to be the bamboo, but as Dr. Ball has shown,



others grow along the ground to the length of fifty, varying in thickness from three to six cubits in diameter.

57. He then deviates into fables,<sup>1</sup> and says that there are men of five, and even of three spans in height, some of whom are without noses, having only two orifices above the mouth, through which they breathe. Against the men of three spans in height war is waged by the cranes (described by Homer)

this plant does not fulfil the conditions requisite for its being so identified. It is frequently mentioned by the classical writers, who are consistent in their descriptions of it. Herodotus, speaking of the Indians, says (iii. 98): 'Some inhabit the marshes of the Indus and feed on raw fish, which they catch going out in boats made of reeds; one segment of the reed makes a boat.' Ktésias (c. 6) says that the reed which grows along the course of the Indus is so thick that two men could scarcely encompass its stem, and that it equals in height the mast of the largest ship. He adds that the reeds are distinguished by sex, an observation also made by Theophrastos (*P.H.* iv. 2). Diodôros, in his narrative of the fabulous invasion of India by Semiramis, says that Stratobates, who was then the King of India, built four thousand boats of reeds which grew about the rivers and fens, and were so thick that a man could scarcely clasp them round. Pliny gives a similar account with some details added, among others that the plant grows on the banks of the river Akesinês (xvi. 37). Since the bamboo falls very far short of the dimensions ascribed to the reed, while at the same time only the smaller species of it occur near the Indus, we must look, Dr. Ball points out, to some other tree as having furnished, when the stem was split, almost ready-made boats capable of holding several persons. Almost the only trees so employed are palms, namely the coconut, the date palm, and the palmyra (the *Borassus flabelliformis* of Linnæus and the *Trinaraja* of Sanskrit), and he is inclined to give the preference to the last named. The diameter of a full-grown palmyra is from eighteen to twenty-four inches—the circumference at the base being about six feet, and the height from forty to sixty feet, but in favourable localities, as in Burmah, one hundred feet. Canoes are made from this palm in many parts of India at the present day. See *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 2nd ser., vol. ii. No. 6, pp. 336-37.

<sup>1</sup> The stories about the fabulous races which Strabo now proceeds to lay before his readers in detail he had already referred to in his Second Book (c. i. 9) where he adduced them as proofs of the mendacity of the Greek writers on India. We must quote the terms in which he impeaches these writers: 'Generally speaking,' he says, 'the men who hitherto have written on the affairs of India were a set of liars. Dēimachos holds the first place in the list, Megasthenes comes next, while Onēsikritos and Nearchos, with others of the same class, manage to stammer out a few words (of truth). Of this we became the more convinced whilst writing the history of Alexander. No faith whatever can be placed in Dēimachos and Megasthenes. They coined the fables concerning men with ears large enough to sleep in, men without any mouths, without noses, with only one eye, with spider legs, and with fingers bent backward. They renewed Homer's fable concerning the battle of the Cranes and Pygmies, and asserted the latter to be three spans high. They told of ants digging for gold, of Pans with wedge-shaped heads, of serpents swallowing down oxen and stags, horns and all; meantime, as Eratosthenes has observed, reciprocally accusing each other of falsehood.' Strabo was, however, quite mistaken in supposing that these stories had been coined by the Greek writers. They were in point of fact traditions current among the Aryan Indians, by which they gave a very pointed expression to their proud sense of their own superiority, both in form and feature, to the barbarous indigenous tribes by which they were surrounded and from which they had wrested by force of arms the seats which they occupied. These traditions were not only orally current among them, but are to be found embedded in their

and by the partridges, which are as large as geese. These people collect and destroy the eggs of the cranes, for they lay their eggs there, nor are either their eggs or the young cranes to be found anywhere else. Frequently a crane escapes with the brazen point of a weapon in its body, wounded by the people of that country.<sup>1</sup> Similar is the account given of the Enôtokoitai,<sup>2</sup> of the wild men and of other monsters. The

imaginative literature. These fables, as Schwanbeck remarks, could not be disregarded by the companions of Alexander, and scarcely any of them, he adds, doubted their truth, since they were communicated to them by the Brāhmans, whose learning and wisdom they held in the utmost veneration. The following ancient authors have noticed these fabulous races: Pliny, *H. N.* vii. 2, 14-22; Solinus, 52; Philostratos, *v. Apollon.* iii. 47; Tzetzes, *Chil.* vii. 629-768; Gellius, ix. 4; Isidor. *Orig.* xi. 3; Augustin. *Civ. dei.* xvi. 8.

<sup>1</sup> The dwarfish race called by Megasthenes the Trispithamoi, *men three spans long*, are the Pygmies, who, as Homer tells us in the beginning of the Third Book of the *Iliad*, were attacked by the Cranes when these warlike birds were no longer prevented by furious storms of rain from leaving their winter quarters. They are described at some length in the *Indika* of Ktésias. 'They dwelt,' he says, 'in the interior of India, were black and deformed, had snub noses, long hair and enormous beards. They were excellent archers, and 3000 of them were in the king's retinue. Their sheep, oxen, and asses were unusually small. They hunted hares and foxes not with dogs, but with eagles, ravens, crows, and vultures. They followed the Indian laws, and were just men.' The Indians considered this dwarfish people as belonging to the Kirāta, a degraded mountain tribe inhabiting woods and mountains, living by hunting, and, through their neglect of all prescribed religious rites, reduced to the rank of S'ūdras. They represented them with the distinctive features of the Mongolian race, but with the repulsiveness of these features exaggerated. Hence Megasthenes spoke of the Amyktēres, *men without noses*, who had merely breathing holes above the mouth. The Kirāta are no doubt identical with the Kirrhadaï of the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, and with the Scyrites or Syricetes of Pliny. In Ptolemy's *Geography* Kirrhadia designates a country on the coast of further India extending from the city of Pentapolis in the north to the mouth of the Tokosanna or Arakan river. The country of the Kirāta, however, is placed, in the great Indian Epic, further north—in the neighbourhood of the Brahmaputra. The Kirāta belong to the Bhota, and are still found in Nêpāl. Dr. V. Ball thus writes regarding the Pygmies: 'They were of small stature, covered with long hair, and lived by hunting. In the country occupied by them there was a lake which produced oil, and there were also many silver-mines situated in the same region. Other accounts represent them as fighting with cranes and robbing their nests. Now, without going into details, it will be sufficient, perhaps, to point to the fact that a hairy race of men of low stature who live in trees is reported to dwell in the upper valley of the Irawadi, between Momein and Manipur. In this region, too, are the famous Upper Burma petroleum wells of Ye-nan-gyoung, while in the Shan States and towards Bhamo argentiferous galena is worked at the present day and the silver is extracted. The robbing of the cranes' nests, etc., may have arisen simply from a figurative description of the fact that these people had their dwellings in the tops of trees.' See *The Academy* of April 21, 1883, No. 572, p. 277.

<sup>2</sup> The name given to this people by Megasthenes is a translation of their designation in Sanskrit, *Karnaprāvarana*, which intimates that they slept in their ears. They are frequently mentioned in the great Epics, e.g. *Mahabh.* ii. 1170, 1175. The opinion was universally prevalent among the Indians that barbarous tribes had large ears: thus not only are the *Karnaprāvaranās* mentioned, but also *Karnikās*, *Lambakarnās*, *Mahākarnās* (*long, large-eared*), *Ushtrakarnās*



wild men could not be brought to Sandroktotos, for they refused to take food and died. Their heels are in front and their instep and toes are turned backwards.<sup>1</sup> Some were brought to the court who had no mouths and were tame. They live near the sources of the Ganges and are supported by the smell of roast meat and the perfumes of fruits and flowers, having instead of mouths orifices through which they breathe. They are distressed with things which have an evil smell, and hence their life is sustained with difficulty, especially in a camp.<sup>2</sup> Referring to the other monstrosities, the philosophers told him of the Okypodes, so swift of foot that they leave horses behind them;<sup>3</sup> of Enôtokoitai who had ears hanging down to their feet so that they could sleep upon them, and were so strong that they could pull up trees and break a bowstring of sinew; of others the Monommatoi (i.e. one-eyed men) who have the ears of a dog, their one eye set in the middle of their forehead, the hair standing erect, and their breasts shaggy;<sup>4</sup> of the Amyktêres also (i.e. men

camel-eared), Oshthakarnâs (having ears close to the lips), and Pânikarnâs (having hands for ears). See Schwanbeck's *Megasthenês*, p. 66. 'Men,' says Talboys Wheeler, 'do not have ears hanging down to their feet, but both men and women will occasionally elongate their ears after a very extraordinary fashion by thrusting articles through the lobes. . . . If there was one story more than another which excited the wrath of Strabo it was that of a people whose ears hung down to their feet. Yet the story is still current in Hindustân. Babu Jokari Dâs says: "An old woman once told me that her husband, a Sepoy in the British army, had seen a people who slept on one ear and covered themselves with the other." The story may be referred to the Himâlayas.' See his *Hist. of India*, iii. p. 179. The statement that the wild men could not be brought to Sandroktotos is of importance as showing that Megasthenes described them from hearsay, and did not aver that they actually existed.

<sup>1</sup> These wild men are mentioned by Ktésias (*Ind.* 31). They were called *Antipodes* from the peculiar structure of their feet, and are often referred to in the Indian epics under the name *Paśchādangulâjas*, of which the *Opisthodaktyloi* of Megasthenes is an exact translation. Pliny has noticed them in the Seventh Book of his *Natural History* in these terms: 'According to Megasthenes, on a mountain called Nulo there live men whose feet are turned backward and who have eight toes on each foot.'

<sup>2</sup> For the men without mouths, called *Astomoi* in Greek, no corresponding name has as yet been found in Sanskrit writings, but, notwithstanding, there can be no doubt that Megasthenes in describing these singular beings followed Indian accounts. They are mentioned by Pliny, Solinus, and Plutarch.

<sup>3</sup> The *Okypodes* were a tribe of the Kirâta, who, though they had, as their name implies, only a single foot, could yet run faster than a horse. They are called in Sanskrit *Ēkapādas*, the one-footed men. They are mentioned by Ktésias, who confounded them with the *Skiapodes*—the shadow-footed men, inhabitants of the hottest part of Libya, who used their immense feet as parasols when they lay on the ground, and who are mentioned by Aristophanes at the end of his *Ornithes*.

<sup>4</sup> What Megasthenes here mentions as the characteristics of a single tribe are by the Indians attributed to several. The *Monommatoi*, or one-eyed men, they

without nostrils) who devour everything, eat raw meat, are short-lived, and die before they reach old age; the upper part of their mouth projects far beyond the lower lip.<sup>1</sup> With regard to the Hyperboreans, who live a thousand years, they give the same account as Simonidês, Pindar, and other mythological writers.<sup>2</sup> The story told by Timogenes of a shower of drops of brass which were raked together is a fable.<sup>3</sup> Megasthenes states, what is more probable, that the rivers carry down

call *Ēkākshâs* or *Eka-vilochanâs*. They are mentioned both in the *Mahābhārata* and in several passages of the *Harivans'a*. The former work mentions a race having like the Cyclopes of Homer an eye set in the middle of the forehead and named from that circumstance the *Lalâtākshas*. The men with hair standing erect are the *Urddhvakêśas* of Sanskrit.

<sup>1</sup> The terms in which Megasthenes describes the *Amyktêres*, the noseless men, show that he had followed Indian accounts of them. For, as Schwanbeck observes, 'the word *pamphagos*, "devouring everything," and the others by which he describes the *Amyktêres* (*ômophagos*, "eating raw flesh," *oligochronios*, "short-lived"), are foreign to the usage of Greek speech, and are renderings of Sanskrit expressions. While the word *pamphagos*, for instance, is very rarely used by the Greeks, the corresponding Sanskrit term is quite current among the Indians. With the epithets also which are applied to the barbarous tribes they are quite familiar: *Sarva-baksha*, *vis'vabhojana* (both=*pamphagos*), and *mân-sabhâkshaka*, *âmishâs'in*, *Pis'itâs'in*, *kravyâda* (all=carnivorous).

<sup>2</sup> Pindar, in his third Olympic Ode, tells us that Heraklês having visited the Hyperboreans, who lived near the fountains of the Danube, and were worshippers of Apollo, carried away from their country the wild olive from which was afterwards formed the victor's crown at the Olympic games. In his tenth Pythian Ode, again, he transports Theseus also to the Hyperboreans, and describes the blissful life which the slayer of Medusa saw them lead.

. . . There all around  
The dancing virgins range,  
And melting lyres and piercing pipes resound.  
With braid of golden bays entwined  
Their soft resplendent locks they bind,  
And feast in bliss the genial hour:  
Nor foul disease, nor wasting age,  
Visit the sacred race; nor wars they wage,  
Nor toil for wealth or power.—*Moore's Version.*

Megasthenes seems to have divined that the Greek fable of the Hyperboreans had its source in the Indian fables regarding the *Uttarakurus*, 'the Kuru of the North.' The *Mahābhārata* says that this people lived 1000 or 10,000 years. Diodôros (ii. 47) relates the fables which were current regarding them, and Pliny tells us (vi. 17) that one Amômêtus had composed a treatise regarding them analogous to that of Hecataeus regarding the Hyperboreans. This writer calls them the *Attacoræ*, Ptolemy the *Ottorokorrhæi*, and Ammianus Marcellinus the *Opurocarra*. We see from this, as Saint-Martin observes, as well as from a host of other examples, that the poetic fables and popular legends of India had taken, in passing into the Greek narratives, an appearance of reality and a sort of historical consistency. Simonidês of Keôs, we may remark, was the contemporary and rival of Pindar.

<sup>3</sup> Timogenes, a teacher of rhetoric, flourished in the reign of Augustus, and wrote an excellent history of Alexander and his successors. He wrote also a *Periplus*, and this is probably the work where Strabo found the story here cited.



gold dust, a part of which is paid to the King as tribute;<sup>1</sup> and this is also the case in Iberia.<sup>2</sup>

58. Speaking of the philosophers, he says that those who inhabit the mountains are worshippers of Dionysos, showing as proofs that he had come among them the wild vine which grows in their country only, and the ivy, and the laurel, and the myrtle, and the box-tree, and other evergreens, none of which are found beyond the Euphrates except a few in parks, which it requires great care to preserve. Some of their customs are of a Dionysiac character, their wearing muslin robes and the turban, using perfumes, dressing themselves in garments dyed of florid hues, and their kings marching out from the palace to the beat of the drum and the jingling of musical bells. But the philosophers who live in the plains worship Heraklēs.<sup>3</sup> These accounts are fabulous, and are contradicted by many writers, especially what is said about the vine and about wine. For the greater part of Armenia, and the whole of Mesopotamia and Media as far as Persia and Karmania, lie beyond the Euphrates, and throughout a great part of these countries

<sup>1</sup> The king was Sandrokottos, whose dominions when Megasthenes wrote his *Indika* extended from the Bay of Bengal to the foot of the Indian Kaukasos. In these times the Erannoboas (now the Sôn) entered the Ganges immediately to the west of his capital—Palibothra—and as its name is a transliteration of the Sanskrit *Hiranyavāhu*, *golden-armed*, we may conclude it was one of the rivers, the sands of which contained particles of gold.

<sup>2</sup> Iberia here means the country between the Euxine and Kaspian seas, now called Georgia.

<sup>3</sup> The Greeks who accompanied Alexander into India identified the gods whom they saw principally worshipped by the inhabitants with certain of their own gods. In this they but followed the usual practice of their countrymen who were ever ready to recognise the identity of any foreign god with some one or other of their own pantheon who possessed somewhat similar attributes or was worshipped with somewhat similar rites. Thus they had no difficulty in deciding that S'iva was no other than Dionysos when they observed that the worship of the former was celebrated with licentious rites and strains of rattling music such as accompanied the celebration of the Bacchic orgies. Besides, as Schwanbeck has remarked, there was nothing easier, after Euripides had invented the story that Dionysos had wandered over the East, than to suppose that the god of exuberant fecundity had penetrated to India, a country famous for its wonderful fertility. Under the name of Heraklēs again, Megasthenes describes either Krishna or his brother Balarāma, who were both incarnations of Vishnu. This seems an all but inevitable inference when we combine with the fact that these two brothers were natives of Mathurā (now Muttra), on the river Jamnā, the statement of Megasthenes that 'Heraklēs was worshipped by the inhabitants of the plain—especially by the Sourasēnai, an Indian tribe possessed of two large cities, Methora and Kleisobara (Krishnapura), and who had a navigable river, the Jobares, flowing through their territories.' Now *Methora* is evidently a transliteration of *Mathurā*, and *Jobares* a copyist's error for *Jomanes*, i.e. the river Jamna or Yamuna, on which Muttra is situated. The Sourasēnai are the inhabitants of the district around Mathurā, of which the Sanskrit name was Surasēna.

there are flourishing vineyards which produce wine of an excellent quality.

59. According to another principle of division, he makes two sects of the philosophers, one of which he calls the Brachmānes and the other the Garmānes.<sup>1</sup> The Brachmānes are held in higher estimation, for they agree more exactly in their opinions. From the time of their conception in the womb they are under the care and guardianship of learned men who go to the mother, and under the pretence of using some incantations for the welfare of herself and her unborn child, in reality give her prudent hints and counsels, and the women who listen to them most willingly are thought to be the most fortunate in their offspring. After their birth the children are under the care of one person after another, and as they advance in years their masters are men of superior accomplishments.<sup>2</sup> The philosophers reside in a grove in front of the city within a moderate-sized enclosure. They live in a simple style and lie on pallets of straw and (deer) skins. They abstain from animal food and sexual pleasures; and occupy their time in listening to serious discourse and in imparting knowledge to willing ears. But the hearer is not permitted to speak or cough, or even to spit, otherwise he is cast out from their society that very day as being a man without self-control. After living in this

<sup>1</sup> The word *Garmānes* is beyond question an erroneous transcription in the single text of Strabo from which all the existing codices have been copied. It should be *Sarmānes*, which represents the Sanskrit *S'armana*, 'an ascetic.' Schwanbeck, commenting on this division of the Indian philosophers, says: 'The main question is, Who are the Sarmanæ? While some say they are Buddhists, others say they are not, and weighty arguments are adduced on both sides. The opinion of those, however, seems to come nearer the truth who contend that they are Buddhists, so that I would prefer to think that Megasthenes was the first who has mentioned the Buddhists. He both applied himself to investigate the doctrine of the Brahmins, and, though he did not fully succeed in this, he nevertheless made many acute observations on the subject. It did not, for instance, escape him that the Brahmins recognise five principles of things of which all things consist, for they add a fifth, which they call *ākāś'a*, i.e. æther.\* Schwanbeck then subjoins a list of the other classical texts which bear on this subject: Arrian, *Anab.* vii. 2, 5-9; Pseudo-Origen, *Philosoph.* 24; Pallad. *de Brachm.* p. 14 seq.; Apoll. iii. 34; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i.; Euseb. *Præpar. ev.* ix. 6.; Cyrill. *contra Julian.* iv. These texts will be found translated in my edition of the *Fragments of Megasthenes*.

<sup>2</sup> Lassen points out (*Ind. Alt.* ii. 701) that on the contrary it was the ordinary custom, as well as a prescript of the law, that the disciple should always submit himself to but one single *guru* or preceptor, who also, during his childhood and youth, performs all the ceremonies which fall to be observed. Lassen, however, considers it beyond doubt that there must have been exceptions allowed, although we cannot now determine what these were.

\* *Ākas'a* is the subtle and ethereal fluid supposed to fill and pervade the universe and to be the peculiar vehicle of life and sound.—Williams's *Sansk. Dict.*



manner for seven-and-thirty years,<sup>1</sup> each individual retires to his own possessions, where he lives in security and under less restraint, wearing robes of muslin and a few gold ornaments on his fingers and in his ears. They eat flesh, but not that of animals which assist man in his labours, and abstain from hot and highly seasoned food. They marry as many wives as they please, with a view to having many children, for from many wives greater advantages are derived. As they do not possess slaves, they need all the more to have at ready command the services of their children.<sup>2</sup> The Brachmânes do not communicate a knowledge of philosophy to their wives, lest they should divulge any of the forbidden mysteries to the profane, if they became depraved, or lest they should desert them if they became good philosophers; for no one who despises alike pleasure and pain, life and death, is willing to be subject to another; and this is the character both of a good man and of a good woman.<sup>3</sup> Their discourse turns most frequently on death. They regard this life as the time, so to speak, when the child within the womb becomes mature, and death as a birth into a real and happy life for those that are philosophers. On this account they undergo much discipline as a preparation for death. They consider nothing that befalls men to be either good or bad, for otherwise some persons would not be affected with sorrow and others with joy by the very same things, their notions being as inane as dreams, nor would the same persons be affected at different times with sorrow and joy by the very same things. With regard to ideas about physical phenomena, our author says that they display great simplicity, for they are better in their actions than in their reasonings, their belief being chiefly based upon fables. On many points, however, their opinions coincide with those of the Greeks, for the Brachmânes say with them that the world was created, and is liable to destruction, that it is of a spheroidal figure, and that the Deity who made and governs it is diffused through all its parts. They hold that the principles of all things are different, but that water was the

<sup>1</sup> The (Greek) writers erroneously prolong the period during which students listen to their instructors in silence and respect, making it extend in all cases to thirty-seven, which is the greatest age to which Manu (chap. iii. sec. 1) permits it to be protracted.—Elphinstone's *History of India*, p. 236.

<sup>2</sup> The reason why the Brahman required children was not so much the one here alleged as the duty laid upon him to beget sons by whom the sacrifice to his manes might be performed, for, if this were omitted, his place in heaven would be lost, and he would have to be born again for the attainment of the reward of his virtue.

<sup>3</sup> Lassen opines that the real reason was to save women from seduction.

principle employed in the formation of the world; that in addition to the four elements there is a fifth nature from which the heaven and the stars were produced, and that the earth is situated in the centre of the universe. Concerning generation, the nature of the soul, and many other subjects, they express views similar to those of the Greeks. They wrap up their doctrines about the immortality of the soul and judgment in Hades in fables after the manner of Plato. This is the account which Megasthenes gives of the Brachmânes.

60. Of the Sarmanes the most honourable, he says, are those called the Hylobioi. They live in the forests, subsist on leaves and wild fruits, wear garments made from the bark of trees, and abstain from wine and commerce with women. They communicate with the kings who consult them by messengers regarding the causes of things, and who through them worship and supplicate the Deity. Next in honour to the Hylobioi are the physicians, for they apply philosophy to the study of the nature of man. They are frugal in their habits, but do not live in the fields. Their food consists of rice and barley-meal, which every one gives who is asked, as well as every one who receives them as a guest. By their knowledge of medicine they can make persons have a numerous offspring, and make also the children to be either male or female. They effect cures rather by regulating diet than by the use of medicines. The remedies in most repute are ointments and plasters. All others they suppose to partake largely of a noxious nature. Both this class and the other class of persons practise fortitude as well by undergoing active toil as by enduring suffering, so that they will remain motionless for a whole day in one fixed posture. Besides these there are diviners and sorcerers and those who are conversant with the rites and customs relating to the dead, who go about villages and towns begging. Those who are more cultured than these, and mix more with mankind, inculcate the vulgar opinions concerning Hades, which they think conducive to piety and sanctity. Women study philosophy with some of them, but they too abstain from sexual intercourse.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This passage regarding the Buddhist ascetics is found also in Clemens Alexandrinus (*Strom.* i.). He calls them correctly Sarmânai, but errs in calling the ascetics of the woods *Allobioi* instead of, like Strabo, *Hylobioi*, since this word is a translation of their Sanskrit name *Vânaprasthâ*. Clemens adds an important statement: 'Among the Indians are those philosophers who follow the precepts of Boutta, whom they honour as a god on account of his extraordinary majesty.' Colebrooke has quoted this passage from Clemens to controvert the opinion that the religion and institutions of the orthodox Hindus are more modern than the doctrines of Jina and of Buddha. It shows, he thinks, that the



61. Aristoboulos says that in Taxila he saw two of the sages, both Brachmânes; the elder had his head shaved, but the other wore his hair; both of them were followed by their disciples. Their spare time is spent in the market-place; in respect of their being public counsellors they receive great homage, and have the privilege of taking without payment whatever they want that is offered for sale; on every person whom they accost they pour oil of sesamum until it trickles down to their face; of honey, which is exposed for sale in great quantity, and of sesamum they take enough wherewith to make cakes, and their food costs them nothing. They came to Alexander's table and took their meal standing, and gave an example of their endurance by retiring to a place that was near where the elder lying on his back endured the sun and the rains which were now falling, as spring had by this time set in. The other stood on one leg holding up with both his hands a beam of wood about three cubits long; when the leg became fatigued he supported himself on the other, and continued thus the whole day long.<sup>1</sup> The younger seemed to have far greater self-control, for having followed the king for a short distance he quickly turned back home. The king sent after him, but he requested the king to come to him if he wanted anything at his hands.<sup>2</sup> The other accompanied the king to the end of his days, and in staying with him dressed in a different style and altered his whole mode of life. When he was reproached by some for so doing, he answered that he had completed the

followers of Buddha were distinct both from the Brahmins and the Sarmânes—the latter, who are called by Porphyrios *Samanaioi*, being in his opinion ascetics of a different religion, and probably Jains—see his *Observations on the Sect of the Jains*. Bardsames of Babylon, who wrote towards the end of the second century of our era, divides the Gymnosophists into two sects, one of which he calls Bragmanes, and the other Samanaioi. His account of the austere life led by the latter agrees with that of Strabo. The form *Samanaioi* is taken from *Samana*, the Pali for *Sramana*.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Cicero (*Tusc. Disput.* v. 27): 'What foreign land is more vast and wild than India? Yet in that nation first those who are reckoned sages spend their lifetime naked, and endure the snows of Caucasus and the rage of winter without grieving, and when they have committed their body to the flames, not a groan escapes them when they are burning.' Compare also Arrian (*Indika*, c. 11): 'The sages go naked, living during winter in the open air to enjoy the sunshine, and during summer, when the heat is oppressive, in meadows and low-lying grounds under large trees.' Also Pliny (*N. H.* vii. 2): 'Their philosophers, whom they call Gymnosophists, continue standing from sunrise to sunset, gazing at the sun without winking, and standing the whole day on burning sands on one foot and then on the other.'

<sup>2</sup> According to Arrian (vii. ii.), however, Dandamis was the oldest of the philosophers, and the others his disciples. Strabo himself subsequently (c. 64) says that Mandanis was the oldest and wisest of the Sophists.

forty years of asceticism which he had promised to observe.<sup>1</sup> Alexander gave presents to his children.

62. He makes mention of some strange and unusual customs which existed at Taxila. Those who are unable from poverty to bestow their daughters in marriage, expose them for sale in the market-place in the flower of their age, a crowd being assembled by sound of the shells and drums, which are also used for sounding the war-note. When any person steps forward, first the back of the girl as far as the shoulders is uncovered for his examination, and then the parts in front, and if she pleases him and allows herself at the same time to be persuaded, they cohabit on such terms as may be agreed upon.<sup>2</sup> The dead are thrown out to be devoured by vultures. The custom of having many wives prevails here, and is common among other races. He says that he had heard from some persons of wives burning themselves along with their deceased husbands and doing so gladly; and that those women who refused to burn themselves were held in disgrace. The same things have been stated by other writers.<sup>3</sup>

63. Onêsikritos says that he himself was sent to converse with these sages. For Alexander heard that these men went

<sup>1</sup> The younger, though said here to be the elder, was called by the Greeks Kalânos, but his real name, as Plutarch tells us, was Sphines. The elder was Dandamis, otherwise called Mandanes. These and other Indian philosophers, as Arrian relates (*Anab.* vii. i.), are said to have been caught by Alexander as they were walking in the open meadow, where they were in the habit of passing their time. At the sight of the king and his army they did nothing but stamp with their feet upon the ground. The interpreters having asked what they meant by doing this, they replied: O King Alexander! every man possesses as much of the earth as this upon which we have stepped, but you, though but a man like ourselves, only more arrogant and meddlesome, have traversed so much of the world troubling both yourself and others; and yet you must soon die and possess no more than the spot of earth which will suffice to bury you. The Brahman ascetic was under discipline not for forty years but only till he had completed the thirty-seventh year of his life. It is somewhat singular that at Rome the Vestal Virgins were bound by their vows till they had attained a similar age. Their service began when they were of any age between six and ten, and lasted for thirty years, after which they were free to return to the world and marry if they chose or were chosen.

<sup>2</sup> Curtius (ix. 1) states that the subjects of Sopithes (*Sophytes* when the name is properly transliterated) in contracting marriages are indifferent to an alliance with high birth, but choose a wife on account of her good looks. Diodôros writes to the same effect: 'In selecting a bride they care nothing whether she has a dowry, but look only to her beauty and other advantages of the outward person' (xvii. 91).

<sup>3</sup> Diodôros says (xvii. 91) that among the Kathaians it was the custom for widows to be burned along with their husbands. He has pointed out, however (xix. 33), that an exception was made for women with child or with a family. Otherwise, if she did not comply with this custom she was compelled to remain a widow for the rest of her life, and to take no part in sacrifices or other rites, as



about naked, inured themselves to hardships, and were held in highest honour; that when invited, they did not go to other persons, but requested such to come to them if they wished to participate in their exercises or conversations. Such being their principles, Alexander neither thought it consistent with his dignity to go to them nor cared to compel them to do anything that was contrary to their inclinations and their native customs. He therefore despatched Onêsikritos to them, who relates that he found at the distance of twenty stadia from the city fifteen men standing in different postures, sitting or lying down naked, who did not move from these positions till the evening, when they returned to the city. The most difficult thing to endure was the heat of the sun, which was so violent that no one else could without pain endure to walk on the ground at mid-day with bare feet.

64. He conversed with Kalânos, one of these sages, who afterwards accompanied the king to Persis, where he died after the manner of his country, amid the flames of the funeral pyre on which he had been laid. Onêsikritos found him at the time of his visit lying upon stones. He approached the sage, and, having accosted him, informed him how he had been sent by the king to hear their wisdom, and to bring him a report of its nature. So then, if there was no objection, he was ready to listen to his discourse. Kalânos, observing that he wore a mantle, a broad-brimmed cap and long boots, laughed, and said: In former times the world was full of corn and barley, as it is now of dust; the fountains then flowed, some with water and others with milk, or it might be with honey or with wine and with oil; but mankind by repletion and luxury became proud and insolent. Then Zeus, indignant at this state of things, made all disappear, and allotted to man a life of toil. When temperance, however, and other virtues had appeared once more in the world, an abundance of good things again arose. But at present the condition of satiety and wantonness was approaching, and threatened to do away with the existing state of things. Having spoken thus, he requested Onêsikritos, if he wished to hear him, to strip off his clothes, and lying down naked on the same stones with

being an impious person. Cicero in his *Tusculan Disputations* (v. 27) refers to this practice in these terms: 'Women in India, when the husband of any of them dies, dispute and try in court which of them he loved best, for several of them are married to one man. She who comes off victorious joyfully amidst her friends and relatives is placed along with her husband on his funeral pile. The widow who has been unsuccessful departs full of sorrow.'

himself, to listen to his discourse. While Onêsikritos was hesitating what to do, Mandanis, who was the oldest and wisest of these sages, rebuked Kalânos for his insolence and for his showing that vice himself even while condemning it in others.<sup>1</sup> He then called Onêsikritos to him, and said that he praised the king because though he ruled over so great an empire, he nevertheless desired wisdom, and was the only philosopher in arms that he had ever seen. It would indeed be the greatest of all benefits if those who have the power to persuade the willing and compel the unwilling to learn moderation were men of good sense. 'I am entitled,' he added, 'to indulgence, if, while conversing by means of three interpreters, who, except the language, understand nothing we say any more than the vulgar, I am unable to demonstrate the utility of philosophy. One might as well expect water to flow pure through mud.'

65. The tendency of his discourse, he said, was this, that the best doctrine was that which removed pleasure and grief from the mind; that grief differed from labour in that the former was an enemy and the latter a friend to man; for men exercised their bodies with labour in order to strengthen their mental powers, by which means they would put an end to dissensions, and would unite in giving good counsel to all, both to the public and to individuals. They would now unite also in advising Taxilês to receive Alexander as a friend, for if he received a person better than himself he would be benefited, and if one worse than himself, he would dispose him to good. Mandanis having spoken to this effect, then enquired whether such doctrines were current among the Greeks. Onêsikritos replied 'that Pythagoras taught a similar doctrine, and enjoined his disciples to abstain from animal food; and that Sôkrates and Diogenês,<sup>2</sup> to whose discourses he had listened, held like opinions. Mandanis replied that in other respects he thought they entertained sound notions, but erred on one point by preferring custom to nature, for otherwise they would not be ashamed to go naked like himself and to subsist on frugal fare—for that was the best house which required least repairs.' He says also that they busy themselves with enquiries concerning natural phenomena, prognostics, rains, droughts, and

<sup>1</sup> A similar account of the interview will be found in Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, c. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Onêsikritos was an ardent votary of the Cynic School of Philosophy founded by Diogenês.



diseases. When they repair to the city they disperse themselves in the market-place. If they happen to meet any who carries figs or bunches of grapes, they take what he bestows without giving anything in return. If he carries oil, he pours it over them, and they are anointed with it. Every wealthy house is open to them, even to the apartments of the women. On entering they share the repast and join in the conversation. It is considered most disgraceful to have any bodily disease. Hence when one suspects himself to be infected he rids himself of life by means of fire, for having prepared a funeral pile and anointed himself, he settles himself upon the pyre, orders it to be kindled, and remains motionless while he is burning.

66. Nearchos gives the following account of the Sages. Some of the Brachmânes take part in political life, and attend the kings as counsellors. The others are engaged in the study of nature. Kalânos belonged to the latter class. Women study philosophy along with them, and all lead an austere life. With respect to the customs of the other Indians, he informs us that their laws, whether those applicable to the community or to individuals, are not committed to writing,<sup>1</sup> and are quite different from those of other nations. For example, among some tribes it is the custom to offer virgins as a prize to the victor in a boxing-match, so that they may be married though portionless.<sup>2</sup> Among other tribes again the land is cultivated by families in common, and when the crops are collected, each person takes a load for his support throughout the year. The remainder of the produce is burned to give them a reason for setting to work anew, and not remaining idle.<sup>3</sup> Their weapons

<sup>1</sup> See note 1, p. 56, where Nelson is quoted.

<sup>2</sup> There may be here a reference to the ancient custom called *Svayamvara*, i.e. the election of a husband by a princess or daughter of a Kshatriya at a public assembly of suitors held for the purpose. The great Râma, according to the well-known story, obtained Sitâ for his wife, because that he alone of all the princes assembled at Mithilâ as suitors for her hand was able to bend the bow of S'iva. Arrian (*Indika*, c. 17) says that women when marriageable are exposed by their fathers in public, and are selected by those who have been victors in wrestling, boxing, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Here is indicated the system of the Indian village community, which in all its essential features has remained unchanged from the earliest times down to the present day. Such a community occupies a certain extent of land, the boundaries of which are carefully fixed, though often disputed. Sometimes it is cultivated by the united labour of the inhabitants; but more usually each ploughs his separate field, leaving always a large portion of common. Whatever change may take place in the supreme authority, the peculiar constitution of each township remains unaltered. No revolutions affect it, no conquest changes it. In such communities the Greeks recognised characteristics which forcibly reminded them of their petty independent republics which existed in their own country. See *British India* of the Edinburgh Cabinet Library, vol. ii. pp. 329, 330.

consist of a bow and arrows which are three cubits long,<sup>1</sup> or a javelin and a shield, and a broadsword three cubits long.<sup>2</sup> Instead of bridles they use muzzles which differ little from halters, and the lips are perforated with spikes.<sup>3</sup>

67. With a view to show their ingenuity in works of art, he relates that when they saw sponges in use among the Macedonians, they imitated them by sewing hairs, thin strings and threads into wool; when the wool had been pressed into felt, they partly carded it and partly dyed it of colours. Many of them also quickly became makers of currycombs and of vessels for oil. They write letters, he says, upon cloth which has been very closely woven, but the other writers affirm that they do not employ written characters. They use copper which has been fused but not wrought. He does not state the reason of this, although he mentions the strange result of the practice, that if vessels of this material fall to the ground they break like earthenware. In the accounts of India, the following custom is also mentioned, that instead of prostrating themselves before their kings and all persons of high rank and authority, it is usual to address them with prayers. The country produces precious stones such as crystals and garnets of every kind, and also pearls.

68. As an example of the disagreements among writers on India, we may take what they say about Kalânos. They are at one in stating that he went away from India with Alexander, and while still with him underwent a voluntary death by fire, but they do not agree as to the cause and manner of his death; for some have written to this effect: Kalânos accompanied the king in the capacity of his eulogist beyond the mountains of India, contrary to the common custom of the philosophers of that country, who attend upon their kings, instructing them in matters relating to the gods, in the same manner as the Magi attend the Persian kings. When he became sick at

<sup>1</sup> 'The foot-soldiers (of the Indians) carry a bow made of equal length with the bowman. This they rest upon the ground, and pressing against it with their left foot thus discharge the arrow, having drawn the string far backwards. The shaft is nearly three yards long, and there is nothing which can resist an Indian archer's shot—neither shield nor breastplate nor any stronger defence if such there be.' Arrian, *Indika*, c. 16.

<sup>2</sup> According to Arrian (*Indika*, c. 16) the Indians carried in their left hand bucklers, made of undressed ox-hide, about as long but not so broad as those who carried them. The swords, he says, were wielded with both hands to give so much the greater force to the blow.

<sup>3</sup> Compare what Arrian says, *Indika*, c. 16, regarding the bits and bridles of Indian horses.



Pasargadai,<sup>1</sup> this being the first sickness he ever had, he put an end to himself in his seventy-third year, without heeding the entreaties of the king. A pyre was raised and a golden couch placed upon it. He then laid himself down thereon, and having covered himself up was burned to death. Others again say that a chamber was constructed of wood and filled with the leaves of trees, and that a pyre having been made upon the roof, he was shut up in it according to his directions, after the procession with which he had been accompanied—that he then flung himself upon the pyre, and was consumed like a beam of wood along with the chamber. Megasthenes, however, says that self-destruction is not a dogma of the philosophers, but that those who commit this act are regarded as foolhardy; that some are naturally of a severe temper and inflict wounds upon their bodies or cast themselves down a precipice, that those who are impatient of pain drown themselves, while those that are capable of enduring pain strangle themselves, and those of ardent tempers throw themselves into the fire. Kalános was a man of this stamp. He was ruled by his passions and became a slave to the table of Alexander.<sup>2</sup> He is on this account condemned by the Indians, but Mandanis is praised, because when messengers from Alexander invited him to go to the son of Zeus with the promise of gifts if he complied, and threats of punishment if he refused, he did not go. Alexander, he said, was not the son of Zeus, for he was not so much as the master of the larger part of the world. For his part he wanted none of the gifts of a man whose desires nothing could satiate, and as little did he fear his threats, for while he lived India would supply him with food enough, and when he died he would be delivered from the flesh now wasted with age, and would be translated to a better and a purer state of existence. Alexander commended him and excused him from coming.<sup>3</sup>

69. The following particulars also are stated by the historians. The Indians worship Zeus Ombrios (i.e. the Rainy),<sup>4</sup> the river

<sup>1</sup> They differ also as to the place of his death. In my work on the *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, I have collected all the passages to be found in the Classics concerning Kalános, pp. 386-392. Susa rather than Pasargadai was the place where he burned himself.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo's expression is: ἀκόλαστος ἄνθρωπος. Cicero (*Tusc. Disp.* c. 22) speaks of him as *indoctus ac barbarus, in radicibus Caucasi natus*.

<sup>3</sup> In Arrian the response of Dandamis was somewhat different—that he himself was the son of God if Alexander too was such, and wanted nothing that Alexander had.

<sup>4</sup> Indra, the god of the firmament, who wielded the flaming thunderbolt, and sent down from the clouds the fertilising rains without which the crops would wither, the cattle perish, and all nature languish and die, was at the time of the

Ganges,<sup>1</sup> and the indigenous deities of the country. When the king washes his hair they celebrate a great festival, and send him great presents, each person seeking to outrival his neighbour in displaying his wealth.<sup>2</sup> They say that of the gold-digging ants some are winged, and that the Indian rivers, like the Ibèrian,<sup>3</sup> carry down gold dust. In the processions at their festivals, many elephants adorned with gold and silver are in the train, as well as four-horsed chariots and yokes of oxen. Then comes a great host of attendants in their holiday attire, with vessels of gold, such as large basins and goblets, six feet in breadth, tables, chairs of state, drinking cups and lavers all made of Indian copper, and set many of them with precious stones—emeralds, beryls, and Indian garnets—garments embroidered and interwoven with gold, wild beasts—such as buffaloes, leopards, tame lions—and a multitude of birds of variegated plumage and fine song.<sup>4</sup> Kleitarchos<sup>5</sup> mentions four-wheeled carriages carrying trees of the large-leaved sort, from which were suspended in cages different kinds of tame birds, among which he speaks of the ôriôn<sup>6</sup> as that which had

Macedonian Invasion the most popular of all the Nature-gods worshipped by the Indians, and was at the same time the especial favourite of the poets by whom the great National Epics were composed. In this deity the Greeks readily recognised their own Zeus Ombrios (the Jupiter Pluvius of the Romans), who like Indra ruled supreme in heaven, wielded the thunderbolt, and sent down rain upon the earth.

<sup>1</sup> The Ganges is but seldom mentioned in the Vedic poetry, and it was not till the period when the national Epics were composed that myths and legends became connected with its name. It is well known what purifying and supernatural properties are attributed to its waters by the Hindus. They regard it as the stream that washes away all sin. Its indigenous name Gangâ (feminine) is said to be derived from the root *gam*, 'to go.'

<sup>2</sup> A passage from Herodotos (ix. 110) shows that this ceremony was performed on his birthday: 'This royal feast is prepared once a year, on the day on which the king (Xerxes) was born; and the name of this feast is, in the Persian language, *tykta*, and in the Greek language, *teleion* (perfect); and then only the king washes his head with soap and makes presents to the Persians.'

<sup>3</sup> Ibèria is here not Spain but the country between the Black Sea and the Caspian now called Georgia.

<sup>4</sup> With this may be compared the description to be found in Athenaios (iv. 4, 5, 6), of the procession of Antiochos Epiphanes, and that of Ptolemy Philadelphos. Compare also Q. Curtius, Book viii. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Kleitarchos, the son of Deinon the historian, accompanied Alexander the Great in his Asiatic expedition, and wrote a history of it which is erroneously supposed to have been adopted by Q. Curtius as the basis of his history of the great conqueror. Cicero impugns his veracity as does also Quintilian, and his style is ridiculed by Longinus. Fragments of his work have been preserved by Plutarch, Pliny, and Athenaios, as well as by Strabo.

<sup>6</sup> The Oriôn is thus described by Aelian in his *Hist. Animal.* xvii. 22: 'Kleitarchos says that there is an Indian bird which is excessively erotic, and is called the Oriôn. We shall describe it in the very terms Kleitarchos himself employs. It equals in size the largest kind of herons. Its legs, like theirs, are



the sweetest note, and of another called the katreus<sup>1</sup> which was the most beautiful in appearance, and had the most variegated plumage. In figure it approached nearest to the peacock, but the rest of the description must be taken from Kleitarchos.

70. The Pramnai<sup>2</sup> are philosophers opposed to the Brachmânes, and are contentious and fond of argument. They ridicule the Brachmânes who study physiology and astronomy as fools and impostors. Some of them are called the Pramnai of the mountains, others the Gymnêtai, and others again the Pramnai of the city or the Pramnai of the country. Those of the mountains wear deer-skins and carry wallets filled with roots and drugs, professing to cure diseases by means of incantations, charms, and amulets. The Gymnêtai, in accordance with their name, are naked, and live generally in the open air practising endurance, as I have already mentioned, for seven-and-thirty years. Women live in their society without sexual commerce.

71. The Pramnai of the city live in towns and wear muslin robes, while those of the country clothe themselves with the skins of fawns or antelopes. In a word, the Indians wear

red, but its eyes, unlike theirs, are blue. It has been taught by Nature herself to warble strains sweet as a bridal chant, and as lulling to the ear as a wedding lay or the alluring melodies sung by the Sirens.

<sup>1</sup> Aelian has described from Kleitarchos the Katreus as well as the Oriôn (*Hist. Anim.* xvii. 23). 'Kleitarchos says that an Indian bird called the Katreus is of surpassing beauty; that it is about the size of a peacock, and that the tips of its feathers are of an emerald green. When it looks at others, you cannot distinguish the colour of its eyes, but when it looks at you, you would say that they are vermilion except the pupil. This is tinted like an apple, and its glance is keen. That part of the eye which is white in others is in the Katreus a pale yellow. The down on its head is azure, but here and there variegated with spots of saffron, while its legs are of an orange colour. Its voice is melodious, and thrilling like the nightingale's. The Indians keep them in aviaries, that they may be able to feast their eyes with their loveliness.' Dr. V. Ball thinks the Katreus was the monal pheasant. 'It is probable,' he says, 'that monal pheasants, captured in the Himalayas, were brought into India for sale, and thus became known to the Greeks. The same bird is, I believe, referred to under the name *Catreus* by Strabo, where he quotes from Cleitarchos, and tells us that the bird was beautiful in appearance, had variegated plumage, and approached the peacock in shape. A suggestion that this was a bird of paradise is therefore absurd, and is otherwise most improbable, since birds of paradise are found not in India but in New Guinea. With this also I am inclined to identify "the partridge larger than the vulture," which, as related by Strabo on the authority of Nicolaus Damascenus, was sent by Porus, with other presents, in charge of an embassy, to Augustus Cæsar.' *From a Paper read before the Royal Irish Academy, June 9, 1884.* Nonnus has also described the Katreus: 'It is,' he says (*Dion.* xxvi. 207 sqq.), 'by nature tinted yellow and is shrill-voiced. From its eyes it darts out glances bright as the beams of kindling day. Its wings of purple grain are of surpassing beauty.' Müller suggests that these birds are the Indian Sirens of whom Dinon speaks.

<sup>2</sup> *Pramnai* should be read *Sramanai*, the Buddhist sect.

white apparel—white muslin and linen (contrary to the statements of those who say that they wear garments dyed of florid hues); all of them wear long hair and long beards, plait their hair and bind it with a fillet.

72. Artemidoros<sup>1</sup> says that the Ganges descends from the Emodoi Mountains towards the south, and on reaching the city Gangê<sup>2</sup> turns its course eastward to Palibothra and the mouth by which it enters the sea. To one of its affluents he gives the name of Oidanes, which breeds, he says, crocodiles and dolphins.<sup>3</sup> He mentions some other circumstances besides, but in such a confused and careless way that they do not deserve consideration. To these accounts may be added that of Nikolaos Damaskênos.<sup>4</sup>

73. This writer says that at Antioch by Daphnê<sup>5</sup> he met with the Indian ambassadors who had been sent to Augustus Cæsar. It appeared from the letter that their number had been more than merely the three he reports that he saw. The rest had died chiefly in consequence of the length of the journey. The letter was written in Greek on parchment and imported that Pôros was the writer, and that though he was

<sup>1</sup> Artemidoros, a Greek traveller and geographer, is very frequently quoted by Strabo. He was a native of Ephesos, and lived about 100 B.C. His work on geography was called *A Periplus of the External Sea both Eastern and Western, and of the largest Islands in it*. It is a lost work, as is also, though not entirely, an abridgment made of it by Marcianus early in the fifth century of our era.

<sup>2</sup> A city called Gangê is mentioned in the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea* as a commercial mart, situated on the Ganges, through which passed betel, Gangetic spikenard, pearls, and the finest of all muslins—those called Gangetic. It has been very variously identified; but the likeliest of the positions proposed was that of Hughli, which stands on the Ganges at a distance of thirty miles from Calcutta. The Gangê of Artemidoros, however, seems not to be the same as this, which Wilford identifies with Prayâg, that is, Allahâbâd, but Groskurd with Anupshahr on the Ganges, south-east from Delhi.

<sup>3</sup> Curtius in his description of India given in the beginning of the Eighth Book of his *History*, mentions the Dyardanes as a river flowing through the remotest parts of India and breeding not only crocodiles like the Nile, but also dolphins and other aquatic monsters. This river is probably that which Ptolemy calls the Doanas, designating thereby the Brahmaputra. There can be little doubt that the Dyardanes, Doanas, and Oidanes are but different forms of the same name, and that all designate the Brahmaputra, which is all but confluent at its mouth with the eastern arms of the Ganges.

<sup>4</sup> Nikolaos, called Damaskênos from his being a native of Damascus, was sprung from a family of high distinction. He possessed great abilities, was carefully educated, and distinguished himself by the production of works of merit in various departments of literature. He was the intimate friend of Herod the Great, and was much esteemed by the Emperor Augustus, to whom he was personally known. At the request of the former he wrote a *Universal History* which extended to no fewer than 144 books.

<sup>5</sup> Daphnê was a celebrated grove and sanctuary of Apollo near Antioch by the Orontes, the capital of the Greek Kings of Syria.



the sovereign of 600 kings, he nevertheless set a high value on being Cæsar's friend, and was willing to grant him a passage wherever he wished through his dominions, and to assist him in any good enterprise. Such, he says, were the contents of the letter. Eight naked servants presented the gifts that were brought. They had girdles encircling their waists and were fragrant with ointments. The gifts consisted of a Hermes born wanting arms from the shoulders whom I have myself seen, large snakes and a serpent ten cubits long, and a river tortoise three cubits long, and a partridge larger than a vulture. They were accompanied, it is said, by the man who burned himself at Athens. This is done by persons in misfortune seeking relief from their present circumstances, and by others in prosperity, which was the case with this man. For as everything had gone well with him up to this time, he thought it necessary to depart, lest if he tarried longer in the world some unexpected calamity should befall him. He therefore with a smile leaped upon the pyre naked and anointed, and wearing a girdle round his loins. On his tomb was this inscription, 'Zarmanochegas,<sup>1</sup> an Indian from Bargosa,<sup>2</sup> having immortalised himself according to the custom of his country, lies here.'

<sup>1</sup> 'In Dion Cassius LIV. ix. he is called Zarmanus, a variation probably of Garmanus.—Falconer. This Indian was a Buddhist ascetic, as his name seems to indicate—for *Zarmanochegas* is a somewhat incorrect transliteration of *Sramanāchārya*. The last part of the name *āchārya* means a *spiritual guide or preceptor*.

<sup>2</sup> Bargosa was the great commercial port on the Narbada river so often mentioned in the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea* under the name Barygaza. It is now Bharōch the capital of the Gaikwar, and is situated about thirty miles from the sea on the north side of the river. Dr. John Wilson in his work *no Indian Castes* (ii. p. 113) explains the etymology of the name thus: 'The Bhārgavas derive their designation from Bhārgava, the adjective form of Bhrigu, the name of one of the ancient Rishis. Their chief habitat is the district of Bharōch, which must have got its name from a colony of the school of Bhrigu having been early established in this Kshētra, probably granted to them by some conqueror of the district. In the name Barugaza given to it by Ptolemy we have a Greek corruption of Bhrigukshētra (the territory of Bhrigu) or Bhrigukaccha, "the tongue-land" of Bhrigu. The illiterate Gujarātis pronounce Bhrigukshētra as Bargacha, and hence the Greek form of the name.'

For a critical examination of the account of this embassy, see Priaulx's *Indian Travel*, pp. 64-87, where it is pointed out that the Indian embassy to Augustus is mentioned by Suetonius in his life of that Emperor, c. 21, in these terms: 'The Indians also and Scythians, who were known only by report, he attracted to solicit voluntarily, through ambassadors, the friendship of himself and the Roman people.'

Florus, also, towards the close of his *Epitome of Roman History*, mentions the same embassy:—

'For both the Scythians and Sarmatians sent ambassadors begging our alliance. The Seres also and the Indians who live under the Sun, together with jewels and precious stones, bringing elephants also amongst their presents, reckoned nothing so much an obligation laid upon the Emperor, as the length of their journey,

which they had finished in four years, and notwithstanding the complexion of the men showed that they came from another climate.'

Orosius, a native of Tarraco (Tarragona), states in his *History* (vi. 12) that an Indian embassy reached Augustus at the time when he was residing in that city. As the date of this embassy does not tally with that noticed by Nicolaos, some have supposed that there were two different embassies, but this is highly improbable. Orosius is by no means an accurate historian.

Dion Cassius (ix. 58) also mentions this Indian embassy in these terms:—

'Numerous embassies came to him (Augustus at Samos, B.C. 21), and the Indians having first proclaimed a league of amity with him, obtained its ratification, and presented him, besides other gifts, with tigers also—animals seen then for the first time by the Romans, and, if I mistake not, even by the Greeks. They gave him also a stripling without arms (like the statues we see of Hermes), but as dexterous in using his feet as others their hands, for with them he could bend a bow, hurl a dart, and put a trumpet to his mouth. One of the Indians, Zarmanos, perhaps to make a show for the Athenians and Augustus who was then in Athens, resolved to put an end to his life. And having been initiated in the mysteries of the two gods (Demeter and Persephone) which were held out of the ordinary course on account of the initiation of Augustus, he committed his living body to the flames.'

Sarmarus should probably be *Sarmanus*, i.e. a Buddhist priest. He is the Zarmano-chegas of Strabo.

From Dion Cassius—Xiphil. ii. p. 329:—

He (Hadrian) consecrated (in the Olympion at Athens) a serpent brought from India.



## SECTION III

STRABO<sup>1</sup>

## BOOK XV. CHAPTER II.

NEXT to India is Arianê,<sup>2</sup> the first portion of the country subject to the Persians, lying beyond the river Indus,<sup>3</sup> and the first also of the upper Satrapies without the Tauros.<sup>4</sup> It is bounded on the north by the same mountains as India, and

<sup>1</sup> To Strabo's description of India I have subjoined his description of Arianê, because considerable tracts of the vast region so designated have been from the earliest times down to the present day inhabited by tribes of Indian descent, a fact attested both by historians and geographers, and confirmed by the evidence of language, since not only are various mountains, rivers, and localities that are situated to the west of the Indus designated by means of Sanskrit etymology, but a good many Afghan tribes bear names in common with tribes found scattered over the vast plains which stretch eastward from the Indus to the rampart of the Vindhya. At the time of Alexander's Invasion Arianê was subject to Persia, and the Indus was then in consequence taken to be the western boundary of India; but when Seleukos Nikator had ceded to Sandrokottos the provinces which lay immediately to the west of that river, a different boundary had to be fixed, and hence Pliny says (vi. 23), 'Most geographers do not fix the Indus as the northern boundary of India, but add the four Satrapies of the Gedrosi, Arachotæ, Aarii, and Paropamisadæ, fixing the river Kophes as its farthest boundary.' Lassen, quoted with approbation by Saint-Martin, also discards the Indus as the proper boundary of India. 'I hold it false,' he says, 'to say the river Indus is the natural boundary of India on the west . . . and I believe that a strict definition must be fixed to the effect that the mountain-range on the west of the Indus, the eastern Soliman-chain, the Lakki and the Hala mountains, form the boundary, thus assigning the lowlands on the west bank of the Indus to Indian territory.'

<sup>2</sup> This term (from *arya*, 'noble, excellent') still survives in the form *Iran*, the modern name of Persia. It is not mentioned by Herodotos, but he speaks of the *Arioi*, as along with the Parthoi, Chorasmioi, and Sogdoi constituting the sixteenth of the twenty Satrapies into which Darius had divided the Persian empire. He had, however, some vague conception that the designation was more widely applicable than to the people of a single district, for he says that the Persians at one time called themselves *Artaioi*, and that the Medes were originally called *Arioi*. The term *Arya* designated in common the Iranians and the Indians of the North.

<sup>3</sup> Beyond the Indus, because Strabo had been speaking of India, with reference to which Arianê is to the west of that river.

<sup>4</sup> Without the Tauros, i.e. to the south of that range, Strabo now speaking of Arianê from his own point of view.

on the south by the same sea and the same river, the Indus, which forms the boundary between itself and India. It stretches thence towards the west as far as the line drawn from the Kaspian Gates to Karmania, so that its shape is quadrilateral. The southern side begins at the mouth of the Indus and Patalênê, and terminates at Karmania and the mouth of the Persian Gulf, in a cape which projects a good distance southwards (Koh Mubarak, Cape Carpella). It then makes a bend in the direction of Persis.<sup>1</sup> The first people who inhabit the country west from the mouth of the Indus are the Arbies, who have the same name as the river Arbis,<sup>2</sup> which divides them

<sup>1</sup> 'The denomination of Ariana has perhaps been rarely used with the precision it deserved, either by ancient writers or their modern expounders. It is often confounded inaccurately by both with Aria; and although the difference has been occasionally recognised, it has not in general been very decidedly marked. . . . Although some difficulties perplex the text of Strabo in regard to the boundaries of Ariana, yet they are not of a very important nature, nor do they materially affect the general extent and position of the country so called. On the east and south there is no disagreement. The eastern boundary of Ariana is the Indus; the southern is the Indian Ocean, from the mouth of the Indus to the Persian Gulf. The western limit is said in one place to be an imaginary line drawn from the Caspian Gates to Carmania. In another, Eratosthenes is cited as describing the western boundary to be a line separating Parthiene from Media, and Carmania from Paratakene and Persia—that is, taking in the whole of Yezd and Kerman, but excluding Fars. The northern boundary is said to be the Paropamisian mountains, or the same mountains of which the continuation forms the northern limit of India. It is elsewhere observed, upon the authority of Apollodoros of Artemita, that the name is applied to some parts of Persia and Media, and to the northern Bactrians and Sogdians, and it is specified of Bactriana that it is a principal part of Ariana.'—Wilson's *Ariana*, pp. 119-121. All the passes in the Elburz which from their situation and characteristic features might possibly be recognised as the Kaspian Gates have been carefully examined, but not one has been found to answer in all respects with the descriptions of them given by the classical writers such as Arrian, Curtius, Pliny, and our author. Arrian reports that Alexander the Great, when in pursuit of Darius, reached the Gates in one day's rapid march from Rhagai. Pliny says that the pass itself was eight miles in length; that it was cut out by the hand and so narrow that a wagon could scarcely pass through it. The pass which satisfies some of the most important conditions is that called the Sirdaru, which is entered by a narrow passage, winds tortuously for six miles through a projecting spur of the Elburz range, and runs forward with the great central desert. Its distance from Rhagai, now Rhey, is forty miles, a distance which Alexander could well cover in a rapid march. On the other hand, the pass does not justify Pliny's account of the Gates as being artificially constructed and so narrow as scarcely to admit a wagon. Sir H. Rawlinson, however, is of opinion that the real Kaspian Gates are not this pass, but a defile in the same range a few miles to the north, known as the Teng-i-suluk, which he saw and examined in 1835, and whose physical characteristics correspond with the accounts of the classical authorities. See Curzon's *Persia*, pp. 293-97.

<sup>2</sup> The Arbis is now the river Purali, which discharges into the bay of Sonmi-yâni. The name has several forms—Arabîs, Arabius, Artabîs, Artabius. The name of the Arbies is likewise a variety of forms—Arabii, Arabitæ, Arbii, Arabies, Arbiti, Aribes. The length of their coast from the Indus to the Purali is eighty miles English.



from their next neighbours, the Oritai. According to Nearchos the coast-line of the Arbies extends to about 1000 stadia. This country also forms a part of India. Then succeeds the nation of the Oritai,<sup>1</sup> which is autonomous. The voyage along their coast extends to 1800 stadia;<sup>2</sup> that along the coast of the Ichthyophagoi, who succeed, to 7400,<sup>3</sup> and that along the coast of the Karmanioi as far as Persis to 3700;<sup>4</sup> so that the whole distance is 13,900 stadia.

2. The country of the Ichthyophagoi is for the most part flat, and has no trees except the palm, a kind of thorn, and the tamarisk. There is also a scarcity of water and of food, such as is obtained by cultivating the soil. The inhabitants and their cattle alike live upon fish, and obtain their water supply from showers of rain and from wells. The flesh of the cattle has a smell of fish. They construct their dwellings, for the most part, with the bones of whales and with oyster-shells, employing the ribs for beams and supports and the jaw-bones for doorways. The bones of the spine serve as mortars, in which they pound the fish after having been dried in the sun. They make a kind of bread by mixing a little flour with this fish-powder; for they have grinding mills although they have no iron. This is all the less surprising since they can be brought from other parts. But how do they hollow out the millstones again when worn away? With the same stones, they say, with which their spears and arrows, which are hardened in the fire, are sharpened. Some of the fish are broiled in pans, but they are for the most

<sup>1</sup> The name of the Oritai in Q. Curtius is Horitæ. General Cunningham identifies them with the people on the Aghor river whom the Greeks would have named Aghoritæ or Aoritæ by the suppression of the guttural. Some would connect the name with Haur. The district which they occupied is now known as Las.

<sup>2</sup> The length of their coast, according to Arrian's *Indika*, is 1600 stadia, but its real length is only 100 miles English.

<sup>3</sup> The expedition under Nearchos was reduced to great extremities from want of provisions while sailing along the barren and inhospitable shores of the Ichthyophagoi. The natives were utter savages who lived in stifling huts made of the bones of fish, and who, as their name indicates, subsisted almost entirely on the harvest of the sea. Their country is now called Makrân. Arrian estimates the length of its coast at 10,000 stadia against the smaller estimate of Strabo. The actual length, however, is only 480 miles English. Major Mockler in 1876 travelled along this coast from Gwâdar to Jâsk, and made notes regarding its physical aspect, hoping to find some traces of the spots mentioned by Arrian, Ptolemy, and Marcian, which might suffice to fix their positions with greater certainty than existed. He communicated the results of his explorations in a Paper supplied to the Royal Asiatic Society.

<sup>4</sup> The length of the Karmanian coast is 296 miles English, if the river Bagradas be taken, as it was by Ptolemy, for the boundary between Karmania and Persis.

part eaten raw. The fish are caught by nets made from the bark of the palm.<sup>1</sup>

3. Above the Ichthyophagoi is situated Gedrôsia, which is less scorched by the sun than India, but more so than any other country in Asia.<sup>2</sup> It is without fruits and without water, except in summer, and is thus not much better than the country of the Ichthyophagoi. It produces, however, aromatic plants, particularly spikenard and myrrh, so that the army of Alexander used them on the march for tent roofs and beds, and thus breathed an air at once fragrant and more salubrious than usual.<sup>3</sup> The summer was purposely chosen for leaving India, for at that season Gedrôsia has its rains, and the rivers and the wells become full, but in winter they fail. The rains fall in the higher parts to the north and near the mountains. The rivers then swell, the plains near the sea are watered, and the wells are sufficiently filled. Alexander sent before him persons to dig wells and to prepare stations for himself and the fleet.

4. Having made three divisions of his army, he advanced himself with one of them through Gedrôsia, keeping at most a distance from the sea of 500 stadia, that he might make preparations along the coast for the benefit of his fleet. He was frequently in close proximity to the sea, although the beach was impracticable and rugged. The second division he sent on

<sup>1</sup> The particulars here stated with regard to the Ichthyophagoi are in close agreement with what is said of them by Arrian in his account of the voyage of Nearchos.

<sup>2</sup> 'Beluchistan,' says Mr. Curzon, 'comprises the Gedrosia, and part of the Drangiana, of the ancients; and it is a significant illustration of the obscurity that has rarely lifted from these regions, and of the precarious political existence which till lately they enjoyed, that the words of Gibbon, written of a period 1700 years ago, were equally applicable to their condition up till the middle of the century still unexpired. We can scarcely attribute to the Persian monarchy the sea-coast of Gedrosia or Macran, which extends along the Indian Ocean from Cape Jask to Cape Gwadel. In the time of Alexander, and probably many ages afterwards, it was thinly inhabited by a savage people of Ichthyophagi, who knew no arts, who acknowledged no master, and who were divided by inhospitable deserts from the rest of the world.'

<sup>3</sup> It is an extraordinary, but nevertheless a true fact, that from the time of Alexander's march through Gedrosia, and the navigation of his admiral Nearchos along its shores, we have no record of the visit of a European to the interior of Beluchistan until 1809. In that year Sir John Malcolm . . . deputed Captain Grant (who was afterwards murdered in Luristan) to report upon Western Beluchistan.' See his *Persia*, ii. p. 254. This author in the same part of his work (pp. 258-265) gives an excellent account of the features of Beluchistan and of its people.

<sup>4</sup> Arrian, citing Aristoboulos as his authority, makes a similar statement regarding the myrrh and nard which with their perfume exhilarated Alexander's army on its march through that part of the Gedrôsiân desert which lay between the Phur and Hingol river. See his *Anab.* vi. 22.



before him, under Krateros,<sup>1</sup> through the interior, that he might reduce Arianê, while advancing to the places to which Alexander himself was directing his march. The fleet he entrusted to Nearchos and Onêsikritos, the pilot-in-chief, instructing them to take up convenient positions as they followed him, and to sail along the coast parallel to his line of march.<sup>2</sup>

5. Nearchos relates that while Alexander was marching away from India, he himself, in autumn, about the time when the Pleiades rise after sunset, began his voyage, even though the winds were contrary, because the barbarians were attacking his troops and trying to drive them out of the country. They had waxed bold after the king's departure, and were bent on asserting their liberty. Krateros again setting out from the Hydaspes went through the country of the Arachôtians and Drangians into Karmania. But Alexander suffered sorely all throughout his march, as his road lay through a miserably barren country. He was equally unfortunate in the matter of provisions, which were not only brought from a distance, but brought so seldom and in such small quantities, that the army suffered greatly from hunger, while the beasts of burden broke down, and the baggage was abandoned both on the march and in the camp. The army was indebted for its salvation to the dates and edible pith of the palm-trees. Nearchos says that Alexander, being impressed with the current report that Semiramis had effected her escape from India with about twenty men and Cyrus with about seven,<sup>3</sup> was ambitious, though aware of the difficulties and dangers of the enterprise, to conduct his large army through the same country in safety and triumphantly.

6. In addition to the want of provisions, the scorching heat and the depth of the sand and its burning heat were hard to bear. In some places, too, there were high ridges of sand, so that, besides the difficulty of lifting the legs as out of a deep hole, there were ascents and descents.<sup>4</sup> It was necessary also,

<sup>1</sup> Krateros set out from the Indus and not from the Hydaspes, as Strabo states below. He passed through the country of the Arachotians and Drangians to Karmania, where he rejoined Alexander.

<sup>2</sup> Nearchos set sail on his memorable voyage on the 21st of September 325 B.C. He was forced, however, by the violence of the monsoon when he had reached the mouth of the Indus to take refuge in a haven now well known as Karâchi. Here he was detained for twenty-four days, so that he did not resume his voyage till the 23rd of October.

<sup>3</sup> Semiramis, it has now been proved, was an entirely mythical personage, and it seems improbable that Cyrus ever led an expedition through Gedrôsia.

<sup>4</sup> 'The Mekran desert,' says Mr. Curzon, 'is composed of thin particles of wind-driven sand, and is comparable, on a small scale, with those larger expanses which have been previously described.' The description of these larger expanses

on account of the watering-places, to make long marches of 200, 400, and even at times of 600 stadia, and generally by night. The camp was pitched at a distance from the wells, and frequently 30 stadia away from them, to prevent the soldiers from drinking to excess from thirst; for many of them threw themselves into the water in their armour, drank of it, and sank below the surface till life was extinct, when their bodies became swollen, and corrupted the shallow waters of the cisterns. Others exhausted by thirst lay exposed to the sun in the middle of the road. Their legs and arms twitched convulsively, and they died like persons seized with cold and shivering. Some turned aside from the road to indulge in sleep, overcome with drowsiness and fatigue. Being thus left behind, some of them lost their way and perished from utter destitution and the heat, while others escaped with their lives after direful sufferings.<sup>1</sup> A winter torrent again, which burst upon them in the night-time, destroyed many lives and a great quantity of baggage, besides sweeping away a considerable portion of the royal equipage. The guides through ignorance deviated so far into the interior that the sea was no longer in view. The king, perceiving what the consequence would be, set out at once in search of the coast. When he had discovered it, and by sinking wells had found there was water good for drinking, he sent for the army;<sup>2</sup> afterwards he continued his march along the shore for seven days with a good supply of water. He then again marched into the interior.

7. There was a plant resembling the laurel, of which if any of the beasts of burden ate they died of epilepsy accompanied with foaming at the mouth. A thorn also, the fruit of which, like gourds, bestrewed the ground, was full of juice. If drops of this juice fell into the eye of any kind of animal, they made

he has given in the words of Friar Odoricus, a traveller of the fourteenth century, who thus writes: 'Now that sea (of sand) is a wondrous thing and right perilous. And there were none of us who desired to enter on that sea. For it is all of dry sand, without any moisture, and it shifteth, as the sea doth when in storm, now hither, now thither; and as it shifteth it maketh waves in like manner as the sea doth; so that countless people travelling thereon have been overwhelmed and drowned, and buried in these sands. For when blown about and buffeted by the winds, they are raised into hills, now in this place, now in that, as the wind chanceth to blow.'—*Persia*, ii. p. 251 and p. 258.

<sup>1</sup> These incidents of the disastrous march through the Gedrôsiân desert are all noticed by Arrian, who no doubt copied them from the same source as Strabo. The army suffered as here described while passing through the low sandy valley at the foot of the Taloi hills.

<sup>2</sup> Colonel Holdich points out that the guides should have led Alexander to the river Basol, but the way being lost, he must have emerged near the harbour of Pasni, almost on the line of the present telegraph.



it completely blind.<sup>1</sup> Many were choked by eating unripe dates. Snakes formed another source of danger; for on the sand-heaps there grew a plant under which they crept to hide themselves. Their bite was uniformly fatal. The Oritai, they said, smeared their arrows, which were made of wood and hardened in the fire, with deadly poisons. When Ptolemy was in danger of his life from a wound inflicted by one of these arrows, a person appeared to Alexander in a dream and showed him a root with leaves and branches which he told him to bruise and place upon the wound. When the king awoke from sleep and remembered the vision a search was made for the root, and it was found growing in great abundance, and was used both by himself and by others. Then the barbarians, perceiving that the antidote had been discovered, surrendered to the king. It is probable that the secret was revealed by one of those that knew the virtues of the plant, and that the mythical element was introduced into the narrative for the purpose of flattery.<sup>2</sup> In sixty days after leaving the Oritai Alexander arrived at the royal city of the Gêdrosioi, whence, after giving his army a short rest, he set out for Karmania.<sup>3</sup>

8. Such is a description of the southern side of Arianê, proceeding along the maritime coast and embracing the countries lying near it in the interior inhabited by the Gedrôsiol and the Oritai. Gedrôsia is of vast extent, stretching so far inland that it becomes conterminous with the Drangai, the Arachôtoi, and the Paropamisadai, of whom Eratosthenes has given the following description, which I cite in the absence of any better. Arianê, he says, is bounded on the east by the Indus, on the south by the Great Sea, on the north by the Paropamisos and the mountains which continue it, as far as the Kaspian Gates, and on the west by the same limits as separate Parthyanê from Mêdia<sup>4</sup> and Karmania from Paraitakênê<sup>5</sup> and Persis.

<sup>1</sup> Arrian has omitted to mention either of these plants.

<sup>2</sup> Q. Curtius tells this story (ix. 8) as if he had no doubt of its truth, and Diodôros is equally credulous (xvii. 103).

<sup>3</sup> The capital of Gedrôsia is called Poura by Arrian, and is probably Bampur of the present day. To account for the great length of time (60 days) which was occupied by this march (about 400 miles) we must suppose that the troops were obliged to make frequent halts at places where they found water.

<sup>4</sup> Parthia or Parthyaia, as Strabo calls it, was originally a small district situated to the south of Hyrkania and shut in on all sides either by mountains or deserts. On the west it was bounded by Media Atropatênê, which must have extended eastward beyond the river Mardos.

<sup>5</sup> Paraitakênê was a district of ancient Persis comprehending what are now called the Bakhtyari mountains and tribes. There were districts, however, in other parts of the east which bore the same name.

The breadth is the length of the Indus reckoned from the Paropamisos to its mouth, and this is 12,000, or according to some 13,000, stadia.<sup>1</sup> Its length, beginning from the Kaspian Gates, as recorded in Asiatic stathmoi,<sup>2</sup> is estimated in two different ways. From the Kaspian Gates through Parthyaia as far as Alexandreia of the Arioi<sup>3</sup> is one and the same road. Then one road leads in a straight line through Baktrianê, and the pass which leads over the mountain to Ortospa<sup>4</sup> and the place where the three roads from Baktra meet in the country of the Paropamisadai.<sup>5</sup> Another road deviates slightly from Aria southward to Prophthasia<sup>6</sup> in Drangianê,<sup>7</sup> and is pro-

<sup>1</sup> As the length of the Indus from its junction with the Kôphên, now the Kabul river, to the sea was estimated at 10,000 stadia, the point of the Paropamisos from which the reckoning here begins must have been 250 or 380 miles from that junction, i.e. at the most eastern extremity of that range.

<sup>2</sup> In Persia stathmoi were stages or stations on the Royal Road where travellers halted. A day's march was five parasangs or about 150 stadia more or less, according to the nature of the ground traversed.

<sup>3</sup> This may be taken as Herat.

<sup>4</sup> 'The position of Ortospa,' says General Cunningham, 'I would identify with Kabul itself, with its *Bala Hisâr*, or "high fort," which I take to be only a Persian translation of *Ortospa*, or *Urddhasthâna*.' See his *Ancient Geography of India*.

The three roads leading from Baktra into Afghanistan meet at the village of Charikar, which is situated in the beautiful valley of the Koh-Dâman at the foot of the Paropamisos range. In its neighbourhood lay Opiân or Houpiân, the vast ruins of which are in all probability those of the city which Alexander the Great built under Kaukasos and called after himself *Alexandreia*. It is about fifty miles distant from the city of Kabul.

<sup>5</sup> 'At the present day there are three routes leading from Herat into Bactria: one the direct line through the mountains forming the continuation of the Paropamisos and by Minghab and Maimana to Balkh (Bactra): another through the country of the Hazaras and the southern ranges of the Paropamisos to Cabul and the foot of the direct passes across the Hindoo Koosh: this appears to be the route indicated by Strabo (xv. ii. 8), but has not been described in detail or traversed by any modern traveller. . . . The third is that taken by Alexander, turning off to the south to Prophthasia, and thence through Candahar to Cabul and the same passes. Before Alexander was called off by the reported treachery of Satibarzanes he was apparently intending to march *directly* into Bactria, and may therefore have been about to proceed by the first of these routes. Strabo, quoting from Eratosthenes (xi. 48) gives the distance from Alexandria in Ariis to Bactra at 3870 stadia (387 English miles) which can only refer to the direct route.' Bunbury's *History of Ancient Geography*, pp. 486-87.

<sup>6</sup> The identification of Prophthasia with the modern Furrâh, which is the northern capital of Seistan, is now generally accepted. 'There can be no reasonable doubt,' says Bunbury, 'that Phra, which is described by Isidore of Charax as the largest town in the district immediately north of Drangiana, is the same name with the modern Furrâh, and we are distinctly told by Stephanus of Byzantium, on the authority of the historian of Charax, that Phrada was the name of the city which was called by Alexander Prophthasia. . . . It is true that the distance given by Eratosthenes (ap. Strab. xi. p. 514) of 1600 stadia from Alexandria in Aria to Prophthasia considerably exceeds the actual distance from Herat to Furrâh: but he himself adds that others only give it as 1500 stadia.'

<sup>7</sup> Drangiane corresponds in general with the province now called Seistan. The inhabitants were called variously Drangai, Zarangæ, Zarangoi, Zarangaioi,



longed thence to the borders of India and the Indus; so that this road through the Drangai and the Arachôtoi<sup>1</sup> is longer, extending in all to 15,300 stadia. If from this we subtract the 1300 stadia, the remainder gives us 14,000 stadia as the length of the country in a straight line.<sup>2</sup> For the length of the coast is not much less,<sup>3</sup> although some writers increase it by adding to its 10,000 stadia the 6000 stadia of Karmania, for they seem either to reckon it together with the gulfs, or together with the coast of Karmania within the Persian Gulf. The name of Arianê is again so extended as to include some portions of Persian and Médian territory, and even some of the northern parts of the Baktrians and Sogdians, for these nations speak nearly the same language.

9. The order in which the nations of Arianê are placed is as follows: Along the Indus are the Paropamisadai at the base of the Paropamisos range; then towards the south are the Arachôtoi, to the south of whom succeed the Gedrôsênoi with the other nations who occupy the coast. The Indus runs in a parallel course along the breadth of these regions. The Indians possess partly<sup>4</sup> some of the countries lying along the

and Sarangai. The name, according to Burnouf, was derived from the Zend word, *Zarayo*, 'a lake,' a word retained in the name of the lake of Seistân—Lake Zarah. In the west towards Karmania Drangiana consisted chiefly of sandy wastes. Up to the seventh century of our era its capital, situated between the river Helmund and the lake, still retained the name of Zaranj.

<sup>1</sup> Arachôsia extended westward beyond the meridian of Kandahar and was skirted on the east by the river Indus. On the north it stretched to the western section of the Hindu-Kush, and on the south to Gedrôsia. The province was rich and populous, and the fact that it was traversed by one of the main routes by which Persia communicated with India added greatly to its importance. It was watered by the Helmund and its tributaries. It is not mentioned by Herodotos, but it seems to have formed a considerable part of the seventh Satrapy of Darius. Its Zend name was Harahvaiti and its old Persian name Harauvati.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo (xi. viii. 9), quoting Eratosthenes, assigns the following distances from the Kaspian Gates to India:—

	Stadia.
To Hekatompylos, . . . . .	1,960
To Alexandria in the country of the Arioi, . . . . .	4,530
Thence to Prophthasia in Drangê, . . . . .	1,600
Or according to others 1500 stadia,	
Thence to the city Arachôtoi, . . . . .	4,120
Thence to Ortospa on the three roads from Baktra, . . . . .	2,000
Thence to the confines of India, . . . . .	1,000

Amounting together to . . . . . 15,300

The text must be here corrupt, since the sum of the figures is only 15,210. The passage under notice has served to correct a still greater error in the passage above quoted, which gave the sum total at 15,500 stadia.

<sup>3</sup> This is an extravagant estimate.

<sup>4</sup> Partly. 'The text is corrupt: *ἐκμέρους* is probably taken from some other part of the text and here inserted.'—Falconer, iii. p. 125, n. 2.

Indus, but these belonged formerly to the Persians. Alexander took them away from the Arianoi and established in them colonies of his own. Seleukos Nikator gave them to Sandrokottos in concluding a marriage alliance, and received in exchange 500 elephants. Westward by the side of the Paropamisadai are situated the Arioi, and the Drangai by the side of the Arachôtoi and the Gedrôsoi. The Arioi, however, are situated beside the Drangai, both on the north and on the west, and nearly encompass them. Baktrianê is conterminous on the north both with Aría and the Paropamisadai, through whose country Alexander marched when he crossed the Kaukasos on his way to Baktra. Immediately to the west of the Arioi are the Parthyaioi and the parts around the Kaspian Gates. To the south of the Parthyaioi is the desert of Karmania, and then the remainder of Karmania and Gedrôsia.

10. One would gain a better knowledge of the places in the mountainous regions just noticed if we describe further the route which Alexander took in pursuing the troops with Bessos from the Parthian territories to Baktra. He came first to Aría, then to the Drangai, where he put to death Philôtas, the son of Parmeniôn, having detected his traitorous designs. He sent at the same time agents to Ekbatana<sup>1</sup> to put Parmeniôn himself to death as an accomplice in the plot.<sup>2</sup> They say that these agents, who were mounted on dromedaries, performed in eleven days a journey which ordinarily occupied thirty or forty days,<sup>3</sup> and executed their commission. The Drangai, who in all other respects follow Persian modes of life, drink wine very sparingly. Tin is produced in their country. From this people Alexander came to the Euergetai,<sup>4</sup> whom Cyrus so named, and to the Arachôtoi, and then at the setting of the Pleiades<sup>5</sup> passed through the land of the Paropamisadai. It is a mountainous region, and was covered with snow during the

<sup>1</sup> Ekbatana is now Hamadan, for a description of which the reader may be referred to Curzon's *Persia*, i. pp. 566-68.

<sup>2</sup> The murder of Parmeniôn is one of the foulest blots on Alexander's fame. Philôtas was very imprudent, but it is not at all certain that he was really guilty of the crime for which he was put to death.

<sup>3</sup> The distance traversed may be roughly estimated at about 1000 English miles.

<sup>4</sup> Their name was the Ariaspoi. Cyrus gave them the honorific title of 'Benefactors' in consideration of the services which they had rendered to him in his Skythian expedition. They must have occupied a district lying along the course of the Etymander or Helmund river. Alexander spent two months in their territory and treated them with great consideration. See Arrian, *Anab.* iii. c. 27.

<sup>5</sup> The Pleiades set (in Italy) about the beginning of November.



march, which added to its difficulty. Many villages, however, lay on their route well supplied with everything except oil, and when reached relieved their distress. On their left hand they had the summits of the mountains. The southern parts of the Paropamisos belong to India and Ariana, the northern parts towards the west are Baktrian . . . to the Baktrian of the Barbarians.<sup>1</sup> Having wintered there with India above on the right, and having founded a city,<sup>2</sup> he passed over the summits of the mountains into Baktrianê. The route was bare of everything except here and there a terebinth shrub, and provisions ran so short that the soldiers had to eat the flesh of the beasts of burden, and to eat it raw for want of firewood. But silphium grew in abundance, and this made the raw meat of easier digestion.<sup>3</sup> Alexander, on the fifteenth day after leaving the city he had founded and his winter quarters, arrived at Adrapsa, a city of Baktrianê.<sup>4</sup>

11. Somewhere about this part of the country bordering on India is situated Chaarênê, which of all the places subject to the Parthyaioi is the nearest to India.<sup>5</sup> It is distant 19,000 stadia from Arianê through the country of the Arachôtoi and the mountainous region before mentioned. Krateros passed through this country reducing on his way those who refused submission, while at the same time he hastened with all possible

<sup>1</sup> The text is here corrupt.

<sup>2</sup> This city was called Alexandria of the Paropamisadai, or Alexandria ad Caucasum. It was situated in the neighbourhood of Charikar—a village in the beautiful valley of the Koh-Daman, whence, as has been already stated, the three roads to Baktria diverged.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo is here citing from Aristoboulos, as appears from a corresponding passage in Arrian (*Anab.* iii. 28): 'Aristoboulos says that in this part of the Kaukasos nothing grew but terebinth trees and silphium, but still it was numerously inhabited, and many sheep and oxen pastured there, because sheep are very fond of silphium. For if a sheep smells it even from afar, it runs to it and feasts upon the flower. They also dig up the root and this too the sheep devour. For this reason the people in Kyrênê drive their flocks as far away as possible from the place where the silphium grows. Some even surround the place with a fence, so that even if the sheep should go near it they would not be able to get within the fence, for the silphium is worth much to the Kyrênaians.' The terebinth is the turpentine tree, called in Latin *pistacia terebinthus*. Silphium is laserpitium, the plant from the thickened juice of the root of which the *opos Mêdikos* or asafetida is produced. Its overpowering odour much resembles that of garlic. In the east it is used as a condiment.

<sup>4</sup> Strabo (xi. xi. 2) mentions as a principal Baktrian city Darapsa, and this has been taken to be the city here mentioned with a slight change of name. It has been also identified with Andêrab of the present day, but this identification rests on very slender ground. Most probably Adrapsa is Kunduz.

<sup>5</sup> Krateros seems to have marched from India through the district now called Gandara—and this district may perhaps be taken to represent the Chaarênê here mentioned.

expedition to form a junction with the king. The two armies, consisting of infantry, almost simultaneously entered Karmania, and shortly afterwards the fleet under Nearchos sailed into the Persian Gulf, having undergone great distress and danger by wandering from its course and encountering whales of enormous size.

12. It is probable that those engaged in this voyage exaggerated many of its circumstances; but yet they told their story, while at the same time indicating the sufferings to which they were exposed, because their apprehensions outran their real danger. What most alarmed them was the magnitude of the whales, which occasioned a great commotion in the sea all at once, and raised so dense a mist by their blowing that the sailors could not see where they stood. But when the pilots informed the sailors, who were alarmed at the occurrence and did not know what caused it, that they were animals which would quickly take themselves off on hearing the sound of the trumpet and the clapping of their hands, Nearchos thereupon impelled the vessels in the direction of the surges which obstructed their course, and at the same time frightened the animals with the sound of the trumpet. The whales dived, and then rose again at the prows of the vessels, so as to furnish the appearance of a sea-fight, but they very soon made off.

13. Those who now sail to India speak of the size of these animals and of their appearances, but say they do not come either in shoals or frequently, but are scared away by shouts and the sound of the trumpet. They state also that they do not come near the shore, but that the bones of those which die, bared of flesh, are readily cast ashore by the waves and furnish the Ichthyophagoi with the material already spoken of for the construction of their huts. The length of these whales, according to Nearchos, is twenty-three orgyiai.<sup>1</sup> Nearchos says that he proved the falsehood of a story which was firmly believed in by the sailors in his fleet—that there was an island situated in the passage which proved fatal to those who anchored on its shores, since a bark disappeared when it came to this island and was never seen again, and some men who were sent in search did not dare to land upon the island, but before sailing away from it shouted and called to the crew, when, as no one returned an answer, they took their departure. But as all

<sup>1</sup> Arrian gives their length at 25 *orgyiai*, or about 150 feet. Compare with this passage regarding the whales Onêsikritos (*frag.* 30), and Orthagoras in Aelian (*Hist. Anim.* xvii. 6); Diodôr. (xvii. 106); Q. Curtius (x. i, 11).



blamed the island for the loss of the men, Nearchos tells us that he himself sailed to it, and having anchored, disembarked with a part of his crew and made a circuit of the island. But as he could find no trace of the men of whom he was in search, he gave up the task and returned. He informed his men that the island was not to blame for the misfortune (for were it so, the same destruction would have overtaken himself and those who disembarked with him), but that some other cause, and countless others were possible, might have caused the disappearance of the vessel.<sup>1</sup>

14. Karmania is the last part of the sea-coast which begins from the Indus, but it lies much farther north than the mouth of that river. Its first promontory projects southward into the Great Sea. This, after forming the mouth of the Persian Gulf in the direction of the Cape, which projects from Arabia the Happy, and which is visible from it, bends towards the Persian Gulf, and is continued until it touches Persis. Karmania is of great extent in the interior, where it lies between Gedrôsia and Persis, but it stretches more to the north than Gedrôsia. Its great fertility shows this, for it produces everything, has trees of large growth, except however the olive, and is watered by numerous streams. Gedrôsia, on the other hand, differs but little from the country of the Ichthyophagoi, so that it frequently fails to yield any produce. For this reason they keep the annual crop husbanded for several years. Onêsikritos speaks of a river in Karmania which carries down gold dust, of a mine which yields silver, copper, and red lead, and of two mountains, whereof one produces arsenic and the other salt. One part of it is a desert tract where it borders on Parthyaia and Paraitakênê.<sup>2</sup> The productions of the soil are similar to the Persian, and among them may be mentioned the vine. The

<sup>1</sup> The details of this incident are given at greater length in Arrian's *Indika*, c. 31. The name of the enchanted island which lay near the Makrân coast to eastward of Cape Passence is there given as Nosala. It is now called Ashtola or Sangadwip, a small desolate Island about four or five miles in circumference, with cliffs that rise abruptly from the sea to the height of 300 feet. It is still regarded with superstitious fear by the natives of the neighbouring coast.

<sup>2</sup> The Karmanian desert is the southern portion of the great Persian Salt desert—an appalling waste, stamped with the imprint of an eternal desolation. The worst part of the Kerman desert is its south-east corner between Neh and Bam. This is described by Curzon as one of the most awful regions on the face of the earth. 'Here,' he says, 'the prevailing north-west winds have swept the sand together, and banked it up in huge mounds and hills, ever shifting and eddying. A fierce sun beats down upon the surface which is as fiery hot as incandescent metal; and almost always the *bad-i-sam* or simoom is blazing, "so desiccated by its passage over hundreds of miles of burning desert, that if it overtakes man or animal, its parched breath in a moment sucks every atom of

Karmanian vine, as it is called by us, often produces bunches of grapes two cubits in length. On these bunches the grapes are both very big and numerous. It is probable that the plant thrives very luxuriantly in its native soil. The people generally use asses, even in war, on account of the scarcity of horses. It is the ass which they sacrifice to Arês, who is the only god they worship, since they are a race of warriors. No one marries before he has cut off the head of his enemy and brought it up to the king, who deposits the skull in the royal treasury. The tongue is minced and mixed with flour, and the king, after tasting it himself, gives it to the man who brought it, to be eaten by himself and his family. That king is the most honoured to whom the most heads have been presented. Nearchos states that most of the customs and the speech of the Karmanians resemble those of the Persians and Medes. The passage across the mouth of the Persian Gulf does not occupy more than one day.

To Strabo's description of Arianê we add that which Ammianus Marcellinus gives in the sixth chapter of the twenty-third book of his 'History.' He was a native of Antioch in Syria, and, being a soldier by profession, served in several campaigns in the East. In his later years he settled in Rome, and there composed his 'History.' The precise time of his death is not known, but he seems to have been still living in A.D. 390.

'To the north of the Seres live the Ariani—a people exposed to the blasts of the north wind. Their country is traversed by the Arias, a navigable river, which forms a lake of the same name. Aria possesses a great many towns, of which the most distinguished are Bitaxa, Sarmatina, Sotera, and Nisibis and Alexandria. From this last place the distance by water to the Caspian Sea is reckoned at 1500 stadia.

'In proximity to Aria are the Paropanisatæ, whose country has the Indians on its eastern frontier and Caucasus on the western. They occupy the slopes of this range. The Ortogordomaris, which is the largest of all their rivers, has its sources in Bactriana. They have besides some towns, of which the more notable are Agazaca and Naulibus and Ortopana. From thence a coasting

moisture from his frame, and leaves him a withered and blackened mummy." This horrible desert extends as far south as Bam-Narmashir, for long the frontier district of Kerman.' There is a tradition that the entire centre of Persia was once occupied by a salt sea. This tradition is so unanimous, and the present physical conditions accord so well with the theory, that Curzon accepts it as highly probable. See his *Persia*, vol. ii. 246-252.



voyage as far as the frontiers of Media next to the Caspian Gates is a run of 2200 stadia.

'Contiguous to the parts forenamed are the Drangiani, who live in close vicinity to the hills. Their territory is washed by the river Arabium, so called because it rises in the country of the Arabies. Besides other cities they have two of which they proudly boast, Prophthasia and Ariaspe, on account of their opulence and renown.

'Over against Drangiana Arachosia comes into view, touching India on its right (eastern) side. It is called after the river which washes it, and which issues from the Indus, the greatest of rivers, than which it is far smaller, though it has an amplitude of waters, and forms the lake called Arachotoscrene. Among the cities of this country the most important are Alexandria and Arbaca and Choaspa.

'At the extremity of Persis is situated Gedrosia, which on the right touches the borders of India. It is fertilised by the Artabius and some other smaller streams. Here terminate the Barbitanian mountains, whence other streams issue, and lose each of them its name in that of the mightier river the Indus. Gedrosia too has its cities, not to mention islands subject to its rule. The cities which are considered superior to the others are Sedratyra and Gynæconlimen.'

## SECTION IV

## STRABO—INCIDENTAL NOTICES OF INDIA

I. ii. 32. Homer was not acquainted with India, or he would have described it.

I. iv. 5. Its (the habitable earth's) length I take to be from the (eastern) extremity of India to the (westernmost) point of Spain (Cape St. Vincent).

I. iv. 6. If the extent of the Atlantic Ocean<sup>1</sup> were not an obstacle, we might easily pass by sea from Ibêria<sup>2</sup> to India. . . . The parallel drawn through Athens on which we have taken the distances from India to Ibêria, does not contain in the whole 200,000 stadia.

II. i. 1. Eratosthenes divides his chart (of the habitable earth) into two portions by a line running from east to west parallel to the equator. He makes the Pillars of Hercules the boundary of this line to the west, and to the east the farthest ridges of those mountains which bound India on the north.

II. i. 6. Nor does Patrokles<sup>3</sup> appear to state anything improbable when he says that the army of Alexander took but a very hasty view of everything (in India), but Alexander himself a more exact one, causing the whole country to be described by men well acquainted with it. Which description, he says, was put into his hands afterwards by his treasurer Xenokles.

II. i. 12. Hipparchos admits that the southern extremity of India is under the same degree of latitude as Meroë,<sup>4</sup> and . . . makes the distance from the southern extremity of India to the mountains 30,000 stadia.

<sup>1</sup> The epithet *Atlantic* is applied to the whole body of water surrounding the three continents.

<sup>2</sup> Ibêria in Spain.

<sup>3</sup> Under Seleukos Nikator and Antiochos I. Patrokles held an important government over some of the eastern provinces of the Syrian empire. He wrote a work on Eastern Geography, which included a general description of India, and which was held in high esteem by the ancient geographers, and often quoted by Strabo.

<sup>4</sup> The latitude of Cape Comorin is 8° 5' N., that of Meroë 16° 44' N.



II. i. 14. This Taprobanê is universally believed to be a large island situated in the high seas, and lying to the south, opposite to India. Its length in the direction of Ethiopia is above 5000 stadia,<sup>1</sup> as they say.

II. i. 15. The Oxus, which divides Baktriana from Sogdiana, is said to be of such easy navigation that the wares of India are brought by it up into the sea of Hyrkania (Kaspian), and thence successively by various other rivers to the districts near the Euxine.

II. i. 19. Again Eratosthenes wished to show the ignorance of Dêimachos and his want of information concerning such matters, as proved by his assertion that India lies between the autumnal equinox and winter tropic.<sup>2</sup>

In the remainder of this section, and in that which follows, Strabo shows how Eratosthenes controverted the views of Dêimachos with regard to the position and extent of India.

I. i. 22. He (Eratosthenes)<sup>3</sup> tells us that the form of India is rhomboidal, being washed on two of its sides by the southern and eastern oceans (respectively), which do not deeply indent its shores. The two remaining sides are contained by its mountains and the river (Indus), so that it presents a kind of rectilinear figure.

II. i. 27. He (Hipparchos)<sup>4</sup> would have the ancient charts left just as they are, and would by no means have India brought more to the south, as Eratosthenes thinks proper.

II. i. 31. The habitable earth has been admirably divided by Eratosthenes into two parts by the Taurus and the Mediterranean Sea, which reaches to the Pillars. On the southern side, the limits of India have been described by a variety of methods; by its mountains, its rivers, its seas, and its name, which seems to indicate that it is inhabited by only one people. It is with justice, too, that he attributes to it the form of a quadrilateral or rhomboid.

<sup>1</sup> Six hundred and twenty-five miles—a gross exaggeration.

<sup>2</sup> The expressions used by Dêimachos were correct. He wished to show that, beyond the Indus, the coasts of India sloped in a direction between the south and the north-east, and did not run almost due east as the Alexandrian geographers imagined.—Falconer's note abridged.

<sup>3</sup> Eratosthenes was a native of Cyrene, and was called from Athens by Ptolemy Euergetes to preside over the Alexandrian library. He died about B.C. 196 in the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes at the age of 80.

<sup>4</sup> Hipparchos, the great astronomer, criticised some of the conclusions of Eratosthenes, but fell himself into several grave errors, as in the instance here brought before us. He adopted the notion of a principal parallel of latitude extending from the straits at the Pillars of Hercules to the Gulf of Issus, and passing through Rhodes. He was a native of Bithynia, and flourished about the middle of the second century B.C.

II. iii. 4. He (Posidonios)<sup>1</sup> also narrates how a certain Eudoxus of Cyzicus . . . travelled into Egypt in the reign of Euergetes II. (Physcon); and being a learned man and much interested in the peculiarities of different countries, he made interest with the king and his ministers on the subject, but especially for exploring the Nile. It chanced that a certain Indian was brought to the king by the (coast) guard of the Arabian Gulf. They reported that they had found him in a ship alone, and half dead: but that they neither knew who he was nor where he came from, as he spoke a language they could not understand. He was placed in the hands of preceptors appointed to teach him the Greek language, on acquiring which he related how he had started from the coast of India, but lost his course, and reached Egypt alone, all his companions having perished with hunger; but that if he were restored to his country he would point out to those sent with him by the king the route by sea to India. Eudoxus was of the number thus sent. He set sail with a good supply of presents, and brought back with him in exchange aromatics and precious stones, some of which the Indians collect from amongst the pebbles of the rivers, others they dig out of the earth, where they have been formed by the moisture, as crystals are formed with us. (He fancied he had made his fortune), however, he was greatly deceived, for Euergetes took possession of the whole treasure. On the death of that prince, his widow, Cleopatra, assumed the reins of government, and Eudoxus was again despatched with a richer cargo than before. On his journey back, he was carried by the winds above Ethiopia, and being thrown on certain (unknown) regions, he conciliated the inhabitants by presents of grain, wine, and cakes of pressed figs, articles which they were without; receiving in exchange a supply of water, and guides for the journey. He also wrote down several words of their language, and having found the end of a prow, with a horse carved on it, which he was told formed part of the wreck of a vessel coming from the west, he took it with him, and proceeded on his homeward course. He arrived safely in Egypt, where no longer Cleopatra, but her son, ruled; but he was again stripped of everything on the accusation of having appropriated to his own use a large portion of the merchandise sent out.

<sup>1</sup> Poseidonios, a native of Apameia in Syria, became the president of the Stoic school of philosophy at Rhodes, and was on terms of close intimacy with Cicero and Pompey. He was a man of capacious intellect, eminent as a physical



II. iii. 6. He (Posidonios) supposes that the length of the inhabited earth is about 70,000 stadia, being the half of the whole circle on which it is taken, so that, says he, starting from the west, one might, aided by a continual east wind, reach India in so many thousand stadia.<sup>1</sup>

II. iii. 8. First, then, Ethiopians next Egypt are actually separated into two divisions, one part being in Asia, the other in Libya; otherwise there is no distinction between them. But it was not on this account that Homer divided the Ethiopians, nor yet because he was acquainted with the physical superiority of the Indians (for it is not probable that Homer had the slightest idea of the Indians, since, according to the assertion of Eudoxus, Euergetes was both ignorant of India and of the voyage thither), but his division rather resulted from the cause we formerly mentioned.

II. v. 12. The entrance of a Roman army into Arabia Felix under the command of my friend and companion Aelius Gallus, and the traffic of the Alexandrian merchants whose vessels pass up the Nile and Arabian Gulf to India, have rendered us much better acquainted with these countries than our predecessors were. I was with Gallus at the time he was prefect of Egypt, and accompanied him as far as Syene and the frontiers of Ethiopia, and I found that about one hundred and twenty ships sail from Myos-Hormos<sup>2</sup> to India, although in the time of the Ptolemies scarcely any one would venture on this voyage and the commerce with the Indies.

II. v. 14. That in configuration it (the habitable earth) resembles a *Chlamys* is also clear from the fact that at either end of its length the extremities taper to a point. Owing to the

investigator, and possessed of a wide knowledge of geography and history, and indeed of all departments of human knowledge. Having travelled into Spain, he made a study of the tides, and formed a correct theory as to their cause. During his stay at Gades (Cadiz), he observed how the sun set, and exposed the absurdity of the vulgar opinion that at his going down the sun made the waves of the sea to seethe and hiss. The voyages of Eudoxus to India are known only from this passage of the writings of Poseidonios here preserved by Strabo. For an interesting commentary on this passage see Bunbury's *History of Ancient Geography*, ii. pp. 74-79.

<sup>1</sup> Poseidonios, taking the length of the equatorial degree at 500 stadia (instead of 600, its actual length), made the globe to be 180,000 stadia in circumference, and its circumference as measured along the Rhodian parallel to be 140,000. The Alexandrian geographers and even Ptolemy himself adopted his erroneous estimate. Columbus some fifteen centuries later acted on the suggestion thrown out by Poseidonios.

<sup>2</sup> The situation of Myos Hormos is determined by the cluster of islands now called Jifâtin (lat. 27° 12' N. long. 33° 55' E.). It was founded by Ptolemy Philadelphos B.C. 274.

encroachment of the sea, it also loses something in breadth. This we know from those who have sailed round its eastern and western points. They inform us that the island called Taprobane is much to the south of India, but that it is nevertheless inhabited, and is situated opposite to the island of the Egyptians and the Cinnamon country, as the temperature of their atmospheres is similar.

II. v. 32. After these mountaineers come the people dwelling beyond the Taurus. First amongst these is India, a nation greater and more flourishing than any other; they extend as far as the eastern sea and the southern part of the Atlantic. In the most southern part of this sea opposite to India is situated the island of Taprobane, which is not less than Britain.<sup>1</sup>

II. v. 5. Alexander too erected altars as boundaries of his Indian campaign in those parts of the Indies he arrived at, which were situated farthest towards the east, in imitation of Hercules and Bacchus.<sup>2</sup>

V. ii. 6. The salt mines in India mentioned by Clitarchus.<sup>3</sup>

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> It is, on the contrary, somewhat less than Ireland.

<sup>2</sup> For a notice of these *Altars* see my *Alexander's Invasion of India*, pp. 348, 349.

<sup>3</sup> The Salt range, called by Pliny *Mount Oromenus*, extends westward from the Hydaspes (Jihlam) towards the Indus. The hills of this range are wild and rugged.



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

	Stadia.
To Hecatompylos, . . . . .	1,960 <sup>1</sup>
To Alexandria in the country of the Arioi, . . . . .	4,530 <sup>2</sup>
Thence to Prophthasia in Dranga, . . . . .	1,600
(or according to others 1500.) <sup>3</sup>	
Thence to the city Arachotus, . . . . .	4,120 <sup>4</sup>
Thence to Ortospana on the three roads from Bactra, . . . . .	2,000 <sup>5</sup>
Thence to the confines of India, . . . . .	1,000

which together amount to . . . . . 15,300

We must regard as continuous with this distance, in a straight line, the length of India reckoned from the Indus to the Eastern Sea.

XI. xi. 1. The Greeks who occasioned its (Bactra's) revolt<sup>6</sup> became so powerful by means of its fertility and advantages of the country that they became masters of Ariana and India, according to Apollodoros of Artemita.<sup>7</sup> Their chiefs, particularly Menander (if he really crossed the Hypanis to the east and reached Isanus), conquered more nations than Alexander.<sup>8</sup> These conquests were achieved partly by Menander, partly by Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, king of the Bactrians.<sup>9</sup> They got possession not only of Patalene but of the kingdom of Saraostus, and Sigerdia, which constitute the remainder of the coast. Apollodoros, in short, says that Bactriana is the orna-

<sup>1</sup> Hekatompylos is perhaps Damaghan, but its position is very uncertain. According to Apollodoros its distance from the Caspian Gates was 1260 stadia, but according to Ptolemy only 133 miles.

<sup>2</sup> This Alexandria has been identified with Herat.

<sup>3</sup> Prophthasia is now Furreh, the capital of Seistan.

<sup>4</sup> Rawlinson considered he had found a site of Arachotos at Ulân Robât, where there are ruins of a very remarkable character. The measurement given here supports this identification.

<sup>5</sup> Ortospana is Kabul.

<sup>6</sup> Diodotos (called also Theodotos) revolted from Syria in the latter years of the reign of Antiochos II., who died in B.C. 246. The Baktrian monarchy under Greek dynasts subsisted for upwards of 150 years.

<sup>7</sup> Apollodoros wrote a History of the Parthians. The time at which he lived is unknown.

<sup>8</sup> The date of Menander cannot be fixed with certainty. He was extremely popular with his subjects. It is thought by modern writers that he did not reign in Baktria Proper, but in the countries south of the Paropanisos or Hindu-Kush. The Hypanis or Hyphasis is the Vipasa of Sanskrit, now the Beas or Beas. As the name Isanus does not occur elsewhere, some editors substitute for it *Imaus*, others *Jomanes*, that is, the *Jumna*. The fact that coins of Menander are found in the neighbourhood of this river lends probability to the latter correction.

<sup>9</sup> According to Lassen, Démétrios began his reign in B.C. 185.

ment of all Ariana. They extended their empire even as far as the Seres and Phrynia.

XI. xi. 6. It is not generally admitted that persons have passed round by sea from India to Hyrcania, but Patrocles asserts it may be done.<sup>1</sup>

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

XVI. iv. 24. Merchandise is conveyed from Leuce Come<sup>2</sup> to Petra,<sup>3</sup> thence to Rhinocolura<sup>4</sup> in Phoenicia near Egypt, and thence to other nations. But at present the greater part is transported by the Nile to Alexandria. It is brought down from Arabia and India to Myos Hormos, it is then conveyed on camels to Coptus<sup>5</sup> of the Thebais, situated on a canal of the Nile, and to Alexandria.

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> It was long supposed by the ancients that the Kaspian Sea communicated with the Northern Ocean, and hence that the Kaspian could be reached by sea from India and the Eastern Ocean.

<sup>2</sup> Authorities are much at variance in fixing the position of Leukê Kômê (the White Village). It lay on the east side of the Red Sea, perhaps near the mouth of the Elanitic Gulf (Gulf of Akaba). Mention is made of it in the nineteenth section of the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*.

<sup>3</sup> Petra was the capital of the Nabatæans—the *Nebaioth* of Scripture.

<sup>4</sup> This place lay on the borders of Egypt and Palestine—some writers assigning it to the former country and others to the latter. Diodorus Siculus tells us in the first book of his *History* that it was a penal settlement founded by an Ethiopian king for convicts whose noses he had cut off, thus accounting for its name. It is now El-Arish.

<sup>5</sup> Koptos (now Kouft or Koft) was situated on the right bank of the Nile in N. lat. 26°. It was a mile distant from the river and a twelve days' journey from the port of Berenikê on the Red Sea.



## SECTION V

## PLINY

THE *Natural History* of Pliny—that vast encyclopædia of the knowledge of the ancients—contains numerous references to India, some of which are of unique value as recording facts not elsewhere mentioned. Pliny, called *the Elder* to distinguish him from his nephew and adopted son, Pliny the Younger, was born 23 A.D., probably at Como, where he had an estate. After the death of Nero he repaired to Rome, where he held in succession several high offices of state, and stood high in the favour of Vespasian and his son Titus. To Titus he dedicated his great work, which was given to the world in the year 77 A.D. He survived its publication for only two years, having been suffocated in the memorable eruption of Mount Vesuvius which overwhelmed Herculaneum and Pompeii. Pliny was not much of an original observer, but the vast and varied stores of information on all manner of subjects contained in his *History* show us that he must have been, almost without parallel, an assiduous reader of books. This also appears from the account of his habits given by his nephew, from whom we learn that his uncle devoted every spare moment of his time to study, and that even when he was at meals or was travelling he took care to have at hand some one to read to him. No book, whatever its subject, came amiss to him, and he made extracts from all, even the most worthless. His love of the marvellous disposed him to accept far too readily even the most absurd fictions. He is also liable to the charge of occasional carelessness in his citations. The *Natural History* is divided into thirty-seven books, the Sixth of which contains his geography of India, based mainly on the *Indika* of Megasthenes.

DESCRIPTION OF TAPROBANÊ (CEYLON)<sup>1</sup>

BOOK VI. c. 22 (24). Taprobanê, 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. Onêsikritos, 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 Palæogoni, and that it is more productive of gold and pearls of a great size than India itself. Eratosthenes has also given its dimensions

<sup>1</sup> With Pliny's description of Taprobanê may be compared that of Ptolemy the Geographer, who wrote about a century later. This description will be found translated in my work, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, pp. 247-259. The account may also be compared with that given below by Kosmas Indikopleustes.

as 7000 stadia in length and 5000 stadia in breadth,<sup>1</sup> while he states that it has no cities, but villages to the number of seven hundred.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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 amphoræ.<sup>4</sup> In making sea-voyages, the Taprobanê 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.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> ambassadors came to his court therefrom, and under the following circumstances. A freedman of Annius Plocamus, 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 Taprobanê,<sup>7</sup> where he was humanely received

<sup>1</sup> The extreme length of the island from north to south is 271½ miles, and its greatest width 137½ miles. Its size was always enormously exaggerated by the ancients—even by Ptolemy, whose description of it is otherwise wonderfully accurate.

<sup>2</sup> Aelian makes the number of the villages to be 750.

<sup>3</sup> Nine or ten leagues per day.—Falconer.

<sup>4</sup> The amount of cargo carried by ancient ships was generally computed by the talent or the amphora, each of which weighed about a fortieth 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 Torr's *Ancient Ships*, p. 25.

<sup>5</sup> The S.-W. monsoon prevails from June to October.

<sup>6</sup> Claudius reigned from 41 to 54 A.D.

<sup>7</sup> Hippuri or Hippuros has been identified with a port called Kudremale, the name of which has the same meaning (horse-tails) in Sanskrit.



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.<sup>1</sup> 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 Taprobanê there are 500 towns, and that there is a harbour facing the south, adjacent to the city of Palæsimundus, 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.<sup>2</sup> From this lake, they said, there issued two rivers, one of which, called Palæsimundus, 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,<sup>3</sup> a 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,<sup>4</sup> so that the rudders of ships frequently break their crests off. They saw with astonishment the constellations visible to us—the Greater Bear and the Pleiades<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'There is yet another symbol of the power which God has conferred upon the Romans. I allude to the circumstance that it is with their money all the nations carry on trade from one extremity of the earth to the other. This money is regarded with admiration by all men to whatever kingdom they belong, since there is no other country in which the like of it exists.'—Kosmas Indikopleustes, *Christian Topography*. See below.

<sup>2</sup> 'There is in fact no such lake in Ceylon, nor anything even deserving the name of a lake: nor does any of the more considerable rivers of the island hold its course to the south. The statement probably referred to some artificial lake. See Bunbury's *Hist. Anc. Geog.* ii. 423.

<sup>3</sup> Kôlis is a name by which Pomponius Mela and Dionysios Periêgêtês designate Southern India. Pliny's promontory *Coliacum* is Cape Kôry, the headland which bounded the Orgalic Gulf on the south. The two names are variant forms of the Indian word Kôti (in Tamil, Kôdi, which naturally becomes Kôri or Kôry), which means *end* or *tip*.

<sup>4</sup> No doubt *coral reefs*, which abound in the Gulf of Manaar.

<sup>5</sup> The Pleiades must at that time have been known to the people of Ceylon.

—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 her eighth to her sixteenth day,<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> and that the sun rose on the left hand and set on the right, and not in the opposite direction.<sup>3</sup> 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 Rachia 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 thoughts by language. In other particulars their accounts of them agreed with the reports of our own merchants, who tell us that the wares which 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.<sup>4</sup> The detestation of luxury could not in any way be better justified than by our transporting our thoughts to these regions 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 Taprobanê even, though isolated by nature from

<sup>1</sup> 'This,' says Falconer, 'was a fable, or else originated in misapprehension of their language on the part of the Romans.'

<sup>2</sup> For about seven months in the year the shadows there fall to the north, and to the south during the other five.

<sup>3</sup> This is fabulous.

<sup>4</sup> 'Under any circumstances,' says Falconer, 'the Seræ here spoken of must not be taken for the Seres or supposed Chinese. Gosselin remarks that under this name the people of a district called Sera are probably referred to, and that, in fact, such is the name of a city and a whole province at the present day, situate on the opposite coast, beyond the mountains which terminate the plains of the Carnatic. It is equally impossible that under the name of "Emodi" Pliny can allude to the Himalaya chain, distant more than two thousand miles.' We think, notwithstanding, that it was with the Seres or Chinese that the trade here mentioned was carried on. Merchants from Taprobanê may have attended the fair which, as we learn from the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (c. 65), was held annually on the confines of Thinaï (China), and was conducted on the silent system without the use of interpreters. This silent mode of bartering commodities was practised also in Aethiopia, as we learn from the Second Book of the *Christian Topography* of Kosmas Indikopleustes, where a circumstantial account is given of it.



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 whole families can be housed, of such vast size are they to be found.<sup>1</sup> These people look upon a hundred years as but a moderate span of life. Thus much we have learned regarding Taprobanê.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Aelian, *Hist. Anim.* xvi. 18. 'In the sea which surrounds the island (Taprobanê) tortoises have such enormous shells that these are employed to make roofs for 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.'

## POSITION, BOUNDARIES, AND PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF INDIA

BOOK VI. c. 17 (21). But 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, which we have already mentioned under the name of the Indian 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 up to 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 being 2850 miles.<sup>1</sup> Agrippa has estimated its length at 3300 miles, and its breadth at 2300.<sup>2</sup> 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 west of Gaul. Hence he has shown by undoubted proofs that India being opposite to Gaul must be refreshed by the blowing of the west wind, and have in consequence a salubrious climate.<sup>3</sup> 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 of the kings who succeeded him, Seleucus and Antiochus,

<sup>1</sup> The length of India from 35° N. Lat. to Cape Comorin 8° 5' is about 1900 miles, while its breadth, reckoned along the parallel of 25° N. Lat. eastward to the river Brahmaputra, is about 1400; the distance from the mouth of that river to Cape Comorin is in a straight line about 1300 miles, and from that cape to the mouth of the Indus at Karachi about 1250 miles (English). That India lay to the west of Gaul without any intervening land was the notion of Columbus when contemplating the possibility of a western passage to India.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny frequently refers to the *Commentarii* of Agrippa, which were probably lists which he drew up in the measurement of the Roman world projected by Julius Cæsar when he was Consul in 44 B.C. and completed during the reign of Augustus. Zenodorus, who measured all the eastern part of the empire, was engaged in that work for upwards of twenty-one years.

<sup>3</sup> Poseidonios, a Stoic philosopher of great distinction, was a native of Apameia in Syria, and was contemporary with Cicero. His writings were not confined to philosophical subjects, but embraced also astronomy and geography. Strabo, indeed, frequently refers to him as one of the most distinguished geographers. He estimated the circumference of the earth at only 180,000 stadia. See p. 97, n. 1.



as well as by their admiral Patrokles 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.<sup>1</sup> The vast size of their rivers fills the mind with wonder. It is recorded that Alexander on no day had sailed on the Indus less than 600 stadia, and was unable to reach its mouth in less than five months and a few days,<sup>2</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> Compare what Arrian says in his *Indika* (c. 8): 'When Dionysus was leaving India after he had established a new order of things, he appointed, it is said, Spatembas, one of his companions and the most conversant with Bacchic matters, to be the king of the country. When Spatembas died, his son Boudyas succeeded to the sovereignty, the father reigning over the Indians fifty-two years, and the son twenty; the son of the latter, whose name was Kradeuas, duly inherited the kingdom, and the succession thereafter was generally hereditary, but if heirs failed, the Indians elected to the kingship the most meritorious. Herakles, however, who is generally allowed to have come into India, is said by the Indians to have been a native of their country. This Herakles is held in especial honour by the Suraseni.' Pliny and Arrian were indebted for these details to Megasthenes, who evidently endeavoured to bring the chronology of the Brahmins into some degree of correspondence with that of his countrymen. His estimate of the number of the Kings of Magadha is however much higher than any of the lists which now exist exhibit. Spatembas, with whom the series begins, stands in the place of Manu, the great progenitor of the Magadha Kings. His name is thought to be a corruption of Svayambhuva, *the self-existent*. The commencement of his reign coincides with that of the Kaliyuga, which began 3102 years B.C., or 2785 before the accession of Chandragupta (Sandrokottos) who reigned while Megasthenes was ambassador at his court in Palibothra. Boudyas is Buddha, and the Indian Hercules is Krishna.

<sup>2</sup> Curtius (ix. 3) says that Alexander in sailing down the Indus proceeded each day about forty stadia. Pliny's absurd statement would give the length of the river for the lower half of its course a length of some 12,000 miles. The voyage down the Hydaspes and Indus began according to Strabo (xv. i. 17) not many days before the setting of the Pleiades, and occupied ten months. The voyage would thus begin near the end of October 326 B.C.

60, and that of its nations at 118.<sup>1</sup> It would be as great a difficulty should we attempt to enumerate its mountains. The chains of Imavos, Hemodus, Paropanisus, 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 Diognetes and Bæton.

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.<sup>2</sup> . . . In the country of the Oretes, a people of India, is the mountain Maleus, near which shadows in the summer are cast to the south and in winter to the north.<sup>3</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> Pliny here quotes M. Annæus Seneca, the father of the famous Seneca who was Nero's tutor. In his *Suasoriarum Liber* one of the declamations bears the title, 'Shall Alexander embark on the Ocean?'

<sup>2</sup> The Hypasis is the Beas which joins the Satlej. As its latitude is about 31° N. the statement of Onesikritos is erroneous. He was one of the least trustworthy of the writers upon India who were in Alexander's eastern expedition.

<sup>3</sup> The Oretes, called otherwise the Oritæ, were a people of Beluchistân, whose territories extended westward from the Arabis river, now the Purâli. As they were situated fully two degrees to the north of the tropic, the phenomenon here mentioned could not have been observed in their country. In Arrian's *Indika* (c. 25) Nearchos is represented to have stated in his Journal that at a place called Malana on the Oreitan coast this phenomenon was observed. See my work, *Commerce and Navigation of the Erythræan Sea*, pp. 185-86, and note there.



back of Mount Paropanisus over against the sources of the river Indus.<sup>1</sup>

### VOYAGES FROM AND TO INDIA.

C. 17 (19). He (M. Varro) adds that under the direction of Pompey it was ascertained that it is 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.<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup>

Book VI. c. 23 (26). The journal of the voyage of Onesikritus and Nearchus has neither the names of the stations nor the distances set down in it;<sup>4</sup> and first of all it is not sufficiently

<sup>1</sup> The ancients believed that the sources of the Indus lay where it issued from tremendous mountain gorges into the plains some sixty miles or more higher up than Attak.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo (XI. vii. 3) writes to the same effect: 'Aristobulus says that the Oxus is easy to navigate (a circumstance which both he and Eratosthenes borrow from Patrokles), and that large quantities of Indian merchandise are conveyed by it to the Hyrcanian sea, and are thence transferred into Albania by the Cyrus and through the adjoining countries to the Euxine.' From the Cyrus the merchandise was conveyed in four days along a carriage road to the fortress of Sarapana, whence it was carried down the Phasis to the Euxine. See Strabo, XI. ii. 17. A passage to the same effect is quoted by Lassen from *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, ed. C. Müller, ii. 444. The *Iachrus* 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.

<sup>3</sup> 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, Kamchatska, 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 Kamchatska were conveyed to Petersburg, and there received by the Empress of Russia with the greatest humanity.'

<sup>4</sup> Onésikritos was chief pilot of the fleet with which Nearchos made his famous voyage from the Indus to the head of the Persian Gulf. The journal of this voyage (written by Nearchos) 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.

explained where and near what river Xylenopolis was—a city founded by Alexander and that from which his expedition started when it left India.<sup>1</sup> 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 this people;<sup>2</sup> Argenus with a convenient harbour; the river Tonberos, which is navigable, and around its banks the Pasiræ; then come the Ichthyophagi. . . . In after times it was considered an undeniable fact that the voyage from Syagrus, a cape in Arabia,<sup>3</sup> 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;<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> . . . If the wind called Hippalus be blowing, Muziris, 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 Nitrias, 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.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Xylinopolis is a Greek compound meaning *Timber-town*. It was situated no doubt on the western bank of the western arm of the Indus, and probably near the island of Killouta, from a haven in which the fleet under Nearchos started on its memorable voyage.

<sup>2</sup> This Alexandria is now Karachi—Nearchos was detained here for twenty-four days after he had started on his voyage by the violence of the monsoon. He found its harbour so large and commodious that he dignified it with the great conqueror's name. See Arrian's *Indika*, c. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Now Ras Fatak.

<sup>4</sup> Sigerus appears as Meli-Zeigara in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, c. 53, and as Mili-Zegyris or Mili-Zigeris in Ptolemy's *Geog.* vii. i. 95. Vincent identifies this port with Jaygadh or Sidé Jaygadh. The Milizégyris of Ptolemy is an island about twenty miles south of Simylla, that is, of Chaul.

<sup>5</sup> The discovery by a pilot called Hippalus of the direct course to India across the ocean is mentioned in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, c. 57.

<sup>6</sup> Yule in his map of Ancient India locates Nitrias at Mangalore. The coast between this and the neighbourhood of Bombay was infested with pirates till so late a date as 1765. About 200 miles south from Mangalore and about 20 north of Cochin is Cranganor, which Sir H. Yule and Bishop Caldwell take to represent Muziris. This great emporium of commerce is thus described in the *Periplus* (c. 54): 'Muziris, which pertains to the realm of Kêprobotras, is a city at the



At the time I was writing this Caelobothras was the sovereign of that country.<sup>1</sup> Another more convenient harbour of the nation is Neacyndon which is called Becare.<sup>2</sup> There Pandion used to reign, dwelling at a great distance from the mart, in a town in the interior of the country called Modura.<sup>3</sup> The district from which pepper is carried down to Becare in canoes is called Cottonara.<sup>4</sup> 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.

Book XI. c. 3 (2). In the Indian Sea are very many and very large living creatures. Among them whales, each 240 feet long and half as broad, and sharks 200 cubits long; and as the Indian locust measures 4 cubits, so the eels in the river Ganges are each 300 feet long.

#### INDIAN NATIONS

Pliny, quoting Megasthenes, has enumerated in his Sixth Book, from c. 17 (21) to the end of c. 21 (23), the tribes by which India was peopled in the days of Sandrokottos (Chandragupta). These

height of prosperity, from ships coming to it from Ariakê and from Hellenic ships coming from Egypt. It is situated on a river at a distance of 500 stadia from Tyndis by the river and by the sea-coast, its distance from the river mouth being 20 stadia. In Yule's map, Tyndis is placed about fifty miles to the north of Muziris, and a little below Calicut. These places exported great quantities of pepper, betel, and many other commodities.

<sup>1</sup> The king here called *Caelobothras*, but more correctly *Celobotras* (the name is given in one of the mss. of Pliny), belonged to the Keralaputra dynasty. The district over which it ruled is that in which the Malayalam language is now spoken. In Ptolemy's *Geog.* (vii. i. 86) the name appears as *Kêrobothros*, and in the *Periplus* as *Kêprobotras*.

<sup>2</sup> Yule conjectures that this place (Nelkynda in the *Periplus*—Melkynda in Ptolemy—Nincyllda in the Peutingerian Table, and Nilcinna in the Geographer of Ravenna) must have been situated between Kanetti and Kolum in Travancore.

<sup>3</sup> Modura (in Sanskrit Mathurâ) has retained its name almost unchanged, being now called Madura. It is an inland town in the south of the Carnatic. The land of Pandion, of which it was the capital, included most of Tinneveli and extended northward as far as the highlands near the Koimbatour gap. On the west it was bounded by the Southern Ghâts and on the east by the sea. The name Pandion is derived from the Sanskrit Pându, the name of the father of the Pândava brothers, heroes who figure conspicuously in the great national Epic, the *Mahâbhârata*.

<sup>4</sup> According to Dr. Burnell, Cottonara is Kolatta-nadu, the district about Tellicherry, the pepper district.

chapters I have translated and annotated in my work on the Indika of Megasthenes, and therefore do not insert them here.

#### FABULOUS INDIAN RACES

Book XVI. c. 17. About the Attacori, Amometus composed a volume for private circulation similar to the work of Hecataeus about the Hyperboreans.<sup>1</sup> Next to the Attacori are the nations of the Thuni and the Forcari; then come the Casiri, an Indian people who look towards the Scythians and feed on human flesh. In India there are also to be found nomadic tribes which wander from place to place. According to some writers these nations on the north touch upon the Ciconæ and Brisari.

Book VII. c. 2. India and the regions of the Ethiopians are particularly abundant in wonders. In India the largest of animals are produced; their dogs, for instance, are much bigger than any others, and as for their trees, they are said to be of such vast height that it is impossible to shoot arrows over them. Such besides is the fertility of the soil, the geniality of the climate, and the abundance of water, that if we may believe what is said, troops of cavalry can find shelter under a single fig-tree. The reeds are here also of so prodigious a length that a section between two nodes can make a canoe, capable, in some instances, of holding three men. It is an acknowledged fact that many of the Indians are more than five cubits in stature—that they do not spit, that they are not affected with pains in the head, in the teeth or the eyes, and but rarely in other parts of the body, and that their constitutions are strengthened under the moderate heat dispensed by the sun. Their philosophers, whom they call Gymnosophists, are accustomed to remain in one posture with their eyes immovably fixed on the sun from his rising till his going down, and to stand on the burning sands all day long now on one foot and then on the other.<sup>2</sup> . . . Among the mountains on the east of India in the country of the people called Catharcludi are found satyrs, animals of extraordinary swiftness, which go sometimes on four feet and sometimes walk erect. In their features they resemble human beings. On account of the speed with which they run they are

<sup>1</sup> The Attacori are the Uttara Kurus of Sanskrit works, and their name means literally the 'Kuru of the North.' Regarding them see my work, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes*, pp. 78, 79.

<sup>2</sup> The Greeks under Alexander had an opportunity at Taxila of seeing the austerities practised by the Indian Gymnosophists.



never caught unless when they are old or diseased.<sup>1</sup> Tauron gives the name of Choromandæ to a nation which dwells in the jungles and has no proper voice. They utter a horrid screech, their bodies are covered with hair, their eyes are of a bluish grey, and their teeth like those of the dog. Eudoxus informs us that in the southern parts of India the soles of the men's feet are a cubit long, while those of the women are so small that they are called Struthopodes.<sup>2</sup> . . . Isigonus<sup>3</sup> states that the Cyni, a people of India, live to their hundred and fortieth year. . . . We learn from Onesicritus that in those parts of India where there is no shadow the bodies of men attain a height of 5 cubits and 2 palms, and their life extends to 130 years. They do not suffer from the infirmities of old age, but die as if they had lived only half their lifetime. Crates of Pergamus calls the Indians who live a hundred years and more Gymnetæ, but many call them Macrobii. . . . Among the Calingæ, a nation also of India, the women conceive at five years of age, and do not live beyond their eighth year.<sup>4</sup> In other places, again, men are born with tails covered with shaggy hair, and these men are remarkable for their swiftness of foot.<sup>5</sup> Others have ears that cover them all over.<sup>6</sup> The Oritæ, who are separated from the Indians by the river Arabis, know no kind of food but fish, which they tear in pieces with their nails, dry in the sun, and make into bread, as Clitarchus relates.

### INDIAN ANIMALS

BOOK VIII. c. 8. In India elephants are caught by the driver of a tame one guiding it towards a wild one which he has found alone or has separated from the herd. He then beats it, and when it is fatigued transfers himself to its back and manages it as he does the other, *e.g.* elephants when mad with rage are tamed

<sup>1</sup> 'These are the great apes which are found in some of the Oriental islands; this name was given them from their salacious disposition. . . . We have an account of the satyrs in Aelian, *Hist. Anim.* B. xvi. c. 21.'

<sup>2</sup> *Struthopodes* means 'sparrow' or 'ostrich-footed.' The reference may be to the Chinese.

<sup>3</sup> Isigonus was a native of Nikaia. His work called *Apista*, that is *Incredibilia*, is lost. His date is not known.

<sup>4</sup> The Calingæ lived along the more northern shores of Bengal. Their capital was Parthalis.

<sup>5</sup> Hence called Okypodes.

<sup>6</sup> Called Enotokoitai, Lambakarnas, Karnikâs, etc. These and other fabulous tribes are mentioned by Strabo, xv. i. 57, and also by Pliny, both of whom quote from Megasthenes and other writers. See *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, pp. 74-78.

by hunger and blows, other elephants being brought near them to restrain their fury by means of chains. Besides this, they are in the worst of temper when in heat, and at such times they demolish the huts of the Indians with their tusks. C. 11. It is India that produces the largest elephants as well as dragons, which are at perpetual war with them, and are of so enormous a size that they can easily twine themselves round their bodies and compress them in their coils. The fight ends in the death of both the combatants, for the elephant when vanquished, in falling to the earth, crushes with his weight the dragon which is twined round him.<sup>1</sup> C. 13. Ethiopia produces dragons, not so large as those of India, but still twenty cubits long. C. 25. Hyrcania and India produce the tiger, an animal of tremendous swiftness—a quality which is especially tested when we deprive the female of all her whelps, which are always very numerous.<sup>2</sup> C. 30. In Ethiopia there are oxen like those of India, some with one horn and others with three. C. 31. In India there are oxen with solid hoofs and a single horn.<sup>3</sup> There is besides a wild beast called the Asis, with a skin like a fawn's, except that the spots are more numerous and whiter.<sup>4</sup> It is one of the animals sacred to father Bacchus. The Orsæan Indians hunt apes, the bodies of which are all over white, as well as a very fierce animal, the monoceros (unicorn), which has the head of a stag, the feet of an elephant, and the tail of a boar, while the rest of its body is like that of the horse; it makes a deep sound in lowing, and has a single black horn which projects from the middle of its forehead, and is two cubits long. This animal, it is said, cannot be taken alive.<sup>5</sup> C. 52. The tarandrus of the Scythians changes its colour, but this is not the case with any of the animals which are covered with hair except the lycaon of India, which is reported to have a mane on its neck.<sup>6</sup> C. 53. India and Africa produce the porcupine covered, like the hedgehog, with bristles. The quills, however, of the porcupine

<sup>1</sup> This dragon may perhaps be the python, which in the Sunderbans at the mouths of the Ganges is of enormous size.

<sup>2</sup> Three, four, or five at a time.

<sup>3</sup> 'Cuvier conjectures that this is from Ctesias, and says that a similar animal is to be seen on one of the sculptures of Persepolis.'—Bohn's Trans., ii. 280.

<sup>4</sup> It has been supposed that this is the stag of the Ganges—the *cervus axis* of Linnaeus.

<sup>5</sup> The unicorn is probably the rhinoceros. There are five four-footed animals which, according to the ancients, had a single horn: the one-horned horse, the one-horned ox, the Indian ass, the oryx, and the monoceros of the text.

<sup>6</sup> Some take the *tarandrus* to be the reindeer, others, the elk. The *lycaon* is supposed by Cuvier to be the Indian tiger.



are longer, and when it distends its skin it discharges them like missiles. It conceals itself in the winter months. C. 60. The lizards of Arabia are a cubit in length, but those on Nysa, a mountain of India, are 24 feet long, and in colour either yellow, purple, or azure blue. C. 70. It is stated that the oxen of India are the height of camels, and that their horns are 4 feet from each other (at the tips). C. 78. The wild boar of India has two curved teeth a cubit long, which project from below the snout. As many project from the forehead like the horns of a bull-calf. The hair of these animals in a wild state is of a copper colour, while the others are black.

Book IX. C. 2. The most numerous and the largest of these (aquatic) animals are to be found in the Indian Sea. Among them are *balænæ* of 4 *jugera*, and the *pristis*, 200 cubits in length.<sup>1</sup> Here, too, are lobsters of 4 cubits, and in the river Ganges eels 300 feet long.<sup>2</sup> But at sea it is about the time of the solstices when these monsters are most to be seen. For it is then that in these regions the whirlwinds sweep on amain, the rains descend, the hurricanes rush onward, hurled down from the mountain tops, while the sea upheaved from the very bottom rolls upon its surges the monsters that have been driven from their retreats in the depths below. At other times such vast shoals of tunnies are encountered that the fleet of Alexander the Great formed itself into line of battle to confront them, as it would have done when opposed to a hostile fleet, for, except by charging them with long pikes, the danger could not otherwise be evaded. No shouts, no noises, no crashing blows availed to frighten them. Nothing but their utter discomfiture dismayed and confounded them.<sup>3</sup> . . . The captains of the fleet of Alexander the Great inform us that the Gedrosians who dwell near the river Arabis make the doors of their houses with the jaw-bones of fishes and rafter the roofs with their bones, many of which were found to be each no less than 40 cubits in length. In the same country, too, the sea-monsters go out into the fields on shore just like cattle, and after feeding on the roots of shrubs return home. Some of them which had the heads of horses, asses, and bulls

<sup>1</sup> A *jugerum* is 240 feet long by 120 broad. Some take the *pristis* to be the saw-fish.

<sup>2</sup> These eels are probably water-snakes, of which the length has been enormously exaggerated.

<sup>3</sup> This incident is related by Arrian in his *Indika* (c. 30). From the account there given, it was a school of whales, not of tunnies, which alarmed the fleet under Nearchos. The incident is also related by Strabo (xv. ii. 12, 13).

pastured on the crops of grain.<sup>1</sup> C. 3. The largest animals found in the Indian Sea are the *pristis* and the *balæna*. C. 12. The Indian Sea produces turtles of such vast size that the shell of a single animal suffices to roof over a habitable cottage. C. 17. In the Ganges, a river of India, is found a fish called the *platanista*; it has the muzzle and the tail of the dolphin, and is of the length of 16 cubits.<sup>2</sup> Statius Sebosus<sup>3</sup> brings to notice, what is in no ordinary degree marvellous, that in the same river there is a worm which has two gills and is 60 cubits long. It is of an azure colour, and owes its name to the appearance it presents. These creatures, he says, are so strong that with their fangs they seize hold of the trunks of elephants that come to drink, and drag them into the river.<sup>4</sup> C. 35. Those fish called sea-mice, as well as the *polypi* and the *murænæ*, are in the habit of coming ashore. In the Indian rivers there is besides a certain kind of fish which does this and then leaps back, for they pass over into standing waters and streams. Most fishes are evidently led by instinct to do this that they may spawn in safety, since in such waters there are no animals to devour their young, and the waves are less violent. It is still more a wonder to find that they have a comprehension of causation and observe the recurrence of periods, when we reflect that the best time for catching fish is while the sun is passing through the sign of *pisces*.<sup>5</sup>

Book X. 2 (2). Ethiopia and India, more especially, produce birds of diversified plumage, and such as quite surpass all description.

C. 30 (23). By the departure of the cranes which were in

<sup>1</sup> Aelian in his *History of Animals* writes to the same effect regarding certain amphibious animals found in the seas around Taprobanê (Ceylon).

<sup>2</sup> Probably, according to Cuvier, the dolphin of the Ganges, which has the muzzle and the tail of the common dolphin. Its length, as given, is exaggerated. The jaws are provided with numerous conical recurved teeth, and are very destructive to fish. They are described by Aelian (*H. A.*, xvi. 18).

<sup>3</sup> A person of this name is mentioned by Cicero, in one of his epistles to Atticus, as being a friend of Catulus. He is elsewhere cited by Pliny.

<sup>4</sup> Aelian (*Nat. An.* v. 3) describes a worm (*skôlêx*) very similar, but which has two *teeth*, not *gills*, and which seizes oxen and camels but not elephants. Cuvier has suggested that some large conger or *muræna* may have given rise to the story. Dr. V. Ball has identified the *skôlêx* of Aelian (who has described it from Ktésias) with the crocodile of the Indus—the garial.

<sup>5</sup> This is also stated by the author of the treatise, *De Mirab. Auscult.* c. 72; and Theophrastus, in his work on the *Fishes that can Live on Land*, says that these Indian fishes resemble the mullet. . . . Mr. Hamilton Buchanan, in his *History of the Fishes of Bengal*, says that these fish crawl on grass to so great a distance from their rivers, that the people absolutely believe that they must have fallen from heaven.—Bohn's *Pliny*, ii. p. 407.



the habit of waging war with the pygmies, that race now enjoys a respite from their hostilities. The tracts over which they travel must be immense, when we consider that they come from such a distance as the Eastern Sea. C. 41 (58). Above all, there are birds that imitate the human voice—parrots, for instance, which are even able to converse. This bird is sent us from India, where it is called the septagen.<sup>1</sup> The body is all over green, except that around its neck it is marked with a ring of red. It salutes its masters,<sup>2</sup> and pronounces such words as it hears spoken. It becomes very frolicsome under the effects of wine. Its head is as hard as its beak, and this is beaten with an iron rod if it does not learn to speak what it is being taught, for it feels no pain if struck elsewhere than on the head. When it alights it falls on its beak, and by supporting itself by this means it makes itself so much the lighter for its feet, which are naturally weak.

Book XI. c. 46 (106). Horned animals are in general cloven-footed, but no animal has at once a solid hoof and a pair of horns. The Indian ass alone is armed with a single horn, . . . and is the only instance of a solid-hoofed animal that is provided with a pastern-bone.<sup>3</sup>

C. 31. The horns of the Indian ant were miraculously fixed up in the temple of Hercules at Erythræ. These ants dig gold from holes underground in the country of the Northern Indians, who are called Dardæ. They are of the colour of cats and of the size of Egyptian wolves. The gold which they dig up in winter the Indians steal in summer when the violence of the heat has compelled the ants to bury themselves in the ground. But the ants, being roused by the smell of the robbers, rush out of their holes, and overtaking the fugitives, as they frequently do, though these are mounted on the swiftest of camels, they tear them to pieces, so great is the speed and the ferocity of these animals, and withal their love of gold.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In Bohn's translation *septagen* appears as *sittaces*, and in a footnote we read: 'Hence the Latin name *psittacus*. From this Cuvier thinks that the first known among these birds to the Greeks and Romans was the green parrot with a ringed neck, the *Psittacus Alexandri* of Linnæus.'

<sup>2</sup> The original 'imperatores salutat' is translated in Bohn, 'It salutes an emperor.'

<sup>3</sup> The following passage occurs in the description of the Indian wild ass given by Aelian (*Hist. An.* iv. 52): 'While all other asses wherever found, and whether wild or tame, and even all solid-hoofed animals have neither a huckle-bone (*astragalus*) nor a gall in the liver, the Indian horned asses, according to Ktesias, have both a huckle-bone and a gall in the liver.' This unicorn ass is the *rhinoceros*.

<sup>4</sup> See note on Strabo, p. 44, n. 2

Book XXVIII. c. 8 (30). The scincus has been called by some writers the land-crocodile; but it is whiter in appearance and the skin is not so thick. The main difference, however, between it and the crocodile is in the arrangement of the scales, which run from the tail to the head. The Indian kind is the largest, the Arabian coming next. They are brought to us salted. C. 10 (45). The Greeks had no knowledge from experience of the urus and bison, although the forests of India are filled with herds of wild oxen.

### INDIAN PLANTS

Book XII. 4 (8). In our account of the Seres we have mentioned their trees which bear wool, and have likewise noticed the immense size of the trees of India. One tree peculiar to that country—the ebony tree—has been extolled by Virgil, who teaches us that it grows nowhere else.<sup>1</sup> Herodotus, however, leads us to believe that it was rather a product of Ethiopia, for he informs us that the people of that country paid every third year to the kings of Persia by way of tribute one hundred planks of ebony wood, together with a certain amount of gold and ivory.<sup>2</sup> C. (9). There are two kinds of ebony; the better sort is scarce, and is remarkably free from knots. It is black and lustrous, and pleases the eye at once without the aid of art. The other sort is produced from a shrub like *cytissus* and is found in all parts of India. C. (10). There is in India, also, a kind of thorn like ebony, but distinguishable from it even by lamplight the moment the fire flashes across it. We shall now describe those trees which excited the admiration of Alexander the Great in his career of conquest when that part of the world was opened up by his arms. C. (11). The fig-tree of that country produces but a small fruit. Always propagating itself spontaneously it spreads out far and wide with its vast branches, the ends of which bend downward to the ground to such a degree that in the course of a year they take root again and young daughters grow around the mother-tree circlewise as in ornamental gardening. Within that enclosure, which is overshadowed and protected by the rampart of stems thrown out by the tree, shepherds are wont to spend the summer; the circuit of overarching boughs presenting a scene of great

<sup>1</sup> Sola India nigrum Fert ebum.—*Georg.* ii. 116, 117.

<sup>2</sup> See Herod. iii. c. 97.



magnificence whether viewed from a distance or from under the leafy canopy. The higher branches of the tree shoot far up into the sky in multitudinous ramifications from the vast trunk of the parent tree, so that it very often overspreads a circuit of sixty paces, while its shade covers as much as a couple of stadia. The broad leaves have the shape of an Amazonian buckler, and hence the fruit being so much covered by the leaves is stunted in its growth, small in quantity, and never bigger than a bean. The figs, however, being ripened by the rays of the sun piercing through the leaves, are exceedingly luscious and worthy of the marvellous character of the tree which produces them. These trees are found more particularly in the neighbourhood of the river Acesines.<sup>1</sup> C. 6 (12). There is a tree still larger which yields a still more luscious fruit—that on which the Indian sages subsist. The leaf, which is three cubits long and two cubits broad, resembles the wings of birds. The fruit, which grows on the bark, is remarkable for the wondrous sweetness of its juice, and is so large that one would of itself suffice for four persons. The tree is called the *pala* and its fruit *ariena*.<sup>2</sup> It is found in greatest abundance in the country of the Sydraci, which formed the limit reached by Alexander's expedition. There is besides another tree which resembles this one, though the fruit which it bears is sweeter, and, when eaten, produces severe disorders of the bowels. Alexander published an order forbidding any one in his army touching this fruit.<sup>3</sup> C. (13). The Macedonians have mentioned various kinds of trees (found in India) but generally without giving their names. There is one which resembles the terebinth (turpentine tree) in every respect except the fruit, which is like the almond though it is of a smaller size, and remarkable for its extreme sweetness. It was found chiefly in Bactra, and some persons took it to be a variety of terebinth rather than a tree to which it bore a striking resemblance. As to the tree again from which they make a kind of linen cloth, in leaf it resembles the mulberry tree, while the calyx of the fruit is similar to the dog-rose.<sup>4</sup> It is reared in cultivated grounds,

<sup>1</sup> See note on Strabo, p. 27, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Sprengel and Bauhin are of opinion that the banana is the tree meant here; Dodonæus thinks it is the pomegranate. Thevet says that the *pala* is the *paquovera* of India, the fruit of which is called *pacona*. The account is borrowed from Theophrastus.—Bohn's Translation, iii. p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> Some have taken this to be the tamarind tree—*Tamarindus Indica*—the pulp of which is slightly laxative.

<sup>4</sup> Fée is of opinion that *cynorrhodon* here means, not the *dog-rose*, but the gall which is formed on the tree by the sting of the *Cynips bedeguar*.—Bohn's Trans.

and no other kind of plantation makes such a charming landscape around a country-seat. C. 7 (14). The olive-tree in India is sterile, with the exception however of the wild olive. The pepper plant grows everywhere (in India), and resembles our junipers in appearance, though some writers assert that they only grow on the slopes of Caucasus, which lie exposed to the sun.<sup>1</sup> The seeds differ from the juniper by their being enclosed in very small pods such as we see in kidney beans. These pods make what is called long pepper, if, before they burst open, they are plucked and then dried in the sun. But when they are allowed to ripen, they gradually split open, and at maturity disclose the white pepper, which then by exposure to the heat of the sun changes its colour and becomes wrinkled. These products, however, are liable to a peculiar disease, for if the weather be bad they are attacked with a smutty kind of blight, which makes the seeds nothing but rotten empty husks, called *bregma*, a term which in the Indian language signifies *dead*. Of all the kinds of pepper this is the most pungent and the lightest, while it is also distinguished by the extreme paleness of its colour. The black kind of pepper is more agreeable to the palate, while the white kind is less pungent than either. The root of this tree is not, as some have supposed, the article called by some writers, *Zimpiberi* while others call it *Zingiberi* (i.e. ginger), although its taste is very similar. For ginger is produced in Arabia and the Troglodyte country,<sup>2</sup> in the cultivated parts being a small plant with a white root. It is liable to decay very quickly, notwithstanding its extreme pungency. The price it fetches is six denarii<sup>3</sup> the pound. Long pepper is very easily adulterated with Alexandrian mustard. It sells at fifteen denarii the pound, the white kind at seven, and the black at four. It is surprising how it has become such a favourite article of consumption; for while other substances attract us, some by reason of their sweetness, and others because they are of an inviting appearance, pepper has nothing to recommend it either for fruit or berry, its pungency being the only quality

<sup>1</sup> Pepper was in ancient times produced chiefly in those parts of India which adjoin the Malabar coast. The author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* names Tyndis, Muziris, Nelkynda, and Bacarê as the ports from which pepper was exported. The ships, he tells us, which frequent these ports, are of a large size, on account of the great amount and bulkiness of the pepper and betel which form the main part of their cargoes.

<sup>2</sup> The Troglodytes lived along the shores of the Red Sea, both on the Arabian side and on the African. As their name implies, they dwelt in caves. These they found in rocks or made by excavating them.

<sup>3</sup> The denarius was equal to 8 pence 3 farthings.



for which it is esteemed; and yet for this it must be fetched from far away India. . . . Both pepper and ginger grow wild in their respective countries, and yet here we buy them by weight like gold and silver. Italy too now produces a kind of pepper-tree . . . but its pepper has not that mature flavour which the Indian sort acquires by its exposure to the sun. C. (15). There is, moreover, in India, a grain similar to pepper, but larger and more brittle, and this is called *caryophyllon*.<sup>1</sup> The same country produces also on a thorny shrub a grain resembling pepper which is remarkable for its pungency. The leaves of this shrub are small and packed closely together like those of the privet. Its branches, which are three cubits long, are of a pallid colour, while its root is wide-spreading and woody, and of the colour of boxwood. From this root, when boiled along with the seed in a copper vessel, is prepared the medicament called *lycion*.<sup>2</sup> . . . The Indians send us this preparation in vessels made from the skins of camels or rhinoceroses. Some persons in Greece call the shrub itself the Chironian *pyxacanthus*, the berberry shrub, or box-thorn. C. 8 (16). Macir also is brought to us from India. It is the red bark of a large root called by the same name as the tree which grows from it. What the tree is like I have not been able to learn. A decoction of this bark with honey is used in medicine as a specific for dysentery. C. (17). Arabia too produces sugar, but the Indian kind is more esteemed. It is a honey collected in reeds, white like gum, and brittle to the teeth.<sup>3</sup> The largest pieces are of the size of a filbert nut; it is only used in medicine. C. (18). On the borders of India is a

<sup>1</sup> This is generally taken to be the clove-tree, but Fée thinks it may possibly have been the *Myrtus Caryophyllata* of Ceylon, the fruit of which corresponds to the description here given by Pliny.

<sup>2</sup> We learn from the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea* that *lycion* was exported from Barbarikon, a port at the mouth of the Indus, and from Barygaza (now Bharoch) on the Nerbudda. It is a thorny plant, the juice of which was used for dyeing yellow, while a liquor drawn from it was used as a medicine (Celsus, v. 26, 30, and vi. 7).

<sup>3</sup> The first writer of the West who mentions this article is Theophrastus the disciple of Aristotle. He called it a sort of honey extracted from reeds. Strabo, citing Nearchos, states that reeds in India yield honey without bees. Aelian mentions a kind of honey expressed from reeds which grew among the Prasii (people of upper Bengal). Seneca (*Epis.* 84) speaks of sugar as a kind of honey found in India on the leaves of reeds, and either exuded from these reeds or dropped as dew upon them. Dioscorides again says that sugar is a sort of concremented honey found upon canes in India and Arabia Felix. Lucan says that the Indians near the Ganges quaff sweet juices from tender reeds. Fée suggests that Pliny here refers to the crystallised sugar found in the bamboo cane. The sugar cane has been cultivated from early times in Arabia Felix. Lucan refers to a sugar in the form of a syrup.

country called Ariane, in which is found a thorny shrub from which a precious tear distils. It resembles the myrrh-tree and must be cautiously approached because of its prickles. Here too is produced a poisonous shrub which has a root like a radish, leaves like those of the laurel, and a smell which horses find inviting.<sup>1</sup> Alexander in consequence lost nearly all his cavalry on his first entrance into the country—and the same thing happened to him also in Gedrosia. A thorny shrub has also been mentioned as a product of the same country, having leaves like those of the laurel, the juice of which if spirted into the eye causes blindness in all animals.<sup>2</sup> There is besides a vegetable of a very rank odour, which is full of tiny serpents,<sup>3</sup> the sting of which to a certainty causes instant death. C. 9 (19). Next to Ariane is Bactriane, which produces the most esteemed kind of bdellium. The tree is of a black colour and of the size of an olive-tree. Its leaf resembles that of the oak, and its fruit that of the wild fig-tree. Bdellium itself is of the nature of a gum. Some call it *brochon*, others *malacha*, others again *maldacon*, but when it is black and rolled into a little ball it is known as *hadrabolon*. This substance ought to be transparent like wax, odoriferous, unctuous when crumbled, and bitter to the taste but without being at all acid. When used in sacred rites it is steeped in wine to increase its fragrance. It grows in Arabia and India<sup>4</sup> as well as in Media and Babylon. Some persons call the bdellium which is brought to us by way of Media, *peratic*. It is more brittle than the other kinds, harder in the crust, and more bitter to the taste; the Indian kind is, on the other hand, moister and gummy, and is adulterated by means of the almond nut. The various other kinds are corrupted with the bark of *scordastum*, the tree of this name producing a gum which resembles bdellium. The adulterations of perfumes, let it be said once for all, are detected by their smell, by their colour, weight, taste, and by the action of fire. The Bactrian bdellium is dry and shining, and has numerous white spots, like finger-nails in shape. Besides, it should be of a certain weight than which it ought to be neither heavier

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps a poisonous kind of horse-radish.

<sup>2</sup> Fée thinks this tree may be the *Excacaria Agallochum*, the juice of which is so acrid that if spirted into the eye it endangers the eyesight.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the whip-snake, which conceals itself among the foliage of trees and the poison of which is very deadly.

<sup>4</sup> Bdellium is the gum of the *Balsamodendron Mukul*, a tree which grows in Sindh, Kathiavar, and the Disā district. It is used both as an incense and as a cordial medicine. It was exported from Barbarikon on the Indus, and from Barygaza (Bharoch).



nor lighter. The price of bdellium when quite pure is three denarii per pound. C. 22. Their very trees afford clothing for the people of India. C. 12 (25). There is a root and also a leaf which are both very highly prized by the Indians. The root is that of the *costus*; it is burning hot to the taste, and has an exquisite aromatic odour; the shrub is otherwise of no use.<sup>1</sup> In the island of Patale, at the very mouth of the Indus, two kinds of it are found—one black, the other white, and this is the better of the two. The price of this article is five denarii per pound. C. 26. Of the leaf, which is that of the *nardus*, it is but proper we should write at greater length, seeing that it holds the first place among unguents. This shrub<sup>2</sup> has a root thick and heavy, but short, black, and brittle notwithstanding that it is unctuous, and has a musty smell like that of the *cypirus*. It has a sharp, acrid taste, and its leaves are small and thickly set together. At the top the nard spreads out into ears, and hence it is celebrated as being doubly dowered—with spikes and ears and with leaves that are both of high value. Another kind which grows in the vicinity of the Ganges is condemned as utterly bad. It is called ozænitis and has a foetid smell. Nard is adulterated with a plant called pseudo-nard, which grows everywhere, and has a leaf unusually thick and broad and a sickly colour inclining to white. It is further adulterated by being mixed with its own root to give it additional weight—a purpose for which gum and the litharge of silver are also employed, and sometimes antimony and cypirus, or at least cypirus bark. Its purity is tested by its lightness, the redness of its colour, the sweetness of its smell, and more particularly the taste, which parches the mouth, while at the same time the flavour is most delicious. The price of spike-nard is 100 denarii per pound. C. 28. The grape of the amomum is in common use.<sup>3</sup> It grows on a wild vine which is found in India, or, as others think, on a shrub produced on the mountains which rises to the height of a palm-tree. It is plucked along with the root, and is gently pressed together by the hands, for it very quickly becomes brittle. That kind is most

<sup>1</sup> *Costus* (Sanskrit *Kushtha*) was considered the best of aromatic roots, as nard or spikenard was the best of aromatic plants. It was one of the exports of Barbarikon and of Barygaza. It is the *putchok* which is now exported from Calcutta to China, where it is burned as incense in the temples.

<sup>2</sup> The plant from which the ancients extracted the famous nard-oil was that which is called in Sanskrit *jatāmānsi*. It is a species of valerian, and is found in the mountainous parts of India, in Nepāl, Bhūtan, etc.

<sup>3</sup> The learned are all at variance with regard to the identification of this plant.

esteemed which has leaves closely resembling those of the pomegranate, being without wrinkles and of a red colour. The second quality is that which is distinguished by the paleness of its colour. An inferior kind has a grassy appearance, and the white is the worst of all. This is its colour when old. The price of the amomum grape is sixty denarii per pound, but when crumbled it sells at forty-nine only. C. (29). Similar to these (amomum and amomis), both in name and the nature of the shrub, is cardamomum, the seed of which is of an oblong shape.<sup>1</sup> It is gathered in the same way both in India and Arabia. There are four sorts of it. That which is most esteemed is very green in the colour, unctuous, with sharp angles which make it hard to break; the next quality is of a reddish white tint—the third is shorter and blacker, while the worst is mottled, friable, and has but a faint smell, which ought to be similar to costum when genuine. Cardamum grows also in Media. The price of the best kind is three denarii.

C. 17 (38). In Arabia, too, the olive-tree distils a tear, with which the Indians prepare a medicament called by the Greeks *enhæmon*,<sup>2</sup> and said to be of singular efficacy in cicatrising wounds. C. 18 (41). At the very lowest computation, India, the Seres, and the Arabian peninsula drain from our empire yearly one hundred million of sesterces; so dearly do we pay for our luxury and our women. C. 22 (48). Scented calamus, also, which grows in Arabia, is common to both India and Syria.<sup>3</sup>

Book XIII. c. 25 (51). The officers of Alexander who navigated the Indian seas have left on record a description of a marine tree, the leaves of which are green while in the water, but which, as soon as they are taken out, are dried into salt. They have noticed also bulrushes of stone closely resembling the real, and found along the seashore. They found, besides, certain shrubs in the deep sea of the colour of an ox's horn, which send out numerous branches and are red at the tips. These were brittle, and broke like glass when touched, but in the fire they turned red-hot like iron, though on cooling they resumed their natural colour. In the same regions the tide

<sup>1</sup> The *cardamum* of modern pharmacy. It is found in India, but not in Arabia as here stated.

<sup>2</sup> *ἔλαιον*, 'blood-stanching.'

<sup>3</sup> Naturalists are uncertain how this kind of *calamus* is to be identified. It has been taken to be a gramineous plant of the genus *Andropogon*, and also to be the Indian *Gentiana chirayta*, called lemon-grass from its scent.



covers the woods which grow on the islands,<sup>1</sup> though the trees are of a greater height than the tallest planes and poplars. Their leaves, which never fall off, resemble those of the laurel, their flowers those of the violet both in colour and smell, and their berries those of the olive. These berries are of a pleasant fragrance, make their appearance in autumn, and fall from the trees in spring. The smaller trees are entirely covered by the sea. The tops of the tallest stand out of the water, and ships are fastened to them, but when the tide ebbs they are fastened to the roots. We learn from the same authorities that they saw out in the same sea other trees which always retained their leaves and produced a fruit like the lupine.

BOOK XIV. c. 16 (19). The fruit of the palm is employed for this purpose (making wine) by the Parthians as well as the Indians, and indeed throughout all the countries of the East.<sup>2</sup>

BOOK XV. c. 7 (7). The Indians are said to extract oils from the chestnut, sesamum, and rice, and the Ichthyophagi from fish.

BOOK XVI. c. 34 (62). Ivy is now said to grow in Asia. Theophrastus has denied this, and says it grows nowhere in India, except on Mount Meros . . . and that Alexander on account of its rarity had himself crowned with it, after the example of Father Bacchus, on his victorious return from India with his army. C. 37 (65). If a person should carefully enumerate the Ethiopians, Egyptians, Arabians, Indians, Scythians, Bactrians, Sarmatians, and all the eastern nations comprehended in the vast empire of the Parthians, he would find that quite one-half of the human race throughout the whole world live in dominions which have been subjugated by the arrow. . . . The Indian reeds are preferred to all others. Some think, however, these reeds are of a different nature from those produced elsewhere, since by adding a point to them the Indians can use them as lances. The Indian reed, in point of fact, attains the thickness of a tree, if we may judge from the specimens seen everywhere in our temples. The Indians tell us that in these plants also the distinction of male and female obtains, the body of the male being more compact, and that of the female of greater amplitude. A single section, moreover, between two joints is large enough, if we take their

<sup>1</sup> The reference is probably to mangrove swamps. What is said with regard to the height of the trees is altogether absurd. The account here given of the flora of the Makran coast was probably taken by Pliny from Onēsikritos, the pilot of the fleet which under Nearchos sailed from the mouth of the Indus to the head of the Persian Gulf.

<sup>2</sup> This liquor is made from the fermented sap called in India *tāri*. It is the juice of the palmyra tree vulgarly called *toddy*.

word for it, to make a canoe. These reeds are found more particularly on the banks of the river Acesines. The Indian reed stands alone in having short leaves.

BOOK XVIII. c. 10 (22). Sesame comes from India, where they extract an oil from it.<sup>1</sup> The grain is of a white colour.

C. 13. In India there is both a cultivated and a wild barley, from which they make excellent bread as well as a kind of pottage. But their favourite diet is rice, from which a ptisan is prepared like that which is elsewhere made from barley. The leaves of the rice-plant are fleshy, and similar to those of the leek but broader; the plant itself is a cubit in height, the blossom is purple, and the root is round like a pearl.

BOOK XIX. c. 1 (2). The Ethiopians and the Indians prepare a kind of thread from a fruit which resembles our apple.

BOOK XXIV. c. 14 (77). The best lycium is said to be that prepared from the thorn of the same name, called also the Chironian pyxacanthus, and already mentioned by us when speaking of the trees of India, the country which produces what is considered far the best lycium. . . . The Indian lycium differs from the other kinds in colour, the lump being black on the outside, red within, but quickly turning black when broken. It is bitter and remarkably astringent.<sup>2</sup> C. 17 (102). The Achæmenis, he (Democritus) says, grows in the country of the Tradastili, an Indian race. It is a plant of the colour of amber and leafless. The root of it, if divided into lozenges and taken in wine in the daytime, racks the guilty during the night with such varied visions of avenging deities that they confess all their crimes. He calls it also *hippophobas*, because it is an object of especial dread to mares.<sup>3</sup> . . . The thalassægle,<sup>4</sup> he

<sup>1</sup> This oil is used for food, for medicinal purposes, and as a cosmetic.

<sup>2</sup> Lycium is mentioned in the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea* among the articles exported from Barbarikon, a mart in the Delta of the Indus, and from Barygaza (now Bharoch) on the Nerbudda. It was found principally in Lycia, and hence its name. Its juice was used for dyeing yellow, and a liquor was drawn from it which was used medicinally. Lycium is known in India as ruzot, an extract of the *Berberis Lycium* and *Berberis Aristata*, which both grow on the Himalayas.

<sup>3</sup> 'So called from Achæmenes, the ancestor of the Persian kings. Fée thinks that it was a variety of the *Euphorbia antiquorum*, or else a nightshade' (Bohn's *Pliny*). Pliny subsequently mentions that a magical virtue was attributed to the Achæmenis by Asclepiades, who came to Rome as a professor of rhetoric in the time of Pompey the Great, but turned his attention to medicine, in the practice of which he departed from the method in vogue and followed one devised by himself. He said that if this plant were thrown into the ranks of the enemy it would be certain to create a panic, and put them to flight.

<sup>4</sup> This word means *Brightness of the sea*. For the other name, *potamangis*, Hardouin has suggested *potamitis*, 'river-plant.' Fée takes it to be a narcotic plant, probably a nightshade. Falconer says it is not impossible that there may be here an allusion to the effects of opium.



says, is found on the banks of the river Indus, and is, on that account, also called the *potomangis*. If taken in drink it produces a delirium in which the wildest fantasies whirl through the brain.

### INDIAN MINERALS AND PRECIOUS STONES

BOOK XXXI. c. 7 (39). There are mountains also formed of native salt, as, for instance, Ormenus, in India, where it is cut out like blocks from a quarry and is continually reproduced, whence a greater revenue accrues to the sovereigns of the country than they derive from gold and pearls.<sup>1</sup>

BOOK XXXII. c. 2 (11). Among the people of India as high a value is set upon coral as in our part of the world is set upon Indian pearls, of which we have said enough in the proper place; for prices are determined by the fashion prevailing in each country. . . . The berries of coral are no less appreciated by the men of India than are Indian pearls by women among us. Their soothsayers and prophets regard coral as the most sacred of amulets ensuring protection against all dangers, so highly do they value it both as an ornament and an object of devotion. C. 6 (21). According to the historians of the expedition of Alexander, oysters were found in the Indian Sea a foot in diameter.

BOOK XXXIII. c. 4 (21). Gold is found in our own part of the world, to say nothing of the gold dug out of the earth in India by ants, and in Scythia by the griffins. C. 13 (57). It is not long since indicum began to be imported,<sup>2</sup> its price being 17 denarii per pound.<sup>3</sup>

BOOK XXXV. c. 6 (25). We have indicum, also a substance imported from India, with the composition of which I am unacquainted. C. 6 (27). Next to this (*purpurissum*) in importance is indicum. It comes from India and is a slime which adheres to the scum (*spumæ*) of certain reeds.<sup>4</sup> When broken small it is of a black appearance, but when diluted it exhibits a wondrous combination of purple and deep azure. There is another kind of it which floats in the caldrons in

<sup>1</sup> Ormenus, or Oromenus, designates the Salt range of hills between the Indus and Hydaspes (Jihlam).

<sup>2</sup> The culture of the indigo plant and the preparation of the drug have been practised in India from very remote times. It has been questioned, but without good reason, whether *indicum* was indigo.

<sup>3</sup> The value of the denarius in the time of Pliny may be taken at 8½d. It was a silver coin containing fifty-eight grains of pure silver.

<sup>4</sup> Pliny is quite mistaken as to the mode by which indigo is produced.

the purple dye-houses, and is the scum of the purple dye.<sup>1</sup> Those who adulterate it stain pigeons' dung with genuine indicum, or they dye either selinusian<sup>2</sup> or anularian chalk with woad. Indicum is tested by placing it on hot coals, when, if it be genuine, it gives out a fine purple flame, and while smoking, a scent as of sea-water. Hence some think that it has been gathered from rocks near the shore. The price of indicum is twenty sesterces per pound. If used as a medicine, indicum acts as a sedative for ague and other shivering fits and desiccates sores.

BOOK XXXVII. c. 1 (9). The East, too, sends us crystals, there being none preferred to the Indian kind. C. 2 (11). Amber is found in India, where it is a preferable substitute for frankincense. Ctesias says that in India is a river, the Hypobarus, and that the meaning of its name is *the bearer of all good things*—that it flows from the north into the Eastern Ocean near a mountain covered with trees that produce amber (*electron*), and that these trees are called *aphytacoræ*, a name signifying *luscious sweetness*.<sup>3</sup> C. 4 (15). At the present day, for the first time six varieties of the diamond (*adamas*) are recognised. The Indian diamond is not found embedded in gold, but in a substance akin to crystal, which it equals in transparency and resembles in having six angles and six highly polished equal sides, while it is turbinated to a point at either extremity, just as if two cones should, to our wonder, be conjoined at their bases. As for size, it is as large even as a hazel nut.<sup>4</sup> C. 4 (16). Next in esteem with us (to diamonds)

<sup>1</sup> This passage, similar in many respects to the account given by Dioscorides, is commented on at great length by Beckmann, *Hist. Inv.*, vol. ii. p. 263. Bohn's *Trans. of Pliny*, vi. 243 n.

<sup>2</sup> It is uncertain whether this chalk was found at Selinûs in Sicily or at the Cilician seaport of the same name. The anularian chalk, when made into a glassy paste, was worn by the common people in their signet-rings, whence its name.

<sup>3</sup> 'The elektron or amber of Ktésias, a product of trees, was certainly *shellac*, and the insects found with it, which yielded a red dye, were lac insects.'—Dr. V. Ball, *A Geologist's Contribution to the History of Ancient India*, p. 81.

<sup>4</sup> 'Dana has the following remarks upon the word *adamas*: "This name was applied by the ancients to several minerals differing much in their physical properties. A few of these are quartz, specular iron ore, emery, and other substances of rather high degrees of hardness which cannot now be identified. It is doubtful whether Pliny had any acquaintance with the real diamond."—*System of Mineralogy*, Art. *Diamond*. Under the head of *Adamas*, the diamond appears to have been included together with some other stones. "It is," says Pliny, "the substance that possesses the greatest value, not only among the precious stones, but of all human possessions, a mineral which for a long time was known to kings only, and to very few of them." Where, however, he refers to its hexangular and hexahedral form, he appears to have been alluding to



are the pearls of India and Arabia. C. 5 (20). It is thought by many that beryls are of the same, or at all events of a like nature with emeralds. India produces them, and they are rarely found elsewhere. . . . The Indians take a marvellous pleasure in beryls that are distinguished by their great length, and say that these are the only precious stones which they prefer to wear without gold; and hence, after piercing them, they string them upon elephant bristles. It is agreed that those beryls which are of perfect quality should not be perforated, but should merely be clasped at their extremities with circlets of gold. They prefer therefore to cut them into the form of a cylinder rather than to set them as precious stones, since those that are of greatest length are most in fashion. Some are of opinion that beryls are naturally angular, and that piercing them adds to their splendour in consequence of the removal of the white substance within, while the reflection of the gold still further heightens their brilliancy, and their thickness no longer mars their transparency. . . . The Indians by colouring crystals have found a way of imitating a variety of precious stones, especially beryls. C. 6 (21). Opals are at once very like and very unlike beryls, and are inferior in value to emeralds alone. India, too, is the sole mother of these precious stones, thus completing her glory as being the great producer of the most costly gems.<sup>1</sup> C. 6 (22). This stone (the opal), on account of its extraordinary beauty, has been called by many authors *πατερὸς*; <sup>2</sup> such as make a distinct species of it say that it is the gem called by the people of India *sangenon*. C. 6 (23). By sardonyx, as the name itself implies, was formerly meant a *sarda* with a whiteness in it, like the flesh under the human finger-nail, the white part being transparent like the rest of the stone; <sup>3</sup> and that this was the character of the Indian sardonyx is stated by Ismenias, Demostratus, Zenothemis, and Sotacus. The last two give the name of *blind sardonyx* to all the other stones of this class which are not transparent,

some other mineral; but his mention of splinters as being used by engravers of other stones again points to the true diamond. He says it could only be broken after being steeped in the blood of a he-goat.—Dr. V. Ball, *A Geologist's Contribution to the History of Ancient India*.

<sup>1</sup> The opal is, however, found in many parts of the world besides India.

<sup>2</sup> This word means *lovely youth*.

<sup>3</sup> Ktésias informs us that in India there are certain high mountains with mines which yield the sardine-stone and onyxes and other seal-stones. He gives no indication of the locality of these mountains, but Dr. V. Ball says that possibly Oujein, in Malwa, or some of the other places where mines of Chalcedonic minerals occur, was intended. The word *sardonyx* is compounded of the Greek words *σάρδιον*, 'sard,' and *δνυξ*, 'a finger-nail.'

and which have now monopolised the name. . . . Zenothemis writes that these stones were not held in esteem by the Indians, and that some were so large that the hilts of swords were made of them. It is well known that in that country they are laid bare to view by the mountain streams, and that in our part of the world they were at the outset prized from the fact that they were almost the only ones<sup>1</sup> among engraved precious stones that do not take away the wax with them from an impression. We have in consequence taught the Indians themselves by the force of our example to value these stones, and the lower classes more particularly pierce them and wear them round the neck; and this is now a proof that a sardonyx is of Indian origin. Those of Arabia are distinguished above others by a broad belt of brilliant white which does not glitter in hollow fissures or in the depressions of the stone, but sparkles in the projections at the surface above an underlying ground of intense black. In the stones of India this ground is like wax<sup>2</sup> or cornel in colour, with a belt also of white around it. In some of these stones there is a play of colours as in the rainbow, while the surface is even redder than the shells of the sea-locust. C. 6 (24). Zenothemis says there are numerous varieties of the Indian onyx,<sup>3</sup> the fiery-coloured, the black, the cornel with white veins encircling them like an eye, and in some cases running across them obliquely. Sotacus mentions that there is also an Arabian onyx, which differs from that of India in that the latter exhibits small flames each encircled with one or more belts of white in a different way from the Indian sardonyx, which is speckled but not marked with circular veins like the onyx. According to this writer onyxes are found in Arabia of a black colour with belts of white. Satyrus says that there is an onyx in India of a flesh colour,<sup>4</sup> partly resembling the carbuncle and partly the chrysolite and the amethyst, and he condemns the whole of this class. The real onyx, he points out, has numerous veins of varying colours, along with streaks of a milk-white hue, and as these colours harmoniously shade into each other they produce, by their combinations, a tint of a beauty which is inex-

<sup>1</sup> He probably intends to include the *sarda* or cornelian here.—Bohn's *Trans. of Pliny*.

<sup>2</sup> A variety, probably, of common chalcedony.—*Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> The onyx is an agate formed of alternating white and black or dark brown stripes of chalcedony. The finest specimens are brought from India. The word means *finger-nail*.

<sup>4</sup> It is somewhat doubtful whether this kind of onyx (cornelian or cornelian) derives its name from *caro*, *carnis*, 'flesh,' or from *cornus*, 'the cornel.'



pressibly charming. C. 7 (25). In the first rank among these *precious stones of a brilliancy like flame* is the carbuncle, so called from its resemblance to fire,<sup>1</sup> although it is not fusible in fire; whence these stones are by some called *acaustoi*.<sup>2</sup> There are various kinds of this stone, as the Indian and the Garamantic, the latter being called also the Carchedonian<sup>3</sup> from the opulence of Great Carthage. . . . Satyrus says that the Indian carbuncles are not lustrous but mostly of a dirty appearance, and always looking as if their lustre had been scorched with violent heat. . . . They admit of being hollowed out and making vessels that can hold even a sextarius.<sup>4</sup> . . . Many writers have asserted that the Indian stones are whiter than the Carchedonian, and if viewed obliquely shine with impaired lustre, while the latter are quite oppositely affected if similarly viewed. C. 7 (28). The Sandastros is found in India at a place of that name.<sup>5</sup> It is produced also in Arabia towards the south. Its supreme virtue is that, like fire enveloped in a transparent substance, it shines inwardly with starlike scintillations like drops of gold which are always seen in the body of the stone and never on the surface. . . . The Indian stones are said even to dim the sight *by reason of their brilliancy*. . . . Some prefer the Arabian stones to the Indian, and say that the former kind resemble a smoke-coloured chrysolith. . . . Nicander speaks of a stone which he calls Sandaresion . . . which is produced in India and takes its name from the place where it is found. It is of the colour of an apple or of green oil, and is regarded as worthless. C. 7 (29). To the same class of flame-coloured stones belongs that known as the lychnis, so called because its lustre is enhanced by lamplight,<sup>6</sup> and when so seen is particularly pleasing. It is found in the neighbourhood of

<sup>1</sup> The word *carbunculus* means a *red-hot coal*. That of Pliny is supposed to include not only the red, or iron and iron-lime garnet, but the Spinel ruby also, or Oriental ruby.—Bohn's *Trans. of Pliny*.

<sup>2</sup> That is, *incombustible*.

<sup>3</sup> Karchêdôn is the Greek name of Carthage.

<sup>4</sup> About a pint.

<sup>5</sup> *Sandaresus* and *Sandsirus* are other readings. This stone has not been identified, but Ajasson is inclined to think that it may have been Aventurine quartz, and is the more inclined to this opinion, as that mineral is found in Persia, and *sandastra* or *tchandastra* is purely a Sanskrit word. The description, however, would hardly seem to apply to Aventurine.—*Ibid.* The form *Sandaresus* suggests the names being a compound of *Chandra*, which means *glittering*, with some other word or affix.

<sup>6</sup> From *λυχνὸς*, a *lighted lamp* or *torch*. Brotero is of opinion that this is the cherry-coloured ruby. . . . From the distinct reference made to its electric nature, Ajasson identifies it with tourmaline, a silicate of alumina. Beckmann is of the same opinion.—*Ibid.*

Orthosia and all over Caria and the adjoining localities, but the most approved stones are those which come from India. C. 7 (31). In India three varieties of the Sarda<sup>1</sup> are found: the red Sarda, the one called from its thickness *pionia*, and a third kind beneath which they place a ground of silver foil. The Indian stones are transparent, those of Arabia more opaque. C. 8 (33). The stone Callaina is of a pale green colour,<sup>2</sup> and is found in the countries that lie behind India, among the Phycari who inhabit Mount Caucasus, the Sacæ, and the Dahæ. . . . A superior kind is found in Carmania. C. 8 (35). India, which produces these stones (various kinds of green stones such as *prasiu*s and *Chrysoprasu*s), produces Nilion<sup>3</sup> also, a stone which is inferior in lustre to the chrysoprasus, and even loses what lustre it has when you gaze steadily at it. C. 8 (37). Many countries produce this stone (jasper). The Indian jasper is like the smaragdus in colour. C. 8 (40). We shall now treat of precious stones of a purple colour or of shades of purple. Among these, Indian amethysts<sup>4</sup> hold the foremost place. . . . The Indian kind exhibits in absolute perfection the loveliest shade of purple. It is the greatest ambition of the dyer in purple to attain this hue, for it gleams with a tender radiance which does not dazzle one's eyes like the colours of the carbuncle. Another kind approaches the hyacinth in colour, and this hue the Indians call *socon* and the stone itself *socondion*. C. 9 (42). Aethiopia produces hyacinths—also chrysoliths—transparent stones of a golden brilliancy. The stones of India are preferred to these. . . . The best are those which, when placed beside gold, give it a whitish appearance like silver. C. 9 (45). To this class belongs the stone called Melichrysus,<sup>5</sup> so called because it looks like pure honey seen through transparent gold. India produces this stone, which, although it be hard, is

<sup>1</sup> Sarda is the carnelian when of a very deep red colour. According to Pliny it was first found at Sardis, and thence its name.

<sup>2</sup> Some take this to be the turquoise, others Oriental Peridot. It is found only in Khorasân in Persia.

<sup>3</sup> Nilion or Nile-stone is Egyptian jasper.

<sup>4</sup> The name, as some have supposed, is derived from *ἀ*, priv., and *μεθύω*, 'to intoxicate,' as if the stone was a remedy against drunkenness. Pliny, however, says that the name originated in the peculiar tint of its brilliancy, which after closely approaching the colour of wine, passes off into a violet without being fully pronounced; or else, according to some authorities, in the fact that in their purple there is something that falls short of a fiery colour, the tints fading off and inclining to the colour of wine.

<sup>5</sup> Some are of opinion that this was the honey-coloured hyacinth. Others, again, identify it with the yellow honey-coloured topaz; an opinion with which Ajasson coincides.—*Ibid.*



brittle, but not displeasing to the eye. The same country produces also Xuthon,<sup>1</sup> a gem worn by the common people there. C. 9 (46). Pæderos<sup>2</sup> of the finest quality is found in India, where it is called *Sangenon*. C. 9 (47). Next among the white stones is *Asteria*,<sup>3</sup> which holds a chief place among gems from a peculiarity in its nature whereby it holds a light within, as it were in the pupil of an eye. This light shifts to and fro, moving within it according as it is inclined. When held up against the sun it flings back white rays like those of a star, and to this it owes its name. The stones of India are difficult to engrave, and those of Carmania are preferred. C. 9 (48). Similarly white is the stone called *Astrion*,<sup>4</sup> which closely resembles crystal, and is found in India on the shores of Patalene. In the centre of it there shines a star with a refulgence like that of the moon when full. C. 10. The agates found in India possess like marvellous properties with those found elsewhere, besides great and marvellous properties peculiar to themselves, for they exhibit the appearance of rivers, groves, beasts of burden . . . and horse trappings.<sup>5</sup> C. 10 (54). Democritus informs us that in India and on Acidane, a mountain in Persis, a stone is found called *Atizæ*,<sup>6</sup> of a silver lustre, three fingers in length, of the shape of a lentil, of an agreeable smell, and considered necessary by the Magi when they consecrate a king. . . . *Amphidanes*, which is also called *chrysocola*,<sup>7</sup> is found in India where the ants dig gold. In this stone there are seen pieces of a square figure like gold. Its nature is said to be similar to that of the magnet except that it has the additional property of increasing gold. C. 10 (56). *Corallis*, which is a product of India and Syene, resembles minium (vermilion) in appearance. . . . *Chelonia* is the eye of the Indian tortoise.<sup>8</sup> C. 10 (60). *Hæmatitis* is a stone of a

<sup>1</sup> Another reading is *Xanthon*, 'yellow.'

<sup>2</sup> The opal already mentioned. Pliny says of it: 'There is no precious stone that has either a clearer water than this, or that presents to the eye a more pleasing sweetness.' Owing to its brittleness the opal is never cut into facets, but it is polished with a convex surface, which best exhibits its play of colours.

<sup>3</sup> This is either Girasol opal or a vitreous asteriated crystal of sapphire.

<sup>4</sup> Star-stone—some kind of star-sapphire.

<sup>5</sup> Tree and moss agates are here very probably referred to.

<sup>6</sup> Ajasson thinks that the reading should be 'æizoe,' from the Greek *αἰζώη*, 'long-lived.'

<sup>7</sup> Pliny mentions a fossil of this name in B. XXXIII. c. i. (2). It is, he says, a substance which, in order to appear all the more precious, still retains the name which it has borrowed from gold.

<sup>8</sup> This stone has its name from *χελώνη*, 'a tortoise.' Pliny says it was used by magicians for divination.

blood-red colour. . . . There is another of the same kind called *Menui* by the Indians, and *Xanthos* by the Greeks—being of a whitish tawny colour. C. 10 (61). *Indica* retains the name of the country which produces it. It is a stone of a reddish colour, but when rubbed it exudes a liquid of a purple hue. There is another stone of this name which is white and of a dusty appearance. *Ion* is an Indian stone of a violet tint,<sup>1</sup> which, however, is seldom found to shine with a full rich lustre. C. 10 (62). *Lesbia glæba*, so called from Lesbos, the country in which it is produced, is a stone found also in India. C. 10 (63). *Mormorion*<sup>2</sup> is a transparent stone from India of a deep black colour and known also as *promnion*. C. 10 (65). Gems of the name and colour of the Obsian<sup>3</sup> stone are found not only in Aethiopia and India, but in Samnium too, and, as some think, upon the shores of Spain contiguous to the ocean. C. 10 (70). *Zoranisceos* is found in the river Indus. It is a gem said to be used by the magicians, and beyond this I know nothing more of it. C. 13 (76). The rivers which produce precious stones are the Acesines and the Ganges, and India is of all countries the most prolific of them. C. 13 (77). There is no country so beautiful, or which, for the productions of nature, merits so high a place as Italy, the ruler and second parent of the world. . . . Next to Italy, if we except the fabulous regions of India, I, for my part, would rank Spain.

<sup>1</sup> *Ion* is the Greek name of the violet.

<sup>2</sup> According to Ajasson this is schorl or black tourmaline with a base of magnesia.

<sup>3</sup> Our 'obsidian.'



## SECTION VI

## AELIAN

CLAUDIUS AELIANUS, who flourished about the middle of the second century of our era, and was the author of two works written in Greek, *Ποικίλη Ἱστορία*, *A Collection of Miscellaneous History*, and *Περὶ Ζῴων ἰδιότητος*, *On the Peculiarities of Animals*, was born at Præneste, now the well-known Palestrina. He settled in Rome, where he taught rhetoric in the days of the Emperor Hadrian. He was a great admirer of Greek literature and oratory, and attained such proficiency in the Greek language that he spoke it like a native Athenian. His style of writing is not, however, distinguished by any conspicuous merit. His book on animals became popular, and was regarded as a standard work on zoology. He has noticed not a few of the animals of India.

Περὶ ζῴων ἰδιότητος. Book III. c. iv. The Indian ants which guard the gold never cross the river. The Issêdonès, who inhabit the same country with the ants, are called ants and are so.<sup>1</sup>

C. xxxiv. A horn, it is said, was brought to Ptolemy the Second from India, which held three amphoræ (about twenty-six gallons). It must have been an ox which grew a horn so prodigious.<sup>2</sup>

C. xli. India, according to report, breeds one-horned horses and also one-horned asses. From these horns drinking-cups were made; and if into these one threw a deadly poison, the drinker would come by no harm from such a plot against his life, for the horn both of the horse and of the ass is an antidote against poison.

C. xlvi. Contains a story (borrowed from the *Indika* of Ktésias) of the affection of an elephant for its master, and of the manner in which it fought for him when assailed by his enemies. For translation see *Indika* of Megasthenes, pp. 118-19.

<sup>1</sup> For an explanation of the myth of the gold-digging ants see n. 3, pp. 44-45, and for a list of the authors who mention them see p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Ptolemy Philadelphos, says Strabo (XVII. i. 5), was a lover of science, and, on account of bodily infirmities, was always in search of some new diversion and amusement. He was the first of the Lagids who instituted elephant-hunting in the Nubian forests.

Book IV. c. xix. Indian dogs must also be reckoned as wild beasts, being unmatched for prowess and courage, and being of the largest size to be anywhere found. They regard with contempt all other animals. But with the lion the Indian dog sets himself to fight; he sustains his onset, barks back when he roars, and bites him when he bites. The dog is in the end beaten, but not till he has sorely harassed his antagonist and mangled him. And yet it sometimes happens that the lion is vanquished by the Indian dog and killed in the chase. In point of fact, if the dog once clutches him he holds on like grim death. Even if one should approach and with a knife cut off the leg of the dog, the pain will not induce him to let go his grip. Rather than let go he suffers the limb to be severed, and his jaws relax not till life is extinct. He then lies prostrate, forced only by death to abandon the fray.<sup>1</sup>

C. xxi. This chapter describes the Martichoras, an animal identified with the Indian tiger. Its name is a Persian word meaning *man-eater*. A translation of this chapter will be found in my *Indika* of Ktésias, pp. 40-42. Aelian has taken his description of the animal from Ktésias, as have also Aristotle (*Hist. Anim.* ii. 1), Pausanias (*Boiôt.* ix. xxi. 4), Pliny (*H. N.* viii. 21 (*al.* 30)), Philostratus (*V. A.* iii. 45) and Photios (p. 145).

C. xxiv. The Indians cannot easily capture a full-grown elephant, for they will neither attempt this, nor are elephants of such an age permitted to be caught. But the hunters repair to the swamps adjoining a river, and there they catch the young ones. For the elephant loves grounds that are moist and soft, and enjoys being in the water, and prefers to spend his time in haunts of this nature, so that one may say he is a creature of the marsh. Now, as they are caught when of tender age and docile, the Indians bring them up delicately, supplying them with the food they relish most, grooming them carefully and talking to them in soothing accents, for the elephants understand the native tongue. They rear them, in short, like children, bestowing on them great care and attention, and subjecting them to a long course of training.

C. xxvi. Describes the Indian mode of hunting hares and foxes. For translation see *ibid.* (pp. 43-44).

C. xxvii. Contains a description of the Griffin which will be found translated in the *Indika* of Ktésias (pp. 44-46), the author from whom Aelian borrowed the account, to which he added

<sup>1</sup> Another account of the prowess of Indian dogs is given by this author in chapter i. of the Eighth Book.



particulars from other sources. The griffin is first mentioned by Aristéas, who probably flourished about the time of Cræsus, and is afterwards mentioned by Herodotos, Aeschylus, and other writers. The account of it as given by Ktésias has been preserved in the *Bibliothéké* of Photios. The following extract from a paper by the late Dr. V. Ball will show how the griffin (Γρύψ) has been identified:—‘Taking Photios’s account alone, and excluding from it the word birds, and for feathers reading hair, we have a tolerably accurate description of the hairy black-and-tan-coloured Thibetan mastiffs, which are now, as they were doubtless formerly, the custodians of the dwellings of Thibetans, those of gold-miners as well as of others. They attracted the special attention of Marco Polo, as well as of many other travellers in Thibet; and for a recent account of them reference may be made to Captain Gill’s *River of Golden Sand*. They are excessively savage, and attack strangers fiercely, as I have myself experienced on the borders of Sikkim. This identification serves also to clear up certain of the details in the story of Megasthenes and Herodotos as to the gold-digging ants, which have been identified by Sir H. Rawlinson and Professor Schiær . . . with Thibetan gold-miners and their dogs.’

C. xxxii. Describes Indian sheep and goats. For translation see *ibid.* (p. 38).

C. xxxvi. Describes a poisonous Indian snake. For translation see *ibid.* (pp. 48-49).

C. xli. Describes an Indian insect called the *dikairon*, to the dung of which the properties of an opiate and poison were attributed. For translation see *ibid.* (pp. 50-51). Dr. V. Ball identified it with the *dung-beetle*.

C. xlvi. Describes an insect of the size of a beetle and of a red colour, which is found on the trees which produce amber, and which subsists on their fruit. What Ktésias, from whom Aelian quotes his description, calls amber, Dr. V. Ball identified with crude shell-lac, a secretion which surrounds the female lac-insect, whose body forms the material of lac-dye. For translation see *ibid.* (pp. 52-53).

C. lii. Describes the Indian one-horned wild ass after Ktésias. This wild ass has been identified with the rhinoceros, although it fails to satisfy some important points in the description. For translation see *ibid.* (pp. 54-56).

Book V. c. iii. Describes the *skôlêx*, a kind of huge worm, found in the river Indus, which yielded a very inflammatory kind of oil. Dr. V. Ball identified the animal with the *garial*

or Indian crocodile, and the oil with the petroleum of the Panjâb. The account is taken from Ktésias and translated in the *Indika* (pp. 56-59).

C. xxi. Describes the peacock, ending with this remark:—‘Alexander, the Macedonian, on seeing these birds in India, was struck with astonishment, and so charmed with their beauty that he threatened the severest penalties against any one who should kill a peacock.’<sup>1</sup>

C. lv. When the Indians set elephants to pull up a tree by the roots, these animals do not proceed to tackle the work till they have first given the tree a violent shake, and thus ascertained whether it can be uprooted, or that it is quite impossible for the thing to be done.<sup>2</sup>

Book VI. c. xxi. In India, as I am told, the snake and elephant are fiercely antagonistic. The elephants, be it known, are wont to break off branches from the trees and eat them, and the snakes, aware of this, creep up the trees, and covering over the hinder half of their body with the foliage, let the other half with the head hang loose like a cord. Now up comes the elephant to pluck the tender shoots, and then the snake darts at his eyes and digs them out—and having next wound itself round his neck, it lashes him with its hinder half, and with the other it grips him tight, strangling the poor brute with a strange new kind of noose.<sup>3</sup>

C. xxxvii. When Pôros the Indian King was wounded in the battle in which he engaged with Alexander, the elephant on which he rode, though suffering itself from many wounds, did nevertheless with gentleness and caution draw out with its trunk the darts with which the body of Pôros was pierced, and ceased not to do this until it observed that its master from the excessive loss of blood was becoming weak and ready to faint. Accordingly it lowered him slowly and gently, and stood still with its knees bent in such a way as would prevent the body of Pôros in descending to be thrown with violence on the ground.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Aelian has several notices of the peacock. Those relating to the Indian peacocks will be found translated in *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great* (pp. 362-63). Curtius (ix. 1) relates that the banks of the Hyarôtis (Râvi) were covered with a dense forest abounding with trees not elsewhere seen, and filled with wild peacocks.

<sup>2</sup> Aristotle (ix. 1) shows how elephants act in pulling down palm-trees. They push against them with their foreheads till they bend them down, and then trampling on them with their hoofs lay them flat on the ground.

<sup>3</sup> The snake here mentioned may perhaps be the python.

<sup>4</sup> This incident is related in nearly similar terms by Plutarch (*De Solertia*, p. 480).



BOOK VIII. c. i. Contains a description of Indian dogs bred from tigers. A translation of the chapter is given in *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great* (pp. 363-64).

C. vii. Describes the electric eel. For translation see *Indika* of Megasthenes (p. 61).

BOOK XII. c. xxxii. The products of India are many and varied, and while some attest her happy and amazing fertility, others are such as to be neither envied nor commended nor desired. As regards such of them as are either useful, or serve for luxury or ornament, I have said something already, and will say more, God willing, hereafter. But in the meantime I intend to show how the country produces the bane of snakes. It breeds great numbers of them of different kinds, which it would be an endless task to specify. These snakes are harmful both to men and to the lower animals. But the same country produces plants which serve as antidotes to their bite, and of these the natives have so much knowledge and skill that they can apply the remedy suitable for the wound inflicted by any kind of snake. And they make all possible haste to assist each other when bitten, endeavouring to arrest the virulent and rapid spread of the poison through the body, as the country supplies in ready abundance the means requisite for this purpose. But a snake, if it kills a man, cannot, as the Indians assert, adducing in proof the evidence of many Libyans and the Egyptians who inhabit the parts about Thebes, creep into its underground home, the earth refusing to receive it, and casting it out from her household, banishing it, so to speak, from her bosom.<sup>1</sup> So it goes about at large a wanderer and a vagrant, and drags on a miserable existence in the open air, summer and winter alike, while moreover its mate goes not near it, and its young ones disown their sire. Such a penalty for the killing of a man has been inflicted by Nature even on the irrational animals, by the providence of God, as I have related, and for him who hath understanding has the story been told.

C. xli. The Ganges, which is an Indian river on springing from its sources, while as yet it has no tributary streams but only its own waters, has a depth of twenty fathoms, and a breadth of eighty stadia; but when in its progress other rivers have joined it and augmented its volume of waters, its depth reaches to sixty fathoms, and its breadth spreads out to four

<sup>1</sup> So Pliny (ii. 63), 'Illa (sc. terra) serpentem homine percusso amplius non recipit,' and again (xxix. 23), 'ut omittam quod perire conscientia dicuntur homine percusso neque amplius admitti ad terras.'

hundred stadia. It has islands in it larger than Lesbos and Kyrnos. It breeds fishes of monstrous size, and from the fat of these an unguent is prepared. Turtles also are found in it with a shell not smaller than a cask which can hold as much as twenty amphoræ (about 180 gallons). It breeds also two kinds of crocodiles, and of these one is quite harmless, while the other devours all sorts of flesh and is unsparingly cruel. They have an excrescence on their snout like that of the horned serpent. The natives employ their services in inflicting the supreme penalty on malefactors, for they throw to them those who have been found guilty of the most heinous offences, and so they do not require the services of an executioner.

C. xlv. Describes the mode by which elephants in India are tamed. For translation see *Indika* of Megasthenes (p. 93).

BOOK XIII. c. vii. Describes how the diseases of elephants are cured by the Indians. For translation of the passage see *ibid.* (pp. 93-94).

C. viii. Describes the love of elephants for flowers and sweet perfumes. For translation see *ibid.* (pp. 117-18).

C. ix. Describes how horses are managed and trained by the Indians. For translation see *ibid.* (pp. 89-90).

C. xviii. In the Indian royal palace where the greatest of all the kings of the country resides, besides much else which is calculated to excite admiration, and with which neither Memnonian Susa with all its costly splendour, nor Ekbatana with all its magnificence can vie (for, methinks, only the well-known vanity of the Persians could prompt such a comparison), there are other wonders besides, which I cannot undertake to describe in this treatise. In the parks tame peacocks are kept, and pheasants which have been domesticated; and among cultivated plants there are some to which the king's servants attend with special care, for there are shady groves and pasture-grounds planted with trees, and branches of trees which the art of the woodsman has deftly interwoven. And these very trees, from the unusual benignity of the climate, are ever in bloom, and, untouched by age, never shed their leaves; and while some are native to the soil, others are with circumspect care brought from other parts, and with their beauty enhance the charms of the landscape. The olive is not of the number, this being a tree which is neither indigenous to India, nor thrives when transported thither. Birds and other animals that wander at freedom and have never been tamed resort of themselves to



India and there build their nests and form their lairs. Parrots are natives of the country, and keep hovering about the king and wheeling round him, and vast though their numbers be, no Indian ever eats a parrot. The reason of all this is that they are believed to be sacred and that the Brachmans honour them highly above all other birds. They assign a specious enough reason for their doing so—namely, that the parrot alone, from the admirable conformation of its vocal organs, can imitate human speech. Within the palace grounds there are also artificial ponds of great beauty in which they keep fish of enormous size but quite tame. No one has permission to fish for these except the king's sons while yet in their boyhood. These youngsters amuse themselves without the least risk of being drowned while fishing in the unruffled sheet of water and learning how to sail their boats.<sup>1</sup>

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

C. xxv. Horses and elephants being animals of great use in arms and warfare are held in the highest esteem by the Indians. In their king's service they fetch bundles of hay,<sup>2</sup> which they deposit in the stalls, and provender also, which they bring

<sup>1</sup> The palace here described is no doubt that of Sandrokottos (Chandragupta) at Palibothra, now Patna. The account, which is most probably copied from Megasthenes, may be compared with that which is given by Q. Curtius in his *History of Alexander the Great* (viii. 9).

<sup>2</sup> Gr. κώμυθας. Theocritus uses this word (iv. 18): 'καὶ μαλακῶ χόρτοιο καλὰν κώμυθα δίδωμι.'

home fresh and green and undamaged. When the king finds their freight in this condition, he expresses his satisfaction, but if not, he punishes most severely the men in charge of the elephants and horses. Even very small animals are not beneath his regard, but he even accepts them when brought to him as presents; for the Indians do not look down with contempt at any animal whatever, whether it be tame or even wild. For instance, subjects that are of rank offer the king such presents as cranes and geese, hens and ducks, turtle-doves and attagens,<sup>1</sup> partridges and pindals<sup>2</sup> (birds like the attagens), and others that are smaller than the above-mentioned, such as bôkalides and fly-catchers, and what are called kestrels. They show these below the feathers to prove the extent of their fatness. They give also animals which they have caught, stags and antelopes, and gazelles and oryxes and unicorn asses (of which I have made previous mention), and also different kinds of fish, for they bring even these as presents.

Book XV. c. vii. In India, and more especially in the country of the Prasians,<sup>3</sup> liquid honey falls like rain upon the herbage and the leaves of marsh-reeds, and supplies sheep and oxen with an admirable kind of nutriment, the exceeding sweetness of which the animals highly relish. Now the herdsmen drive them to those spots where this delicious dew falls and lies, and the cattle in return supply the herdsmen with a delicious repast, for they yield a very sweet milk which does not require honey to be mixed with it as is done in Greece.<sup>4</sup>

C. viii. The Indian pearl-oyster (I have already spoken of the Erythræan kind) is caught in the following manner. There is a city which a man of royal extraction called Sôras<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is not certain what the bird of this name is. Some take it to be the *godwit*, others the *perdix cinerea*, and others a kind of *grouse*. It is mentioned in Aristotle and in the *Birds* of Aristophanes.

<sup>2</sup> No mention of this bird occurs elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> The people of Northern Bengal and Bihar.

<sup>4</sup> Polyainos (iv. 3. 32) speaks of cakes placed on the table of the King of Persia made 'of honey that fell in rain,' μέλιτος τοῦ ὕοντος παλάθας. Diodoros in his Seventeenth Book mentions a tree from the leaves of which honey distilled, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν φύλλων ἀπολείβον μέλι, and Nonnos (*Dionys.* xxvi. p. 451) says that in Arigantia of India a dew of honey lies on the leaves of trees in the morning. This aerial honey, as the Greeks call it, Wesseling compares with the manna with which the Israelites were fed in the wilderness.

<sup>5</sup> 'Sôra,' says Bishop Caldwell (*Dravidian Grammar*, Introd.), 'which we meet alone and in various combinations in these (Ptolemy's) notices represent the name of the northern portion of the Tamilian nation. This name is Chôla in Sanskrit, Chôla in Telugu, but in Tamil Sôra or Chôra. General Cunningham took the Sôrai to be the Suari of the classical writers. Sôras was no doubt the king of this people.'



governed at the time when Eukratides governed the Baktrians,<sup>1</sup> and the name of that city is Perimuda.<sup>2</sup> It is inhabited by a race of fisheaters who are said to go off with nets and catch the kind of oysters mentioned, in a great bay by which a vast extent of the coast is indented. It is said that the pearl grows upon a shell like that of a large mussel, and that the oysters swim in great shoals, and have leaders, just as bees in their hives have their queen-bees.<sup>3</sup> I learn further that the leader is bigger and more beautifully coloured than the others, and that in consequence the divers have a keen struggle in the depths which of them shall catch him, since when he is taken they catch also the entire shoal, now left, so to speak, forlorn and leaderless, so that it stirs not, and, like a flock of sheep that has lost its shepherd, no longer moves forward against any incipient danger. As long, however, as the leader escapes and skilfully evades capture, he guides their movements and upholds discipline. Such as are caught are put into tubs to decay, and when the flesh has rotted and run off nothing is left but the round pebble. The best sort of pearl is the Indian and that of the Red Sea. It is produced also in the Western Ocean where the island of Britain is. This sort seems to be of a yellowish colour, like gold, while its lustre is dull and dusky. Juba tells us that the pearl is produced in the straits of the Bosphorus and is inferior to the British, and not for a moment to be compared with the Indian and Red Sea kind. That which is obtained in the interior of India is said not to have the proper characteristics, but to be a rock crystal.

C. xiv. The Indians bring to their king tigers made tame, domesticated panthers, and oryxes with four horns. Of oxen there are two kinds—one fleet of foot, and the other extremely wild, and from [the tails of] these oxen they make fly-flaps. The hair on their body is entirely black, but that of the tail is

<sup>1</sup> Eukratides was one of the most powerful of the Græco-Baktrian Kings. He reigned from 181 to 147 B.C. He is mentioned by Strabo (xi. ix. 2; *ibid.* xi. 2; xv. i. 3), and coins of his have been found.

<sup>2</sup> Perimuda, in the form *Perimula*, is mentioned by Pliny as an Indian promontory and important seat of trade with a pearl fishery on its coast (vi. 20, and ix. 34). His *Perimula*, however, is situated on the west coast and has been identified with Simylla (Tiamula), now Chaul, twenty-three miles south from Bombay. The *Perimuda* of Aelian, however, must be located somewhere on or near the more southern portion of the Coromandel coast.

<sup>3</sup> The same thing is stated by Pliny (ix. 35 (55)), quoting like Aelian from Megasthenes. Ptolemy and the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* mention a place called Kolkhoi as an emporium of the pearl trade. It was the original seat of the Pândya dynasty, and was situated in Tinneveli.

of the purest white.<sup>1</sup> They bring also pigeons of a pale yellow plumage<sup>2</sup> which they aver cannot be tamed or ever cured of their ferocity; and birds which they are pleased to call *kerkoronoi*,<sup>3</sup> as well as dogs of that noble breed of which we have already spoken; and apes, some of which are white, and others again black. Those apes that are red-coloured they do not bring into towns, as they have a mania for women, and, if they assault them, are put to death from the abhorrence roused by such a lascivious outrage.

C. xv. The great King of the Indians appoints a day every year for fighting between men, as I have mentioned elsewhere, and also even between brute animals that are horned. These butt each other, and with a natural ferocity that excites astonishment, strive for victory, just like athletes straining every nerve whether for the highest prize, or for proud distinction, or for fair renown. Now these combatants are brute animals—wild bulls, tame rams, those called *mesoi*, unicorn asses, and hyænas,<sup>4</sup> an animal said to be smaller than the antelope, much bolder than the stag, and to butt furiously with its horns. Before the close of the spectacle, elephants come forward to fight, and with their tusks inflict death-wounds on each other. One not unfrequently proves the stronger, and it not unfrequently happens that both are killed.

C. xxi. When Alexander was assaulting some of the cities in India and capturing others, he found in many of them, besides other animals, a snake, which the Indians, regarding as sacred, kept in a cave and worshipped with much devotion. The Indians accordingly with every kind of entreaty implored Alexander to let no one molest the animal, and he consented to this.<sup>5</sup> Now when the army was marching past the cave, the snake heard the sound that arose (that kind of animal being very sharp both of hearing and sight), and hissed so loud and emitted such gusts of rage that every one was terrified and quite confounded. It was said to be seventy cubits long, and yet the whole of it was not seen, but only its head that projected from the cave. Its eyes, moreover, are reported to have equalled the size of the large, round Macedonian shield.

<sup>1</sup> The kind of ox here mentioned is the *Yak*, from the tail of which *chowries* are made for flapping away flies.

<sup>2</sup> Gr. *ὄχρας*. Daimachos, a Greek ambassador at the court of Palibothra, states that in India there was a breed of pigeons of an apple-colour (*μηλίνας*). —*Athenaïos*, ix. p. 394.

<sup>3</sup> This is an unknown bird.

<sup>4</sup> The whole of this passage is corrupt, and all attempts to amend it have proved abortive.

<sup>5</sup> Compare Strabo xv. i. 28.



C. xxiv. The Indians make much ado also about the oxen that run fast; and both the king himself and many of the greatest nobles take contending views of their swiftness, and make bets in gold and silver, and think it no disgrace to stake their money on these animals. They yoke them in chariots, and incur hazard on the chance of victory. The horses that are yoked to the car run in the middle with an ox on each side, and one of these wheels sharp round the turning-post and must run thirty stadia. The oxen run at a pace equal to that of the horses, and you could not decide which was the fleetest, the ox or the horse. And if the king has laid a wager on his own oxen with any one, he becomes so excited over the contest that he follows in his chariot to instigate the driver to speed faster. The driver again pricks the horses with the goad till the blood streams, but he keeps his hand off the oxen, for they run without needing the goad. And to such a pitch does the emulation in the match between the oxen rise, that not only do the rich and the owners of the oxen lay heavy bets upon them, but even the spectators, just as Idomeneus the Cretan and the Locrian Ajax are represented in Homer<sup>1</sup> betting against each other. There are in India oxen of another kind, and these look like very big goats. These are yoked together, and run very fast, being not inferior in speed to the horses of the Getæ.

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

<sup>1</sup> See *Iliad*, xxiii. 495.

<sup>2</sup> Regarding peacocks in India, see *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, pp. 362-63.

peacocks do their tails when they do not lift and erect them. The plumage of these Indian cocks is of a golden and a gleaming azure colour like the smaragdus stone.<sup>1</sup>

From c. iii. to xxii. inclusive, Aelian describes various animals found in India and its seas. These chapters (with the exception of c. vii., which does not relate to India) will be found translated in my *Indika* of Megasthenes, pp. 159-174. The bird called in c. iii. the *Kerkion* is the *Maina*, which can be taught to speak like a parrot. The *Kélas* of c. iv. which Gesner identified with the *Pelican*, is more probably the *Adjutant*. The *Phattages* of c. vi. some identify with the scaly ant-eater or *Pangolin*, but Dr. V. Ball takes it to be rather either the land-lizard *Varanus* or the water-lizard *Hydrosaurus*. The long-tailed monkeys of c. x. Dr. V. Ball identified with the Madras langur. The wild ox of c. xi. is the *Yak*, the tail of which makes the fly-flapper. The cave in Areiana of c. xvi. may be the wonderful cave at Bamian.

C. xxxi. Describes a fabulous Indian race—the *Kynamolgoi*, i.e. the Dog-milkers. For translation see *Indika* of Ktésias, pp. 336-7.

C. xli. Describes the winged scorpions and snakes of India. For translation see *Indika* of Megasthenes, p. 58.

BOOK XVII. c. ii. Kleitarchos<sup>2</sup> informs us that there is in India a snake of sixteen cubits length. He asserts, moreover, that there exists another kind of snake of a different species from the rest. These are much smaller, and are marked with a variety of hues as if they had been painted with dye-stuffs. For while some have copper-coloured stripes running from head to tail, others are of a silvery tint, others of a red, and others gleam like gold. This writer says that the bite of this snake kills very quickly.<sup>3</sup>

C. xxii. Kleitarchos tells us that in India there exists a bird which is extremely erotic, and which he calls, if I remember right, the Oriôn. Let me describe it in his own words. The Oriôn is of the size of a heron and its legs are red like the legs of that bird, from which, however, it differs in having blue eyes.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dr. V. Ball has identified this bird with the Monal pheasant.

<sup>2</sup> Kleitarchos the son of Deinon the historian accompanied Alexander in his eastern expedition, and wrote a history of it which was considered wanting in point of accuracy, and was otherwise held in little estimation.

<sup>3</sup> These may perhaps be the snakes mentioned by Diodoros (xvii. 90). See *Invasion of India*, p. 278.

<sup>4</sup> This passage from Kleitarchos is noticed by Strabo (xv. i. 69) along with that which follows regarding the *Katreus*.

Nonnus in his *Dionysiaca*, Book xxvi. 201-214, has thus versified the account here given of the Oriôn and *Katreus*:—

‘Where perched on a honey-dropping spray, that sweet bird, the Horiôn, like



The Orión has been taught by Nature to warble melodious notes as exquisitely sweet as the strains of a hymenæal chant, which like the song of the sirens soothes the ear with its soft cadences.<sup>1</sup>

C. xxiii. Kleitarchos states that the Indian bird called the Katreus is of surpassing beauty, being about the size of a peacock, while the tips of its feathers emulate the green of the emerald. When it is looking at others, you could not tell the colour of its eye, but when it is looking at you, you would say its eye was vermilion, except the pupil, which is coloured like the apple, and shoots a keen glance. That part of the eye which in all others is white, in the case of this Katreus is of a sallow hue. The downy plumage on its head is azure and marked with spots of a saffron dye, scattered one here and another there, while its legs are of a deep red. Its voice is melodious, and thrilling like that of the nightingale. The Indians were wont to keep these birds in aviaries in order that spectators might be able to feast their eyes with their beauties. Other birds are also to be seen there with plumage all over purple, and red as the purest fire, and these fly together in such numbers that one might take them for clouds. There are besides various other kinds of birds, the characteristics of which it would not be easy to describe, and these are matchless for the melodious notes of their throat and tongue, so that (without saying what is too absurd) they are sirens, or nearly so, for the mythical maidens so named are represented, alike in the song of the poet and the picture of the artist, as winged and having the legs of birds.

C. xxv. Kleitarchos says that in India there are certain kinds of apes which are of various colours and of immense size, and that in the mountainous regions they are so huge, that, according to his story, Alexander the son of Philip on seeing them was thrown into quite a panic, and even his army with him; for

the melodious swan strikes up no piping strain such as the zephyr-gale gives forth from its tuneful wings, but with its melodious throat it warbles such notes as minstrel at a bridal strikes on the strings of his harp, when he awakes the nuptial song. The Katreus again prinked with yellow and with wings of yellow grain utters its shrill voice, prophetic of the coming rain, and from beneath its eyelids darts out dazzling gleams that rival the early rays of the rising morn. Ofttimes from some breezy tree-top may be heard its clear-ringing voice entwining, in concert with a neighbouring Horiôn, a melodious chant. On hearing the morning song which it so sweetly warbles, you might swear that 'twas the songstress with the neck of changeable hue, the nightingale herself, weaving at break of day her blithesome carol.

<sup>1</sup> This passage in the original Greek is very corrupt. I have given what appears to be the sense.

when he saw their multitude he thought that what he beheld was a force lying in wait for him. It so happened that the apes were standing upright just at the time when they came into view. These creatures are not caught with nets nor by hounds of great sagacity in scenting and running down their game. The ape, you must know, has a strong propensity for imitation; thus, if it sees one dancing, it too must dance, and if it sees one playing on the flute, it cannot but try whether it has skill enough to put wind into the instrument. Should it, moreover, see some one putting on shoes, it imitates this act, and should it see another painting his eyes with ochre, this also it must needs do. The hunters then, knowing all this, place in their view heavy shoes made of lead, and thereunder put nooses for the apes to put their feet into, and thus be held in a trap from which there is no escape. Instead of ochre as a lure for their eye, birdlime is sometimes placed before them. A mirror is also employed by the Indian while the apes are watching him, and on retiring he takes the mirror with him, but leaves others that are different, and to these also he attaches nooses of great strength, and thus is the trap set. Now up come the apes, and in their simplicity look into the mirrors in imitation of what they had witnessed. So then, either the strength of the birdlime seals up their eyelids and deprives them of sight, or the repercussion of the sun's rays blinds them with the glare. When their sight is thus gone, they are very readily caught, taking to flight being no longer in their power.<sup>1</sup>

C. xxvi. I have no reason whatever to doubt that lions of the largest size are found in India, and what convinces me is that this country is such an excellent mother of other animals. But of all the beasts that one can encounter these are the most savage and ferocious. The skins of these lions look black—the bristly hair of their mane stands erect, and their very aspect strikes the soul with terror and dismay. If they can be captured before they are full-grown and not otherwise, they can be tamed, and they become so tractable and domestic that they are led by the leash, and with the huntsmen and their hounds take part in hunting young deer and stags, and boars and buffaloes and wild asses, for, as I am told, they have a very keen scent.<sup>2</sup>

C. xxix. Is an extract from Ktésias concerning elephants. For translation see his *Indika*, p. 35.

<sup>1</sup> A somewhat similar account of the mode of catching these apes is given by Diodoros (xvii. 90). For translation see *Invasion of India*, pp. 277-78.

<sup>2</sup> It is the panther that is used in India for hunting, and not the lion.



## SECTION VII

## THE ITINERARY OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

It is not known by whom this little work was composed. Its authorship has been claimed for Julius Valerius, an Alexandrian writer of the fourth Christian century, but on grounds quite nugatory. It consists of one hundred and twenty chapters, mostly very short, and is incomplete, as a few of the closing chapters are wanting. It is addressed to the Emperor Constantius, son and successor of Constantine the Great, and was meant for the guidance of that prince in the war against Sapor (or Shahpur), for which he was then making great preparations. The author has worked out his purpose by presenting a plain and succinct narrative of the Asiatic expedition of Alexander the Great, whose example he exhorts Constantius to follow, and thus obtain like glory. Constantius undertook two expeditions against Persia—one in 338 A.D., and the other in 345 A.D. Mai refers the composition of the *Itinerary* to the earlier date, but Letronne has convincingly shown that it must be referred to the later. Its unknown author has been praised for the sound judgment he has shown in selecting the authorities on which he based his account of Alexander's progress through Asia. He seems to have pretty closely followed Arrian's *Anabasis*. His style is terse and very difficult, but not barbarous. After the manner of his age, he uses pretty freely new-fangled terms and modes of expression. I have, as usual, only translated those parts of the work which concern India.

103. Alexander, marching from Bactra, forthwith recrossed Caucasus, the same range which we have called Taurus, whereof it is a continuation, the only change being in the name.

104. In eleven days he effected the passage over this mountain rampart and reached Alexandria.<sup>1</sup> After passing through the country of the Parapamisades<sup>2</sup> he directed his march towards the Indus by way of the city of Nicæa and the river Cophoen.<sup>3</sup> He was greatly assisted by Taxiles, who at that time held sway over the dominions situated on the frontiers through which the route to be traversed lay.<sup>4</sup> This chief, who

<sup>1</sup> Alexandria apud Caucasum occupied a commanding position in the valley of Koh-Daman near the village of Charikar.

<sup>2</sup> An improper form for Paropamisadæ or Paropanisadæ.

<sup>3</sup> The Kabul river called by the Greeks the Kôphên or Kôphês.

<sup>4</sup> His dominions lay between the Indus and the Hydaspes or Jihlam.

was prepared to attempt the passage of the Indus, he sent on in advance along with his own troops.<sup>1</sup> In the course of the march they captured the leader of the enemy who had been sent to oppose them. So they came to the end of their journey, many other tribes having been put to the sword, and their towns captured.

105. And Alexander, no less actively engaged if any enemy harassed his forces, was scratched on the shoulder by an arrow; and when the river Choes<sup>2</sup> had been crossed, all who came in his way were overthrown. Argacum,<sup>3</sup> a town which had been set on fire, and which the citizens thought it hopeless to save, he took care to have rebuilt on account of its commanding position. Finding now his enemies<sup>4</sup> strong in number, he divided his army into three, and defeated them in every pitched battle. At last 230,000 oxen were captured, and these, on account of their beauty, he resolved to send along with the prisoners into Macedonia to cultivate the fields of his men as well as his own.

106. When after this it was found that the Accæ tribes<sup>5</sup> had 40,000 men under arms, he crossed the river Guræus<sup>6</sup> and pressed forward to attack them; but they dispersed themselves into their towns, which had long before been put into a state of defence against this invasion. But in point of fact they sallied out and set upon the Greeks while busy pitching their camp. The Greeks cunningly made a feint of giving way, but afterwards wheeling round, put them to rout. The fugitives shut themselves up within their walls,<sup>7</sup> which were of most formidable strength and equipped with every means of defence. But for the besiegers it was, in sooth, no easy matter to get near men protected by a double ring of ramparts; and there eventually Alexander was wounded in the leg by a shaft from a bow. On the fourth day, however, of the fighting, the king of the place was slain in an action before the walls, and the men surrendered. Alexander was most desirous that they<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> But only with one division. Alexander himself led the other division, which was more lightly armed, by a more northern route.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the Kunar river.

<sup>3</sup> This is the town called by Arrian Arigaion, and described as occupying a very advantageous site.

<sup>4</sup> The Aspasiens. See Arrian's *Anab.* iv. 25.

<sup>5</sup> These must be the Assaceniens.

<sup>6</sup> The Panjkora river.

<sup>7</sup> The walls of Massaga.

<sup>8</sup> Not the people of Massaga, but 7000 Indian mercenaries who had come to their aid.



should take service with him, and they agreed to this; but when on being led forth they swerved from their allegiance, they were hemmed in on every side and slain.

107. From this place he despatched Cœnon,<sup>1</sup> one of his generals, to besiege Baziphara, and Attalas to besiege the city Hora, under the belief that after the downfall of the Accæ, they would be brought to ready submission. But the people, trusting more to the strength of their position than impressed by the force of the example, held out till Alexander, himself passing their way, without difficulty captured both towns, Baziphara and Hora,<sup>2</sup> in spite of a desperate resistance, and although the men of Baziphara had made an attack upon the strangers, induced by contempt for the paucity of their numbers. After many had however fallen, such as survived fled all to a strongly fortified rock.

108. The rock, occupying a space of 200 stadia in circuit, rose to the height of 10 stadia, had a gentle slope, and was nearly level at the summit, where springs of water abounded, and where a thousand peasantry had full scope for their industry.<sup>3</sup> Alexander, therefore, on coming to that locality, seized a great many cities. Then when he advanced to the rock and was engaged in laying siege to it, deserters who acted as guides in the difficult attempt went before him as he made the ascent. The result was that those who showed fight were taken prisoners and led off the spoil of the victors.

109. But tidings being brought that the Indians had again with confident ardour by force of arms battered down the walls of the Accæ, and had sent away their elephants through the jungles, he marched to the place, and on reaching it, found the walls deserted and the city burned down, while the inhabitants had all dispersed in quest of safer hiding-places. Such being the state of matters, the pursuit of the Indians was entrusted to one part of his forces, and when the elephants they went in quest of had been captured, he came with this division of his army to the Indus, and lost no time in despatching to his other troops which were at a distance those supplies which it was ascertained they would require in their transit.

<sup>1</sup> This should be Cœnus. Gr. *Koivos*.

<sup>2</sup> The Bazira and Ora of Arrian.

<sup>3</sup> This description of the rock corresponds with that given by Arrian (*Anab.* iv. 28) of the Rock Aornos, which has been identified as Mount Mahaban. Our author, however, speaks (in c. 112) of another rock which he calls Aornis, and locates in the dominions of Musicanus who ruled Upper Sindh. This rock, he says, was 40 stadia, that is 24,270 feet, in height, and was cultivated at the top!!

110. India, taken as a whole, beginning from the north and embracing what of it is subject to Persia, is a continuation of Egypt and the Ethiopians,<sup>1</sup> and is on every side hemmed in by the ocean—that interfluent sea of Hippalus,<sup>2</sup> from which branches off the gulf which shuts in the Persians. Under this name of India is comprehended, you must know, a vast extent of country which breeds a great multitude of races of men, and especially of gigantic beasts, such as elephants and acre-long snakes; for in comparison with these, leopards, lions, or even tigers are tame.

111. Now at that time of which I am speaking, Porus was the ruler of India, a man of astonishing stature, quite transcending that of other men, while in mental capacity he did not fall below the level of the endowments of his outward person. On his learning that Alexander was directing his march towards him, he warned him to keep his distance, but this only more sharply stimulated the foe whom he defied, and in a fierce battle he was defeated and made prisoner. This king was notwithstanding admitted into the circle of Alexander's friends, and, on account of his distinguished merits, had the administration of his kingdom restored to him. Thus it is unquestionably the duty of a man of right principle, who rules a state because he is more powerful than others, equally so to yield it up at once to another who is more powerful than himself,<sup>3</sup> since whoever is aware of his own mediocrity has sufficiently done his part by his knowing himself.

112. From thence he proceeds to attack the wide dominions of Pecanus<sup>4</sup> and Musicanus, and annexes them to his sway. His next attempt was the rock called Aornis, which towers to an altitude of forty stadia, and on its upper parts maintains a large body of husbandmen whose wealth is in proportion to the security they enjoy. It derives its name from its being so lofty that even birds cannot fly over it. But, nevertheless, he won this rock also, having assaulted it by fixing pegs in

<sup>1</sup> Our author was perhaps betrayed into this astounding error by the fact that the name of India was often, in his time, applied to the regions along the Red Sea lying to the south of Egypt. Geographical science had entered on its retrograde course even before his time.

<sup>2</sup> Hippalus was the name of the pilot who, according to the *Periplus* and Pliny, first discovered the passage to India by means of the south-west monsoon.

<sup>3</sup> This seems a somewhat singular precept of morality.

<sup>4</sup> This is most probably the king called by Strabo and Diodoros Porticanus, but by Arrian Oxycanus. His territories adjoined those of Musicanus, King of Upper Sindh.



the path which had to be climbed, and by resorting to stratagem.

113. There now arose among his chief officers complaint of the magnitude of the war, because he had forced them to be evermore contending with nations of warlike capacity.<sup>1</sup> With what ardour was he inspired for a conflict with such? But the soldiers, recounting their wounds and their yearnings after their families during an absence of twelve years, begged to be excused undergoing further toils and dangers for this object. As he granted in consequence a period of rest to the outworn, his commands were willingly obeyed. When they were, however, dismissed to fill up vacancies, he ordered others to be sent from Macedonia to supply their place. And thus urged on by his lust of conquest he reached the ocean.

114. On this element also his unbounded ambition displayed itself, since, embarking in boats made of wickerwork, he wished to put nature to the proof and to try what more would be permitted either to himself or to any one who might choose to attempt the same. All of a sudden, through the violence with which the winds were blowing, the tide of the ocean, returning after it had ebbed with more than its usual impetuosity, dashed against the boats, and engulfed the boatmen who were *not*<sup>2</sup> prepared for the shock. Nor was it difficult to see from this that the gods were opposed to his wishes, though for his part he gave out that it was his endeavour to abstain from daring to attempt anything impious. However, he sent Anomarchus and Neon,<sup>3</sup> men of ready daring but who yet dared not refuse the king anything, to circumnavigate the ocean and report their discoveries. The provisions necessary for a long voyage were collected and shipped for the use of such as volunteered to join the expedition.

115. Although Alexander is said to have had an unbending and indomitable control over his appetencies, yet on the following occasion, as on that just related, he omitted all proper consideration. There was a city in India into which many had fled for refuge—one that was of immense size and of impregnable strength.<sup>4</sup> Alexander, when in the act of besieging it, called for ladders of unusual length, such as were in proportion to

the height of the wall; and when the defenders were breaking these when brought up by hurling great pieces of rock down upon them, that ladder alone escaped destruction by which the king with two attendants had succeeded in gaining the top, even though many from above, each to the best of his power, were trying to thrust him down. Then though he had seen all the ladders of his men shattered to pieces, and knew that he would be exposed to danger without any adequate help at hand, he nevertheless flung himself alone as he was into the midst of many thousands of the enemy along with the attendants already mentioned (Peucestas, namely, and Ptolomæus),<sup>1</sup> and he forthwith brought upon himself the whole population of the city.

116. So then, seconded by his attendants, he all day long did the fighting of an entire army, and would have held on, were it not that he was wounded in the side at the part highest up, and his strength began to fail, since the steel had pierced far inward. The Macedonians who were fighting outside, conjecturing this, and fearing lest anything worse should befall (for they saw that all the people within the walls were to a man engaged in attacking the king, while no one was posted on the ramparts to prevent any one forcing his way inside), stormed the gates and brought succour to the king just at the critical moment when he was yielding to despair. Then the soldiers, made merciless by rage which added new strength to their arms, forthwith slew all alike without distinction of age or sex, till every soul perished in the massacre.

117. Thereafter the soldiers united in firmly representing to the king that in his battles he should no longer put himself to a wrong use, nor be so lavish of his blood, considering the insignificance of the gain and the magnitude of the loss accruing from the risk, and they obtained his promise that he would no longer do so, but return to Babylon. And this he did, and the Babylonians received him with honour.

<sup>1</sup> This is Ptolemy Sôter who afterwards was King of Egypt. He stated in his *Memoirs*, as we learn from Arrian, that he was not with Alexander on this momentous occasion, having been sent on an expedition to parts at some distance off. A lie dies hard.

<sup>1</sup> This incident is related out of its proper place. The Macedonians had refused to follow Alexander before he had reached the dominions of Musicanus.

<sup>2</sup> The negative is not in the Latin text, but the sense evidently requires it.

<sup>3</sup> Strangely distorted forms of the names of Onêsikritos and Nearchos.

<sup>4</sup> This was a stronghold of the Malli, the people who have given their name to Multan.



## SECTION VIII

## KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES

THE *Christian Topography* written by this Alexandrian monk to refute from Scripture and common sense the Ptolemaic system, according to which both the earth and the heavens are spherical, is, in spite of the absurdity of its main argument, highly valued for notices of great importance on certain points of history and more especially of geography. The work made its appearance some years before the middle of the sixth Christian century—a time when the world was fast losing the light of Greek learning and culture, and the long night of mediæval ignorance was rapidly closing round it. Kosmas, in the earlier part of his life, was a merchant, and in pursuit of his calling visited regions far remote from Alexandria, which was his place of birth. He tells us that he had sailed upon three of the great gulfs which run up into the earth from the ocean, namely the Mediterranean Sea, the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf. He travelled over much of Ethiopia—a name by which he designated the vast region which stretched southward from Egypt to the Equator. The surname given him of Indikopleustes, the Indian navigator, seems to imply that he had made a voyage to the shores of India—but it is doubted whether he had gone so far east. His description, however, of Ceylon and the Malabar coast and of the nature of the commerce carried on in the eastern seas, is so circumstantial and accurate, that one may well take it to have been penned by a personal observer. Kosmas was a man somewhat of the stamp of Herodotos—ever athirst for knowledge and going through the world with his eyes and his ears ever open. It is one of his conspicuous merits that in relating his travelling experiences he adheres strictly to the truth.

BOOK XI.—INDIAN ANIMALS AND THE ISLAND  
OF TAPROBANÊ*The Rhinoceros*

This animal<sup>1</sup> is called the rhinoceros from having horns upon its snout. When it is wandering about, the horns are mobile, but when it sees anything which excites its rage, it stiffens them, and they become so rigid that they are strong enough to tear up even trees by the roots—those especially which come in the way of the front horn. The eyes are fixed low down about the jaws. It is altogether an animal much to be dreaded, and in this respect so far a contrast to the elephant.

<sup>1</sup> The codices of the *Christian Topography* contain pictures of the animals and plants here described.

Its feet and its hide closely resemble those of that animal. The hide when dried is four fingers thick, and this is sometimes used instead of iron in ploughs for tilling the land. The Ethiopians in their language call the rhinoceros *Arou* or *Harisi*, prefixing the rough breathing to the *Alpha* of the latter word, and adding *risi* to it in order that by the *arou* they may designate the animal, and by the *arisi* 'ploughing,' giving it this name from its shape about the nostrils, as well as from the use to which its hide is applied. I have seen in Ethiopia, when I was standing at a distance off, a living rhinoceros, and I have seen also the hide of a dead one stuffed with chaff and set up in the royal palace, and of this the picture I have drawn is an exact copy.<sup>1</sup>

*The Taurelaphos or Ox-deer*

The taurelaphos is an animal found in India and in Ethiopia. But the Indian ones are tame and gentle, and the people use them for transporting pepper and other stuffs packed in saddle-bags. They supply the natives with milk and butter. Moreover, we eat their flesh, the Christians killing them by cutting their throats, and the Pagans by knocking them on the head. The Ethiopian ox-deer, unlike the Indian, are wild and untamable.

*The Camelopardulis—Giraffe*

The camelopard is found only in Ethiopia, and it also is a wild and untamable animal. In the palace, however, they rear on the king's account one or two from the time when they are still quite young, and domesticate them, so that the sight they present may amuse the king. In his presence they place before one of them a pan of milk or water for it to drink, but, then, from the great length of its legs, breast, and neck, it cannot possibly stoop to the ground and drink, unless by making its two forelegs straddle. When it stands with one foreleg at the greatest possible distance from the other it can then of course stoop low enough to drink. We give this description of the animal from having seen it.

*The Agriobous or Wild Ox*

This is an animal of great size, and belongs to India,<sup>2</sup> and from it is got what is called the *toupha*,<sup>3</sup> wherewith commanders

<sup>1</sup> The animal as depicted by Kosmas is much liker a horse than a rhinoceros.

<sup>2</sup> This is evidently the Yâk—the *Bôs grunniens* of naturalists.

<sup>3</sup> The *chowries* or fly-flappers used in India, particularly on occasions of state and parade.



decorate their horses and their banners when taking the field. It is said of this animal that if its tail be caught by a tree, it no longer stoops but stands erect, from its reluctance to lose even a single hair. The natives thereupon come up and cut off its tail, and then it scuttles away completely docked of this appendage. Such is the nature of the animal.

*The Moschus or Musk Deer*

The moschus is a small animal,<sup>1</sup> and is called in the native dialect *Kastouri*. The hunters pierce it with arrows, and having tied up the blood collected at the navel, cut this away, for this is the part which has the pleasant fragrance known to us under the name of musk.<sup>2</sup> The rest of the carcass is then thrown away.

*The Monokerós or Unicorn*

This animal is called the unicorn,<sup>3</sup> but I have never seen one. I have, however, seen four brazen statues of it in Ethiopia, where they were set up in the royal palace, an edifice adorned with four towers. From these statues I have drawn and described the animal.<sup>4</sup> They say of it that it is a beast to be dreaded, and that it is invincible, having its mighty strength lodged in its horn. When it supposes that its pursuers are many and likely to seize it, it springs up to the top of some precipice whence it leaps down, and in a descent turns a somersault, so that the horn sustains the whole shock of the fall without harm done.<sup>5</sup> Scripture refers to these characteristics where it says: *Save me from the mouth of lions, and my lowliness from the horns of unicorns*; and again, in the blessings of Balaam, wherewith he blessed Israel, he says for the second time: *God so led him out of Egypt, even as the glory of the unicorn*; thus bearing complete testimony to the strength, self-confidence, and glory of this animal.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Its length is little more than three feet.

<sup>2</sup> The cyst of the male, which is about the size of a hen's egg, contains a clotted, oily, friable matter of a dark brown colour, and this is the true musk.

<sup>3</sup> The oldest author who has described the unicorn is Ktésias of Knidos. The one-horned animal which he describes under the name of the wild ass of India is Aristotle's Indian ass, and is best identified with the rhinoceros.

<sup>4</sup> Lobo in his history of Abyssinia describes the unicorn as resembling a beautiful horse, and in the picture of it in Kosmas its body is not unlike that of a horse. The unicorn of Scripture again is the wild ox.

<sup>5</sup> This is said to be true of the oryx.

<sup>6</sup> To the influence of the Septuagint version, which rendered the Hebrew word for the wild ox (*re'em*) by *unicorn*, may be traced most of the fables about the unicorn.

*The Chærelaphos or Hog-Deer and Hippopotamus*

The hog-deer I both saw and feasted on. The hippopotamus, however, I did not see, but I had in my possession teeth of it so large as to weigh thirteen pounds.<sup>1</sup> These tusks I sold here.<sup>2</sup> Of such articles I saw a great quantity both in Ethiopia and in Egypt.

*Piperi—Pepper*

This is a picture of the tree which produces pepper. Each separate stem, being very limp and slender, twines itself like the pliant tendrils of the vine around some tall tree that does not itself bear fruit. Each of the clusters is enveloped within a couple of leaves. It is of a deep green colour like that of rue.

*Argellia—the Narikela of Sanskrit—Cocoa-nuts*

The other tree (here represented) is that which bears what are called *argellia*, that is, the large Indian nuts. It differs in no way from the date-palm, except in being of greater height and thickness, and in having larger branches. It bears not more than two or three flower-spathes, each having as many nuts. Their taste is quite sweet and pleasant, like that of green nuts. The nut is at first full of a delicious liquid which the Indians therefore drink instead of wine. This very sweet beverage is called *rhongkhosura*. If the fruit is gathered at maturity, then so long as it keeps fresh, the liquid in contact with the shell hardens upon it progressively, while the liquid in the centre retains its fluidity until it entirely fails. If, however, it be kept too long the fruit becomes rancid and unfit for human food.

*The Seal, the Dolphin, and the Tortoise*

The seal, the dolphin, and the tortoise we eat at sea should we happen to catch them. The dolphin and tortoise we kill by cutting their throats, and we eat them. We do not, however, cut the throat of the seal, but despatch him with blows on the head as we do in the case of big fish. The flesh of the tortoise, like that of the sheep, is dark coloured; that of the dolphin is like the pig's, but is dark coloured, and has a rank smell; that of the seal, like the pig's, is white but not rank.

<sup>1</sup> Gr. *λεπρών*. This word is the Sicelo-Greek form of the Latin *libra*. The coinage system of the Dorians of Sicily was borrowed from Italy.

<sup>2</sup> In Alexandria.



*Of the Island Taprobanê—Ceylon*

This is a large oceanic island lying in the Indian Sea. Among the Indians it goes by the name of Sielediba, but the Pagans call it Taprobanê,<sup>1</sup> wherein is found the stone, hyacinth.<sup>2</sup> It lies farther away than the pepper country. Around it there is a great number of small islands,<sup>3</sup> all of them having fresh water and cocoa-nut trees. They nearly all have deep water close up to them. The great island, as the natives allege, has a length of three hundred *gaudia*, and a breadth of as many—that is of nine hundred miles.<sup>4</sup> There are two kings in the island who are at feud with each other. The one possesses the hyacinth,<sup>5</sup> and the other the rest of the island wherein are the port and the emporium of trade. The emporium is one much resorted to by the people in those parts.<sup>6</sup> The island has also a church of Persian Christians who have settled there, and a presbyter who is appointed from Persia, and a deacon and a complete ecclesiastical ritual.<sup>7</sup> The natives and their kings are, however, heathens in religion. In this island they have many temples, and in one situated on an eminence is a single hyacinth as big as a large pine-cone, the colour of fire, and flashing from a distance, especially when the sunbeams play around it—a matchless sight.<sup>8</sup> As its position is central,

<sup>1</sup> This island has been known by many names. See p. 20, n. 1. From Ptolemy we learn that the ancient name was *Simundu*, but in his own time *Salikê*, i.e. the country of the Salai. Here we have in a slightly altered form the Siele-diva of Kosmas, for *diva* is a form of *dwipa*, Sansk. for island. Both Salai and Siele have their source in Sihalam (pronounced as Silam), the Pâli form of Sansk. *Sinhala*, a 'lion' or lion-like man—a hero. To this source may be traced its other names, such as Serendib, Zeilan, Sailan, and Ceylon.

<sup>2</sup> Some think this is not our jacinth, but rather the sapphire, while others take it to be the amethyst.

<sup>3</sup> The Laccadives. The name means *islands by the hundred thousand*.

<sup>4</sup> The word *gaudia* in which Kosmas states the dimensions of the island represents the native word *gaou*, which is still in use and means *the distance which a man can walk in an hour*. With regard to the dimensions of Ceylon and its distance from India, see *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Tennent (*Ceylon*, vol. i. p. 543) rejects Thévenot's notion that by *hyacinth* Kosmas meant here 'the part of the island where jacinths are found,' on the ground that the region which produces gems, namely the south part of the island, is that which has also the port and the emporium. The king who possessed the wonderful gem, called by Gibbon *the luminous carbuncle*, ruled the northern part of the island.

<sup>6</sup> The emporium, according to Gibbon, was Trinquemale, but Tennent takes it to be Point de Galle.

<sup>7</sup> This was a branch of the Nestorian Church.

<sup>8</sup> The Chinese pilgrim, Hiouen Tsiang, who was a century later than Kosmas, relates that at Anarajapura, on a spire surmounting one of its temples, a ruby was elevated, which, with its transcendent lustre illuminated the whole heaven. Marco Polo again relates that the King of Ceylon was reported to have the

the island is a 'great resort of ships from all parts of India, and from Persia and Ethiopia, and in like manner it despatches many of its own to foreign ports. And from the inner countries,<sup>1</sup> I mean China and other marts in that direction, it receives silks,<sup>2</sup> aloes, clove-wood, sandalwood,<sup>3</sup> and their other products, and these it again passes on to the outer ports, I mean to Malê,<sup>4</sup> where pepper grows, and to Kalliana,<sup>5</sup> where copper is produced and sesame wood and materials for dress; for it is also a great mart of trade; and to Sindu<sup>6</sup> also, where musk or castor is got, as well as Androstachus,<sup>7</sup> and to Persia and the Homerite country, and to Adulê.<sup>8</sup> Receiving in return the traffic of these marts, and transmitting it to the inner ports, the island exports to each of these at the same time her own products. Sindu is the frontier country of India, for the river Indus, that is, the Phisôn, which empties itself into the Persian Gulf, separates Persia from India.<sup>9</sup> The following are the most famous commercial marts in India:—Sindus, Orrhotha,<sup>10</sup> Kalliana, Sibor,<sup>11</sup> Male, which has five marts that export pepper, Parti, Mangarouth,<sup>12</sup> Salopatana, Nalopatana, Poudopatana.<sup>13</sup>

grandest ruby that ever was seen—one that was flawless and brilliant beyond description. Tennent thinks that this stone was not a ruby but an amethyst, a gem found in large crystals in Ceylon, which, according to mineralogists, is the hyacinth of the ancients.

<sup>1</sup> Gr. τῶν ἐνδοτέρων. The countries inside of Cape Comorin, that is, to the east of it.

<sup>2</sup> Gr. μέταξιν. This word, which occurs in Latin as well as in Greek, but in the form *metaxa*, means properly 'yarn.' It was used, however, by the mediæval Greeks to signify *silk* in general.

<sup>3</sup> Gr. τζάνδαριν.

<sup>4</sup> The coast of Malabar.

<sup>5</sup> Kalliana, now Kalyâna, near Bombay, is named in the Kanhêri Bauddha cave inscription, and also in the *Periplus*, where it is stated that it was raised to the rank of a regular mart in the days of the elder Saragones.

<sup>6</sup> Sindhu, the lower valley of the Indus.

<sup>7</sup> Gr. ἀνδροστάχυν. This word does not occur elsewhere, and I therefore take it to be an error in transcription for νάρδου στάχυν or ναρδόσταχυν = *spica nardi*, i.e. spikenard.

<sup>8</sup> Now Thulla or Zula on Annesley Bay.

<sup>9</sup> The Persian empire when overthrown by Alexander the Great extended to the Indus, and even embraced territories lying eastward from that river.

<sup>10</sup> Pliny mentions an Indian race called the Horatæ, who adjoined the Gulf of Cambay. The name is an incorrect transcription of *Sorath*, a form of Saurâshtra, the Surastrênê of the *Periplus* and of Ptolemy. It is now Gujarât. It cannot be Surat, since this was not a place of any importance till Portuguese times. Orrhotha seems to have been a port on the western coast of the Gujarât peninsula.

<sup>11</sup> Probably Chaul, a seaport lying about twenty-three miles to the south of Bombay. This port is the Simylla of Ptolemy, and the Saimur or Jaimûr of the Arabian geographers.

<sup>12</sup> Mangalôr.

<sup>13</sup> The termination *patana* in these three names means *town*. Poudopatana (*new town*) is the Podoperoura of Ptolemy. These three places were situated on the coast of Kottonarikê—the pepper country.



Then out in the ocean at the distance of five days and nights from the mainland lies Selediba, that is, Taprobanê. Then, again, farther away and on the mainland is the mart Marallo, which exports chank-shells, then comes Kaber,<sup>1</sup> which exports alabandênum, then next is the clove country, then China,<sup>2</sup> which produces silk, beyond which there is no other land, for the ocean encircles it on the east.

Sielediba being thus in a central position with reference to the Indies, and possessing the hyacinth, receives wares from all trading marts, and again distributes them over the world, and thus becomes a great emporium.<sup>3</sup> Now once upon a time one of our countrymen engaged in commerce and called Sôpater, who to our knowledge died five-and-thirty years ago, came on business to the island of Taprobanê, where also, it so happened, a ship from Persia came to moorings. So the men from Adulê, among whom was Sôpater, disembarked, as did likewise the men from Persia, among whom there was one of advanced age. Then in accordance with the custom of the place, the magistrates and the custom-house officials received them and brought them to the king.<sup>4</sup> The king, having admitted them to his presence and received their obeisances, requested them to be seated. Then he asked them: How fares it with the countries you come from, and how are things moving there? To this they replied: Things are going on all very well. Afterwards, when in the course of conversation the king inquired: Which of your respective kings is the greater and the more powerful? the Persian, who was in haste to speak first, replied: Our king is both more powerful, and is greater and richer, and is king of kings, and he can do whatever he pleases. Sôpater, on the other hand, remained silent. So the king asked: Have you, Roman,<sup>5</sup> nothing to say? What have I to say, he rejoined,

<sup>1</sup> The emporium called by Ptolemy Chavêris, the modern Kâvêripattam, which lies north of Tranquebar at the mouth of the Pudu Kâvêri (New Kâvêri). The Sanskrit word *Kâvêra* means 'Saffron.'

<sup>2</sup> Gr. ἡ τζῦλωτα. The name of that part of China which was reached by sea, Serica designating the part reached by land. Kosmas was the first who laid down the ocean as the correct boundary of China on the east.

<sup>3</sup> In the days of Kosmas the name of India was extended to Ethiopia on the west, and to countries beyond the Ganges on the east.

<sup>4</sup> This king was probably Kumaara Daas, who reigned from 515 to 524 A.D. Tennent in relating this incident has been misled by Thévenot's version into stating that the aged Persian came with Sôpater from Adulê instead of from Persia.

<sup>5</sup> Gr. οὐ Ρωμαῖν. 'Roomi is the term applied in India to all the powers who have been successively in possession of Constantinople, whether Roman, Christian, or Mahomedan.'—So Vincent.

when he there has said these things? If you wish to ascertain the truth, you have both the kings here. Examine each and you will see which of them is the more illustrious and the more powerful. On hearing this the king was surprised at what he said, and asked: How, have I both the kings here? The other then replied: You have the money<sup>1</sup> of both—the current coin<sup>2</sup> of the one and the drachma of the other, that is, the miliarision.<sup>3</sup> Examine the image of each, and you will see the truth. The king thanked the man, and, assenting to his proposal, ordered both coins to be produced. Then the Roman coin had a good ring, and was bright and finely shaped, for choice pieces of this nature are exported thither. But the miliarision was silver, and, to say in a word all that need be said, was not to be compared with the gold piece. The king having closely examined each of the coins both on the obverse and the reverse side, bestowed all manner of praise on the Roman coin, and said: Truly the Romans are splendid men and powerful, and possessed of great good sense. He therefore commanded Sôpater to be greatly honoured, and having mounted him on his elephant, he conducted him round the whole city with drums beating and many marks of honour. All this was told us by Sôpater himself as well as by his companions who had gone with him to that island from Adulê.<sup>4</sup> This occurrence, they assured me, overwhelmed the Persian with shame.

Between the famous marts already mentioned there are many others, both on the coast and in the interior, and the country has a vast area. The regions higher up, that is, farther north than India, are occupied by the White Huns,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gr. τὰς μονέτας. This is the Latin word *monêtas* not quite correctly transliterated. *Monêta* was a name of Juno, in whose temple money was coined. *Monêta* is properly the figure of the goddess stamped on the coin. It is uncertain why Juno came to be called *Monêta*. See the question discussed s.v. in Smith's Classical Dictionary.

<sup>2</sup> Gr. νόμισμα. The *aureus*, first coined by Constantine the Great, contained  $\frac{1}{2}$  part of a pound of gold—a standard maintained to the end of the empire.

<sup>3</sup> This word is generally written *μiliarήσιον*. It was a silver drachma, twenty of which made a Daric. Gold and silver denarii, as we learn from the *Periplus*, were among the imports of Barygaza (Bharoch). The silver denarius was nearly equal in value to the drachma.

<sup>4</sup> This seems to be a traditional story, for we learn from Pliny that ambassadors who had been sent from Ceylon to the Emperor Claudius regarded with profound respect the Roman denarii.

<sup>5</sup> Gr. λευκοὶ ὄννοι. Another form of the name is *Χοῦνοι*. About one hundred years after Christ the ancestors of these Huns, becoming impatient of the Chinese yoke, marched westward, and having crossed the mountains of Imaus, directed their march to the Oxus and settled in the fruitful plains eastward from



whose king, called Gollas, when going to war is said to take with him no fewer than two thousand elephants and much cavalry. Within his empire is included India, from which he exacts tribute. Once on a time this king, as the story goes, wished to sack an Indian city in the interior—one that was surrounded by water and was thus protected from assault. He encamped all around it for a considerable time, until all the water had been drunk up by his elephants, his horses, and his soldiery.<sup>1</sup> Having then crossed over to the city on dry land, he was able to capture it. This people highly prize the emerald stone, and wear it when set in a crown. For the Ethiopians, who traffic with the Blemmyes<sup>2</sup> in Ethiopia, carry this same stone into India, and with the price they obtain make purchases of the most beautiful articles. All these particulars I have related and described partly from what fell under my own observation, and partly as I learned them after most careful inquiry when I was in the neighbourhood of the places I have mentioned.

The kings of various parts of India possess elephants—as, for instance, the kings of Orrotha and Kalliana and Sindu and Sibor and Malê. They have each six hundred, it may be, or five hundred more or less.<sup>3</sup> But the King of Sielediba obtains by purchase both the elephants and horses which he possesses. The price he pays for the elephants depends upon the number of cubits they reach in height. For the height is measured from the ground in cubits, and the price is reckoned at so many pieces of money for each cubit, say fifty or a hundred pieces, or even more. His horses again are imported from

the Kaspian. 'Here,' says Gibbon, 'they preserved the name of Huns, with the epithet of Euthalites or Nepthalites. Their manners were softened, and even their features were insensibly improved, by the mildness of the climate, and their long residence in a flourishing province which might still retain a faint impression of the arts of Greece. The *White Huns*, a name which they derived from the change of their complexion, soon abandoned the pastoral life of *Scythia*.' Their power must have been verging to its extinction when Kosmas wrote, for Dr. James Fergusson places the great battles of Korur and Manshari 'which freed India from the Sâkas and Hûnas' between A.D. 524 and 544.

<sup>1</sup> The army of Xerxes and his beasts of burden are said to have drunk up the Skamander when on their march to Greece. See Herod. vii. 43.

<sup>2</sup> The Blemmyes were fierce, predatory nomads of the Nubian wilds and the regions adjacent. Emeralds were found in the mines of Upper Egypt, and were no doubt shipped from Adulê for the Indian market by the Ethiopian traders, who bought them from the Blemmyes. If they were taken to Barygaza (Bharoch) they could be transported thence by a much frequented trade-route to Ujjain, thence to Kabul, and thence over the Hindu-Kush to the regions of the Oxus.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny has preserved from Megasthenes a section of the *Indika* in which the number is stated of the elephants kept by each of the Indian kings.

Persia, and the traders from whom he buys them he exempts from the payment of custom-house dues. But the kings of the mainland catch their elephants as they roam about at large, and having tamed them, employ them in war. They frequently set elephants to fight against each other in the presence of the king. They separate the two combatants by means of a large cross-beam of wood fastened to other two beams standing upright and reaching up to their breasts. A number of men are stationed on this and that side to prevent them meeting in close fight, but they instigate them to attack each other, and then the beasts becoming enraged use their trunks to belabour each other with blows till one or other of them gives in. The tusks of the Indian elephants are not large, but should they be so the Indians shorten them with a saw, so that the weight may not encumber them when in action. The Ethiopians again have not the art of taming elephants, but when the king happens to wish to have one or two for show, they catch young ones and put them under training. Now they are quite plentiful in Ethiopia, and their tusks, being large, are exported by sea from that country into India and Persia and the Homerite country and the Roman dominion. These facts I have recorded on the testimony of others. The river Phisôn (Indus) divides India from the country of the Huns. In Scripture the Indian country is called Euilat (Havilah), 'where there is gold, and the gold of that land is good; there is the carbuncle and the jasper stone.'

Book II. p. 117. Of these (rivers of Paradise) the Phisôn is the river of India which some call Indus or Ganges. It flows down from regions in the interior and falls by many mouths into the Indian Sea. It produces beans of the Egyptian sort and the fruit called Neilagathia, leaves also and lotus plants and crocodiles and everything the Nile produces.

Book III. p. 169. Even in Taprobanê, an island in Hither India, where the Indian Sea is, there is a church of Christians with clergy and a body of believers, but I know not whether there be any Christians in the parts beyond it. In the country called Male, where pepper grows, there is also a church, and at another place, called Kalliâna, there is, moreover, a bishop who is appointed from Persia. In the island again called Dioskoridês, which is situate in the same Indian Sea, and where the inhabitants speak Greek, having been originally colonists sent thither by the Ptolemies who succeeded Alexander the Macedonian, there are clergy who receive their



ordination in Persia, and are sent on to the island, and there is a multitude of Christians. I sailed along the coast of this island, but did not land upon it. I met, however, with some of its Greek-speaking people who had come over into Ethiopia.<sup>1</sup> And so likewise among the Baktrians and Huns and Persians, and the rest of the Indians and Persarmenians and Medes and Elamites, and throughout the whole land of Persia there is no limit to the number of churches with bishops and very large communities of Christian people, as well as many martyrs and monks also who live in solitude.

<sup>1</sup> This island is now called Socotra. Its name *Dioskorides* is of Sanskrit origin, *Dvīpa Sukhādāra*, 'Island of the Blest.' Dr. Fritz Hommel, Professor of Semitic languages in Munich University, in a lecture read before the Frankfort Geographical Society, and just published, takes the island to be the *Panchaia* of Pliny and the Latin poets.

## SECTION IX

## EXTRACTS TREATING OF THE BRAHMANS

## BARDESANES

It has been much disputed among scholars whether the Bardesanes who is called by Porphyry the Babylonian, and who wrote concerning the Indian Gymnosophists, was the same as the Bardesanes of Edessa (a city in the northern extremity of Mesopotamia), who wrote in Syriac against Marcion and other heretics, and was the author of a work on Fate, which was much admired for the force and splendour of its diction, which not even its translation into a foreign tongue (Greek) could quite obscure. Bardesanes the Babylonian acquired his knowledge of India from conversing with the members of an embassy from that country, sent most probably to the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Elagabalus.

According to Stobæus (who flourished probably about the beginning of the sixth century) an Indian embassy came to Syria in the reign of Antoninus of Emesa (Elagabalus), who reigned from A.D. 218-222 (*Physica*, i. 54). The chief of this embassy, Dandamis or Sandanes, having in Mesopotamia met with Bardésanes,<sup>1</sup> communicated to him information regarding the Indian Gymnosophists which Bardésanes embodied in a work now lost, but of which the following fragment has been preserved by Stobæus from Porphyry.

'The Indian Theosophs, whom the Greeks call Gymnosophists, are divided into two sects, Brahmans and Shamans, Samanæoi. The Brahmans are one family, the descendants of one father and mother, and they inherit their theology as a priesthood. The Shamans, on the other hand, are taken from all Indian sects indifferently, from all who wish to give themselves up to the study of divine things.<sup>2</sup> The Brahmans pay no taxes like other citizens, and are subject to no king. Of the philosophers among them, some inhabit the mountains,

<sup>1</sup> The Edesan Bardesanes flourished in the latter half of the second century, and perhaps in the earlier years of the third.

<sup>2</sup> Arrian in his *Indika* writes as if the whole Brahman caste was open. He says (c. xii.): 'To the philosopher alone is it permitted to be from any caste whatever (*ἐκ παντός γένους γενέσθαι*), for no easy life is his, but the hardest of all.'



others the banks of the Ganges. The mountain Brahmans subsist on fruit and cow's milk, curdled with herbs. The others live on the fruit of trees which are found in plenty near the river and which afford an almost constant succession of fresh fruits, and, should these fail, on the self-sown wild rice that grows there. To eat any other food, or even to touch animal food, they hold to be the height of impiety and uncleanness. Each man has his own cabin, and lives as much as he can by himself, and spends the day and the greater part of the night in prayers and hymns to the gods. And they so dislike society, even that of one another, or much discourse, that when either happens, they expiate it by a retirement and silence of many days. They fast often.

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

Both Shamans and Brahmans have such a notion of death that they impatiently bear with life, and view it but as a necessary though burdensome service imposed upon them by nature. They hasten, therefore, to free the soul from the body. And often when a man is in good health, and no evil

whatever presses upon him, he will give notice of his intention to quit the world, and his friends will not try to dissuade him from it, but rather account him happy, and give him messages for their dead relations; so firm and true is the conviction of this people that souls after death have intercourse with one another. When he has received all his commissions, he throws himself, in order that he may quit the body in all purity, into a burning pile, and dies amid the hymns of the assembled crowd. And his nearest friends dismiss him to his death more willingly than we our fellow-citizens when about to set out on some short journey. They weep over themselves that they must continue to live, and deem him happy who has thus put on immortality. And among neither of these sects, as among the Greeks, has any sophist yet appeared to perplex them by asking, "If everybody did this, what would become of the world?"

#### PORPHYRIOS

The work of Bardesanes on the Indian Gymnosophists is lost, but an extract of considerable length has been preserved by Porphyry in the Fourth Book of his treatise *On Abstinence from Animal Food* (περὶ ἀποχῆς τῶν ἐμψύχων). Porphyry, who calls himself a Tyrian, but was probably a native of Batanea or Bashan, was a man of great ability and learning, and became famous as an opponent of Christianity, and as a capable expositor of the doctrines of Neo-Platonism, which he had learned in Rome from Plotinus, the originator of that philosophical system. In his writings he inculcates a severe morality and the subjugation of our passions by ascetic practices. Hence we need not be surprised to find him regarding with sympathetic admiration the austerities of the Indian Gymnosophists. Porphyry was born in the year A.D. 233, and died in 305 or 306.

*De Abstinencia*, Book IV. 16-18. But since we have already made mention of one of the foreign nations which is known to fame, and righteous and believed to be pious towards the gods, we shall proceed to further particulars regarding them.

17. For since in India the body politic has many divisions, one of them is the order of the holy sages, whom the Greeks are wont to call the Gymnosophists, and of whom there are two sects—the Brachmans and the Samanæans. The Brachmans form the leading sect, and succeed by right of birth to this kind of divine wisdom as to a priesthood. The Samanæans, on the other hand, are selected, and consist of persons who have conceived a wish to devote themselves to divine wisdom. Their style of life is described as follows by Bardesanes, a Babylonian who lived in the days of our fathers, who met with those Indians who accompanied Damadamis on his embassy to the emperor. For all the Brachmans are of one



race, all of them deducing their origin from one (common) father and one (common) mother. The Samanæans, again, are not of their kindred, but are collected, as we have said, from all classes of the Indians. The Brachman is not subject to the authority of the king, and pays no tribute with others to the state. Of these philosophers, some live on the mountains, and others on the banks of the river Ganges. The mountain Brachmans subsist on fruits and cow-milk, curdled with herbs, while the dwellers by the Ganges subsist on the fruits which grow in great plenty on the banks of that river, for the soil produces an almost constant succession of fresh fruits—nay, even much wild rice which grows spontaneously, and is used for food when there is a lack of fruit. But to taste anything else, or so much as to touch animal food, is held to be the height of impurity and impiety. They inculcate the duty of worshipping the deity with pious reverence. The whole day and greater part of the night they set apart for hymns and prayers to the gods. Each of them has a hut of his own in which he passes as much time as possible in solitude. For the Brahmins have an aversion to society and much discourse, and when either occurs, they withdraw and observe silence for many days, and they even frequently fast. The Samanæans, on the other hand, are, as we have observed, collected from the people at large, and when any one is to be enrolled in their order, he presents himself before the magistrates of the city or of the village to which he happens to belong, and there resigns all his possessions and his other means. The superfluous parts of his person are then shaved off, and he puts on the Samanæan robe and goes away to join the Samanæans, taking no concern either for his wife or his children, if he has any, and thinks of them no more. The king takes charge of his children and supplies their wants, while his relatives provide for his wife. The life of the Samanæans is on this wise. They live outside the city, and spend the whole day in discourse on divine things. Their houses and temples are founded by the king, and in them are stewards who receive a fixed allowance from the king for the support of the inmates of the convents, this consisting of rice, bread, fruits, and pot-herbs.<sup>1</sup> When the convent bell rings, all strangers then in the house withdraw, and the Samanæans entering offer up prayers. Prayer

<sup>1</sup> Manu says that a king, even though dying, must not receive any tax from a Brahman learned in the Vedas. The temple lands were always free from duty.

over, the bell rings a second time, whereupon the servants hand a dish to each (for two never eat out of the same vessel). The dish contains rice, but should one want a variety he is supplied with vegetables, or some kind of fruit. As soon as dinner, which is soon despatched, is over, they go out and betake themselves to their usual occupations. They are neither allowed to marry nor to possess property. They and the Brachmans are held in such high honour by the other Indians that even the king himself will visit them to solicit their prayers when the country is in danger or distress and their counsel in times of emergency.

18. Both classes take such a view of death that they endure life unwillingly, as being a hard duty exacted by nature, and accelerate the release of their souls from their bodies; and frequently, when their health is good and no evil assails or forces them, they take their leave of life.<sup>1</sup> They let their intention to do so be known to their friends beforehand, but no one offers to prevent them; on the contrary, all deem them happy, and charge them with messages to their dead relatives, so firm and true is the belief in their own minds, and in the minds of many others, that souls after death have intercourse with each other. When they have heard the commissions entrusted to them, they commit their body to the flames with a view to sever the soul from the body in completest purity, and then they die amid hymns resounding their praises, for their most attached friends dismiss them to death with less reluctance than it gives us to part with our fellow-citizens who set out on a distant journey. They weep, but it is for themselves, because they must continue to live, and those whose death they have witnessed they deem happy in their attainment of immortality. And neither among those Samanæans nor among the Brachmans whom I have already mentioned, has any sophist come forward, as have so many among the Greeks, to perplex with doubts by asking where would we be if every one should copy their example.

<sup>1</sup> Frequent references to this characteristic of the Indian philosophers are made by the classical writers, most of which, if not all except the following, will be found translated in vol. i. and vol. v. of this series. Pomponius Mela (III. vii. 40) thus writes: 'But when old age or disease affects them they go far away from others, and await death . . . without any anxiety. . . . Those that are wiser . . . do not await its coming, but for the sake of the glory to accrue gladly invite it by casting themselves into a burning pyre.' Suicide except for sickness is not approved by Manu. Reinaud was of opinion that the practice was due to the belief in the metempsychosis.



## JOHANNES STOBAIOS

Nothing is known for certain about this author—not even his country, nor the time when he lived. From his prænomen it has been conjectured that, if he was not himself a Christian, he may have been of Christian parentage; and from his surname it seems probable that he may have been a native of Stobi, a town in Macedonia. In Liddell and Scott the time when he flourished is set down as 'A.D. 500(?)'. To Stobaios the world is indebted for a most valuable collection of extracts from the works of Greek writers, many of which are now lost. The extracts usually begin with passages from the poets, followed by historians, orators, philosophers, and physicians. Many passages from lost works of the Greek poets, Euripides in particular, have thus been preserved.

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

The Indians, then, have this lake for the trial of voluntary offences, and they have another besides for the voluntary and involuntary alike—in fact, for the trial of a man's whole life. Bardisanês gives this account of it, which I transcribe in his own words: They (the Indian ambassadors) told me further that there was a large natural cave in a very high mountain almost in the middle of the country,<sup>1</sup> wherein there is to be seen a statue of ten, say, or twelve cubits high, standing up—

<sup>1</sup> The part of India from which this embassy came may be inferred from the name borne by the chief who conducted it, namely Sandanes, as well as by his mention of the Rock-temple. Temples of this kind abound in the Maratha country, especially in the maritime district, which in Ptolemy is called *Ariakê Sadinôn*, that is, the division of Ariake ruled by the Sadaneis, or Sandaneis as they are called in the *Periplus*. This district was in these days the seat of an active and extensive commerce, in the interest of which, it is safe to conclude, the embassy to the Roman Emperor was undertaken.

right with its hands folded crosswise—and the right half of its face was that of a man, and the left that of a woman; and in like manner the right hand and right foot, and in short the whole right side was male and the left female, so that the spectator was struck with wonder at the combination, as he saw how the two dissimilar sides coalesced in an indissoluble union in a single body.<sup>1</sup> In this statue was engraved, it is said, on the right breast the sun, and on the left the moon, while on the two arms was artistically engraved a host of angels<sup>2</sup> and whatever the world contains, that is to say, the sky and mountains and a sea, and a river and ocean, together with plants and animals—in fact, everything.<sup>3</sup> The Indians allege that the deity had given this statue to his son when he founded the world as a visible representation thereof. And I inquired, adds Bardisanês, of what material this statue was made, when Sandalês assured me, and the others confirmed his words, that no man could tell what the material was, for it was neither gold, nor silver, nor brass, nor stone, nor indeed any known substance, but that though not wood it most resembled a very hard wood, quite free from rot.<sup>4</sup> And they told how one of their kings had tried to pluck out one of the hairs about its neck, and how blood flowed out, whereat the king was so struck down with terror that, even with all the prayers of the Brachmans, he hardly recovered his senses.<sup>5</sup> They said that on its head was the image of a god, seated as on a throne, and that in the great heats the statue ran all over with sweat, so copiously discharged that it would have moistened the ground at the base, did not the Brachmans use their fans to stop the flux.<sup>6</sup> Farther on in the cave, a long way behind the statue, all, the Indians say, was dark, and those who wish to go in advance with lighted torches till they come to a door from which water issues and forms a lake around the far end of the cave. Through this door those must pass who desire to prove themselves. Those who have lived unstained with vice pass through without impediment, the door opening

<sup>1</sup> This is S'iva as *Ardha-nârîsa*, half man, half woman. Such figures are to be found in the Rock-temple and on Skythian coins.

<sup>2</sup> Bardesanes thus translates the Indian word *deva*, 'gods of secondary rank'.

<sup>3</sup> The statue thus represented S'iva as the Supreme God—the Creator of the world.

<sup>4</sup> Lassen thinks the statue was made of *teakwood*.

<sup>5</sup> The Brahmans probably invented this and such like stories to deter people from too closely examining the images of the gods, inside of which for safe custody they concealed their treasures.

<sup>6</sup> An image, Lassen thinks, of the river Ganges.



wide to them, and find within a large fountain of water clear as crystal and of sweetest taste—the source of the stream spoken of. The guilty, however, struggle hard to push in through that door, but fail in the attempt, for it closes against them. They are thus compelled to confess their offences against others, and to entreat the rest to pray for them. They also fast for a considerable time.

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

#### DION CHRYSOSTOM

Dion, surnamed Chrysostom or the golden-mouthed, on account of his shining abilities as an orator, was born at Prusa, a city of Mysia, about the middle of the first Christian century. He found occupation at first in his native place, where he held important offices, practised the composition of speeches and rhetorical essays, and studied philosophy, with a view to apply its doctrines to the purposes of practical life—more especially to the administration of public affairs. Having somehow incurred the suspicion and enmity of his fellow-citizens, he removed to Rome. Domitian, who hated philosophers, was then reigning, and by a decree of the senate expelled them all from Rome and the rest of Italy. Dion, then, attired as a beggar, visited Thrace, Mysia, Skythia, and the country of the Getæ. The people, wheresoever he went, were so charmed with his oratory, that they never failed to show him much kindness. After the murder of Domitian, he returned to Rome, where he enjoyed the esteem and friendship of the Emperors Nerva and his successor Trajan, and where also he died (A.D. 117). Eighty of his Orations are still extant, and these sufficiently justify the opinion of the ancients, that Dion is one of the most eminent among the Greek rhetoricians and sophists. His style is praised for its Attic purity and grace.

*Oratio* XXXV. 434. No men live more happily than you (the Phrygians), with the exception of the Indians, for in their

country, 'tis said, the rivers flow not, like yours, with water, but one river with pellucid wine, another with honey, and another with oil, and they have their springs among the hills—in the breasts, so to speak, of the earth. In these respects there is a world of difference between you and them as regards pleasure and power; for what you have here, you get with difficulty and in a shabby way, pilfering trees of their fruits, calves of their milk, and bees of their honey; but in India things are altogether purer, except, I imagine, for violence and rascality. The rivers flow for one month for the king, and this is his tribute, but for the rest of the year they flow for the people. So then they pass each day in the society of their children and their wives at the sources and by the streams of the rivers, playing and laughing as if at a festival. Along the river banks there flourishes in great vigour and luxuriance the lotus—and this is about the sweetest of all comestibles, and not like our lotus, which is no better than food for cattle. Sesame also grows there in abundance, and parsley, as one might conjecture from their similarity—but in respect of excellence of quality there can be no comparison. In the same country is produced another seed yielding a better and much more suitable food than wheat and barley. This grows in large enveloping leaves like a rose, but these leaves are more fragrant and of larger size. The roots of this plant they eat as well as the fruit, and they require not to labour. There are many channels to convey water from the rivers, some of them large and others which are smaller and mingle with each other. These are made by the inhabitants as suits their pleasure; and they convey water in ducts with facility, just as you convey water for the irrigation of your gardens. They have besides at hand water-baths of two kinds; that which is hot and clearer than silver, and the other dark-blue by reason of its depth and coldness. In these the women and children swim about together—all of them models of beauty. Emerging from the bath, I can fancy them lying down in the meadows, commingling their sweet voices in mirth and song. And there the meadows are of ideal loveliness, and decked by nature with flowers, and with trecs, which from overhead cast a protecting shade, and offer fruit within reach of all who would pluck it from the depending branches. Of birds, again, there is a great plenty, which make the hills where they have their homes resound with their songs, while others, from the spray of overhanging boughs, warble notes more melodious than those played by your instruments of music. The wind,



too, blows gently, and there is always an equable temperature, such as prevails at the beginning of summer; and besides all this, the sky is there clearer than yours, and surpasses it in the multitude and splendour of its stars. Their span of life is not less than forty years, and for all this time they are in the bloom of youth and they know neither old age nor disease nor want. But, though India is actually in the enjoyment of all these blessings, there are nevertheless men called Brachmans, who, bidding adieu to the rivers and turning away from those with whom they had been thrown in contact, live apart, absorbed in philosophic contemplation, subjecting their bodies to sufferings of astonishing severity, though no one compels them, and submitting to terrible endurances. It is said, further, that they possess a remarkable fountain—that of truth—by far the best and most divine of all—and that any one who has once tasted it can never be satiated or filled with it.<sup>1</sup>

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

in fight till they conquer or die; for in prowess they surpass all other wild beasts.

*Oratio XLIX.* 538. The Indians have the Brachmans, who excel in self-control and in righteousness and their love of the Divine Being, whence they have a better knowledge of the future than other men have of the present.

*Oratio XXXII.* 373. For I see in the midst of you (the Alexandrians) not only Greeks, Italians, Syrians, Libyans, Cilicians, Ethiopians, Arabians, but even Bactrians and Scythians and Persians, and some Indians who view the spectacles with you and are with you on all occasions.

*Oratio LIII.* 554-55. It is said that the poetry of Homer is sung by the Indians, who had translated it into their own language and modes of expression, so that even the Indians, to whom many of our stars are invisible since it is said that the Bears do not show themselves in their horizon, are not unacquainted with the woes of Priam, and the weeping and wailing of Andromache and Hecuba, and the heroic feats of Achilles and Hector, so potent was the influence of what one man had sung.<sup>1</sup>

#### PSEUDO-KALLISTHENES

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

C. Müller, who is so well known as the editor of the *Geographi Græci Minores* and other classical texts, published in 1846, along with the *Anabasis* and the *Indika* of Arrian, the Romance History of Alexander the Great under the title *Pseudo-Kallisthenes*. In his Preface to this work, after expressing a fear lest, in conjoining the *Pseudo-Kallisthenes* with Ptolemy and Aristobulus, he should be charged with wandering from his proper into an alien sphere, he says it is very remarkable how widely the myths about Alexander were spread throughout the world, and how it came to pass that, in the days when Europe, spurred by the crusading frenzy, invaded Asia, these myths became themes of song. Since Müller thus wrote, much light has been thrown on their origin and the accretions by which they reached their present form. The Greek mss. which contain them were long lost sight of, buried in the depths of various European libraries. There existed, however, translations in Italian, French, and German, not made from the original Greek, but from a Latin version made in Egypt by Julius Valerius

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, in enumerating the great deeds of Alexander, says, that by his means Asia was civilised and Homer read there, and that the children of Persians, Susians, and Gedrosians sang the tragedies of Euripides and Sophocles. Aelian (*V. Hist.* xii. 48) tells us that not only the Indians, but the Kings of Persia have translated and sung the poems of Homer, if one may credit those who have written on these subjects.

<sup>1</sup> For the unintelligible reading of the text, *ἡς οὐδέποτε γεύσασθαι τοὺς ἐμπιπλμένους*, Reiske reads: *ἡς οὐδέποτε τοὺς γευσάμενους, ἐμπιπλάσθαι*.



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

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

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

This river Ganges is in our opinion that which is called in Scripture the Phisôn, one of the rivers which are said to go out from Paradise. A story is told of Alexander, the King of the Macedonians, in which their (the Brahmans') mode of life is described; but to connect the story with him is perhaps a mistake, for he did not, I think, make his way to the Ganges, but penetrated to Sêrica, where the Sêres produce silk, and

where he erected a stone pillar with the inscription: 'Alexander, the King of the Macedonians, reached this place.'

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

viii. 'This island,' the traveller says, 'has five very large rivers, which are navigable. As the islanders informed him, the trees in these parts were never without fruit—for, as he states, while on the same tree one spray is budding, another has unripe fruit, and a third fruit that is quite ripe. The island has also palm-trees and nuts of the largest size produced in India, as well as the small odoriferous nut. The inhabitants of that country live on milk, rice, and fruit. As neither cotton nor flax is a product of their soil, they wear round their loins the fleeces of sheep beautifully worked, but leave the rest of the body bare. The sheep have hair instead of wool, give great quantities of milk, and have broad tails. They use as food mutton and goat flesh, but not pork—for from the Thebaid to the farthest confines of India and Ethiopia the swine is not to be found on account of the excessive heat. The scholar therefore relates, that "when I



found certain Indians engaged in commerce, embarking on a voyage across from Auxoumê, I was tempted to go farther afield, and reached the people called the Bisadæ, who gather the pepper. They are a feeble folk, of very diminutive stature, and live in caves among the rocks. They understand how to climb precipices through their intimate knowledge of the localities, and are thus able to gather the pepper from the bushes." For, as my informant, the scholar, told me, pepper grows on a low dwarf tree, while the Bisadæ are small men of stunted growth, but with big heads, the hair of which is straight and is not cut. The Ethiopians and Indians elsewhere are black and of a youthful appearance and have bristly hair. When I plucked up courage and endeavoured to enter that country, I was prevented by the sovereign, and neither did they understand what I said in my own behalf, as they knew not the language of my country, nor did I again know what inquiries they were addressing to me, for I knew not their language. All we could do was to keep in line with each other by employing distortions of the eyes as intelligible signs. For my part, I conjectured the import of what was charged against me from the bloodshot colour of their eyes and from the fierce grinding of their teeth. They, on the other hand, were quick to perceive, from the trembling of my limbs, the paleness of my face, from my terror and anguish, the pitiable state of my mind and the coward fears that shook my frame. I was accordingly detained among them for six years, during which I had to work in the service of a baker to whom I was handed over. The expenditure of their king, he says, was a peck (*μόδιος*, Latin *Modus*) of flour for the whole palace. Where this king came from I know not. As I was in captivity for six years, I thus by degrees learned a good deal of their language, and acquired also some knowledge of the adjacent tribes. I got away, he proceeds, from that place in the manner following. Another king, who made war upon the one who detained me, accused him to the Great King, who resides in Taprobanê, of having made a Roman citizen of importance prisoner, and of subjecting him to the meanest of employments. Then the Great King sent one of his officers to investigate the case, and he, on learning the truth, ordered the offender to be flayed and his skin to be made into a bag, for his insolent treatment of a Roman. For the people there are said to have a profound respect for the Roman Empire, yea, even to entertain a dread of the Romans, who could invade their

country, owing to their matchless courage and their prowess in war.

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

x. They say that the crossing of the river is rendered difficult by the monstrous creature called the *Odontotyranos*.



For it is an animal of most enormous size that lives in the river, and that can swallow down whole the amphibious elephant.<sup>1</sup> At the time when the Brachmans cross over to their wives it is not seen thereabouts. There are besides huge snakes in those parts seventy cubits long. I saw the skin of one of them, and its breadth measured five cubits. There, too, are the ants of old renown, and scorpions a cubit long. Travelling in these places, need I say, is beset with great peril and difficulty. But enormous animals are not found everywhere in the country, but only in uninhabited places. There are large herds of elephants.

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

<sup>1</sup> The name of this monster, *Odontotyranos*, is a translation into Greek of the Sanskrit compound *Danteskhara*. The narrative of the Theban scholar has been examined at length by Lassen. See his *Ind. Alt.* pp. 370-79.

## SECTION X

## INCIDENTAL NOTICES OF THE BRAHMANS

## CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS (fl. A.D. 200)

CLEMENS was a native of Athens, but as he spent the greater part of his life-time in the Egyptian capital, he was surnamed the Alexandrian. While yet a youth his thirst for knowledge led him to visit various countries—Greece, Italy, Syria, Palestine, and finally Egypt, where he became the disciple of Pantænus, who was the head of the Christian School of Alexandria, and whom he succeeded in that office in 211 A.D. The bent of his mind was towards philosophy, and he studied its various systems with a view to select from each whatever truths he might find it to contain. His notice of Brahmanism appears to be a citation from Megasthenes. It is contained in his work which he called *Strômateis*, to indicate the miscellaneous nature of its contents. He is supposed to have lived till the year 220.

*Strom.* III. 194. The Brachmans neither eat anything having life nor drink wine, but some of them every day, like ourselves, take food, while others of them do so once in three days, as Alexander Polyhistor relates in his *Indika*.<sup>1</sup> They despise death, and set no value on life; for they are persuaded that there is a new birth (*παλιγγενεσία*), and these worship Heraklês and Pan.<sup>2</sup> But those Indians who are called *Semnoi*<sup>3</sup> go naked all their lives. These practise truth, make predictions about futurity, and worship a kind of pyramid beneath which they think the bones of some divinity lie buried.<sup>4</sup> But neither the Gymnosophists nor the Semnoi use women, for they regard

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Cornelius, surnamed Polyhistor on account of his immense learning, was a native of Ephesus, who was made prisoner during the war of Sulla in Greece, and sold as a slave to Cornelius Lentulus, by whom he was taken to Rome. He wrote numerous works, of which the most important was one in forty-two books, which contained historical and geographical accounts of the countries of the ancient world. Pliny often quotes this lost work.

<sup>2</sup> Pan may be identified with Vishnu, and Hercules with Krishna.

<sup>3</sup> Clemens in another passage calls the Northern Buddhists *Samanaoi*, a name which first occurs in Polyhistor. In yet another passage he says that the Indian philosophers are of two kinds—the Sarmanai and the Brachmanai. Here he follows Megasthenes. The former name represents the Sanskrit *S'ramana*, 'a Buddhist ascetic.' *Semnoi*, 'holy men,' both in sound and sense represents the form *Samanai-oi*.

<sup>4</sup> These pyramidal structures are called *topes* or *stupas*.



this as contrary to nature and unlawful; for which reason they keep themselves chaste. The *Semnai*, too, remain virgin. They observe closely the heavenly bodies, and, by the indications of futurity which these offer, make some predictions.

## ORIGEN

Origen, one of the most eminent and most erudite of the early Christian writers, was born in Alexandria about A.D. 186. He wrote many works, notably the *Hexapla*, containing several copies of the Old Testament, and a defence of Christianity against the most formidable of all its assailants, Celsus, who had brought to bear against it all the resources of his wide learning and powerful intellect. Notwithstanding his extreme asceticism and his sufferings in the Decian persecution, he survived till A.D. 253.

*Contra Celsum*, I. 24. As the sages of the Egyptians, and the learned of the Persian Magi, and the Brachmans or Samanaioi among the philosophers of the Indians employ certain words.

## ST. JEROME

Hieronymus, commonly known as St. Jerome, was born at an obscure town on the borders of Dalmatia and Pannonia about the year A.D. 340. He was educated at Rome, and in the course of his long life of eighty years or more resided in various places—Treves, Antioch, the desert of Chalcis, Constantinople, and Bethlehem, where he died in 420. About middle life his fame as a man of eloquence, learning, and piety was at its zenith. His greatest work was the revision of the received versions of the Scriptures. He was unwearied in proclaiming the merits of the ascetic discipline of the monastery and the convent.

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

*Contra Jov.*, Epist. pt. I., Tr. ii. 26. Hence among the Gymnosophists there is a tradition which lends authority to this opinion (the honour of virginity), that Buddha (Buddas), the founder of their doctrine,<sup>1</sup> was born from the side of a virgin.

## PLUTARCH

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

<sup>1</sup> Jerome wrongly supposes that Buddha was the founder of the Indian philosophy.

## ARCHELAOS

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

*Archelai et Manetis Disputatio*, I. 97. Terebinthus proclaimed himself learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and gave out that his name was no longer Terebinthus,<sup>1</sup> but that he was a new Buddha (Buddas), for such was the name he now assumed, and that he was born of a virgin, and had been brought up on the mountains by an angel.

## KEDRENOS

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

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

## RUFINUS

Rufinus was contemporary with St. Jerome, and for some years enjoyed his intimacy. They quarrelled, however, over Origen, whom Jerome held to be heretical, while Rufinus defended him and translated some of his works into Latin. Rufinus is supposed to have been born in Concordia, a town at the head of the Adriatic. After he had attained to manhood, he entered a monastery in Aquileia, and, after a course of instruction in Christian doctrine, was admitted into the Church. He wrote many works, and was as assiduous as Jerome himself in exhorting his hearers to abandon secular life for the cloister.

*Hist. Eccles.* I. 9. He (Metrodoros) is said to have penetrated to India for the purpose of seeing its various cities and of making himself well acquainted with the world at large.

<sup>1</sup> Terebinthus was the disciple of Scythianus, who was a Saracen, born in Palestine, and who traded with India. In his visits to India, Scythianus acquired a knowledge of Indian philosophy, and, settling afterwards in Alexandria, made himself conversant with the lore of Egypt. With the help of Terebinthus, he embodied in four books the peculiar doctrines which are said to have formed the basis of those of the Manichæans.



## 186 OF THE BRAHMANS

## HIEROKLES

Hierokles, a native of Hyllarima in Karia, is supposed to have been the author of a work called *Oeconomicus*, of which Stobæus has preserved some extracts.

Hierokles—from Stephanos of Byzantium, *s.v.* *Brachmanes*.—After this I thought it worth my while to go and visit the Brahman caste. These men are philosophers dear to the gods, and especially devoted to the sun. They abstain from all flesh meats and live out in the open air, and honour truth. Their dress is made of the soft and skin-like (δερματώδη) fibres of stones, which they weave into a stuff that no fire burns or water cleanses. When their clothes get soiled or dirty, they are thrown into a blazing fire, and come out quite white and bright.—Priaulx's *Trans.*

Hierokles—from the *Chiliads* of Tzetzes (VII. *Hist.* 144-716).—Then I came to a country very dry and burnt up by the sun. And all about this desert I saw men naked and houseless, and of these some shaded their faces with their ears, and the rest of their bodies with their feet raised in the air. Of these men Strabo has a notice, as also of the no-heads and ten-heads and four-hands-and-feet men, but none of them did I ever see, quoth Hierokles.<sup>1</sup>—*Ibid.*

<sup>1</sup> Tzetzes has probably extracted this passage from a work called *Asteia*—a collection of ludicrous tales and anecdotes, droll ideas, etc. Its authorship was incorrectly ascribed to Hieroklēs, an eminent Neo-Platonist who flourished about the middle of the fifth century of our era. The work was the product of a later age and of a much inferior writer.

## SECTION XI

## DIONYSIOS—ORBIS DESCRIPTIO

DIONYSIOS is distinguished from a host of writers of the same name by the surname of Periëgêtēs from his authorship of a work in hexameter verse which contains a *Description of the whole world* (περιήγησις τῆς γῆς). Nothing is known for certain either of the age or the country of this Dionysios, but he probably wrote towards the end of the third Christian century. His poem became so popular that it was translated into Latin verse and used as a schoolbook for teaching geography. The original consists of 1187 lines, of which 85 are devoted to the description of India and its conquest by Bacchus. The work is one of considerable poetic merit. A commentary was written upon it by Eustathius the Archbishop of Thessalonica, who died near the end of the twelfth century.

Ll. 1080-1165. Direct now thy attention eastwards to the part of Asia that still is left over, for the delineation of the continent is now nearing its completion. Hard by the Persian waters of the ocean dwell the Karmanians<sup>1</sup> under the orient sun—settled not far off from the Persian land in separate spheres of the country, some along the shores of the sea and others in the interior. To east of these stretches away the land of the Gedrosians,<sup>2</sup> lying on the verge of the vast ocean, next to whom in the orient dwell the Skythians of the South,<sup>3</sup> on the banks of the river Indus, which welling from fountains

<sup>1</sup> Karmania comprised the modern provinces of Laristan, Kirman, and Moghistan along their coast-lines.

<sup>2</sup> Gedrosia designated the vast region which extended from the eastern borders of Karmania to the Lower Indus. The maritime tract is now called Mekran, and the interior Beluchistan. The army of Alexander in retreating from India through the burning sands of Gedrosia, was exposed to terrible suffering, sufferings which reached their climax throughout the march from the river Hingol to the coast at Pasni, a distance of nearly two hundred miles.

<sup>3</sup> The greater part, if not even the whole, of the country watered by the Lower Indus was called Indo-Skythia—a name derived from the Skythian tribes, who gradually pressed onwards to the south and the sea-coast, after they had overthrown the Græco-Baktrian empire about A.D. 136. It is mentioned in the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea* and described by Ptolemy. Kosmas Indikopleustes, who wrote before the middle of the sixth century A.D., speaks of White Huns as the inhabitants of the Panjâb.



amid the soaring peaks of Kaukasos,<sup>1</sup> and rushing with furious speed straight south, goes, in ending its course, to encounter the tides of the Erythræan. The river has two mouths, and dashes against the island enclosed between them, called in the tongue of the natives, Patalênê.<sup>2</sup> Many, need I say, are the races of men whom it disparts. On the side where the sun sinks to his couch, are the Oreitans and the Aribes and the Arachotians clad in linen mantles, and the Satraïdians and the dalesmen of Parnasos<sup>3</sup>—all bearing the common name of Areianians. Far from delectable is the land of their abode—here a wilderness of barren sand, and there a dense jungle. But withal there are ways by which help comes to these poor mortals, for the earth yields them unalloyed wealth in another form—for they find the stone of red coral everywhere, and everywhere again the veins of underlying rocks give birth to beauteous tablets of the golden-hued and azure sapphire-stone, which they detach from the parent rock and part with at prices which yield them a livelihood. But on the eastern side the lovely land of the Indians lies outspread, the last of all lands, on the very lips of the ocean<sup>4</sup> where the ascending sun with his earliest beams scatters heat and radiance over the works of gods and men. Hence the complexions of the dwellers there are dark, their limbs exquisitely sleek and smooth, and the hair of their head surpassing soft, and dark-blue like the hyacinth. They are variously occupied—some by mining seek for the matrix of gold, digging the soil with well-curved pickaxes; others ply the loom to weave textures of linen; others saw the tusks of elephants and burnish them to the brightness of silver; and others along the courses of mountain torrents search for precious stones—the green beryl, or the sparkling diamond, or the pale-green translucent jasper, or the yellow-stone of the pure topaz, or the sweet amethyst, which with a milder glow imitates the hue of purple. For India enriches her sons with wealth in every form, being everywhere watered with perennial streams; nay, having moreover its

<sup>1</sup> The true source of the Indus was not known to the ancients. It rises in Tibet near the sources of the Satlej on the north side of Mount Karlâsa, famous in Indian mythology as the abode of Kuvêra and the paradise of S'iva. Its initial direction is towards the north-west till it approaches Badakshan, where it turns sharply south.

<sup>2</sup> Patalênê is the Indus Delta. Its name is derived from the Sanskrit *Pôta*, 'a station for ships,' from *Pôta*, 'a vessel.'

<sup>3</sup> Mount Paropanisos or Hindu-Kush.

<sup>4</sup> The Greeks believed that the Ocean now called the Pacific lay immediately to the east of India.

meadows bedecked even with perpetual verdure, for while in one place the fields are covered with crops of grain, they flourish elsewhere with whole forests of the red-hued reed.

Attend to me now while I tell thee of the shape of India, and of its rivers and high-soaring mountains, and of the races of men who possess it. It has four sides which make oblique angles at their points of junction, so that it thus somewhat resembles a rhombus in shape.<sup>1</sup> On the west its frontier is determined by the waters of the Indus, on the south by the billows of the Erythræan sea,<sup>2</sup> on the east by the Ganges, and in the quarter of the polar Bears by Kaukasos. Many are the men who possess this country, and happy the lives they lead, but they do not form a single community bearing a common name; on the contrary, they are separated into various tribes, each with a name of its own. Thus those called Dardanians<sup>3</sup> have their seats by the mighty flood of the Indus, where the tortuous Akesines,<sup>4</sup> sweeping down from his rocks, is received by the navigable waters of the Hydaspes.<sup>5</sup> After these follows third the Kôphês<sup>6</sup> with its silver eddies—and between them dwell the Sibai and the Taxilans<sup>7</sup> and then the Skodroi.<sup>8</sup> Next come the wild tribes of the Peukdensians,<sup>9</sup> beyond whom lie the seats of the Gargaridae,<sup>10</sup> worshippers of Bacchus, where, swiftest of streams, the Hypanis<sup>11</sup> and the divine Magarses<sup>12</sup> carry down the shining seeds of gold. Rushing down from the heights of Emôdos<sup>13</sup> these rivers take their course to the regions of the Ganges, sweeping on to the frontiers of the realms of Kôlis in

<sup>1</sup> See note, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> The Erythræan Sea comprised the Red Sea, Persian Gulf, and Indian Ocean.

<sup>3</sup> The people of Dardistan, see p. 3, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Akesines is the form in Greek of *Asikni*, the Sanskrit name of the river Chenâb, a name which may be referred to another of its Sanskrit names, the *Chandrabhâga*. *Asikni* means 'dark-coloured.'

<sup>5</sup> Ptolemy calls this river (the Jihlam) the *Bidaspes*, which is a nearer approach to its Sanskrit name the *Vetasta*, that is 'wide-spread.'

<sup>6</sup> This is the Kabul river, which joins the Indus near Attock.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 22, n. 2.

<sup>8</sup> A people called the Skordai are mentioned by Ptolemy as one of the tribes of Baktriana, whose seats lay towards the river Oxus.

<sup>9</sup> See p. 33, n. 3.

<sup>10</sup> The Gandaridæ must be meant, though their seats lay to the west of the Indus in Afghanistan, and not in the Panjâb.

<sup>11</sup> The Hyphasis or Beias. See p. 9, n. 1.

<sup>12</sup> In the version of Avienus, the Megarsus appears as the Cymander :—

'Hic Hypanis lateque trahens vaga tegera Cymander.'

I have not met elsewhere with either name. The river Satlej seems to be meant.

<sup>13</sup> The Himalayan range.



the south.<sup>1</sup> Now, the land here projects into the deep-whirling ocean in steep precipices, over which the fowls of heaven in swift flight can hardly wing their way, whence men have named the Rock Aornis.<sup>2</sup> Then again, hard by the fair-flowing Ganges is a wondrous spot of holy ground greatly honoured, having once on a time been trodden by the infuriated Bacchus, when his soft fawnskins were exchanged for shields, and his thyrsi rushed into swords of steel, and their ivy-wreaths and curling tendrils of the vine became coils of snakes, because at that time the people in their folly paid no heed to the festival of the god. Hence arose the name they gave the place, that of the Nysæan track, and hence along with their children they began to celebrate the orgies with all the due rites. But the god himself, when he had crushed the dark-coloured Indian races, advanced to the mountains of Emôdos, at whose base rolls the mighty stream of the Eastern Ocean.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Pomponius Mela, like Dionysios here, designates southern India Kôlis—a Greek form of the word Kôti or Kôri, the name of the headland which bounded the Orgalic Gulf on the south. This cape is called by Pliny, who describes it as the projection of India nearest Ceylon, Coliacum.

<sup>2</sup> Dionysios has transferred this famous rock from the western bank of the Indus to the south of India.

## SECTION XII

## PHILOSTRATOS OF LEMNOS

PHILOSTRATOS, the biographer of Apollonius of Tyana, was born at Lemnos probably in 172 A.D. He rose to the height of fame as a rhetorician, and was in high favour with the Empress Julia Domna, wife of Severus, and at her request wrote his famous biography of Apollonius. He was the author of several other works.

Philostratos, who flourished in the reign of the Emperor Severus (about A.D. 230), was the author of a *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, a city in Cappadocia, who is said to have visited India about the middle of the first century of our era. Apollonius, according to this work, was a philosopher of the School of Pythagoras, and sought, like that sage, to extend his knowledge by travelling into foreign countries. In the earlier part of his life he made the round of the great cities of Asia Minor, where he taught the doctrines of his School and acquired a great reputation as a magician and a worker of miracles. Some years subsequently, his thoughts having turned towards the East, he set out to explore the wonders of India and make himself acquainted with the learning and wisdom of the Brahmans, the fame of which had been spread in the West by the companions of Alexander. So, starting from Ægæ, a city near Tarsus in Cilicia, he made his way to Nineveh, where he met a learned Assyrian called Damis, who became his friend, accompanied him into India, and kept a record of his sayings and doings during the journey. Leaving Nineveh, the travellers reached Babylon, where they halted for eighteen months. Here Apollonius discoursed with the Parthian King Bardanes, and took the opportunity of learning some theurgic secrets from the Magi. The route from Babylon Damis describes as having lain through a rich and pleasant country, wherein, as being the guests of the king, they were well received. Having gained the foot of the Kaukasos (Hindu-Kush), the travellers were shown the cave in which Prometheus



had been chained and visited by the eagle, and were entertained with stories about Hercules. After crossing the Kôphên (the Kabul river) they entered a country ruled by a king, and saw the peaked summit of Mount Nysa,<sup>1</sup> where was a circular space fenced with a hedge of laurels, vine, and ivy planted by the hands of Bacchus himself, whose statue in white stone adorned the centre of this rustic temple. The famous Rock Aornos, though near Nysa, they did not visit, as it lay out of their route. Damis says the rock was called Aornos, because there was a chasm on its top which drew all birds down into it, and not because birds could not fly over it. On reaching the Indus they saw a troop of some thirty elephants crossing it to escape capture by their hunters. Damis has much to say about elephants, but is in error regarding them on more points than one. In Taxila, Apollonius saw one called Ajax, which had fought against Alexander, and which must therefore have attained the patriarchal age of at least 400!! The Indus, at the point where the travellers crossed it, is said by Damis to be forty stadia (about five miles) in breadth.<sup>2</sup> Like previous writers on India, he says that it rises in the Kaukasos, and that, like the Nile, it is subject to inundations and abounds with sea-horses and crocodiles. From the Indus they were conducted to Taxila, a city about the size of Nineveh, walled like a Greek town, and the residence of a sovereign. Outside the walls was a beautiful temple of shell marble with a shrine and many columns. Round the shrine were hung pictures on copper tablets representing the feats of Alexander and Poros. The various figures were portrayed in a mosaic of orichalcum, silver, gold, and oxydised copper, but the weapons in iron. The metals were so ingeniously worked into one another that the pictures which they formed were comparable to the productions of the most famous Greek artists. Apollonius waited in this temple till he was invited by the king, whose name was Phraotes, to enter the gates of the city and present himself at the palace. There he was received by the king (who spoke Greek), not only with courtesy, but with all the respect and deference considered due to a philosophic sage. We learn with surprise that the palace was not distinguished by any superior splendour from the residences of the wealthier citizens, and that within its precincts were to be seen no traces of courtly pomp, no

<sup>1</sup> For the position of Nysa, see Preface to the new edition of vol. v. of this series.

<sup>2</sup> This is more than five times its breadth at Attak.

sentinels, no guards, and but very few attendants. The king's tastes and pursuits are at the same time described as being of the most simple character. He told his visitors among other things that he paid blackmail to a tribe of barbarians on his borders for the protection of his dominions against the attacks of other barbarous tribes. After they had sojourned with him for three days, he gave Apollonius provisions and a guide to the Brahmans, whose seat lay between the Hyphasis and the Ganges. He gave him also a letter of introduction to Iarchas, the chief of the Brahmans, whom he requested to let the Greek philosopher know all that he himself knew. On the journey to the Hyphasis (the river Beas) they saw the plain where Porus had been defeated by Alexander. It was seen to be now adorned with a triumphal arch and a statue of the great conqueror in a four-horse chariot, as he appeared in the battle of Issus. Farther on they came upon two other arches, on one of which was Alexander and on the other Porus. They saw, moreover, as they approached the Hyphasis, the altars which Alexander had built there, and also a bronze pillar with this inscription: 'Here Alexander halted.' Damis tells us wonderful things about the river Hyphasis, such as we find in Ktésias. In its waters was to be found the skôlex of that writer—a worm which yielded a highly inflammable oil—also a fish found nowhere else called the peacock, because of its golden tail, which it could open out like a fan. On its banks grew the trees from which the unguent was procured with which bride and bridegroom were anointed, that Venus might be propitious to their nuptials. In its marshes, again, the unicorn-ass was caught, from whose horn a cup was made which possessed magical virtues.<sup>1</sup> Here our travellers crossed that spur of the Kaukasos which stretches down to the Red Sea. On the heights grew various kinds of aromatic plants and the cinnamon-tree, and in the hollows the pepper-plant<sup>2</sup> and frankincense-bearing trees. The apes, we are told, which haunted the rocks, gathered the pepper for the Indians, and were on that account highly valued. On arriving at the top of the mountain the travellers saw a plain the most extensive and the most fertile in all the country, and watered in all directions by canals from the Ganges. The distance to that river was a fifteen days' journey, while that to the Red Sea

<sup>1</sup> This story is copied from Ktésias, as is also the story of the unicorn-ass, that is, the rhinoceros.

<sup>2</sup> The pepper-plant is, however, a product of Southern and not Northern India.



was one of eighteen. At the foot of the mountains was situated a very large city, called Paraka,<sup>1</sup> whose inhabitants are trained to hunt the dragon which abounds in the marshes, plains, and mountains of India. Some dragons attain a length of thirty cubits. Their hearts and livers are eaten by the people, who thus acquire a knowledge of the language and thoughts of animals. From Paraka to the hill of the sages, which was strongly fortified, was a journey of four days. Near it lay a village, the inhabitants of which spoke Greek. Here Apollonius was accosted in Greek and by name by a messenger from the sages, who invited him to enter their stronghold. Apollonius accordingly, led by the messenger, ascended the hill, which rose sheer up from the plain to the height of the Athenian Acropolis, and on reaching the summit saw a well of sacred water, by which, he was told, all the people of the neighbourhood swore. Near this was a crater in which the volcanic matter rose to the brim, but never overflowed, and here the Indians purified themselves from all involuntary sins. The well was called by the sages the *well of the test*,<sup>2</sup> and the crater, *the fire of pardon*. Here also were two vessels of black stone—the urns of the winds and of the rains, which opened or shut according as their contents were, or were not, required. Apollonius found the sages seated on brazen stools, and their chief, Iarchas, on a raised throne of bronze, adorned with golden images. Iarchas welcomed the stranger in Greek, and entertained him and his companion for four months, in the course of which he frequently conversed with Apollonius, and imparted to him all his wisdom. From what Damis has reported of their discourses it would appear that Iarchas was quite conversant, even with the most abstruse doctrines of Greek philosophy, as well as with the nature of Greek institutions. Before his departure Apollonius inquired about the marvels mentioned by Ktésias, Megasthenes, and others—such as the Martichora,<sup>3</sup> the wonderful gem called the Pantarba,<sup>4</sup> the golden fountain, the Pygmies, the Skiapodes,<sup>5</sup> the gold-digging gryphons,<sup>6</sup> and the Phoenix which spent the five

<sup>1</sup> No city bearing this name in India is found to be elsewhere mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> Compare what is said in the extract from Stobaios, p. 172.

<sup>3</sup> This is an animal mentioned in Ktésias, but there exists no known animal to which his description of it is applicable, though some take it to be the tiger.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps the *Hydrophanes*, that is, the sun-agate.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 62, n. 3, and Pliny's *Nat. Hist.* vii. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Tibetan mastiffs.

hundred years of its life in India, and consumed itself in its own aromatic nest at the fountains of the Nile.<sup>1</sup>

On the return journey our travellers, mounted on camels supplied by the sages, went down towards the sea-coast, having the Ganges on their right and the Hyphasis on their left, and in ten days reached the sea. Apollonius, having sent back the camels and a letter of farewell to Iarchas, embarked on a voyage which, following the track of Nearchus, brought him from Patala and the mouth of the Indus to the head of the Persian Gulf, whence he ascended by the Euphrates to Babylon.

From this abstract of his narrative it will be seen that Damis is an arrant storyteller. His description of the country between the Hyphasis and the Ganges is utterly at variance with all known facts regarding it. As Alexander had not carried his arms into that part of India it had remained quite unknown, and hence for his account of it Damis had to depend entirely on the resources of his own imagination. For the geography, however, of the country between the Indus and the Hyphasis he was not without guidance, for it had been traversed by Alexander and described by his historians. Yet even here he is not free from errors, into which one who had personally visited the Panjâb could not have fallen. Damis, in fact, tells nothing that is true about India except what had been told by writers before him, and hence we are free to doubt whether Apollonius had ever visited India at all.

The journal kept by Damis was placed by his descendants in the hands of Julia Domna, the wife of the Emperor Severus, a woman notable for her patronage of men of learning and genius, who handed it over to Philostratos as being an accomplished rhetorician, with a request that he would write a life of Apollonius based on its contents. The work which was accordingly written, though not till after her death, was destined to become famous from the use made of it by sceptical writers in their attacks on the Christian Faith. It is divided into eight books, of which the second and third are occupied with the Indian journey. The work as a whole is now regarded as little else than a romance, which shrouds as in a dense haze the real character and performances of its hero.

<sup>1</sup> The fable of the Phoenix (Palm-bird) is here presented to us in one of its very numerous variations. It flew from the Island of the Blest (Socotra) to Egypt with odorous wood for its funeral pile.



## SECTION XIII

## THE DIONYSIAKA OR BASSARIKA OF NONNOS

A GREEK epic poem in hexameter verse, called the *Dionysiaka* or *Bassarika*, has for its subject the history of Bacchus, and dwells especially on the conquest of India—the greatest of all his achievements. The author of this work was Nonnos, a native of Panopolis in Egypt, who flourished about the beginning of the fifth century of our era, or, according to others, a century later. The poem is divided into forty-eight books, of which the first twelve are occupied with the birth, education, and early career of Bacchus, and those which follow with the great deeds by which he achieved the honour of apotheosis. The Indians, according to Nonnos, had, in the days of which he sings, extended their empire westwards as far as the shores of the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, and Bacchus, instigated by a message from Zeus, set himself the task of expelling these daring and lawless intruders from Asia. He gathered therefore to his aid a mighty host composed not only of ordinary mortals, but also of centaurs, satyrs, cyclopes, mænads, and other bellicose nymphs, and at the head of this motley array encountered the Indians near the lake of Astrakis in Bithynia. The waters of this lake the wine-god turned into the intoxicant over which he presided, and by this device made drunk and captured the Indian troops. He marched thence into Syria, where he defeated another and still stronger army led by Orontes, the son-in-law of Dêriades,<sup>1</sup> the Indian King. Orontes himself was slain and gave his name to the river on the banks of which he met his death.<sup>2</sup> Bacchus proceeded afterwards to

<sup>1</sup> Nonnos derives the name from *δῆρις*, 'fight.' Professor Wilson, however, suggested that the name Dêriades may be a translation or adaptation of the Sanskrit *Duryodhana*, the name of one of the heroes of the *Mahābhārata*.

<sup>2</sup> *Orontes* is said to be a Greek form of the Persian *Arvanda*, from *arvat*, 'flowing.' The Syrians believe the river took its name from an Indian chief who died

Assyria, where he was entertained with abounding hospitality at the royal court.

Far different was the reception he met with in India, where Dêriades the king rejected his presents and his orgies, and defied his arms in a war which lasted till the seventh year. The first battle on Indian ground came off on the banks of the Hydaspes. There the Indian forces under the command of Thoreus were completely routed, and Bacchus then passed over to the other side of the river to offer battle to the king himself. Dêriades declined the challenge, and shut himself up in his capital until he had gathered all his chiefs and their retainers to his standard. Then war was waged anew, but inconclusively, for six years. Bacchus at last summoned a fleet from Arabia, and with it succeeded in destroying the Indian fleet, by sending a fire-ship into its midst. Dêriades escaped, renewed the contest on land, and encountered his enemy in single combat. The goddess of war, Pallas Athênê, descended to the aid of Bacchus, and her presence in the field so dismayed the king, that he fled towards the Hydaspes. Bacchus gave chase, and, coming up with the fugitive, smote him with his thyrsus. Dêriades, finding the blow to be mortal, let himself drop into the river, and perished in its murmuring waters.

The part of the poem which is of most interest as regards India is the Twenty-sixth Book, which contains not only the names of the chiefs who fought along with Dêriades, but the names also, accompanied sometimes with brief descriptions, of the places from which they came. I quote from Prieaulx's work the list of these names, and may remark that he has abbreviated some of our author's descriptions.

'At the summons of Dêriades came Agraïos (ἄγρα, 'the chase') and Phlegios (φλέγω, 'to burn'), the two sons of Eulæus (river Ulai? Marcellus), and with them those who dwell in Kusa<sup>1</sup> and Bagia near the broad muddy waters of the Indian Zorambos; the people, too, of the well-turreted Rhodoe, the craggy Propanisos<sup>2</sup> and the isle Gêrion, where not the mothers, but the fathers, suckle their children. There, too, were found the inhabitants of the lofty Sesindos and of Gazos girt about with

there. Strabo (xvi. ii. 7) states that the name of the river was formerly Typhon, but was changed to Orontes, from the name of the person who constructed the bridge over it.

<sup>1</sup> In the region of the Gandak is situated Kusi-nagara, which is celebrated as the place where Buddha obtained *Nirvāna*.

<sup>2</sup> Paropanisos, the Hindu-Kush range in the North of Afghanistan.



impregnable linen-woven bulwarks.<sup>1</sup> Near them were ranged the brave Dardæ<sup>2</sup> and the Prasian<sup>3</sup> force with the gold-covered tribes of the Sarangi,<sup>4</sup> who live on vegetables, and grind them down instead of corn. Then came the curly-haired Zabians with their wise ruler Stassanor, then Morrheus and Didnasos eager to avenge the death of his son Orontes. Now followed the many-languaged Indians from well-built sunny Aethra, and they who hold the jungles (λασιῶνα) of Asene<sup>5</sup> and the reedy Andonides, the burning Nicæa, the calm Malana, and the water-girt plains of Patalênê.<sup>6</sup> Next they marched the serried ranks (πυκινά) of the Dosareans<sup>7</sup> and the hairy-breasted Sabaroi,<sup>8</sup> and Phringos, Aspetos, Tanyelos, Hippouros, and Eretios, then the Ouatecetoi,<sup>9</sup> who sleep lying on their long ears, led on by their chiefs. Tectaphus also was there at the head of his Bolingians,<sup>10</sup> Tectaphus whom, when in prison,

<sup>1</sup> This description of Gazos is taken from the *Bassarika* of Dionysios. The name is found in Stephanos of Byzantium.

<sup>2</sup> These are the *Darada* of Sanskrit, the *Daradrai* of Ptolemy, the *Derdai* of Strabo, the *Dardæ* of Pliny, and the *Dardanoi* of Diony. Periêg. They are the people of Dardistân, the mountainous region situated to the north of the upper course of the Indus which produced the ant-gold.

<sup>3</sup> The Prasii are the inhabitants of Prasiakê (Sansk. *Prachyaka*, 'eastern'), the capital of which was Palibothra on the Ganges, now Patna.

<sup>4</sup> Arrian (*Indika*, 3) mentions a river called the Saranges, as one of three tributaries of the Hydraôtes or Râvi. But the Sarangi here are no doubt the people of Drangiana (now Seistan), called by Arrian and Strabo *Drangai*, by Pliny *Zarangæ*, and by Herodotos *Sarangai*. Herodotos (vii. 67) describes the Sarangai in the army of Xerxes as conspicuous for the dress they wore, dyed garments, boots which reached up to the middle of their legs, and bows and Median darts.

<sup>5</sup> Nicæa was the city built by Alexander on the battlefield on which he defeated Porus. Pliny says (vi. 20) that it was the chief of three cities which belonged to the *Asini*.

<sup>6</sup> Patalênê is the name of the Indus Delta.

<sup>7</sup> The Dôsareans are the Das'ârnas, a people mentioned in the *Vishnu Purâna* as belonging to the south-east of the Madhya-des'a (the Midlands) in juxtaposition to the Sabaras or Suars. Ptolemy mentions that the river which flowed through the country of the Dôsareans—the river Dôsaron, was one of four which entered the Gulf of Bengal between Kannagara and the western mouth of the Ganges.

<sup>8</sup> Yule has located the Sabarai in Dôsârênê near Sambhalpur, famous for producing the finest of diamonds. They were a wild race living in the jungles without any fixed habitation.

<sup>9</sup> *Oúarokolrai*.

<sup>10</sup> In the long list of Indian races given by Pliny in the Sixth Book of his *Natural History*, and borrowed chiefly from Megasthenes, occur the Bholingai. Their seats lay where the Arâvalî range slopes westward towards the Indus. According to Pânini the great Indian grammarian, Bhaulingi was the seat of one of the branches of the great tribe of the S'alvas or S'âlvas. The Bôlingai are mentioned by Ptolemy, who misplaces them to the east of the Vindhya. According to Prialx Nonnos has taken the name of their leader from the *Bassarika* of Dionysios Periêgêtês.

his daughter suckled and saved from death.<sup>1</sup> From the earth's extremity Giglon, Thoureux, and Hippalmus, brought up the Arachotes<sup>2</sup> and the Drangiai, who cover with dust those whom the sword has slain.<sup>3</sup> Habraatos commanded the archers, shamed by the loss of his hair, cut off by the order of Dêriades, and a disgrace among the Indians; he came on slowly, and perforce with hate in his heart. He ruled the savage Scyths, the brave Ariainoi,<sup>4</sup> the Zoaroi, the Arenoi, the Caspeiri,<sup>5</sup> the Arbians<sup>6</sup> of the Hysparos, and the Arsanians<sup>7</sup> whose women are wonderfully expert in weaving. Near them were ranged the Cirradioi<sup>8</sup> used to naval warfare, but in boats of skins; their chiefs were Thyamis and Olkaros, sons of Tharseros the rower. Under Phylites son of Hipparios, came a swarm of men from Arizanteia, where a certain bush tree from its green leaves distils sweet honey,<sup>9</sup> while from its branches the Horion pours forth a song like the swan's for melody, and the yellow purple-winged Catreus utters its shrill cry, prophetic of rain.<sup>10</sup> Then follow the Sibai, the people of Hydera,<sup>11</sup> and the Carmanian hosts, with their leaders Kolkaros and Astrais,

<sup>1</sup> Like the Roman daughter whose filial piety is so nobly sung in *Childe Harold* (iv. stanzas 148-157).

<sup>2</sup> The inhabitants of Arachôsia, a province of Persia, bordered on the north by part of the Faropanis chain, on the east by the Indus, and on the west by the Drangians. It was a rich and populous province, and acquired early importance as one of the main routes from India to Persia.

<sup>3</sup> According to Professor Wilson, the ascetic followers of S'iva and Vishnu bury their dead.

<sup>4</sup> These are evidently the people of Ariana, which is fully described by Strabo in the Fifteenth Book of his *Geography*, and by Pliny, who states that it included the Arii with other tribes (vi. 23).

<sup>5</sup> Kaspeira, the capital of Kaspeiria (Kashmir), is mentioned by Ptolemy, who has, however, misplaced it. He describes Kaspeiria as situated below the sources of the Bidaspes (Jihlam) and the Sandabal (Chenâb) and the Adris (Râvi).

<sup>6</sup> The people of the maritime region immediately to the west of the Indus are called the Arbitai and sometimes the Arabies.

<sup>7</sup> Ptolemy mentions a territory called Arsa as lying between the Indus and the Bidaspes (Hydaspes or Jihlam), and this may have been the seat of the Arsanians.

<sup>8</sup> By the Cirradioi are meant the Kirâta, a race spread along the shores of Bengal to eastward of the mouths of the Ganges as far as Arracan. They are described by the author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, who calls them the Kirrhadaï as savages with flat noses. He places them on the coast to the west of the Ganges, but erroneously. They are the Airrhadoi of Ptolemy.

<sup>9</sup> Strabo tells us (see p. 26) that in India reeds yield honey without bees, and that there is a tree from the fruit of which honey is procured.

<sup>10</sup> In note 4, p. 147, I have translated in full the description of these two birds which is here abbreviated. It will be seen that Nonnos has versified the account given of them by Aelian.

<sup>11</sup> The Sibi inhabited a district between the Hydaspes and the Indus. They represented one of the aboriginal tribes of the regions of the Indus. As they were clad with the skins of wild beasts and armed with clubs, they reminded the



the sons of Lōgos. The three hundred isles at the mouth of the Indus sent their contingent under Ripsasos, a giant in stature (ἔχων ἰνδαλμα γιγάντων, v. 248). Aretos, too, with his five sons born deaf and dumb, obeyed the call of Dēriades. With them were ranged the shield-bearing warriors of Pyle, Kōlalla, and Goryandos;<sup>1</sup> while under Phylates marched those who dwell in the woody Osthe, mother of elephants, and near them their neighbours from Euthydimeia,<sup>2</sup> speaking another tongue. The Derbicei,<sup>3</sup> the Ethiopians,<sup>4</sup> the Sacæ,<sup>5</sup> the Bactrians, and the Blemyes, also joined the army of Dēriades, pp. 206-9.'

The personal names are nearly all Greek. The name of the Indian King, *Deriades*, as Professor Wilson has suggested, may be a translation or adaptation of *Duryodhana*, the name of one of the heroes of the *Mahabhārata*, which may have reached the west through the Baktrian Greeks or through Indians who visited Alexandria. *Orontes* is said to be a Greek form of the Persian *Arvanda* from *arvat*, 'flowing.' The Syrians believe that the river of Antioch, the *Orontes*, took its name from an Indian chief. The place-names are Indian, but the personal names in most instances are traceable to Greek sources.

Greeks of Hercules, and hence arose the legend that the Sibi were the descendants of the followers of that hero. Here they are placed farther east than the Hydaspes (Jihlam river), at least if Hydra be the region through which the Hydraotes (the Ravi river) flows.

<sup>1</sup> Goryaia—the territory traversed by the river of Ghor, an affluent of the Kabul river, may perhaps be Goryandos. Alexander on his march to India passed through Goryaia.

<sup>2</sup> Ptolemy, among the cities in the Pāndya country, the seat of the Lunar race, gives as one of them 'Sagala, otherwise called Euthymēdia.' Sagala, the Sākala of Sanskrit writers, was situated to the west of the Hydraotes (Rāvi), at a distance of about sixty miles from Lahore. The city having been destroyed was rebuilt by the King of Baktria, in whose dominions it was included and by whom in honour of his father Euthydēmos, the founder of the greatness of the Baktrian kingdom, it was called Euthydēmia. Nonnos, it thus appears, gives the name more correctly than Ptolemy. Euthydēmos reigned about the year 220 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> These are the Derbikkai of Ptolemy and the Derbikes of Strabo. They were settled between the left bank of the Oxus and the Caspian Sea. They were of Scythic origin, and are described by Strabo and Aelian as extremely barbarous.

<sup>4</sup> Herodotos (iii. 94) says that the seventeenth division of the Persian empire consisted of the Paricanians and Asiatic Ethiopians. These Ethiopians had their seats either in Sogdiana or Baktria, but they are not the Ethiopians here referred to, for, as Nonnos mentions them along with the Blemyes—an African race of the Nubian desert—they must be taken as the Ethiopians of Africa.

<sup>5</sup> *Sakai* is the Persian equivalent of *Skythai*, the Scythians.

## SECTION XIV

## DIODORUS SICULUS

DIODORUS, surnamed the Sicilian, as he was a native of Agyrium in Sicily, was the author of a universal history to which he gave the name of *Bibliothēkē* to indicate that it was a library in itself. He composed it in Rome after he had travelled over a great part of Europe and Asia in order to acquire a better knowledge of the countries and nations he had to describe than could be learned from books. He wrote in the days of Julius Caesar and the Emperor Augustus. A considerable portion of the work, which was divided into forty books, has been lost, but the books in which his general description of India and Alexander's Indian campaigns are described still exist, and will be found translated in vol. i. and vol. v. of this series.

XVIII. 6. Among the southern countries the first under Kaukasos is India, a kingdom remarkable for its vast extent and the largeness of its population, for it is inhabited by very many nations, among which the greatest of all is that of the Gandaridai,<sup>1</sup> against whom Alexander did not undertake an expedition, being deterred by the multitude of their elephants. This region is separated from farther India by the greatest river in those parts (for it has a breadth of thirty stadia), but it adjoins the rest of India which Alexander had conquered, and which was well watered by rivers and highly renowned for its prosperous and happy condition. It contained, along with many other kingdoms, the realms subject to Pōros and Taxiles, through which flows the river Indus, from which the country takes its name.

39. Antipater<sup>2</sup> then divided the Satrapies anew . . . and give India, which bordered on the Paropamisadai, to Pythōn, the son of Agēnōr, and of the adjacent kingdoms he gave that which lay along the Indus to Pōros, and that along the

<sup>1</sup> The proper form of this name is Gangaridai, the people of Bengal.

<sup>2</sup> On the murder of Perdikkas, 321 B.C., Antipater became supreme regent of Alexander's empire, and made a new division of its provinces without much disturbance of the previous arrangement.



Hydaspês to Taxilês,<sup>1</sup> for it was impossible to remove these kings without royal troops under the command of some distinguished general.

XIX. 27. Eumênês on the left wing posted Eudamos, who had brought the elephants from India, and commanded a division of cavalry 150 strong.<sup>2</sup>

30. When Eumenes was interring the slain with splendid obsequies, a marvellous thing occurred, of a nature quite contrary to what is customary among the Greeks. For Kêteus, the commander of those who had come from India, was killed in the battle when fighting gloriously, and he left two wives who had accompanied him in the expedition, one lately married, while the other had been for a few years his helpmate, but both of them devotedly attached to him. Now, it was an ancient law among the Indians that when young men and maidens were minded to wed, they did not marry according to the judgment of their parents, but by mutual consent. But when in these old times espousals were made between persons of immature age, mistakes of judgment were of frequent occurrence, and when both sides repented their union, many of the women became depraved, and through incontinence fell in love with other men, and when at last they wished to leave the husbands they had first chosen, but could not in decency do so openly, they got rid of them by poison, a means of destroying life which they could readily procure in their country, which produces in great quantity and variety drugs of fatal potency, some of which cause death if merely introduced as a powder into food or drink. But when this nefarious practice had become quite prevalent, and many lives had been sacrificed, and when it was found that the punishment of the guilty had no effect in deterring other wives from their career of iniquity, they passed a law ordaining that a wife, unless she were pregnant, or had already borne children, should be burned along with her deceased husband, and that if she did not choose to obey the law that she should remain a widow to

<sup>1</sup> As the hereditary dominions of Taxiles lay between the Indus and Hydaspes, and those of Pôros to the east of the latter river, Diodorus must be here in error.

<sup>2</sup> Eudamos (or Eudêmos) was in conjunction with Taxiles appointed by Alexander to govern temporarily his Indian conquests till the arrival of a successor to Philip, who had been assassinated. After Alexander's death (323 B.C.) Eudêmos decoyed into his power the great Pôros and put him to death, soon after which he left India to assist Eumenes in his contest with Antigonos. The elephants which Eudêmos took with him from India proved of great service to Eumenes.

the end of her life, and be for ever excommunicated from the sacrifices and other solemnities as being an impious person. When these laws had been enacted, it came to pass that the women changed to the very opposite their disposition to violate their duty, for, since each one willingly submitted to the death ordained, rather than endure the excess of infamy which would attend its refusal, they not only provided for the safety and welfare of their husbands in which their own were equally involved, but they contended with each other for this as the highest of all honours, and this happened in the present instance. For although by the law only one was to be burned with the husband, yet at the funeral of Kêteus each of his wives strove for the honour of dying with him, as if this were the noblest crown of virtue. When the matter was brought to the generals for decision, the younger wife represented that the other was pregnant and could not therefore take advantage of the law. The elder pleaded that as she was before the other in years, she should be preferred before her in honour also; for in every other case it was the rule that more honour and respect should be accorded to the elder than to the younger. The generals being informed by the midwives that the elder was with child, decided in favour of the younger; whereupon the one who lost her cause went away weeping and wailing, rent the veil from her head, and tore her hair as if some terrible news had been told her. The other, overjoyed at her victory, set forth for the funeral pile, crowned with mitres by the women of her house, and richly attired, as if she were going to some marriage festival, escorted by her kindred setting forth in songs the praises of her virtues. When she came near to the pyre she stripped off her ornaments and distributed them to her servants and friends, bequeathing them, so to speak, as tokens of remembrance to those she loved. Her ornaments consisted of a multitude of finger-rings, set with precious stones of divers colours; upon her head there was no small number of little golden stars, between which were placed sparkling stones of all sorts; about her neck she wore many rows of jewels, some small, others large, and increasing in size gradually as they were placed on the string. At length she took farewell of her domestics, and was assisted by her brother to mount the pyre, and, to the great admiration of the people, who ran together to see the spectacle, she made her exit from life in heroic style. For the whole army under arms marched thrice round the pile before fire was set to it, and the victim,



having meanwhile laid herself by her husband's side, scorned to demean herself by uttering shrieks, even when the flames were raging around her—a sight which affected the onlookers variously. Some were filled with pity, others were profuse in their praises, while there were not wanting Greeks who condemned the institution as barbarous and inhuman.

BOOK I. 11, 12. From Ethiopia he (Osiris<sup>1</sup>) passed through Arabia, bordering upon the Red Sea as far as to India, and the remotest inhabited coasts; he built likewise many cities in India, one of which he called Nysa, willing to have a remembrance of that (Nysa) in Egypt where he was brought up. At this Nysa in India he planted ivy, which continues to grow here, but nowhere else in India or near it. He left likewise many other marks of his being in those parts, by which the latter inhabitants are induced to believe, and do affirm, that this god was born in India. He likewise addicted himself much to the hunting of elephants, and took care to have statues of himself in every place, as lasting monuments of his expedition.

At the end of the Second Book of his *History*, Diodorus introduces to our notice a Greek author, Iamboulos, who is known to have written a work on the strange forms of the inhabitants of India.<sup>2</sup> We learn regarding him that he was made a slave by the Ethiopians, who sent him away in a boat which carried him to a happy island in the Eastern Seas. His account of the island (supposed to be Ceylon) and its inhabitants, which Diodorus has transcribed at some length, is ludicrously absurd, and makes it doubtful whether Iamboulos had ever been in the east. Lucian in his *Veræ Historiæ* (i. 3) has therefore put him in the pillory along with Ktésias as a writer of fables. We may cite the passage with which Diodorus concludes his notice of this fictionmonger, as it has reference to India.

After Iamboulos with his companion had continued in this island seven years, they were (as wicked and vile fellows) ejected. Having therefore their ship fitted out and furnished with provisions, they set sail, and after they had continued their voyage for above four months together, they fell at length upon the sandy shallows of India, where Iamboulos's companion was drowned, and he himself afterwards cast upon a certain village, and forthwith carried away by the inhabitants

<sup>1</sup> Osiris is here identified with the Greek Bacchus.

<sup>2</sup> See Tzetz. *Chil.* vii. 144.

of the place to the king, then at a city called Polibothra,<sup>1</sup> many days' journey from the seas, where he was kindly received by the king, who had a great love for the Grecians, and was very studious in the liberal sciences. At length (having obtained provision from the king) he first sailed into Persia, and thence safely arrived in Greece. This Iamboulos committed all these adventures to writing, and gave an account of many things relating to the affairs of India before unknown to strangers.—Booth's *Trans.*

<sup>1</sup> Pâtaliputra or Palibothra, now Patna.



## SECTION XV

INCIDENTAL NOTICES OF INDIA IN THE  
CLASSICS

## PLUTARCH

PLUTARCH was a native of Chæroneia in Bœotia. The date of his birth is uncertain, but may be fixed towards the middle of the first Christian century. Besides his famous *Parallel Lives*, he published other writings, mostly essays called collectively *Moralia*, though some are of a historical character. In my volume v. will be found his account of Alexander's campaign in India, extracted from his *Life of Alexander*. We give here some extracts from his other works which concern India. A work *On Rivers*, falsely attributed to Plutarch, includes among them the Hydaspes, the Indus, and the Ganges, but the descriptions of these rivers are all but purely fanciful and made up of absurd legends.

*Oration I. Concerning the Fortune of Alexander.* 2. Then among the Indians I was everywhere exposed to their blows and the violence of their rage. They wounded me in the shoulder, and the Gandridai in the leg, while among the Mallôtes<sup>1</sup> a shaft shot from a bow lodged its iron point in my breast. A club too struck me a blow on the neck, when the ladders which had been applied to the walls broke down, and Fortune thus shut me up, not with antagonists of renown, but with unknown barbarians, a kind of work with which she liberally indulged me. Then had not Ptolemy held over me his buckler—had not Limnaios, overwhelmed with numberless darts, fallen in front of me—had not the Macedonians in the violence of their exasperation torn down the walls, Alexander's sepulchre must needs have been that barbarous and unknown paltry town.

5. Those whom Alexander subdued would never have become

<sup>1</sup> Alexander was wounded in the leg when besieging Massaga, a city of the Gandarians, probably in the modern province of Bajour. The Malliôtes are the Malloi, the inhabitants of the district which still retains their name, Multan. In besieging one of its strongholds, Alexander was all but mortally wounded. Plutarch errs in stating that Ptolemy was present to aid the king.

civilised unless they had been brought under submission. Egypt would not have had Alexandria, nor Mesopotamia Seleukeia, nor the Sogdians Prophthasia,<sup>1</sup> nor India Boukcephalia, nor Kaukasos Hellenic cities in its neighbourhood,<sup>2</sup> by the influence of which barbarism was crushed and a better morality superseded a worse.

11. It occurs to me to introduce here the saying of Pôros; for when he was led as a captive to Alexander, and was asked how he wished to be treated: 'As a king, O Alexander!' he replied, and when he was again asked if there was anything else, his reply was: 'Nothing, for in the words *as a King* everything was comprehended.'<sup>3</sup>

*Oration II.* 9. Among the Malloi an arrow two cubits long penetrated through his (Alexander's) breastplate into his breast, and upwards to his neck, as Aristoboulos has recorded.

13. But how did Fortune behave towards Alexander, the subject into which we are inquiring? Why thus, that on the banks of a river in the remotest corner of a barbarous country, the king and lord of the world, while shut up and hidden from sight within the walls of a contemptible town, should perish smitten and bruised with whatever ignoble weapons and instruments of offence came first to hand, for through his helmet he was wounded on the head by the blow of a bill, and an archer let fly an arrow which transfixed his cuirass and pierced to the bones around his breast and there stuck fast, the shaft as it projected from the wound aggravating the pain, while the iron of the barb measured four fingers in breadth and five in length. But what crowned his sufferings was this, that while he was defending himself in front and had by a timely thrust of his dagger thrown down and slain the man who had wounded him and dared to approach him sword in hand, at that very time a man rushing out from a mill-house with a bill, dealt him from behind a blow on the neck which made him giddy and confused his senses. But valour was at hand producing courage in him, and vigour and prompt action in the friends around him. For Limnaios and Ptolemy and Leonnatus, and such others as had climbed over or broken down the rampart to reach him, stood before him as a wall of valour, exposing, from their friendship and affection towards the king, their persons, their faces, and their lives in his defence. . . .

<sup>1</sup> Prophthasia (now Furrah) was a city of Drangiana, not of Sogdiana.

<sup>2</sup> Alexandria apud Caucasum.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Arrian (*Anab.* vi. 19).



The courage, the friendship, and the fidelity of these friends were the only help Alexander had then at hand. Between him and his other forces and resources—his fleets, his cavalry, and his armies, Fortune had interposed the wall of the fortress. Nevertheless the Macedonians routed the barbarians, and, when they fell, buried them in the ruins of their city. But this brought no relief to Alexander, for he was hurried off with the weapon still fixed in his breast, and he had a war raging within his vitals, for the arrow nailed his cuirass to his body; and when they tried by sheer force to extirpate it, so to speak, from the wound, the iron barb did not yield, being firmly lodged in the breast bones which protect the heart. Nor did they venture to saw off the protruding part of the reed, dreading lest the bone being shaken by the violent agitation should produce an excess of agony and cause blood to burst from the deep-seated veins. The king seeing their perplexity and their backwardness to operate, attempted himself to cut away the arrow at the surface of the cuirass with his scimitar, but his hand was weak, heavy, and numbed by the inflammation of his wound. He therefore ordered them to set to work and not to fear, thus encouraging those who were not themselves wounded.

## SEXTUS JULIUS FRONTINUS

Frontinus, who was the Roman Governor of Britain (where he conquered the Silures) from the year A.D. 75 to the year 78, when he was superseded by Agricola, was the author of two works still extant, one *About the Aqueducts of the City of Rome*, and the other a treatise on the art of war called *Strategemata*, divided into four books, in which the sayings and doings of the great commanders of antiquity are collected. Frontinus died about the year 106 A.D., after having held successively some of the highest offices of the state.

*Strategemata*.—Book I. iv. 9. Alexander of Macedon, when Porus the King of the Indians was preventing his army from crossing the river Hydaspes, ordered his men to be constantly hurrying forth in a direction against the current; and when by this mode of manœuvring he had succeeded in making Porus vigilant in guarding the opposite bank, he marched suddenly to a point higher up the river and crossed thence with his army to the other side.<sup>1</sup>

This same commander, on finding himself debarred by the enemy from crossing the river Indus, made his cavalry enter the river at different points and threaten to cross it; and while he kept the attention of the barbarians fully absorbed in watching

<sup>1</sup> Compare Arrian (*Anab.* v. 10).

this manœuvre, he ordered an island at some distance off to be occupied at first with a small, and afterwards with a larger, body of troops, which he then sent over from the island to the farther bank. Now, when the enemy in one mass had rushed forward to crush this detachment, he crossed the river by an undefended ford and placed himself at the head of his whole force.<sup>1</sup>

Book II. v. 17. Alexander of Macedonia, on finding the enemy camped on a high mountain-pass, took with him a part of his troops, and instructed those left behind to kindle as many fires as usual, to make it appear as if the whole army were still present.<sup>2</sup>

## POLYBIOS

Polybios the historian was born at Megalopolis in Arcadia about 204 B.C., and was the son of Lycortas, who became general of the Achæan league after the death of Philopœmen. He was sent with his father and the leading members of the league to be tried in Rome for not having assisted the Romans in their war against Perseus of Macedonia. He was there detained for seventeen years. His *History*, which consisted of forty books, of which some are lost, has been described as the History of the growth of the Roman power to the downfall of the independence of Greece. The narrative embraces the period from 220 B.C. to 146 B.C. the year in which Corinth and Carthage were destroyed and Greek independence lost. Polybios died at the age of 82.

XI. 34. Antiochus (the Great) received the young prince (Demetrius, son of Euthydêmos), and judging from his appearance, conversation, and the dignity of his manners that he was worthy of royal power, he first promised to give him one of his own daughters, and secondly conceded the royal title to his father. And having on the other points caused a written treaty to be drawn up, and the terms of the treaty to be confirmed on oath, he marched away, after liberally provisioning his troops, and accepting the elephants belonging to Euthydêmos.<sup>3</sup> He crossed the Caucasus<sup>4</sup> and descended into India; renewed his friendship with Sophagasenus, the King of the Indians;<sup>5</sup> received more elephants, until he had 150 alto-

<sup>1</sup> Alexander crossed the Indus by a bridge, and without opposition. The account is applicable to Alexander's passage of the Hydaspes.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Arrian (*Anab.* iv. 24).

<sup>3</sup> In the year 212 B.C. Antiochus III., King of Syria and surnamed the Great, marched eastward to recover the provinces of Parthia and Bactria, which had been wrested from Syria in his father's reign. This expedition occupied him for seven years, as he did not return to the West till 205 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> The Indian Caucasus or Hindu-Kush. Upwards of a century before Alexander the Great had crossed this range by one of the three passes which lead from the upper regions of the Oxus to those of the Kophen or Kabul river.

<sup>5</sup> The Sanskrit form of this name is *Subhagasena*.



gether; and having once more provisioned his troops, set out again personally with his army, leaving Androstenes of Cyzicus the duty of taking home the treasure which this king had agreed to hand over to him. Having traversed Arachosia and crossed the river Erymanthus,<sup>1</sup> he came through Drangene to Carmania; and as it was now winter, he put his men into winter quarters there.—Shuckburgh's *Trans.*

## PAUSANIAS

Pausanias, who appears to have been a native of Lydia, and who belonged to the age of the Antonines, was the author of a work called *Hellados Periêgêsts*, that is, an Itinerary of Greece, in which the objects worth notice are described. The descriptions given mainly refer to objects of antiquity and works of art such as buildings, temples, pictures, and statues. The travels of Pausanias were not limited to Greece, for he had been to Rome, had seen the temple of the Libyan Ammon, and had visited Syria and Palestine. It has been well remarked that with the exception of Herodotos, no writer of antiquity has comprehended so much valuable matter in a small volume.

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

IV. xxxii. But I know that the Chaldæans and the Indian sages (*μάγους*) have asserted that the soul of man is immortal.

IX. xxi. The wild beast described in the *Indika* of Ktésias, which is called by the Indians Martikhora,<sup>2</sup> and by the Greeks Androphagos (man-eater), I take to be the tiger. In each jaw it has three rows of teeth, and at the tip of its tail it is armed with stings, by which it defends itself in close fight, and which it discharges against distant foes, just like an arrow shot by an archer. This report, which the Indians, it appears to me, receive by tradition, is not true, but has arisen from their dread of this ferocious beast. They have been mistaken even as to its colour, for, when the tiger is seen by them in the sunlight, it appears to be all of one red colour through the

<sup>1</sup> This river, now the Helmund, is variously called in the Classics Erymanthos, Erymandros, and Etymandros. It passes through Arachosia and Drangiana (the Drangene of Polybios), and falls into Lake Zarah.

<sup>2</sup> This animal is mentioned by Aristotle in his *Hist. Anim.* ii. i, where he quotes Ktésias.

speed with which it runs, or, should it not be running, through the agility with which it is ever turning its body from this to that side, especially as one cannot without risk get a near view of it.

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

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

## TOTIUS ORBIS DESCRIPTIO

A Latin translation of a lost Greek original, composed either at Antioch or Alexandria between A.D. 350 and 353.

Section 16. Next comes India Major, from which silk and all kinds of necessities are said to be exported.<sup>1</sup> Its people live like their next neighbours and spend their years agreeably, inhabiting a country of great extent and fertility, which it takes 210 days to traverse.

17. Beyond and adjoining these is a country which is said to be inhabited by men both remarkably industrious—good at fighting and at work of every kind. India Minor accordingly seeks their aid as often as war is waged upon them by the Persians.<sup>2</sup> They are abundantly supplied with everything, and the country they inhabit takes 150 days to traverse.

<sup>1</sup> The silk was imported by the Indians from China, and thence exported to the West.

<sup>2</sup> Hence it would appear that India Minor lay to the west of the Indus—a quarter immediately exposed to attacks from Persia.



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

#### ANONYMI GEOGRAPHIÆ EXPOSITIO COMPENDIARIA

An unknown writer who follows Eratosthenes and Ptolemy.

VI. 24. All the rest of the continent as far as China (Thinas) is of vast extent and inhabited by many nations, and belongs to the Indians, whose dominions are bounded by the Sinæ on the east, by Gedrosia on the west, by the Paropanisdæ, Arachosia, the Sogdiani and Sacæ, Scythia, and finally Serica<sup>1</sup> on the north.

25. To this continent belongs also an immense island in the Indian Sea, called formerly Simunda, but now Salice, which they say produces all the necessities of life and metals of all kinds. The men who inhabit it are reported to encircle their heads with tresses of hair like those of women.<sup>2</sup>

#### DION CASSIUS

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

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

Dion then relates that one of the Indians, Zarmaros, burned himself, after the manner of his country, on a funeral pile,

<sup>1</sup> Serica may be taken to denote that part of China from which silk was obtained and transported to the West overland by way of the Stone Tower (Khoten in N. Lat. 37°, E. Long. 81°). The Sinæ were situated more to the South, and traded with the West by sea. Sera, the capital of Serica, lay in the province of Honan.

<sup>2</sup> This custom still prevails in the island.

in presence of Augustus and the Athenians. Strabo, who mentions the incident, calls Zarmaros Zarmanochegas (p. 78). Florus, in his *Epitome of Roman History* (iv. 12), mentions that the ambassadors complained of the length of the journey, which occupied four years, and that among their presents were precious stones, pearls, and elephants. Florus wrote in the days of Trajan. Orosius, who flourished about 420 A.D., states in his *History* (vi. 12) that an embassy from the Scythians and the Indians reached Cæsar (Augustus) at Tarraco in Hither Spain, having thus traversed the world from end to end.

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

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

#### AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS

For a notice of the life of this historian see p. 93.

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

#### SEXTUS AURELIUS VICTOR

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

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

#### JOANNES MALALA

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

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



APPIAN (fl. early in the second century of our era)

*De Bell. Civ.* V. 9. They (the people of Palmyra), being merchants, bring from Persia to Arabia Indian commodities, which they dispose of to the Romans.<sup>1</sup>

## EUSEBIOS PAMPHILI

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

*De Vita Constant.* IV. 50. Ambassadors from the Indians of the East brought presents . . . which they presented to the king (Constantine the Great) as an acknowledgment that his sovereignty extended to their ocean. They told him, too, how the Princes of India had dedicated pictures and statues in his honour in token that they recognised him as their autocrat and king.<sup>2</sup>

*E. H.* V. 10. They say that he (Pantainos<sup>3</sup>) showed such a zeal for the divine word that he was consecrated to preach the Gospel of Christ to the nations of the East, being sent all the way to the Indians. For there were even up till that time many evangelists of the word<sup>4</sup> who, with a holy zeal of imitating the Apostles, sought to contribute to the spread and up-building of the divine word. One of these was Pantainos, and he is said to have gone to the Indians. There, report says, he found that the Gospel according to Matthew had been introduced before his arrival, and was in the hands of some of the natives, who acknowledged Christ, and to whom Bartholomew, one of the Apostles, had preached, and left with them that

<sup>1</sup> After the destruction of Palmyra Batne became the intermediary of the Indian trade by way of the Persian Gulf.

<sup>2</sup> This embassy reached Constantinople in the last year of the Emperor Constantine the Great, 336-37 A.D.

<sup>3</sup> Pantainos, who seems to have been of Sicilian parentage, was educated, if not also born, in Alexandria. The principles of Stoicism, which he first embraced, he abandoned for those of Christianity, in which, as we learn from Photius (cod. 113), he was instructed by those who had seen the Apostles. In 181 A.D. he was appointed Head of the Catechetical School of Alexandria, an office in which he was succeeded by his illustrious pupil, Clemens Alexandrinus. The date of his death is not known, but he was alive in 211 A.D.

<sup>4</sup> Some prefer to translate 'Teachers of the Gospel.'

Gospel written in the Hebrew character and preserved to this day.<sup>1</sup>

## DION CHRYSOSTOM

*Orat.* XXXII. p. 672, Reiske's *Edition*.—For I see not only Greeks, Italians, etc., in the midst of you (Alexandrians), but also Bactrians and Skythians, and Persians, and some of the Indians who view the spectacles with you, and are with you on all occasions.

50-16 PROPERTIUS 50-16 BC

Book IV. El. 3. Thee but now did Bactra see *marching* through the traversed and retraversed east—thee but now the Seric foe on his armed steed and the wintry Getæ and Britannia in her painted battle-car, and the sun-scorched tawny Indian on his orient steed.

## HORACE

65-8 BC.

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

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

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

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

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

## VIRGIL

70-19 BC.

*Georg.* I. 57. India produces ivory.

*Georg.* II. 116-17. India alone produces black ebony.

*Georg.* II. 122-24. Why speak of . . . the forests which India bears hard by the Ocean—the utmost corner of the world-forests where no shot of the arrow can reach the sky

<sup>1</sup> St. Jerome states that Pantainos, on returning from India to Alexandria, brought with him the Gospel of Matthew written in Hebrew. But Eusebios does not say so; he merely says that the Gospel was in existence when Pantainos was in India.

*Georgics* passionate interest in agriculture



## 216 INCIDENTAL NOTICES

that tops the trees, and the natives are not slow when they take up the quiver?

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

*Æneid.* IX. 30-31. Like Ganges with his seven calm streams proudly rising through the silence.

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