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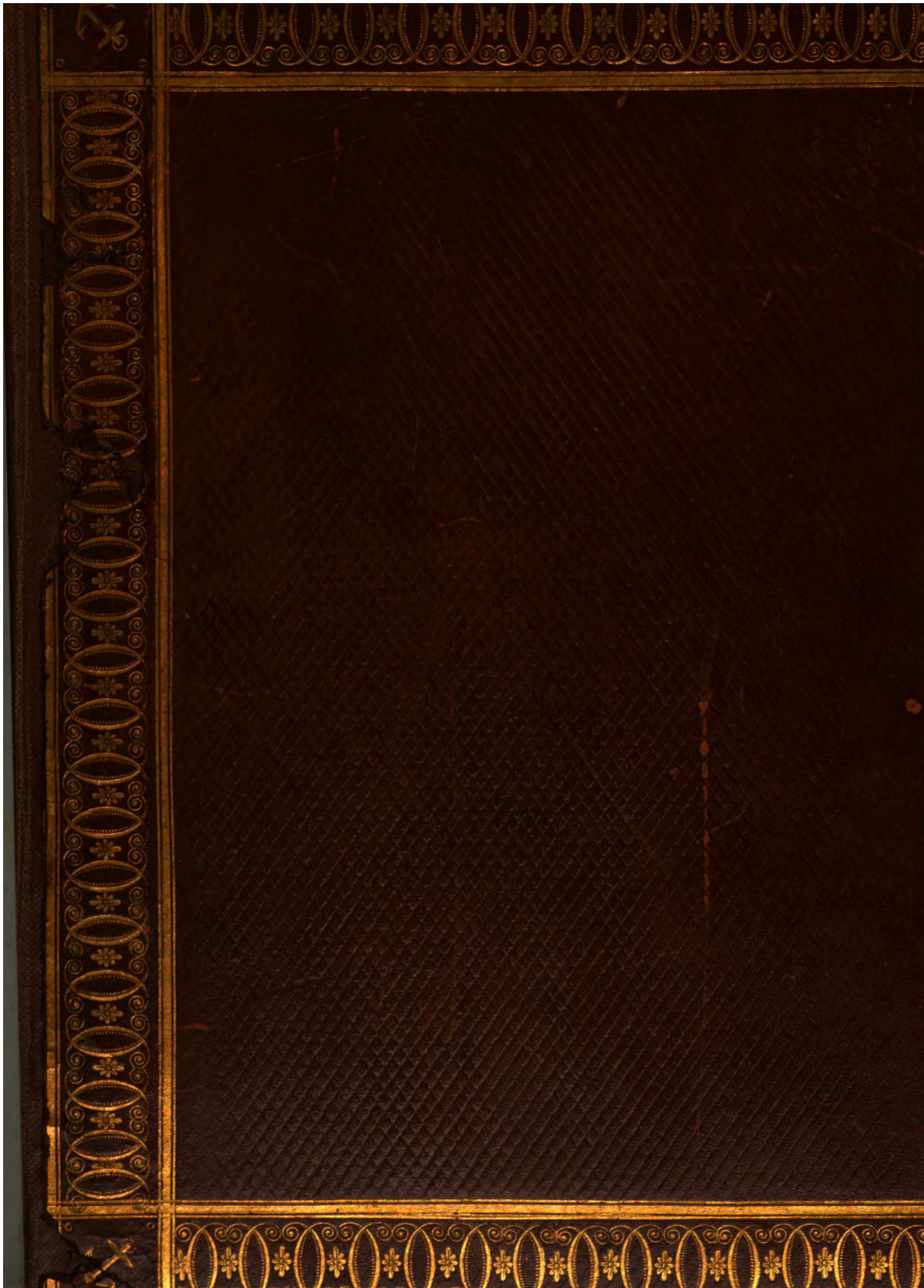
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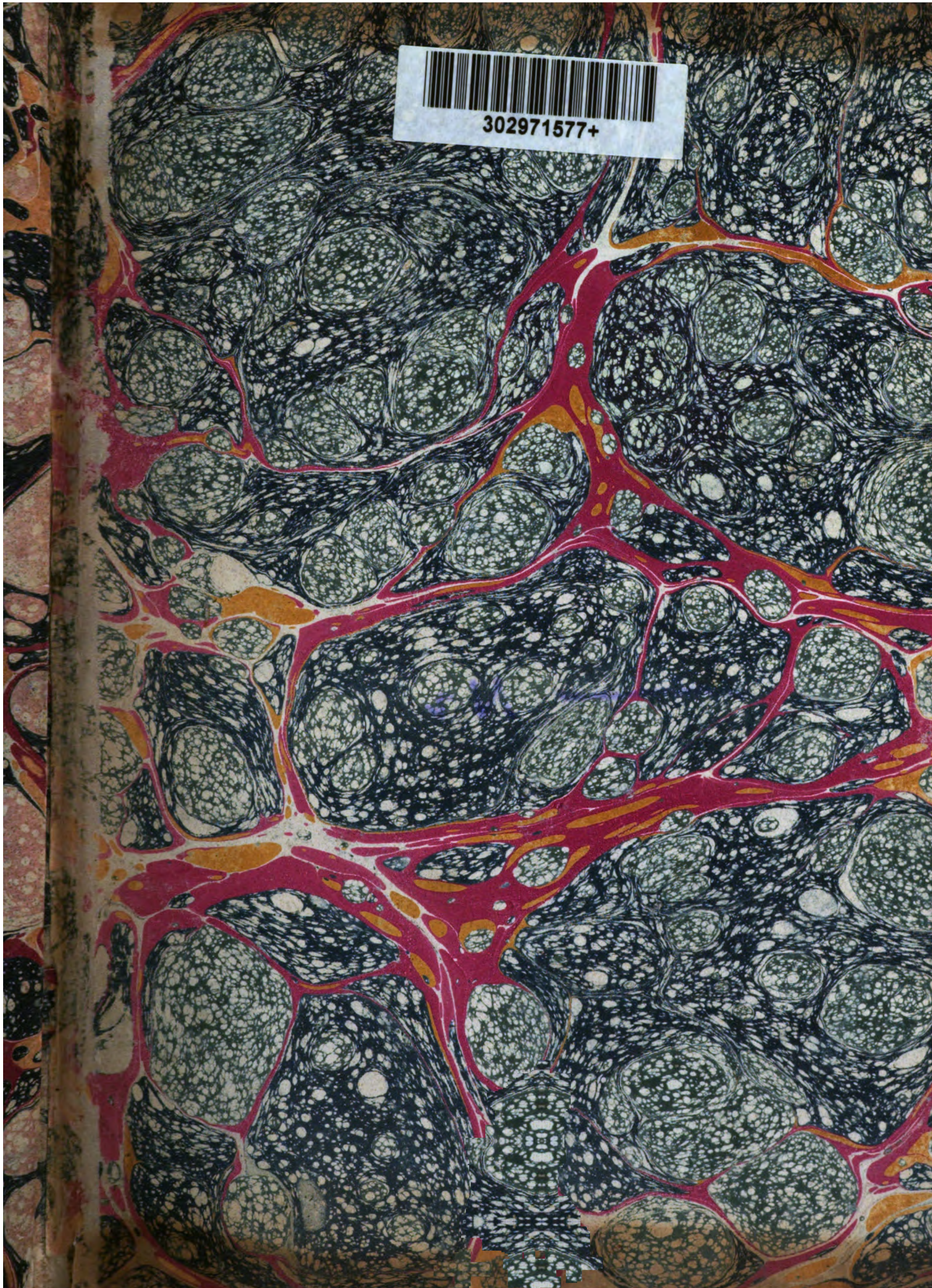
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THE  
VOYAGE OF NEARCHUS,  
AND  
THE PERIPLUS  
OF  
THE ERYTHREAN SEA,

*Translated from the Greek*

BY  
WILLIAM VINCENT, D.D.

DEAN OF WESTMINSTER.

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OXFORD,

AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, FOR THE AUTHOR;

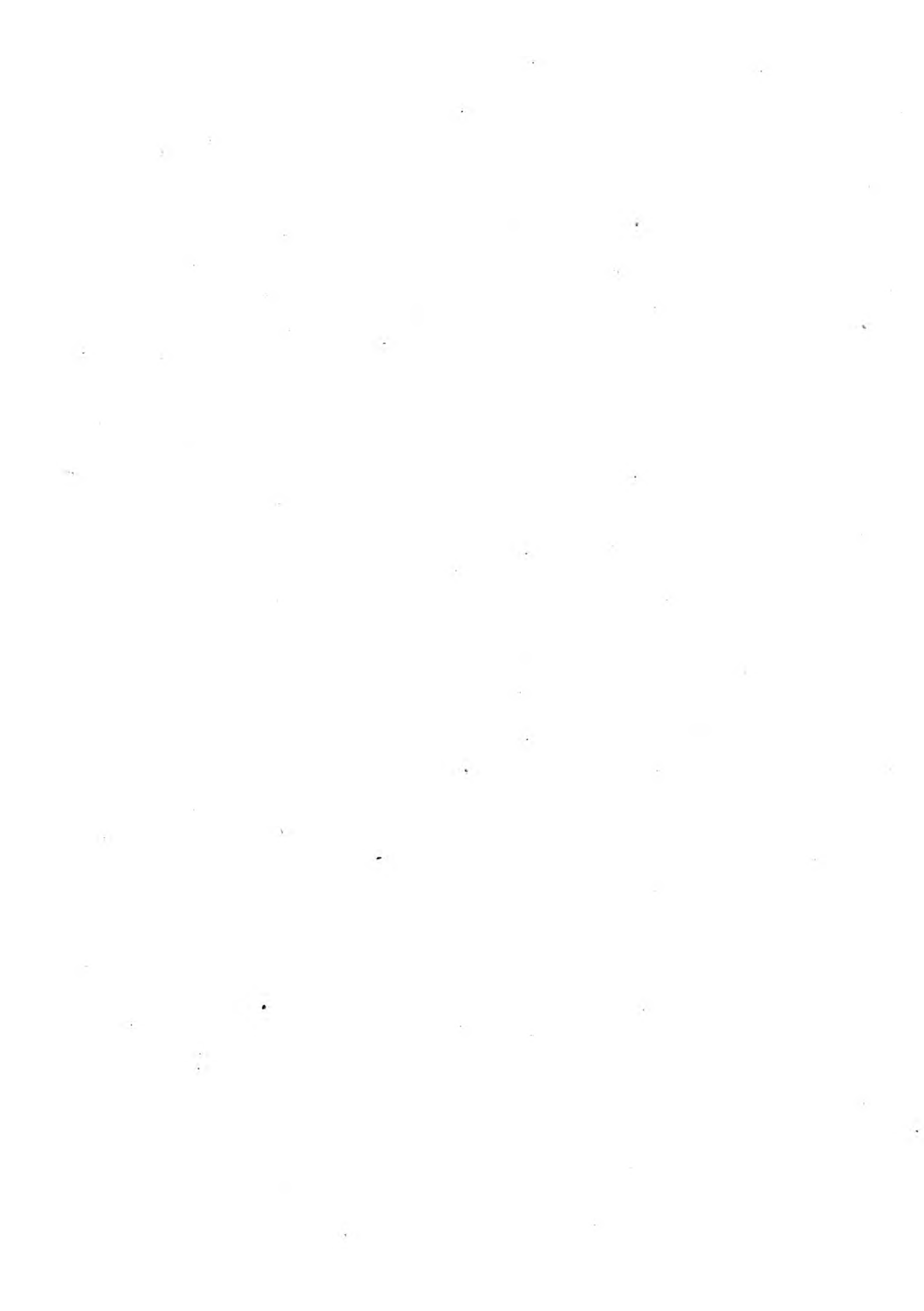
AND SOLD BY MESSRS. CADELL AND DAVIES IN THE STRAND, LONDON.

1809.



## CONTENTS.

<i>DEDICATION</i>	- - - - -	<i>page</i> vii.
<i>Preface</i>	- - - - -	ix.
<i>On the Coin of Alexander</i>	- - - - -	xiii.
<i>Greek Text of the Seventeen first Chapters of Arrian's Indian History</i>	- - - - -	1.
<i>Abstract from the first Seventeen Chapters</i>	- - - - -	15.
<i>Voyage of Nearchus, Greek and English</i>	- - - - -	25.
<i>Periplús of the Erythréan Sea, Greek and English</i>	- - - - -	71.
<i>On Mámbarus</i>	- - - - -	111.
<i>Sequel to the Periplús of the Erythréan Sea</i>	- - - - -	113.
<i>Notices</i>	- - - - -	118.
<i>Errors corrected</i>	- - - - -	120.



TO  
THE REV. ROBERT NARES, A. M.  
ARCHDEACON OF STAFFORD,  
AND  
CANON RESIDENTIARY OF LITCHFIELD.

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DEAR SIR,

IF Patronage has a demand upon the gratitude of an author, Friendship has a claim of equal validity, which the ungenerous alone will refuse to acknowledge. But an uninterrupted friendship of forty years continuance imposes obligations of superior importance: it confiders advice on the one part, and attention on the other, as reciprocal duties, and interchangeable according to the exigencies which may occur.

I had concluded my Commentary on Ancient Commerce, I had relinquished my pursuits connected with the subject, and I had promised to intrude no more upon the indulgence of the public: but you have constantly maintained, that the Commentary, without the Originals, was incomplete; and that the Original in one instance was either not procurable, or, if procured, that the value was inadequate to the price.

In deference therefore to your judgment, I have proceeded to the execution of your plan; and I submit the result of my labour, not without hesitation, to the tribunal of the Public. Profitable it cannot be; and credit, if credit should accrue, I shall consider as derived from suggestions originating in the partiality of a friend: but in no case shall the failure of my hopes diminish the regard and esteem which I owe you for the sincerity of your advice, or the constancy of your attachment. Impressed with these sentiments, I subscribe myself

Your faithful friend and servant,

WILLIAM VINCENT.

*July 1, 1809.*

## P R E F A C E.

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ALL the editions of the Periplûs of the Erythræan Sea are now so scarce, that a single copy is seldom to be met with in the most extensive catalogues. This has been the principal inducement for undertaking the following publication.

A second object was, to enable every class of readers to compare the contents of both the originals with the Commentary already published, and to judge whether the deductions were correct, or the conclusions justifiable.

To effect this purpose, the translations are given in a style of language suitable to the narrative of a navigator and a merchant: all embellishment therefore, or curiosity of expression, are disclaimed. But if I have failed in giving the genuine sense of the originals, or in preserving the purity of the English idiom, it is but lost labour after all.

The version is not literal, neither (if executed according to its intention) will it be thought diffuse. To compress is more desirable than to dilate; but circumlocution is preferable to obscurity.

The language of the Periplûs, more especially, is so abrupt and concise, that without the aid of insertions, in some instances, the sentence would be incomplete; and in others, unless some liberty



of expression were allowed, perspicuity would be utterly unattainable.

If I have persuaded myself that I am better qualified for an interpreter of these works than many others of superior talents and acquirements, it does not arise from presumption, but from the contemplation of these subjects for many years, and from the possession of materials, which few would have had the curiosity to collect, and fewer still the patience to arrange and prepare for publication.

It was originally intended to give the text, Greek and English, without farther remarks; a few notes have been now added for the purpose of correction, and to save the trouble of perpetual reference: but wherever investigation is requisite, recourse must be had to the former work.

The Greek text of both the following works is that of Nicolas Blancard; but in the Voyage of Nearchus it has been corrected from the edition of Gronovius, (Leyden, 1704.) and most of the readings of his best Florentine manuscript admitted into the text. That manuscript was one of those procured by Lorenzo de Medicis, and it is inestimable.

The Periplus has received but little correction since its first publication by Gelenius at Basle, 1533. The edition of Stuckius (Geneva, 1577.) has large Scholia; but, in a geographical point of view, of no great value.

The Oxford edition by Hudson, 1698, is most accurately printed; but the state of the text, where defective, is rarely touched. The few marginal notes he has added are not of importance, and some of them are erroneous; but without MSS. he did wisely in

giving the text correctly, and leaving the difficulties as they stood.

Blancard's edition (Amsterdam, 1680, as appears by the Dedication) is professedly from Stuckius; his scholia, though learned, add little to our geographical knowledge: and in his edition of the History and Indica of Arrian, which bears date 1668, he, among other editors of the same works, falls, sometimes not unjustly, under the severe lash of Gronovius.

His edition of the Periplus I was obliged to adopt, because I could obtain no other to use as copy: neither did I know of its existence, till it was procured for me within these few months. It is contained in a volume which comprises the Tactics, the treatise on Hunting, the Periplus of the Euxine Sea, and the Commentary on Epictetus, all by Arrian; and this Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, usually bearing the name of Arrian, was assigned, with the others, to Arrian of Nicomedia, whose work it certainly is not. I find these several tracts bear different dates, as 1680. 1681. 1683. and I conclude therefore, that the rareness of this volume proceeds either from the interval between their respective publication; or that, when the tracts were collected into a body, the impression was confined to a small number of copies. This indeed is a mere conjecture; but I had never met with this volume, while the other is common in every catalogue.

The stadium employed in the Voyage of Nearchus is supposed to be a stadium of 51 French toises, about 15 of which are equal to a mile Roman, 16 to a mile English, and 1111 to a degree.

The stadium employed in the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea is supposed to be a stadium of which 10 are equal to a mile Roman.







APERIAM TERRAS GENTIBUS.



*Drawn & Engraved by M. Bond.  
from a scarce coin in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.*

*Published April 5. 1808. by W. Vincent*

THE  
PORTRAIT OF ALEXANDER,  
FROM  
A COIN  
IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY AT OXFORD.

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*To MR. JOHN PRICE, principal Librarian of the Bodleian, I am indebted for access to this singular Coin, and the knowledge of its existence in the Winchelsea collection; and with much gratitude I acknowledge his communication of the evidence on which its authenticity is established, and his obliging readiness in permitting it to be engraved.*

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THE Coin from which this Head of Alexander is engraved, forms part of the Earl of Winchelsea's Collection, which was purchased by Mr. Charles Godwyn, Fellow of Balliol College, and by his will bequeathed to the University of Oxford. It is apparently<sup>a</sup> the same as Chauffard's No. 5, mentioned erroneously as brass, in the account of the former engraving. But it is a silver dióbolus, or third of a drachma, nearly the size of an English threepence, and ought to weigh twenty-two grains and one

<sup>a</sup> Publicola Chauffard published a French translation of Arrian in 1802, and gave a Table of Alexander's Coins. At p. 140. he cites Haym, tom. ii. p. 13. and his Catalogue raisonné, p. 2. adding, *quoique dans ce dernier on ne trouve point de corne.* Whether Haym's Catalogue differs from his *Tesoro Britannico*, I cannot say; but in the latter he expressly mentions the horn. In Chauffard's plate the horn is wrinkled like that of a ram, in Lord Winchelsea's Coin it is plain. This raises a doubt either in regard to its identity or its accuracy. But it seems intended for the same, and Chauffard bears ample testimony to the beauty of the work, and the fidelity of the portrait; *elle représente le véritable portrait de ce Prince.*

sixth<sup>b</sup>, but has received an injury, which reduces it to twenty grains and an half. Its value is ten farthings and a third. Haym, in his *Tesoro Britannico*, tom. ii. p. 11. has copied the following description of it from the catalogue of Lord Winchelsea.

“ This Coin, which is extremely rare<sup>c</sup>, is valuable on several accounts, “ but more particularly as exhibiting a genuine portrait of Alexander, “ which his Coins in general do not: for they usually represent a Jupiter, “ a Hercules with, or without<sup>d</sup> a beard, a Pallas<sup>e</sup>, &c. &c. but that the “ head on this Coin is a portrait, there is little room to doubt. The “ Diadem and the Horn of Ammon mark the King, and his fictitious de- “ scent from that Deity of the desert. Added to which, the singular “ beauty of the workmanship is a characteristic of the age<sup>f</sup>, rarely equalled, “ and perhaps never excelled in any other specimen of the art<sup>g</sup>.”

“ The Lion on the reverse is of the same superiority; it may represent “ Fortitude or Power, but more probably relates to a dream of Philip’s, “ recorded by Plutarch, [and noticed by Tertullian] in which he is said “ to have seen the matrix of Olympias, sealed with the figure of a Lion.” Mr. Combe supposes that the Lion refers rather to Hercules, from whom the Kings of Macedon derived their origin.

The present Engraving has been confided to an artist of eminence, and has been submitted during the whole progress of the work to the judgment of Mr. B. West, who has honoured it with his peculiar attention. The opinion of a professional man, whose talents have placed him so deservedly at the head of the British School, may be admitted as decisive upon questions of more importance than the present, and his opinion is this:

<sup>b</sup> According to Mr. Combe.

<sup>c</sup> It is not found in the British Museum, or in Dr. Hunter’s collection.

<sup>d</sup> In Mr. Combe’s opinion the head of Hercules is *never* represented *with* a beard on the coins of Alexander.

<sup>e</sup> In some of Le Brun’s Battles the portrait of Alexander is copied from this head of Pallas.

<sup>f</sup> Both M. Chausard, and Mr. Combe of the British Museum, judge the coin to be of later date than the age of Alexander; but both unite in supposing it to be a genuine portrait.

<sup>g</sup> This extract consists more properly of the substance than the words of Haym.

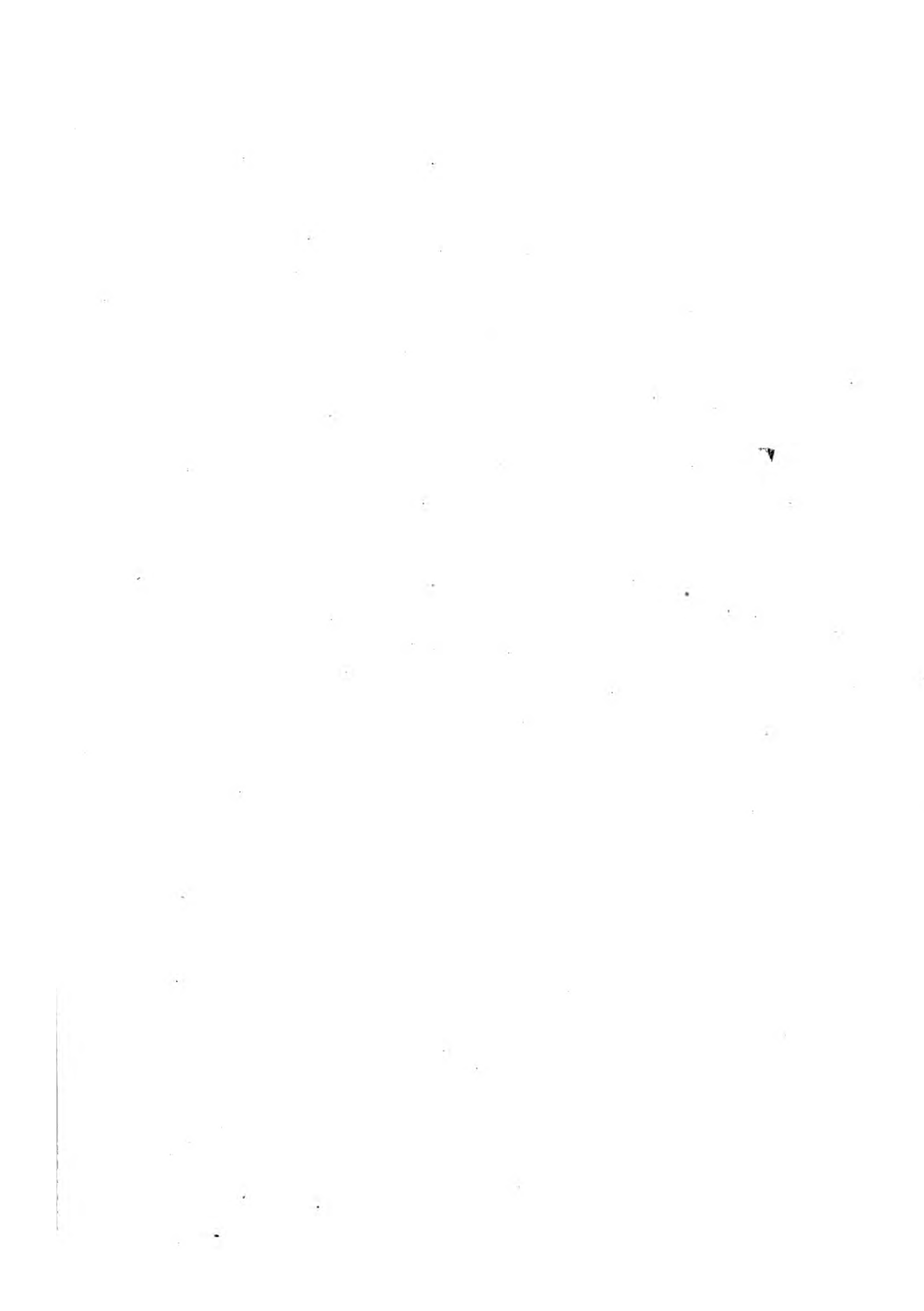
“ The Features of the face are not those which the ancient Greek artists gave to their Ideal<sup>h</sup> characters of that Prince ; but they are decidedly done from individual features, delineated from Life, or a Bust taken from Life . . . . They mark a portrait, and that portrait cannot be any other but Alexander, in the character of young Ammon . . . . As a work, I admire the mind of the artist who made the Coin, or formed the composition, for his insight into the harmony of nature . . . . It is almost without an example in its department of art, both in the head, and in the Lion on the reverse.”

The general testimony of the historians is uniform in assigning a countenance of singular beauty to Alexander, and it is highly probable that in this Coin we have the peculiar traits which characterized this beauty, and distinguished it from that of every other person. These several evidences in favour of its originality are sanctioned by the concurrent sentiments of Lord Winchelsea, Haym, Chauffard, Mr. Combe, and Mr. West, who all unite in opinion, that it is a genuine resemblance of that Prince, whose name is inscribed on the reverse.

<sup>h</sup> There is another Coin of Alexander in Chauffard's plate, No. 7, which, if I understand it right, is the one commented on by Schlager, *De Numo Alexandri Magni*: the character is not very dissimilar from that of No. 5. and Schlager asserts it to be the work of Pyrgoteles, the only artist who was allowed to engrave the resemblance of this Prince. But this assertion is disputed by Chauffard, and the head has neither diadem or horn ; the hair is loose and wild.







# ΑΡΡΙΑΝΟΥ

## ΙΝΔΙΚΗ.

Ι. ΤΑ ἔξω Ἰνδῶ ποταμῶ τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέ-  
ρην ἔς τε ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν Κωφῆνα, Ἀσα-  
κηνοὶ καὶ Ἀσσακηνοὶ, ἔθνη Ἰνδικὰ, ἐποι-  
κέουσιν. Ἀλλ' ἔτε μεγάλοι τὰ σώματα,  
κατάπερ οἱ ἐντὸς τῶ Ἰνδῶ ὠκισμένοι, ἔτε  
ἀγαθοὶ ὡσαύτως τὸν θυμὸν· ἐδὲ μέλα-  
νες ὡσαύτως τοῖς πολλοῖς Ἰνδοῖσιν. Οὗτοι  
πάλα μὲν Ἀσσυρίοις ὑπήκοοι ἦσαν, ἔ-  
πειτα Μήδοισι, ἐπεὶ δὲ Μῆδοι Περσέων  
ἤκουον, καὶ Φόρους ἀπέφερον Κύρῳ τῷ  
Καμβύσῳ ἐκ τῆς γῆς σφῶν, οὓς ἔταξε  
Κῦρος. Νυσσαῖοι δὲ ἐκ Ἰνδικὸν γένος  
ἔσιν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἅμα Διονύσῳ ἐλθόντων  
ἔς τὴν γῆν τῶν Ἰνδῶν· τυχὸν μὲν καὶ Ἑλ-  
λήνων, ὅσοι ἀπόμαχοι αὐτῶν ἐγένοντο ἐν  
τοῖς πολέμοις ἕς τινὰς πρὸς Ἰνδῶς Διό-  
νυσος ἐπολέμησε· τυχὸν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπι-  
χωρίων τῶς ἐθέλοντας τοῖς Ἑλλήσι συν-  
ᾠκίσει· τὴν τε χώραν Νυσσαῖην ἀνόμασεν  
ἀπὸ τῶ ὄρους τῆς Νύσσης Διονύσος, καὶ  
τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν Νύσσαν. Καὶ τὸ ὄρος  
τὸ πρὸς τῇ πόλει, ὅτι ἐν τῆσιν ὑπερέησιν  
ᾠκίσει ἢ Νύσσα, Μηρὸς κληίζεται, ἐπὶ  
τῇ συμφορῇ ἣτινι ἐχρησάτο εὐδὺς γινό-

μενος. Ταῦτα μὲν οἱ ποιηταὶ ἐπὶ Διονύσῳ  
ἐποίησαν. Καὶ ἐξηλείφθη αὐτὰ ὅσοι λόγοι  
Ἑλλήνων ἢ βαρβάρων. Ἐν Ἀσσακηνοῖσι  
ἢ Μάσσακα, πόλις μεγάλη, ἵνα περ καὶ  
τὸ κράτος τῆς γῆς ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀσσακίης.  
Καὶ ἄλλη πόλις Πευκέλα, μεγάλη καὶ  
αὐτῇ, οὐ μακρὰν τῶ Ἰνδῶ. Ταῦτα μὲν  
ἔξω τῶ Ἰνδῶ ποταμῶ ᾠκίσει πρὸς ἐσπέ-  
ρην, ἔς τε ἐπὶ τὸν Κωφῆνα.

ΙΙ. Τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶ Ἰνδῶ ὡς ἔω, τῆτό  
μοι ἔσω ἢ τῶν Ἰνδῶν γῆ, καὶ Ἰνδοὶ ἔτοι  
ἔσωσαν. Ὅροι δὲ τῶ Ἰνδῶν γῆς, πρὸς μὲν  
Βορέα ἀνέμῳ ὁ Ταῦρος τὸ ὄρος. Καλέεται  
δὲ ὁ Ταῦρος ἐτι ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ· ἀλλ' ἀρ-  
χεται μὲν ὁ Ταῦρος ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῆς  
κατὰ Παμφύλης τε καὶ Λυκίην, καὶ Κί-  
λικας· παρατείνει τε ἔς τε τὴν πρὸς ἔω  
θάλασσαν, τέμνων τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν.  
Ἄλλη δὲ ἄλλο καλέεται τὸ ὄρος, τῇ μὲν  
Παραπαμισσὸς, τῇ δὲ Ἡμῶδος, ἄλλη δὲ  
Ἡμαον κληίζεται· καὶ τυχὸν ἄλλα καὶ  
ἄλλα ἔχει ἐνόματα. Μακεδόνες δὲ οἱ  
ἔξιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ στρατεύσαντες, Καύκασον  
αὐτὸ ἐκάλεον· ἄλλον τῆτον Καύκασον, οὐ

<sup>1</sup> αὐτῇ MSS.

τὸν Σκυθικόν. Ὡς καὶ τὰ ἐπέκεινα τῆς Καυκάσου λόγον κατέχεν ὅτι ἦλθεν Ἀλεξάνδρος. Τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέρην δὲ τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ Ἰνδὸς ἀπέρχει, ἕς τε ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν, ἵνα περ αὐτὸς κατὰ δύο σῶματα ἐκδιδῷ, οὐ συνεχέα ἀλλήλοισι τὰ σῶματα, κατὰπερ τὰ πέντε τῆς Ἰσραῖ ἐσὶ συνεχέα· ἀλλ' ὡς τὰ τῆς Νείλου, ὑπὸ τῶν Δέλτα ποιεῖται τὸ Αἰγυπτίον· ὡδὲ τι καὶ τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς Δέλτα ποιεῖν ὁ Ἰνδὸς ποταμὸς, οὐ μείον τῆς Αἰγυπλίας· καὶ τῆτο Πάπταλα τῆς Ἰνδῶν γλώσση καλεῖται. Τὸ δὲ πρὸς νότου τε ἀνέμω καὶ μεσημβρίας, καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ μεγάλη θάλασσα ἀπέρχει τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν· καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἑὼ αὐτὴ ἡ θάλασσα ἀπέρχει. <sup>2</sup>Τὰ μὲν πρὸς μεσημβρίην, καὶ τὰ Πάπταλά τε καὶ τῆς Ἰνδῆ τὰς ἐκβολὰς, ὤφθη πρὸς τε Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Μακεδόνων καὶ πολλῶν Ἑλλήνων· τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἑὼ Ἀλεξάνδρος μὲν οὐκ ἐπῆλθε· τὰ δὲ πρῶτω ποταμῷ Ὑφάσιος. Ὀλίγοι ᾗ ἀνέγραψαν τὰ μέχρι ποταμῷ Γάγγειω, καὶ ἵνα τῆς Γάγγειω αἱ ἐκβολαὶ, καὶ πόλις Παλίμβοθρα μεγίστη Ἰνδῶν πρὸς τῷ Γάγγει.

III. Ἐμοὶ δὲ Ἐρατοσθένης ὁ Κυρηναῖος πιστότερος ἄλλω ἕσω, ὅτι τῆς περιόδου περὶ ἔμελεν Ἐρατοσθένης· ἔτος ἀπὸ τῆς ὄρεος τῆς Ταύρας, ἵνα τῆς Ἰνδῆ αἱ πηγαί, παρ' αὐτὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν ἰόντι ἕς τε ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν, καὶ τῆς Ἰνδῆ τὰς ἐκβολὰς, μυρίας σαδίους καὶ τριαχιλίους τὴν πλευρὴν λέγει ἐπέχειν τῆς γῆς τῆς Ἰνδῶν. Ταυτησὶ δὲ ἀντίπορον πλευρὴν ποι-

εῖν τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ὄρεος παρὰ τὴν ἑὼν θάλασσαν, ἐκέτι ταύτῃ τῇ πλευρῇ ἴσην· ἄλλα ἄκρην γὰρ ἀνέχειν ἐπὶ μέγα εἶσω εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, ἕς τριαχιλίους σαδίους μάλιστα ἀνατένυσαν τὴν ἄκρην· εἴη ἂν ὡν αὐτῶ ἡ πλευρὴ τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς πρὸς ἑὼ, μυρίας καὶ ἑξακιοχιλίους σαδίους ἐπέχεσσα. Τῆτο μὲν αὐτῷ πλάτος τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς συμβαίνει· μῆκος δὲ τὸ ἀφ' ἐσπέρης ἐπὶ ἑὼ, ἕς τε μὲν ἐπὶ πόλιν Παλίμβοθρα, μεμετρημένον οὐνοῖσι λέγει ἀναγράφειν (καὶ εἶναι γὰρ ὁδὸν βασιλιήην) τῆτο ἐπέχειν ἕς μυρίας σαδίους· τὰ δὲ ἐπέκεινα οὐκέτι ὡσαύτως ἀτρεκέα. Φήμας δὲ ὅσοι ἀνέγραψαν, ζῆν τῇ ἄκρῃ τῇ ἀνεχέσῃ εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, ἕς μυρίας σαδίους μάλιστα ἐπέχειν λέγουσιν· εἶναι δὲ ἂν τὸ μῆκος τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς, σαδίων μάλιστα δισμυρίων. Κτησίης δὲ ὁ Κνίδιος τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν ἴσην τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἀσίῃ λέγει, ἐδὲν λέγων. Οὐδὲ ὁ Ὀνησίκριτος τρίτην μοῖραν τῆς πάσης Ἀσίας· Νεάρχος δὲ μηνῶν τετάρτων ὁδὸν τὴν δι' αὐτῆς τῆς πεδίας τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς. Μεγασθένης δὲ, τὸ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν εἰς ἐσπέρην πλάτος ἐσὶ τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς, ὅ, τε περ οἱ ἄλλοι μῆκος ποιεῖσιν· καὶ λέγει Μεγασθένης, μυρίων καὶ ἑξακιοχιλίαν σαδίων εἶναι, ἵνα περ τὸ βραχύτατον αὐτῆς. Τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ἄρκτου πρὸς μεσημβρίην (τῆτο δὲ αὐτῷ μῆκος γίγνεται) καὶ ἐπέχει τριακισίους καὶ διαχιλίους καὶ δισμυρίας, ἵνα περ τὸ στενότερον αὐτῆς. Ποταμοὶ ᾗ τοσοῖδε εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῆ, ὅσοι ἐδὲ ἐν τῇ πάσῃ Ἀσίῃ. Μέγιστοι μὲν, ὁ Γάγγης τε καὶ ὁ Ἰνδὸς, ὅτε καὶ ἡ γῆ ἐπώνυμος· ἄμ-

<sup>2</sup> Τὰ μὲν πρὸς μεσημβρίην κατὰ Πάπταλά τε καὶ &c. Schneider.

Φω, τῆ τε Νείλῃ τῆ Αἰγυπτίῃ καὶ τῆ Ἰσραὴλ τῆ Σκυθικῇ (καὶ εἰ ἐς ταυτὸ συνέλθοι αὐτοῖσι τὸ ὕδωρ) μέζονες. Δοκέειν δὲ ἔμοιγε, καὶ ὁ Ἀκεσίνης μέζων ἐστὶ τῆ τε Ἰσραὴλ καὶ τῆ Νείλῃ, ἵνα περ παραλαβῶν ἅμα τὸν τε Ὑδάσπεα καὶ τὸν Ὑδραώτεια καὶ τὸν Ὑφασιν, ἐμβάλλει ἐς τὸν Ἰνδόν, ὡς καὶ τριάκοντα αὐτῷ εἰσάδια τὸ πλάτος ταύτῃ εἶναι.

IV. Καὶ τυχόν, καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ μέζονες ποταμοὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῆ ῥέουσιν· ἀλλὰ οὐ μοι ἀτρεκέες, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπέκεινα Ὑφάσιος ποταμῆ ἰαχυρίσασθαι· ὅτι οὐ πρόσω τῆ Ὑφάσιος ἦλθεν Ἀλέξανδρος. αὐτοῖν δὲ τοῖν μεγίστοις ποταμοῖν, τῆ τε Γάγγει καὶ τῆ Ἰνδῷ, τὸν Γάγγεα μεγέθει πολὺ τι ὑπερφέρειν Μεγαοθένης ἀνέγραψεν, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι μνήμην τῆ Γάγγει ἔχουσιν. Αὐτὸν τε γὰρ μέγαν ἀνίχθαι ἐκ τῶν πηγῶν, δέχεσθαι τε ἐς αὐτὸν, τὸν τε Καϊνῶν ποταμὸν, καὶ τὸν Ἐρανοβοῶν, καὶ τὸν Κοσσόανον, πάντας πλωτῆς· ἐτι δὲ Σῶνόν τε ποταμὸν, καὶ Σιτιόκεσιν, καὶ Σολόματιν· καὶ τέττας πλωτῆς. Ἐπι δὲ Κονδοχάτην τε, καὶ Σάμβον, καὶ Μάγωνα, καὶ Ἀγόρανιν, καὶ Ὠμαλιν. Ἐμβάλλουσι δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν Κομμενάσης τε μέγας ποταμὸς καὶ Κάκκθις, καὶ Ἀνδῶματις ἐξ ἔθνεος Ἰνδικῆ τῆ Μανδιαδινῶν ῥέων. Καὶ ἐπι τέτοισιν, Ἀμυσις παρὰ πόλιν Καλαδέπην, καὶ Ὀξύμαγισ ἐπι Παζάλαις καλαμένοισι· καὶ Ἐρεννύσις ἐν Μάθαις, ἔθνει Ἰνδικῶ, ζυμβάλλει τῷ Γάγγει. Τέτων λέγει Μεγαοθένης<sup>3</sup> οὐδένα τῆ Μαι-

άνδρῃ ἀποδέοντα, ἵνα περ ναυσίπορος ὁ Μαίανδρος. εἶναι ὦν τὸ εὖρος τῷ Γάγγει, ἔνθα περ αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ σενώταλος, εἰς ἑκατὸν εἰσάδεις. Πολλαχῇ δὲ καὶ λιμνάζειν, ὡς μὴ ἀποπτον εἶναι τὴν πέραν χώραν· ἵναπερ χθραμαλή τέ ἐστι, καὶ ἑδάμη γηλόφοισιν ἀνεσηκυῖα. Τῷ δὲ Ἰνδῷ ἐς ταυτὸν ἔρχεται Ὑδραώτης μὲν, ἐν Καμβισιόλοις παρεληφῶς· τὸν τε Ὑφασιν ἐν Ἀσρύβαις, καὶ τὸν Σαράγγην ἐκ Κηνέων, καὶ τὸν Νεῦδρον ἐξ Ἀθηακηνῶν, ἐς Ἀκεσίνην ἐμβάλλει. Ὑδάσπης δὲ ἐν Ὀξυδράκαις, ἄγων ἅμα οἱ τὸν Σίναρον ἐν Ἀρίσπαις, ἐς τὸν Ἀκεσίνην ἐκδιδοῖ καὶ οὗτος. Ὁ δὲ Ἀκεσίνης ἐν Μαλλοῖς ζυμβάλλει τῷ Ἰνδῷ· καὶ Τέταπος δὲ μέγας ποταμὸς ἐς τὸν Ἀκεσίνην ἐκδιδοῖ. Τέτων ὁ Ἀκεσίνης ἐμπληθεῖς, καὶ τῇ ἐπικλήσει ἐκνικήσας αὐτὸς τῷ ἐαυτῷ ἤδη ὀνόματι, ἐσβάλλει ἐς τὸν Ἰνδόν. Κωφὴν δὲ, ἐν Πευκελαίτιδι ἅμα οἱ ἄγων Μαλάμαντόν τε καὶ Σόασον, καὶ Γαροῖαν, ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς τὸν Ἰνδόν. Καθ' ὑπερθεῖν δὲ τέτων, Πάρενος καὶ Σάπαρνος, οὐ πολὺ διέχοντες, ἐμβάλλουσιν ἐς τὸν Ἰνδόν. Σόαμος δὲ, ἐκ τῆ ὄρεινης τῆς Βεσσαρέων ῥέων, ἔρημος ἄλλῃ ποταμῆ, ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς αὐτόν. Καὶ τέτων τῆς πολλῆς Μεγαοθένης λέγει ὅτι πλωτοὶ εἰσιν. Οὐκ ἐν ἀπισίην χρῆ ἔχειν, ὑπὲρ τε τῆ Ἰνδῷ καὶ τῆ Γάγγει, μηδὲ συμβλητῆς εἶναι αὐτοῖσι τὸν τε Ἰσραὴλ καὶ τῆ Νείλῃ τὸ ὕδωρ. Ἐς μέντοι τὸν Νεῖλον εἰσάδια ποταμὸν ἐκδιδόντα ἴσμεν, ἀλλ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ διώρυχας τετμημένας κατὰ τῆ

<sup>3</sup> εἰδὶνα εἶναι τῆ. Schmeider.

χώρην τὴν Αἰγυπτίην. Ὁ δὲ γε Ἴσρος, ὀλίγος μὲν ἀνάξει ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν· δέχεται δὲ πολλοὺς ποταμοὺς, ἀλλ' οὔτε πλῆθει ἴσως τοῖς Ἰνδῶν ποταμοῖσιν, οἱ ἐς τὸν Ἰνδὸν καὶ τὸν Γάγγην ἐκδιδῶσιν· πλωτὰς δὲ δὴ καὶ κάρτα ὀλίγως, ὧν τὰς μὲν αὐτὸς ἰδὼν οἶδα, τὸν Ἔνον τε, καὶ τὸν Σάον. Ἔνος μὲν ἐν μεθωρίῳ τῆς Νορικών καὶ Ραιτῶν γῆς μίγνυται τῷ Ἴσρῳ· ὁ δὲ Σάος, κατὰ Πάννονας. Ὁ δὲ χῶρος ἵνα περ συμβάλλουσιν οἱ ποταμοὶ, Ταυρῆνος καλεῖται. Ὅσιν δὲ καὶ ἄλλον οἶδε ναυσίπορον τῶν ἐς τὸν Ἴσρον ἐκδιδόντων, ἀλλὰ οὐ πολλὰς πρὸς οἶδε.

V. Τὸ δὲ αἴτιον ὅσιν ἐθέλει φράζειν τῆ πλῆθει τε καὶ μεγέθει τῶν Ἰνδῶν ποταμῶν, φραζέτω. Ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὡς ἀκοῇ ἀναγεγράφτω. Ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄλλων ποταμῶν ἐνόματα Μεγαθένης ἀνέγραψεν, οἱ ἔξω τῆ Γάγγεω τε καὶ τῆ Ἰνδοῦ ἐκδιδῶσιν ἐς τὸν ἑῶν τε καὶ μεσημβρινὸν τὸν ἔξω πόντον. Ὡστε τὰς πάντας ὀκτὼ καὶ πενήκοντα λέγουσιν ὅτι εἰσὶν Ἰνδοὶ ποταμοὶ ναυσίποροι πάντες. Ἀλλ' ἐδὲ Μεγαθένης πολλὴν δοκεῖ μοι ἐπελθεῖν τῆς Ἰνδῶν χώρας, πλὴν γε ὅτι πλεῦνα ἢ οἱ ζῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Φιλίππῳ ἐπελθόντες. Εὐγενέσθαι γὰρ Σανδροκότῃ λέγει, τῷ μεγίστῳ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ἰνδῶν καὶ Πόρῳ, ἔτι τὰς μέζονι. Οὗτος ὧν ὁ Μεγαθένης λέγει, ἔτε Ἰνδοὺς ἐπιστρατεύσασα ἑδαμοῖσιν ἀνθρώποισιν, ἔτε Ἰνδοῖσιν ἄλλως ἀνθρώπους. Ἀλλὰ Σέσωσριν μὲν τὸν Αἰγύπτιον, τῆς Ἀσίας καταστρέψαμενον τὴν πολλήν, ἐς τε ἐπὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην σὺν στρατιᾷ ἐλάσαντα, ὀπίσω ἀπονοσῆ-

σαι. Ἰάνδυσσον δὲ τὸν Σκύθεα ἐκ Σκυθίας ὀρηθέντα, πολλὰ μὲν τῆς Ἀσίας ἔθνεα καταστρέψασθαι, ἐπελθεῖν δὲ καὶ τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν γῆν κρατέοντα· Σεμίραμιν δὲ τὴν Ἀσσυρίην ἐπιχειρεῖν μὲν σέλλεσθαι εἰς Ἰνδοὺς, ἀποθανεῖν δὲ πρὶν τέλος ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖσι βελεύμασιν. Ἀλλὰ Ἀλεξάνδρον γὰρ στρατεύσασα ἐπὶ Ἰνδοὺς μῆνον. Καὶ πρὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου, Διονύσῃ περὶ πολλὸς λόγος κατέχει, ὡς καὶ τὰς στρατεύσαντος ἐς Ἰνδοὺς, καὶ καταστρέψαμεν Ἰνδοὺς· Ἡρακλῆς δὲ πᾶσι, οὐ πολλός. Διονύσῃ μὲν γε καὶ Νύσσα πόλις μνήμα οὐ Φαῦλον τῆς στρατηλασίης, καὶ ὁ Μῆρος τὸ ὄρος, καὶ ὁ κισσὸς ὅτι ἐν τῷ ὄρει τὰτω φύεται. Καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ὑπὸ τυμπάνων τε καὶ κυμβάλων σελόμενοι ἐς τὰς μάχας· καὶ ἐοίχθη αὐτοῖσι κατάσικτος ἔσσα, κατὰπερ τῆ Διονύσῃ τοῖσι βάνχοισιν· Ἡρακλῆς δὲ οὐ πολλὰ ὑπομνήματα. Ἀλλὰ τὴν Ἄορνον γὰρ πᾶσιν, ἦντινα Ἀλεξάνδρος βίη ἐχειρώσατο, ὅτι Ἡρακλῆς οὐ δυνατὸς ἐγένετο ἐξελεῖν, Μακεδονικὸν δοκεῖ μοι τὸ κόμπασμα, κατὰπερ καὶ τὸν Παραπάμισον, Καύκασον ἐκάλεον Μακεδόνες, οὐδὲν τι προσήκοντα τῶν τῶν Καυκάσῳ. Καὶ τι καὶ ἄντρον ἐπιφραθέντες ἐν Παραπαμισάδεσι, τοῦτο ἔφρασαν ἐκεῖνο εἶναι τοῦ Προμηθέως τῆ Τιτῆνος τὸ ἄντρον, ἐν ᾧ ἐκρέματο ἐπὶ τῇ κλοπῇ τῆ πυρός. Καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν Σίβαισιν, Ἰνδικῶ γενεῖ, ὅτι δορὰς ἀμπεχομένους εἶδον τὰς Σίβας, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἡρακλῆς στρατηλασίης ἐφάσκον τὰς ὑπολειφθέντας εἶναι τὰς Σίβας. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ σκυτάλην φέρουσι τε οἱ Σίβαι, καὶ τοῖς

βασιν αὐτῶν ῥόπαλον ἐπικέκαυται· καὶ τῷτο ἐς μνήμην ἀνέφερον τῷ ῥοπάλῳ τῷ Ἡρακλέει. Εἰ δὲ τῷ πρὸς ταῦτα, ἄλλος ἂν οὗτος Ἡρακλῆς εἴη, ἔχῃ ὁ Θηβαῖος, ἢ ὁ Τύριος οὗτος, ἢ ὁ Αἰγυπτῖος, ἢ τις καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄνω χώραν οὐ πόρρω τῷ Ἰνδῶν γῆς ὠκισμένην μέγας βασιλεύς.

VI. Ταῦτα μὲν μοι ἐκβολὴ ἔστω τῷ λόγῳ, ἐς τὸ μὴ πρὸς φαίνεσθαι, ὅσα ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπέκεινα τῷ Ἰφάσιος ποταμῷ Ἰνδῶν μετεξέτεροι ἀνέγραψαν· ἐς τε γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰφασιν, οἱ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατηλασίας μετασχόντες, οὐ πάντῃ ἄπιστοι εἰσίν. Ἐπεὶ καὶ τόδε λέγει Μεγαθένης ὑπὲρ ποταμῷ Ἰνδικῷ, Σίλαν μὲν εἶναι οἱ ἔνομα, ῥέειν δὲ ἀπὸ κρήνης ἐπωνύμῃ τῷ ποταμῷ, διὰ τῆς χώρας τῆς Σιλιῶν, καὶ τέτων ἐπωνύμων τῷ ποταμῷ τε καὶ τῆς κρήνης. Τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ παρέχεσθαι τοιόνδε· ἔδεν εἶναι ὅτῳ ἀντέχει τὸ ὕδωρ, ἔτε τι νήχεσθαι ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ἔτε τι ἐπιπλεῖν, ἀλλὰ πάντα γὰρ ἐς ἀβυσσὸν δύνειν. Οὕτω τοι ἀμηνιότερον πάντων εἶναι τὸ ὕδωρ ἐκείνο, καὶ ἡεροειδέτερον. Ἦτα δὲ ἡ Ἰνδῶν γῆ τὸ θέρους, μάλιστα μὲν τὰ ὄρεα Παραπαμισός τε καὶ ὁ Ἡμωδός, καὶ τὸ Ἰμαίκον ὄρος, καὶ ἀπὸ τετέων μεγάλοι καὶ θολεροὶ οἱ ποταμοὶ ῥέουσιν. Ἦτα δὲ τῷ θέρους καὶ τὰ πεδία τῶν Ἰνδῶν, ὥστε λιμνάζειν τὰ πολλὰ αὐτέων. Καὶ ἔφυγεν ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατὴ ἀπὸ τῷ Ἀκεσίνας ποταμῷ μέσου θέρους, ὑπερβαλόντος τῷ ὕδατος εἰς τὰ πεδία· ὥστε ἀπὸ τῶν δὲ ἔξῃ τεκμηριῶσθαι, καὶ τῷ Νείλου τὸ

πάθημα τῷτο, ὅτι εἰκότως εἶναι ἕεσθαι τὰ Αἰθιοπῶν ὄρεα τῷ θέρους· καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνων ἐμπιπλάμενον τὸν Νεῖλον ὑπερβάλλειν ὑπὲρ τὰς ὄχθας ἐς τὴν γῆν τὴν Αἰγυπτίην, θολερὸς ἂν. Καὶ ἔτω ῥέει ἐν τῇδε τῇ ὥρῃ, ὥς ἔτε ἂν ἀπὸ χιόνος τηκομένης ἔρρεεν, ἔτε εἰ πρὸς τῶν ὥρῃ θέρους πνεόντων ἐτησίῳ ἀνέμων ἀνεκόπτετο οἱ τὸ ὕδωρ. Ἄλλων τε ἐδὲ χιονόβατα εἴη ἂν τὰ Αἰθιοπῶν ὄρεα ὑπὸ καύματος. Ἦτα δὲ κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ἰνδῶν, ἐκ ἔξῃ ἐστὶ τῷ εἰκότως. Ἐπεὶ καὶ τάλλα ἡ Ἰνδῶν γῆ ἐκ ἀπέοικε τῆς Αἰθιοπίας· καὶ οἱ ποταμοὶ οἱ Ἰνδοὶ, ὁμοίως τῷ Νείλῳ τῷ Αἰθιοπῶν τε καὶ Αἰγυπτῶν, κροκοδείλλας τε φέρουσιν, ἔστιν δὲ οἱ αὐτῶν καὶ ἰχθύας, καὶ ἄλλα κήτεια ὅσα ὁ Νεῖλος, πλὴν ἵππων τῷ ποταμῷ. Ὀνησίκριτος δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἵππων τῶν ποταμῶν λέγει ὅτι φέρουσι. Τῶν τε ἀνθρώπων αἱ ἰδέαι οὐ πάντῃ ἀπάδουσιν, αἱ Ἰνδῶν τε καὶ Αἰθιοπῶν. Οἱ μὲν πρὸς νότον ἀνέμῃ Ἰνδοὶ, τοῖς Αἰθιοπῶσι μᾶλλον τι εἰκόσασιν, μέλανές τε ἰδέσθαι εἰσὶ, καὶ ἡ κόμη αὐτοῖς μέλαινα. Πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι σιμοὶ ἐχ' ὡσαύτως, οὐδὲ ἐλόκρανοι ὡς Αἰθιοπῆες· οἱ δὲ βορειότεροι τέτων, κατ' Αἰγυπτίως μάλιστα ἂν εἶεν τὰ σώματα.

VII. Ἦτα δὲ Ἰνδικὰ εἰκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν τὰ ἅπαντα λέγει Μεγαθένης, δυοῖν δέοντα. Καὶ πολλὰ μὲν εἶναι ἔθνη Ἰνδικὰ, καὶ αὐτὸς συμφέρομαι Μεγαθένης· τὸ δὲ ἀτρεκές ἐκ ἔξῃ εἰκόσασιν ὅπως ἐκμαθῶν ἀνέγραψεν, ἐδὲ πολλοσὸν μέρος

\* ἰκατόν τι ἅπαντα MSS.

τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς ἐπελθῶν, ἐδὲ ἐπιμιξίης πᾶσι τοῖς γένεσιν εὐούσης ἐς ἀλλήλους. πάλαι μὲν δὴ νομάδας εἶναι Ἰνδοὺς, κατὰπερ Σκυθῶν τῆς οὐκ ἀροτῆρας, οἱ ἐπὶ τῆσιν ἀμάξῃσι πλανώμενοι, ἄλλοτε ἄλλην τῆς Σκυθίης ἀμέευσιν, ἔτε πόλιας οἰκέοντες, ἔτε ἱερὰ θεῶν σέβοντες. Οὕτω μὲν Ἰνδοῖσι πόλιας εἶναι, μὲν δὲ ἱερὰ θεῶν δεδομημένα. Ἀλλ' ἀμπέχεσθαι μὲν δορὰς θηρίων ὅσων κατακτάνοιεν· σιτέεσθαι δὲ τῶν δένδρεων τὸν φλοιόν· καλέεσθαι δὲ τὰ δένδρα ταῦτα τῆ Ἰνδῶν Φωιῆ Τάλα· καὶ Φύεσθαι ἐπ' αὐτῶν, κατὰπερ τῶν Φοινίκων ἐπὶ τῆσι κορυφῆσιν, οἷά περ τολύπας. Σιτέεσθαι δὲ καὶ τῶν θηρίων ὅσα ἔλοιεν, ὠμοφαγεόντας, πρὶν δὴ Διόνυσον ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὴν χώραν τῶν Ἰνδῶν. Διόνυσον δὲ ἐλθόντα, ὡς καρτερός ἐγένετο Ἰνδῶν, πόλιας τε οἰκῆσαι, καὶ νόμους θεῶν τῆσι πόλεσιν, οἷν τε δοτῆρα Ἰνδοῖς γενέσθαι, κατὰπερ Ἑλλῆσι. Καὶ σπείρειν διδάξαι τὴν γῆν, δίδόντα αὐτὸν σπέρματα· ἢ οὐκ ἐλάσαντος ταύτῃ Τριπλολέμῃ, ὅτι περ ἐκ Δήμητρος ἐσάλη σπείρειν τὴν γῆν πᾶσαν· ἢ πρὸ Τριπλολέμῃ τις ἕτος Διόνυσος ἐπελθῶν τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν, σπέρματα σφίσι ἐδῶκε καρπῆ τῆ ἡμέρῃ. Βόας τε ὑπ' ἀρότρῳ ζεύξαι Διόνυσον πρῶτον, καὶ ἀροτῆρας ἀντὶ νομάδων ποιῆσαι Ἰνδῶν τῆς πολλῆς, καὶ ὀπλίσαι ὄπλοισι τοῖσιν ἀρηίοισι. Καὶ θεὸς σέβειν ὅτι ἐδίδαξε Διόνυσος ἄλλως τε, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ ἐωυτὸν, κυμβαλίζοντας καὶ τυμπανίζοντας. Καὶ ὄρχησιν δὲ διδάξαι τὴν σατυρικὴν, τὸν κόρδακα παρ' Ἑλλῆσι καλέμενον. Καὶ

κομᾶν Ἰνδοὺς τῷ θεῷ, μίτηρην φορέειν τε ἀναδείξαι, καὶ μύρων ἀλοιφὰς ἐκδιδάξαι. Ὡςτε καὶ εἰς Ἀλέξανδρον ἐτι ὑπὸ κυμβαλῶν τε καὶ τυμπάνων ἐς τὰς μάχας Ἰνδοὶ καθίσαντο.

VIII. Ἀπίοντα δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς, ὡς οἱ ταῦτα κεκοσμέατο, καλασῆσαι βασιλέα τῆς χώρας Σπατέμβαν τῶν ἐταίρων ἕνα, τὸν βακχιδέσατον. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Σπατέμβου, τὴν βασιλείην ἐκδέξασθαι Βυθῖαν τὸν τέττα παῖδα. Καὶ τὸν μὲν πεντήκοντα καὶ δύο ἔτεα βασιλεύσαι Ἰνδῶν, τὸν πατέρα· τὸν δὲ παῖδα, ἕκοσιν ἔτεα. Καὶ τέττα παῖδα ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιλείην Κραδεύαν. Καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆδε, τὸ πολὺ μὲν κατὰ γένος ἀμέευσιν τὴν βασιλείην, παῖδα παρὰ πατρός ἐκδεχόμενον· εἰ δὲ ἐκλείποι τὸ γένος, ἔτι δὴ ἀρισίνδην καθίσασθαι Ἰνδοῖσι βασιλέας. Ἡρακλέα δὲ, ὅτινα ἐς Ἰνδοὺς ἀφικέσθαι λόγος κατέχει, παρ' αὐτοῖσιν Ἰνδοῖσι γηγενέα λέγεσθαι. Ταῦτον τὸν Ἡρακλέα μάλιστα πρὸς Σαρασηνῶν γεραίρεσθαι, Ἰνδικῆ ἔθνεος. Ἴνα δύο πόλιες μεγάλας, Μέθορα τε καὶ Κλεισόβορα, καὶ ποταμὸς Ἰωβάρης πλωτὸς διαρρεῖ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν. Τὴν σκευὴν δὲ ἕτος ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἦντινα ἐφόρει, Μεγαθίνης λέγει ὅτι ὁμοίην τῷ Θεβαίῳ Ἡρακλεῖ, ὡς αὐτοὶ Ἰνδοὶ ἀπηγέοντα. Καὶ τέττω ἄρσενας μὲν παῖδας πολλὰς κάρτα γενέσθαι ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῆ (πολλῆσι γὰρ δὴ γυναῖξιν ἐς γάμον ἐλθεῖν καὶ τέτον τὸν Ἡρακλέα) θυγατέρα δὲ μενογενέην. Οὐνομα δὲ τῆ παιδὶ Πανδαίην. Καὶ τὴν χώραν ἵνα τε ἐγένετο, καὶ ἥστινος ἐπέτρεψεν

αὐτὴν ἄρχειν Ἡρακλῆς, Πανδαίην, τῆς παιδὸς ἐπώνυμον. Καὶ ταύτῃ ἐλέφαντας μὲν γενέσθαι ἐκ τῶ πατρὸς ἐς πεντακοσίας, ἵππων δὲ ἐς τετρακισχιλίην· πεζῶν δὲ, ἐς τὰς τρεῖς καὶ δέκα μυριάδας. Καὶ τὰδε μετεξέτεροι Ἰνδῶν περὶ Ἡρακλέους λέγουσιν. Ἐπελθόντα αὐτὸν παῖσαν γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν, καὶ καθάραντα ὅ, τι περ κακὸν, κίναδος ἐξευρεῖν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ κόσμον γυναικῆιον· ὄντινα καὶ εἰς τῆτο ἐτι οἱ τε ἐξ Ἰνδῶν τῆς χώρας τὰ ἀγωγίμα παρ' ἡμέας ἀγινόντες σπερδῆ ὠνεόμενοι ἐκκομίζουσι· καὶ Ἑλλήνων δὲ πάλα καὶ Ῥωμαίων νῦν ὅσοι πολυκτέανοι καὶ εὐδαίμονες, μέζον σπερδῆ ὠνεόνται τὸν μαργαρίτην δὴ τὸν θαλάσσιον, ἔτω τῇ Ἰνδῶν γλώσῃ καλεόμενον. Τὸν γὰρ Ἡρακλέα, ὡς καλὸν οἱ ἐφάνη τὸ φέρημα, ἐκ πάσης τῆς θαλάσσης ἐς τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν συναγινέειν τὸν μαργαρίτην δὴ τῆτον, τῇ θυγατρὶ τῇ ἐωυτῆ εἶναι κόσμον. Καὶ λέγει Μεγαθένης, θηρεύουσαν τὴν κόγχην αὐτῆ δικτύοισι, νέμεσθαι δὲ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ κατ' αὐτὸ πολλὰς κόγχας, καθάπερ τὰς μελισσας. Καὶ εἶναι γὰρ καὶ τοῖσι μαργαρίτησι βασιλέα, ἢ βασίλισσαν, ὡς τῆσι μελισσῆσι. Καὶ ὅστις μὲν ἐκείνον κατ' ἐπιτυχίην συλλάβοι, τῆτον δὲ εὐπετέως περιβάλλειν καὶ τὸ ἄλλο σμήνος τῶν μαργαριτῶν· εἰ δὲ διαφύγοι σφᾶς ὁ βασιλεὺς, τῆτω δὲ ἐκείνῃ θηρατῆς εἶναι τοὺς ἄλλους· τοὺς ἀλόντας δὲ περιορᾶν κατασαπῆναι σφίσι τὴν σάρκα, τῶ δὲ ὀστέω ἐς κόσμον χρῆσθαι. Καὶ εἶναι γὰρ καὶ παρ' Ἰνδοῖσι τὸν μαργαρίτην τρισάσιον κατὰ τιμὴν πρὸς

χρυσίον τὸ ἀπεφθον, καὶ τῆτο ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῇ ὀρουσόμενον.

ΙΧ. Ἐν δὲ τῇ χώρῃ ταύτῃ, ἵνα ἐβασίλευσεν ἢ θυγάτηρ τῆ Ἡρακλέους, τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας ἐπιαετῆς ἐέσας, ἐς ὥρην γάμψ ἰεναί, τὰς δὲ ἄνδρας τεσσαράκοινα ἔετα τὰ πλεῖστα βιώσκεισθαι. Καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆτα λεγόμενον λόγον εἶναι παρ' Ἰνδοῖσιν· Ἡρακλέα, ὀψιγόνῃ οἱ γενομένης τῆ παιδὸς, ἐπέε τε δὴ ἐγγυς ἐμαθεν εἰαυτῶ ἐέσασαν τὴν τελευταίην, ἐκ ἔχοντα ὅτω ἀνδρὶ ἐκδῶ τὴν παῖδα ἐωυτῆ ἐπαξίω, αὐτὸν μιγῆναι τῇ παιδὶ ἐπιαετῆ ἐέσῃ, ὡς γένος ἐξ οὗ τε κακείνης ὑπολείπεσθαι Ἰνδῶν βασιλέας. Ποιῆσαι ὦν αὐτὴν Ἡρακλέα ὠραίην γάμψ· καὶ ἐκ τῆδε ἅπαν τὸ γένος τοῦτο ὅτῃ ἢ Πανδαίῃ ἐπῆρξε, ταυτὸ τῆτο γέρας ἔχειν παρὰ Ἡρακλέους. Ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ, εἴπερ ὦν τὰ ἐς τοσόνδε ἄτοπα Ἡρακλέους οἷός τε ἦν ἐξεργάζεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀποφῆναι μακροβιώτερον, ὡς ὠραίην μιγῆναι τῇ παιδὶ. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰ ταῦτα ὑπὲρ τῆς ὠρῆς τῶν ταυτῆ παιδῶν ἀτρεκέα ἐστίν, ἐς ταυτὸν φέρειν δοκεῖ ἐμοιγε ἐς ὅ, τι περ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῆ ἡλικίης ὅτι τεσσαρακοιλέτες ἀποθνήσκουσιν οἱ πρεσβύτατοι αὐτῶν. Οἷς γὰρ τό τε γῆρας τοσῶδε ταχύτερον ἐπέρχεται, καὶ ὁ θάνατος ὁμῶ τῶ γῆρα, πάντως πᾶ καὶ ἢ ἀκμῆ πρὸς λόγον τῆ τέλεος ταχύτερη ἐπανθεῖ. Ὡστε τριακοντέτες μὲν ὠμογέροντες ἂν πᾶ εἶεν αὐτοῖσιν οἱ ἄνδρες· εἴκοσι δὲ ἔετα γερονότες, οἱ ἔξω ἡέθης νεανίσκοι. Ἡ δὲ ἀκροτάτῃ ἡέθῃ, ἀμφὶ τὰ πεντεκαίδεκα ἔετα. Καὶ τῆσι γυναῖξιν ὠρη τῆ γάμψ κατὰ λόγον ἂν ἔτω ἐς τὰ



ἐπὶ ἕτερα συμβαίνοι. Καὶ γὰρ τὰς καρπὸς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρῃ πεπαινεσθῆναι τε ταχύτερον τῆς ἄλλης, αὐτὸς ἔτος Μεγαθένης ἀνέγραψε, καὶ φθίνειν ταχύτερον. Ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Διονύσου βασιλέως ἠρίθμεον Ἰνδοὶ εἰς Σανδροκόπιαν, τρεῖς καὶ πενήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἕτερα δὲ, δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἑξακισχίλια. Ἐν δὲ τέτοισι τρεῖς τὸ πᾶν εἰς ἐλευθερίην \* τὴν δὲ, καὶ εἰς τριακόσια τὴν δὲ, εἰκοσὶ τε ἑτέων καὶ ἑκατόν. Πρεσβύτερον τε Διονύσον Ἡρακλέως δέκα καὶ πέντε γενεῆσιν Ἰνδοὶ λέγουσιν. Ἄλλον δὲ ἔδενά ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς γῆν τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ· ἔδὲ Κύρον τὸν Καμβύσῳ, καίτοι ἐπὶ Σκύθας ἐλάσαντα, καὶ τὰλλα πολυπραγμονέσαστον δὴ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίην βασιλέων γενόμενον τὸν Κύρον. Ἄλλὰ Ἀλέξανδρον γὰρ ἐλθεῖν τε καὶ κρατῆσαι πάντων τοῖς ὅπλοις, ὅσους γε δὴ ἐπῆλθε· καὶ ἂν καὶ πάντων κρατῆσαι, εἰ ἢ στρατιὴ ἤθελεν. Οὐ μὲν δὴ ἔδὲ Ἰνδῶν τινα ἔξω τῆς οἰκείης σαλπῆναι ἐπὶ πολέμῳ, διὰ δικαιοσύνην.

Χ. Λέγουται ἢ καὶ τὰδε, μνημεῖα ὅτι Ἰνδοὶ τοῖς τελευτήσασιν οὐ ποιέουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀρετὰς γὰρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν εἰς μνήμην τίθενται τοῖσιν ἀποθανῆσι, καὶ τὰς ἀδὰς αἰ ἀυτοῖσιν ἐπάδονται. Πόλεων δὲ καὶ ἀριθμὸν ἕκ εἶναι ἂν ἀτρεκέως ἀναγράψαι τῶν Ἰνδικῶν, ὑπὸ πλήθεος. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅσα παραποτάμια αὐτέων, ἢ παραθαλάσσια, ταύτας μὲν ξυλίνας ποιέεσθαι οὐ γὰρ εἶναι ἕκ πλίνθων ποιησόμενας διαρκέσαι ἐπὶ χρόνον, τὰ τε ὕδατος ἕνεκα τὰ ἐξ οὐρανῶν, καὶ ὅτι οἱ ποταμοὶ αὐτοῖσιν ὑπερβάλλοντες ὑπὲρ τὰς ὄχθας, ἐμπίπλασι

τὰ ὕδατος τὰ πεδία. Ὅσα δὲ ἐν ὑπερδέξιοις τε καὶ μετεώροις τόποισι, καὶ ταῖσιν ὑψηλοῖσιν, ὠκισμένα εἰσὶ, ταύτας δὲ ἕκ πλίνθων τε καὶ πηλῶν ποιέεσθαι. Μεγίστην δὲ πόλιν Ἰνδοῖσιν εἶναι Παλίμβοθρα καλεομένην, ἐν τῇ Πρασίων γῆ, ἵνα αἱ συμβολαὶ εἰσὶ τὰ τε Ἐρανοβόα ποταμῶν καὶ τῶν Γάγγων· τῶν μὲν Γάγγων, τῶν μεγίστων ποταμῶν· ὁ δὲ Ἐρανοβόας, τρίτος μὲν ἂν εἴη τῶν Ἰνδῶν ποταμῶν, μεζῶν δὲ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ οὗτος· ἀλλὰ συγχωρεῖ αὐτὸς τῶν Γάγγων, ἐπειδὴν ἐμβαλεῖ εἰς αὐτὸν τὸ ὕδωρ. Καὶ λέγει Μεγαθένης, μήκος μὲν ἐπέχειν τὴν πόλιν καθ' ἑκατέρην τὴν πλευρὴν, ἵνα περ μακροτάτη αὐτῇ ἐωυτῆς ὠκισαί, εἰς ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίους· τὸ δὲ πλάτος, εἰς πεντεκαίδεκα. Τάφρον ἢ περιβεβλησθῆναι τῇ πόλει, τὸ εὖρος ἑξάπλευτρον, τὸ δὲ βάθος, τριήκοντα πηχῶν. Πύργους δὲ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ πεντακοσίους ἐπέχειν τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ πύλας τέσσαρας καὶ ἑξήκοντα. Εἶναι δὲ καὶ τόδε μέγα ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῆ, πάντας Ἰνδοὺς εἶναι ἐλευθέρους, ἔδὲ τινα δούλον εἶναι Ἰνδόν. Τῆτο μὲν Λακεδαιμονίοισιν εἰς ταυτὸ συμβαίνει καὶ Ἰνδοῖσιν. Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν γε οἱ εἰλωτες δούλοι εἰσι, καὶ τὰ δούλων ἐργάζονται Ἰνδοῖσι ἢ, ἔδὲ ἄλλος δούλος ἐστὶ, μήτοιγε Ἰνδῶν τις.

XI. Νενέμνηται ἢ οἱ πάντες Ἰνδοὶ εἰς ἐπὶ μάλισα γενεάς. Ἐν μὲν αὐτοῖσιν οἱ σοφισταὶ εἰσι, πλήθει μὲν μέγιστων ἄλλων, δόξῃ δὲ καὶ τιμῇ γεραρότατοι. Οὔτε γὰρ τι τῶν σώματι ἐργάζεσθαι ἀναγκαίη σφῖν προσκείαται· οὔτε τι ἀποφέρειν ἀφ' ὅτις πονέουσιν εἰς τὸ κοι-

νόν· ἐδὲ τι ἄλλο ἀνάγκης ἀπλῶς ἐπέειναι τοῖσι σοφιστῆσιν, ὅτι μὴ θύειν τὰς θυσίας τοῖσι θεοῖσιν ὑπὲρ τῆ κοινῆ τῶν Ἰνδῶν. Καὶ ὅστις δὲ ἰδία θύει, ἐξηγητὴς αὐτῷ τῆ θυσίης τῶν τις σοφιστῶν τέτων γίνεται, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως κεχαρισμένα τοῖς θεοῖς θύσαντας. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ μαντικῆς οὔτοι μῆνοι Ἰνδῶν θαύμονες, ἐδὲ ἐφέται ἄλλω μαντεύεσθαι, ὅτι μὴ σοφῶ ἀνδρί. Μαντεύουσι δὲ ὅσα ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄρρων τῆ ἔτεος, καὶ εἴ τις ἐς τὸ κοινὸν συμφορῇ καταλαμβάνει· τὰ ἰδία δὲ ἐκάστοισιν οὐ σφιν μέλει μαντεύεσθαι· ἢ ὡς ἐκ ἐξικνεομένης τῆς μαντικῆς ἐς τὰ μικρότερα, ἢ ὡς οὐκ ἄξιον ἐπὶ τέτοισι πονέεσθαι. Ὅστις δὲ ἀμάρτοι ἐς τρεῖς μαντευσάμενος, τέτρω ἢ ἄλλο μὲν κακὸν γίγνεσθαι ἐδὲν, σιωπᾶν δὲ εἶναι ἐπάναγκες τῆ λοιπῆ· καὶ ἐκ ἐστὶν ὅστις ἐξαναγκάσει τὸν ἄνδρα τέτον Φωνήσας, ὅτις ἢ σιωπῇ κατακέκριται. Οὗτοι γυμνοὶ διατῶνται οἱ σοφισταί, τῆ μὲν χειμῶνος ὑπάθριοι ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ, τῆ δὲ θερέος ἐπὴν ὁ ἥλιος κατέχη, ἐν τοῖσι λιμῶσι καὶ τοῖσιν ἔλεσιν ὑπὸ δένδρεσι μεγάλοισιν· ὧν τὴν σκίην Νέαρχος λέγει ἐς πέντε πλεθρα ἐν κύκλῳ ἐξικνεέσθαι, καὶ ἂν μυρίους ἀνθρώπους ὑπὸ ἐνὶ δένδρεϊ σκιάζεσθαι· τηλικαῦτα εἶναι ταῦτα τὰ δένδρεα. Σιτέονται δὲ ὠραῖα, καὶ τὸ Φλοῖον τῶν δένδρων, γλυκύν τε ὄντα καὶ τρώφιμον, ἢ περ ἀὶ βάλανοι τῶν Φοινίκων. Δεύτεροι δὲ ἐπὶ τέτοισιν οἱ γεωργοὶ εἰσιν· ἔτοι πλήθει πλείοι Ἰνδῶν εἰόντες. Καὶ τέτοισιν ἔτε ὅπλα ἐστὶν ἀρήια, ἔτε μέλει τὰ πολέμια ἔργα, ἀλλὰ τὴν χώραν οὔτοι ἐργάζονται· καὶ τοὺς φόρους τοῖς τε βα-

σιλεῦσι καὶ τῆσι πόλεσιν ὅσα αὐτόνομοι, ἔτοι ἀποφέρουσι. Καὶ εἰ πόλεμος ἐς ἀλλήλους τοῖσιν Ἰνδοῖσιν τύχοι, τῶν ἐργαζομένων τὴν γῆν οὐ θέμις σφιν ἀπλεῖσθαι, ἐδὲ αὐτὴν τὴν γῆν τέμνειν· ἀλλὰ οἱ μὲν πολεμῶσι καὶ καλακάνισιν ἀλλήλους ὅπως τύχοιεν· οἱ ἢ πλησίον αὐτῶν κατ' ἡσυχίην ἀρῶσιν, ἢ τρυγῶσιν ἢ κλαδῶσιν, ἢ φερίζουσι. Τρίτοι δὲ εἰσιν Ἰνδοῖσιν οἱ νομέες, οἱ ποιμένες τε καὶ βεκόλοι, καὶ οὔτοι ἔτε κατὰ πόλιας, ἔτε ἐν τῆσι κώμησιν οἰκέουσι· νομάδες τέ εἰσι, καὶ ἀνα τὰ ὄρεα βιοτεύουσι. Φόρον δὲ καὶ ἔτοι ἀπὸ τῶν κτηνῶν ἀποφέρουσι· καὶ θηρεύουσιν οὔτοι ἀνα τὴν χώραν ὄρνιθας τε καὶ ἀγρία θηρία.

XII. Τέταρτον δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ δημιουργικὸν τε καὶ καπηλικὸν γένος. Καὶ οὔτοι λιπηργοὶ εἰσιν, καὶ φόρον ἀποφέρουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων τῶν σφετέρων, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅσοι τὰ ἀρήια ὅπλα ποιέουσιν, οὔτοι ἢ καὶ μιᾶν ἐκ τῆ κοινῆ προσλαμβάνουσιν. Ἐν δὲ τέτρω τῷ γένει οἱ τε ναυπηγοὶ καὶ οἱ ναυτάι εἰσιν ὅσοι κατὰ τοὺς ποταμοὺς πλώουσι. Πέμπτον δὲ γένος ἐστὶν Ἰνδοῖσιν, οἱ πολεμισταί· πλήθει μὲν δεύτερον μετὰ τῆς γεωργίας, πλείω δὲ ἐλευθερίῃ τε καὶ εὐθυμίῃ ἐπιχρεόμενον· καὶ οὔτοι ἀσκηταὶ μόνων τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔργων εἰσιν. Τὰ δὲ ὅπλα ἄλλοι αὐτοῖς ποιέουσι, καὶ ἵππους ἄλλοι παρέχουσι· καὶ διακονῶσιν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδῳ ἄλλοι, οἱ τῆς τε ἵππων αὐτοῖς θεραπεύουσι, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἐκκαθαίρουσι, καὶ τῆς ἐλέφαντας ἄγουσι, καὶ τὰ ἄρματα κοσμέουσι τε καὶ ἠνιοχεύουσιν. Αὐτοὶ ἢ, ἔς τ' ἂν μὲν πολεμῶν δὲ, πολεμῶ-

σιν· εἰρήνης δὲ γενομένης, <sup>3</sup> εὐθυμέεσι. Καὶ σφιν μισθὸς ἐκ τῆ κοινῆ τοσούτῃ ἐρχεται, ὡς καὶ ἄλλως τρέφειν ἀπ' αὐτῆ εὐμαρέως. Ἐκτοὶ δὲ εἰσὶν Ἰνδοῖσιν, οἱ ἐπίσκοποι καλούμενοι. Οὗτοι ἐφορῶσι τὰ γινόμενα κατὰ τε τὴν χώραν, καὶ κατὰ τὰς πόλιας· καὶ ταῦτα ἀναγγέλλουσι τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἵνα περ βασιλεύοντα Ἰνδοί· ἢ τοῖς τέλεσιν, ἵνα περ αὐτόνομοι εἰσὶ. Καὶ τέτοις οὐ θέμις ψεύδος ἀναγγέλλαι ἕδεν, ἕδὲ τις Ἰνδῶν αἰτίην ἔχε ψεύσασθαι. Ἐβδόμοι δὲ εἰσὶν, οἱ ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν βασιλεύοντες ὁμῆ τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἢ κατὰ πόλιας ὅσα αὐτόνομοι, σὺν τῆσιν ἀρχῆσι. Πλήθει μὲν ὀλίγον τὸ γένος τῆτό ἐστι, σοφίῃ δὲ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, ἐκ πάντων προκεκριμένον. Ἐνθεν οἱ τε ἀρχόντες αὐτοῖσιν ἐπιλέγονται, καὶ ὅσοι νομάρχαι καὶ ὑπαρχοὶ, καὶ θησαυροφύλακες τε καὶ στρατοφύλακες, ναύαρχοί τε καὶ ταμίαι, καὶ τῶν κατὰ γεωργίην ἔργων ἐπιστάται. Γαμέειν δὲ ἐξ ἑτέρου γένεος, οὐ θέμις· οἷον τοῖσι γεωργοῖσιν ἐκ τῆ δημιουργικῆ, ἢ ἔμπαλιν· ἕδὲ δύο τέχνας ἐπιτηδεύειν τὸν αὐτὸν, ἕδὲ τῆτο θέμις. Οὐδὲ ἀμείβειν ἐξ ἑτέρου γένεος εἰς ἕτερον· οἷον, γεωργικὸν ἐκ νομείως γενέσθαι, ἢ νομεία ἐκ δημιουργικῆ. Μᾶλλον σφίσι ἀνεῖται, σοφιστὴν ἐκ παντὸς γένεος γενέσθαι· ὅτι οὐ μαλθακὰ τοῖσι σοφιστῆσιν εἰσὶ τὰ πρήγματα, ἀλλὰ πάντων ταλαιπωρότατα.

XIII. Θηρῶσι δὲ Ἰνδοὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἀγρία θηρία, κατὰπερ καὶ Ἕλληνες. Ἡ δὲ τῶν ἐλεφάντων σφιν θήρα ἕδεν τι ἄλλη

ἔοικεν· ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα τὰ θηρία ἕδαμοῖσιν ἄλλοισι θηρίοις ἐπέοικεν. Ἀλλὰ τὸν γὰρ ἐπιλεξάμενοι ἀπεδον, καὶ καυματώδεα, ἐν κύκλῳ τάφρον ὀρύσσουσιν, ὅσον μεγάλῳ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπαυλίσασθαι· τῆς δὲ τάφρου τὸ εὖρος ἐς πέντε ὀργύιας ποιεῖται, βάθος τε ἐς τέσσαρας. Τὸν δὲ χῆν ὄντινα ἐκβάλλουσιν ἐκ τῆ ὀρύγματος, ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖλα ἐκάτερα τῆ τάφρου ἐπιφορήσαντες, ἀντὶ τείχεος διαχρέονται. Αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ χώματι τῆ ἐπιχειλέος τῆ ἕξω τῆς τάφρου, σκηνας σφιν ὀρυκτὰς ποιοῦνται, καὶ διὰ τετῶν ὁπᾶς ὑπολέπονται· δι' ὧν φῶς τε αὐτοῖς συνεισέρχεται, καὶ τὰ θηρία προσάγοντα, καὶ ἐσελαύνοντα ἐς τὸ ἔρκος σκέπτονται, ἐν ταῦτα ἐντὸς τῆ ἔρκους καταστήσαντες τῆ τινὰς θηλέων τρεῖς ἢ τέσσαρας, ὅσα μάλιστα τὸν θυμον χειροῦθες, μίαν ἐσοδὸν ἀπολιμπάνουσι κατὰ τὴν τάφρον, γεφυρώσαντες τὴν τάφρον· καὶ ταύτη χῶν τε καὶ πῶσαν πολλὴν ἐπιφέρουσι, τῆ μὴ ἀρίθμηλον εἶναι τοῖσι θηρίοισι τὴν γεφυραν, μὴ τινα δόλον οἰσθῶσι. Αὐτοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐκπαδὼν σφᾶς <sup>4</sup> ἐξὶ κατὰ τῶν σκηνῶν τῶν ὑπὸ τῆ τάφρου δεδυκότες. Οἱ γὰρ ἀγριοὶ ἐλεφάντες ἡμέρης μὲν οὐ πελάζουσι τοῖσιν οἰκισμένοισι, νύκτωρ δὲ πλανῶνται τε πάντα, καὶ ἀγεληδὸν νέμονται, τῷ μεγίστῳ καὶ γενναϊοτάτῳ σφῶν ἐπόμενοι, κατὰπερ αἱ βόες τοῖσι ταύροισιν, εἰαν ὧν τῶ ἔρκει πελάσωσι, τὴν τε φωνὴν ἀκρόντες τῶν θηλέων, καὶ τῆ ὁσμῆ αἰσθανόμενοι, δρόμῳ ἵενται ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν χῶν

<sup>3</sup> εὐθυμέονται MSS.

<sup>4</sup> ἔχουσι Schmeider.

ρον τ̄ πεφραγμένον, ἐκπεριελθόντες ἢ τῆς τάφρου τὰ χεῖλα, εὐτ' ἂν τῆ γεφύρῃ ἐπιτύχῃσι, κατὰ ταύτην εἰς τὸ ἔρκος ἀφένονται. Οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι αἰδομένοι τὴν ἔσοδον τῆ ἐλεφάντων τῶν ἀγρίων, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν τὴν γεφυραν ὀξέως ἀφῆλλον, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς πέλας κόμας ἐπιδραμόντες, ἀγγέλλουσι τὴς ἐλεφάντας ὅτι ἐν τῷ ἔρκει ἔχονται. Οἱ δὲ ἀκῆσαντες ἐπιβάνουσι τῶν κρατίστων τε τὸν θυμὸν καὶ τῶν χειροθεσάτων ἐλεφάντων. Ἐπιβάντες δὲ, ἐλαύνουσιν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ ἔρκος· ἐλάσαντες ἢ, ἐκ αὐτῆς μάχης ἀπλοῦνται· ἀλλ' εἴωσι γὰρ λιμῷ ταλαιπωρεῖσθαι τὴς ἀγρίους ἐλεφάντας, καὶ ὑπὸ τῷ δίψει δελωθῆναι· εὐτ' ἂν δὲ σφίσι κακῶς ἔχεν δοκέωσι, τῆνικαῦτα ἐπισήσαντες αὐτίς τὴν γεφυραν, ἐλαύνουσιν τε ὡς εἰς τὸ ἔρκος. Καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα μάχῃ ἴσεται κρατερῆ τοῖσιν ἡμέροισι τῆ ἐλεφάντων πρὸς τὴς ἐαλωκότας. Ἐπετα κρατεροῦνται μὲν κατὰ τὸ εἶκος οἱ ἀγριοί, ὑπὸ τε τῆ ἀθυμίας καὶ τῷ λιμῷ ταλαιπωρέμενοι. Οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆ ἐλεφάντων κατὰβάντες, παρεμένοισιν ἤδη τοῖς τ' ἀγρίοισι τὴς πόδας ἀκρῆς συνδέουσιν. Ἐπετα ἐγκελεύονται τοῖσιν ἡμέροισι πηγαῖς σφᾶς κολάζειν πολλαῖς, ἔς τ' ἂν ἐκείνοι ταλαιπωρέμενοι εἰς γῆν πέσωσι. Παρασάντες δὲ, βρόχῃς περιβάλλουσιν αὐτοῖσι κατὰ τὴς ἀνχένας, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπιβάνουσι κειμένοισι. Τῶ δὲ μὴ ἀποσείεσθαι τὴς ἀμβάτας, μηδὲ τι ἄλλο ἀτάσθαλον ἐργάζεσθαι, τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῖσιν, ἐν κύκλῳ, μαχαίρῳ ὀξεί ἐπιτέμνουσι, καὶ τὸν βρόχον κατὰ τὴν τομὴν περιδέουσιν, ὡς ἀτρέμα ἔχεν τὴν κε-

φαλὴν τε καὶ τὸ τράχηλον ὑπὸ τῶ ἔλκεος. Εἰ γὰρ περιστρέφονται ὑπὸ ἀτασθαλίας, τρίβεται αὐτοῖσι τὸ ἔλκος ὑπὸ τῷ κάλῳ. Οὕτω μὲν ἀτρέμα ἔχουσι. Καὶ αὐτοὶ γνωσιμαχεόντες ἤδη, ἀγοῦνται κατὰ τὸν δεσμὸν πρὸς τῶν ἡμέρων.

XIV. Ὅσοι δὲ νῆπιοι αὐτῶν, ἢ διὰ κακότητα οὐκ ἄξιοι ἐκτῆσθαι, τῆς εἴωσιν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι εἰς τὰ σφέτερα ἤθεα. Ἀγοῦντες δὲ εἰς τὰς κόμας τὴς ἀλόνας, τῶ τε χλωρῷ καλάμῳ καὶ τῆς πύας τὰ πρῶτα ἐμφαγεῖν ἔδοσαν· οἱ ἢ ὑπὸ ἀθυμίας, οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν εἶδεν σιτέεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ περιϊστᾶμενοι οἱ Ἰνδοί, ὠδαῖσί τε καὶ τυμπάνοισι, καὶ κυμβάλοισιν ἐν κύκλῳ κρόντες τε καὶ ἐπάδοντες, κατευνάουσι. Θυμόσοφον γὰρ, εἴπερ τι ἄλλο θῆριον, ὁ ἐλεφας. Καὶ τινες ἤδη αὐτῶν τὴς ἀμβάτας σφῶν, ἐν πολέμῳ ἀποθανόντας, ἄραντες αὐτοὶ ἐξήνεγκαν εἰς ταφῆν· οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑπερήσπισαν κειμένους· οἱ δὲ καὶ πεσόντων προεκινδύνευσαν. Ὁ δὲ τις πρὸς ὄργην ἀποκλείνας τὸ ἀμβάτην, ὑπὸ μετανοῆς τε καὶ ἀθυμίας ἀπέθανεν. Εἶδον ἢ ἐγγυε καὶ κυμβαλίζοντα ἤδη ἐλεφάντα, καὶ ἄλλους ὄρχεομένους, κυμβάλοισιν τῷ κυμβαλίζοντι πρὸς τοῖν σκελοῖν τοῖν ἐμπροσθεν προσσητημένοι, καὶ πρὸς τῆ προβοσκίδι καλεομένη ἄλλο κύμβαλον. Ὁ δὲ ἐν μέρει τῆ προβοσκίδι ἔκρεε τὸ κύμβαλον καὶ ῥυθμῷ πρὸς ἑκατέρω τῶν σκελοῖν· οἱ δὲ ὄρχεομένοι ἐν κύκλῳ τε ἐχόρευον, καὶ ἐπαίροντες τε καὶ ἐπικάμπτοντες τὰ ἐμπροσθεν σκέλεα ἐν τῷ μέρει, ἐν ῥυθμῷ καὶ ἔτοι ἔβαινον, καθότι ὁ κυμβαλίζων σφίσιν ὑψηγέτο. Βάινεται

δὲ ἐλέφας ἦρος ὄρη, κατάπερ βῆς ἢ ἵππος, ἐπεὰν τῆσι θηλέεσιν αἱ παρὰ τοῖσι κροτάφοισιν ἀναπνοαὶ ἀνοιχθῆσασιν ἐκπνέωσι. Κύει δὲ τὴν ἐλαχίστην μὲν, ἐκκαίδεκα μῆνας· τὴν πλείστην δὲ, ὀκτωκαίδεκα. Τίκει δὲ ἐν, κατάπερ ἵππος· καὶ τῆτο ἐκτρέφει τῷ γάλακτι, ἐς ἔτος ὄγδοον. Ζῶσι δὲ ἐλεφάντων οἱ πλείεστα ἔτεα ζῶντες, ἐς διηκόσια· πολλοὶ δὲ νόσῳ πρῶτελευτῶσιν. Γῆρα δὲ ἐς τόσον ἔρχονται. Καὶ ἐσιν αὐτοῖσι τῷ μὲν ὀφθαλμῶν ἴαμα, τὸ βόειον γάλα ἐγχέομενον· πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἄλλας νόσους, ὁ μέλας οἶνος πινόμενος. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖσιν ἔλκεσι, τὰ ἕσια κρέα ὀπτώμενα καὶ καταπασσόμενα. Ταῦτα παρ' Ἰνδοῖσιν ἐσιν αὐτοῖσιν ἰάματα.

XV. Τῶ δὲ ἐλεφάντι τὴν τίγριν πολλόντι ἀλκιμώτερον Ἰνδοὶ ἄγασσι. Τίγριος δὲ δορῆν μὲν ἰδεῖν λέγει Νέαρχος, αὐτὸν δὲ τίγριν ἔκ ἰδεῖν. Ἀλλὰ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς γὰρ ἀπηγγέεσθαι, τίγριν εἶναι μέγεθος μὲν ἡλίκον τῷ μέγιστον ἵππον· τὴν δὲ ἀκύνηλα καὶ ἀλκῆν, ἐδένι ἄλλῳ εἰκάσαι. Τίγριν γὰρ ἐπεὰν ὁμῶς ἔλθῃ ἐλέφαντι, ἐπιπηδᾷν τε ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τῶ ἐλεφάντι, καὶ ἄγχειν εὐπετέως. Ταύτας δὲ ἄστιας καὶ ἡμῶς ὀρέομεν καὶ τίγριας καλέομεν, θώας εἶναι αἰόλας καὶ μέζονας ἤπερ τὴν ἄλλαν θώας. Ἐπεὶ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶ μυρμηκῶν λέγει Νέαρχος, μύρμηκα μὲν αὐτὸς ἔκ ἰδεῖν ὁποῖον δὴ τινα μελέξετεροι διέγραψαν γίνεσθαι ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῆ· δορᾶς δὲ καὶ τούτων ἰδεῖν πολλὰς, ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον κατακομιθεῖσας τὸ Μακεδονικόν. Μεγαθῆνης δὲ καὶ ἀτρικέα εἶναι ὑπὲρ τῶ μυρ-

μηκῶν τὸ λόγον ἰσορέει, τῆτος εἶναι τὴν χρυσοὶ ὀρύσσουσας, οὐκ αὐτῆ τῶ χρυσοῦ ἕνεκα, ἀλλὰ σφίσι γὰρ κατὰ τὴν γῆς ὀρύσσουσιν, ἵνα Φαλεύουσι· κατὰπερ οἱ ἡμέτεροι οἱ σμικροὶ μύρμηκες ὀλίγον τὴν γῆς ὀρύσσουσιν. Ἐκείνης δὲ, εἶναι γὰρ ἀλωπέκων μέζονας, πρὸς λόγον τῶ μεγέθεος σφῶν, καὶ τὴν γῆν ὀρύσσουσιν· τὴν δὲ γῆν, χρυσίτιν εἶναι, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης γίνεσθαι Ἰνδοῖσι τὸ χρυσοῦ. Ἀλλὰ Μεγαθῆνης ἀκοὴν ἀφηγγέεται· καὶ ἐγὼ ὅτι ἐδέν τῆτος ἀτρικέτερον ἀναγράψαι ἔχω, ἀπίημι ἐκὼν τὸ ὑπὲρ τῶν μυρμηκῶν λόγον. Σιτακῆς δὲ Νέαρχος μὲν ὡς δὴ τι θαῦμα ἀφηγγέεται, ὅτι γίνονται ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῆ· καὶ ὁποῖος ὄρνις ἐσιν ὁ σιτακός, καὶ ὅπως Φωνὴν ἴει ἀνθρωπίνην. Ἐγὼ δὲ ὅτι αὐτὸς τε πολλὰς ὀπίπεια καὶ ἄλλαν ἐπισαμένους εἶδα τὸν ὄρνιθα, ἐδέν ὡς ἀτόπῃ δῆθεν ἀφηγγέομαι· ἐδὲ ὑπὲρ πιθήκων τῶ μεγέθεος, ἢ ὅτι καλοὶ παρ' Ἰνδοῖς πιθήκοι εἰσιν, ἐδὲ ὅπως θηρῶνται ἐρέω. Καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα γνώριμα ἐρῶ, πλὴν γε δῆ, ὅτι καλοὶ πᾶς πιθήκοι εἰσὶ. Καὶ ὅφιας δὲ λέγει Νέαρχος θηρευθῆναι, αἰόλας μὲν καὶ ταχέας· μέγεθος δὲ, ὃν μὲν λέγει εἶναι Πύθωνα τὸ Ἀντιγένοος, πῆχεων ὡς ἐκκαίδεκα· αὐτὴς δὲ τὴν Ἰνδῶν πολλὴν μέζονας τῆτων λέγειν εἶναι τὴν μεγίστους ὄφιας. Ὅσοι δὲ ἰητροὶ Ἕλληνες, τούτοισιν οὐδὲν ἄκος ἐξεύρητο, ὅσις ὑπὸ ὄφιας δηχθῆσθαι Ἰνδικῶ· ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ἰῶντο τὴν πληγέντας. Καὶ ἐπὶ τῶδε Νέαρχος λέγει· συλλελεγμένους, ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εἶχεν Ἀλέξανδρος Ἰνδῶν ὅσοι ἰητρικὴν σοφώτατοι· καὶ κεκήρυκτο ἀνα-

τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὅσις διχθεῖν, ἐπὶ τὴν σκηπὴν φοιτᾶν τὴν βασιλείῃς. Οἱ ἢ αὐτοὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων νέσων τε καὶ παθεῶν ἠητροὶ ἦσαν. Οὐ πολλὰ δὲ ἐν Ἰνδοῖσι πάθεα γίνονται, ὅτι αἱ ὥραι σύμμετροι εἰσὶν αὐτοῖσι. Εἰ δὲ τι μείζον καταλαμβάνοι, τοῖσι σοφιστῶσιν ἀνεκονεῖντο· καὶ ἐκείνοι οὐκ ἀνευθεῖ ἐδόκειον ἠῶσθαι ὅ, τι περ ἰήσιμον.

XVI. Ἐοῦσιν δὲ Ἰνδοὶ λινὴν χρεόνται, κατὰπερ λέγει Νέαρχος, λίνε τῆ ἀπὸ τῶ δένδρεων, ὑπὲρ ὅτων μοι ἤδη λελεκται. Τὸ ἢ λίνον τῆτο ἢ λαμπρότερον τὴν χροίην ἐσὶν ἄλλε λίνε παντός· ἢ μέλανε αὐτοὶ εἶοντε λαμπρότερον τὸ λίνον φαίνεσθαι ποιεσθιν. Ἐσὶ δὲ κισθῶν λίνεοσ αὐτοῖσ ἐσ τε ἐπὶ μέσση τὴν κνήμην. Εἶμα δὲ, τὸ μὲν, περὶ τοῖσιν ὁμοιοσ περιβεβλημένον· τὸ δὲ, περὶ τῆσ κεφαλῆσιν εἰλιγμένον. Καὶ ἐνώτια Ἰνδοὶ φορέσθιν ἐλέφαντοσ, ὅσοι κάρτα εὐδαίμονεσ· οὐ γὰρ πάντεσ Ἰνδοὶ φορέσθιν. Τῶσ δὲ πῶγωνασ λέγει Νέαρχοσ ὅτι βάπτονται Ἰνδοὶ, χροίην δὲ ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην· οἱ μὲν, ὡσ λευκῶσ φαίνεσθαι, οἷεσ λευκοτάτεσ· οἱ δὲ, κυανέσ· τῶσ δὲ, φοινικέσ εἶναι· τῶσ ἢ, καὶ πορφυρέσ· ἄλλεσ, πρασοειδέασ. Καὶ σκιάδια ὅτι προσάλλονται τῆ θέρεοσ ὅσοι οὐκ ἠμελημένοι Ἰνδῶν· ὑποδήματα δὲ λευκοῦ δέρματοσ φορέσθιν, περιτῶσ καὶ ταῦτα ἠσκημένα· καὶ τὰ ἰχνη τῶ ὑποδημάτων αὐτοῖσ ποικίλα καὶ ὑψηλά, τῶ μέζονασ φαίνεσθαι. Ὀπλίσιοσ δὲ τῶ Ἰνδῶν, οὐκ ὡτοσ εἰσ τρόποσ· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν πεζοὶ αὐτοῖσ τοῦτον τε ἔχουσιν ἰσόμηκεσ τῶ φορέοντι τὸ τοῦτον· καὶ τοῦτο κάτω ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν θέντεσ,

καὶ τῶ ποδὶ τῶ ἀριστερῶ ἀντιθέοντεσ, οὐτωσ ἐκτοξεύουσιν, τὴν νευρὴν ἐπὶ μέγα ὀπίσω ἀπαγαγόντεσ. Ὅ γὰρ οἷτοσ αὐτοῖσιν ὀλίγον ἀποδέων τριπήχεοσ· ἐδέ τι ἀντέχει τοξευθέν πρὸσ Ἰνδοῦ ἀνδρὸσ τοξικόσ, οὔτε ἀσπίσ, ἔτε θώρηξ, ἔτε ὅτι καρτερὸν ἐγένετο. Ἐν δὲ τῆσιν ἀριστερῆσιν πέλεται εἰσὶν αὐτοῖσιν ὁμοεῖοιοσ, σεινότερα μὲν ἢ κατὰ τῶσ φορέοντασ, μήκει δὲ οὐ πολλὸν ἀποδέσθαι. Τοῖσιν δὲ ἀκοντεσ ἀντιτοῦτων εἰσὶ· μάχαιραν δὲ πάντεσ φορέουσιν, πλατέην δὲ, καὶ τὸ μήκεσ οὐ μέζω τριπήχεοσ· καὶ ταῦτην, ἐπεὰν συσάδην κατασθῆ αὐτοῖσιν ἢ μάχη (τὸ δὲ οὐκ εὐμαρέωσ Ἰνδοῖσιν ἐσ ἀλλήλεσ γίνετα) ἀμφοῖν ταῖν χερῶν καταφέρουσιν ἐσ τὴν πληγὴν, τῶ καρτερὴν τὴν πληγὴν γενέσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἰππέεσ ἀκόντια δύο αὐτοῖσιν ἔχουσιν, οἷα τὰ σαῦνια ἀκόντια· καὶ πέλτην μικροτέρη τῶν πεζῶν· οἱ δὲ ἵπποιο αὐτοῖσιν οὐ σεσαγμένοι εἰσιν, ἐδέ χαλινοῦνται τοῖσιν Ἐλληνικοῖσιν χαλινοῖσιν ἢ τοῖσιν Κελτικοῖσιν ἐμφορέωσ· ἀλλὰ περὶ ἀκρῶ τῶ σώματι τῶ ἵππου ἐν κύκλῳ ἔχουσιν δέρμα ὁμοεῖοιον, ράπτρον, περιηρημένον· καὶ ἐν τῆτω χάλκεα κέντρα ἢ σιδήρεα, οὐ κάρτα ἔξεα, ἔσω ἐσραμμένα. Τοῖσιν δὲ πλεσίοιοσιν ἐλεφάντινα κέντρα ἐσίν. Ἐν δὲ τῶ σώματι σίδηρον αὐτοῖσιν οἱ ἵπποιο ἔχουσιν, οἷον περ ὀβελόν, ἐνθεν ἐξηρητημένοι εἰσὶν αὐτοῖσιν οἱ ρυτῆρεσ. Ἐπεὰν ἂν ἐπαγάγωσιν τὸν ρυτῆρα, ὅ, τε ὀβελὸσ κρατέει τὸν ἵππον, καὶ τὰ κέντρα, οἷα δὴ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἠρητημένα, κεντέοντα, οὐκ ἐὰ ἄλλο τι ἢ πείθεσθαι τῶ ρυτῆρι.

XVII. Τὰ δὲ σώματα ἰαχνόι τε εἰσιν

Ἰνδοὶ καὶ εὐμήκεες, καὶ κῆφοι πολλόν τι ὑπὲρ τῆς ἄλλης ἀνθρώπου. Ὀχήματα δὲ τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς Ἰνδῶν, κάμηλοι εἰσίν, καὶ ἵπποι καὶ ὄνοι. Τοῖς δὲ εὐδαίμοσιν, ἐλέφαντες. Βασιλικὸν γὰρ ὄχημα ὁ ἐλέφας παρ' Ἰνδοῖς ἐστὶ· δεύτερον δὲ τιμῇ ἐπὶ τέτρω, τὰ τέθριππα· τρίτον δὲ, αἱ κάμηλοι. Τὸ δὲ ἐφ' ἐνὸς ἵππου ὀχέεσθαι, ἄτιμον. Αἱ γυναῖκες δὲ αὐτοῖσιν, ὅσαι κάρτα σώφρονες, ἐπὶ μὲν ἄλλω μιθῶ οὐκ ἂν τι διαμάρτοιεν· ἐλέφαντα δὲ λαβῶσα γυνὴ μίσηται τῷ δόντι. Οὐδὲ αἰσχρὸν Ἰνδοὶ ἄγασσι, τὸ ἐπὶ ἐλέφαντι μιγῆναι· ἀλλὰ καὶ σεμνὸν δοκεῖ τῆσι γυναῖξιν, ἀξίην τὸ κάλλος φανῆναι ἐλέφαντος. Γαμέεσι δὲ ἔτε τι δίδόντες, οὔτε

λαμβάνοντες· ἀλλὰ ὅσαι ἤδη ὠραῖαι γάμω, ταύτας οἱ πατέρες προάγοντες ἐς τὸ ἐμφανὲς καθιστῶσιν, ἐκλεξαοθαι τῷ νικήσαντι πάλην, ἢ πύξ, ἢ δρόμον, ἢ κατ' ἄλλην τινὰ ἀνδρίαν προκριθέντι. Σιτοφάγοι δὲ καὶ ἀροτῆρες Ἰνδοὶ, ὅσοι γε μὴ ὄρειοι αὐτῶν· οὔτοι δὲ τὰ θήρεα κρέα σιτεύονται. Ταῦτά μοι ἀπόχρη δεδηλωθαι ὑπὲρ Ἰνδῶν, ὅσα γνωριμώτατα Νέαρχός τε καὶ Μεγαθένης δοκίμω ἄνδρι ἀναγραφάτην. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδὲ ἡ ὑπόθεσις μοι τῆσδε τ' συγγραφῆς τὰ Ἰνδῶν νόμιμα ἀναγράψαι ἦν, ἀλλ' ὅπως γὰρ παρεκομίσθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐς Πέρσας ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ὁ σόλος, ταῦτα δὴ μοι ἐκβολὴ ἔσω τῷ λόγῳ.

A B S T R A C T

FROM

THE FIRST SEVENTEEN CHAPTERS

OF

ARRIAN'S INDIAN HISTORY.

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ARRIAN has himself considered this part of his work as a digression<sup>a</sup>, and it is in reality a collection from the Macedonian and Greek writers, who had preceded him in recording all that was then known of Indian manners, customs, history, and geography.

It contains likewise a variety of matter purely mythological, relative to Hercules, and Bacchus or Dionúsus, whose existence or expeditions into India the author treats with little more respect than they merit at the present hour; and the report of which he regards as the<sup>b</sup> boast of the Macedonians, who fought to raise their own son of Ammon above all the deified invaders of India who sprung from the Jupiter of Greece.

Another invasion of India was attributed to Semíramis and the Assyrians, and one more to the Egyptians under Sesostris; but there is so little historical foundation for either, that Sesostris is not noticed in the work before us: and we

know from a variety of authors, as well as Arrian, that the Assyrians, Medes, and Persians, never passed the Attock, but called the conquests, which extended only to the western side of that river, conquests of India.

To omit relations of this sort, or pass them over with the slightest notice, will relieve the reader from the contemplation of subjects from which he can derive neither interest or information. An abstract therefore of these first chapters has been preferred, in which it is allowable to insert nothing but what bears relation to a general knowledge of the country, or what will elucidate the subject proposed, that is, the Voyage of Nearchus.

I. We learn then, that the country west of the Indus, extending from that river to the Kóphês, is possessed by the Astakêni and Affakêni, tribes not properly Indian; for neither is their complexion so dark, neither are they in<sup>c</sup> personal form or courage equal to the native

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<sup>a</sup> Ταῦτα δὲ μοι ΕΚΒΟΛΗ ἔστι τοῦ λόγου. c. 17.

<sup>b</sup> Μακεδονικὸν δοκίμι μοι τὸ κόμπασμα. c. 6.

<sup>c</sup> See c. 17.



Indians on the eastern side. They had been subdued, and were tributary to the Assyrians, Medes, and Persians; but they resisted Alexander, and the Assakēni had defended Massaka their capital with great bravery. Peukela was another fortress of importance in the same tract, but nearer to the Indus.

II. On the east of that river is the commencement of India proper, the boundary of which on the north is Taurus, on the south the Ocean, and on the west the Indus.

Taurus is that mountain which, rising from the Bay of Issus in Cilicia, <sup>d</sup> extends through the whole of Asia to the Eastern Ocean. In its course it assumes various names, as Parapánifus in Bactria, Emódus and Imáus in different parts of India. The Macedonians called it Kaukasus, but the real Kaukasus is in Scythia, [between the Euxine and the Caspian Sea.]

Alexander went no farther towards the east than the river Hyphasis, [and thus far only we can speak with precision:] there are indeed some writers who treat of the Ganges, and its issue into the Ocean, and the great city of Palimbothra; but their number is small, [and their authority not always to be depended on.]

III. Eratósthenes of Cyrène is an author of better credit; he calculates <sup>e</sup> 13000 stadia from the sources of the Indus to the sea, and the opposite boundary on the east at <sup>f</sup> 16000; but in this he includes a great promontory or Chersonese, projecting <sup>g</sup> 3000 stadia into the [Southern] Ocean.

Such is the breadth of India from north to south; but the length from west to east is taken first from the Indus to Palimbothra, at 10000 stadia, by the measurement of the royal road; and beyond Palimbothra we cannot speak with certainty: but report says, that it is another 10000 stadia to the <sup>h</sup> Cape on the [Eastern] Ocean.

Ctésias supposes that India is equal to all the rest of Asia; Onesicritus estimates it at a third part; Nearchus states it as requiring a journey of four months; Megasthenes converts its length into its breadth, and says it is 16000 stadia where shortest: but from north to south, which he calls its length, he makes it <sup>i</sup> 22300 stadia.

The rivers of India are larger than any other in Asia; but the most magnificent are the Indus and the Ganges, <sup>k</sup> both flowing with a greater body of water

<sup>d</sup> According to the orthography I have adopted in the Commentary on Ancient Commerce, this word ought to be written Kilikia; and Scythia, Skuthia; but in names long familiar to our ear and eye, this seems fanciful and affected. In oriental names however, which have seldom arrested our attention, the preservation of the Greek orthography is far preferable; for upon a very transient inspection of Ptolemy's catalogues it will readily appear, that he had not only obtained a great number of native appellations in the remotest countries, but that, by adhering to his pronunciation, we can frequently identify them with names at present in existence. The rule therefore to guide me in the present work will be, to continue the Greek pronunciation in the oriental appellations,

but to avoid giving offence by the affectation of writing Skuthia, Nearchus, Arkhias or Booképhalus, for the correspondent names which are familiar to us in another form.

<sup>e</sup> 1625 miles.

<sup>f</sup> 2000 miles.

<sup>g</sup> 375 miles. The great peninsula of Ava and Malacca.

<sup>h</sup> This evidently proves that the ancients considered India beyond the Ganges as extending to the Sea of China. The Cape is the Taurus of Eratósthenes.

<sup>i</sup> 2787 miles.

<sup>k</sup> This may be true of the Ganges, but the Indus is greatly amplified.

than the Nile and the Danube, if they were united. Nay, the Akésines alone, after receiving the Hydaspes, Hydraôtes, and Hy'phafis, is entitled to the same preeminence; for its breadth is 30 stadia when it joins the Indus: and it is probable that there are many other rivers still larger.

IV. Beyond the Hy'phafis, which was the limit of the conquests of Alexander, little can be said with certainty: but Megásthènes asserts, that the Ganges is much larger than the Indus; for it is a vast stream from its véry source<sup>l</sup>, and it receives the Káinas<sup>m</sup>, the Erranabóas, and the Kos-Soánus, as well as the Sónus, the Sittokestis<sup>n</sup>, and the Solomátis, all navigable streams. Besides these also the Kondókhates, the Sambus, the Magôn, the °Agóranis, the O'malis, the PKommenáfes, the Kakoothis, and the Andômatis from the country of the Mandiádini, the Amustis from Katadóopa, the Oxúmagis from Pázala, and the °Erénnufis, which has its confluence at Mathai. In the opinion of Megásthènes, none of these rivers are less than the Méánder: but the Ganges itself is 100 stadia broad where narrowest; and in the season of inundation, where the country is level, the opposite shores are respectively invisible.

The Indus likewise has its tributary streams; for the Hydraôtes receiving the Hy'phafis at A'ftrubæ, the Saranges from the district of the Kénei, and the Neudrus from that of the Attakèni, carries all their waters into the Akésines at Kam-bístholi. The Hydaspes also, after previously receiving the Sinarus, joins the same river at Arispæ: and the Akésines itself, still farther enlarged by the confluence of the Tootapus, falls into the Indus in the country of the Malli: it is a mighty stream, and its name prevails over all the rivers it receives.

On the west of the Indus are the Kôphês, the Malantus, the Soaftus, the Garrhoia, the Párenus, the Saparnus, and the Soánus. The Párenus and Saparnus are the most northern streams, and, where they join the Indus, their mouths are not far distant. The Kôphês receives the Malantus, the Soaftus, and the Garrhoia, before it joins the Indus in the Peukaliôtis; and the Soánus, from the mountainous tract of the Bessarians, falls in without a partner.

V. For the multitude and magnitude of these rivers, I leave it, says Arrian, for others to assign the cause; and as to what I have said on the subject, it is only the

<sup>l</sup> This is true, if considered only as entering the plains of India at Koopele or Gangotri: but it has a long course north of the Himmalu mountains, of which Megásthènes could not be informed.

<sup>m</sup> It is impossible to assign all these rivers to their modern representatives; but it is a subject worthy of enquiry, and, as it can only be prosecuted in the country itself, an object worthy of the Asiatic Society in Bengal. From the little information hitherto obtained, I can only conjecture that the Erranabóas, Kos-Soánus, and Sonus, are three streams united, which join the Ganges under the name of Soane at Dynapoor; for Kos-Soanus is possibly only Koo-Soanus, the mountain Soane.

<sup>n</sup> Sittokatis.

<sup>o</sup> Aguranis.

<sup>p</sup> Komminafis.

<sup>q</sup> Erenefis.

<sup>r</sup> The Attakèni (if not a corruption) must be a different tribe from the Astakeni and Assakeni mentioned above.

<sup>s</sup> The province of Multan; for *tan* is expressive of a *country*, as Hindostan, Loristan, &c. and Mul or Mal are interchangeable. Timour writes Hullub for Haleb, or Aleppo.

<sup>t</sup> Still called The Cowe.

<sup>u</sup> The Guræus, still called Ghour. Colonel Reynolds's Map will give all these rivers on the west, and add to the number.

report of the best accounts I have been able to obtain. But Megástheneſ mentions many other ſtreams beyond the Indus and the Ganges, which take their courſe into the Ocean, ſome to the eaſt, and ſome in a ſouthern direction; reckoning upon the whole fifty-eight that are navigable: but Megástheneſ himſelf ſaw only a ſmall part of India, though he went farther than Alexander, or any of his officers; for he reached the court of Sandracotta, the ſovereign of a moſt extenſive empire, and of a monarch ſtill more powerful, who bore the name of \*Pôrus. Megástheneſ ſays, that the potentates of India neither †invade other nations, nor are expoſed to invaſion themſelves.

VI. The rainy ſeaſon of India is in the ſummer, when there is a fall of long continuance, not only on the mountains of Parapámifus, Emôduſ, and Imáus, but upon the plains below, which are inundated to a great extent. This circumſtance was experienced by Alexander when he was on the banks of the Akeſines; and to a ſimilar cauſe occurring in the mountains of Ethiopia, we may attribute the increaſe of the Nile in the ſame ſeaſon. The rivers of India likewiſe reſemble the Nile in producing the crocodile and the hippopotamus, as Onesiſcritus aſſerts.

The natives in the ſouth reſemble the Ethiopians in the colour of their complexion; their hair alſo is black, but not

woolly; neither is their face flattened like the †Ethiopians: but in the northern provinces their make and frame is altogether ſimilar to that of the Egyptians.

VII. Megástheneſ reckons up an hundred and eighteen provinces or nations in India; but how he obtained this number is not clear; for he viſited only a ſmall part of the country, and the intercourſe of theſe ſeverally with each other is not open. The whole body was formerly vagrant, like the Scythian hordes: they had neither cities or temples, they were clothed with the ſkins of the animals which they had taken in the chace: the bark of trees ſerved them for bread, and in their language Tala was the name of the tree. The †fruit of this tree is ſpherical, and grows upon the head like dates on the palm. Their animal food they ate raw before Bacchus came into their country, who civilized them, and introduced the habits of life which are common to the reſt of the world.

VIII. Who this Deity was, or the other who ſubdued India under the name of Hercules, it is fruitleſs to enquire; but to the latter is attributed the diſcovery of the pearl, which he employed as an ornament for his daughter. The pearl in later times was brought to Europe by the merchants who traded with India, and was purchaſed with great avidity both by the Greeks and Romans: its price was fixed at triple its weight in the pureſt

\* Poor is an appellative, and not a proper name; it ſignifies Chief, Prince, or Rajah. Alexander met with two; and another of the ſame name, probably at Ougein, ſent an embaſſy to Auguſtus.

† This is a vulgar error; true in theory, but falſe in practice. The laws of Menu give many precepts for the promotion of conqueſt.

‡ The Negroes. Ethiopia, as a general title,

comprehends all the black Africans; but, when uſed preciſely, it deſignates Meroë only.

§ See c. xi. He ſays they fed on the φλοιόν, and φλοιόν is bark: but, by the deſcription of the fruit immediately, we may conclude he means the cocoa, the tree of which is a palm, as well as the date tree of Egypt.

gold of India. In the fishery of it, there is a fable of a king or queen shell fish, like a queen of the bees: but to this [a singular truth] is added, that the method of obtaining the pearl was by suffering the fish itself to putrefy on the shore.

IX. From Bacchus to Sandracotta the Indians reckon an hundred and fifty-three kings, or six thousand forty-two years<sup>b</sup>; but, besides Bacchus and Hercules, no foreigner ever invaded their country except Alexander. He indeed subdued all as far as he went; and he would have reduced the whole empire, if his army would have followed him; but such is the justice of the Indians, that they are never known to invade the territories of their neighbours<sup>c</sup>.

X. In India no monuments are erected for the dead, but their virtues are considered as a sufficient memorial; and to be celebrated in song is the best record of their worth.

The number of their cities it is impossible to ascertain; those which are contiguous to rivers, or to the sea, are built of wood, as the rains and the inundations would render [unbaked] bricks useless: but those which are built in loftier situations are of brick and clay. The largest city in India is Palimbothra, the capital of the Prasi, at the<sup>d</sup> confluence of Erranabóas and the Ganges. The Erranabóas is the third in rank of the Indian rivers, and larger than those of other countries; but upon joining the Ganges its name is lost. The length of Palimbothra, according

to Megasthenes, on both its sides is eighty stadia, and its breadth fifteen. The ditch which encloses it is six hundred feet wide, and its depth forty-five. On the wall are 570 towers, and the gates are sixty-four.

In India there are no slaves; or if there be, they are not Indian, but of a different race, like the Helots of Lacedæmon.

XI. The whole body of natives is distributed into seven tribes or casts. The first consists of their instructors, [the Bramins,] the smallest in number, but the highest in reverence and estimation; for they are subject to no bodily labour, and contribute not to the public revenue. In short, they are subject to no duty, but to perform the sacrifices for the commonwealth; or even when private people sacrifice, a Bramin must attend; for without a Bramin no sacrifice can be acceptable to the Gods. Augury is also wholly confined to this cast; but those only of the order who are denominated WISE, are allowed to exercise the art. Their augury is chiefly concerned in predicting the condition of the approaching seasons, and in cases of public concern: but in private interests augury is not allowed; either because trifling matters are no object, or because the Bramins will not condescend to individuals. If a Bramin fails thrice in his predictions, he is not punished, but condemned to silence; and nothing can compel a man under this sentence to attempt a prediction.

<sup>b</sup> Thirty-nine years to a reign.

<sup>c</sup> The army of Porus was prepared for the invasion of a neighbouring territory at the time Alexander attacked and defeated him.

<sup>d</sup> After all the disputes about the site of this city, I subscribe to Sir William Jones's opinion, that it was at the confluence of Soane and the

Ganges; for the Erranabóas, c. iv, is coupled with Koffoánus and Sónus, and the want of ruins at this junction is no argument against it, if we consider it, as Arrian does, a city built of wood and plaister. Patna is not twenty miles from this junction; and some of our English gentlemen have found an old name for it, resembling Pali-putra.

The <sup>e</sup> Bramins are without clothes, basking in the sun during the winter; and in summer, when the heat is excessive, they lie plunged in water, or retire to the shade of the [Banian] trees. These are so large that, according to Nearchus, their umbrage extends to five hundred feet, and ten thousand men can be covered by a single plant.

Their food consists of the fruits of the season, but especially the <sup>f</sup> bark of a tree, which is as sweet and nutritive as the date of the palm.

2. The second tribe consists of husbandmen, and this is far the most numerous; they have no concern with arms or war, but tillage is their sole employment; and their only burden is to pay their taxes to the kings, where the government is regal; or to the public chamber, if they live under a commonwealth. Neither are they disturbed even in time of <sup>g</sup> war; for their persons and their lands are sacred, and two armies may be fighting in their neighbourhood, while they pursue the business of the plough, or the labours of their harvest, unmolested.

3. The third tribe is composed of herdsmen and shepherds; they live in the field, and frequent neither cities or villages, but roam over the country, and prefer the mountains to the plains. There is a tax on their herds and flocks, and they are hunters and fowlers at the same time.

XII. 4. Artificers and traders are comprehended in the fourth class, and these are all subject to a tax upon their gains, except those who are employed in the fa-

brication of arms: these are paid by the public; ship-builders are of this cast, and the *sailors who are* <sup>h</sup> *employed upon the rivers.*

5. The fifth class contains the military; they are more numerous than any of the others, except the husbandmen, and their condition of life is more free and happy. Their profession is their sole employment; for they neither fabricate their arms, or furnish their horses or dress them, or pitch their tents, or clean their accoutrements, or conduct the elephants, or drive their chariots: for all these offices are performed by persons allotted respectively to each. But in time of war it is their duty to serve; and on the return of peace, they enjoy all the comforts of life, for their pay is sufficient not only to support them at ease, but to maintain their family and their servants.

6. In the sixth class are enumerated those who are called intendants or <sup>i</sup> *overseers of the public weal*; they visit the cities, the villages, and the country in general, and report to the king, where the government is regal, or to the magistrates, where they live under a commonwealth. It is sacrilege to make a false report; but in fact <sup>k</sup> *lying is unknown in India.*

7. The public counsellors of the realm form the seventh class, whether the government be regal or republican. They are fewest in number, but are esteemed for wisdom and justice above all others; and from this order are selected all that bear rule as governors of districts and cities; all the commanders, naval and mi-

<sup>e</sup> Megasthenes confounds the Bramins with the Jogeas.

<sup>f</sup> Not the bark, but the fruit.

<sup>g</sup> Twice before it has been said, that there is no war or invasion in India.

<sup>h</sup> Perhaps he means by this, that there are no

other sort of sailors; which is a fact at the present hour.

<sup>i</sup> This is the mistake of an office for a class.

<sup>k</sup> Happy nation three thousand years ago! for they lie now as readily as the rest of the world.

litary ; all that preside over the receipt or expenditure of the revenue ; and all that superintend the <sup>l</sup>agriculture of the country.

These are the seven tribes or casts ; they are all preserved sacred and distinct : they cannot intermarry, they cannot pass from one tribe to another, and no one is allowed to exercise two crafts, or to practise an art appropriated to a different tribe.

[These particulars are all collected from the authority of Megástheneſ, and appear the same, with some slight variation, in Strabo : but Megástheneſ seems to have confounded the political institutions with the religious and civil establishments, whereby he has made seven classes out of four, which are now well known to be the Bramins, or religious ; the Kshetria, or civil and military ; the Vayshya, or mechanics and artificers ; and the Soodras, who are the servants of all. But the intermediate shades and distinctions of these are branched into varieties without end ; and the grand distinction in India at present is, between Choutres and Parias ; those that have a cast, and those that have none : and yet again the Parias are subdivided into superior and inferior casts.]

One circumstance indeed is common to all, that a Gymnóſophiſt (that is, a Jogee) is a character which may be assumed by a man of any cast ; because it is not a life of ease, but the most wretched and miserable that can be imagined.

XIII. The Indians pursue the common

beasts of the chase, like the Greeks ; but their hunting of the <sup>m</sup>elephant is peculiar, because the animal itself is different from all others. The first operation is to select a place in the open and level country, exposed to the utmost heat of the sun. This they enclose with a trench of extent sufficient for the encampment of a large army. The trench is thirty feet deep, and twenty-four wide ; and the earth thrown out of this is raised on the brink of the corresponding banks to serve as a rampart. In this rampart, on the outside of the trench, the hunters form a sort of casemate, concealed, and provided with loopholes, through which they can discover the approach of the animal to the enclosure : within the trench, they place three or four of the female elephants that are the most tame. The enclosure has only one entrance, and that over a bridge carried across the trench, which is well covered with earth and grass, that it may cause no suspicion to the wild animal as he advances. The hunters then withdraw themselves into their casemates ; where they are completely concealed, and wait for the approach of evening ; for during the day time the wild elephants never are seen in the cultivated lands ; but at night they wander at large, and follow the master of the herd, as cows follow the bull. When therefore they approach the enclosure, and hear the cry of the females, and are attracted by the scent, they hurry towards the place, and pass along the side of the rampart till they come to the bridge, by which they enter

<sup>l</sup> According to Ayeen Acbari, the proportion of the crop paid in lieu of tax was settled annually by superintendants.

<sup>m</sup> The manner of hunting the elephant is familiar to every one : but the whole account is given

here, in order to shew how much information was collected by the Macedonians on this subject, and how little has been added to it by the relations of modern travellers.

the enclosure. As soon as the hunters perceive this, some instantly break down the bridge, and others run to the neighbouring villages, to report that the game is in the toil. Upon this, they mount their best and tamest elephants, and hasten to the spot. Here they pause, before they proceed to the attack of the captives, and leave them unmolested till they are exhausted with thirst and hunger. After giving time for this, they repair the bridge, and advance the tame elephants to the attack. The first encounter is sharp; but the wild ones, as previously oppressed with hunger, are naturally inferior to their invaders. Then the hunters dismount, and fasten cords round the feet of the vanquished; they likewise bring forward the tame ones, and make them strike their adversaries till they fall down from distress. As soon as they are on the ground, the pursuers mount on their backs, and make an incision round their necks with a sharp instrument; into this incision a cord is introduced, so that the head and neck are rendered immovable; and this, however violent the animal may be, is sufficient to prevent the effect of his rage: for if he attempts to turn, the wound is lacerated by means of the cord. He is thus fixed in one posture, and, giving up the contest, suffers himself to be led wherever the tame ones conduct him.

XIV. Those that are caught young, or thought unfit for use, are again let loose; but such as are serviceable they conduct to the villages, and supply them with green fodder in plenty. At first they are fullen, and refuse to eat; but the hunters amuse them with songs, and drums, and music, and by degrees soothe them to a better temper. The intelligent nature of the elephant is above that of

any other animal, and [when they have once become tame] their affection to their keeper or rider is such, that if he falls in battle, they have been known to take up the body, and bring it home for interment. They will likewise defend him by their own efforts if dismounted; and it has been said that some, who from provocation have turned upon their riders and slain them, have actually pined to death, as if sensible of grief, and penitent for their offence. I have myself seen an elephant beat a drum, and dance and keep time to music. The drum he held in his proboscis, and struck it alternately on either knee; while others have danced in a circle round, lifting up and bending their fore legs in turns, and observing the measure according to the beating of the drum. Their rutting time is in spring, and their time of gestation from eleven to eighteen months. The female never has twins, but suckles her young for eight years. The duration of their life is said to be two hundred years, unless they perish by violence or disease; and the Indians have several remedies appropriated to their peculiar disorders.

XV. Tigers are another species peculiar to India. They are as large as a horse, and an overmatch for an elephant. Those which we see in Europe are not tigers, but lynxes, and spotted: [while the royal tiger of India is striped.] Nearchus says, he saw the skin of one, but never saw the animal alive. Neither did he see the ants, [that turn up the gold,] but many skins of these also were brought into the camp. Megasthenes says, they are as large as foxes, but he never saw them; and therefore it is better to pass to another subject. For parrots are described likewise by Nearchus, and their power of imitating the human voice:

this, however thought strange formerly, is now daily experienced in Europe. Monkeys are mentioned by the same author, who speaks of some as beautiful; and serpents, finely spotted and very swift, one of which was killed by Python four and twenty feet long: and the natives said, that there were some larger. The Greeks had no antidote for their bite, but the Indians are provided with one; and some that were possessed of the secret Alexander had always in attendance, and the soldiers who were bit were ordered to apply for relief at the king's tent. The Indians have remedies also for other diseases, but these are not many: and in extraordinary cases recourse is had to the Bramins.

XVI. The clothing in India consists of linen from trees, according to Nearchus; [by which he means cotton;] the colour of this linen is brighter than any other, or else the black complexion of the natives makes it appear more white. Their under garment is a tunic of this material, reaching to the middle of the leg, and a cloak of the same is thrown over their shoulders. The better sort wear earrings of ivory, and their beards are dyed of different colours; some exceeding white, others dark or purple, and some crimson, or even green. All above the lowest carry umbrellas, and wear sandals of white leather, highly ornamented. The heels of these are of different colours, and raised to make them appear taller. Their bows are the height of a man, and, when they shoot, they rest one end of it against their foot, and draw the string back with great force: the length of their arrow is four feet and an half, and its force is such, that neither shield or breastplate is a sufficient defence. In the

left hand they have an oblong target, not so wide as the body, but as high as the wearer. Some are armed with javelins instead of bows, and all have a sabre, [broad towards the hilt,] and four feet and a half long. In close battle this is wielded with both hands, in order to give weight to the blow; but to this there is seldom recourse, as they rarely engage hand to hand.

The horsemen are armed with two javelins, <sup>n</sup> slender and tapering; and their target is smaller than that of the foot. Their horses have neither saddles, housings, or bridles, like those of the Greeks or Gauls; but a strap of leather is fastened round the extremity of the jaw, with a rowel of brass or iron bent inwards, and not very sharp: those who can afford it have the rowel of ivory. The bit is a slender bar of iron, to which the bridle is fastened; and, when they tighten the rein, the bar and the rowel bring the horse under command: for the whole bears upon him in such a manner that he cannot but obey.

XVII. In person the Indians are slender and tall, and active above all others. Their beasts of burden [or for the saddle] are camels, horses, and asses, and, for those who can afford it, elephants. The elephant is peculiar to kings; next in rank is the chariot with four horses; and the last a camel: but to serve on a single horse is not an honourable service. Their women are chaste, and above temptation; but if an elephant is offered as the price of their favours, it is no dishonour to accept it: for they deem a woman worthy of such an offer exalted by the price. Marriages are contracted without consideration of money on either side; but those who have daughters marriageable

<sup>n</sup> *σάβρα*, spit-fashioned.



produce them in public, and the young men who carry the prize in wrestling, boxing, running, or any other manly exercise, have the right to choose their bride out of the number.

The inhabitants of the plain country are agriculturists, and live upon the produce of the field. Those only who live in the mountains are allowed to eat animal food, and this consists of the beasts they kill in the chase.

These particulars relative to India I have collected from Nearchus and Megasthenes, as writers best informed on the subject, and most worthy of credit: but as it was not my object to give a detail of Indian manners and customs, but to deliver an account of the voyage from the

Indus to Persia, performed by the Macedonians, all that is here said may be considered as matter of digression.

[In the preceding Abstract nothing has been omitted which could contribute to exemplify the information relative to India obtained by the Macedonians. Their account, like all first attempts, is confessedly imperfect, and in some instances not accurate; but with the intelligence already brought, and daily bringing, from India, which we now possess, the curiosity of the reader will be more gratified by contemplating the acquisition of knowledge by the ancients, than disappointed in observing the imperfections or inaccuracies of their report.]

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ΤΑ ΠΕΡΙ  
 ἸΝΔΟΥ.

INDUS.

XVIII. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ γδ, ἐπειδὴ οἱ παρεσκευάστο τὸ ναυικὸν ἐπὶ τῷ Ὑδάσπεω τῆσιν ὄχθησιν, ἐπιλεγόμενος ὅσοι τε Φοινίκων, καὶ ὅσοι Κύπριοι ἢ Αἰγύπτιοι εἰποντο ἐν τῇ ἄνω στρατηλασίῃ, ἐκ τούτων ἐπλήρω τὰς νέας, ὑπηρεσίας τε αὐτῆσι καὶ ἐρέτας ἐπιλεγόμενος ὅσοι τῶν θαλασσιῶν ἔργων δαήμονες. Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ νησιῶται ἄνδρες οὐκ ὀλίγοι ἐν τῇ στρατιῇ, οἷς ταῦτα ἔμελε, καὶ Ἴωνες, καὶ Ἑλλησπόντιοι. Τριήραρχοι δὲ αὐτῶ ἐπεσάθησαν ἐκ Μακεδόνων μὲν, Ἡφαισίων τε Ἀμύντορος, καὶ Λεοννάτος ὁ Ἀντέας, καὶ Λυσίμαχος ὁ Ἀγαθοκλέας, καὶ Ἀσκληπίοδωρος ὁ Τιμάνδρης, καὶ Ἀρχων ὁ Κλεινίας, καὶ Δημόνικος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, καὶ Ἀρχίας ὁ Ἀναξιδότης, καὶ Ὀφελῆας Σειλήνης, καὶ Τιμάνθης Παντιάδης. Ἔτοι μὲν Πελλαῖοι. Ἐκ δὲ Ἀμφιπόλεως ἦγον

THE VOYAGE  
 OF  
 NEARCHUS.

INDUS.

XVIII. AMONG the multitude which had followed the army of Alexander in his progress to the east, the natives of Phenicia, Cyprus, and Egypt, formed a considerable body. Out of these he selected such as were used to the sea; and as soon as the fleet was equipped, which he had collected on the Hydaspes, he sent them on board, either to labour at the oar, or to assist in any other capacity which the nature of the service might require.

Besides these, there were Greeks from the Egæan Islands, from Ionia, and the Hellespont, who were mariners [as well as the Phenicians;] but the officers appointed to command [or to <sup>b</sup>superintend the equipment of the vessels] were all men of rank in the army.

The Macedonians were

Hephéstion	} son of	Amyntor.
Leonnátus		Eunus.
Lysímachus		Agáthocles.
Aklêpiodôrus		Timander.
Archôn		Clínias.
Demoníkus		Athenéus.
Archias		Anaxídotus.
Ophellas		Silénus.
Timanthes		Pantiádas.

These were all from Pella.

<sup>a</sup> The Greek text is that of Blancard's edition, 1668. with the best readings of Gronovius.

<sup>b</sup> Schneider supposes that these officers, called Τριήραρχοι, resembled the Trierarchs of Athens; not commanders, but men charged with the bur-

den of fitting out the public gallees. I think they were honorary commanders; and the expression ἐκ δὲ Ἀμφιπόλεως ἦγον οἷδε, in my opinion, confirms it.

οἶδε· ἐκ Κρήτης Νέαρχος Ἀνδροτίμης, ὃς τὰ ἀμφὶ τῷ παράπλω ἀνέγραψε· καὶ Λαμπέδων ὁ Λαρίχης, καὶ Ἀνδροαθένης Καλλιστράτης· ἐκ δὲ Ὀρεσίδος, Κρατερός τε ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρης, καὶ Περδίκκας ὁ Ὀρώντῳ. Ἐορδαῖοί τε, Πτολεμαῖος τε ὁ Λάγῳ, καὶ Ἀριστόνους ὁ Πεισαῖος. Ἐκ Πύδνης τε, Μήτρων τε ὁ Ἐπιχάρμης, καὶ Νικαρχίδης ὁ Σίμῳ. Ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀθηαλός τε ὁ Ἀνδρομένῳ, Στυμφαῖος· καὶ Πευκέσας Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, Μιεζεύς· καὶ Πείδων Κρατεῶ, Ἀλκομενεύς· ἢ Λεοννάτος Ἀντιπάτρῳ, Αἰγαῖος· καὶ Πάνταυχος Νικολάῳ, Ἀλωρίτης· καὶ Μυλλέας Ζωίλῳ, Βεροιαῖος. Οὗτοι μὲν οἱ ζύμπαντες Μακεδόνες. Ἕλληνας δὲ, Μήδιος μὲν Ὀξυνθέμιδος, Λαρισσαῖος, Εὐμενῆς δὲ Ἰερωνύμῳ, ἐκ Καρδίας. Κριτόβουλος δὲ Πλάτωνος, Κῶος· καὶ Θόας Μηνοδάρῳ, καὶ Μαϊάνδρος Μανδρογένεος, Μάγνητες. Ἄνδρων δὲ Καθήλεω, Τήϊος. Κυπρίων δὲ, Νικακλῆς Πασικράτεος, Σόλιος· ἢ Νιστάδων Πρυταγόρῳ, Σαλαμίνιος. Ἦν δὲ καὶ Πέρσης αὐτῷ τριήραρχος ὁ Βαγῶας ὁ Φαρναχέως. Τῆς δὲ αὐτῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ νεὸς κυβερνήτης ἦν Ὀνησίκριτος Ἀστυπάλαιεύς· γραμματεὺς δὲ τῶν σόλων πάντος, Εὐαγόρας Εὐκλέωνος, Κορίνθιος. Ναύαρχος δὲ αὐτοῖσιν ἐπεσάθη, Νέαρχος Ἀνδροτίμης. Τὸ γένος μὲν Κρήτης, ὁ Νέαρχος ὤκει δὲ ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει τῇ ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἐκεκόσμητο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἔθνε τοῖς θεοῖσιν ὅσοι τε πά-

From Amphipolis were

Nearchus the Cretan	} son of	{	Androtimus
Laomedon			Larichus.
Androtithenes			Callistratus.

From Orestis were

Craterus	} son of	{	Alexander.
Perdiccas			Orontes.

From Eordæa were

Ptolemy	} son of	{	Lagus.
Aristonous			Peuceus.

From Pydna were

Metron	} son of	{	Epicharmus.
Nicarchides			Simus.
Attalus of Stympha			Andromenes.
Peucestas of Miezè			Alexander.
Pithon of Alcomenè			Crateas.
Leonnatus of Egæ			Antipater.
Pantauchus of Alora			Nicolaus.
Mylleas of Berøia			Zoilus.

These were all Macedonians.

The Greeks were

Mædus of Larissa	} son of	{	Oxythemis.
Eumenes of Cardia			Hieronymus.
Kritobulus of Cos			Plato.
Thoas of Magnesia			Menodorus.
Meander of Magnesia			Mandrogenes.
Andron of Teios			Cabeleus.
Nikocles of Soli			Pasicrates.
Nithaphon of Salamis			Pnytagoras.
Bagæas the Persian			Pharnuches.

The pilot of Alexander's own ship was

Onesicritus of Astypalæa.

The secretary of the fleet was

Euagoras of Corinth, son of Eucleon.

And the commander in chief was

Nearchus of Crete, son of Androtimus, who had been enrolled a citizen of Amphipolis upon the Strymon in Thrace; [a city which Philip had taken from the Athenians, and repopled with a colony of his own establishment.]

As soon as these appointments had taken place, and the fleet was ready to sail, Alexander sacrificed to the Gods of his country, and to such others as the

<sup>c</sup> N. B. Throughout the work the readings of the Florentine MS. will be admitted into the text without farther notice.

τριοι ἢ μαντευτοὶ αὐτῶ, καὶ Ποσειδῶνι, καὶ Ἀμφιτρίτῃ, καὶ Νηρηΐσι, καὶ αὐτῶ τῶ Ὠκεανῶ· καὶ τῶ Ὑδάσπῃ ποταμῶ, ἀπὸ τῆ ὠρμάτο· καὶ τῶ Ἀκεσίνη, ἐς ὅντινα ἐκδιδοίη Ὑδάσπης· καὶ τῶ Ἰνδῶ, ἐς ὅντινα ἄμφω ἐκδιδῶσιν. Ἀγωνές τε αὐτῶ μυσικοὶ καὶ γυμνικοὶ ἐποιῶντο. Καὶ ἱερεῖα τῇ στρατῇ πάσῃ κατὰ τέλεα ἐδίδοτο.

XIX. Ὡς δὲ πάντα ἐξήρτητο αὐτῶ ἐς ἀναγωγὴν, Κρατερὸν μὲν τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆ Ὑδάσπῃ ἰεῖναι σὺν στρατῇ πεζῇ ἐκέλευσε. Πεζικῇ δὲ καὶ ἰππικῇ ἐς τὸ ἐπὶ θάτερα δὲ Ἡφαισίων αὐτῶ παρεπορεύετο, σὺν ἄλλῃ στρατῇ πλείονι ἔτι τῆς τῶ Κρατερῶ συντεταγμένης· καὶ τὸς ἐλέφαντας Ἡφαισίων αὐτῶ ἤγεν, ὄντας ἐς διηκοσίους. Αὐτὸς δὲ τὸς ὑπασπιστὰς καλεομένους ἀμὰ οἱ ἤγε, καὶ τὸς τόξοτας πάντας· καὶ τῶν ἰππέων τὸς ἐτάιρους καλεομένους· τὸς πάντας ἐς ὀκτακισχίλους. Τοῖσι μὲν δὴ ἀμφὶ Κρατερὸν καὶ Ἡφαισίωνα ἐτέτακτο ἵνα προπορευθέντες ὑπομένοιν τὸν στόλον. Φίλιππον δὲ, ὃς αὐτῶ σατράπης τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἦν, ἐπὶ τῆ Ἀκεσίνῃ ποταμῶ τὰς ὄχθας πέμπε, ἀμὰ στρατῇ πολλῇ καὶ τῶτον. Ἦδη γὰρ καὶ δώδεκα μυριάδες αὐτῶ μάχιμοι εἶποντο, σὺν οἷς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τε αὐτὸς ἀνήγαγε. Καὶ αὐτῶ οἱ ἐπὶ συλλογὴν αὐτῶ στρατῶς πεμφθέντες ἦγον, ἔχοντες παντοῖα ἔθνη βαρβαρικά ἀμὰ οἱ ἄγοντι καὶ πᾶσαν ἰδέην ὀπλισμένα.

augurs prescribed; to Neptune, Amphitrite, and the Néréids; to the Ocean, to the river Hydaspes, from which he set out; to the Akesines, which receives the Hydaspes; and to the Indus, into which both these rivers fall. Games were likewise celebrated both for the exhibition of mental talents and bodily agility; and the sacrifices were distributed to the respective divisions of the army.

XIX. When every thing was now arranged for his departure, Craterus was directed to take the command of a body of infantry, and proceed on the eastern side of the river; while Hephæstion should conduct a much larger force, both horse and foot, with two hundred elephants, on the west. With the king were the <sup>d</sup>Hypaspists, all the archers, and the horse styled <sup>e</sup>Companions, amounting all together to eight thousand. Craterus and Hephæstion were to advance and attend the motions of the fleet; and at the same time Philip, who had been appointed Satrap of the province, was dispatched to the Akesines with a sufficient force.

At this period Alexander was at the head of 120,000 men, comprehending those he had originally brought out, and those who had joined under the officers he had sent into Greece to collect troops; besides which, he had a variety of native bodies, severally armed according to the fashion of their country.

<sup>d</sup> The Macedonian infantry.

<sup>e</sup> The *Companions*, or Ἐταῖροι, were a choice body of cavalry, at the head of which the king al-

ways fought. The Ἰλὴ βασιλική, or *royal troop*, was the king's own.

Αὐτὸς δὲ ἄρας ταῖς ναυσὶ, κατέπλευσεν κατὰ τὸν Ὑδάσπεα ἕς τε ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀκесίνῃ τε καὶ τῷ Ὑδάσπεω τὰς συμβολὰς. Νῆες δὲ αἱ σύμπασαι αὐτῷ ὀκτακόσκιαι ἦσαν, αἶτε μακρὰ καὶ ὅσα τρογγύλα πλοῖα, καὶ ἄλλα ἱππαγωγὰ, καὶ σιτία ἅμα τῇ στρατῇ ἄγχεαι. Ὅπως μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὰς ποταμὸς κατέπλευσεν αὐτῷ ὁ φόλος, καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ ἔθνεα κατεβρέψατο· καὶ ὅπως διὰ κινδύνου αὐτὸς ἐν Μαλλοῖς ἦκε· καὶ τὸ τραῦμα ὃ ἐτράπη ἐν Μαλλοῖς, καὶ Πευκέσας τε καὶ Λεοννάτος ὅπως ὑπερήσπισαν αὐτὸν πεσόντα· πάντα ταῦτα λέλεκται μοι ἤδη ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἔκταξιν. Ὁ δὲ λόγος ὅδε τῷ παράπλῳ μοι ἀφήγησις ἐστίν, ὃν Νεάρχος σὺν τῷ φόλῳ παρέπλευσεν, ἀπὸ τῷ Ἰνδῷ τῶν ἐκβολέων ὀρμηθεὶς, κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν μεγάλην ἕς τε ἐπὶ τὸν κόλπον τὸν Περσικόν, ἣν δὴ ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν μετεξέτεροι καλέουσι.

XX. Νεάρχῳ δὲ λέλεκται ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅδε ὁ λόγος. Πόσον μὲν εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐκπεριπλῶσαι τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ἀπὸ Ἰνδῶν ἕς τε ἐπὶ τὴν Περσικὴν· ὀκνεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν τῷ τε πλόῳ τὸ μῆκος, καὶ μή τινα ἄρα χώραν ἐρήμῳ ἐγκύρσαντες, ἢ ὄρμῳ ἀπόρῳ, ἢ οὐ συμμέτρως ἐχέσει τῶν ὠραίων, ἔτι δὴ διαφθαρῇ αὐτῷ ὁ φόλος· καὶ οὐ Φαῦλη κηλὶς αὐτῷ τοῖς ἐργοῖσιν

The fleet, with the king on board, now fell down the Hydaspes towards the confluence of that river with the Akésines; it consisted of eight hundred vessels, including galleys, transports, and other barks for the conveyance of horses and provisions. But all that occurred in this navigation has been already specified in my former history. What nations he subdued, what danger he incurred in forming a fort of the Malli, the wound he received, the bravery of Peucestas and Leonnátus in defending him when fallen, are all circumstances which need not be repeated. The present account will be appropriated to Nearchus, from the time of his leaving the Indus, till his arrival in the gulph of Persia, by some called the sea of Erythras.

XX. Nearchus himself has left us an account of these transactions, in which he informs us, that Alexander had a most earnest desire of exploring the passage by sea from India to the Persian gulph; but that he was under great anxiety lest the attempt should expose those who embarked in the expedition to great hazards from the length of the voyage, the desert coasts that might occur, the want of harbours, or the different nature of the winds in the Indian ocean. If any reverse should happen in such an attempt,

<sup>f</sup> Τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἔκταξιν. The history of the expedition of Alexander is written in the Attic dialect; the Indian history in the Ionic.

<sup>g</sup> Agathárchides distinguishes between the sea of Erythras, and the Erythran or Red sea: the distinction is perhaps not just; for the whole eastern

ocean acquired the title of *Red*, because the ancients approached it by means of the Red sea, that is, the gulph of Arabia; but the mythology of a king Erythras is usually, or constantly, applied to the gulph of Persia.

αὐτῶ τοῖς μεγάλοις ἐπιγενομένη, τὴν πᾶσαν εὐτυχίην αὐτῷ ἀφανίσοι. Ἀλλὰ ἐκνικῆσαι γὰρ αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς καίνον τι αἰεὶ καὶ ἄτοπον ἐργάζεσθαι. Ἀπορως δὲ ἔχειν, ὅτινα ἐκ ἀδυναλῶν τε ἐς τὰ ἐπινοούμενα ἐπιλέξαιτο· καὶ ἅμα τῶν ἐν νῆϊ ἀνδρῶν, ὡς καὶ τῶν τοιῶτον σόλον σελλομένων ἀφελεῖν τὸ δέημα, τῆς δὲ ἡμελημένως αὐτῶς ἐς προὔπιον κίνδυνον ἐκπέμπεσθαι. Λέγει δὲ ὁ Νέαρχος, ἐαυτῷ κοινῶσαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ὅτινα προχειρίσθαι ἐξηγέσθαι τῆς σόλου· ὡς δὲ ἄλλα καὶ ἄλλα ἐς μνήμην ἰόντα, τῶς μὲν ὡς ἐφέλοντας κινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ ἑαπολέγειν, τῶς δὲ ὡς μαλακῶς τὸν θυμὸν, τῶς δὲ ὡς πόθῳ τῆς οἰκίης κατεχομένους· τοῖς δὲ ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο ἐπικαλέοντα. Τότε δὲ αὐτὸν δὲ ταύτῃ ὑποσάντα εἰπεῖν ὅτι, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ τοι ὑποδέκομαι ἐξηγήσασθαι τῆς σόλου, καὶ (εἰ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς θεῆς ξυνεπιλαμβάνοι) περιάξω τοι σώας τὰς νέας καὶ τὰς ἀνθρώπους, ἐς τε ἐπὶ τὴν Περσίδα γῆν, εἰ δὲ πλωτός τε ἐστὶν ὁ ταύτης πόντος, καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐκ ἀπορον γνώμῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ. Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ λόγῳ

he thought it would be a blot upon all the great actions he had achieved, and annihilate the character of good fortune which had hitherto attended him in every thing he had attempted. Still the desire of achieving something new and extraordinary prevailed; but he had much doubt about the proper person to be selected for the accomplishment of his designs.

The first point was to secure the confidence of those who were to embark by the nomination of an experienced commander; for if this were not done, they might apprehend that their lives were to be idly thrown away upon a service where the danger was evident, [and the attempt fruitless.]

For this purpose therefore Alexander consulted Nearchus about the proper person to conduct such an expedition. Several occurred to his recollection; but such and such, he said, would frame excuses, because they were unwilling to incur the hazard; some, for want of spirit, were unfit for the service; and others, because they thought of nothing but returning home. In short, there was some obstacle or other to the appointment of every one that he had named.

In this difficulty, says Nearchus, I offered my own services to the king, and told him, that "I would undertake the command; and that, if it pleased God, I would conduct both the men and fleet in safety to the Persian gulph, provided I should find the sea navigable, and the undertaking practicable by the power of man."

Alexander <sup>h</sup> professed that he was un-

<sup>h</sup> The expression is *λόγῳ*, intimating that it was profession only, and not (*ἔργῳ*) the real fact, the true feeling of his mind. Those who know the

perpetual contrast of (*λόγος*) word, to (*ἔργον*) deed, in Greek, will readily see that *ἔργον* is here implied.

μὲν οὐ Φάνακ ἐθέλειν εἰς τοσόνδε ταλαιπωρίην καὶ τοσόνδε κίνδυνον τῶν τινα εἰωτῶ φίλων ἐμβάλλειν· αὐτὸν δὲ ταύτη δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐκ ἀνιέναι, ἀλλὰ λιπαρεῖν. Οὕτω δὴ ἀγαπήσά τε Ἀλεξάνδρον τῷ Νεάρχῳ τὴν προθυμίην, καὶ ἐπισῆσαι αὐτὸν ἄρχαν τῶν σόλων παντός. Καὶ τότε δὴ ἔτι μᾶλλον τῆς στρατῆς ὅ, τι περὶ ἐπὶ τῷ παράπλῳ τῷδε ἐτάσσεται, καὶ τὰς ὑπηρεσίας ἴλεω ἔχειν τὴν γνώμην, ὅτι δὴ Νεάρχον γε ἔποτε ἂν Ἀλεξάνδρος προήκατο εἰς κίνδυνον καταφανέα, εἰ μὴ καὶ σφισωθήσεσθαι ἔμελλον· λαμπρότης τε πολλὴ τῇ παρασκευῇ ἐπέσσα, καὶ κόσμος τῶν νεῶν, καὶ σπεσδαὶ τῶν τριηράρχων ἀμφὶ τὰς ὑπηρεσίας τε καὶ τὰ ἐκπληρώματα ἐκπρεπέες, καὶ τὴν πάντη δὴ πάλαι κατοκνεύοντας, εἰς βώμην ἅμα καὶ ἐλπίδας χρηστοτέρας ὑπὲρ τῶν παντὸς ἔργα ἐπηρότα ἦν· πολὺ δὲ δὴ συνεπιλαβέσθαι εἰς εὐθυμίην τῇ στρατῇ, τὸ δὴ αὐτὸν Ἀλεξάνδρον ὀρμηθέντα κατὰ τῶν Ἰνδῶν τὰ σόματα ἀμφοτέρω ἐκπλώσας εἰς τὸν πόντον, σφάγια τε τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ἐντεμεῖν, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι θεοὶ θαλάσσιοι, καὶ δῶρα μεγαλοπρεπέα τῇ θαλάσῳ χαρίσασθαι. Τῆτε ἄλλῃ τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου παραλόγῳ εὐτυχίᾳ πεποιθότας, ἔδεν ὅ, τι οὐ τολμητὸν τε ἐκείνω καὶ ἐρκτὸν ἐξηγγέσθαι.

XXI. Ὡς δὲ τὰ ἐτήσια πνεύματα ἐκοιμήθη (ἀ δὴ τῶν θεῶν τὴν ὄρην πᾶσαν κατέχει ἐκ τῶν πελάγεος ἐπιπνεύοντα

willing to expose any one of his friends to a service of such danger and distress : but, when Nearchus still persevered in his offer, and urged the acceptance of his proposal, Alexander was delighted with his alacrity, and instantly appointed him to the command.

This appointment had the full effect it was intended to produce ; for the [officers,] seamen, and soldiers, who were destined for the expedition, now set their minds at ease : conscious as they were, that Alexander would not have named a man so dear to him as Nearchus, unless there were a reasonable prospect of success in the undertaking.

Under this impression, the fleet was equipped not only with what was necessary, but with splendour and decoration. The attention of the Trierarchs was directed to procure the best men, and the fullest complements ; and the backwardness of those, who had been most unwilling to embark, was now converted into confidence, and pleasing hopes of a favourable issue of the voyage.

A presage no less gratifying arose from the undertaking of Alexander himself to navigate the two branches of the Indus to the sea ; upon which occasion he advanced into the ocean, and sacrificed to Neptune, and all the deities of the element ; the sea itself also was honoured with his munificence. In short, nothing was wanting to confirm them in the idea, that the unparalleled fortune of their sovereign supplied him with courage to attempt, and means to accomplish, all [that was possible to man.]

XXI. In the Indian ocean there is a regular wind which sets upon the coast during the whole summer season ; and, while that prevails, there is no navigation [to the westward.] It was in this season

ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ ταύτῃ, ἄπορον τὸν πλεῖν ποιέοντα) τότε δὴ ὤρμηστο, ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Κηφισοδώρῃ, εἰκάδι τῷ Βοηδρομιῶνος μηνός, καθότι Ἀθηναῖοι ἄγασιν ὡς δὲ Μακεδόνες τε καὶ Ἀσιανοὶ ἦγον, τὸ ἐνδέκατον βασιλεύοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου. Θύει δὲ καὶ Νεάρχως πρὸ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς Διὶ σωτῆρι, καὶ ἀγῶνα ποιέει καὶ αὐτος γυμνικόν. Ἄραντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῷ ναυσάθμῳ τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ κατὰ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ὀρμίζονται ποταμὸν πρὸς διώρυχί μεγάλῃ, καὶ μένουσιν αὐτῷ δύο ἡμέρας. Στερὰ δὲ ὄνομα ἦν τῷ χώρῳ· σάδιοι ἀπὸ τῷ ναυσάθμῳ ἐς ἑκατόν. Τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ ἄραντες, ἔπλεον ἐς τε ἐπὶ διώρυχα ἄλλῃν, σαδίως τριάκοντα, ἀλμυρὴν ἤδη ταύτην τὴν διώρυχα· ἀνῆκε γὰρ ἡ θάλασσα ἐς αὐτήν, μάλιστα μὲν ἐν τῆσι πλεμμυρῆσιν· ὑπέμενε δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀμπάτεϊ τὸ ὕδωρ μεμιγμένον τῷ ποταμῷ. Καύμαρα δὲ ὄνομα ἦν τῷ χώρῳ. Ἐνθεν δὲ εἰκοσι σαδίως καταπλώσαντες, ἐς Κορέεσιν ὀρμίζονται, ἔτι κατὰ τὸν ποταμόν. Ἐνθεν δὲ ὀρμηθέντες, ἔπλεον ἐκ ἐπὶ πολλόν ἔρμα γὰρ ἐφάνη αὐτοῖσι κατὰ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τὴν ταύτῃ τῷ Ἰνδῷ, καὶ τὰ κύματα ἐρρόχθη πρὸς τῇ ἡϊόνι, καὶ ἡ ἡϊὸν αὐτῇ τραχεῖα ἦν. Ἀλλὰ ἵνα περ μαλθακὸν ἦν τῷ ἔρματος, ταύτῃ διώρυχα ποιήσαντες

that Alexander had reached the delta of the Indus; but, upon the change of this wind, the voyage commenced, in the archonship of Cêphifodôrus, on the twentieth of <sup>k</sup> Boëdromion, as the Athenians reckon, and in the eleventh year of Alexander's reign, according to the computation of the Macedonians, and the people of Afia.

Before he embarked, Nearchus had sacrificed to Jupiter the Preserver, and performed the games usual upon such occasions. He then went on board, and, taking his departure, he dropped down the Indus to a large canal or cut, where he remained for two days: the place is named Stoora; about a hundred stadia from his former anchorage. On the third day he fell down thirty stadia lower to Kaurara, another cut, and here the water was brackish; for the sea comes up as far as this upon the tide of flood, and even upon the ebb the salt water is still mingled with the fresh. Their next progress was only twenty stadia, to Koreestis, and, upon quitting this, they were soon forced to come to an anchor again, for they perceived a bar at the mouth of the river, and a great <sup>l</sup> surf without, beating with much noise and violence on the shore, and the shore itself was broken. The foil, however, of the bar, when the tide left it, was soft; and, taking advantage of this, they cut a channel through

<sup>l</sup> The day named for the change of the S. W. monsoon is the fifteenth of September; the moon in that month is called St. Anthony's moon, and the full of that moon is the precise day in common acceptation. Nearchus sailed the first of October, and he might therefore say, (ὡς ἐτήσια ἐκοιμήθη,) as soon as the monsoon was hushed. But he found by experience that the contrary monsoon does not

become fixed till towards the middle of November.

<sup>k</sup> The twentieth of Boedromion in that year answers to the first of October, 326 before Christ, according to Usher and Dodwell. See the Commentary.

<sup>l</sup> The wind lying on the shore, and causing a surf, is a proof that on this day the wind was still from the S. W. and the monsoon not settled.



ἐπὶ σαδίης πέντε, διήγον τὰς νέας ἐπειδὴ ἢ πλημμύρα ἐπῆλθεν ἢ ἐκ τῶ πόντος. Ἐκπεριπλώσαντες δὲ σαδίης πενήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν, ὁρμίζονται ἐς Κρωκέλα νῆσον ἀμμώδεα καὶ μένυσιν αὐτῆ τὴν ἄλλην ἡμέραν. Προσοικέει δὲ ταύτῃ ἔθνος Ἰνδικόν, οἱ Ἀράβιες καλεόμενοι, ὧν καὶ ἐν τῇ μέζονι ξυγγραφῇ μνήμην ἔχον καὶ ὅτι εἰσὶν ἐπώνυμοι ποταμῶ Ἀράβιος, ὃς διὰ τῆ γῆς αὐτῶν ῥέων, ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς θάλασσαν, ὁρίζων τέτων τε τὴν χώραν καὶ τῶν Ὠρειτέων. Ἐκ δὲ Κρωκέλων ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν ἔχοντες ὄρος τὸ καλεόμενον αὐτοῖσιν Εἶρον, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ νῆσον ἀλιενέα ἔπλεον. Ἡ δὲ νῆσος παρατεταμένη τῇ ἡϊόνι, κόλπον στενὸν ποιέει. Διεκπλεύσαντες δὲ ταύτην, ὁρμίζονται ἐν λιμένι εὐόρμῳ ὅτι δὲ μέγας τε καὶ καλὸς ὁ λιμὴν, Νεάρχῳ ἔδοξεν, ἐπονομάζει αὐτὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου λιμένα. Νῆσος δὲ ἐστὶ ἐπὶ τῷ σώματι τῶ λιμένος ὅσον σαδίης δύο ἀπέχουσα, Βίβακτα ὄνομα τῇ νήσῳ ὃ δὲ χωρὸς ἅπασ Σάγαδα. Ἡ δὲ νῆσος καὶ τὸν λιμένα, προκειμένη πρὸ τῶ πελάγεος, αὐτῇ ἐποίησεν. Ἐνταῦθα πνεύματα μεγάλα ἐκ τῶ πόντος ἔπνεε καὶ συνεχέα. Καὶ Νεάρχος δέσας τῆ βαρβάρων μὴ τινες συνταχθέντες ἐπ' ἀρπαγὴν τῶ στρατοπέδου τραποίατο, ἐκτερίζει τὸν χωρὸν λιθίνῳ τέχει· τέσσαρες δὲ καὶ εἰκοσὶν ἡμέρας τῇ μονῇ ἐγένοντο. Καὶ λέγει, ὅτι μύας τε ἐθήρων τὰς θαλασσίους οἱ στρατιῶται, καὶ ὄστρεα, καὶ τὰς σωλήνας καλεομένους, ἄτο-

it for five stadia, so that when the tide rose again, and filled it, they carried the fleet through it into the open sea: and then sailing round the coast for an hundred and fifty stadia, they reached the harbour of Krökela. Here they came to Crotchey bay, or Carangee. an anchor near a sandy islet, and remained here the following day.

Adjoining to Krökela is the country of Arabies, an Indian tribe, mentioned in the former history; they take their name from the river Arabis, which divides their country on the west from the Orítæ.

Upon leaving Krökela, they followed the coast with a mountain called Eirus Cape Monze. on their right, and a low island, almost level with the sea, on the left hand. This island, corresponding with the shore on the main, forms a narrow channel; through this they passed, and anchored in a good harbour, which is sheltered by an island called Bibactè. Chilney. The harbour here was so safe, that Nearchus honoured it with the name of Alexander. The island lies off it at the distance of two stadia; the country round is called Sàngada.

While lying here, the wind came on so violently from the <sup>m</sup> south west, that it was thought unadvisable to move. Nearchus therefore brought his ships' companies on shore, and formed a camp, which he fortified with a rampart of stone as a defence against the natives, if they should be disposed to hostility. But his distress was great; for he was confined here four and twenty days. The people had only brackish water to drink, and the only supply they could find were oysters, cockles, and a sort of shell-fish

<sup>m</sup> Literally, *from the sea*; which, in regard to the position of this harbour, is S. W. from which it

is evident that the S. W. monsoon still prevailed till the end of October.

πα τὸ μέγεθος, ὡς τοῖσιν ἐν τῆδε τῇ ἡμετέρῃ θαλάσῃ συμβαλέειν· καὶ ὕδωρ ὅτι ἀλμυρὸν ἐπίνετο.

XXII. Ἄμα τε ὁ ἄνεμος ἐπαύσατο, καὶ οἱ ἀνήγοντο· καὶ περαιωθέντες σαδίς ἐς ἐξήκοντα, ὀρμίζονται πρὸς αἰγιαλῷ ψαμμώδει. Νῆσος δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ αἰγιαλῷ ἐρήμη· ταύτην ἡ πρόβλημα ποιησάμενοι, ὀρμίωσαν· Δόμα ἔνομα τῇ νήσῳ. Ἔδωρ δὲ ἐκ ἦν ἐν τῷ αἰγιαλῷ· ἀλλὰ προελθόντες ἐς τὴν μεσογαίην ὅσον ἑκοσι σαδίς, ἐπιτυγχάνουσιν ὕδατι καλῷ· τῇ δὲ ὑπεράνω ἐς νύκτα αὐτοῖς ὁ πλοῦς ἐγίνετο ἐς Σάραγγα σαδίς τριηκοσίς, καὶ ὀρμίζονται πρὸς αἰγιαλῷ καὶ ὕδωρ ἦν ἀπὸ τῆ αἰγιαλῷ ὅσον ὀκτώ σαδίς. Ἐνθεν δὲ πλώσαντες, ὀρμίζονται ἐν Σακάλοισι, τόπῳ ἐρήμῳ. Καὶ δὴ ἐκπλώσαντες σκοπέλης δύο, ἔτω τι ἀλλήλοις πελάζοντας ὥστε τὰς ταρσὰς τῶν νεῶν ἀπτεσθαι ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν τῶν πετρῶν, καθορμίζονται ἐν Μοροντοβαρβάραις, σαδίς διελθόντες ἐς τριηκοσίς. Ὁ δὲ λιμὴν μέγας καὶ εὐκυκλος, καὶ βαθύς, καὶ ἀκλυστος· ὁ δὲ ἔσπλης ἐς αὐτὸν, φαινός. Τῆτον τῇ γλώσῃ τῇ ἐπιχωρῇ Γυναικῶν λιμένα ἐκάλεον, ὅτι γυνὴ τῆ χώρα τέτα πρώτη ἐπῆρξεν. Ὡς δὲ διὰ τῶν σκοπέλων διεξέπλεον, κύμασί τε μεγάλοισιν ἐνεκυρσαν, καὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ ροῶδει. Ἀλλὰ ἐκπεριπλώσασα γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὰς σκοπέλης, μέγα ἔργον ἐφάνετο. Ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑπεράνω ἐπλεον, νῆσον ἐς ἀριστερὰ ἔχοντες

called folénés, which greatly exceed in size all that are found in our seas [the Mediterranean.]

XXII. Upon the cessation of the wind from the fourth west, the fleet once more set sail, and proceeded sixty stadia, when they anchored on a sandy shore, under the lee of a desert island called Domæ; but here they found no water: at the distance, however, of twenty stadia, some was discovered that was excellent. When they left this place the following morning, they continued their course the whole day; and, after a passage of three hundred stadia, reached Saranga in the evening: here they rode at anchor upon the open shore, and found water at the distance of eight stadia from the coast.

Their next anchorage was at Sâcala, on an open and desert shore; and, weighing from thence, they passed between two islets so near, that their oars brushed the rocks on each side, and at last reached Morontobarbara, after a course of three hundred stadia. This is a fine harbour, well sheltered from all winds, large and deep, but with a narrow entrance. In the language of the natives it implies the harbour of women, because [according to the tradition of the place] a queen was the first sovereign of the country. In their passage, besides the danger of the rocks, they had encountered a<sup>a</sup> severe gale, and a very violent current, and thought they had performed wonders in surmounting the dangers that surrounded them.

The following morning they left Morontobarbara, and proceeded with an island on their left, which sheltered them from the fourth west; and which ran along

<sup>a</sup> This is another instance of the prevalence of the S. W. monsoon still.

πρὸ τῆς πελάγεος, ἔτω τι τῶ ἀγριαλῶ συναφέα, ὡς εἰκάσαι ἂν διώρυχα εἶναι τὸ μέσον τῆς τε ἀγριαλῆς καὶ τῆς νήσου. Σταδίοι οἱ πάντες ἐβδομήκοντα τῆς δέκπλαξ· καὶ ἐπὶ τε τῆς ἀγριαλῆς δένδρεα ἦν πολλὰ καὶ δασέα, καὶ ἡ νῆσος ὕλη παντοίη σύσκιος. Ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἑὼ ἐπλεον ἔζω τῆ νῆσος, κατὰ ῥηχέην σενήν. Ἔτι γὰρ ἀνάπαυτις κατέχευε. Πλώσαντες δὲ ἐς ἑκατὸν καὶ εἰκοσι σταδίους, ὁρμίζονται ἐν τῷ στόματι τῆς Ἀράβιος ποταμῆς. Καὶ λιμὴν μέγας καὶ καλὸς πρὸς τῷ στόματι· ὕδωρ δὲ ἐν ἦν πότιμον. Τῆς γὰρ Ἀράβιος αἰ ἐκβολαὶ ἀναμεμιγμένα τῷ πόντῳ ἦσαν. Ἀλλὰ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους ἐς τὸ ἄνω προχωρήσαντες, λάκκῳ ἐπιτυχάνουσι· καὶ ἐνθεν ὑδρευσάμενοι, ὀπίσσω ἀπενόησαν. Νῆσος δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι ὑψηλὴ καὶ ἔρημος· καὶ περὶ ταύτην ὄφρεων τε καὶ ἰχθυῶν παντοδαπῶν θήρα. Μέχρι μὲν τῆςδε Ἀράβιος, ἔχαστοι Ἰνδῶν, ταύτην ὠκισάμενοι· τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆςδε Ὠρεῖται ἐπέειχον.

XXIII. Ὀρμηθέντες δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐκβολῆς τῆς Ἀράβιος, παρέπλεον τῶν Ὠρεταίων τὴν χώραν· καὶ ὁρμίζονται ἐν Παγάλοισι, πλώσαντες σταδίους ἐς διηκοσίους, πρὸς ῥηχέην· ἀλλὰ ἀγκύρησι γὰρ ἐπιβολὸς ἦν ὁ χώρος. Τὰ μὲν οὖν πληρώματα ἀπεσάλευον ἐν τῆσι νηυσίν· οἱ δὲ ἐφ' ὕδωρ ἐκβάαντες, ὑδρεύοντο. Τῆς δὲ ὑστεραῖς ἀναχθέντες ἅμα ἡμέρῃ, καὶ πλώσαντες σταδίους ἐς τριήκοντα καὶ τετρακο-

so parallel to the coast, that it seemed rather an artificial cut than an arm of the sea. Both sides of this channel were well wooded, and the trees stood extremely thick; its extent was seventy stadia. During the morning they cleared the island, but the passage was narrow, and full of shoals, and they had moved upon the ebb of the tide. The distance from this strait to the river A'rabis is an hundred and twenty stadia, which they reached the same day. The harbour at the mouth of this river is large and good, but the water is not drinkable on account of its intermixture with the sea. At the distance, however, of forty stadia, they found a pool or well, from whence they obtained a supply, and brought it down to the fleet. Not far from the harbour rises a desert island to a considerable height, in the neighbourhood of which oysters, and fish of all sorts, may be procured. The river is the boundary between the country of the Arabiës and Oritæ; and the Arabiës are the last of the Indian tribes towards the west.

XXIII. From the mouth of the A'rabis, the fleet coasted the territory of the Oritæ till it reached Pagala, after a course of two hundred stadia. This was no harbour, but an open road, where there was good holding indeed for the anchors, but the ground was foul and shoally; and the men were not permitted to land, except a few to procure water. The next morning, as soon as it was day, they weighed, and stood on for four hundred and

° Sommeany is the modern name of the town. Colonel Reynolds.

The real name of the river has been obtained by

σίβς, κατάγονται ἐσπέριοι ἐς Κάβανα, καὶ ὁρμίζονται πρὸς αἰγιαλῶν ἐρήμῳ. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα ῥηχέη τραχέη ἦν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε μετεώρης τὰς νέας ὠρμίσαντο. Κατὰ τῆτον τὸν πλόον πνεῦμα ὑπολαμβάνει τὰς νέας μέγα ἐκ πόντε. Καὶ νέες δύο μακρὰ διαφθείρονται ἐν τῷ πλώῳ, καὶ κέρκουρος. Οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι σώζονται ἀπονηξάμενοι, ὅτι οὐ πόρρω τῆς γῆς ὁ πλόος ἐγένετο. Ἀμφὶ δὲ μέσας νύκτας ἀναχθέντες πλέσιν ἐς τε ἐπὶ Κόκαλα τῷ αἰγιαλῷ, ἐνθεν ὠρμήθησαν, ἀπέχεσαδίς διηκοσίβς. Καὶ αἱ μὲν νῆες σαλεύσασα ὠρμεον. Τὰ πληρώματα δὲ ἐκβιάσας Νέαρχος πρὸς τῇ γῇ ἠύλιόθη ὅτι ἐπὶ πολλὸν τεταλαιπωρηκότες ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, ἀναπαύσασθαι ἐπόθειον. Στρατόπεδον δὲ περιεβάλλετο, τῶν βαρβάρων τῆς φυλακῆς ἕνεκα. Ἐν τῷ τῷ χώρῳ Λεοννάτος, ὅτω τὰ Ὀρετῶν ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπετέτραπτο, μάχῃ μεγάλῃ νικᾷ Ὀρετάς τε καὶ ὅσοι Ὀρεταῖς συνεπελάβοντο τῷ ἔργῳ. Καὶ κτείνει αὐτῶν ἑξακισχίλιβς, καὶ τὸς ἡγεμόνας πάντας. Τῶν δὲ σὺν Λεοννάτῳ ἰππεῖς μὲν ἀποθνήσκουσι πεντεκαίδεκα· τῶν δὲ πεζῶν ἄλλοι καὶ Ἀπολλοφάνης ὁ Γαδρωσίῳν σατραπίης. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ ζυγγραφῇ ἀναγέγραπται· καὶ ὅπως Λεοννάτος ἐπὶ τῷδε ἐσεφανώθη πρὸς Ἀλεξ-

<sup>p</sup> This is the last instance of distress from the wind; and, as the journal is here brought to the eleventh of November, the monsoon, we may conclude, was now fixed. From the following station at Kókala they sailed [ἀκρᾶσι] with a steady wind in their favour.

thirty stadia, till they reached Kábana in the evening: this again was nothing better than open road, with foul and broken ground, where they were obliged to anchor, as before, without landing. In this day's course they experienced a <sup>p</sup> severe gale setting on the shore, in which two of the galleys, and one of the transports, were lost; but, as they foundered near the shore, the men escaped by swimming. Here they staid no longer than till midnight, and then proceeded two hundred stadia to <sup>q</sup> Kókala. This was no harbour, the ships rode at anchor on an open shore; but it was become absolutely necessary to land the men, as they had suffered much from the weather and confinement on board, and were in great need of refreshment.

Nearchus therefore landed his whole force, and fortified a camp on shore to prevent a surprize from the natives. Relief, however, was at hand; for in this camp they were joined by Leonnátus, whom Alexander had left in command of the country, and who had defeated the Orítæ and their allies in a great battle, in which he had killed six thousand, with all their commanders; and lost of his own force only fifteen horse, and a small proportion of infantry: but one of the slain was Apollóphanes, satrap of Gadrófia. This victory, and the crown of gold bestowed upon Leonnátus, I have

<sup>q</sup> For Pácala, Kábana, and Kókala, mere open roads, it cannot be expected that representatives should be found: but three names occur in Commodore Robinfon's chart between the Sommean [Arabis] and the Tomérus, which are, Arrah, Cudjerah, and Kingalah.

ἀνδρῶν χρυσῶν τεφάνω, ἐν Μακεδόσιν. Ἐνταῦθα σῖτος ἦν νενεμημένος κατὰ πρόσταγμα Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἐς ἐπισιτισμὸν τῶν στρατῶν. Καὶ ἐμβάλλονταί σιτία ἡμερῶν δέκα ἐς τὰς νέας. Καὶ τῶν νεῶν ὅσαι πεπονήκεσαν κατὰ τὸν πλῆθος μέχρι τῆδε, ἐπεσκεύασαν. Καὶ τῶν ναυτῶν ὅσοι ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ βλακύνειν ἐφαίνοντο Νέαρχῳ, τέτρες μὲν περὶ ἄγειν Λεοννάτῳ ἔδωκεν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν σὺν Λεοννάτῳ στρατιωτῶν συμπληροῖ τὸ ναυτικόν.

XXIV. Ἐνθένδε ὀρμηθέντες ἔπλεον ἀκράει καὶ διελθόντες εὐθείας ἐς πεντακισίας, ὠρμίζοντο πρὸς ποταμῶν χειμάρρῳ· Τόμηρος ὄνομα ἦν τῷ ποταμῶ, καὶ λίμνη ἦν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐκβολαῖς τῆς ποταμῆς. Τὰ δὲ βράχια τὰ πρὸς τῷ αἰγιαλῶ ἐπώκειον ἄνθρωποι ἐν καλύβαις πνιγηραῖς· καὶ οὗτοι ὡς προσπλέοντας εἶδον, ἐθάμβησάν τε, καὶ παρατείναντες σφᾶς παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν, ἐτάχθησαν ὡς ἀπομαχόμενοι πρὸς τὰς ἐκβάλλοντας. Λόγχαι δὲ ἐφόρεον παχέας, μέγεθος ὡς ἑξαπήχειας. Ἀκωκὴ ἦν ἐκ ἐπῆν σιδηρῆ, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὄξύ αὐτῆσι πεφυρακτωμένον τὸ αὐτὸ ἐποίησε. Πλήθος δὲ ἦσαν ὡς ἑξακισίοι. Καὶ τέτρες Νέαρχος ὡς ὑπομένοντας τε καὶ παρατεταγμένους κατέειδε, τὰς μὲν νέας ἀνακωχεύειν κελεύει ἐντὸς βέλους, ὡς τὰ τοξείματα ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐξικνεῖσθαι. Αἱ γὰρ τῶν βαρβάρων λόγχαι παχέαι φαίνονται, ἀγγέμαχοι

already mentioned in my former history. Leonnátus likewise brought a supply of corn, which Alexander had provided for the fleet, sufficient for ten days' expenditure. And here Nearchus took the opportunity of repairing such vessels as had suffered in the voyage; at the same time discharging several of his men who had shrunk from their duty, and receiving others from Leonnátus in exchange, who were fitter for the service.

XXIV. [With a full complement, and a fresh supply of provisions,] and with a steady wind \*in his favour, Nearchus weighed from Kòkala, and, after a course of five hundred stadia, reached a winter torrent called Tomêrus, which formed a harbour at its mouth. The country in the neighbourhood was low and marshy, and the cabins of the natives small and suffocating; but, upon the approach of the fleet, they collected in a body, and formed upon the shore, to prevent the strangers from landing. They were armed with lances, stoutly made, and nine feet long; not pointed with iron, but hardened in the fire, and very sharp. Their number might be about six hundred.

Upon observing the opposition intended, Nearchus formed his fleet out of reach of their javelins, but still within command of his archers; for the javelins were heavy, and adapted rather for close fighting, than for annoyance at a distance.

\* This circumstance affords a probability that the whole fleet was drawn on shore, and not exposed to the danger of riding at anchor in an open road.

\* If we allow ten days for these services, it brings the journal to the twenty-first of November: after which date, all navigators agree that the moon is completely steady.

μὲν, ἄφοβοι δὲ εἰς τὸ ἀκοντίζεσθαι ἦσαν. Αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὅσοι αὐτοὶ τε κρυφώτατοι καὶ κρυφώτατα ὀπλισμένοι, τῆ τε νεῖν δαημονέσαστο, τῆς δὲ ἐκνήξασθαι κελεύει ἀπὸ ξυνθήματος. Πρόσταγμα δὲ σφίσιν ἦν, ὅπως τις ἐκνήξασμένος εἴη ἐν τῷ ὕδατι, προσμένειν τὸν παραστάτην οἱ ἐσόμενον· μηδὲ βάλλειν πρόσθεν πρὸς τὰς βαρβάρους, πρὶν ἐπὶ τριῶν εἰς βάθος ταχθῆναι τὴν Φάλαγγα· τότε δὲ δρόμῳ ἤδη ἰεναί, ἐπαλαλάξαστας. Ἄμα δὲ ἐρρίπτην ἐωυτῶν οἱ ἐπὶ τῷδε τεταγμένοι ἐκ τῶν νεῶν εἰς τὸν πόντον, καὶ ἐνήχοντο ὀξέως, καὶ ἴσαντο ἐν κόσμῳ. Καὶ Φάλαγγα ἐκ σφῶν ποιησάμενοι, δρόμῳ ἐπήεσαν αὐτοὶ τε ἀλαλάζοντες τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ, καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν ξυνεπηχέοντες· τοξείματά τε καὶ ἀπὸ μηχανῶν βέλεα ἐφέροντο εἰς τὰς βαρβάρους. Οἱ δὲ τὴν τε λαμπρότητα τῶν ἄπλων ἐκπλαγέτες, καὶ τῆς ἐφόδου τὴν ὀξύτητα, καὶ πρὸς τῶν τοξευμάτων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βελῶν βαλλόμενοι, οἷα δὴ ἡμίγυμνοι ἄνθρωποι, εἰδὲ ὀλίγον εἰς ἀλκὴν τραπέντες ἐγκλίνας. Καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν φεύγοντες ἀποθήσκουσιν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀλίσκονται· ἔστι δὲ οἱ καὶ διέφυγον εἰς τὰ ἔρημα. Ἦσαν δὲ οἱ ἀλόντες τὰ τε ἄλλα σώματα δασέες, καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς, καὶ τὰς ὄνυχας θηριώδεις. Τοῖς γὰρ δὴ ὄνυξιν ὅσα σιδήρῳ διαχρᾶσθαι ἐλέγοντο, καὶ τοὺς ἰχθύας τούτοις παραχίζοντες κατεργάζεσθαι, καὶ τῶν ξύλων ὅσα μαλακώτερα·

As soon as he was ready for the charge, he selected such of his men as were most active and lightest armed, and the most expert swimmers, to plunge off from the ships at a signal. The first man who touched the ground with his feet was to halt in his place, and be looked to as the point upon which the line was to be formed; and from this point no one was to advance upon the enemy till the line was completed to three in file. But as soon as this was effected, they were to shout, and advance with their utmost speed to the attack. The whole was executed with precision; the men selected for the service sprung from the ships, and swam vigorously towards the shore; they took their position, formed the line, and then rushed upon the enemy with the cry of Alala, the shout of war. In the meantime the people on board joined in the clamour; they plied their bows, they discharged their engines, and had the satisfaction to find that they reached the enemy.

The natives were not proof against such an assault: the splendour of the armour, the rapidity of the movements, the execution of the artillery upon their ill armed ranks, soon determined the contest to their disadvantage. Many fell in their flight, many were taken prisoners, and some few escaped to the mountains.

When the prisoners were brought in, they were observed to be covered with hair upon their bodies, and their nails were like the claws of wild beasts; these served them instead of knives to divide their fish, and other substances, or even wood

<sup>t</sup> This is a singular instance of ancient artillery being employed on board a ship: the effect is the

same as that of Captain Cook's great guns upon the New Zealanders.

τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τοῖς λίθοις τοῖσιν ὄξεσιν ἔκοπτον. Σίδηρος γὰρ αὐτοῖσιν οὐκ ἦν. Ἐσθῆτα δὲ ἐφόρεον δέρματα θήρεια· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἰχθύων τῶν μεγάλων τὰ παχέα.

XXV. Ἐνταῦθα νεωλκῆσι τὰς νέας, καὶ ὅσαι πεπονηκῦϊαι αὐτῶν ἐπισκευάζουσι. Τῇ δὲ ἕκτη ἡμέρῃ ἐσέλλοντο· καὶ πλώσαντες σαδίης ἐς τριηκοσίαις, ἀφικνέονται ἐς χῶρον, ὃς δὴ ἔχατος ἦν τῆς Ὀρειτῶν γῆς. Μάλανα τῶ χῶρῳ ὄνομα. Ὀρειτῶν δὲ ὅσοι ἄνω ἀπὸ θαλάσσης οἰκέουσι, ἐσαλμένοι μὲν κατάπερ Ἰνδοῖ, εἰσι, καὶ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ὡσαύτως παραρτέονται· γλῶσσα δὲ ἄλλη αὐτοῖσι καὶ ἄλλα νόμοια. Μῆκος τῆ παράπλευρα, παρὰ μὲν χῶρον τὴν Ἀραβίαν, ἐς χιλίας μάλιστα σαδίης, ἐνθενπερ ὠρμήθησαν, παρὰ δὲ τὴν Ὀρειτῶν γῆν, ἐξακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι. Παραπλεόντων δὲ τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν (τὸ ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ ἔκετι Ἰνδοὶ εἰσι) λέγει Νεάρχος ὅτι αἱ σκιαὶ αὐτοῖσιν οὐ ταυτὸ ἐποίεον· ἀλλὰ ὅπερ μὲν ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆ πόντος ὡς πρὸς μεσημβρίην προχωρήσειαν, ὡδὲ καὶ αὐταὶ αἱ σκιαὶ πρὸς μεσημβρίην τετραμμέναι ἐφαίνοντο. Ὄποτε δὲ τὸ μέσον τῆς ἡμέρης ἐπέχοι ὁ ἥλιος, ἤδη ἦ καὶ ἔρημα σκιῆς πάντα ὠφθη αὐτοῖσι. Τῶν τε ἀστέρων ὅσας πρῶθεν μετεώρας κατεώρων, οἱ μὲν ἀφανέες πάντα ἦσαν· οἱ δὲ, πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ γῆ ἐφαίνοντο. Καταδύνοντες τε καὶ αὐτίκα ἀνατέλλοντες, οἱ

of the softer sort. Their only instruments besides were of stone, for iron they had none. Their clothing consisted of the skins of beasts, or the larger kind of fish, when thick enough for the purpose.

XXV. At the Tomêrus the vessels were all drawn on shore, and those that had suffered in the voyage were repaired. Five days were employed in this service; on the sixth the fleet weighed, and proceeded three hundred stadia to Málana, which bounds the territory of the Oritæ. Of this tribe those who live inland are armed and habited after the Indian fashion; but their language, manners, and customs are different. At Málana the course of the navigation amounted to 2600 stadia; that is, 1600 along the coast of the Arabies, and 1000 along that of the Oritæ: and so far the country is considered as India. During this passage from the Indus, Nearchus notices the <sup>u</sup> variation of the shadow; for he says, that upon standing out to sea, at a considerable distance south from the coast, the shadows no longer fell to the north, but to the south; and that at noon they <sup>x</sup> saw no shadow at all. The constellations also, which with us appear elevated considerably, were some of them altogether invisible; while others barely showed themselves above the horizon, setting and rising again almost immediately, instead of exhibiting a constant light. In

Moran  
Maran.

<sup>u</sup> See this circumstance discussed in the Voyage of Nearchus, p. 221.

<sup>x</sup> ὠφθη αὐτοῖσι is so positive, that I cannot get rid of it. Schneider imputes the error to Arrian; he excuses Nearchus, and condemns me for mak-

ing him partaker in the assertion. I request the reader to examine the preceding narrative, and judge, whether Nearchus at any one time did or could stand out to sea so far as to verify this phenomenon.

πάλαμ ἀειφανέες ἔόντες· καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἀπεικότα δοκεῖ μοι ἀναγράψαι Νέαρχος. Ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν Συήνῃ τῇ Αἰγυπτίῃ, ἐπεὶ τὸν τροπικὸν ἀγὴ θέρους ὥρης ὁ ἥλιος, φρέαρ ἀποδεδεγμένον ἐστὶ, καὶ τὸτο ἄσκιον ἐν μεσημβρίῃ φαίνεται· ἐν Μέρῳ δὲ πάντα ἄσκια τῇ αὐτῇ ὥρῃ· εἰκὸς ὦν καὶ ἐν Ἰνδοῖσιν, ἅτε πρὸς μεσημβρίην ὠκισμένοι, τὰ αὐτὰ δὴ πάθεα ἐπέχεν· καὶ μάλιστα δὴ κατὰ τὸν πόντον τὸν Ἰνδικόν, ὅσω μᾶλλον αὐτοῖσιν ἢ θάλασσα πρὸς μεσημβρίην κέκλιται. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἄδε ἐχέτω.

XXVI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ὀρέτησι κατὰ μὲν μεσογαίην Γαδρώσιοι ἐπέχον· ὦν τὴν χώραν χαλεπῶς διεξῆλθεν ἅμα τῇ στρατιῇ Ἀλέξανδρος. Καὶ κακὰ τοσαῦτα ἔπαθεν, ὅσα ἔδεν τὰ σύμπαντα τῆς συμπάσης στρατηλασίης. Καὶ ταῦτά μοι ἐν τῇ μέζονι συγγραφῇ ἀναγέγραπται. Κάτω δὲ Γαδρωσίων, παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν αὐτὴν, οἱ Ἰκθυοφάγοι καλεόμενοι οἰκῶσι. Παρὰ τῶν τὴν γῆν ἔπλεον, τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἡμέρῃ περὶ τὴν δευτέραν Φυλακὴν ἀναχθέντες, κατὰρξουσιν εἰς Βαγίσαρα· γάδοιοι τῷ παράπλευρῳ ἑξακόσιοι· λιμὴν τε ἐνὶ αὐτοῖσι εὐορμος, καὶ κώμη Πασίρα, ἀπέχουσα ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἑξήκοντα σταδία. Καὶ οἱ πρόσοικοι αὐτῆς Πασιρέες.

<sup>γ</sup> In the word Syênè the geographer may observe the use that might be derived from preserving the original sound of Greek elements. Syênè would be pronounced Suana; and the actual name at present is As-Souan. How many oriental names might be rescued from obscurity by this simple practice, cannot be determined; but I always regret the necessity of complying with modern usage,

this account Nearchus seems to say nothing but what is rational; for at Syênè in Egypt, when the sun arrives at the summer solstice, there is a well shewn, which is without a shadow at noon: and in the same season at Méroè the same phenomenon is universal. So that it is reasonable to imagine that the same circumstance takes place in the southern part of India, or more especially on the ocean, which is more southern still. But of this sufficient.

XXVI. Westward of the Orítæ, the Gadrosians possess the country inland. In passing this tract with his army, Alexander experienced greater distress than any which he had suffered in the whole course of his expedition. But the account of this has been given in my former work.

On the coast they are not Gadrosians, but Ikthuthóphagi, [so called from living almost wholly upon fish:] and along their territory the fleet, after weighing late in the evening, accomplished a course of six hundred stadia to Bagafira. Here there was a safe port, and a village, sixty stadia inland, called <sup>z</sup> Pasíra; and the natives

in order to avoid the charge of affectation and singularity.

<sup>z</sup> Ba Gafira is evidently an Arabic compound of Gafira, Gezira, which signifies an island, and likewise a peninsula, cape, or promontory. The cape here is still called Arrhabah, Arrhubah and Araba retaining a memorial of the Arabians in the adjoining district.



Ἔς δὲ τὴν ὑπεραίαν πρῶτον τῆς ὄρης ἀναχθέντες, περιπλέσιν ἄκρην ἐπὶ πολὺ τὴ ἀνέχσαν ἐς τὸν πόντον, καὶ αὐτὴν ὑψηλὴν καὶ κρημνωδέα· φρέατα δὲ ὀρύξαντες, ὕδωρ ἐκ ὀλίγον καὶ πονηρὸν ἀρυσάμενοι, ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρῃ ἐπὶ ἀγκυρέων ἄρμων, ὅτι ῥηχέη κατὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἀνέειχεν. Ἔς δὲ τὴν ὑπεραίαν καταίρυσιν ἐς Κόλτα, σαδίς ἐλθόντες διηκοσίς. Ἐνθεν δὲ ἔωθεν πλεύσαντες σαδίς ἑξακοσίς, ἐν <sup>2</sup> Καλάμοισιν ὀρμίζονται· κώμη πρὸς τῷ αἰγιαλῷ· Φοίνικες δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν ὀλίγοι πεφύκεσαν, καὶ βάλανοι ἐπ' αὐτοῖσι χλωραὶ ἐπήσαν. Καὶ νῆσος ὡς ἑκατὸν σαδίς ἀπὸ τῷ αἰγιαλῷ ἀπέχουσα, <sup>2</sup> Καρινὴ ὄνομα. Ἐνταῦθα ξένια Νεάρχῳ προσφέρουσιν οἱ κωμηῖται, πρόβατα καὶ ἰχθύας. Καὶ τῶν προβάτων τὰ κρέα λέγει ὅτι ἦν ἰχθυώδεια, ὡς τὰ τῶν ὀρνίθων τῷ πελαγίῳ, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὰ ἰχθύων σιτέεται· πῶσα γὰρ ἐκ ἐνὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ. Ἀλλὰ τῇ ὑπεραίῃ πλεύσαντες ἐς σαδίς διηκοσίς, ὀρμίζονται πρὸς αἰγιαλῷ καὶ κώμη ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς σαδίς τριηκοντα ἀπέχουσα. Ἡ μὲν κώμη Κύσα ἐκαλέετο· Καρβίς δὲ τῷ αἰγιαλῷ ὄνομα ἦν. Ἐνταῦθα πλοίοισιν ἐπιτυγχάνουσι σμικροῖσιν, οἷα ἀλιέων εἶναι πλοῖα ἐκ εὐδαμόνων. Αὐτὰς δὲ οὐ καταλαμβάνουσιν· ἀλλ' ἔφυγον γὰρ καθορμιζομένας κατιδόντες τὰ νέας. Σίτος τε αὐτόθι ἐκ ἐνῆν, καὶ ὑπολελείπει τὴν στρατὴν ὁ πολ-

of the neighbourhood Pasireans. Weighing from hence at an early hour the next morning, they doubled a cape which projected far out into the sea, bluff and lofty; when they came to an anchor in an open road, as a surf beat violently on the coast. Here they remained all that day, and, by sinking pits upon the shore, obtained water in abundance, but it was bad. The day following, after a course of two hundred stadia, they reached Kolta. From Kolta, six hundred stadia brought them to Kálama; it was a village with a few palm trees about it, but their fruit was not ripe: and off shore, at the distance of one hundred stadia, lay an island called Kaninè.

Cape Ar-rhabah.

Ahtola.

The inhabitants, however, were hospitable; they brought down fish and sheep; but the very mutton was fishy, like the flesh of sea fowl, and the sheep were fed upon fish: for grafs there was none in the country.

The following day they advanced only two hundred stadia, anchoring in an open road of the name of Karbis, where there was a village called Kufa, thirty stadia from the shore. They here found a few <sup>a</sup> boats, the property apparently of miserable fishermen; but the owners did not appear, for they had fled upon sight of the fleet anchoring.

Search was here made for bread corn, but none found; and the people were in distress, having nearly consumed all they had [received from Leonnátus.] A few

<sup>2</sup> The best Florentine MS. reads Καλίμοισιν for Καλάμοισιν, and Καρινὴ for Καρινή. The first is certainly not a preferable reading; the second may be indifferent.

<sup>a</sup> This is the first notice of any sort of vessel on the coast, and it is immediately succeeded by a pilot.

λός· ἀλλὰ αἶγας ἐμβαλλόμενοι ἐς τὰς νέας, ἔτω δὴ ἀπέπλεον. Καὶ περιπλώσαντες ἄκρην ὑψηλὴν, ὅσον πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίους ἀνέχουσαν ἐς τὸν πόντον, καταγόνοται ἐν λιμένι ἀκλύτῳ. Καὶ ὕδωρ αὐτόφει ἦν, καὶ ἀλιεῖς ὤκειον· Μόσαρνα ὄνομα ἦν τῷ λιμένι.

XXVII. Ἐνθεν δὲ καὶ ἡγεμῶν τῶ πολὺς λέγει Νέαρχος ὅτι συνέπλωσεν αὐτοῖσιν, Ἵδράκης ὄνομα, Γαδρῆσιος. Ὑπέστη δὲ Ἵδράκης καλαστήσειν αὐτὰς μέχρι Καρμανίης. Τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆδε ἔκτι χαλεπὰ ἦν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τι ὀνομαζόμενα, ἔς τε ἐπὶ τὸν κόλπον τὸν Περσικόν. Ἐκ δὲ Μοσαρῶν νυκτὸς ἐπάραντες, πλώουσι σταδίους ἑπτακοσίους καὶ πεντήκοντα, ἐς Βάλωμον αἰγιαλόν. Ἐνθεν δὲ ἐς Βάρνα κόμην, σταδίους τετρακοσίους, ἵνα Φοίνικες τε πολλοὶ ἐνήσαν, καὶ κήπος. Καὶ ἐν τῷ κήπῳ μυρρίνια ἐπεφύκεσαν, καὶ ἄλλα ἄνθη, ἀφ' ὅτων σεφανώματα τῆσι κόμῃσι ἐπλέκοντο. Ἐνταῦθα πρῶτον δένδρεά τε εἶδον ἡμέρα, καὶ ἀνθρώπους οὐ πάντη θηριώδεις ἐπωκέοντας. Ἐνθεν δὲ ἐς διακοσίους σταδίους περιπλώσαντες, καταίρουσιν ἐς Δενδρόβουσα· καὶ αἱ νέες ἐπ' ἀγκυρέων ἐσάλευσαν. Ἐνθεν δὲ ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας ἄραντες ἐς Κόφανα λιμένα ἀφίκοντο, τετρακοσίους μάλιστα σταδίους διεπλώσαντες. Ἐνταῦθα ἀλιεῖς τε ὤκειον, καὶ πλοῖα αὐτοῖσιν ἦν μικρὰ καὶ

goats they seized, and, carrying them on board, proceeded to double a promontory which projected one hundred and fifty stadia into the sea : which having accomplished, they anchored in a secure harbour, where they found water, and inhabitants, who were fishermen. The place was called Mofarna.

XXVII. At Mofarna was procured a pilot of the name of Hudrakes [or the Hudrakian, from a place of that name on the coast.] This man promised to conduct the fleet to Karmania; and in fact the navigation from Mofarna to the gulph of Persia was better known, and less dangerous, than what they had already passed. From Mofarna they sailed at night seven hundred and fifty stadia to the road of Balomus; and thence four hundred stadia to Barna, a village where they found palm trees and a cultivated garden. In this garden were myrtles, which the seamen wreathed into chaplets for their heads. This was the first instance of culture, and the inhabitants were not quite so savage as those they had seen before. From hence two hundred stadia brought them to Dendroboussa, where they rode at anchor; and, weighing again at midnight, reached the port of Kophas, after a course of four hundred stadia. Here fishermen were found, who had small and wretched boats, in which the

<sup>b</sup> μᾶλλον τι ὀνομαζόμενα. A desert coast, undiscovered, has no name till one is given to it by those who visit it first. Schneider renders it *priore celebrior*.

<sup>c</sup> Seven hundred and fifty stadia for the first time, because a pilot was on board, who knew that the land breeze blew during the night.

πονηρά. Καὶ ταῖς κώπαις οὐ κατὰ σκαλμὸν ἤρεσσον (ὡς ὁ Ἑλλήνων νόμος) ἀλλ' ὡσπερ ἐν ποταμῷ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπιβάλλοντες ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν, κατάπερ οἱ σκάπτοντες τὴν γῆν. Ὑδωρ δὲ πολὺ τε ἦν ἐν τῷ λιμένι, καὶ καθαρόν. Περὶ δὲ πρώτην φυλακὴν ἄρανας, καταίρυσιν ἐς Κυῖζα, ἐς ὀκτακοσίας σαδίας διεκπλώσαντες ἵνα αἰγιαλὸς τε ἔρημος ἦν, καὶ ῥαχίη. Αὐτοὶ ὧν ἐπ' ἀγκυρέων ὤρμεον, κατὰ νέαν τε δεῖπνον ἐποίεοντο. Ἐνθεν δὲ διεκπλώσαντες σαδίας πεντακοσίας, ἀπίκοντο ἐς τινα πόλιν μικρὴν οἰκομένην ἐπὶ γηλόφῳ, οὐ πόρρω τῆ αἰγιαλῆ. Καὶ Νεάρχος ἐπιφραδαῖος ὅτι σπέρεσθαι τὴν χώραν εἰκός, λέγει πρὸς Ἀρχίην (ὃς ἦν Ἀναξιδότου μὲν παῖς, Πελλαῖος, συνέπλει δὲ Νεάρχῳ, τῶν ἐν αἰνῇ ὧν Μακεδόνων) πρὸς τῆτον λέγει, ὅτι καταληπτόν σφίσι ἐστὶ τὸ χωρίον· εἰκότως τε γὰρ ἐκ αὐτῶν οἶεσθαι δεῖναι τῆ στρατιῆ σιτία· βίη τε ἔχουσιν οἷον τε εἶναι ἐξαιρέειν, πολιορκίης δὲ καὶ τριβῆς δεήσειν· σφᾶς δὲ ἐπιλελοιπέναι τὰ σιτία· ὅτι δὲ ἡ γῆ σιτοφόρος τῆ καλᾶμῃ τεκμηριῶσθαι, ἦντινα οὐ πόρρω τῆ αἰγιαλῆ ἀφείρων βαθέην. Ταῦτα ἐπεὶ σφίσι ἐδόκει, τὰς μὲν ἄλλας νέας κελεύει παραρτέεσθαι ὡς ἐς πλόον. Καὶ ὁ Ἀρχίης αὐτῷ ἐξήρτυε τὰ ἐς τὸν πλόον. Αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπο-

oars were not fastened to the rowlocks, as in Greek vessels, [but held in the hand,] so that they seemed to dig the water rather than row, and to toss it up as a labourer throws up earth with a spade. This harbour afforded good water in plenty. Weighing again, however, in the evening, they proceeded eight hundred stadia to Kuidza, where the shore was desert and shoal. Here they anchored in an open road, and took their meal on board without landing; but necessity compelled them to proceed: they advanced therefore to a small town, built upon a rising ground. Here [from some appearances] Nearchus judged that agriculture was not wholly unknown. The produce he determined to appropriate, and for that purpose consulted Archias how to effect it. This Archias was a man of consideration among the Macedonians; he was of Pella, the son of Anaxidotus, and had failed with a command under the admiral. Nearchus told him he was determined to seize the place by surprise, because he was persuaded the natives would not, without force, consent to afford them a supply; and that to take the place by force would require the delay of a siege; that immediate relief must be had, for they had no bread corn left: and that there had been a harvest in the country was evident from the stubble, which stood thick within sight from the shore. Archias joined with his commander in opinion; and it was immediately resolved that the fleet should be made ready for sailing under Archias, and that Nearchus, with a single ship, should remain, and ap-

Khudar  
Guttar.

<sup>d</sup> This manner of rowing is still practised in Siam, Ava, &c. but is best represented by the engraving of a New Zealand canoe, in Cook's second voyage. The blade of the oar is there more like a spade

than an oar.

<sup>e</sup> κατὰ πρώτην φυλακὴν, six o'clock.

<sup>f</sup> δεῖπνον. If supper, they sailed again in the evening.

λειφθεῖς μετὰ μίης νεώς, ἐπὶ θεῶν δῆ-  
θεν τῷ πόλιος ἦει.

XXVIII. Προσάγοντι δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς  
τὰ τέγχεα Φιλίως, ξένια ἔφερον ἐκ τῆς  
πόλιος, θύνης τε ἐν κριθάνοισιν ὀπίς  
(ἔτοι γὰρ ἔχατοι τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων οἰ-  
κέοντες πρῶτοι αὐτοῖσιν ὠφθησαν, ἐκ  
ὠμοφαγέοντες) καὶ πέμματα ὀλίγα, καὶ  
βαλάνης τῶν Φοινίκων. Ὁ δὲ ταῦτα  
μὲν ἀσμένως δέκεσθαι ἔφη, ἐθέλειν δὲ  
θεῆσασθαι τὴν πόλιν· οἱ δὲ ἔων παρελ-  
θεῖν. Ὡς δὲ εἰσὼ πυλῶν παρήλθε, δύο  
μὲν τῶν τοξοτῶν κατέχευεν κελεύει τὴν πυ-  
λίδα. Αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ δύο ἄλλων, καὶ τῷ  
ἐρμηνεύς, ἐπὶ τὸ τέγχος τὸ ταύτη ἀνελ-  
θεῶν, ἐσήμνηε τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀρχίην ὅπως  
συνέκετο· τὸν μὲν ὦν σημήναι, τὸν δὲ  
συμβαλόντα ποιέειν τὸ τελαγμένον. Ἰδόν-  
τες δὲ τὸ σημήιον οἱ Μακεδόνες, ἐπώ-  
κελλον τε κατὰ τάχος τὰς νέας, καὶ ἐξε-  
πήδων σπερδῆ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν. Οἱ δὲ  
βάρβαροι ἐκπλαγέοντες τοῖς γινομένοις,  
ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἔθεον. Ὁ δὲ ἐρμηνεύς ὁ  
σὺν Νεάρχῳ, ἐκήρυσε σῆτον δίδοναι τῇ  
στρατιῇ, εἰ σώαν ἐθέλωσιν ἔχειν τὴν πό-  
λιν· οἱ δὲ ἠνῶντο εἶναι σφίσι, καὶ ἅμα  
προσέβαλον τῷ τέγχει. Ἀλλὰ ἀνέσελον  
αὐτῆς οἱ τοξοτῶν οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Νεάρχον,  
ἐξ ὑπερδέξιας τοξεύοντες. Ὡς δὲ ἔμαθον  
ἐχομένην τε ἤδη καὶ ὅσον ἔπω ἀνδραπο-  
διαθησομένην σφίσι τὴν πόλιν, τότε δὲ δὴ  
ἐδέοντο τῷ Νεάρχῳ, τὸν μὲν σῆτον ὅσπερ  
ἦν αὐτοῖσιν λαβόντα ἀπάγειν, τὴν πόλιν  
δὲ μὴ διαφθείρειν. Νεάρχος δὲ τὸν μὲν  
Ἀρχίην κελεύει καταλαβεῖν τὰς πύλας,  
καὶ τὸ κατ' αὐτὰς τέγχος· αὐτὸς ἰ συμ-

ply to the natives on shore for leave to  
visit their city.

XXVIII. He approached therefore  
with his single ship in a friendly manner,  
and the people came out of the place with  
presents in their hands, of cakes, dates,  
and baked fish. Even this was a test of  
civilization, for these were the first they  
had yet seen on the coast, who applied  
any cookery to their food. The presents  
Nearchus received with the appearance  
of pleasure, and requested the favour of  
being permitted to see their city. To this  
they made no objection; but he, the mo-  
ment he had entered, ordered two of his  
bowmen to guard the gate, and then  
mounting the wall with two others and  
his interpreter, he made the signal to  
Archias, which had been agreed upon.  
The signal was no sooner made than un-  
derstood; when Archias ordered the ships  
now under weigh to fall back towards  
the shore, and the people to plunge into  
the sea on the instant. The natives ran  
to arms, astonished at what they saw;  
when Nearchus ordered his interpreter  
to proclaim that no injury was intend-  
ed, but that they must deliver up all  
the bread corn in their possession. They  
declared they had none, and still conti-  
nued to approach the wall, where the  
bowmen were placed; but the bowmen  
defended themselves by the advantage of  
their position, and [Archias likewise was  
at hand.] Finding therefore opposition  
vain, and fearing lest their city might be  
sacked as well as taken, and themselves  
carried off into slavery, they entreated  
Nearchus to take what corn they had,  
and depart without farther injury to their  
city. Upon this Nearchus ordered Ar-  
chias to occupy the gates and the ad-  
joining walls, while he sent proper peo-

πέμπει τὰς κατοφομένους τὸν σῖτον, εἰ ἀδόλως δεικνύουσιν. Οἱ δὲ, τὸ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων τῶν ὀπλῶν ἀλληλεσμένον ἀλευρον πολὺ ἐδείκνυσαν, πυρὸς δὲ καὶ κριθὰς ὀλίγας. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐτύγγανον σίτω μὲν τῷ ἀπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων, τοῖσι δὲ ἄρτοισιν ὅσα ὄψω διαχρεόμενοι. Ὡς δὲ τὰ ὄντα ἐπεδείκνυον, ἔτω δὴ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐπισιτισάμενοι ἀνήγοντο, καὶ ὀρμίζονται πρὸς ἄκρην ἦντινα οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἰρην ἡλίε ἦγον ἔνομα τῇ ἄκρῃ Βάγεια.

XXIX. Ἐνθενδε ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας ἄραντες, διεκπλώσσι σαδίς ἐς χιλίς, ἐς Τάλμενα λιμένα εὖορμον. Ἐνθενδε ἐς Κανασίδα πόλιν ἐρήμην, σαδίς ἐς τετρακοσίους ἵνα τινὶ Φρέατι ὀρυκτῷ ἐπιτυγχάνουσι. Καὶ Φοίνικες ἄγριοι ἐπεφύκεσαν, τέτων τὰς ἐγκεφάλους κόπτοντες, ἐσιτέοντο· σῖτος γὰρ ἐπιλελοίπει τὴν φρατὴν καὶ κακῶς ἤδη ὑπὸ λιμῆ ἔχοντες, ἔπλεον, τὴν τε ἡμέρην καὶ τὴν νύκτα, καὶ ὀρμίζονται πρὸς αἰγιάλῳ ἐρήμῳ. Νεάρχος δὲ καταδείσας μὴ ἄρα ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκβάντες ἀπολίποιν τὰς νέας ὑπὸ ἀδυμίας, ἐπὶ τῷδε μετεώρως ἔχε τὰς νέας ἐπ' ἀγκυρέων. Ἐνθενδε ἀναχθέντες, ἐς Κανάτην ὀρμίζονται, σαδίς ὡς ἐπτακοσίους καὶ πενήκοντα διεκπλώσαντες. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ αἰγιάλος ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ διώρυχες βραχεῖαι. Ἐνθενδε σαδίς ὀκτακοσίους πλώσαντες, ἐν Τροῖσιν ὀρμίζονται. Κῶμα δὲ μικρὰ καὶ πονηρὰ ἐπῆσαν καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄνθρωποι ἐκλείπασσι τὰ οἰκῆα,

ple with the inhabitants to see that they delivered up their stores without fraud. When the stores were opened, a great quantity was found of a paste composed of fish baked and salted, but of wheat and barley the supply was very scanty; for the custom of the country is to consider fish as the staff of life, and bread as an article of luxury. All that was discovered however was delivered up by the inhabitants, and Nearchus, contenting himself with what he found, abstained from farther injury, and ordered the fleet off to a cape called Bageia, which is sacred to the sun.

XXIX. From Bageia the fleet weighed at midnight, and advanced 1000 stadia to Tálmena, a safe harbour; and from thence 400 stadia farther to Kanásida, a deserted <sup>Tiz?</sup> <sup>Tidge?</sup> city, where they found a well funk, and some wild palm trees; from these they cut off the head shoot [which is called the Cabbage] and ate it in place of bread, for of bread they had none left. Famine began now to threaten, and they were forced to proceed for the following day and night without anchoring, and stopped at last on a desert shore.

Here Nearchus was obliged to anchor without suffering the men to land, fearing that, if they set foot on shore, they would not return on board. From hence 750 stadia carried them to Kánatè, where the <sup>Tancabanca.</sup> shore was low with shallow cuts: then 800 stadia to Troëa, where there were a few wretched villages, which the inhabitants had deserted; but dates and a small

<sup>1</sup> Τροῖσιν is a dubious reading in all the MSS. sometimes written Τάοισιν, and by Gronovius Ἰροῖσιν, conjectural.

αὐτοὶ δὲ σίτω τινὶ ὀλίγῳ ἐπιτυγχάνουσι, καὶ βαλάνοις ἐκ Φοινίκων καὶ καμήλας ἑπτὰ ὅσα ἐγκατελείφθησαν κατακόψαντες, ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ κρέα ἐσιτέοντο. Ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἑὴν ἀναχθέντες σαδίς τριακοσίς πλώσι, καὶ καθορμίζονται ἐς Δαγάσειρα· ἐνθα νομάδες τινὲς ἀνδρῶποι ἄκειον. Ἐνθεν δὲ ἄραντες, τὴν τε νύκτα καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν, ἔδεν τι ἐλινύοντες ἔπλεον. Ἀλλὰ διελθόντες γὰρ σαδίς χιλίς τε καὶ ἑκατὸν, ἐξέπλωσαν τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων, πολλὰ κακὰ ταύτῃ παθόντες ἀπορίῃ τῶν ἀναγκαίων. Ὁρμίζονται δὲ οὐ πρὸς τῇ γῆ. Ῥηχίη γὰρ ἦν ἐπὶ πολλὸν ἀνέχουσα, ἀλλὰ μετέωροι ἐπ' ἀγκυρέων. Μῆκος τῆς παράπλευ τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τῆς χώρης ὀλίγῳ πλέονες σάδιοι μύριοι. Οὗτοι δὲ οἱ Ἰχθυοφάγοι σιτέονται (κατότι περ καὶ κληίζονται) ἰχθύας. Ὀλίγοι μὲν αὐτῶν ἀλιεύοντες τὰς ἰχθύας. Ὀλίγοισι γὰρ καὶ πλοῖα ἐπὶ τῶδε πεποιήται, καὶ τέχνη ἐξεύρηται ἐπὶ τῇ θήρῃ τῶν ἰχθύων· τὸ πολὺ δὲ ἢ ἀνάπαυτις αὐτοῖσι παρέχει. Οἱ δὲ καὶ δίκτυα ἐπὶ τῶδε πεποιήνται, μέγεθος καὶ ἐς δύο σαδίς τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν. Πλεκτοὶ δὲ αὐτὰ ἐκ τῆς Φλοιῆς τῆς Φοινίκων, σρέφοντες τὸ Φλοιὸν ὡς περ λίνον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ θάλασσα ὑπονοσῆση, καὶ γῆ ὑπολειφθῆ, ἵνα μὲν ξηρὴ ἡ γῆ ὑπολείπεται, ἐρήμη τὸ πολὺ ἐστὶν ἰχθύων· ἐνθα δὲ βα-

quantity of corn was found. Seven camels were likewise discovered, which the natives had not driven off: these they killed and ate. Setting sail again in the morning, they reached Dagasira, a residence of some straggling natives, where they obtained nothing, and were necessitated to proceed all night and the following day, till at the end of 1100 stadia they arrived at the limit of the territory of the Ikhtuophagi under the extremity of distress. Yet even here they were not able to land, but were forced to ride at anchor on an open coast, for there was a surf of great extent, which beat upon a cape projecting far out from the main. Koelat? Gazira a cape. Cape Jatk.

The whole navigation along this coast of the Ikhtuophagi was somewhat more than 810,000 stadia, throughout which, as their name implies, the natives have little else to support life but fish; and yet, notwithstanding this, few of them are fishermen or have boats, or understand fishery as an art. But their supply is obtained by observing the tide of ebb, when they stretch out nets two stadia in length upon the shore, and wait the retreat of the water. These nets are formed out of the bark of the [Cocoa] Palm Tree, for they spin the bark like flax. As the tide ebbs, where the shore is left dry, there are no fish; but in many places the water

3 The stadia enumerated are 9000, and several omissions may well make up the number ten thousand.

stadia

10000 at 16 to a mile English = 625.

10000 at 15 to a mile Roman = 666.

10000 at 8 to a mile Roman = 1250.

real extent of the coast = 486.

See Voyage of Nearchus p. 288. second edit.

Θέα εἰσιν, ὑπολείπεται τι τῆ ὕδατος, καὶ ἐν τῷδε κάρτα πολλοὶ ἰχθύες. Οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ σμικροὶ αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ καὶ μέζονες. Τέτοις περιβάλλοντες τὰ δίκτυα, αἰρέουσι· σιτέονται δὲ ὡμὰς μὲν, ὅπως ἀνειρούσιν ἐκ τῆ ὕδατος, τὰς ἀπαλωτάτας· τὰς δὲ μέζονάς τε καὶ σκληροτέρας, ὑπὸ ἡλίῳ αὐαίνοντες, εὖτ' ἂν ἀφωανθῶσιν, καταλῆντες ἄλευρα ἀπ' αὐτῶν ποιεῖνται καὶ ἄρτας· οἱ δὲ μάζας ἐκ τέτων τῶν ἀλευρῶν πέσσει. Καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα αὐτοῖσι τὰς ἰχθύας ξηρὰς σιτέονται. Ἡ γὰρ χώρα ἔρημος λειμῶνων, ἐδὲ ποιὴν φέρει. Θηρεύουσι δὲ καὶ καράβια πολλαχῆ, καὶ ὄστρεα καὶ τὰ κογχύλια. Ἄλες δὲ αὐτόματοι γίνονται ἐν τῇ χώρῃ· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τέτων ἔλαιον ποιεῖσιν. Οἱ μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν ἐρημὰς τόπους οἰκέουσι, ἀδενδρὸν τε τὴν χώραν καὶ ἀφορον καρπῶν ἡμέρων· τέτοισιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων ἢ πᾶσα διαίτα πεποιήται. Ὀλίγοι δὲ αὐτῶν σπέρουσιν ὅσον τῆς χώρας, καὶ τέτω κατάπερ ὄψω χρῶνται πρὸς τὰς ἰχθύας· ὁ γὰρ σίτος αὐτοῖσιν οἱ ἰχθύες. Οἰκία δὲ πεποιήνται· οἱ μὲν εὐδαιμονέστατοι αὐτῶν, ὅσα κήτεα ἐκβάλλει ἡ θάλασσα, τέτων τὰ ὅσα ἐπιλεγόμενοι, τέτοισιν ἀντὶ ξύλων χρεόμενοι· καὶ θύρας τὰ ὅσα ὅσα πλατεῖα αὐτῶν ἀλίσκεται, ἀπὸ τέτων ποιεῖνται. Τοῖσι δὲ πολλοῖσι καὶ πνευσεύουσι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκανθῶν τῶν ἰχθύων τὰ οἰκία ποιεῖται.

XXX. Κήτεα δὲ μεγάλα ἐν τῇ ἕξω θαλάσῃ βόσκειται, καὶ ἰχθύες πολλῶν

stands in pools, and there are quantities of fish, small indeed for the most part, but some large. The small and those of the softer kind they eat raw, as they take them out of the water. The large and hard they dry in the sun, and, when dry, reduce them to a powder like meal, which they knead up into loaves, or mix up in a liquid form like frumenty. Their very cattle likewise are fed with dried fish, for they have neither grass or pasture. Crabs, Oysters, and other shell fish are found in plenty. Salt is a natural production of the soil, and the <sup>h</sup> thunny fish supplies them with oil.

The generality of this tribe inhabit a country without a tree, without any produce of the field, and live entirely on fish: some few raise a small quantity of grain, which is rather a luxury than their ordinary diet, for their daily food is fish. The houses of the better sort are framed of the bones of whales cast on the shore; these they use instead of timber, and the flat bones for doors. The common people have only the refuse of the smaller bones [piled up] for an habitation.

XXX. Whales are found in the [Indian] ocean, of a much larger bulk than

<sup>h</sup> ἀπὸ θύνων is a reading of Schneider's for ἀπὸ τούτων. The passage is undoubtedly corrupt,

and any correction is better than nonsense: but I dare not say the correction is true.

μέζονες ἢ ἐν τῇδε τῇ εἴσω. Καὶ λέγει Νέαρχος, ὅποτε ἀπὸ Κυϊζῶν παρέπλεον, ὑπὸ τὴν ἑω ὀφθῆναι ὕδωρ ἄνω ἀναφυσώμενον τῆς θαλάσσης, οἷά περ ἐκ πρησῆρων βία ἀναφερόμενον. Ἐκπλαγέντας δὲ σφᾶς, πυνθάνεσθαι τῶν κληγεομένων τῷ πλόῳ ὅ, τι εἴη καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τὸ πάθημα. Τῆς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὅτι κήτεια ταῦτα φερόμενα κατὰ τὸν πόντον ἀναφυσᾶ ἐς τὸ ἄνω τὸ ὕδωρ. Καὶ τοῖσι ναύτησιν ἐκπλαγεῖσιν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν τὰ ἑρέτμα ἐκπεσεῖν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπιὼν παρακαλεῖν τε καὶ θαρσύνειν. Καὶ κατ' ἔστινας παραπλέων ἐγένετο, ἐς μέτωπόν τε κελεῦσαι κατασῆσαι ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν τὰς νέας, καὶ ἐπαλαλάζοντας ὁμῶς τῷ ροθίῳ, πυκνήν τε καὶ ὄξειαν<sup>κ</sup> κτύπων πολλῶ τὴν εἰρεσίην ποιέεσθαι. Οὕτως ἀναθαρσήσαντας ὁμῶς δὴ πλέειν ἀπὸ ξυμθήματος. Ὡς δὲ ἐπέλαζον ἤδη τοῖσι θηρίοισιν, ἐνταῦθα αὐτῆς μὲν ὅσον αἰ κεφαλαὶ αὐτοῖσιν ἐχώρειν ἐπαλαλάσαι· τὰς δὲ σάλπιγγας σημήναι, καὶ τὸν κτύπον ἀπὸ τῆς εἰρεσίας ὡς ἐπὶ μήκισον καταρχεῖν. Οὕτω δὴ ὀρώμενα ἤδη κατὰ τὰς πλώρας τῶν νεῶν τὰ κήτεια, ἐς βυθὸν δύναι ἐκπλαγέντα, καὶ οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον κατὰ τὰς πρύμνας ἀναδύντα ἀναρχεῖν, καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης αὐτῆς ἀναφυσῆσαι ἐπὶ μέγα. Ἐνθεν κρότης τε ἐπὶ

those in the Mediterranean. For Nearchus relates, that, as the fleet passed Kuidza, the water was seen thrown up to a great height, as if it had been raised like a water spout; and that, upon this strange appearance, they were alarmed, and enquired of the native pilots what might be the cause of this occurrence. They received for answer, that it proceeded from whales sporting in the water, and blowing it up from their nostrils. The seamen however were so astonished, that the oars dropt from their hands. Nearchus immediately ran up through the fleet with his own ship, and, as he passed, directed the commanders to form a line with their head towards the monsters, as if they were going to engage; at the same time ordering the people to raise the shout of war with all their force, to exert their strength to the utmost, and to dash the waves violently with their oars: upon this they recovered from their alarm, and advanced upon the signal as if going into an actual engagement. And now at the moment when they were close to the enemy, the clamour of the crews was carried to its highest pitch, the trumpets sounded the charge, and the dashing of the oars resounded on every side: upon this the monsters seen ahead plunged into the deep as if frightened by the attack, and rising again astern, continued to blow as magnificently as before. The danger was past, the seamen shouted

Khudar  
Guttar.

<sup>i</sup> Τι εἴη καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τὸ πάθημα. The primitive sense of πάθημα is *casus*, or accident; that is, every occurrence or circumstance which originates from another person or thing, and of which we ourselves are the object. Hence every impression on the mind, all sufferings, all the passions, are

παθήματα. The πάθημα in this passage is the *alarm* caused by the blowing of the whales; and if we obtain the true sense in this instance, it will explain a much disputed text in the following chapter.

<sup>k</sup> ξὺν Schmeider, ex optimo.



τῆ παραλόγῳ σωτηρίᾳ γενέσθαι τῶν ναυ-  
τέων, καὶ αἶνον εἰς τὸν Νεάρχον τῆς τε  
τόλμης καὶ τῆς σοφίης. Τῶν μετεξ-  
έτερα τῶν κητέων ἐποκέλλειν πολλαχῶς  
τῆς χώρας, ἐπειδὴν ἀνάπτωτις κατάσχη ἐν  
τοῖσι βράχεσιν ἐχόμενα· τὰ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ  
χειμῶνων σκληρῶν ἐς τὴν χερσον ἐξωθέε-  
σθαι. Καὶ ἔτι δὴ καὶ τὰ σηπόμενα,  
ἀπόλλυσθαι τε, καὶ τὰς σάρκας αὐτοῖσι  
περιρρέσας ὑπολέπειν τὰ ὀστέα χρῆσθαι  
τοῖσιν ἀνθρώποισιν ἐς τὰ οἰκία. Εἴ-  
ναι ὦν τὰ μὲν ἐν τῆσι πλευρῆσιν αὐτῶν  
ὀστέα, δοκὰς τοῖσιν οἰκίμασιν ὅσα με-  
γάλα. Τὰ δὲ μικρότερα, σρωτήρας· τὰ  
δὲ ἐν τῆσι σιαγῶσι, ταῦτα δὲ εἶναι τὰ  
θύρετρα. Οἷα δὴ πολλῶν καὶ εἰς ἑκοσι  
ἢ πέντε ὀργυίας ἀνηκόντων τὸ μέγεθος.

XXXI. Εὐτ' ἂν δὲ παρέπλεον τὴν χώ-  
ρην τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων, λόγον ἀκούσσι  
περὶ νῆσου τινοῦ, ἢ κείται μὲν ἀπέχουσα  
τῆς ταύτης ἡπέρας σταδίων ἐς ἑκατόν, ἐρημὴ  
δὲ ἐστὶν οἰκητόρων. Ταύτην ἰρὴν ἡλίξ ἔλε-  
γον εἶναι οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, καὶ Νόσαλα κα-  
λέεσθαι· εἰδὲ τινα ἀνθρώπων καταίρειν  
ἐθέλειν ἐς αὐτήν· ὅσισ δ' ἂν ἀπειρή  
προσῆ, γίνεσθαι ἀφανέα. Ἀλλὰ λέγει  
Νεάρχος, κέρκρον σφιν ἓνα πλήρωμα  
ἔχοντα Αἰγυπτίων, οὐ πόρρω τῆς νήσου  
ταύτης γενέσθαι ἀφανέα, καὶ ὑπὲρ τέτρα-  
τὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆ πλοῦς διῆχυρίζεσθαι,

<sup>k</sup> That Nófala and Kaninè or Karninè are the  
same, and that they represent the modern Ashtola,  
cannot be doubted; for both are said to lie on the  
coast of the Ikhtuóphagi, and both at one hun-  
dred stadia, or seven miles, from shore. And al-  
though Ashtola lies at double that distance, as

and clapped their hands upon their un-  
expected deliverance, and the judgement  
of Nearchus was as much their admira-  
tion as his fortitude.

Some of these whales are often left  
dry on the reflux of the tide, and some  
are driven on shore by storms. In this  
state they lie and putrefy till the flesh  
separates from the bones, which the na-  
tives employ in building their houses.  
Those taken out of the sides serve for  
beams and rafters, and the smaller ones  
for planks; those in the jaws are flat and  
adapted to doors. The animal itself is  
often found near <sup>150</sup> feet long.

XXXI. Nearchus likewise mentions  
that, as they passed the coast of the Ikhtuóphagi, they heard of a desert island  
at a hundred stadia from the shore. The  
natives said it was sacred to the sun, and  
was called <sup>k</sup>Nófala, a spot which no one  
dared to visit; for those who had at-  
tempted it were heard of no more. While  
Nearchus was near this place, a bark  
manned by Egyptians disappeared, and  
the native pilots on board the fleet main-  
tained that it must have been lost by ap-

there is no other island on that coast off at sea,  
there can be no room for doubt. Added to this,  
Nófala was enchanted when Nearchus was there;  
and Ashtola was enchanted when visited by Com-  
modore Robinfon. An enchantment of two thou-  
sand years continuance is a proof irrefragable.

ὅτι ἄρα κατάραντες ὑπ' ἀγνοίης εἰς τὴν νῆσον, γένοιτο ἀφανέες. Νεάρχος δὲ πέμπει κύκλω περὶ τὴν νῆσον τριηκόντορον, κελεύσας μὴ καταρχεῖν μὲν εἰς τὴν νῆσον, ἐμβοῶν δὲ τὰς ἀνθρώπους, ὡς μάλις αἰ ἐν χερῶν παραπλέοντας, καὶ τὸν κυβερνήτην ὀνομάζοντας, καὶ ὅτι ἄλλα οὐκ ἀφανὲς τὸ ἔνομα. Ὡς δὲ ἐδέξα ὑπακέειν, τότε δὲ αὐτὸς λέγει πλεῦσαι εἰς τὴν νῆσον, καὶ καταρχεῖν δὴ προσαναγκάσαι τὰς ναύτας ἐκ ἐθέλοντας· καὶ ἐκβῆναι αὐτὸς, καὶ ἐλέγξει κενὸν μῦθον εὐντα τὸν περὶ τῆ νήσου λόγον. Ἀκῆσαι δὲ καὶ ἄλλον λόγον ὑπὲρ τῆς νήσου ταύτης λεγόμενον, οἰκῆσαι τὴν νῆσον ταύτην μίαν τῶν Νηρηίδων· τὸ δὲ ὄνομα οὐ λέγεσθαι τῆς Νηρηίδος. Ταύτη δὲ ὅσις πειλάσει τῆ νήσου, τῆτω συγγίνεσθαι μὲν, ἰχθῦν δὲ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ποιέσσαν, αὐτὸν ἐμβάλλειν εἰς τὸν πόντον. Ἡλιον δὲ ἀχθεσθέντα τῆ Νηρηίδι, κελεύειν μετακίζεσθαι αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς νήσου· τὴν δὲ ὁμολογεῖν μὲν ὅτι ἐξοικισθήσεται, δεῖσθαι δὲ οἱ τὸ πάθημα· καὶ τὸν Ἡλιον ὑποδέξασθαι, τοὺς δὲ δὴ

proaching too near this island. Nearchus however dispatched a galley to the spot, with orders not to land, but to sail close round, and shout the name of the commander or the officers. This was done without effect, and at last Nearchus went in person to the place, where he landed himself, and compelled his people, much against their will, to land likewise, and in short exploded the whole as an idle fable.

But there was another tale of mythology relating to the same place; for the tradition was, that this island was the residence of a Nereid, whose name indeed was unknown, but whose practice was to seduce such mariners as landed there to her embraces, and then, after transforming them into fish, to throw them into the sea. The Sun was offended at this treachery, and ordered the nymph to find herself some other residence: with this command, she said, she was ready to comply, or if not, she had no power to resist. Upon her submission, the god was satisfied; and then, taking compaf-

<sup>1</sup> Τὴν δὲ ὁμολογεῖν μὲν ὅτι ἐξοικισθήσεται, δεῖσθαι δὲ οἱ τὸ πάθημα.

The interpretation of this obscure passage by Facius, Blancard, &c. is rejected by Gronovius, who renders it, *Illam Soli aperuisse hunc ipse intantum affectum, cum obsecratione ut et ipse vellet illi indulgere, more eorum qui antehac venissent ad suam insulam*. But the primitive sense of πάθημα [case, fortune, lot, or condition] has suggested to me a different construction: for Arrian uses τὴ Νεῖλι τὸ πά-

θημα τῆτο, cap. 6. This is the case with the Nile. A similar usage occurs in c. 30. We may therefore take the whole passage thus: τὴν δὲ ὁμολογεῖν μὲν ὅτι ἐξοικισθήσεται [ὁμολογεῖν] δὲ τὸ πάθημα δεῖσθαι οἱ. She consented to depart, she allowed that this was the lot assigned to her. *Hanc conditionem sibi esse impositam: hanc sortem sibi esse innexam: sibi opus esse hanc sortem pati*. But, in a case of doubt, the reader will probably rather trust to Gronovius than to the translator.

ἀνθρώπους ἕστινας ἀν ἰχθύας ἐξ ἀνθρώπων πεποίηκε κατελέσαντα, ἀνθρώπους αὖθις ἐξ ἰχθύων ποιῆσαι· καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν, τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τὸ γένος καὶ εἰς Ἀλέξανδρον κατελθεῖν. Καὶ ταῦτα ὅτι ψεύδεα ἐξελέγχει Νέαρχος, ἐκ ἐπαινῶ αὐτὸν ἔγωγε τῆς σχολῆς τε καὶ σοφίης, ἔτε κάρτα χαλεπὰ ἐξελεγχθῆναι εἶντα· ταλαίπωρόν γε ὃν γινώσκων τοὺς παλαιὰς λόγους ἐπιλεγόμενον ἐξελέγχειν ὄντας ψευδέας.

XXXII. Ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰχθυοφάγης Γαδρόσιοι ἐς τὸ ἄνω οἰκέεσι γῆν πονηρὴν καὶ ψαμμώδεα. Ἐνθεν καὶ τὰ πολλὰ κακὰ ἢ στρατιῇ τε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἔπαθε, καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος, ὡς μοι ἤδη ἐν τῷ ἄλλῳ λόγῳ ἀπήγηται. Ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Καρμανίην ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων κατήρην ὁ στρατός, ἐνταῦθα ἵνα πρῶτον τῆς Καρμανίης ὠρμίσαντο, ἐπ' ἀγκυρέων ἐσάλευσαν, ὅτι ῥηχίη παρετέτατο ἐς τὸ πέραλος τρηχέη. Ἐνθένδε δὲ ὡσαύτως ἐκέτι πρὸς ἡλίεθ δυσμένεθ ἐπλεον· ἀλλὰ τὸ μεταξὺ δύσιόθ τε ἡλίεθ καὶ τῆθ ἀρκτεθ ἔτω μᾶλλον τι αἰ πρῶραθ αὐτοῖσιν ἐπέεχον. Καὶ οὕτω ἡ Καρμανίη τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τῆθ γῆθ καὶ τῶν Ὠρεπῶν εὐδενδρῶτερη τε καὶ εὐκαρποτέρη ἐστὶ, καὶ ποιῶδηθ μᾶλλον τι καὶ ἐνυδροθ. Ὀρμίζονται δὲ ἐν Βάδει χώρῳ τῆθ Καρμανίηθ οἰκᾶμένῳ, δένδρεά τε πολλὰ ἡμερεθ πεφυκότα ἔχοντι, πλὴν ἐλαίηθ, καὶ ἀμπέληθ ἀγαθᾶθ, καὶ σιτοφόρῳ. Ἐνθεν δὲ ὀρμηθέντεθ, καὶ διεκπλώσαντεθ εἰς αἰγυαλῶθ ὀρμίζονται ἐρήμῳ. Καὶ καθορῶσιν ἄκρην μακρὴν, ἐξανέχθησαν ἐπὶ πολλὸν ἐς τὸ πέρα-

sion on those who had suffered by her enchantment, transformed them back again from fishes into men. This was the origin of the Ikhtuóphagi, and their descendants continued to inhabit the same coast to the time of Alexander. I give no credit to Nearchus for wasting his time and misapplying his talents in the refutation of such idle fables, which require no consideration, and it is an useless task to dwell upon them for a moment.

XXXII. Inland, north of the Ikhtuóphagi the country is Gadrófia, a fandy and miserable district. The sufferings of Alexander and his army in passing it, have been related in my former work. But the fleet had now reached Karmania, and at the cape where they had anchored they were obliged to lie in the open road, because of the shoal and foul ground, which extended along the shore far out into the sea. From this cape their course was no longer west, but north west, and Karmania was found to be a country not defolate like that of the Orítæ or Ikhtuóphagi, but abounding with corn and fruit and pasture, well wooded and well watered.

Upon doubling the cape they came to an anchor at Badis, [a place very different from all that they had lately experienced] for it was well inhabited; it afforded a supply of grain, it abounded with vines, and all kind of trees, yielding fruit for the use of man, except the olive. From hence, after relieving their wants, they proceeded eight hundred stadia, and anchored again upon an open shore. And

λαγος. Ἀπέχεν δὲ ἐφάνετο ἡ ἄκρη πλόον ὡς ἡμέρης. Καὶ οἱ τῶν χώρων ἐκείνων δαήμονες, τῆς Ἀραβίης ἔλεγον τὴν ἀνίσχυσαν ταύτην ἄκρην· καλέεσθαι δὲ Μάκετα. Ἐνθεν τὰ κιννάμωμά τε καὶ ἄλλα τοιοῦτρόσπα ἐς Ἀσσυρίως ἀγινέεσθαι. Καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς αἰγυαλῆς τῆς, ἵνα περὶ ὁ σόλος ἐσάλευε, καὶ τῆς ἄκρης, ἦντινα καταντικρῶ ἀφεώρων ἀνέχυσαν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ὁ κόλπος ἐμοί τε δοκεῖ, καὶ Νεάρχῳ ὡσαύτως ἐδόκεεν, ἐς τὸ εἶσω ἀναχέσθαι, ὅπερ εἰκὸς, ἡ ἐρυθρὴ θάλασσα. Ταύτην τὴν ἄκρην ὡς κατέδον, Ὀνησίκριτος μὲν ἐπέχονίαις ἐπ' αὐτὴν πλέειν ἐκέλευεν, ὡς μὴ κατὰ τὸν κόλπον ἐλαφρεύοντας ταλαπωρέεσθαι. Νεάρχος δὲ ἀποκρίνεται νήπιον Ὀνησίκριτον, εἰ ἀγνοεῖ ἐπ' ὅτῳ ἐσάλη πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὁ σόλος. Οὐ γὰρ ὅτι ἀπορίη ἦν περὶ διασωθῆναι πάντα αὐτῶ τὸν στρατὸν, ἐπὶ τῷδε ἄρα ἐκπέμψαι τὰς νέας· ἀλλὰ ἐθέλοντα αἰγυαλῆς τε τῆς κατὰ τὴν παράπλευν κατασκέψασθαι; καὶ ὄρμης καὶ νησίδας, καὶ

here, [on the opposite coast] at the distance of a day's sail, a vast promontory presented itself to their view, which <sup>Moffendon.</sup> they were informed was part of Arabia; and that the name of it was Máketa. They were likewise informed by those who were acquainted with the country, that from the ports in its neighbourhood, <sup>m</sup> cinnamon and other commodities of that sort [that is to say spices] were conveyed into Assyria.

A line drawn from the point where they were now anchored to the opposite cape on the Arabian coast, Nearchus considers as the commencement of that gulph which is called the <sup>n</sup> sea of Erythras, [but which is, properly speaking, the gulph of Persia.]

Upon sight of this cape, Onesicritus proposed that they should steer for it directly, and not advance into the gulph, where they might be driven about, [without knowing what course to take] and be exposed to the same distress they had already experienced.

This proposal Nearchus thought absurd, and contended that Onesicritus was mistaken, if he supposed this to be the intention of Alexander; for he had not fitted out the fleet with a view to the accommodation of his forces, or as wanting means to conduct them by land: but that his design<sup>o</sup> was to explore the coasts by means of this navigation, to examine

<sup>m</sup> This is a plain proof that the Arabs of Oman from Mascat, Sohar, &c. were in possession of the trade between India and Assyria; that is, they went to India for the spices, and carried them up the gulph of Persia to Terédon, and by the Euphrates to Babylon. From Babylon or Terédon these articles would pass by caravans to the Mediterranean.

<sup>n</sup> Ἐρυθρὴ θάλασσα. According to Agatharchides, the sea of Erythras. The mythology of Erythras is always referred to the gulph of Persia;

but the Erythrean sea, in general acceptation, commences at Suez or Arsinoë, and extends over the whole eastern ocean as far as it was discovered by the ancients.

<sup>o</sup> Nearchus, as well as other writers, attributes the march through Gadrófia, and this expedition by sea, to the vanity of Alexander. But his own language in this instance proves that utility was much more consulted in the attempt than ostentation. It is here truly that Alexander makes good his boast—*Aperiam terras gentibus.*

ὅσῃς κόλπος ἐσέχοι, ἐκπεριπλώσω τῶτον, καὶ πόλις ὅσα ἐπιθαλάσσια· καὶ εἴτις ἔγκαρπος γῆ, καὶ εἴτις ἐρήμη. Σφᾶς ὧν οὐ χρεῖναι ἀφανίσαι τὸ ἔργον, πρὸς τέρματι ἤδη ἔοντας τῶν πόνων, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀπόρως ἐτι τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐν τῷ παράπλω ἔχοντας· δεδιέναι τε, ὅτι ἡ ἄκρη ἐς μεσημβρίην ἀνέχει, μὴ ἐρήμω τε τῇ ταύτῃ γῆ καὶ ἀνδρῶ καὶ φλογώδει ἐγκύρσειαν. Ταῦτα ἐνίκα, καὶ μοι δοκέει περιφανέως σῶσαι τὴν στρατὴν τῆδε τῇ βελῆ Νέαρχος. Τὴν γὰρ δὴ ἄκρην ἐκείνην, καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτῇ χώρην πᾶσαν, ἐρήμην τε εἶναι λόγος κατέχει, καὶ ὕδατος ἀπορίη ἔχεσθαι. Ἀλλὰ ἐπλωὼν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆ αἰγιαλῶ ἄραντες, τῇ γῆ πρὸςεχέες.

XXXIII. Καὶ πλώσαντες σαδίς ὡς ἐπτακοσίς, ἐν ἄλλῳ αἰγιαλῷ ὠρμίσαντο· Νεόπτανα ὄνομα τῷ αἰγιαλῷ. Καὶ αὐτίς ὑπὸ τὴν ἑω ἀνήγοντο· καὶ πλώσαντες σαδίς ἑκατὸν, ὀρμίζονται κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν Ἀναμίν· ὁ δὲ χῶρος Ἀρμόζεια ἐκαλέετο. Φίλια δὲ ἤδη καὶ πᾶμφορα ταύτῃ ἦν, πλὴν ἐλαίας οὐ πεφύκεσαν. Ἐνταῦθα ἐκβαίνονσι τε ἐκ τῶν νεῶν, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν πόνων ἄσμενοι ἀνεπαύσαντο, μεμνημένοι ὅσα κακὰ κατὰ τὴν θαλάσσαν πεπονθότες ἦσαν, καὶ πρὸς τῇ γῆ τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων, τὴν τε ἐρημίην τῆς χώρας, καὶ τὰς ἀνθρώπων ὅπως θηριώδεις, καὶ τὰς σφῶν ἀπορίας ἐπιλεγό-

the harbours and islands, to penetrate into the gulphs and bays, if any should occur, to mark such towns or cities as they might find on the coast, and to explore the nature of the country whether fruitful or desert. That it was their duty not to frustrate their sovereign's design, when they had now almost arrived at the period of their labours, and were besides reasonably assured of a supply for their necessities. As to himself, he was afraid that, as the opposite cape had a tendency to the south, the coast beyond would be found nothing but a desert, parched and without water.

These suggestions prevailed; and to me it appears plain, that this advice of Nearchus was the preservation of the fleet, for the accounts which we now have of this cape and the coast adjoining all agree in stating that they are desert, and that no water is to be had.

XXXIII. The fleet, when it weighed anchor from Badis, kept close along the shore for 700 stadia, till they came to Neoptana, where they had again nothing but an open road. They therefore left this station the following morning, and after a short course of 100 stadia, reached the river Anamis in the district of Harmozia<sup>P</sup>. Here they were received with hospitality, and found every thing in plenty, except olives. The men were now allowed liberty to go on shore, and all were full of mutual congratulation, reflecting with pleasure on the various distresses they had endured, and recounting the dangers they had been exposed to on the coast of the Ikhthuophagi, on the margin of the desert, and from the ferocity of the natives, as well as

<sup>P</sup> Ormus is an island which derives its name from the coast; it is properly called Geroon or Turun. But Harnoz, Hormus, and Harmozeia, are

names from all antiquity known in this tract, which is Mogho-istan, or the date country, a district of Karmania.

μενοι. Καί τινες αὐτῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης εἰς τὸ πρῶτον ἀνήλθον, ἀποσκεδαθέντες τῆς στρατιῆς κατὰ ζήτησιν ἄλλος ἄλλου. Ἐνταῦθα ἄνθρωπος σφίσι ὤφθη χλαμύδα τε φορῶν Ἑλληνικὴν, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὡς Ἕλληνα ἐσκευασμένος, καὶ Φωνὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐφώνεε. Τῆτον οἱ πρῶτοι ἰδόντες, δακρύσαι ἔλεγον· οὕτω τι παράλογον σφίσι φαῖναι, ἐκ τῶν τοσῶνδε κακῶν Ἕλληνα μὲν ἄνθρωπον ἰδεῖν, Ἑλλάδος δὲ Φωνῆς ἀκοῦσαι. Ἐπηρώτων τε ὀπόθεν ἦκοι, καὶ ὅστις ᾶν. Ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς στρατοπέδου τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀποσκεδαθῆναι ἔλεγε, καὶ εἶναι οὐ πόρρω τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀλεξάνδρον. Τῆτον τὸν ἄνθρωπον βοῶντες τε καὶ κροτούντες ἀνάγκησιν παρὰ τὸν Νεάρχου· καὶ Νεάρχῳ πάντα ἔφρασε, καὶ ὅτι πέντε ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπέχει τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης. Τὸν τε ὑπαρχὸν τῆς χώρας ταύτης δέδεικεν ἔφη Νεάρχῳ, καὶ ἔδειξε. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ᾽ Νεάρχος γνώμην ποιέεται, ὅπως ἀναβήσεται πρὸς βασιλέα. Τότε μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τὰς νέας ἀπῆλθον. Ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἑῶ τὰς νέας ἀνεώλκεεν, ἐπισκευῆς τε εἵνεκα, ὅσα αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸν πλεῖν πεπονθήκεσαν· καὶ ἅμα ὅτι ἐν τῷ χώρῳ τῆσιν ὑπολείπεσθαι οἱ ἐδόκεε τὸν πολλὸν στρατόν. Χάρκα τε ᾧ περιβάλλεται διπλῆν ἐπὶ τῷ ναυστάθμῳ, καὶ τείχος γῆινον· καὶ τάφρον βαθείην, ἀπὸ τῆς ποταμῆς τῆς ὀχθῆς ἀρξάμενος, εἰς τε ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν, ἵνα αἱ νέες αὐτῶ ἀνεκρυσμέναι ἦσαν.

XXXIV. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ὁ Νεάρχος ταῦτα ἐκόσμεε, τῆς χώρας ὁ ὑπαρχὸς πεπυσμένος ὅπως ἐν μεγάλῃ Φροντίδι ἔχοι

their want of all the necessaries of life. Some likewise wandered from the shore up into the country, in search of what they might find to relieve their wants, or gratify their curiosity.

In the course of these rambles, a man was encountered, who had the cloak and habit of a Greek, and who spoke the language. Such was their surprize, after all their dangers, to see a Greek and to hear their own language, that they wept for joy. They enquired who he was, and whence he came; when he informed them, that he had wandered from the Macedonian camp, and that Alexander with his army was at no great distance. Clamouring therefore and clapping their hands, they hurried him to Nearchus, where the same story was repeated, and they learnt that the King and the army were not farther off than a journey of five days. He added likewise, that he could introduce them to the president of the district, which he immediately performed.

Hearing this, Nearchus determined upon going up to the army. He returned to the fleet for the evening, but the next morning he ordered the ships to be drawn on shore, both for the purpose of repairing such as were damaged, and because he meant the bulk of his forces to remain upon the spot. For this purpose he formed a camp, enclosing it with a double palifade and a rampart of earth, and carrying a trench from the river to the sea, within which the ships were drawn up and secured.

XXXIV. While Nearchus was occupied in this business, the governor of the district, who had heard of the great

Ἀλεξάνδρος τὰ ἀμφὶ τὸν σόλον τῆτον, μέγα δὴ τι ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀγαθὸν ἀνέγνω πείσεσθαι, εἰ πρῶτος οἱ ἀπαγγέλλει τῷ στρατῷ τὴν σωτηρίην, καὶ τῷ Νεάρχῳ, ὅτι οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον ἀφίξεται ἐς ὄψιν τὴν βασιλείῳ· ἔτω δὴ τὴν βραχυλάτην ἐλάσας, ἀπαγγέλλει Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ὅτι Νεάρχος ἔτος προσάγει ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν. Τότε μὲν δὴ καίπερ ἀπιστέων τῷ λόγῳ Ἀλεξάνδρος, ἀλλὰ ἐχάρη γε κατὰ τὸ εἶκος τῆ ἀγγελίῃ. Ὡς δὲ ἡμέρη τε ἄλλη ἐξ ἄλλης ἐγένετο, καὶ ζυντιθέντι αὐτῷ τῆς ἀγγελίης τὸν χρόνον, ἐκέτι πεισὰ τὰ ἐξηγγελμένα ἐφάνετο· πεμπόμενοι τε ἄλλοι ἐπ' ἄλλοισιν, ὡς ἐπὶ κομιδῇ τῷ Νεάρχῳ, οἱ μὲν τινες ὀλίγον τῆς ὁδῆ προελθόντες, κενεοὶ ἐπανήεσαν ἔδενι ἐγκύρσαντες· οἱ δὲ πορρωτέρω ἐλθόντες καὶ διαμαρτόντες τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Νεάρχον, ἐδὲ αὐτοὶ ἐπανήεσαν· ἐνταῦθα δὴ τὸν μὲν ἀνθρώπον ἐκείνον, ὡς κενὰ οἱ ἀγγείλαντα, καὶ λυπηρότερα οἱ τὰ πρήγματα ποιήσαντα τῆ ματαίῃ εὐφροσύνῃ, συλλαβεῖν κελεύει Ἀλεξάνδρος· αὐτὸς δὲ τῆ τε ὄψεα καὶ τῆ γνώμῃ δηλὸς ἦν μεγάλῳ ἄχει βεβλημένος. Ἐν τῷ δὲ τῶν τινες κατὰ ζήτησιν τῷ Νεάρχῳ ἐσαλμένων, ἵππους τε ἐπὶ κομιδῇ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπήνας ἵ ἀγοντες, ἐντυγχάνουσι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῷ τε τῷ Νεάρχῳ καὶ τῷ Ἀρχίῳ, καὶ πέντε ἢ ἐξ ἅμα αὐτοῖσι· μετὰ τοσούτων γὰρ ἀνήει. Καὶ ἐντυχόντες, ἔτε αὐτὸν ἐγνώρισαν, ἔτε τὸν Ἀρχίην. Οὕτω τοι κάρτα ἀλλοῖσι ἐφάνησαν, κομοῶντες τε καὶ ρυπόωντες, καὶ μεσοὶ ἄλμης, καὶ ρικνοὶ τὰ σώματα, καὶ ὠχροὶ ὑπὸ ἀγρυπνίης τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης

anxiety of Alexander respecting the expedition, and flattering himself with hopes of reward for his intelligence, if he were the first to report the safe arrival of the fleet, and that the Admiral might shortly be expected in the presence, hastened up to the camp by the shortest road, and acquainted the King that Nearchus was actually on his journey from the coast. Alexander, as was natural, was rejoiced at the intelligence, though he doubted the fact. But several days passing without seeing any thing of Nearchus, his suspicions increased with the duration of the interval, and he concluded that the whole was the fabrication of the governor. Parties however were dispatched every way for the protection of the Admiral; but some returned soon without proceeding far upon the search; and some still remained absent, who had extended their enquiries to a distance. This therefore adding to the anxiety of the King, he reproached the governor for sporting with his expectations by a delusion utterly false, and, ordering him into confinement, suffered his countenance to betray the disappointment and vexation of his heart.

In the mean time one of the parties, which had been sent out with horses and carriages for the accommodation of Nearchus, happened to hit upon the road by which he and Archias, with five or six in their company, were coming up to the camp. But the encounter seemed accidental, and they recognized neither of them as the persons of whom they were in search. This in fact might naturally happen, for they were completely disfigured by the tattered appearance of their dress, their hair wild and neglected, their bodies emaciated, their countenances wan and weatherbeaten, and exhibiting

ταλαιπωρίας. Ἀλλὰ ἐρομένοις γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἵνα περ εἴη Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀποκρινάμενοι τὸ χωρὸν, οἱ δὲ παρήλαυνον. Ἀρχίας δὲ ἐπιφρασθεὶς λέγει πρὸς Νεάρχον, ὦ Νεάρχη, τέτρες τὰς ἀνθρώπους δι' ἐρημίας ἐλαύνειν τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμῖν ὁδὸν, ἐκ ἐπ' ἄλλω τινὶ συντίθημι, ἢ ὅτι μὴ κατὰ ζήτησιν ἡμετέραν ἀπεσαλμένους· ὅτι δὲ οὐ γινώσκουσιν ἡμέας, ἐκ ἐν θωύματι ποιέομαι. Οὕτω γάρ τοι ἔχομεν κακῶς, ὡς ἄγνωστοι εἶναι. Φράσωμεν ὦν αὐτοῖς οἵτινες εἴμεν· καὶ τὰς ἐρώμεθα καθ' ὅ, τι ταύτην ἐλαύνουσιν. Ἐδοξε τῷ Νεάρχῳ ἐνείσιμα λέγειν. Καὶ ἤροντο ὅποι ἐλαύνουσιν· οἱ δὲ ὑποκρίνονται, ὅτι κατὰ ζήτησιν Νεάρχου τε καὶ τῶν στρατῶν ναυτικῶν. Ὁ δὲ, Οὗτος, εἶπε, ἐγὼ εἰμι Νεάρχος, καὶ Ἀρχίας, οὗτος. Ἀλλ' ἄγετε ἡμέας· ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς στρατῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀπηγησόμεθα.

XXXV. Ἀναλαβόντες ὦν αὐτὰς ἐπὶ τὰς ἀπῆνας, ὀπίσω ἤλαυνον. Καὶ τινες αὐτῶν τούτων ὑποφθάσαι ἐθέλησαντες τὴν ἀγγελίην, προδραμόντες λέγουσιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ὅτι ἔτος τοι Νεάρχος, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Ἀρχίας καὶ πέντε ἄλλοι κομίζονται παρὰ σε· ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν στρατῶν πάντος ἄδεν εἶχον ὑποκρίνασθαι. Τῆτο ὦν ἐκείνο συνθεῖς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, τὰς μὲν παραλόγως ἀποσωθῆναι, τὴν στρατῆν δὲ πᾶσαν διεφθάρθαι αὐτῷ, οὐ τοσόνδε τῶν Νεάρχου τε καὶ τῶν Αρχίας τῆ σωτηρίῃ ἔχαίρειν, ὅσον ἐλύπει αὐτὸν ἀπολομένη ἢ στρατιὰ πᾶσα. Οὕτω πάντα ταῦτα εἶρητο, καὶ ὁ Νεάρχος τε καὶ ὁ Αρχίας προσῆγον. Τὰς δὲ μόγις καὶ χαλεπῶς ἐπέγνω Ἀ-

the signs of suffering and distress. To their enquiries where Alexander was, they barely mentioned the place of his encampment, and were passing on without farther notice. "How is this?" says Archias, who conjectured what was their object; "Surely, Nearchus, if I am not mistaken, these men, who are in the same road we have taken through the desert, can be dispatched for no other purpose but in search of us. That they know us not is no wonder, for our appearance is a disguise. Let us stop and tell them who we are, and enquire why they are upon this road." To this Nearchus assented, and enquired which way they were going. "We are in search of Nearchus," they replied, "and sent to enquire about the fleet." "I am Nearchus," rejoined the Admiral, "and this is Archias: conduct us to Alexander, and we will report to him all the circumstances of our expedition."

XXXV. They were immediately placed in the carriages, and the party returned towards the camp. On their way thither, some [of those who were mounted] eager to be the reporters of an event so fortunate, hastened before the rest, and carried the account to the king, that Nearchus and Archias, with five of their attendants, were upon the road; but of the success or failure of the enterprise, they had made no enquiry, and had nothing to report. This suggested to Alexander that these officers might have had a miraculous escape, but that the rest of their forces must all have perished; and the pleasure he felt upon the preservation of the commanders was overbalanced by the apprehension that the remainder was lost. While this was passing, Nearchus and Archias arrived in his presence: but the very sight of them, disfigured as they were, by their appearance and their dress,



λεξάνδρος, ὅτι τε κομόωντας καὶ κακῶς ἐσαλμένους καθέωρα, ταύτη μᾶλλον τι βεβαιότερον αὐτῷ τὸ ἄχος ὑπὲρ τῆς στρατῆς τῆς ναυτικῆς ἐγένετο. Ὁ δὲ τὴν δεξιὴν τῷ Νεάρχῳ ἐμβαλὼν καὶ ἀπαγαγὼν μόνον αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐταίρων τε καὶ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν, πολλὸν ἐπὶ χρόνον ἐδάκρυεν. Ὁψὲ δὲ ἀνενεγκῶν, Ἀλλὰ ὅτι σύγε ἡμῖν ἐπανήκεις σῶς (εἶφη) καὶ Ἀρχίης οὗτος, ἔχοι ἂν ἔμοιγε ὡς ἐπὶ συμφορῇ τῇ ἀπάσῃ μετρίως· αἱ δὲ τοι νέες καὶ ἡ στρατιὴ κίῳ τινὶ τρόπῳ διεφθάρησαν; ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ λαβῶν, Ὡ βασιλεῦ (εἶφη) καὶ αἱ νέες τοι σῶαι εἰσὶ, καὶ ὁ στρατός· ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτοὶ ἀγγελοὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν ἤκομεν. Ἐτιῶν μᾶλλον ἐδάκρυε Ἀλέξανδρος, καθότι ἀνέλπισός οἱ ἡ σωτηρίη τῆ στρατῆ εἴφαινετο· καὶ ὅπως ὀρμέεσιν αἱ νέες ἀνηρώτα. Ὁ δὲ, αὐταὶ (εἶφη) ἐν τῷ σώματι τῆ Ἀνάμιδος ποταμῆ ἀνευρυσμένα ἐπισκευάζονται. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὸν τε Δία τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ τὸν Ἄμμωνα τὸν Λιβύων ἐπομνύειν, ἢ μὴν μᾶζον ὡς ἐπὶ τῆδε τῇ ἀγγελίῃ χαίρειν, ἢ ὅτι τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν ἐκτημένος ἔρχεται. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἄχος οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπώλει τῆς στρατῆς ἀντίρροπον γενέσθαι τῇ ἄλλῃ πάσῃ εὐτυχίῃ.

XXXVI. Ὁ δὲ ὑπαρχος τῆς χώρας, ὄντινα συνελήφει Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ τῇ ἀγγελίῃ τῇ ματαιότητι, παρόντα κατιδὼν τὸν Νεάρχον, πίπτει τε αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰ γόνατα, καὶ, Οὗτός τι (εἶφη) ἐγὼ εἰμι, ὃς ἀπήγγειλα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὅτι σῶοι ἤκετε. Ὁρᾶς ὅπως διάκειμαι. Οὕτω δὲ δέεται Ἀλέξανδρον Νεάρχος ἀφῆναι τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ ἀφίεται. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ σωτήρια τῆ

hardly suffered him to recognize them as his friends. This added to his suspicion that the fleet had perished; yet he held out his hand to Nearchus, and taking him aside from the party and from his guards, he continued for some time to shed tears without uttering a word; but at length recovering himself from his anguish, "Nearchus," says he, "I feel some satisfaction in the preservation of yourself and Archias, as a diminution of the affliction I feel for the calamity that has befallen my fleet. But tell me how and by what misfortune my ships and my people have been lost." "Sir," said Nearchus, "your ships and your people are all in safety, and we are come up as bearers of the glad tidings." The King now wept more abundantly, the more their preservation was unexpected, and enquired where the fleet was secured: "At the mouth of the Anamis," replied the Admiral, "the ships are all drawn on shore and repairing." "I swear to you," rejoined the King, "by the Libyan Ammon, and by the Jupiter of the Greeks, that I have greater pleasure in the success of this enterprise, than in the reduction of all Asia to my power. For if my fleet had perished, I should have considered it as an overbalance to all the good fortune which has attended me."

XXXVI. In the mean time, the governor of Harmozia, whom Alexander had put into confinement, upon suspicion of his bringing a false report, seeing Nearchus, [and the reception he experienced] fell down at his feet, and "See," says he, "the situation I am in who first brought the account of your arrival." Upon which Nearchus interceded for his release, which was immediately granted.

Alexander now sacrificed for the pre-

στρατῷ ἔδωκε Διὶ σωτήρι, καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ, καὶ  
 Ἀπόλλωνι ἀλεξικάκῳ, καὶ Ποσειδῶνι τε,  
 καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι θεοὶ θαλάσσιοι. Καὶ  
 ἀγῶνα ἐποίησε γυμνικόν τε καὶ μουσικόν,  
 καὶ πομπὴν ἔπεμπε· καὶ Νέαρχος ἐν πρώ-  
 τοις ἐπόμπευε, ταινίησί τε καὶ ἄνθεσι πρὸς  
 τῆς στρατῆς βαλλόμενος. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτά  
 οἱ τέλος εἶχε, λέγει πρὸς Νέαρχον, Ἐγώ  
 σε ὦ Νέαρχε ἐκέτι θέλω τὸ πρόσω οὔτε  
 οὖν κινδυνεύειν, οὔτε ταλαιπωρεῖσθαι.  
 Ἄλλὰ ἄλλος γὰρ τῷ ναυτικῷ ἐξηγήσεται  
 τὸ ἀπὸ τῆδε, ἔς τε καταστῆσαι αὐτὸ ἐς  
 Σῶσα. Νέαρχος ἧ ὑπολαβὼν λέγει, ὦ  
 βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ μέντοι πάντα πείθεσθαι  
 ἐθέλω τε καὶ ἀναγκάσει μοι ἐσίν. Ἄλλὰ  
 εἰ δὴ τι καὶ σὺ ἐμοὶ χαρίζεσθαι ἐθέλεις,  
 μὴ ποιήσης ὧδε. Ἄλλὰ με ἕασον ἐξη-  
 γῆσασθαι ἐς ἅπαν τῷ στρατῷ, ἔς τέ σοι  
 σώας καταστήσω ἐς Σῶσα τὰς νέας.  
 Μηδὲ τὰ μὲν χαλεπὰ τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἄπορα  
 ἐμοὶ ἐπιτετραμμένα ἐκ σῶ ἔσω· τὰ δὲ  
 εὐπετέα τε καὶ κλέος ἤδη εἰοίμην ἐχόμενα,  
 ταῦτα δὲ ἀφαιρεθέντα, ἄλλω ἐς χεῖρας  
 δίδωσθαι. Ἐτι λέγοντα παύει αὐτὸν Ἀ-  
 λεξάνδρος, καὶ χάριν προσωμολόγει εἰ-  
 δέναι. Οὕτω δὴ καταπέμπει αὐτὸν, στρα-  
 τὴν δὲ ἐς παραπομπήν, ὡς διὰ Φιλίας  
 ἰόντι, ὀλίγην. Τῷ δὲ, ἔδδὲ τὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ  
 τῆς ἐπὶ θαλάσσαν ἔξω πόνου ἐγένετο·  
 ἀλλὰ συλληλεγμένοι γὰρ οἱ κύκλω βάρ-  
 βαροι, τὰ ἐρυμνὰ τῆς χώρας τῆς Καρ-  
 μανίης κατέειχον, ὅτι καὶ ὁ σατράπης αὐ-  
 τοῖσι τετελευτήκει κατὰ πρόσταξιν Ἀλεξ-

fervation of his fleet to Jupiter the pre-  
 ferver, to Hercules, to Apollo the averter  
 of evil, to Neptune, and all the gods of  
 the ocean. He ordered the games for the  
 exhibition of mental talents and personal  
 agility, and directed a solemn procession  
 [in presence of the whole army.] In this  
 procession Nearchus was the principal ob-  
 ject of admiration; the whole camp join-  
 ed in acclamations to his honour, while  
 garlands and flowers were heaped on him,  
 wherever he appeared.

Upon the conclusion of the ceremony,  
 the King addressing him, said, "It is my  
 "intention, Nearchus, to expose you  
 "to no farther danger or distress, and  
 "I shall appoint another commander to  
 "carry the fleet up the gulph to Soofa."  
 "Sir," replied Nearchus, "it is both my  
 "wish and my duty to obey your com-  
 "mands: but if you desire to confer a  
 "favour on me, suffer me to retain my  
 "command to the conclusion of the en-  
 "terprize, and till I shall have carried the  
 "fleet in safety up to Soofa. Do not let  
 "it be said, that you have laid all the  
 "difficulty and danger of the voyage  
 "upon me, and that another is to reap  
 "the glory of completing it, which is my  
 "due, when there is no longer any ha-  
 "zard to encounter."

Alexander suffered him not to proceed  
 farther in his request, but accepted his  
 offer, and acknowledged that he was in-  
 debted to him for the continuance of his  
 services. He then ordered a small escort  
 to attend him on his return to the coast,  
 supposing more was not necessary, as the  
 province had been sufficiently subdued.  
 But his return was not without diffi-  
 culty, for the natives were in a state of  
 revolt upon the removal of their satrap  
 by the King, and had seized upon the  
 fastnesses in the mountains, [with an in-  
 tention to intercept Nearchus upon his

άνδρες. Ὁ δὲ νεωστὶ καθεστηκώς Τληπόλεμος, οὐπω βέβαιον τὸ κράτος εἶχε. Καὶ δὶς ἂν καὶ τρίς τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρῃ ἄλλοισι καὶ ἄλλοισι τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιφανομένοισιν ἐς χεῖρας ἦσαν· καὶ ἔτως οὐδὲν τι ἐλινύσαντες, μόλις καὶ χαλεπῶς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἐσώθησαν.

XXXVII. Ἐνταῦθα θύει Νέαρχος Διὶ σωτῆρι, καὶ ἀγῶνα ποιεῖ γυμνικόν. Ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ θεῖα ἐν κόσμῳ πεποιήτο, ἔτω δὴ ἀνήγοντο. Παραπλώσαντες δὲ νῆσον ἐρήμην τε καὶ τραχέην, ἐν ἄλλῃ νήσῳ ὀρμίζονται, μεγάλη ταύτη καὶ οἰκισμένη, πλώσαντες σαδῖς τριηκοσίας, ἐνθένπερ ὠρμήθησαν. Καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐρήμη νῆσος, Ὀργάνα ἐκαλέετο. Ἐς ἣν δὲ ὠρμήθησαν, Ὀάρακτα ἄμπελοί τε ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπεφύκεσαν, καὶ φοίνικες, καὶ σιτοφόρος. Τὸ δὲ μῆκος ἦν τῆς νήσου, σαδῖοι ὀκτακόσιοι. Καὶ ὁ ὑπαρχος τῆς νήσου Μαζήνης συνέπλει αὐτοῖσι μέχρι Σέσων, ἐθέλοντῆς ἡγεμῶν τῆ πλοῦς. Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νήσῳ ἔλεγον καὶ τὰ πρῶτα δυναστεύσαντος τῆς χώρας ταύτης δέικνυσθαι τὸν τάφον· ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῷ Ἐρυθρὴν εἶναι· ἀπὸ τούτου καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίην τῇ θαλάσῃ ταύτῃ εἶναι, Ἐρυθρὴν καλέεσθαι. Ἐνθένδε ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἄραντες ἔπλεον· καὶ τῇ νήσῳ αὐτῆς παραπλώσαντες ὅσον διηκοσίας σαδῖς, ὀρμίζονται ἐν αὐτῇ αὐθις. Καὶ καθορῶσιν ἄλλην νῆσον, ἀπέχουσαν τῆς μεγάλης ταύτης τεσσαράκοντα μί-

return.] Tlepólemus was the new appointed satrap, and he was not yet fully established in his command. Nearchus was therefore necessitated to encounter the revolters twice or three times in the same day; and though he advanced with all the dispatch in his power, it was with great difficulty and some danger that he at last reached the Anamis.

XXXVII. Here he sacrificed to Jupiter the preserver, and after the performance of the gymnastic exercises, prepared for his departure. These were considered as religious ceremonies necessary for the success of their voyage; and the fleet now setting sail in a course of 300 stadia passed a desert islet, and anchored under a larger island in its neighbourhood. The smaller one was called Organa, and the larger one, 800 stadia in length, Oarakhta; it was well inhabited, and proved abundant in corn and vines and palm trees. The governor of this island was Mazênês, who came on board the fleet, and offered his services to conduct it up to Soofa.

In Oarakhta the inhabitants pretended to shew the tomb of Erythras, who, they say, was the first sovereign of their territory, and who communicated his name to [the Erythræan ocean, or at least to] that part of it which is comprehended in the gulf of Persia.

When the fleet commenced its course again, they followed the shore of this island for two hundred stadia, and anchored again opposite a smaller isle, which lay at the distance of forty stadia from the

Arek or  
L'Arek.  
Kifmis,  
Worochtha,  
Wroct.

Angar.

¶ The mention of vines is in some measure appropriate; for the island of Wroct assumes the name of Kifmis from a grape so called, which is pe-

culiar to it at this day, and of which the inhabitants still export a great quantity. Vines are also mentioned on the coast.

λις αδις. Ποσειδῶνος ἰρὴ ἐλέγετο εἶ-  
 ναι, καὶ ἄβατος. Ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἑὸν ἀνήγοντο·  
 καὶ καταλαμβάνει αὐτὰς ἀνάπαυσις, ἔτω  
 τι καρτερῆ, ὥστε τρεῖς τῶν νεῶν ἐποκέλα-  
 σαι ἐν τῷ ξηρῷ ἐπέθησαν. Αἱ δὲ ἄλ-  
 λαι, χαλεπῶς διεκπλώσασαι τὰς ῥηχίας,  
 εἰς τὰ βάθρα διαπεσάθησαν. Αἱ δὲ  
 ἐποκέλασαι, τῆς πηλυμυρίδος ἐπιγενο-  
 μένης, αὐτῆς ἐξέπλωσαν τε καὶ δευτε-  
 ραῖαι κατήγοντο ἵνα περὶ ὅ πᾶς σόλος.  
 Ὁρμίζοντα δὲ εἰς νῆσον ἄλλην, διέχυσαν  
 τῆς ἡπείρου ὅσον τριηκοσίαις αδις, πλώ-  
 σαντες τετρακοσίαις. Ἐντεῦθεν ὑπὸ τὴν  
 ἑὸν ἐπλεον, νῆσον ἐρήμην ἐν ἀριστερᾷ παρα-  
 μέσοντες (ὄνομα δὲ τῆ νήσω Πύλαρα) καὶ  
 ὀρμίζοντα πρὸς Σισιδῶνη, πολυχίνω σμι-  
 κρῶ, καὶ πάντων ἀπόρω, ὅτι μὴ ὕδατος  
 καὶ ἰχθύων. Ἰχθυοφάγοι γὰρ καὶ ἔτοι  
 ὑπ' ἀναγκῆς ἦσαν, ὅτι πονηρὰν γῆν νέ-  
 μονται· ἐνθενδε ὕδρευσάμενοι, καταίρυσιν  
 εἰς Ταρσίην ἄκρην, ἀνατένυσαν εἰς τὸ πέ-  
 λαγος, πλώσαντες αδις τριηκοσίαις ἐν-  
 θεν εἰς Καταίην, νῆσον ἐρήμην, ἀλιτενέα.  
 αὐτὴ ἰρὴ Ἑρμῆ καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἐλέγετο  
 αδις, τῆ πλῶς τριηκοσίαις. Ἐς ταύτην  
 ὅσα ἔτη ἀφίεται ἐκ τῶν περιοίκων πρῶ-  
 βατα καὶ αἴγες, ἰρὰ τῷ Ἑρμῇ καὶ τῇ  
 Ἀφροδίτῃ. Καὶ ταῦτα ἀπηγριωμένα ἦν  
 ὄραν ὑπὸ χρόνος τε καὶ ἐρημίας.

XXXVIII. Μέχρι τῆδε Καρμανίη. Τὰ  
 δὲ ἀπὸ τῆδε, Πέρσαι ἔχουσι. Μῆκος τῆ  
 πλῶς παρὰ τὴν Καρμανίην χώραν, αδις  
 τριηκοσίαι καὶ ἐπτακοσίαι. Ζῶσι δὲ κατά-  
 περ Πέρσαι, ὅτι καὶ ὄμοροι εἰσὶ Πέρσησι·  
 καὶ τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ὡσαύτως κοσμέ-  
 ονται· ἐνθενδε ἀραῖες ἐκ τῆς νήσου τῆς ἰρῆς

larger. It was sacred to Neptune, and re-  
 ported to be inaccessible. Upon leaving  
 their anchorage in the morning, the tide  
 of ebb came on so unexpectedly, that Shoal of Ba-  
 three of their vessels lay fast aground; fidu.  
 and the remainder escaped with great  
 difficulty over the shoals into deep water.  
 The three, however, that had grounded,  
 upon the return of the tide floated again;  
 and the following day joined the rest of  
 the fleet. The fleet had made good a  
 course of four hundred stadia, and an-  
 chored at another island, which was 300 Great Tumbo.  
 stadia distant from the continent. In the  
 morning they weighed again, and, keep-  
 ing an island, named Pulôra, on their left, Belior, Po-  
 they proceeded to a town on the conti- lior.  
 nent, called Sidodônè, or Sifidônè: it was Buftion.  
 a poor place, which could afford no sup-  
 ply but fish and water; for the inhabi-  
 tants here also were Ikhthuóphagi, and  
 had no means of support but what they  
 derived from their fishery. After taking  
 in water here, their next course was 300  
 stadia to Tarfia, a cape of considerable ex- Dgherd, or  
 tent; and from thence to Kataia, a low Certes.  
 desert island, sacred to Mercury and Ve- Keifh.  
 nus, to which the course was 300 stadia.  
 Hither the inhabitants of the neighbour-  
 ing islands annually carry goats and sheep,  
 which they dedicate to those deities; and  
 these, from neglect, and the length of  
 time they had been left to themselves,  
 were become perfectly wild.

XXXVIII. At Kataia ends the pro- Keifh.  
 vince of Karmania, along the coast of  
 which they had sailed three thousand se-  
 ven hundred stadia. The Karmanians re-  
 semble the Persians in their manner of  
 living; their armour and military array  
 are the same, and, as adjoining provinces,  
 the customs and habits of both affimi-  
 late.

παρὰ τὴν Περσίδα ἤδη ἔπλεον, καὶ κατά-  
γονται εἰς Ἴλαν χώρον, ἵνα λιμὴν παρὸ  
νήσου σμικρῆς καὶ ἐρήμης γίνεταί· ἔνομα  
τῇ νήσῳ Καΐκανδρος. Ὁ δὲ πλόος στά-  
διοι τετρακόσιοι. Ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν εἰς ἄλ-  
λην νῆσον πλώσαντες ὀρμίζονται οἰκου-  
μένην· ἵνα καὶ μαργαρίτην θηραῖται λέ-  
γει Νέαρχος, κατὰπερ ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν θα-  
λάσῃ. Ταύτης τῆς νήσου τὴν ἀκρὴν πα-  
ραπλώσαντες σταδίους ὡς τεσσαράκοντα,  
ἐνταῦθα ὠρμίοθησαν. Ἐνθὲνδὲ πρὸς ὄρει  
ὀρμίζονται ὑψηλῷ (Ὀχος ὄνομα τῷ ὄρει)  
ἐν λιμένι εὐόρμῳ· καὶ ἀλιεῖς αὐτῷ ὠκέον.  
Καὶ ἐνθεν πλώσαντες σταδίους τετρακο-  
σίους καὶ πενήκοντα, ὀρμίζονται ἐν Ἀπο-  
σάνοισι. Καὶ πλοῖα πολλὰ αὐτότι ὠρμει-  
κώμη τε ἐπὴν ἀπέχουσα ἀπὸ θαλάσσης  
σταδίους ἑξήκοντα. Νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπάραντες  
ἐνθεν, ἐσπλώσασιν εἰς κόλπον συνοικεό-  
μενον πολλῆσι κώμησι· στάδιοι τῷ πλόῳ  
τετρακόσιοι. Ὀρμίζονται δὲ πρὸς ὑπε-  
ρέστην. Ταύτη Φοινικὴς τε πολλοὶ ἐπεφύ-  
κεσαν, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἀκρόθρυα ἐν τῇ Ἑλ-  
λάδι γῆ φύεται· ἐνθεν ἄραντες εἰς Γώ-  
γανα παραπλέσσι, σταδίους μάλιστα εἰς  
ἑξακοσίους, εἰς χώρην οἰκωμένην. Ὀρμι-  
ζονται δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ χειμάρρῳ (ὄνο-  
μα δὲ οἱ Ἀρεῶν) ἐν τῆσιν ἐκβολῆσιν.  
Ἐνταῦθα χαλεπῶς ὀρμίζονται. Στεινὸς  
γὰρ ἦν ὁ ἔσπλος κατὰ τὸ στόμα· ὅτι βρά-  
χιστα τὰ κύκλω αὐτῷ, ἢ ἀνάπτως ἐποίησε.  
Καὶ ἐνθεν αὖ ἐν στόματι ἄλλου ποταμῷ  
ὀρμίζονται, διεκπλώσαντες σταδίους ὀκτα-

Leaving this island, the fleet proceeded  
400 stadia to Ila, where they found a <sup>Hillam or  
Gillam.</sup> harbour, sheltered by an island in the  
offing, called Kaikandros; but it was <sup>Andarvia or  
Inderabia.</sup> small and uninhabited. On the follow-  
ing morning they reached another island, <sup>Schitwar.</sup>  
where they found inhabitants and a fish-  
ery for pearls, like that in the Indian  
ocean; and, proceeding forty stadia from  
a promontory formed by the termination  
of the island, they came to an anchor un-  
der a lofty mountain, called Okhus. Here <sup>Darabin.</sup>  
was a good harbour, and a village inha-  
bited by fishermen. The next step was  
to Apóstana, by a course of 350 stadia; <sup>Shevoo.</sup>  
and here they found several native vessels  
at anchor, and a village sixty stadia from  
the shore: but, leaving it in the night,  
they proceeded 400 stadia to a bay, where <sup>The bay, Na-  
bon. The  
mountain,  
Dahr-Afban.</sup> they anchored at the foot of a mountain.  
They had here villages all round them,  
and the country abounded with palm  
trees and others, bearing fruits, similar to  
those of Greece. Upon leaving this place,  
their stretch was 600 stadia to Gógana, <sup>Kongoon.</sup>  
where they anchored at the mouth of a  
winter torrent, called A'reon. The place  
was not without inhabitants, but the an-  
chorage unsafe on account of the shoals  
and breakers, which appeared on the ebb  
of the tide, and the approach was narrow  
and dangerous. Their next progress was  
800 stadia, when they anchored not with-

† The date and the cocoa are both palms. We have seen the cocoa in the Indian ocean, but in the gulph it is probably the date.

κισίης· Σιτακὸς ὄνομα τῷ ποταμῷ ἦν·  
ἔδὲ ἐν τῆτῳ εὐμαρέως ὀρμίζονται. Καὶ  
ὁ πλόος ἅπας ἔτος ὁ παρὰ τὴν Περσίδα,  
βράχεια τε ἦσαν, καὶ ῥηχίαι καὶ τενάγεια.  
Ἐνταῦθα σῆτον καταλαμβάνουσι πολὺν,  
ξυγκεκομισμένον κατὰ πρόσαζιν βασι-  
λέως, ὡς σφίσι εἶναι ἐπισιτίσασθαι.  
Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τὰς πάσας  
μίαν καὶ εἴκοσι. Καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἀνευ-  
σάμενοι, ὅσαι μὲν πεπονήκεσαν, ἐπεσκευ-  
άζον· τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐφεράπευον.

XXXIX. Ἐνθένδε ὀρμηθέντες, εἰς Ἱε-  
ρατιν πόλιν ἀφίκοντο, ἐς χῶρον οἰκόμενον·  
ἐπτακόσιοι καὶ πενήκοντα σταδίοι ὁ πλόος.  
Ὀρμιάθησαν δὲ ἐν διώρυγι ἀπὸ τῆς ποτα-  
μῆς ἐμβεβλημένη ἐς θάλασσαν, ἣ ὄνομα  
ἦν Ἡράτεμις. Ἀμα δὲ ἠλίω ἀνίσχοντο  
παραπλέουσι ἐς ποταμὸν χαμαῖρην, ὄνο-  
μα Πάδαργον. Ὁ δὲ χῶρος χειρρόνησος  
ἅπας. Καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ κήποι τε πολλοὶ,  
καὶ ἀκρόδρυα παντοῖα ἐφύετο· ὄνομα τῷ  
χώρῳ Μεσαμβρία. Ἐκ Μεσαμβρίας δὲ  
ὀρμηθέντες, καὶ διεκπλώσαντες σταδίους  
μάλις ἐς διηκοσίους, ἐς Ταόκην ὀρμι-  
ζονται, ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Γράνιδι. Καὶ ἀπὸ  
τῆς ἐς τὸ ἄνω Περσῶν βασιλεία ἦν,  
ἀπέχοντα τῆς ποταμῆς τῶν ἐκβολέων στα-  
δίους ἐς διηκοσίους. Κατὰ τῆτον τὸν πα-  
ράπλεον λέγει Νεάρχος ὀφθῆναι κῆτος  
ἐκβεβλημένον εἰς τὴν ἡϊόνα· καὶ τῆτο προσ-  
πλώσαντας τινὰς τῶν ναυτῶν ἐκμετρήσασθαι,  
καὶ Φάναϊ εἶναι πηχέων πενήκοντα· μέ-  
μα δὲ αὐτῶν εἶναι Φολιδωτῶν, ἔτω τι ἐς

out danger at the mouth of another river,  
called Sitakus. The whole navigation Kaneh Shei-  
tan Kenn.  
along this part of the coast of Persia is  
among shoals and breakers; but they se-  
cured themselves in their present station, by  
drawing their ships on shore, in order to  
careen and refit such of them as had been  
injured in the voyage. This business em-  
ployed them for one and twenty days,  
during which delay they received a sup-  
ply of provisions, which the King had or-  
dered to be sent down to the coast for  
their relief.

XXXIX. Upon resuming the prosecu-  
tion of their voyage, they arrived, after a  
passage of 750 stadia, at Hiératis, and  
anchored in a cut, which is derived from Kierazin?  
Kouther.  
the river to the sea, and is called Herá-  
temis. On the following morning, as  
soon as it was day, they moved again, and  
reached the Padargus, a winter torrent.  
In this passage, they had followed the  
winding of the coast round a peninsula,  
(on which they saw plantations and gar-  
dens, with all kind of fruit trees) and  
anchored at a place called Mésambria. Bufheer  
Abu-Shar.

From Mésambria they proceeded 200  
stadia to Táoke, and anchored in the river  
Granis, [a stream which comes from Gra:]  
in the neighbourhood, at the distance of  
200 stadia, is a palace of the kings of  
Persia. During their passage this day,  
they had seen a whale thrown ashore by  
the sea, which some of the people ap-  
proached, and found, upon measuring it,  
that it was seventy-five feet in length.

<sup>s</sup> This is an exact description of the coast from  
Kongoon, round cape Verdistan, to Kenn or Ka-

neh. Cape Verdistan is marked by modern navi-  
gators only to be avoided.

βάθος ἦκον, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ πῆχυν ἐπέχεν· ὄστρεά τε καὶ λοπάδας καὶ φυκία πολλὰ ἔχεν ἐπιπεφυκότα. Καὶ δελφίνας λέγει ὅτι καθορᾶν ἦν πολλὰς ἀμφὶ τῷ κήτει, καὶ τὰς δελφίνας τῶν ἐν τῇ ἕσῳ θαλάσσει μέζονας. Ἐνθεν ἢ ὀρμηθέντες, καλύγονται ἐς Ῥώγωνιν ποταμὸν χειμάρρην, ἐν λιμένι εὐόρμῳ. Μῆκος τῆς παραπλῆς σταδίοι διηκόσιοι. Ἐνθενδε τετρακοσίας σταδίου διεκπλώσαντες, αὐλίζονται ἐν ποταμῷ χειμάρρῳ· Βρίζανα τῷ ποταμῷ ὄνομα. Ἐνταῦθα χαλεπῶς ὀρμήσαντο, ὅτι ῥηχίη ἦν, καὶ βράχαια καὶ χοιράδες ἐκ τῆς πόντος ἀνείχον. Ἄλλ' ὅτε ἡ πλημμυρία ἐπέη, τότε ὀρμήσαντο ὑπὸ νοσησαντος δὲ τῆς ὕδατος, ἐπὶ ξηρῷ ὑπελείφθησαν αἱ νῆες. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ πλημμυρίς ἐν τάξει ἀμείβασα ἐπῆλθε, τότε δὴ ἐκπλώσαντες ὀρμίζονται ἐπὶ ποταμῷ ὄνομα δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ Ἄροσις, μέγιστος τῶν ποταμῶν, ὡς λέγει Νέαρχος, ὅσοι ἐν τῷ παραπλῶ τῷδε ἐμβάλλουσιν ἐς τὸν ἕξω πόντον.

XL. Μέχρι τῆςδε Πέρσαι οἰκέουσι· τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τέτων, Σάσιοι. Σάσιων δὲ ἔθνος αὐτόνομον κατὑπερθε προσοικίαι· Οὐξιοὶ καλῶνται ὑπὲρ ὅταν λέλεκτά μοι ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ συγγραφῇ, ὅτι λησαί εἰσι. Μῆκος τῆς παραπλῆς τῆς Περσίδος χώρας, σταδίοι τετρακόσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι. Τὴν δὲ Περσίδα γῆν, τριχᾶ νεμεῖσθαι τῶν ὠρέων, λόγος κατέχει. Τὸ μὲν αὐτῆς πρὸς τῇ

The hide of it was \* scaly, a foot and half in thickness, covered with † barnacles and sea-weed. Dolphins were likewise seen hovering about the body, much larger than those which we have in the Mediterranean sea.

At the conclusion of their course, they arrived at Rhôgônis, a winter torrent, affording a commodious harbour; and this day they had advanced but 200 stadia. Bunder Regh, the sandy port.

Four hundred stadia more brought them to Brízana, a winter torrent, where they anchored in a dangerous situation, with a surf and shoals and breakers all around them. Here they had arrived at the time of flood, and as the water ebbed away, the vessels were all left dry upon the beach. But as soon as the tide rose again, they weighed, and stood off the shore till they reached the river Ἄροσις, which, Nearchus says, is the largest of all the rivers he had seen in the course of his navigation. Delem ? The Tab, or Indian River.

XL. At the Ἄροσις terminates the province of Persis, and that of Soofiana commences. And inland from Soofiana are the Uxians, an independent tribe of plunderers, whom I have mentioned in my former work. The coast of Persis extends 4400 stadia, and, consistently with its climate, and the temperature of the air, it may be considered as divided into three districts. That part which lies along

\* The whale is not scaly, and perhaps φοιδωτὸν will bear a better interpretation; rugged or indurated.

† ὄστρεα cannot be better rendered than by barnacles, the shell of which adheres to the bottom of ships, and all bodies long exposed to the sea.

έρυθρῆ θαλάσση οἰκούμενον, ἀμμῶδες τε εἶναι καὶ ἄκαρπον ὑπὸ καύματος· τὸ δὲ ἐπιτελεύς πρὸς ἄρκτον τε καὶ Βορέην ἀνεμον ἰόντων, καλῶς κεκραῖσθαι τῶν ὠρέων. Καὶ τὴν χώραν ποιῶδεά τε εἶναι, καὶ λιμῶνας ὑδρηλῆς καὶ ἀμπελον πολλὴν φέρειν, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι καρποὶ, πλὴν ἐλάτης· παραδείσοις τε παντοίοις τεθληέναι, καὶ ποταμοῖσι καθαροῖσι διαρρέεσθαι, καὶ λίμνησι· καὶ ὄρνισιν ὀκόσοισιν ἀμφὶ ποταμῶς τε καὶ λίμνας ἐστὶ τὰ ἤθηα. Ἴπποισὶ τε ἀγαθὴν εἶναι καὶ τοῖσιν ἄλλοισιν ὑπόζυγίοισι νέμεσθαι. Καὶ ὑλώδεά τε πολλαχῆ καὶ πολύθηρον. Τὴν δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐστὶ ἐπ' ἄρκτον ἰόντων, χειμερινὴν τε καὶ νιφετώδεα· ὥστε πρέσβεις τινὰς ἐκ τῆς Εὐξείνης πόντος λέγει Νεάρχος κάρτα ὀλίγην ὁδὸν διελθόντας, ἐντυχῆν καθ' ὁδὸν ἰόντι τῆς Περσίδος, καὶ θῶμα γενέσθαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, καὶ εἰπῆν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῆς ὁδοῦ τὴν βραχύτητα. Σκισίοις δὲ πρόσκοι οἷ ἐστὶν Οὐξιοί, λέλεκτά μοι· κατάπερ Μάρδοι μὲν Πέρσησι προσεχέες οἰκέεσι, λησαὶ καὶ οὔτοι· Κοσσαῖοι δὲ, Μήδοισι. Καὶ ταῦτα πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἡμέρωσεν Ἀλέξανδρος, χειμῶνος ὥρῃ ἐπιπεσὼν αὐτοῖσιν, ὅτε ἄβατον σφῶν τὴν χώραν ἦγον. Καὶ πόλις ἐπέκτισε, τῆ μὴ νομάδας ἐστὶ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ἀροτῆρας καὶ γῆς ἐργάτας, καὶ ἔχειν ὑπερ' ὅτων δαιμάνοντες, μὴ κακὰ

the gulph of Persia is sandy, unproductive, and parched with heat. The district farther inland towards the north and north east has a climate of more moderate temperature; for here the soil is covered with verdure, the plains are well watered, and <sup>z</sup> vines, as well as other fruit trees, except the olive, are found in abundance. Here [the nobility and the sovereign] have their parks, the rivers are pure and limpid, the lakes [of which there are several] are covered with water-fowl, cattle of all sorts are pastured on the plain, and the forests furnish abundance of animals for the chase.

There is still a district farther to the north, where the climate is cold, and the mountains are covered with snow: but this is so far north, that some embassadors, who came from the neighbourhood of the <sup>a</sup> Euxine sea, and who joined the army on its march to Persis, had performed a journey of no great extent, as they informed Alexander, to his great surprize.

The Uxii border on Soosiana, as I have already mentioned, and the Mardi on Persia; both nations of plunderers. The Cossæi lie nearer Media; but all these tribes were subdued by Alexander, who entered their country in winter, when they thought it impracticable. After their reduction, he collected them into cities, in order to reclaim them from a life of vagrancy; and, by compelling them to become cultivators instead of robbers, they had a property of their own to de-

<sup>z</sup> This description is characteristic of Persis at the present day; and the wines of Sherauze are celebrated throughout the east, corresponding with the vines of Nearchus, and which he seems to mention with pleasure wherever they occurred.

<sup>a</sup> If this has any meaning, it must be referred to

Al Gebal, the mountainous part of Media, or possibly Armenia. But these provinces are not a part of Persis, though comprehended in the kingdom of Persia; they would likewise be nearer the Caspian than the Euxine sea, and the journey of the embassadors could not be short.



ἀλλήλους ἐργάσονται. Ἐνθένδε τὴν Συσίω γῆν παρήμειβε καὶ ὁ στρατός. Καὶ ταῦτα ἔκετι ὡσαύτως καὶ ἀτρεκέως λέγει Νέαρχος ὅτι ἐσὶν οἱ Φράσαι, πλὴν γε δὴ τὰς ὄρμυς τε καὶ τὸ μῆκος τῆς πλώεως. Τὴν χώραν τε καὶ τὴν τεναγώδεά τε εἶναι τὴν πολλήν, καὶ ῥηχίησιν ἐπὶ μέγα ἐς τὸν πόντον ἐπέχουσαν καὶ ταύτην σφαλερὴν ἐγκαθορμίζεσθαι πελαγίοισιν ὧν σφοδρῶς τὴν κομιδὴν τὸ πολὺ γίνεσθαι. Ὁρμηθῆναι μὲν δὴ ἐκ τῆς ποταμῶν τῶν ἐκβολῶν, ἵνα περὶ ἠλίουθῆσαν, ἐπὶ τοῖσιν ὄροισι τῆς Περσίδος ὕδωρ δὲ ἐμβάλλεσθαι πέντε ἡμερῶν. Οὐκ ἔφασκον γὰρ εἶναι ὕδωρ οἱ καθηγεμόνες τῆς πλώεως.

XLI. Σταδίους δὲ πεντακοσίους κομιθέντες, ὀρμίζονται ἐπὶ σόματι λίμνης ἰχθυώδεος, ἣ ἔνομα Κατάδερβις. Καὶ νησὶς ἐπὶ τῷ σόματι Μαργάσινα τῆς νησίδι ἔνομα. Ἐνθένδε δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν ἑὴν ἐκπλώσαντες, κατὰ βράχεια ἑκομίζοντο ἐπὶ μίθης νεῶς. Πασσάλιοι δὲ ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν πεπηγῶσιν ἀπεδηλῆτο τὰ βράχεια, κατὰ περὶ ἐν τῷ μεσσηγῶς Λευκάδος τε νησὶς Ἰαδμῶ καὶ Ἀκαρνανίης ἀποδέδεικται σημεῖα τοῖσι ναυτιλλομένοισι, τῶν μὴ ἐποκέλλειν ἐν τοῖσι βράχεσι τὰς νεῶς. Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Λευκάδα ψαμμώδεα ὄνια, καὶ τοῖσιν ἐποκέλασι ταχῆϊαν τὴν ὑπονόσησιν ἐνδιδοῖ. Καῖθι δὲ πηλός ἐστιν ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τῶν πλεομένων βαθῶν καὶ ἰλυώδης.

<sup>b</sup> Between the A'rofis and Kataderbis lies the shoal Barkan or Bahr-el-Kan; it is still celebrated for its fishery.

fend, instead of molesting their neighbours by their inroads.

From the A'rofis the fleet proceeded along the coast of Soofiana. But of this passage Nearchus informs us that he cannot speak with certainty; he therefore states only his anchorages, and the length of each day's course, for here [the coast was low and] the shoal extended a great way out from the shore, so that anchoring at all was dangerous, and their course was generally through the open sea, without daring to approach the land.

Before they moved therefore from the mouth of the A'rofis, they took in water for five days, as their pilots informed them, that during an interval of that length no water could be obtained.

XLI. As soon as their water was completed, the fleet proceeded 500 stadia to Kataderbis. Kataderbis is a bay, with an island at its entrance, called Margástan; the whole bay is remarkable for the quantity of <sup>b</sup> fish it produces. From Kataderbis the course was through a channel surrounded by shoals on both sides, which the fleet passed in a line of single ships. The shoals were marked out by stakes fixed along the margin, in the same manner as the channel between Leukas and Acarnania is defined by marks, to prevent accidents to those who cross the straits. But at Leukas the shoal is a sand, and if a vessel gets on shore, she is eased off again without difficulty; but upon this shoal in Soofiana the bottom is <sup>c</sup> mud

The country  
Dorghetan.  
The island  
Dereë bound.

<sup>c</sup> The term used by Ptolemy is κόλπος γηλώας, *stake bay*; by Marcian, κόλπος πηλώδης, *muddy bay*; both characters agreeing with this account of Arrian's.

ὥστε ἑδεμὴ μηχανῆ ἐποκέλασιν ἦν ἀποσῶθῆναι. Οἱ τε γὰρ κοντοὶ κατὰ τῆ πηλᾶ δύνοντες, αὐτοὶ ἑδέν τι ἐπωφέλου, ἀνθρώπων τε ἐκβῆναι τῆ ἀπῶσαι τὰς νέας ἐς τὰ πλεόμενα, ἀπορον ἐγίνετο. Ἐδνον γὰρ κατὰ τῆ πηλᾶ ἐς τε ἐπὶ τὰ σῆθεα. Οὕτω δὴ χαλεπῶς διεκπλώσαντες σαδίως ἐξακοσίως, κατὰ ναῦν ἕκαστοι ὀρμισθέντες, ἐνταῦθα δέπνου ἐμήσθησαν. Τὴν νύκτα δὲ ἤδη κατὰ βάρθεα ἔπλεον, καὶ τὴν ἐφεξῆς ἡμέραν ἐς τε ἐπὶ βελυτόν κὶ ἦλθον σαδίως ἐννακοσίως. Καὶ καθωρμίθησαν ἐπὶ τῆ σόματος τῆ Εὐφράτης, πρὸς κώμη τινὶ τῆς Βαβυλωνίης χώρας· ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῇ Διριδωτίς. Ἴνα λιθανωτόν τε ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπορίας γῆς οἱ ἐμποροὶ ἀγινέσσι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα θυμύματα ἢ Ἀράβων γῆ φέρει. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆ σόματος τῆ Εὐφράτης ἐς τε Βαβυλῶνα, πλῆν λέγει Νεάρχος σαδίου εἶναι ἐς τρισχιλίως καὶ τριακοσίως.

XLII. Ἐνταῦθα ἀγγέλλεται Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπὶ Σάσων σέλλεσθαι. Ἐνθεν καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ ὀπίσω ἔπλεον, ὡς κατὰ τὸν Πασιτίγρην ποταμὸν ἀναπλώσαντες, συμμίζουσι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. Ἐπλεον δὲ τὸ ἔμπροσθεν ἐν ἀρισερᾷ τὴν γῆν τὴν Σασίδα ἔχοντες. Καὶ παραπλέουσι λίμνην, ἐς ἣν ὁ Τίγρης ἐσβάλλει ποταμός· ὃς ῥέων ἐξ Ἀρμενίων παρὰ πόλιν Νίνον, πάλαι

and ouze, so that, if a vessel strikes, there are no means of relief. For if a pole is put out, it finds no resistance, but sinks deep into the yielding mud; and if the people are put over board to heave her off, they find no bottom to support them.

It was with great difficulty that the vessels were conducted through this passage one by one; when they came to an anchor in the channel at the end of <sup>d</sup> fix hundred stadia, and the people took their refreshment on board. But they moved again the same night; and now, finding deep water, pushed on during the whole of the night and the following day, till evening, when they reached Diridôtis at Terêdon. the <sup>e</sup> mouth of the Euphrates, after a course of nine hundred stadia. Diridôtis is a village of Babylonia, and a mart which is the centre of the commerce of Arabia, and whither the merchants bring the frankincense, with all the gums and odours that country produces. From this mouth of the Euphrates up to Babylon the [computed] distance is <sup>f</sup> three thousand three hundred stadia.

XLII. At this place they received an account that Alexander was on his march to Soofa. They therefore failed *back* again, with the intention of going up the Pasitigris to join the army on its route. On their return, they failed with Soofiana <sup>River of Ram Hormos.</sup> on their left, and [first] passing a lake <sup>The Dejele, or Shat-el-Arab.</sup> which the Tigris formed at its mouth, [they crossed the shoals again towards the Pasitigris.] The Tigris comes out of Armenia, and passing Ninus or Nineveh in

<sup>d</sup> The whole of this course, from Kataderbis to Diridôtis, is across two shoals; the first now called Karabah, and the second Ala-Meidan, or the great flat.

<sup>e</sup> This is in reality the Khore Abdillah, which is still considered by the natives as the ancient

mouth of the Euphrates: but that river now joins the Tigris at Khorna, 130 miles from the sea.

<sup>f</sup> 3300 stadia make little more than 200 miles English; the real distance by the river is more than 400. But may not Nearchus calculate this distance by stadia of eight to a mile?

ποτὲ μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα, τὴν μέσσην  
 εἰωτῆ τε καὶ τῆ Εὐφράτη ποταμῶ (ἣν  
 Μεσποταμίην ἐπὶ τῶδε κληίζεσθαι) ποι-  
 εῖα. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς λίμνης εἰς αὐτὸν τὸ πο-  
 ταμὸν ἀνάπλευσ ἑξάδιαι ἑξακόσιοι. Ἴνα  
 καὶ κώμη τῆς Σασίδος, ἣν καλέσιν Ἀ-  
 γινιν. Αὕτη δὲ ἀπέχει Σέσων ἑξάδιαι εἰς  
 πεντακοσίαις<sup>h</sup> μῆκος τῆ παραπλευ τῆς  
 Σασίων γῆς εἰς τε ἐπὶ τόμα τῆ Πασιτί-  
 γριδος ποταμῶ, ἑξάδιαι δισχίλιοι. Ἐν-  
 θένδε κατὰ τὸν Πασιτίγριν ἄνω ἔπλεον  
 διὰ χώρης οἰκημένης καὶ εὐδαίμονος. Ἀνα-  
 πλώσαντες δὲ ἑξάδιαι εἰς πενήκοντα καὶ  
 ἑκατὸν, αὐτῶ ὀρμίζονται, προσμένοντες  
 ἕστινας ἐσάλκει Νέαρχος, σκεφομένους  
 ἵνα ὁ βασιλεὺς εἴη. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἔθυσε θεοῖς  
 τοῖς σωτήρησι, καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐποίησε καὶ ἡ  
 στρατιὴ ἡ ναυτικὴ πᾶσα ἐν εὐθυμίῃσιν ἦν.  
 Ὡς δὲ προσάγων ἦδη Ἀλέξανδρος ἠγ-  
 γέλλετο, ἔπλεον ἦδη αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸ ἄνω  
 κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ πρὸς τῆ σχεδίῃ  
 ὀρμίζονται, ἐφ' ἣ τὸ σράτευμα διαβιβά-

its course, which was formerly a great and flourishing city, enclosed one side of that tract which is called Mesopotamia, as the Euphrates encircles it on the other. At the distance of six hundred stadia from the lake at the mouth of the Tigris, lies a village called Aginis: this village is in Soofiana, [on the east of the Tigris] and is reckoned at five hundred stadia from Soofa itself. [This village, however, they did not visit, for they did not enter the lake, but only <sup>h</sup> failed by it;] and their course back again across the shoals to the Pasitigris was two thousand stadia.

Upon arriving at the <sup>i</sup> Pasitigris, they sailed up that river, through a populous and well cultivated country for one hundred and fifty stadia, and there, came to an anchor, waiting for the return of the messengers, whom Nearchus sent up the country to learn tidings of the King's approach.

Here Nearchus sacrificed to the gods who had prospered his expedition, and celebrated the usual games; and here the whole body of his people enjoyed themselves in security, [and in triumph for the conclusion of their labours.]

As soon as they learnt that Alexander and the army were approaching, they continued their progress up the river till they reached the bridge of boats which

<sup>h</sup> Nearchus did not go up the Tigris, and must therefore speak from report. What place is meant it is now impossible to say; it may be Zeinè, as D'Anville supposes. But I should rather imagine that it was a village at the mouth of Soweib river, by which there is a water communication between the Tigris and Soofa, by means of a canal called Mesferkan. But the distance is totally incompatible. The lake is the mouth of the Shat-el-Arab.

<sup>h</sup> παραπλεύσει.

<sup>i</sup> The Pasitigris is ascertained for the river of Ram Hormoz by comparing it with the campaign

of Antigonus and Eumenes, with the march of Timour, and the high road from Persis to Soofa. In giving this detail of the return from Diridôtis to the Pasitigris, I have changed the site of Aginis in compliance with Schmeider. The whole is now consistent, yet still the 2000 stadia attributed to this return is a distance too great; but the river of Ram Hormoz falls into a bay: the extent of this bay up to the river I cannot precisely ascertain; it may qualify the distance, but still it is in excess.

σειν ἔμελλον Ἀλεξάνδρος εἰς Σῶσα. Ἐν ταῦθα ἀνεμίχθη ὁ στρατός, καὶ θυσίαι πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρον ἐθύοντο ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων τῇ σωτηρίῃ καὶ ἀγῶνες ἐποιοῦντο. Καὶ Νεάρχος ὅποι παραφανία τῆς στρατῆς, ἀνδρεί τε καὶ ταινίησιν ἐβάλλετο. Ἐνθα καὶ χρυσῶ στεφάνῳ στεφανῶνται ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου Νεάρχος τε καὶ Λεοννάτος· Νεάρχος μὲν, ἐπὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ τῇ σωτηρίῃ· Λεοννάτος δὲ, ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ, ἣν Ὀρέτας τε ἐνίκησε καὶ τὰς Ὀρέταις προσακέοντας βαρβάρους. ΟΥΤΩ ΜΕΝ ΑΠΕΣΩΘΗ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΩ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΙΝΔΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΕΚΒΟΛΕΩΝ ΟΡΜΗΘΕΙΣ Ο ΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ.

XLIII. Τὰ δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ἐρυθρῆς θαλάσσης ὑπὲρ τὴν Βαβυλωνίην, Ἀραβίη ἢ πολλή ἐστι. Καὶ ταύτης τὰ μὲν καλεῖται εἰς τε ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν κατὰ Φοινίκην τε καὶ τὴν Παλαιστίνην Συρίην· πρὸς δυσμὲνα δὲ ἤλιξ ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν εἰσω θάλασσαν Αἰγύπτιοι τῇ Ἀραβίῃ ὁμορεύουσι. Κατὰ δὲ Αἰγύπτιον ἐσέχων ἐκ τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης κόλπος, δῆλον ποιεῖ ὅτι ἐνεκά γε τῷ σύρρην εἶναι τὴν ἔξω θάλασσαν, περίπλευσεν ἂν ἦν ἐκ Βαβυλωνίης εἰς τὸν κόλπον τῆτον ἐσέχοντα ὡς ἐπ' Αἰγύπτιον. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ τις παρέπλωσε ταύτην ἔδαμῶς ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ καύματος καὶ ἐρημίας, εἰ μὴ τινὲς γε πελάγιοι κο-

Alexander was to pass on this march to Soofa; here the naval forces joined the army; and here the sacrifices were repeated for the preservation of the fleet, and those who had embarked in it. Wherever Nearchus appeared, garlands and flowers were showered upon him, and crowns of gold were bestowed upon him for the execution of his commission, and upon Leonnatus for his victory over the Orítæ, and their allies. THUS WAS THE FLEET OF ALEXANDER CONDUCTED IN SAFETY FROM THE INDUS TO ITS DESTINATION.

XLIII. All the country beyond <sup>k</sup>Babylônia, <sup>l</sup>west of the gulph of Persia, is Arabia; and the whole is Arabia, quite across the continent to the sea of Phœnicia and Palestine, which is a Syrian province. On the west, the limits of Arabia join Egypt, between the Mediterranean and the Red sea; and the Red sea communicating with the Erythræan ocean, and coming up to Egypt, proves manifestly that the navigation is open between Egypt and Babylon. But such is the violence of the heat, and the desert state of the country, that no one has hitherto accomplished this circumnavigation, unless some who have passed from one gulph to the other, [not by ad-

<sup>k</sup> Arrian extends the name of Babylônia quite down to the gulph of Persia; for thus (p. 65.) he says, Diridôtis is a village of Babylônia. And in the present instance, he means to say that all which is not Babylônia, is Arabia, from the gulph of Persia to the Mediterranean sea. This is nearly the

truth at the present day.

<sup>l</sup> ἐν δεξιᾷ it is in the original; but, to understand this, we must suppose Nearchus at the head of the gulph, and ready to fall down again to its mouth. See the same usage of ἐν δεξιᾷ in the following page.

μιζόμενοι. Ἄλλα οἱ ἐπ' Αἰγύπτῳ γὰρ ἐς Σῆσα ἀποσωθέντες τῆς στρατῆρος τῆς Καμβύσεω, καὶ οἱ παρὰ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Λάγῳ πρὸς Σέλευκον τὸν Νικάνορα σαλέντες ἐς Βαβυλῶνα, διὰ τῆς Ἀραβίης χώρας, ἰσθμόν τινα διαπορευθέντες ἐν ἡμέρησιν ὀκτῶ ταῖς πάσαις, ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἐρήμην χώραν ἐπῆλθον ἐπὶ καμήλων σπαρτῆ ἑλαύνοντες, ὕδωρ τε σφιν ἐπὶ τῶν καμήλων φέροντες, καὶ νυκτοπορεύοντες. Τὰς γὰρ ἡμέρας ὑπάφθριοι ἀνέχεσθαι διὰ καῦμα ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν. Τοσούτῳ δὲ τὰ γε ἐπέκεινα ταύτης τῆς χώρας (ὄντινα ἰσθμόν ἀποφαινόμεν) ἐκ τῆς κόλπης τῆς Ἀραβίης κατήκοιλα ἐς τὴν ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν, οἰκούμενα εἶναι, ὅποτε τὰ πρὸς ἄρκτον μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ἀνέχοντα ἔρημά τε ἐστὶ καὶ ψαμμώδεα. Ἄλλα γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀραβίης κόλπης τῆς κατ' Αἰγύπτῳ ὀρμηθέντες ἀνθρώποι, ἐκ περιπλώσαντες τὴν πολλὴν Ἀραβίην, ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὴν κατὰ Σῆσά τε καὶ Πέρσας θάλασσαν, ἐς τοσόνδε ἄρα περιπλώσαντες τῆς Ἀραβίης, ἐς ὅσον σφίσι τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπήρκεσε τὸ ἐμβληθὲν ἐς τὰς νέας, ἔπειτα ὀπίσω ἀπενόησαν. Ἐκ Βαβυλώνος τε ἕστινας ἔσειλεν Ἀλέξανδρος, ὡς ἐπὶ μήκιστον πλέοντας, ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ἐρυθρῆς θάλασσης, γινῶναι τὰς ταύτην χώρας, οὔτοι νήσους μὲν τινὰς κατεσκεύαντο, ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ κειμένας, καὶ πρὸς καὶ τῆς ἠπείρου

hering to the coast, but] by standing out into the open sea<sup>1</sup>.

The remains of Cambyfes's army, which escaped out of Egypt back to Babylon, and the force sent by the first Ptolemy against Seleucus Nicanor, both passed a part of Arabia; but it required a march of eight days, during which both the army, and the water for its support, were conveyed on camels through a country totally parched and desert. They were obliged likewise to move in the night only, because the heat of the day was insupportable: but if the tract of country, which I call the <sup>m</sup> Isthmus, between the gulph of Arabia and that of Persia is so desert and so little inhabited, the part farther north is an utter sand, without any means of support whatsoever.

Some indeed have attempted the passage from Egypt to Soofa and Persia, by going down the gulph of Arabia; but they could proceed no farther on the coast of Arabia than they were enabled by such a stock of water as they could take on board; and when that failed them, they were obliged to return: while those whom Alexander sent down from Babylon, and who proceeded farthest with Arabia on their right, discovered only part of the coast, and a few of the islands which lay in their course; but not one of them ventured to pass that great cape

<sup>1</sup> Arrian mentions this so slightly, that one should think he had heard little of the passage from Egypt to India by the monsoon of Hippalus: and this is extraordinary, as Arrian lived in the reign of Adrian, and Hippalus introduced the knowledge of the monsoon probably in the time of Claudius.

<sup>m</sup> It is plain that Arrian means to say, that the

army of Ptolemy passed the desert from one gulph to the other in eight days. But this is impossible; for the distance is seven hundred miles, and the post (most probably on a dromedary) is eleven days on its journey. The army of Ptolemy must have passed only a part of this desert, through Idumæa to the Euphrates.

τῆς Ἀραβίης προσέχον. Τὴν δὲ ἄκρην, ἣντινα καλαιντικρὴ τῆς Καρμανίης ἀνέχουσαν λέγει Φανῆνα σφισι Νέαρχος, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις ὑπερβαλὼν, ἐπικάμψαι ἐς τὸ ἐπὶ θάτερα δυνατὸς ἐγένετο. Δοκέω δὲ ὡς εἴπερ πλατὰ τε ἦν καὶ βαδιστὰ ταύτη, ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἂν τῆς πολυπραγμοσύνης ἐξεληλεγκτο πλατὰ τε καὶ βαδιστὰ εὐόντα. Ἄνων δὲ ὁ Λιβύς ἐκ Καρχηδόνης ὀρμηθεῖς, ὑπὲρ μὲν Ἡρακλείους σήλας ἐξέπλωσεν ἐξω ἐς τὸν πόντον, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τὴν Λιβύην γῆν ἔχων. Καὶ ἐς τε μὲν πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον ὁ πλόος αὐτῶ ἐγένετο, τὰς πάσας πέντε καὶ τριήκοντα ἡμέρας. Ὡς δὲ δὴ ἐς μεσημβρίην ἐξετρέπετο, πολλῆσιν ἀμνηχανίησιν ἐνετύγχανεν, ὕδατός τε ἀπορίη καὶ καύματι ἐπιφλέγοντι, καὶ ρύαξι πυρὸς ἐς τὸν πόντον ἐμβάλλασιν. Ἄλλ' ἢ Κυρήνη γὰρ τῆς Λιβύης ἐν τοῖς ἐρημοτέροις πεπολισμένη, ποιῶδης τέ ἐστι καὶ μαλθακῆ, καὶ ἔνυδρος, καὶ ἄλσεια καὶ λειμῶνες καὶ καρπῶν παντοίων καὶ κτηνῶν πάμφορος, ἐς τε ἐπὶ τῆς σιλφίης τὰς ἐκφύσεις. Ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸ σίλφιον, τὰ ἄνω αὐτῆς ἔρημα καὶ ψαμμώδεα.

Οὗτός μοι ὁ λόγος ἀναγεγράφω, Φέρων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς Ἀλεξάνδρον τὸν Φιλίππου, τὸν Μακεδόνα.

which lies opposite to Karmania, and <sup>Muffendon.</sup> which Nearchus saw upon his entrance into the gulph of Persia.

But if any means of intercourse, either by land or sea, could have been effected, I have no doubt but that the busy spirit of Alexander would have tempted him to explore it to the utmost.

Hanno the African undertook an expedition from Carthage into the Atlantic ocean, beyond the pillars of Hercules; <sup>The straits of Gibraltar.</sup> and, sailing with Africa on his left, proceeded towards the <sup>n</sup> east for five and thirty days: but as soon as he was obliged to change his course to the south, the difficulties he experienced were insurmountable. Want of water, intolerable heat, and torrents of fire rolling into the sea, put a stop to his farther progress; and yet Kurênè, which is a colony established in the most desolate part of Africa, abounds with pasture, and has a fine soil well watered; and, besides its produce of all sorts of fruits and cattle, is celebrated for its benzoin, [which arrives at a greater perfection there than in any other part of the world;] but beyond the country where this drug is found, the rest is all a sandy desert.

This is the second work I have undertaken relative to Alexander the Macedonian, the son of Philip<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>n</sup> To the east we now know that it could not be, but to the south, or to the west of the south for several days, after passing the straits of Gibraltar. But this is Hanno's own language in his Periplus; and, by the mention of this circumstance, with the fiery torrents which caused him to return, it is evident that Arrian had seen that Journal.

<sup>o</sup> In reviewing this work of Arrian now for the third time, I have found reason to change the posi-

tion of two places only. Aginis I have now carried into the Shat-el-Arab, in conformity to D'Anville and Schmeider; and O'rgana to L'Arek, instead of Ormus. On this last point, however, I am not confident; but I have identified the Pasitigris with the river of Ram Hormoz on the clearest evidence. In these three points only the present work differs from the first edition.



ΠΕΡΙΠΛΟΥΣ  
THE  
ΕΡΥΘΡΑΣ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΗΣ.

AFRICA.

ΤΩΝ ἀποδεδειγμένων ὄρμων τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης, καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὴν ἐμπορίων, πρῶτος ἐστὶ λιμὴν τῆς Αἰγύπτου, Μυὸς ὄρμος. Μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν εἰσπλέοντων ἀπὸ χιλίων ὀκτακοσίων σταδίων, ἐν δεξιᾷ ἢ Βερενίκη. Ἀμφοτέρων οἱ λιμένες, ἐν τῷ ἐσχάτῳ τῆς Αἰγύπτου κόλποι δὲ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης κείνται. Τέτων ἐκ μὲν τῶν δεξιῶν ἀπὸ Βερενίκης συναφῆς ἢ Τισβαρικὴ χώρα ἐστὶ. Τὰ μὲν παρὰ θαλάσσαν, Ἰχθυοφάγων μάνδραις οἰκοδομημέναις ἐν σενώμασιν, καὶ σποράδην δὲ οἰκῶνται· τὰ δὲ μεσόγεια, βαρβάρων καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτὰς Ἀγριοφάγων καὶ Μοσχοφάγων, κατὰ τυραννίδα νεμομένων. Οἷς

<sup>a</sup> ἀποδεδειγμένων is rendered by Stuckius and Hudson *insignes et celebres*: but it signifies, I apprehend, regularly appointed by government; like ἄρμος νόμιμος, ἐμπόριον νόμιμον. So Stephanus in voce χρόνων ἀποδεδειγμένων, *times appointed by law, custom, or usage*. See also Budæus, p. 276.

<sup>b</sup> Teez-u-bareek is said to mean *low and flat* both in Persian and Arabic: if so, Tifebárikè may mean the low tract between the mountains and the sea, like the Tehama in Arabia. But the adjective form of βαρικὴ, like Λαρικὴ, Ἰνδικὴ, &c. makes it

THE PERIPLUS  
OR NAVIGATION  
OF  
THE ERYTHREAN SEA.  
PART THE FIRST.

AFRICA.

THE Egyptians have several <sup>a</sup> established harbours and marts on the coasts of the Red sea, but the first of these is Muos Hormus. Next to Muos Hormus is Beled el Habesh. <sup>b</sup> Berenikè, at the distance of eighteen hundred stadia, as you proceed down the gulph, with the African shore on the right: both these harbours lie at the extremity of Egypt, and have severally the advantage of a bay. Lower down than Berenike, on the right lies the level tract on the coast called <sup>c</sup> Tifebárikè, and here is the residence of the Ikhthuóphagi, whose chief subsistence is fish; their habitations are <sup>c</sup> cabins in the clefts and caverns of the rocks, and they live in separate families, without any form of a community. Other barbarous tribes, as the <sup>d</sup> Agriophagi and Moskhophagi, possess the interior; but these have a

rather referable to *bahr*, the *sea*, or *seacoast*, as the bahr-nagash is king of the coast.

<sup>c</sup> The magalia or mapalia of the Numidians, or merely natural caves or artificial excavations; for the Ikhthuóphagi are Tróglodytes, who have their name from this sort of residence, and who, changing their situation with the season, to avoid the fly, consequently never build.

<sup>d</sup> Probably Ἀγριοφάγοι should be Ἀκρικοφάγοι, *locust-eaters*; Μοσχοφάγοι, *veal-eaters*.



ἐπίκειται κατὰ νότον μεσόγειος, ἀπὸ τῶν πρὸς δυσὶν μερῶν, \* \* σης μικρὸν. Μετὰ δὲ τὰς Μοσχόφάγας ἐπὶ θαλάσσης μικρὸν ἐμπόριον ἐστίν, ἀπέχον τῶν πέρασ τῆς ἀνακομιδῆς σαδίως περὶ τετρακισχιλίαις, Πτολεμαῖς ἢ τῶν θηρῶν λεγομένη, ἀφ' ἧς οἱ ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ θηρευθέντες ἐνέβησαν. Ἔχει δὲ τὸ ἐμπόριον χελώνην ἀληθινήν καὶ χερσαίαν ὀλίγην, καὶ λευκὴν μικροτέραν τοῖς ὄσρακοις. Εὐρίσκεται δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ ποτὲ μὲν ἐλέφας ὀλίγος, ὅμοιος τῷ <sup>2</sup> Ἀθλιτικῷ. Ὁ δὲ τόπος ἀλίμενος, καὶ σκάφαις μόνον τὴν ἀποδρομὴν ἔχων. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Πτολεμαίδα τὴν τῶν θηρῶν, ἀπὸ σαδίων ὡς τρισχιλίων, ἐμπόριον ἐστὶ νόμιμον ἢ Ἀθλιεῖ, κείμενον ἐν κόλπῳ βαθεῖ, κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν νότον. Οὗ πρόκειται νῆσος, Ὀρεινὴ λεγομένη, τῆ μὲν ἐσώτατῃ κόλπῳ, σαδίως ὡς ἐς πέλαιος ἔχουσα διακοσίους ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν παρακειμένην ἔχουσα τὴν ἡπειρον. Ἐν ἣ νῦν ὄρμει τὰ καταγόμενα πλοῖα, διὰ τὰς ἐκ τῆς γῆς καταδρομάς. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ὄρμει κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν ἐσώτατον κόλπον ἐν τῇ Διοδώρου λεγομένη νήσῳ, παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἡπει-

form of government, as subject to their respective chiefs: and farther inland is the country <sup>e</sup> of \* \* \* \* towards the west. Upon the coast below the Moskhóphagi there is a small mart, called Ptolemáis Epithéras, four thousand stadia from [Berenikè] the port established for the reception of oriental commodities; and from Ptolemáis <sup>f</sup> the hunters proceeded into the country who used to procure elephants for the King. The true land tortoise is found here, which is small and white, with a shell proportionate to the animal; and here also is the elephant of an inferior size, like those obtained at <sup>g</sup> Adooli: but there is no harbour here, the vessels lie in an open road, and the articles procured are brought off in boats.

At the distance of three thousand stadia below Ptolemáis Epithéras, you arrive at Adooli, an established mart, which lies in a deep bay towards the south; and at the distance of two hundred stadia, in front of the harbour, is the island called <sup>h</sup> Orinè, in the inmost recess of the bay, enclosed on both sides by the surrounding shores. At this island the vessels now anchor, that they may avoid the intrusion of the natives from the continent. They used formerly to lie at another island nearer shore, called Diodórus, still deeper in the

The bay of Mafuah.

<sup>1</sup> τὸ πέρασ Gelenius. τῷ Stuckius. τῶν Hudfon.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀθλιτικῷ Gelenius.

<sup>e</sup> The name of the country missing in the text probably be Nubia or Ethiopia. Strabo has Tênesis nearly in this situation.

<sup>f</sup> Ptolemáis Thêrôn or Epi-Thêras is probably in the bay south of Ras Ageeg.

<sup>g</sup> It is Ἀθλιτικῷ in the original text, which Hudfon reads Ἀθλιτικῷ, against which there is no objection, but that we know nothing of the small elephant at Adooli.

<sup>h</sup> Ὀρεινὴ implies rocky or mountainous; and

such is the island to which Lord Valentia has given his own name.

<sup>i</sup> Lord Valentia's survey gives a large extent to the bay of Mafuah towards the south; and his Oreinè or Valentia lies in the most southern part. His Lordship supposes Toualhout to be the islet where the Greeks first traded; but the description of the isle of Diodórus, still deeper in the bay than Oreinè, does not correspond. By reference to Oreinè, Adooli lay far to the south of Arkeeko.

ρον, ἐχέσῃ περὶ τὴν διάβασιν, δι' ἧς οἱ κατοικῶντες βάρβαροι κατέτρεχον τὴν νῆσον. Καὶ κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἐν τῇ Ὀρεινῇ ἤπειρον, ἀπὸ σαδίων εἴκοσι τῆς θαλάσσης, ἐστὶν ἡ Ἀδουλεὶ κώμη σύμμετρος. Ἀφ' ἧς εἰς μὲν Κολόνη μεσόγειον πόλιν, καὶ πρῶτον ἐμπόριον τῷ ἐλέφαντος, ὁδὸς ἐστὶν ἡμερῶν τριῶν. Ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν μητρόπολιν Ἀξωμίτην λεγόμενον, ἄλλων ἡμερῶν πέντε. Εἰς ὃν ὁ πᾶς ἐλέφας ἀπὸ τῆς πέραν τῆς Νείλες φέρεται, διὰ τῆς λεγομένης Κυνηίας, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ εἰς Ἀδελεί. Τὸ μὲν ἔν ὅλον πλῆθος τῶν φονευομένων ἐλεφάντων ἢ ρινοκερῶτων, περὶ τὴς ἀνω νέμεται τόπος, σπανίως δὲ ποτε καὶ ἐν τῷ παρὰ θαλάσσαν, περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Ἀδελεί θεωρεῖται. Πρόκεινται δὲ τῆς ἐμπορίας καὶ κατὰ πέραν, ἄλλαι νῆσοι μικραὶ ἐκ δεξιῶν ἀμμιναι πλείονες, Ἀλαλαῖς λεγόμεναι, χελώνων ἔχουσαι τὴν εἰς τὸ ἐμπόριον φερομένην, ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων. Καὶ ἀπὸ σαδίων ὡσεὶ ὀκτακοσίων, κόλπος ἕτερος βαθύτατος, οὗ κατὰ τὴν εἰσβολὴν ἐν δεξιῶσι ἄμμος ἐστὶν πολλὴ κεχυμένη, κατὰ ἧς ἐν βάθει κεχωσμένος εὐρίσκεται ὁ ὄψιανός λίθος, ἐν ἐκείνῃ μόνῃ τοπικῶς γεννώμενος. Βασιλεύει δὲ τῶν τόπων τούτων, ἀπὸ τῶν Μοχοφάγων μέχρι τῆς ἄλλης Βαρβαρίας, Ζωσκάλης, ἀκριβοῦς μὲν τῷ

bay; but this is approachable from the continent [at low water,] and the natives frequently came over to the injury of the merchants.

On the continent, opposite to Orinè, lies Adooli, at the distance of twenty stadia from the shore. It is not a city, but a considerable village, through which the road passes to Koloë, three days journey inland; and at Koloë is the market for ivory. Five days journey farther inland from Koloë is Axôma, the capital of the kingdom, whither all the ivory is brought from beyond the Nile, through the province of <sup>k</sup>Sirè, and from Axôma to Adooli.

Almost the whole of the elephants and Rhinoceroses, that are killed by the hunters, have their haunts in the interior of the country; they are seldom seen near Adooli, or on the coast.

Upon proceeding to sea again from Adooli, there are a number of small sandy islands on the right, called <sup>l</sup>Alalaio, to <sup>Dahalak</sup> Dahalak, which the Ikthuthophagi bring their tortoise shell for sale. And eight hundred stadia lower down the coast, there is a very deep <sup>m</sup> bay, at the entrance of which there is a vast accumulation of sand on the right, and in the innermost part the Opfian stone is procured, which is found in no other place.

The king of this country is Zôskales, whose dominions extend from the Mofkthophagi to <sup>n</sup>Barbaria. He is a prince

<sup>k</sup> Κυνηία, from κυων, the dog, or dog-star; and *scir* is the Egyptian or Ethiopic term of the same signification.

<sup>l</sup> These are the islands of Dahalak, a very considerable group, of which Dahalak is the largest; they extend from the latitude of Mafuah to the south-east.

<sup>m</sup> This bay is noticed by De Castro, and was visited, but not explored, by Lord Valentia: he obtained here several specimens of what he supposes to be the Opfian stone. The distance from the bay of Mafuah is somewhat short of that given by the Periplus.

<sup>n</sup> From Ras Ageeg perhaps, to Adel.

βίαι, καὶ τῶν <sup>3</sup>πλειόνων ἐξεχόμενος, γενναῖος δὲ περὶ τὰ λοιπὰ, καὶ γραμμάτων Ἑλληνικῶν ἔμπειρος. Προχωρεῖ δὲ εἰς τὰς τόπους τούτους ἱμάτια βαρβαρικά ἀγναφα τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γινόμενα, Ἀρσινοητικὰ σολεῖ, καὶ ἄβολοι νόθοι χρωμάτινοι, καὶ λέντια, καὶ δικρόσσια, καὶ λιθίας <sup>4</sup>υἰαλῆς πλείονα γένη, καὶ ἄλλης μορρίνης <sup>5</sup>γινομένης ἐν Διοσπόλει. Καὶ ὀρέεχαλκος, ᾧ χρῶνται πρὸς κόσμον, καὶ εἰς συγκοπὴν ἀντὶ νομίσματος, καὶ μελίεφθα χαλλκὰ, εἰς τε ἔψησιν καὶ εἰς συγκοπὴν ψελίων καὶ περισκελίδων τισὶ τῶν γυναικῶν. Καὶ σίδηρος, ὁ δαπανώμενος εἰς τε λόγχας πρὸς τὰς ἐλέφαντας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα θηρία, καὶ τὰς πολέμους. Ὀμοίως δὲ καὶ πελύκια προχωρεῖ, καὶ σκέπαρνα, καὶ μάχαιραι, καὶ ποτήρια χαλλκὰ ερρογγύλα μεγάλα, καὶ δηνάριον ὀλίγον, πρὸς τὰς ἐπιδημῶντας, καὶ οἶνος Λαοδικῆος καὶ Ἰταλικῆος οὐ πολὺς, καὶ ἔλαιον οὐ πολὺ. Τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ ἀργυρώματα καὶ χρυσώματα, τοπικῶ ῥυθμῶ κατεσκευασμένα, καὶ ἱματίων ἀβόλαι, καὶ <sup>5</sup>καυνάκαι ἀπλοῖ. Οὐ <sup>6</sup>πολλὰ δὲ ταῦτα. Ὀμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἔσω τόπων τῆς

superior to most, in the correctness of his life and conduct, liberal in his manners, and educated with a knowledge of Greek.

The imports into this country are,—undressed cloth of Egypt, made up for the natives,—robes manufactured at Arfinoë, [or °Suez,]—cloaks dyed,—linen,—striped cloths,—several sorts of flint glafs;—murrhina or porcelane of Diópolis in lower Egypt;—Oreikhalkus, [a metal compounded of copper and other ingredients] which the natives use for ornaments, and which they cut into pieces for use instead of coin;—prepared <sup>p</sup>copper, of which the natives make utensils for the kitchen, bracelets and anklets for the women;—iron, for weapons and for the use of the hunters of elephants or rhinoceroses;—hatchets, adzes, chifels, and knives;—drinking vessels of brass [or copper] large and round;—denarii [that is a small quantity of specie] for the expences of the merchants who trade here;—Syrian and Italian wine, but in no great quantity; the same may be said of oil;—silver and gold plate for the king, made after the fashion of the country;—cloaks made up, and plain <sup>q</sup>coverlids, or with the knap raised on one side only; but in no great quantity.—Some articles likewise are landed here <sup>r</sup> for the trade with the interior of Arabia, as Indian

<sup>3</sup> πλείονος Gel.

<sup>4</sup> ἕλης Gel.

<sup>5</sup> καυνάκαι Gel.

<sup>6</sup> πολλαὶ Stuckius.

° Suez is not on the site of Arfinoë, but its representative.

<sup>p</sup> μελίεφθα χαλλκὰ, εἰς τε ἔψησιν, &c. Whether μελίεφθα signifies brass prepared in a particular way, or whether it signifies the use it is put to in cookery, and refers to ἔψησιν, I cannot discover. It occurs in no lexicon but Schotti Thesaurus, where this passage is cited, but without any interpretation. It is found neither in Hesychius, Budæus, or Stevens.

<sup>q</sup> Καυνάκαι ἀπλοῖ. The usage of ἀπλῆς for plain cloth, or cloth of one colour, in opposition to ποίκιλος or σκοταλάτος, is proved by the catalogue at Moosa, and confirmed by a passage in Arrian, De Venatione, cap. 3. sub fine.

<sup>r</sup> Ἐπὶ τῶν ἔσω τόπων τῆς Ἀραβικῆς [γῆς], not *ex*, as Hudson renders it: but they are articles evidently landed out of the fleet on its return from India.

Ἀραβικῆς, σίδηρος Ἰνδικός, καὶ σόμωμα, καὶ ὀφόνιον Ἰνδικόν τὸ πλατύτερον, ἢ λεγομένη μοναχὴ, καὶ σαγματογῆλαι, καὶ περιζώματα καὶ καυνάκαι καὶ μολόχαινα καὶ σινδόνες ὀλίγαι, καὶ λάκκος χρωμάτινος. Φέρεται δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων ἑλέφας, καὶ ρινοκέρας. Τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου φέρεται εἰς τὸ ἐμπόριον τῆτο, ἀπὸ μηνὸς Ἰανναρίου μέχρι τῆς Σεπτεμβρίου, ὃ ἐστίν, ἀπὸ Τυβί ἕως Θώφ. Εὐκαίρως δὲ ἀπὸ Αἰγύπτου ἀνάγονται περὶ τὸν Σεπτέμβριον μῆνα. Ἦδη ἐπὶ ἀνατολὴν ὁ Ἀραβικὸς κόλπος διατείνει, καὶ κατὰ τὸν Αὐαλίτην μάλισα φενῶται. Μετὰ δὲ σαδίς ὡσεὶ τετρακιχλίς, κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἠπείρου εἰς ἀνατολὴν πλεόντων, ἐστὶν ἄλλα ἐμπόρια βαρβαρικά, τὰ πέρα λεγόμενα· κείμενα μὲν κατὰ τὸ ἕξῃς, ἀγκυροβολίοις δὲ καὶ σάλοις ἔχοντα τὰς ὄρμυς, κατὰ καιρὸς ἐπιτηδείας. Πρῶτος μὲν ὁ λεγόμενος Αὐαλίτης, καθ' ὃν καὶ φενώτατος ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀραβικῆς εἰς τὸ πέραν διάπλευς. Κατὰ τῆτον τὸν τόπον, μικρὸν ἐμπόριον ἐστὶν ὁ Αὐαλέτης, σχεδίαις καὶ σκάφαις εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ προσερχομένων. Προχωρεῖ δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν ὑαλῆ λιθία σύμμικτος, καὶ Διοσπολιτικῆς ἔμ-

<sup>3</sup> Μολόχαινα, rendered usually mullins of the colour of mallows; but probably mullins specifically.

<sup>4</sup> Λάκκος does not occur in the lexicons in this sense, but in Meurfius only, who renders it *lack*; and cites this passage with Mirepsus. Gum-lack is red, [χρωμάτινος] and used for jappanning lackered ware.

<sup>5</sup> There is much confusion in the usage of this expression in the original; for it is written *τάπαρα*,

iron, with a steel edge;—Indian cotton cloths of large width, fine cottons, and cotton for stuffing couches or beds;—<sup>s</sup> common mullins and some of the finest forts;—fashes and coloured <sup>t</sup> lack.

The exports are confined to ivory and the horns of the rhinoceros.

The imports from Egypt come generally to this port between January and September, that is, from Tubi to Thoth; but the best season for the voyage is in September.

From the bay of Adooli the coast trends to the east; the narrowest passage of the straits is immediately previous to the bay called Abalites or Avalites: and from thence the course to the east is along the coast of Africa for four thousand stadia. The marts in this interval are called the <sup>u</sup> outer marts, as lying beyond the straits, and the country is styled Barbaria, [corresponding to the kingdom of Adel.] As you arrive at these places in succession, you find roads and anchorages in the <sup>x</sup> favourable season, but no harbours.

Of these, Avalites is the first: it lies Tajoura? close to the straits, where the passage to Arabia is shortest. It is a mart of no great importance, where you must anchor at a distance from the shore, and convey the articles of trade in boats or rafts.

The imports are, flint glass of various sorts, dipse or rob of grapes from Dió-

*τάπερα*, τὰ and τῶν πέρας: but all without doubt ought to be τὰ πέρα, the marts *beyond* the straits; an appellation which embraces all the marts quite to India.

<sup>x</sup> That is, during the S. W. monsoon, κατὰ καιρὸς ἐπιτηδείας. During the N. E. monsoon, it is impossible to advance to the north: but the south-west blowing off the coast, though adverse, is not violent, and is relieved by the sea and land breezes.

Φακος, καὶ ἱμάτια βαρβαρικά σύμμικτα γεγραμμένα, καὶ σίτος, καὶ οἶνος, καὶ κασίτερος ὀλίγος. Φέρεται δὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς ποτὲ ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπὶ χεδίαις διαφερόντων εἰς τὴν ἀντικρυς <sup>8</sup> Ὀκην καὶ Μύζα, ἀρώματα καὶ ἐλέφας ὀλίγος, καὶ χελώνη, καὶ σμύρνα ἐλαχίστη, διαφέρουσα δὲ τῆς ἄλλης. Ἀτακτότεροι δὲ οἱ κατοικῆντες τὸν τόπον βάρβαροι. Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Αὐαλείτην, ἕτερον ἐμπόριον εἰς τὴν διαφύρον, ἢ λεγομένη Μαλαῶ, πλεῖν ἀπέχουσα σαδίων ὡς ὀκτακοσίων. Ὁ δὲ ὄρμος ἐπίσαλος, σκεπόμενος ἀκρωτηρίῳ, τῷ ἐξ ἀνατολῆς ἀνατένονται. Οἱ δὲ κατοικῆντες εἰρηνικώτεροι. Προχωρεῖ δὲ εἰς τῆτον τὸν τόπον τὰ προειρημένα, καὶ πλείονες χιτῶνες, σάγοι <sup>9</sup> Ἀρσινοητικοὶ, γεγραμμένοι καὶ βεβαμμένοι, καὶ ποτήρια, καὶ μελίεφθα ὀλίγα, καὶ σίδηρος, καὶ δηνάριον οὐ πολὺ, καὶ χρυσὸν δὲ καὶ ἀργυρῶν. Ἐκφέρεται δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων τέτων, καὶ σμύρνα, καὶ λίβανος ὁ περατικός ὀλίγος, καὶ κασσία σκληροτέρα, καὶ δόακα, καὶ κάγκαμον, καὶ μάκειρ, τὰ εἰς Ἀραβίαν προχωρῶντα, καὶ σώματα σπανίως. Ἀπὸ δὲ Μαλαῶ δύο δρόμους εἰς ἐμπόριον ἢ Μένδα. Ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἀσφαλῆσον ὄρμει τὰ πλοῖα, <sup>1</sup> εἰς τὴν προκειμένην ἐγγίσει τῆς γῆς νῆσον. Προχωρεῖ δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν τὰ προειρημένα, καὶ ἐκῆθεν ὁμοίως ἐκφέρεται τὰ προειρημένα Φορτία. Θυμίαμα, τὸ λεγόμενον Μοκρότα.

polis, several forts of cloth dressed and made up into garments, corn, wine, and a small quantity of tin.

The exports are carried by the natives in boats or rafts to Okélis and Moofa, [on the opposite coast of Arabia,] and consist of spices, tortoise shell, a little ivory, and a very small quantity of myrrh, but of the finest sort. The natives here are disorderly and troublesome.

The next mart on this coast is Malaô; it lies at the distance of eight hundred stadia from the last mart; it is superior to Avalites, but the anchorage is still only an open road, covered by a promontory stretching out from the east. The natives are of a better sort.

The imports here are the same as those aforementioned, with a larger assortment of cloaks, and under garments from Ar-Suez, dyed and dressed; drinking vessels, brass for ornaments, iron, and a small quantity of specie, both gold and silver.

The exports are myrrh, frankincense in small quantities, hard cinnamon, doo-aka, γ κάγκαμος, and makeir, for the Arabian Market, and a few slaves.

At two days sail from Malaô lies Moon-Zeila, where there is a safe road under cover of an island close to the shore.

The imports and exports are the same, with the addition of the incense called Mokrotoo. The natives are untractable.

7 καὶ Gel.

8 Κῆλη Gel.

9 Ἀρσινοητικοὶ Gel.

1 διὰ Stuckius.

γ Kánkamus is a gum or resin; doo-aka and makeir may be gums likewise, or inferior sorts of cinnamon.

Οἱ δὲ κατοικῶντες ἔμποροι σκληρότεροι. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Μούνδου, πλεόντων εἰς τὴν ἀνατολὴν ὁμοίως μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας ἢ τρεῖς, πλησίον κέεται τὸ Μόσυλλον, ἐν αἰγιαλῷ δυσόρμῳ. Προχωρεῖ δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν τὰ προειρημένα γένη, καὶ σκεύη ἀργυρᾶ. Σιδηρᾶ δὲ ἐλάσσω, καὶ λιθία. Ἐξάγεται δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς τόπων κασίας χύμα πλείστον, ὃ καὶ μεζόνων πλοίων χρῆζει τὸ ἐμπόριον, καὶ ἄλλα εὐόδια, καὶ ἀρώματα, καὶ χελωνάρια ὀλίγα, καὶ μοκρότα, ἧπion τῆς Μενδικῆς, καὶ λίβανος ὁ περατικός. Ἐλέφας δὲ καὶ σμύρνα σπανίως. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Μοσύλλου παραπλεύσαντι μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας, τὸ λεγόμενον Νειλοπτολεμαίαι, καὶ Ταπατηγῆ, καὶ Δαφνῶνα μικρὸν, ἀκρωτήριον ἐλέφας, [ἀπὸ Ὀπάνης εἰς νότον προχωρεῖ. Εἶτα εἰς λίβα] ἡ χώρα ποταμὸς ἔχει, τὸν λεγόμενον Ἐλέφαντα, καὶ Δαφνῶνα μέγαν, λεγόμενον Ἀκάννα. Ἐν ἧ ἡ μονογενῶς λίβανος ὁ περατικός, πλείστος καὶ διάφορος γίνεται. Καὶ μετὰ ταύτην τῆς γῆς ὑποχωρέσεως εἰς τὸν νότον ἤδη, τὸ τῶν Ἀρωμάτων ἐμπόριον, καὶ

From Moondus the course is <sup>a</sup> easterly; and at the distance of two or three days sail, you reach <sup>a</sup> Mofullon, on an open Barbara <sup>b</sup> shore.

The imports here are still the same, and, besides these, silver plate, a small assortment of iron and glass. The exports are a great quantity of cinnamon, and the natives use <sup>b</sup> larger vessels for conveying it [to Arabia]: they export likewise odoriferous gums, spices, tortoise shell, and mokroto, inferior to that of Moondus, <sup>c</sup> frankincense, ivory and myrrh in small quantities.

At the distance of two days sail from Mofullon, you arrive at Nilo-Ptoleméon, Tapatégé, the lesser Daphnôn, and cape <sup>d</sup> Elephant. <sup>e</sup> This tract of country has <sup>Ras Feel</sup> several rivers, one called the Elephant, near the cape of that name, with the greater Daphnôn or Akannai.

In these parts the best and greatest quantity of frankincense is procured; and from hence the coast takes a turn towards the south to the great promontory called <sup>f</sup> Arômata, which is the most easterly <sup>Cape Gardafui</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Πλεόντων εἰς ἀνατολήν. This mention of the course taking a direction to the east here, is the ground for supposing Moondus to be Zeila.

<sup>a</sup> The reason for supposing Mofullon to be Barbara is, the mention of a promontory there by Ptolemy; for there is a cape at Barbara, with a considerable projection to the north.

<sup>b</sup> This has a reference to the boats and rafts employed in the trade between Avalites and Arabia, and not to the bulk of cinnamon.

<sup>c</sup> Λίβανος ὁ περατικός. Frankincense brought from the outer marts, and therefore called περατικός in the market of Alexandria.

<sup>d</sup> Feel is the Ethiopic term for an elephant.

<sup>e</sup> Ἀπὸ Ὀπάνης εἰς νότον προχωρεῖ. Εἶτα εἰς λίβα. These words are an evident interpolation, or transposed from another part of the original copy: they have no meaning placed here, as they are in all the printed editions.

<sup>f</sup> Ἀρώματα in its primitive sense signifies odours, or aromatic gums; but seems in a variety of instances to be used by the author of the Periplus as comprehending spices in general. No odour is specified in this passage but frankincense: môgla, and motô, are possibly species of cinnamon.

ἀκρωτήριον τελευταῖον τῆς βαρβαρικῆς ἠπέρας πρὸς ἀνατολὴν <sup>2</sup> Ἀποκόπων. Ὁ δὲ ὄρμος ἐπίσαλος, κατὰ καιρὸς ἐπικίνδυνος, διὰ τὸ προσεχῆ τὸν τόπον εἶναι τῷ βορέα. Σημεῖον δὲ τῆς μέλλοντος χειμῶνος τοπικόν, τὸ τὸν βυθὸν θολερώτερον γίνεσθαι, καὶ τὴν χροῖαν ἀλλάσσειν. Τέττε δὲ γενομένα, πάντες ἀποφεύγουσιν εἰς τὸ μέγα ἀκρωτήριον τόπον καὶ σκέπην, τὸ λεγόμενον Τάβαι. Προχωρεῖ δὲ εἰς τὸ ἐμπόριον, ὁμοίως τὰ προειρημένα. Γίνονται δὲ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ κασσία καὶ γίζεις, καὶ ἀσύφη, καὶ ἄρωμα, καὶ μώγλα, καὶ μοτῶ, καὶ λίθανος. Ἀπὸ δὲ Τάβαι, μετὰ σαδίκας τετρακοσίας παραπλεύσαντι χειρσότησον, καθ' ὃν τόπον καὶ ὁ ῥῆς ἔλκει, ἕτερον ἐστὶν ἐμπόριον Ὀπάνη. Εἰς ἣν καὶ αὐτὴν προχωρεῖ μὲν τὰ προειρημένα, τὸ δὲ πλείστον ἐν αὐτῇ γεννᾶται κασσία, καὶ ἄρωμα, καὶ μοτῶ, καὶ δελικὰ κρέισσονα, καὶ εἰς Αἴγυπτον προχωρεῖ μᾶλλον, καὶ χελώνη πλείστη, καὶ διαφορωτέρα τῆς ἄλλης. Πλέεται δὲ εἰς πάντα ταῦτα τὰ πέραν ἐμπόρια, ἀπὸ μὲν Αἰγύπτου περὶ

point of the continent of Africa. It is likewise the boundary of the whole tract called Barbaria.

Adel.

The anchorage here is on an open shore, and at particular times highly dangerous from its exposition to the  $\epsilon$  north. The prognostics of a storm peculiar to the place are, the ground swell of the sea, and the change in the colour of the water. At the sight of which the anchor is immediately weighed, and the ships find no security till they get under the shelter of a second great promontory, called <sup>h</sup> Tabai. But at Arōmata are procured (as its name implies) spices more preeminently; for cinnamon *grows* here, and its different species, styled, Gizeir, fine, Afuphē, ordinary, Mōgla and Motō, and besides these frankincense.

Dafui.

The imports are the same as at the other marts on this coast.

The mart next to Tabai is Opōnē, at the distance of four hundred stadia; and the course to Opōnē is round the projection of the cape, with the current in your favour.

Bandel Caus?

The imports are the same here as those already specified; the exports are, abundance of cinnamon, which is the produce of the <sup>i</sup> country, spices, gums, a superior sort of slaves, who find a ready sale in Egypt, and the finest tortoise shell in great quantities.

The best season for the voyage to all these marts beyond the straits is in Epi-phi, or July; but besides the fleets which come hither from Egypt, there is also a

<sup>2</sup> Ἀπόκωπον Gelenius.

<sup>ε</sup> That is, the setting of the N. E. monsoon.

<sup>h</sup> Ptolemy has no Tabai, but, instead of it, Zengiza, which he describes as a high cape, with a three-forked head. This is the characteristic feature of Dafui, according to Capt. Bissell: it is on an island, and, properly speaking, has three distinct

capes or projections, which give it this appearance.

<sup>i</sup> Τὸ δὲ πλείστον ἐν αὐτῇ γεννᾶται κασσία. This is precise for the growth of cinnamon in Africa; but the fact is universally denied by the moderns.

τὸν Ἰέλιον μῆνα, ὃ ἐστὶν Ἐπιφί. Ἐξαρ-  
 τίζεται δὲ συνήθως, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔσω τό-  
 πων τῆς Ἀριακῆς, καὶ Βαρυγάζων, εἰς  
 τὰ αὐτὰ <sup>3</sup>τὰ πέραν ἐμπόρια, γένη προ-  
 χωρῆντα ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων, σίτος, καὶ ὄρυζα,  
 καὶ βέτυρον, καὶ ἔλαιον σησάμινον, καὶ ὀθό-  
 νιον ἢ τε μοναχή, καὶ ἡ σαγματογῆνη, καὶ  
 περιζώματα, καὶ μέλι τὸ καλάμινον, τὸ  
 λεγόμενον σάκχαρι. Καὶ οἱ μὲν προη-  
 γμμένως εἰς ταῦτα τὰ ἐμπόρια πλέεσι,  
 οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸν παράπλευν ἀνιφορτίζονται  
 τὰ ἐμπεσόντα. Οὐ βασιλεύεται δὲ ὁ τό-  
 πος, ἀλλὰ τυράννοις ἰδίοις καθ' ἕκαστον  
 ἐμπόριον διοικεῖται. Ἀπὸ δὲ Ὀπώνης, τῆ  
 ἀκτῆς εἰς τὸ νότον ὑποχωρήσης ἐπὶ πλεῖον,  
 πρῶτα μὲν εἰς τὰ λεγόμενα μικρὰ Ἀπό-  
 κοπα καὶ μεγάλα τῆς Ἀζανίας, διὰ  
 ἀγκυροβολίαν. Ποταμὸς, ἐπὶ δρόμους ἕξ,  
 παρ' αὐτὸν ἤδη τὸν λίβα. Εἶτα αἰγια-  
 λὸς καὶ μικρὸς καὶ μέγας, ἐπ' ἄλλους δρό-  
 μους ἕξ. Καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸ ἕξῃς,

distinct communication, and a separate  
 voyage performed by the native mer-  
 chants from India.

<sup>k</sup> The vessels they arrive in are fitted  
 out from <sup>1</sup>Ariakè, or Barugáza, and come  
 to the coast of Africa with their native  
 produce, wheat, rice, butter or ghee, oil  
 of sesamum, cotton in the web or for  
 stuffing couches, safes, and *honey* from  
 the cane called fugar. Some of these  
 have their express destination for this  
 coast, and others only touch here to ex-  
 change part of their cargo for such arti-  
 cles as they can obtain, [and then pro-  
 ceed farther to Arabia or the Red sea.]

Concan and  
Baroache.

This part of the coast of Africa is not  
 under the <sup>m</sup> dominion of any one general  
 potentate, but each separate port has its  
 respective chief.

The whole tract from Arómata to Ajan.  
 Rhapta is styled Azania; but as the  
 coast from Opònè trends more to the  
 south, the first division consists of a course  
 of six days, terminating at a river; and  
 in this interval lie two capes, called Apó-  
 kopa the less, and Apókopa the great.  
 [The first is Morro Cobir, and the second  
 cape Baxos, or shoal cape.] There is no  
 anchorage during the whole passage but  
 on the open shore, and at the termination  
 of this division there is a river, and the  
 coast inclines to the west of south.

The second division consists of six courses  
 more, and the tract is called the Little  
 and Great Coast. And after these a third

<sup>3</sup> τέπειαν Gelenius.

<sup>k</sup> This is the most curious passage in the whole  
 work: it proves, in the first instance, a direct trade  
 between India and Arabia, in all appearance ear-  
 lier than the trade of the Greeks from Egypt; and  
 in the second, that the ships which touched here  
 had a farther destination, which could only be to  
 Arabia or the Red sea. The articles re-exported  
 from Adooli to Arabia, noticed above, seem to in-

time that these ships from India reached that  
 port.

<sup>1</sup> Ariakè is Concan, the Mahratta coast; Baru-  
 gáza is Baroache in Guzerat.

<sup>m</sup> So it was when the Portuguese first reached  
 this coast, and so it continues, in a great measure,  
 to the present day.



οὐ τῆς Ἀζανίας δρόμοι. Πρῶτον μὲν, ὁ λεγόμενος Σαραπίανος· εἶθ' ὁ Νίκωνος. Μεθ' ὃν, ποταμοὶ πλείονες, καὶ ἄλλοι συνεχεῖς ὄρμοι, διηρημένοι κατὰ σαθμῶν καὶ δρόμους ἡμερησίως πλείους, τὰς πάντας ἑπτὰ, μέχρι Πυραλαίων νήσων, [καὶ τῆς] καινῆς λευγμένης διώρυχος. Ἀφ' ἧς μικρὸν ἐπάνω τῆ λιθός, μετὰ δύο δρόμους νυχθημέρας, παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν δύσιν Εἰτεινηδιομμενεθῆσιας ἀπαντᾷ νῆσος, σαδίων ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ὡσεὶ τριακοσίων, ταπεινὴ καὶ κατάδενδρος. Ἐν ἧ καὶ ποταμοὶ, καὶ ὀρνέων γένη πλείεστα, καὶ χελώνη ὀρεινή. Θηρίων δὲ ἐδὲν ὅλως ἔχει, πλὴν κροκοδείλων, ἐδένα δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἀδικῆσι. Ἔστι δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ πλοίαρια ραπτὰ καὶ μονόξυλα, οἷς χρῶνται πρὸς ἀλίαν καὶ ἄγραν χε-

division, still bearing the name of Azania, in which the first anchorage is at Serapiōn, the second at Nikōn; and then a succession of seven rivers, at each of which is an anchorage for seven successive days. This division terminates at the Puralāan islands, and a place called the New Canal. Mombaza?

From the New Canal the vessel [leaves the coast, and] stretches over to an island called Menoothéfiās; her course is south-west<sup>n</sup> for two days and nights, and the island lies directly<sup>o</sup> west from \*\*\*\*, at the distance of three hundred stadia from the continent; it is *low* and *woody*, and has several rivers. Birds also are found here of various sorts, and the land tortoise; but no noxious animal except the P crocodile, which here never attacks man. The embarkations of the natives are vessels fewen with coir, and canoes, which they employ in catching fish, and the sea

<sup>n</sup> I have in an express dissertation acknowledged my inability to reconcile this passage to geography: but our ground is certain as far as the termination of the coast of seven rivers, and the Puralāan islands; these are, the mouths of the great river Obii or Quilimanè, with some smaller streams, and the islands Ampaza, Lamo, and Pattè. Of the New Canal I am not certain; it may be Mombaza, or it may be in the bay Formosa, just to the south of these islands. I have contended strongly for Mombaza in my former work; but Captain Bissell's Journal has almost converted my conjecture to Formosa. From Formosa a course of two days and nights, equal to two hundred miles, answers sufficiently to the distance of that bay from Pemba, which is actually 170 miles, or 182 miles Roman. But then the distance from Pemba to Rhapta is far too short. Menoothéfiās must be one of the Zanguebar islands; for no other on this part of the coast lie at three hundred stadia, or thirty miles, from the continent. After much fluctuation in my opinion which to prefer, I am determined for Pemba by Captain Bissell's description of it, as

*low* and *woody*, which is the identical character it bears in the Periplus, *ταπεινὴ καὶ κατάδενδρος*. The course likewise from Formosa to Pemba would be south-west, which reconciles one expression in the original, *ἐπάνω τῆ λιθός*. The other point (which marks the island as lying *παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν δύσιν*) is still irreconcilable. I am weary of conjecture on this most corrupt passage; but still persuaded, that as Menoothéfiās is one of the Zanguebar islands, so is Rhapta Quiloa; because on the whole coast, from Mombaza to Quiloa, we have not a name to fix on, and Ptolemy's characters of Rhapta answer to Quiloa precisely; for he gives it a bay, a river, a mart, and a promontory to the south, which answers to cape Delgado.

<sup>o</sup> *παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν δύσιν Εἰτεινηδιον*. I have abandoned this last word, and can add nothing to what I have said on it, but that some genitive, governed by *δύσιν*, lies concealed under it.

<sup>p</sup> The crocodile here meant is probably the very large lizard found in Madagascar, the Comoro islands, and, I believe, on the continent.

λώνης. Ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ νήσῳ καὶ γυρ-  
γάθοις αὐτὰς ἰδίως λινεύουσιν, ἀντὶ δικ-  
τῶν καθιέντες αὐτὰς περὶ τὰ σώματα  
τῶν προράχων. Ἀφ' ἧς μετὰ δύο δρόμους  
τῆς ἡπείρου τὸ τελευταῖότατον τῆς Ἀζα-  
νίας ἐμπόριον κέεται, τὰ Ῥαπτὰ λεγό-  
μενα, ταύτην ἔχον τὴν προσωνομίαν, ἀπὸ  
τῶν προειρημένων Ῥαπτῶν πλοισαρίων, ἐν ᾧ  
καὶ πλείους ἐσὶν ἐλέφας, καὶ χελώνη.  
Μέγιστοι δὲ σώμασιν περὶ ταύτην τὴν χώ-  
ραν ἄνθρωποι ὄρατοὶ κατοικῆσιν. Καὶ  
κατὰ τὸν τόπον ἕκαστον ὁμοίως τιθέμενοι  
τύραννος. Νέμεται δὲ αὐτὴν κατὰ τι  
δικαίον ἀρχαῖον, ὑποπίπτουσιν τῇ βασι-  
λεύᾳ τῆς πρώτης γινομένης Ἀραβίας, ὁ  
Μαφαρέτης τύραννος. Παρὰ δὲ τῆ βα-  
σιλεύς, ὑπόφορον αὐτὴν ἔχουσιν οἱ ἀπὸ  
Μέζα. Καὶ πέμπουσιν εἰς αὐτὴν ἐφόλ-  
κια, τὰ πλείονα κυβερνήταις καὶ χρεια-  
κοῖς Ἀραβῶν χρώμενοι τοῖς κατὰ συνή-  
θειαν καὶ ἐπιγαμβρίαν ἔχουσιν, ἐμπέροις  
τε ἔσιν τῶν τόπων καὶ τῆς Φωῆς αὐτῶν.  
Εἰσφέρειται δὲ εἰς τὰ ἐμπόρια ταῦτα  
προηγμένης, ἢ τοπικῶς ἐν Μέζα κατα-  
σκευαζομένη λόγχη, καὶ πελύκια, καὶ μα-  
χάριρα, καὶ ὀπήτια, καὶ λιθίας ὑαλῆς  
πλείοια γένη. Εἰς δὲ τινὰς τόπους οἶνος  
τε καὶ σῖτος ἐκ ὀλίγου, οὐ πρὸς ἐργα-  
σίαν, ἀλλὰ δαπάνης χάριν, εἰς Φιλαν-  
θρωπίαν τῶν βαρβάρων. Ἐκφέρειται δὲ

tortoise; but for the latter they have  
also a peculiar manner of fishing, by let-  
ting down wicker baskets, instead of nets,  
at the openings of the shoals.

From Menoothéfiás a course of two  
days brings you to Rhapta, which is  
the last mart on the continent: and  
Rhapta has its name from Ῥάπτω, to sew,  
because the vessels in use there are formed  
of planks sewed together, [without the  
use of nails.]

The articles obtained here are ivory  
and tortoise shell; and the natives are  
men of the largest stature that are any  
where to be seen. This part of the coast  
likewise has a distinct chief in every se-  
parate place.

But, besides the native chiefs, the Ara-  
bians have a command over the whole,  
a power which by prescriptive right be-  
longs to [r Kholáibus] the chief of Ma-  
phartis in Sabéa: but the merchants of  
Moofa now hold it of [Kharibaël] the  
paramount sovereign of the Sabéans, [who  
is an Homerite,] and by his authority  
collect the customs or tribute of the port.  
Hither likewise they send their vessels, on  
board which they employ for command-  
ers and factors Arabs, who know the  
coast, and understand the language; or  
who have connections with the natives,  
and sometimes intermarry with them.

The imports at Rhapta are lances, made  
at Mooza specifically for this market,  
axes, daggers, and awls, with several forts  
of flint glass; and at some places wine,  
and a large quantity of wheat, not for  
sale, but to answer the expences of the  
traders, and to conciliate the natives.

<sup>4</sup> τὰ Ῥαπτὰ τὰ λεγόμενα Gelenius.

<sup>q</sup> This distance is much too short from Pemba  
to Quíloa.

<sup>r</sup> The distinction is made here by using two dif-

ferent terms; the chief is styled τύραννος, the para-  
mount βασιλεύς: the same distinction as occurs at  
p. 13. of the original.

ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων ἐλέφας πλεῖστος, ἦσαν δὲ τῶν Ἀδελτικῶν, καὶ ρινόκερος, καὶ χελώνη διάφορος μετὰ τὴν Ἰνδικήν, καὶ ναύπλιος ὀλίγος. Καὶ σχεδὸν τελευταῖατά ἐσι ταῦτα τὰ ἐμπόρια τῆς Ἀζανίας, τῆς ἐν δεξιῶσι ἀπὸ Βερενίκης ἡπείρου. Ὁ γὰρ μετὰ τέρας τῶν τόπων ὠκεανὸς, ἀνερεύνητος ὢν, εἰς τὴν δύσιν ἀνακάμπει, καὶ τοῖς ἀπετραμμένοις μέρεσιν τῆς Αἰθιοπίας, καὶ Λιβύης, καὶ Ἀφρικῆς, κατὰ τὸν νότον παρεκτένων, εἰς τὴν ἐσπέριον συμμίσγει θάλασσαν.

The exports consist of a large assortment of ivory, but it is inferior in quality to that of Adooli, with the addition of rhinoceros's horn and tortoise shell, nearly as good as that of India, and some inferior shells.

The places for trade about Rhapta are in a manner the last parts of Azania, and the termination of the whole coast from Berenikè down this eastern side of Africa; for the ocean farther south is still unexplored: but it winds round to the west, towards that part of the continent which lies at the back of Ethiopia, Libya, and Africa, and communicates with the great western [or Atlantic] ocean.

After going through this work now for the third time, I have not found it necessary to recall any of the assumptions I had hazarded, neither have I a doubt of any single position, except that of Mombaza. I have not displaced it in the

present translation, because there are not sufficient data for an alteration: but the uncertainty on this point cannot be removed, unless recourse could be had to an original manuscript, of which there is little expectation.

\* Ναύπλιος. An article unknown, but generally supposed to mean some sort of shell.

† It is evident from the passage just cited, p. 13. in the original, that not only Rhapta, but the other ports on the eastern coast of Africa or Ajan, were subject to the Arabs.

‡ Ἀπετραμμένοις μέρεσιν. He means the western coast of Africa.

\* Africa, as here distinguished from Libya, is the coast of Numidia and Mauritania.

‡ This communication is assumed by Skylax from the western side of the continent, as it is here by the author of the Periplus from the eastern side. The same opinion is adopted by Aristotle, Strabo, Polybius, and Juba, as well as many others: but the assertion of the actual circumnavigation is in one sense confined to Herodotus alone.

P E R I P L U S  
O F  
T H E E R Y T H R E A N S E A .

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*The Second Part of the Periplus, containing the Navigation of the Ancients round the Coasts of Arabia, and across the Indian Ocean, to the Western Coast of India.*

**I**N the edition of the Periplus by Hudson, the intellect is of greater use than the eye to discriminate between the termination of the African, and the commencement of the Oriental voyage; for it is by the intervention of a single point, that we are carried back again from Rhapta to Berenikè and Muos Hormus, in order to proceed on the navigation towards the east.

This is not a matter of importance indeed, but it is noticed to shew the necessity of distinguishing the two Voyages with precision; and marking the departure from the same two ports again, in

an opposite direction, and with a very different destination.

The Voyage itself is the most interesting narrative which the ancients have left us on this subject, except the expedition of Nearchus; and contains many particulars in detail, which could hardly have been collected by any author, unless he were a navigator who had actually performed the voyage himself. In this respect it is one of the most valuable remains of antiquity; and the internal evidence it contains is a complete proof of its veracity and authenticity.

A R A B I A .

ΕΚ δὲ τῶν εὐανύμων Βερενίκης ἀπὸ Μυὸς ὄρμου, δυσὶν δρόμοις ἢ τρισὶν εἰς τὴν ἀνατολήν, διαπλεύσαντι τὸν παρακείμενον κόλπον, ὄρμος ἐστὶν ἕτερος, καὶ Φρέ-

A R A B I A .

**M**UOS Hormus lies on the <sup>a</sup> left of Berenike, and from this port to Leukè Moilah. Kômè [on the opposite coast of Arabia] the passage is two or three days sail across the gulph.

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<sup>a</sup> By these expressions, on the *left* and the *right*, we are to understand the author as taking his departure from the port. Thus Ptolemæis Thêron

was on the right of Berenikè, and the islands Alalaioo on the right of Adooli.

ριον, ὃ λέγεται Λευκὴ Κώμη, δι' ἧς ἐστὶν εἰς Πέτραν πρὸς Μαλίχαν βασιλέα Ναβαταίων. Ἔχει δὲ ἐμπορίας τινὰ καὶ αὐτὸ τάξι, τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἐξαρτιζομένοις εἰς αὐτὴν πλοίοις οὐ μεγάλοις. Διὸ καὶ παραφυλακῆς χάριν, εἰς αὐτὴν παραλήπτης τῆς τετάρτης τῶν εἰσφερομένων φορτίων, καὶ ἑκατοντάρχης μετὰ στρατεύματος ἀποσέλλεται. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην εὐθέως ἐστὶν συναφῆς Ἀραβικὴ χώρα, κατὰ μῆκος ἐπὶ πολὺ παρατέταυσσα τῇ ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσῃ. Διάφορα ἔν ἐν αὐτῇ ἔθνη κατοικεῖται· τινὰ μὲν ἐπὶ ποσσὸν, τινὰ δὲ καὶ τελείως τῇ γλώσσῃ διαλλάσσοντα. Τούτων τὰ παρὰ θαλάσσαν, ὁμοίως Ἰχθυοφάγων, μάνδρας διέληπται· τὰ δὲ ἐπάνω, κατὰ κόμας καὶ νομαδίας οἰκεῖται πονηροῖς ἀνθρώποις διφάνοις. Οἷς παραπίπτοντες ἀπὸ τῶν μέσων πλοίων, οἱ μὲν διαρπάσσονται, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ ναυαγίων σωθέντες ἀνδραποδίζονται. Διὸ καὶ συνεχῶς ἀπὸ τῶν τυράννων καὶ βασιλέων τῆς Ἀραβίας αἰχμαλωτίζονται. Λέγονται δὲ Κανραεῖται. Καθόλα μὲν ἐν οὗτος ὁ τῆς Ἀραβικῆς χώρας ἡπείρου παράπλευρος ἐστὶν ἐπισηφάλης, καὶ ἀλίμενος ἢ χώρα καὶ δύσσομος, καὶ ἀκάθαρτος, ραχίαις καὶ σπίλοις ἀπρόσιτος, καὶ κατὰ πάντα φοβερά. Διὸ καὶ εἰσπλεόντων μέσον πλῆν κατέχομεν, καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἀραβικὴν χώραν μᾶλ-

Leukè Kômè is the place where the merchants land to go up to Petra, the residence of Malikhas, king of the Nabatæans; and it is occupied by a [Roman] garrison. It is a mart likewise for the small Arabian vessels that trade on this coast; for which reason there is a centurion placed here with his company, both for the protection of the place, and in order to secure the collection of the customs, which amount to a fourth part of the value of the cargo.

From <sup>b</sup>Leukè Kômè the adjoining coast of Arabia stretches a great way [south] down the Red sea, inhabited by various tribes or nations, all differing in some measure, and several having a distinct language. Those next the sea live like the Ikhthuophagi [on the opposite coast] in huts or tents; but the tribes more inland are Kanraites or Bedouin Arabs, who speak two different languages. If a vessel happens to be shipwrecked here, she is plundered, and those on board are reduced to slavery: but the <sup>c</sup>Kanraites, in return, are seized and made slaves of, by all the native kings and chiefs [who have commerce on these seas.]

The whole navigation along this part of Arabia is dangerous in the highest degree, for there is no harbour, scarcely an anchorage that is safe, foul ground every where, the shore unapproachable from shoals and breakers, and in short every thing that is destructive to the mariner.

It is for this reason that on *our* passage down the gulph, we hold our course large in the mid-channel, towards [the

<sup>b</sup> Leukè Kômè signifies the *white village*; its site is Moilah, determined by three islands, which Agatharchides places at the entrance of the Elanitic gulph.

<sup>c</sup> The Kanraites are the wild Arabs of the desert north of Yambo, still thieves and plunderers of the very worst description. *Irwin*.

λον παροξύνουμεν, ἄχρι τῆς κατακεκαυ-  
μένης νήσου, μεθ' ἣν εὐθέως ἡμέρων ἀν-  
θρώπων, καὶ νομαδιῶν θρεμμάτων, καὶ  
καμήλων συνεχεῖς <sup>5</sup> χώραι. Καὶ μετὰ  
ταῦτα, ἐν κόλπῳ τῷ τελευταίῳ τῶν  
εὐώνυμων τέτρῃ τῷ πελάγῳ, ἐμπόριον  
ἐστὶν νόμιμον παραθαλάσσιον Μάζα, σα-  
δίως ἀπέχον τὴν πάντας, ἀπὸ Βερενίκης  
παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν νότον πλεόντων, ὡς εἰς  
μυρίας διαχιλίας. Τὸ μὲν ὅλον Ἀρά-  
βων, ναυκληρικῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ναυτι-  
κῶν πλεονάζον, καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ ἐμπορίας  
πράγματα κινεῖται. Συγχρῶνται γὰρ τῇ  
τῷ πέραν ἐργασία καὶ Βαρυγάζων, ἰδίως  
ἐξαρτισμοῖς. Ὑπέρεται δὲ αὐτῆς ἀπὸ  
τριῶν ἡμερῶν πόλις Σαύη, τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν  
<sup>6</sup> Μαφαρίτιδος λεγομένης χώρας. Ἔστιν  
δὲ τύραννος, καὶ κατοικῶν αὐτὴν, Χόλαι-  
βος. Καὶ μετ' ἄλλας ἐννέα ἡμέρας.  
<sup>7</sup> Ἀφὰρ μητρόπολις. Ἐν ἣ Ἰαριβαῆλ,  
ἐνθεσμος βασιλεὺς ἐθνῶν δύο, τῷ τε Ὀ-  
μηρίτῃ καὶ τῷ παρακειμένου λεγομένου  
Σαβαίτῃ, συνεχέσι πρεσβείαις καὶ δώροις  
Φίλος τῶν αυτοκρατόρων. Τὸ δὲ ἐμπό-  
ριον ἢ Μάζα ἀλίμενον μὲν, εὐσαλον δὲ καὶ  
εὐορμον, διὰ τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν ἀμμόγεια ἀγ-

civilized part of] Arabia, never stopping  
till we come to the burnt <sup>d</sup> island.

Below this island, the inhabitants of  
the coast are civilized; they have herds,  
flocks, and pasture for camels. And on  
the south, towards the extremity of the  
Red sea, there is a bay, in which lies  
Moofa, an established port, close upon  
the shore.

The extent of the whole navigation  
from Berenikè [including the passage to  
Leukè Kómè] is twelve thousand stadia  
by a course nearly south.

The whole [of this part] of Arabia  
abounds with mariners and pilots, and  
with merchants who trade to all the ports  
beyond the straits quite to Barugáza. <sup>Baroache in  
Guzerat.</sup> Their exports consist of native commodi-  
ties, [or such as are brought to them  
from Egypt.]

The province is called Maphartis; and  
the capital, three days inland from the  
port, is Savè, under the government of a  
chief named Kholáibus; and nine days  
still farther inland is Aphar, the metro-  
polis of the whole kingdom, under the  
dominion of <sup>e</sup> Kharibaël, the paramount  
sovereign of both nations, the Homérites  
and Sabéans: this is the prince whose  
friendship is courted by our emperors, and  
to whom they send embassies and pre-  
sents.

There is no harbour at Moofa, but an  
open bay; yet the anchorage is safe and  
good upon a <sup>f</sup> sandy bottom, where the  
anchors have good holding.

<sup>5</sup> χώραι is not in Gelenius's edition.

<sup>6</sup> Μαφαρίτιδος Gelenius.

<sup>7</sup> Σαφὰρ Hudson.

<sup>d</sup> Either gibel tar or gibel zekir; both shew the  
remains of volcanos. This is a run of about eight  
hundred miles, and proves that the vessels em-  
ployed in this trade must have carried water and  
provisions, with accommodations for the seamen,  
which Nearchus had not.

<sup>e</sup> Kholáibus is styled τύραννος, Kharibaël ἐνθεσμος  
βασιλεὺς, the legitimate king.

<sup>f</sup> Bruce says the same of Mocha; but Mocha  
is not Moofa. There is a town still called Moofa,  
now, twenty miles inland, between which and the  
sea the sand is supposed to have accumulated by  
Niebuhr and others.

κυροβόλια. Φορτία δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν προχωρεῖ, πορφύρα διάφορος καὶ χυδαία, καὶ ἱματισμὸς Ἀραβικὸς χειριδωτός, ὃ, τε ἀπλῆς καὶ ὁ κοινός, καὶ σκοτελάτος, καὶ διάχρυσος, καὶ κρόκος, καὶ κύπερος, καὶ ὄθονιον, καὶ ἀβόλλα, καὶ λώδικες οὐ πολλὰ, ἀπλοῖ τε καὶ ἐντόπιοι, ζῶνα σκιωτά, καὶ μύρον μέτριον, καὶ χρῆμα ἰκανόν, οἶνος τε καὶ σίτος οὐ πολὺς. Φέρεται γὰρ καὶ ἡ χώρα πύρον μετρίως, καὶ οἶνον πλείονα. Τῷ τε βασιλεῖ καὶ τῷ τυράνῳ δίδονται ἵπποι τε καὶ ἡμίονοι ναπηγοὶ, καὶ χρυσάματα, καὶ τορευτὰ ἀργυράματα, καὶ ἱματισμὸς πολυτελής, καὶ χαλκουργήματα. Ἐξάγεται δὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς, ἐντόπια μὲν, σμύρνα ἐκλεκτὴ, καὶ σακτὴ ὁ σμυρναία, λύγδος, καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς πέραν Ἀραβίης προσηρημένα Φορτία πάντα. Πλέεται δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν εὐκαίρως περὶ τὸν Σεπτέμβριον μῆνα, ὅς ἐστι Θάψ. Οὐδὲν δὲ κωλύει καὶ τὰ χιόν. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην ὡσὲν τριακοσίαις παραπλεύσαντες σαδίαις, ἤδη συνερχομένης τε τῆς Ἀραβικῆς ἡπείρου, καὶ τῆς πέραν κατὰ τὸν Αἰαλίτην Βαρβαρικῆς χώρας, αὐλῶν ἔστιν οὐ μακρὸς, ὁ συνάγων καὶ εἰς σενὸν ἀποκλείων τὸ πέλαγος· οὗ τὸν μεταξὺ πόρον ἐξήκοντα σαδίων μεσολαβεῖ νῆσος ἡ Διο-

The imports here are, purple cloths, both fine and ordinary, coating ready made for the Arabian market, with sleeves reaching to the wrist: the cloth of which they are made is of various sorts, plain, or ordinary, or s mottled, or shot with gold. <sup>h</sup> Saffron, kuperus, or aromatic rush, cottons, coverlids, some plain and some peculiar to the market, but in no great quantity, fashes of different shades, unguents, specie sufficient for purchases, wine, and a small proportion of wheat; for the country itself in some measure supplies sufficient for its consumption.

Besides these, there are imported as presents for the king and for Kholaihus, horses and mules for the saddle, gold plate and silver burnished, or chased, brass wares, and cloth of high price for robes.

The exports are, native myrrh of the finest sort, gum from <sup>i</sup> Minæa, and alabaster, with all the articles that are imported from <sup>k</sup> Adooli on the opposite coast.

The best season for making the voyage is in Thoth, that is September, or earlier.

At three hundred stadia from Moofa, the two coasts of Arabia and Africa approach each other to form the straits [of Bab-el-mandeb] close to the bay of Avalites: the channel between is short but narrow, not exceeding sixty stadia, and is divided by the island of Diodorus<sup>l</sup>. The Perim.

<sup>s</sup> ἀβιρμειναία Gelenius. Perhaps σακτὴ ἀβιρμειναία.

<sup>s</sup> Σκοτουλάτος is the Latin term *scutulatus*, applied to the colour of a horse, dappled or mottled; opposed here to ἀπλοῦς, cloth of one colour, and κοινός, ordinary: *vulgaris, e medio sumptus*.

<sup>h</sup> It is not quite plain whether saffron is not one of the distinctions of the cloth, as yellow.

<sup>i</sup> Ἀβιρμειναία, gum of Minæa. Ἀβιρ is pos-

sibly the name of the gum.

<sup>k</sup> The exports from Adooli were both the produce of Egypt and the oriental commodities brought to that port in the Greek or Indian fleets.

<sup>l</sup> The whole strait from coast to coast is twenty-four miles; six miles can only apply to the passage between Perim and Arabia.

δάρκ. Διὸ καὶ ῥώδης, καταπνεόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν παρακειμένων ὄρων, ἐστὶν ὁ κατ' αὐτὴν διάπλους. Κατὰ τῆτον τὸν ἰσθμὸν παραθαλάσσιός ἐστιν Ἀράβων κώμη τῆς αὐτῆς τυραννίδος Ὀκηλις, ἔχ' ἔτιως ἐμπόριον ὡς ὄρμος καὶ ὑδρευμα, καὶ πρῶτη καταγωγὴ τοῖς ἔσω διαίρξιν. Μετὰ ἧ Ὀκηλιν ἀνοικοδομηθεὶς πάλιν τῆς θαλάσσης εἰς ἀνατολὴν, καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς πέλαιος ἀποφαινομένης, ἀπὸ σαδίων ὡς χιλίων διακοσίων, ἐστὶν εὐδαίμων Ἀραβία, κώμη παραθαλάσσιος βασιλείας τῆς αὐτῆς Ὁ Χαριβαήλ, τὸς ὄρμος μὲν ἐπιτηδέιους καὶ ὑδρεύματα γλυκύτερα, καὶ κρείσσω τῆς Ὀκηλέως ἔχουσα. Ἦδη δὲ ἐν ἀρχῇ κόλπος κειμένη τῷ τὴν χώραν ὑποφεύγειν. Εὐδαίμων ἧ ἐπεκλήθη πρότερον ἔσα πόλις, ὅτε μὴπω ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς εἰς τὴν Αἰγυπτίον ἐρχομένων, μηδὲ ἀπὸ Αἰγυπίας τολμάντων εἰς τὸς ἔσω τόπους διαίρειν, ἀλλ' ἄχρι ταύτης παραγινομένων, τὸς παρὰ ἀμφοτέρων φόρτος ἀπεδέχετο. Ὡσπερ Ἀλεξάνδρεια καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν, καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγυπίας φερομένων ἀποδέχεται. Νῦν δὲ οὐ πρὸ πολλῶ τῶν ἡμετέρων χρόνων Καῖσαρ αὐτὴν κατ-

current here is violent, and the wind, by being confined between the mountains on the two opposite shores, adds greatly to the strength of the current.

Close within the straits, on the Arabian side, lies Okélis: it is a village close to Ghella, the sea, [in a bay] and subject to <sup>m</sup> Kholaiibus, the chief of the province. There is no mart here, but it is merely a place of security to anchor at, and procure water for the vessels upon their entering the gulph.

For vessels which are outward bound, as soon as they have passed the straits, the course is easterly, as the sea opens in that direction, and widens by degrees [to Fartaque and Gardefan.] The first port is Arabia Felix, a village on the coast, twelve hundred stadia from the straits, and subject to <sup>n</sup> Kharibaél: it is a safe harbour, and convenient for obtaining water, which is sweeter and better than that of Okélis. The village lies at the entrance of the harbour, as far as may be from the continent.

It is called Felix, or *happy*, because it was formerly a flourishing city, when the fleets which came from India for the supply of Egypt resorted to this port, and when the fleets from Egypt *did not dare to hazard* the voyage to India: the respective cargoes were then interchanged at this place; in the same manner as the produce of Egypt, and the articles imported from foreign countries, are exchanged at Alexandria. But within these few years the city has been taken and destroyed by the <sup>o</sup> Roman Emperor.

<sup>9</sup> Χαριβαήλτος Gelenius.

<sup>1</sup> Καὶ is not in Gelenius.

<sup>m</sup> Τῆς αὐτῆς τυραννίδος implies, that it is the province of the *τύραννος*, and not of Kharibaél, who is *ἰσθμὸς βασιλεὺς*, the king.

<sup>n</sup> Τῆς αὐτῆς βασιλείας Χαριβαήλ. Here *βασιλείας* is put in contradistinction to *τυραννίδος*.

<sup>o</sup> Καῖσαρ or Cefar was a name common to all



εσρέψατο. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς εὐδαίμονος Ἀραβικῆς ἐκδέχεται συναφῆς αἰθιαλὸς ἐπιμήκης, καὶ κόλπος, ἐπὶ διαχιλίαις ἢ πλείονας παρήκων σαδίαις, Νομάδων τὲ καὶ Ἰχθυοφάγων κώμαις παροικουμέναις. Οὐ μετὰ τὴν προέχουσαν ἄκραν ἐμπορίον ἐστὶν ἕτερον παραθαλάσσιον Κανὴ, βασιλείας Ἐλεάζα χώρας λίβαντοφόρα, καὶ κατ' αὐτὴν ἔρημοι νῆσοι δύο, μία μὲν ἡ τῶν ὀρνέων, ἡ δὲ ἕτερα λεγομένη Τρέλλας, ἀπὸ σαδίων ἑκατὸν εἰκοσι τῆς Κανῆς. Ὑπέρεκται δὲ αὐτῆς μεσόγειος ἡ μητρόπολις Σάββαθα, ἐν ἣ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς κατοικεῖ. Πᾶς δὲ ὁ γεννώμενος ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ λίβανος εἰς αὐτὴν ὥσπερ ἐκδοχεῖον εἰσάγεται καμήλοις τε καὶ ρεδίαις ἐντοπίαις δερματίνας ἐξ ἀσκῶν καὶ πλοίοις. Ἐχει δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ σύγχρησιν τῶν πέραν ἐμπορίων, Βαρυγάζων, καὶ Σκυθίας, καὶ Ὀμάνων, καὶ τῆς παρακειμένης Περσίδος. Εἰσάγεται δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν, ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου μὲν ὁμοίως πυρὸς ὀλίγος καὶ οἶνος, ὥσπερ καὶ εἰς Μόζα. Ἰματισμὸς Ἀραβικὸς ὁμοίως, καὶ κοινὸς καὶ ἀπλῆς, καὶ ὁ νόθος, περισσύτερος. Καὶ χαλκὸς, καὶ

From Arabia Felix [which is the same as the modern Aden] the adjoining coast stretches out with a vast sweep for more than two thousand stadia to <sup>p</sup> Kanè; the whole tract is occupied by Ikhthuóphagi and wandering tribes, and Kanè lies under a cape at the termination of it, subject to a chief called Eleázus, who is possessor of the incense country.

There are two small uninhabited islands, styled Orneon and Troolas, at the distance of an hundred and twenty stadia from Kanè.

The metropolis in the interior is <sup>q</sup> Sab-Schibam<sup>†</sup> batha: here is the residence of the king, and hither is brought all the frankincense, of the country to be stored. Camels, boats, and rafts floated on inflated skins, are employed in the conveyance.

There is likewise a considerable foreign trade at Kanè to Barugáza and Scindi in India, to <sup>r</sup> Omana, and to the ports of the gulph of Persia in the neighbourhood of Oman.

The imports here from Egypt are, a small quantity of wheat and wine, the same as at Moosa; cloth for the natives, both <sup>s</sup> plain and common, with a large assortment of it fraudulently manufactured. Besides these they import brags,

the Roman emperors; and this city was destroyed, probably, by Claudius, because the fleets from Egypt now went to India, and it was the interest of Rome to suppress a rival.

<sup>p</sup> I could have wished to place Kanè at Kefchin, which I have found written Kafne or Kassin in oriental geographers, and which is a place of great trade: but the distance does not answer; and D'Anville, after Sanfon, finds a place called Cave-Kanim on this coast.

<sup>q</sup> Sabbatha and Eleazus suggest Scripture names to the mind: but Niebuhr informs us, that several towns in Arabia take their name from the day on

which their market is held: and if this could be applied in the present instance, the market-day might be on the Sabbath, or Saturday.

<sup>r</sup> Omana may mean the Omana of the Periplus, which is Shær, or Omana on the coast of Karmania. The real Oman is the south-east angle of Arabia.

<sup>s</sup> Ἀπλῆς, κοινὸς, νόθος. Ἀπλῆς, applied to colour, is all of one shade, not striped or mottled. Νόθος, or spurious, may be bad cloth, imposed upon the natives instead of a genuine manufacture, as the French carry their cloths to Turkey, and pass them off for Londres.

κασσίτερος, καὶ κοράλιον, καὶ σύραξ, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὅσα εἰς Μάζα. Τὰ πλείονα δὲ ἀργυρώματα τετορευμένα καὶ χρήματα τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἵπποι δὲ, καὶ ἀνδριάντες, καὶ ἱματισμὸς διάφορος, ἀπλῆς. Ἐξάγεται δὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς, ἐπιπία μὲν Φόρλια, λίβανος καὶ ἀλόη, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ κατὰ μετοχὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἐμπορίων, πλεῖται δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν, ὃν καὶ εἰς Μάζα, πρωιμώτερον δέ. Μετὰ δὲ Κανὴ τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ πλείον ὑποχωρήσεως ἄλλος ἐκδέχεται βαθύτατος κόλπος, ἐπὶ πολὺ παρεκτείνων, ὃ λεγόμενος Σαχαλίτης· καὶ χώρα λίβανωφόρος, ὀρενὴ <sup>2</sup> τε καὶ δύσβατος, αἴερα παχὺν ἔχουσα καὶ ὀμιχλώδη, κατὰ τῶν δένδρων φερόμενον τὸν λίβανον. Ἔστιν δὲ τὰ δένδρα τὰ λίβανοφόρα, οὐ μεγάλα λίαν, ἐδὲ ὑψηλά· φέρει δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ φλοιῷ πησσομένον τὸν λίβανον, ὡς τινα καὶ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δένδρων δακρῦει τὸ κόμμι. Μεταχειρίζεται ἢ ὁ λίβανος ὑπὸ δέλων βασιλικῶν, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τιμωρία πεμπομένων. Ἐπίνοσοι δὲ δεινῶς οἱ τόποι. Καὶ τοῖς μὲν παραπλέεσι λοιμικὸι, τοῖς ἢ ἐργαζομένοις πάντοτε θανατώδεις. Ἔτι δὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἔνδειαν τῆς τροφῆς εὐχερῶς ἀπολλύμενοι. <sup>3</sup> Τέτα δὲ ἐστὶν ἀκρωτήριον τῷ κόσμῳ μέγιστον, ἀποβλέπον εἰς ἀνατολήν, ὃ καλέμενος Συάγρος, ἐφ' οὗ

tin, coral, storax, and other commodities of the same sort as are carried to Moosa. For the king, the merchants carry plate wrought or chased, specie, horses, images, and cloth of the finest sort of one colour.

The exports are all sorts of native produce, frankincense, aloes, and the same articles as are procured at the other ports on the coast. The best season for the voyage is the same as that for Moosa, but rather earlier.

Beyond Kanè the bay called Sakhalites commences; it is of vast extent, and of considerable depth, and forms the coast of the frankincense country, a mountainous and impracticable tract, incommoded with fogs and a dark atmosphere in all the parts where the trees grow that produce the frankincense. These trees are neither large or lofty, but the substance exudes from the bark, and becomes consistent, like the gum that weeps from several of our trees in Egypt.

The incense is collected by the king's slaves, condemned to this service as a punishment; for the country is unhealthy in the extreme, pestilential even to those who navigate on the coast, and certain death to the wretched sufferers employed in the collection; who, if they escape death from the climate, are sure to perish by want and neglect.

The coast which forms the border of this country terminates at a promontory called 'Suágros, the largest cape in the Cape Fartaque.

<sup>2</sup> δι Gelenius.

<sup>3</sup> τῷτο Gelenius.

<sup>1</sup> Suágros is so called from a palm-tree, that bears a fruit of the same name. It forms the entrance of a vast inlet to the Red sea with the opposite cape Gardafui, which lessens as it approaches the straits of Bab-el-mandeb. It is not the largest cape in the world, but one of the most important to the navigator. Here the bay Sakhalites of the

Periplus terminates, and the Sakhalites of Ptolemy commences. Ptolemy is probably the more correct, as Sahar or Sachar, written Schæhr, is to the east of Fartaque; but the oriental geographers seem to countenance two bays of this name, as there is another Sahar not far from Kanè.

Φρέριόν ἐστὶ τῆς χώρας καὶ λιμὴν καὶ ἀπο-  
θήκη τῶ συναγομένῃ λιθάνῃ. Καὶ κατὰ  
τῆτον ἐν τῷ πελάγει νῆσος, ἀπὸ μέσον  
τέτα, καὶ τῆ πέραν ἀκρατηρίας τῶν ἀρω-  
μάτων, τῷ Συάγρω συνορίζουσα μᾶλλον,  
ἢ Διοσκορίδου καλουμένη, μεγίστη μὲν,  
ἔρημος δὲ καὶ κάθυγρος· ἔχουσα ποταμὸν  
ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ κροκοδείλους, καὶ ἐχίδνας  
πλείστας, καὶ σαύρας ὑπερμεγέθεις, ὧν  
τὸ κρέας ἐσθίεσι, τὸ δὲ λίπος τήκεται, καὶ  
ἀντ' ἐλαίου χρῶνται. Καρπὸν δὲ <sup>4</sup> οὔτε  
ἀμπέλαι, ἔτε σίτου, ἢ νῆσος φέρει. Οἱ ἢ  
ἐνοικεῖντες αὐτὴν ὀλίγοι, κατὰ μίαν πλευ-  
ρὰν τῆς νήσου τῆς πρὸς Ἀπαρκτίαν οὐ-  
κῆσι, καθὸ μέρος ἀποβλέπει τὴν ἡπειρον.  
Εἰσὶν δὲ ἐπίξενοι καὶ ἐπίμικτοι, Ἀράβων  
τε καὶ Ἰνδῶν, καὶ ἔτι Ἑλλήνων τῶν πρὸς  
ἐργασίαν ἐκπλεόντων. Φέρει δὲ ἡ νῆσος  
χελώνην, τὴν τε ἀληθινήν καὶ χειρσαίαν,  
καὶ τὴν λευκὴν, πλείστην δὲ καὶ διάφορον,  
καὶ τοῖς ὄσρακοις μείζουσιν· τὴν τε ὀρεινὴν  
ὑπερμεγέθη, καὶ παχύτατον ὄσρακον ἔχου-  
σαν. Οὐ τὰ πὰρ τὴν κοιλίαν μέρη τὰ  
ἐγχρήζοντα, τομὴν οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται, καὶ  
πυρρότερα ὄντα. Ὀλοτελῶς δὲ τὰ εἰς  
γλωσσόκομα καὶ πινακίδια καὶ μαγίδια  
ἐγχρήζοντα, καὶ τοιαύτην τινὰ <sup>5</sup> χρῆσιν  
κατατέμνεται. Γίνεται δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ κιν-  
νάβαρι τὸ λεγόμενον Ἰνδικόν, ἀπὸ τῶν

world, and projecting towards the east.  
There is a garrison here for the protec-  
tion of the country, and a harbour, on  
which are the storehouses for the frank-  
incense collected here from the whole  
coast.

Between this cape and Arômata, [or  
Gardafui] on the opposite continent of  
Africa, lies the island of Dioscôrida; it is  
<sup>u</sup> nearer the Arabian than the African  
coast, very large, but low and marshy,  
and thinly inhabited, abounding with  
crocodiles, snakes, and enormous lizards,  
and not destitute of rivers. The lizards  
serve for food, and their fat is melted to  
answer the purpose of oil; but there is  
neither wheat or grapes.

The few people that inhabit this island  
live all on the north side, looking towards  
Arabia; they are a mixed race, consist-  
ing of foreigners, Arabs, Indians, and  
Greeks, who leave their country to trade  
in the productions of the place: these  
consist chiefly of the sea and land tor-  
toise, and a particular species called the  
white, which is here in great abundance,  
and of the best quality: besides these  
there is another species found in the  
mountains, with a shell of remarkable  
solidity; the part towards the belly is  
<sup>x</sup> tinged with yellow, and refits the tool;  
it is employed therefore, without cutting,  
to form boxes, cases, tablets, stands, and  
other toys of the same kind. The only  
other production worth noticing is the  
gum called <sup>y</sup> dragon's blood, which ex-

<sup>4</sup> οὔτε ἀμπέλον, οὔτε σιτικόν Gelenius.

<sup>5</sup> γρότην Gelenius.

<sup>u</sup> This is not correct; Socotra lies nearest to Gardafui.

<sup>x</sup> Whether *tinged* is a proper interpretation of *ἐγχρήζοντα* or not, I cannot determine; but it is twice used in this passage, and will bear that sense in both places. Hudson and Stuckius have very

wisely suppressed it.

<sup>y</sup> Cinnabar in the original; which, Chambers says, is a misnomer for dragon's blood: this drug is still obtained in Socotra. It is remarkable that we find nothing of Socotrine aloes, as much celebrated by the ancients as at present.

δένδρων ὡς δάκρυ συναγόμενον. Ὑποπίπτει μὲν οὖν, ὡσπερ ἡ Ἀζανία Χαριβαήλ, καὶ τῷ Μαφαρέτῃ τυράννῳ, καὶ ἡ νῆσος αὐτῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς λιβανωτοφόρα. Συνεχρήσαντο δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ ἀπὸ Μάζα τινὲς, καὶ τῶν ἐκπλεόντων διὰ Λιμυρικῆς καὶ Βαρυγάζων, ὅσοι κατὰ τύχην εἰς αὐτὴν ἐπιβάλλοντες, ὄρυσαν τε καὶ σῖτον καὶ ὀθόνην Ἰνδικὴν ἀντικαλασσομένοι, καὶ σώματα θηλυκὰ διὰ σπάνιν ἐκεῖ προχωρῶντα, χελώνην ἀντεφορτίζοντο πλείστην. Νῦν δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων ἡ νῆσος ἐκμεμίδεται, καὶ παραφυλάσσεται. Μετὰ δὲ τῷ Σύαγρον κόλπος ἐστὶν συναφής, ἐπὶ βάθος ἐνδύων εἰς τὴν ἡπειρον, Ὁμανα, φαδίς ἔχων ἑξακοσίας τὸ διαπέραμα. Καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ὑψηλὰ ὄρη πετρῶδη καὶ ἀπόκοπα ἀνθρώπων ἐν σπηλαίοις κατοικούντων, ἐπὶ φαδίς ἄλλης πεντακοσίου. Καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς ὄρμος ἀποδεσγμένος, τῷ Σαχαλίτῃ λιβάνου πρὸς ἐμβολὴν, Μόχα λιμὴν λεγόμενος. Εἰς ἣν ἀπὸ Κανῆ συνήθως πλοῖα πέμπεται τινα. Καὶ παραπλέοντα ἀπὸ Λιμυρικῆς ἢ Βαρυγάζων, ὀφεινοῖς καιροῖς παραχειμάσαντα, παρὰ τῶν βασιλικῶν πρὸς ὀθόνιον καὶ σῖτον καὶ ἔλαιον, λίβανον

udes from a particular tree, and hardens to a consistence.

The same circumstance takes place here as has been already mentioned relative to Azania; for as the ports in that part of Africa are subject to Charibaël and Kholaiibus, so is this island of Dioscórída under the power of the king of the <sup>z</sup> incense country.

The merchants of Moofa, who trade to Barugáza and Limúrikè occasionally frequent this island; and, when they touch here, they purchase abundance of tortoise shell in exchange for their rice, wheat, and cottons or muslins; they likewise find a good market for female slaves, as the residents have few women in the island at present. The king of <sup>a</sup> Hadramaut has a garrison here, but the customs are fet to farm.

Guzerat and Canara.

From Suágros [or Fartaque] the adjoining bay of <sup>b</sup> Omana takes a large sweep of considerable depth into the main, six hundred stadia in extent; and towards the termination of this the shore is high, rocky, and steep to, for five hundred stadia more, the country is inhabited by a tribe who dwell in caverns.

At this boundary is the established port for the reception of the Sachalitic incense, called Moskha; it is a place regularly frequented by the vessels from Kanè; while the fleets returning from Barugáza and Limúrikè, if they happen to lose the season, are obliged to lie here, [during the adverse monsoon,] and exchange part of their cargo, such as wheat, oil [of fefamum,] and cottons, for frank-

Schæhr?

<sup>z</sup> Now Hadramaut.

<sup>a</sup> Socotra is at this day dependant on the sheik of Kefchin.

<sup>b</sup> This is the bay Sachalites of Ptolemy, and Sahar or Schæhr is near the centre of it, which I

apprehend to be the Moskha of the Periplus, whether by mistake of the name Muskhath, transposed to this place, I cannot say; but he drops an expression, as if he called this bay Sachalites, as well as Ptolemy.

ἀντιφορτίζουσιν. Παρ' ὅλον δὲ τὸ Σαχαλίτην χώματι κειμένῳ καὶ ἀφυλάκτῳ, δυνάμει θεῶν τινι, τῆτον τὸν τόπον ἐπιτηρέωντων. Οὔτε γὰρ λάθρα, ἔτε Φανερωῶς, χωρὶς βασιλικῆς δώσεως εἰς πλοῖον ἐμβληθῆναι δύναται. Καὶν χόνδρον τις ἄρη, οὐ δύναται πλεῦσαι τὸ πλοῖον ὁ ἀπὸ λιμένος, δίχα δαίμονος. Ἐπ' ἄλλης σαδίας ὡς χιλίας πεντακοσίας, ἕως Ἀσίχωνος ἄχρι τῆς γῆς παρατείνει. Καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἀπολήγον αὐτῆς μέρος ἐπὶ τὰ νῆσοι πρόκεινται κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς, αἱ Ζηνοβίαι λεγόμεναι. Μεθ' αὐτῆς ἄλλη παρατείνεται χώρα βάρβαρος, ἐκ ἔτι τῆς αὐτῆς βασιλείας, ἀλλ' ἤδη τῆς Περσίδος. Ἦν ἀφ' ὑψους παραπλέοντι ὡς σαδίας διχιλίαις ἀπὸ τῶν Ζηνοβίαι, συναντᾷ νῆσος Σαράπιδος λεγομένη, ἀπὸ σαδίων τῆ γῆς ὡσεὶ ἑκατὸν εἰκοσι. Ταύτης τὸ μὲν πλάτος ἐστὶν ὡσεὶ σαδίων διακοσίων, οἰκεῖται δὲ κώμαις τρισίν, καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἱεροῖς Ἰχ-

incense, which is supplied by the king's agents or factors.

Throughout the whole tract called <sup>c</sup> Sakhalites, frankincense lies piled up in heaps, without watch or guard to secure it, as if it was committed to some divine power for protection. For without the king's permission it is impossible to convey it on shipboard either openly or clandestinely: even if a single grain were embarked, it would be a marvellous chance if the vessel escaped seizure.

From Moskha the coast extends fifteen hundred stadia more to the district of <sup>d</sup> A'fikho; and at the termination of this <sup>Hafek of Al Edriffi.</sup> tract lie the seven islands of Zenobius in succession, [which correspond to the modern <sup>e</sup> Curia Muria.]

The country which succeeds next to these islands is not under Arabian but Persian jurisdiction, the natives of which are uncivilized. A vessel after passing this coast <sup>f</sup> stands off to sea from the islands of Zenobius during a course of two thousand stadia, till she reaches the island of <sup>g</sup> Sarápis, that lies an hundred <sup>Mazeira.</sup> and twenty stadia from the main. Sarápis is two hundred stadia in breadth, and divided into three districts, each of which has its village. The natives are held sa-

<sup>6</sup> ἀπὸ δαίμονος δίχα λιμένος Gelenius.

<sup>c</sup> The author had terminated his Sakhalites at Suágros, and yet he seems here to adopt it again. This is in harmony with Ptolemy; and however Omana and Moskha may suggest the idea of Oman and Muskhath, I shall prove immediately, by the islands which follow, that we are not yet within four hundred miles of the modern Oman, and that the distance to Muskhath is half as much more.

<sup>d</sup> Hafek means weedy; and such is the sea on this coast.

<sup>e</sup> These islands are ascertained by another called Sarápis, now Mazeira, which succeeds; and by measuring back 1500 stadia, or 150 miles, to Moskha, a reference to the map will immediately shew

that Moskha is at Shæhr. I suspect that the author has misapplied a name; for Ptolemy's Sakhalites is evidently derived from Sakhal, equivalent to Sahar or Schæhr.

<sup>f</sup> Ἄφ' ὑψους, which Hudson renders *ex supernis locis*, should be read ἰφ' ὑψους, and rendered *off shore*, through the *open sea*.

<sup>g</sup> Were it possible to doubt the assumption of Curia Muria for Zenobius, the island of Sarápis must infallibly determine the question: for there is no other island but Mazeira on the whole coast of Arabia of this extent, and the distance corresponds.

θυοφάγων. Γλώσση δὲ Ἀραβικῇ χρω-  
 νται, καὶ περιζώμασι φύλλων κακίνων.  
 Ἔχει δὲ ἡ νῆσος χελώνην ἰκανὴν καὶ διά-  
 φορον. Ἐξαρτίζουσι δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν συνή-  
 θως οἱ ἀπὸ Κανῆς σκάφας καὶ ἐφόλκια.  
 Περικολπίζοντι δὲ τὴν ἐχομένην ἤπειρον,  
 εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρκίον ἤδη περὶ τὴν εἰσβολὴν  
 τῆς Περσικῆς θαλάσσης, κῆνται νῆσοι  
 ἑπτάπλοοι, Καλαίου λεγόμενα νῆσοι,  
 σχεδὸν ἐπὶ σαδικῆς διακίλις ἑπταπαρτεμέ-  
 ναι τῆ χώρα. Πονηροὶ δὲ οἱ κατοικῆντες αὐ-  
 τὴν ἀνθρώποι, καὶ ἡμέρας οὐ πολὺ τι  
 βλέποντες. Περὶ δὲ τὴν ἐσχάτην κεφαλὴν  
 τῶν Παπίων νήσων, καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον Κα-  
 λὸν ὄρος, ἐκδέχεται μετ' ἑποῦ τὸ σῶμα  
 τῆς Περσικῆς. Καὶ πλεῖστα κολυμβή-  
 σεις εἰσὶν τῆς πινικῆς κόγχης. Τέτρα δὲ τῆς  
 σῶματος ἐκ τῆς εὐωνύμων ἐστὶν ὄρη μέγιστα  
 λεγόμενα Σαβῶ. Ἐκ δὲ τῶν δεξιῶν ἀν-  
 τικρὺς ἀφορώμενον ἄλλο στρογγύλον ὑψη-  
 λὸν, τὸ Σεμειράμεως λεγόμενον. Καὶ

cred, and are Ikhthuóphagi; they speak the language of Arabia, and wear an apron of <sup>h</sup> cocoa leaves. The produce of the island is tortoise shell of superior quality in great abundance, which the boats and small vessels from Kanè come here regularly to purchase.

From Sarápis the course is along the adjoining continent [till you arrive at <sup>i</sup> Kôródamon or Ras-el-had,] when it turns to the north, [if your destination is] to the gulph of Persia; and beyond this promontory, at the distance of two thousand stadia, lie the islands of Kalaioo or Kalaias: these islands stretch along parallel to the coast [in distinct lines,] and you may sail through them, or between them and the shore, [their modern name is Swadi, or Swardi, a corruption of <sup>k</sup> Sohar-di.] The inhabitants are a treacherous race, and during day-light their fight is affected by the rays of the sun.

Beyond these islands of Kalaioo there is another group called Pápias, at the termination of which lies the Fair mountain, not far from the entrance of the Persian gulph; and [in that gulph is] the pearl fishery.

At the straits which form the entrance into this sea, you have on the left that vast mountain called Sabo, and opposite Mofandon. to it on the right a lofty round mountain which takes the name of <sup>l</sup> Semi-ramis.

Now Elbours  
Ehowrs  
Chowfe.

<sup>7</sup> πλείονες Stuckius: but διαπλιόμεναι or παραπλιόμεναι seems wanting.

<sup>8</sup> Perhaps παρατιταμίαι.

<sup>h</sup> Κακίνων. The expression is remarkable, and possibly the most ancient mention of the cocoa palm.

<sup>i</sup> Kôródamon is obtained from Ptolemy; it answers to cape Ras-el-had, and the Periplus marks it without a name by a change in the direction of the course to the north. By taking a liberty with the text, I bring the islands of Kalaioo or Kalaias into their position two hundred miles north of Ras-el-had: and there is at this day a port or bay

called Kalaiait to the north of that cape.

<sup>k</sup> Sohar-di, or dive, signifies the islands of Sohar; and Sohar is a port once as much frequented, as Mukhat now is, for the Indian trade.

<sup>l</sup> Elbours signifies a fire-tower of the Parfees or Guebres, and the mountain has its name from the resemblance it bears to one of those buildings. Possibly the title of Semiramis has some allusion to the same ancient race.

μέσος αὐτὸς ὁ διάπλους τῆς σόματος ὡς  
 σαδίας ἑξακοσίας, δι' οὗ μέγιστος καὶ  
 πλατύτατος εἰς τὰς ἐσωτάτας τόπους ὁ  
 Περσικὸς κόλπος ἀναχέεται. Καθ' ὃν ἐν  
 τοῖς ἐσχάτοις αὐτῆς μέρεσιν ἐμπορίον ἐστὶν  
 νόμιμον, λεγόμενον ἢ Ἀπολόγος, κειμένη  
 κατὰ Πασίνου χώραν, κατὰ ποταμὸν  
 Εὐφράτην.

## INDIA.

ΠΑΡΑΠΛΕΥΣΑΝΤΙ δὲ τῆτο τὸ σόμα  
 τῆς κόλπης, μετὰ δρόμους ἕξ, ἕτερον ἐμπο-  
 ριον ἐστὶν τῆς Περσίδος, ἢ λεγομένη Ὀ-  
 μάνα. Ἐξαρτίζεται δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν συνή-  
 θως. Ἀπὸ μὲν Βαρυγάζων εἰς ἀμφο-  
 τερα ταῦτα τῆς Περσίδος ἐμπορία, πλοῖα  
 μεγάλα χαλκῆ καὶ ξύλων Ὁσαγαλίνων  
 καὶ δοκῶν καὶ κεράτων, καὶ Φαλάγγων  
 ἢ Σησαμένων καὶ Ἐβενίνων. Εἰς δὲ τὴν  
 Ὀμάναν καὶ ἀπὸ Κανὴ λίβανος. Καὶ ἀπὸ  
 Ὀμάνων εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν ἐντόπια ῥαπτία  
 πλοιάρια, τὰ λεγόμενα Μαδαράτε. Εἰσ-  
 φέρεται δὲ ἀπὸ ἐκατέρων τῶν ἐμπορίων,  
 εἰς τε Βαρυγάζων καὶ εἰς Ἀραβίαν, πι-  
 νικὸν πολὺ μὲν, χεῖρον δὲ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς, καὶ  
 πορφύρα, καὶ ἱματισμὸς ἐντόπιος, καὶ οἶνος,

From these straits, which are only six  
 hundred stadia in breadth, the gulph of  
 Persia expands to a vast length and width  
 into the interior of the continent; and at  
 the extremity of the gulph [on the north-  
 west] there is an established port bearing  
 the name of Apologus, [which corre-  
 sponds with the O'boleh of the oriental  
 writers, and is the port to Bafra;] it lies  
 on the Euphrates, opposite to the coun-  
 try of <sup>m</sup> Pasiuus.

## INDIA.

[BUT if your destination is for India,  
 and you do not enter the gulph of Persia,]  
 you take your course for six days across  
 the bay previous to the straits for O'mana,  
 on the coast opposite to Arabia. It lies  
 in the province of <sup>n</sup> Persis, and the mer-  
 chants from Barugáza bring their cargoes <sup>Baroache.</sup>  
 both to Apologus and to this port, consist-  
 ing of brafs, sandal wood, sefamum, ivory,  
 and ebeny. O'mana is frequented like-  
 wise by the fleets which bring frank-  
 incense from Kanè. And from O'mana  
 and Apologus there is trade open with  
 Arabia and Barugáza for pearls in great  
 quantities, but inferior to those of India;  
 as well as for purple and manufactured  
 cloth, for <sup>o</sup> wine and dates, gold and  
 slaves. The vessels also sewed with coir

<sup>8</sup> ἢ Ἀπολόγος, κειμένη κατὰ Πασίνου χώρα Gelenius. Either χώρα is wanted for ἢ κειμένη, or χώρακα after κατὰ Πασίνου. Read, ἢ Ἀπολόγος, κειμένη κατὰ Πασίνου χώρακα, χώρα. Pafini or Spafini Charax is known to all the geographers. <sup>9</sup> Σαγαλίνο Gelenius. Read, Σαυδαλίνο. <sup>1</sup> Σαυσαμίνων Gelenius.

<sup>m</sup> Pasiuus was an Arab chief, who possessed a district on the Delta, formed by the mouths of the Euphrates and Tigris, near the Hafar canal. He is noticed by most of the ancient geographers, and resembles the Sheik Schauib of the present day: his successor in Trajan's time is styled Athámbilus.

<sup>n</sup> It lies, properly speaking, in Karmania, and takes its name from Oman, which is a district in Arabia, in the angle formed by C. Ras-el-had, of

which Mukhat is now the principal port. The inhabitants of Oman have in all ages been commercial, and they had manifestly established this O'mana in Karmania as a central mart between India and Arabia.

<sup>o</sup> Φοῖνιξ πολὺς may signify any of the different fruits of the palm-tree, as cocoas, dates; but, joined here with οἶνος, it is probably toddy, a wine drawn from the species called palmeira.

καὶ Φοῖνιξ πολὺς, καὶ χρυσὸς, καὶ σάμαλα.  
 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ὀμανιτικὴν χώραν ὁμοίως,  
 ἢ παρ' ὁδὸν παράκειται βασιλείας ἐτέρας,  
 καὶ κόλπος τῶν Τεράβδων λεγόμενος, οὗ  
 κατὰ μέσον εἰς τὸν κόλπον παρανατέννει.  
 Καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν ποταμὸς ἐστὶν ἔχων εἰσα-  
 γωγὴν πλοίοις. Καὶ μικρὸν ἐπὶ τῷ εὐ-  
 ματος ἐμπόριον Ὀραία λεγόμενον. Καὶ  
 κατ' αὐτὸν μεσόγειος πόλις, ἀπέχουσα  
 ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν ἐπτα ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, ἐν ἣ καὶ  
 βασιλεία ἢ λεγομένη. Φέρει δὲ ἡ χώρα  
 σῖτον πολὺν, καὶ οἶνον, καὶ ὄρυζαν, καὶ Φοί-  
 νικα· πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἡπειρὸν ἐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ  
 βδέλλα. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν χώραν, ἣδη  
 τῆς ἡπείρου διὰ τὸ βάθος τῶν κόλπων ἐκ  
 τῆς ἀνατολῆς ὑπερκερώσης, ἐκδέχεται  
 παραθαλάσσια μέρη τῆς Σκυθίας, παρ'  
 αὐτὸν κείμενα τὸν βορέαν, ταπεινὰ λίαν.  
 Ἐξῆς ποταμὸς Σίνθος μέγιστος τῶν κατὰ  
 τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν ποταμῶν, καὶ  
 πλείστον ὕδωρ εἰς θάλασσαν ἐκβάλλων.  
 Ὡστε ἄχρι πολλῆ (καὶ πρὶν ἢ συμβῆναι  
 τῇ χώρᾳ) εἰς τὸ πέλαιγος ἀπαντᾶν ἀπ'  
 αὐτῆ λευκὸν ὕδωρ. Σημεῖον δὲ ἤδη τῆς  
 περὶ αὐτὴν χώραν ἐπιβολῆς τοῖς ἐκ πε-  
 λάγους ἐρχομένοις, οἱ προαπαντῶντες ὄ-  
 φεις ἐκ τῆς βάθους. Τῶν γὰρ ἐπάνω καὶ  
 περὶ τὴν Περσίδα τόπων σημεῖον ἐστὶν αἱ

are built at O'mana for the Arabians, which they call Madarátè.

East from O'mana the course is directed along the coast of another kingdom, and the bay of the Terabdi; the jurisdiction of the king extends to the middle of this bay, terminating at a river which will admit ships; and here there is a mart of no great importance called P Oraia.

But there is a large city inland at seven days distance from the sea, which is the residence of the king. At Oraia there is abundance of wheat, rice, wine, and toddy. But the interior produces nothing but gum.

Beyond this tract, the continent winds from the east round the indenture of several bays till it reaches the sea coast of Scindi, which is exceeding low, and lies towards the <sup>9</sup> north. Then follows the <sup>The Indus.</sup> Sinthus, the largest of all the rivers in the Erythræan sea, and rolling with the greatest volume of water; so that while you are at a distance, and before you arrive near shore, you meet with white water quite out at sea.

The prognostic of approaching this river, is the appearance of snakes rising up from the bottom, and floating on the surface, and a similar occurrence of a reptile called Graæ is noticed on the coast of Perfis.

<sup>2</sup> ἔξ ὧν Gelenius.

<sup>P</sup> For Oraia or Horaia I can discover nothing equivalent; it may be somewhere near Tiz, and the inland city Phoora: but the author passes this coast so hastily, that I doubt whether he visited it. I am the more confirmed in this doubt by his mention of wine, rice, and wheat on a coast where Nearchus found little besides fish, dates, and camel's flesh. Oraia may as well be Guadel as Tiz.

<sup>9</sup> This whole passage is obscure; it is true there are several bays, and the last of these is sheltered on the east by cape Eirus or Monze; and from cape Monze to the Indus the coast is low; but the Indus does not lie north from that cape. I think the author is confused, because he is ignorant, he probably failed by the monsoon, and was never on this coast.



λεγόμεναι γράαι. Ἐπὶ δὲ οὗτος ὁ ποταμὸς ἔχει στόματα, λεπτὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τεναγώδη. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα διάπλεν ἔκ ἔχει, μόνον δὲ τὸ μέσον, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ τὸ παραθαλάσσιον ἐμπόριον ἐστὶν βαρβαρικόν. Πρόκειται δὲ αὐτῷ νησίον μικρόν, καὶ κατὰ νῶτα μεσόγειος ἡ μητρόπολις αὐτῆς τῆς Σκυθίας Μινναγάρ. Βασιλεύεται δὲ ὑπὸ Πάρθων, συνεχῶς ἀλλήλους ἐκδιωκόντων· τὰ μὲν οὖν πλοῖα κατὰ τὴν βαρβαρικὴν διορμίζονται, τὰ δὲ φορτία πάντα εἰς τὴν μητρόπολιν ἀναφέρεται διὰ τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ. Προχωρεῖ δὲ εἰς τὸ ἐμπόριον ἱμαλισμὸς ἀπλῆς ἱκανός, καὶ νόθος οὐ πολὺς, <sup>3</sup> πολύμιτα, καὶ χρυσόλιθον, καὶ κοράλλιον, καὶ σύραξ, καὶ λίθαινος, καὶ ὑαλᾶ σκεύη, καὶ ἀργυρώματα, καὶ χρῆμα, οἶνος δὲ οὐ πολὺς. Ἀντιφορτίζεται ἡ κόσος, βδέλλα, λύκιον, νάρδος, καὶ <sup>4</sup> καλλιανὸς λίθος, καὶ σάπφειρος, καὶ σηρικὰ δέρματα, καὶ ὀθόνιον, καὶ νῆμα σηρικόν, καὶ Ἰνδικὸν μέλαν. Ἀνάγονται δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ πλείοντες μετὰ τῶν Ἰνδικῶν περὶ τὸ Ἰέλιον μῆνα, ὅς ἐστιν Ἐπιφί. Δυσεπίβολος μὲν, ἐπιφορώτατος δὲ ἐκείνων καὶ συνιομώτερος ὁ πλῆς. Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Σίνθον ποταμὸν ἕτερός ἐστιν κόλπος ἀθεώρητος παρὰ τὸν βορέαν. Ὀνομάζεται δὲ Εἰρινόν. Ἐπιλέγεται δὲ ὁ μὲν μικρόν, ὁ ἡ μέγα. Πελάγη δὲ ἐστὶν ἀμ-

The Sinthus has seven mouths, mostly Indus. shallow, and rather fens than streams. They are all unnavigable, except one in the centre, upon which lies the mart of Barbárikè near the sea, under cover of a small island. But inland from Barbárikè, is the capital of the province called Minnagar, the residence of the king; and the government is in the possession of a body of Parthians divided into two parties, which, as either of them prevails, drives its opponents out of the country.

The vessels, upon their arrival, anchor at Barbárikè and their cargoes are carried up by the river to Minnagar. The imports are,

A large assortment of plain cloth, and some of fraudulent manufacture. Fine cloth, chrysolites, coral, storax, frankincense, vessels of flint glass, silver plate, wine, and specie.

The exports are, kostus, gum bdellium, lukion, spikenard, <sup>3</sup> callain stone, sapphires, furs or hides from the country of the Sères, fine muslins, sewing filk and indigo. The best season for the voyage is in July or Epiphi; which, though liable to difficulties at the commencement, is still most convenient upon the whole, and shortens the passage to a considerable degree.

To the east of the Sinthus [or Indus] you meet with another bay, called <sup>4</sup> Eirinus, hitherto <sup>u</sup> unexplored, which has an inclination to the north: there are in fact two bays, or rather one divided into two, Kutch.

<sup>3</sup> πολύμιτα Gelenius.

<sup>4</sup> καλλιανὸς Gelenius.

<sup>r</sup> Λυκίον, box-thorn.

<sup>s</sup> Λίθος καλλιανός, a stone from Kallian, Gallian or Bombay.

<sup>t</sup> Eirinus is the bay of Kutch or Kartch, equally unexplored [ἀθεώρητος] at the present day, fo

called from Kacha, a town at the head of the bay.

<sup>u</sup> Ἀθεώρητος, *visu difficilis* in Hudfon: but θεωρέω signifies more than barely seeing; it implies contemplation, examination. Stephens in voce accurate *investigo*.

Φότερα τεναγώδη, καὶ δίνας ἐλαφρὰς ἔχοντα καὶ συνεχεῖς καὶ μακρὰς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς. Ὡς πολλάκις ἔῃπέρας μὴδὲ βλεπομένης, ἀποκέλλειν τὰ πλοῖα· ἐνδοτέρω ἢ προληφθέντα, καὶ ἀπολλύμενα. Τούτων δὲ ὕπερήκει τῶν κόλπων ἀκρωτήριον ἐπικαμπές ἀπὸ τῶν ὄρμων μετὰ τὴν ἀναβολὴν καὶ τὸν νότον ὡς εἰς τὴν δύσιν, ἐκπεριλαμβάνων αὐτὸν τὸν κόλπον λεγόμενον Βαράκης, νήσους ἐπὶ ἀμπερικειλημένους. Οὗ περὶ μὲν τὰς ἀρχὰς οἱ περιπεσόιες, ὀλίγον ὀπίσω καὶ εἰς τὸ πέλαγος ἀναδραμόντες, ἐκφεύγουσιν· οἱ δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν κατακλειθέντες τὴν τῶν Βαράκης κοιλίαν ἀπόλλυνται. Τό τε γὰρ κύμα μέγα καὶ βαρὺ λίαν, ἢ δὲ θάλασσα ταραχώδης καὶ θολερὰ, καὶ δίνας ἔχουσα καὶ ροῶδεις εὐλίγχευς. Ὁ δὲ βυθὸς ἐν τισὶ μὲν ἀποκοπος, ἐν τισὶ δὲ πετρώδης, καὶ ἀπόξυρος, ὥστε τέμνεσθαι τὰς παρακειμένας ἀγκύρας ἀντέχειν ἀποκοντιζόμενας, αὐτὰς δὲ καὶ συντριβομένας ἐν τῷ βυθῷ. Σημεῖον δὲ αὐτοῖν τοῖς ἀπὸ πειλάγους ἐρχομένοις, οἱ προαπαντῶντες ὄφεις ὑπερμεγέθεις καὶ μέλανες. Ἐν γὰρ τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα τόποις, καὶ τοῖς περὶ Βαρυγάζαν, μικρότεροι καὶ τῷ χρώματι χλωροὶ καὶ χρυσίζοντες ὑπαντῶσι. Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Βαράκην εὐθύς ἐστὶν ὁ Βαρυγάζων κόλπος, καὶ ἡ πρὸς τῆς Ἀριακῆς χώρας τῆς Μαιμάρων βασι-

a larger and a smaller, the sea in both is shallow with continual eddies and <sup>h</sup> overfalls, extending a great way from shore; so that vessels are frequently aground before they come within sight of land, or are caught in the indraft, and driven upon the breakers.

At the entrance of this gulph a promontory rises, [on the right] called Barákè, <sup>Jiggat.</sup> from the point of which the shore takes first a south-east direction, and then winds round to the west, encircling the bay, and including the seven islands which lie off Barákè. Vessels which make this cape keep off from the entrance of the gulph, to escape the danger; but if they are once embayed beyond the cape, there is no possibility of retreat; for the wave is so large and heavy, the sea so troubled and boisterous, the eddies and whirlpools so numerous, that it is certain destruction. The soundings likewise are as fallacious as the other dangers are imminent; for you have one instant an abrupt cast in deep water, and the next you are upon a rocky bottom, so broken and sharp, as to chafe the cables carried out to steady the vessel, and finally make them part from the anchor.

The approach to this bay however is discoverable by the appearance of snakes again, very large and black. The same occurrence takes place also along the coast, and at Barugáza; but the snakes there are smaller, paler, and of a colour approaching to gold.

Next to the bay of Barákè succeeds Kutch, the gulph of Barugáza, and on this gulph is the commencement of the whole [pen- <sup>The gulph of</sup> infula] of India, as well as the kingdom <sup>Cambay.</sup>

<sup>5</sup> ὑπερήκει Hudfon.

<sup>6</sup> Ἀριακῆς Gelenius. But Ἀριακῆς from Láríkè is Ptolemy's name for Guzerat.

<sup>h</sup> Δίνας ἐλαφρὰς, eddies in shoal water.

<sup>1</sup> The bay of Kutch and the gulph of Cambay embrace two sides of the province of Guzerat:

the other part, from Jiggat to Diu head, is not here in contemplation of the author. There are seven islands north of Jiggat in Dalrymple's chart.

λείας ἀρχῆ, καὶ τῆς ὅλης Ἰνδικῆς οὐσα. Ταύτης τὰ μὲν μεσόγεια τῆς Σκυθίας συνορίζοντα Ἰθέρια, καλεῖται δὲ τὰ παραθαλάσσια Συραστρήνη. Πολύφορος ἢ ἡ χώρα σίτου, καὶ ὀρύζης, καὶ ἐλαίου σησαμίνης, καὶ βετύρου, καὶ καρπάσου, καὶ τῆ ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἰνδικῶν ὀθονίων τῶν χυδαίων. Βακόλια δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ πλεῖστα, καὶ ἄνδρες ὑπερμεγέθεις τῷ σώματι, καὶ μέλανες τῆ χροιά. Μητρόπολις δὲ τῆς χώρας Μιναγάρα, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ πλεῖστον ὀθόνιον εἰς Βαρούγαζαν κατάγεται. Σώζεται δὲ ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατιάς σημεῖα περὶ τὰς τόπους, ἱερά τε ἀρχαῖα καὶ θεμέλιοι παρεμβολῶν καὶ Φρέατα μέγιστα. Ὁ δὲ παράπλευρος ταύτης τῆς χώρας ἀπὸ τῆ βαρβαρικῆ μέχρι τῆ κατὰ ὁ Ἀσάκαμπρα ἠ ἀπέναντι Βαρυγάζων ἀκρωτηρία τῆς λεγομένης Παπικῆς, ἔστιν δὲ σταδίων τρισχιλίων. Μεθ' ἧς ἕτερός ἐστι τόπος ἔσω κυμάτων, εἰς αὐτὸν ἐνδύνων τὸν βορέαν, οὗ κατὰ μὲν τὸ σῶμα νῆσος ἐστὶν ἡ λεγομένη Βαιώνης, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐσωτάτοις τόποις μέγιστος ποταμὸς ὁ λεγόμενος Μάις. Τῆτον τὸν κόλπον τὸ πέλαιος ὡς σταδίων τριακοσίων οἱ πλεόντες εἰς Βαρού-

of Mámbarus, towards [the confines of] Ariakè.

The interior part of Scindi extends [on its western limit] to <sup>1</sup>Sabeiria, but the sea coast [between the Indus and Barákè] is styled Surastrênê. It is a fertile country, abounding in wheat, rice, Kutch or Booge-booge. oil of sesamum, and butter or ghee; it has likewise a manufacture of fine muslins and ordinary cottons: the natives are black, and men of great stature, and feed a great quantity of cattle. The cottons fabricated here are exported by the merchants of Minnagar to Barugázà.

In this kingdom of Minnagar several memorials of the expedition of Alexander are still preserved; such as ancient temples, fosses of encampment, and magnificent wells. But the passage from this country to Barugázà, upon leaving Barbárikè, on the Indus, [and avoiding Barákè, or the bay of Kutch,] is direct to Asta Kampra, and the cape called Pá- Diu head. pika, which lies opposite to Barugázà, at the distance of three thousand stadia from Barbárikè. From Pápika the coast winds in again north, [to the gulph of Cambay,] and upon the turn of the coast at the entrance of the gulph lies the island of Baiônès. Diu.

At the head of the gulph comes in the Maïs, a very large river [still called Mahi, or Myhi;] and to reach Barugázà your <sup>m</sup> course is, three hundred stadia in mid-

<sup>7</sup> Σαβειρία Hudfon, from Ptolemy. reading, as Ἀσάκαπρα occurs in Ptolemy.

<sup>8</sup> Ἀσα καὶ Τραπίραν Gelenius. See Ἀσάκαμπραν infra; the better <sup>9</sup> ἀπέναντι is wanting in Gelenius.

<sup>k</sup> In the original it is Ἀραβικῆς, which Hudfon and Stuckius both suppose to be erroneous, as it certainly is: they both therefore read Ἀριακῆς, and I have followed their correction; but I believe Λαρικῆς to be the true reading, and that Mámbarus was king of Larikè; for Larikè is Ptolemy's name for Guzerat, and Lar it is called by Abulfeda. The only objection to Λαρικῆς is the particle *περὶ*.

See the note at the conclusion.

<sup>1</sup> Sabeiria is a reading of Hudfon's, from Ptolemy, instead of Ἰθέρια, as it is in the first edition. Ptolemy's Sabeiria is on the N. W. of the Indus.

<sup>m</sup> If I understand my author right, he means to say, that you are to run north up the gulph till Baiônès is barely visible, and then strike east across the gulph to the mouth of the Lamnaius. Three

γαζαν διαπερῶνται, ἐξ εὐωνύμων ἀκρο-  
 Φανῆ καταλιπόντες τὴν νῆσον, καὶ εἰς αὐ-  
 τὴν ἀνατολὴν ἐπ' αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα τῆς πο-  
 ταμῆς Βαρυγάζων. Λέγεται δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ  
 ποταμὸς Λαμναῖος. Ὁ τε κόλπος αὐ-  
 τὸς ὁ κατὰ Βαρυγάζαν στενὸς ὢν, τοῖς ἐκ  
 πελάγους ἐρχομένοις δυσεπίβολος. Ἡ γὰρ  
 εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ, ἢ εἰς τὰ εὐώνυμα παρα-  
 πίπῃσιν. Ἡ τε ἐπίβολὴ κρείσσων ἐστὶν  
 τῆς ἐτέρας. Ἀλλ' ἐκ μὲν τῶν δεξιῶν  
 κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα τῆς κόλπου παράκειται  
 ἰτανία τραχεῖα καὶ διάσπιλος, Ἡρώνη  
 λεγομένη, κατὰ Καμμωνί κάμην. Ἐκ  
 δὲ τῆς εὐωνύμων ἀπέναντι ταύτης, τὸ πρὸς  
 Ἀσακάμπρων ἀκρωτήριον, ἢ Παπικὴ λε-  
 γομένη, δύσσομος οὖσα, διὰ τε τὸν ῥῆν  
 τὸν περὶ αὐτὴν, καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀποκόπτειν τὰς  
 ἀγκύρας, τραχὺν ὄντα καὶ πετρώδη τὸν  
 βυθόν. Κὰν κατ' αὐτὸν δὲ τις ἐπιβάλη  
 τὸν κόλπον, αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα τῆς κατὰ Βα-  
 ρύγαζαν ποταμῆς δυσεύρετόν ἐστιν, διὰ τὸ  
 τὴν χώραν ταπεινὴν εἶναι, καὶ μηδὲν ἐγ-  
 χύτερον ἐνεχύρωσ θεωρεῖσθαι. Κὰν εὐ-  
 ρεθῆ, δυσείσολος ἐστὶν διὰ τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν  
 τενάγη τῆς ποταμῆς. Τέτρα χάριν περὶ

channel up the gulph, till Baiônês is  
 scarcely visible in the horizon; and then  
 east, strait across to the mouth of the  
 ° Lamnaius, the river upon which Ba-  
 rugáza stands.

Nerbudda.  
 Nahar-budda?  
 The river of  
 Booda.

The bay of Barugáza is narrow, and is  
 approachable with difficulty from the  
 main sea, either on the right or the left;  
 but the passage on the *left* is safest. For  
 on the *right*, at the very entrance of the  
 gulph, there lies a stripe of shoal, long  
 and narrow, which is called Herônè, with  
 very rough and broken ground, directly  
 off the village of P Kammôni. And upon  
 the left, opposite to this, towards Pápika,  
 [or Diu head,] in the neighbourhood of  
 ¶ Asta Kampra, the anchorage is rendered  
 dangerous by the rapidity of the current  
 which comes round the cape, and the  
 foulness of the ground which chafes the  
 cables. But even after you have entered  
 the gulph, the mouth of the Lamnaius is  
 extremely hard to hit, upon account of  
 the lowness of the country round, and  
 the want of landmarks in the vicinity.  
 And finally, when you have entered the  
 river, the navigation upwards is very in-  
 tricate, occasioned by the shoals and  
 marshy ground on the banks.

† It is on this account that the govern-

ἰτανία Gelenius.

hundred stadia, or thirty miles, are not a sufficient  
 distance from the island itself to the river: but  
 when thirty miles up the gulph, you may strike  
 across to the Lamnaius.

° The Lamnaius is the Námadus of Ptolemy,  
 written Namada by the Hindoos, and now called  
 the Nerbudda. Baroache, that is, Barugáza, lies  
 about thirty miles from the mouth.

¶ Kammôni must be a village on the coast of  
 Guzerat, and manifestly not far distant from the  
 site of the modern Surat, in the front of Swally,  
 which is the road of Surat. Both Skinner and

Dalrymple place a long stripe of sand, correspond-  
 ing precisely with the *Ταινία*, or fillet of the Peri-  
 plûs, which the author calls Herônè. There can  
 be little doubt, from its appearance on the chart,  
 that this is correct; and that Kammôni is the re-  
 presentative of Swalley.

¶ Written Astakampra in the original, but doubt-  
 less the same as Asta and Trapera before men-  
 tioned.

† For the difficulties of navigating the gulph of  
 Cambay, consult Skinner, in the Oriental Navi-  
 gator, p. 206. See Dalrymple's Charts of Malabar.

αὐτὸν τὸν ἑσπλιν βασιλικὸν ἀλιεῖς ἐντόπιοι πληρώμασι μακρῶν πλοίων, ἀ λέγεται Τράππαγα καὶ Κότυμβα, πρὸς ἀπάντησιν ἐξέρχονται μέχρι τῆς Συρατρῆνης, ἀφ' ἧν ὁδηγεῖται τὰ πλοῖα μέχρι Βαρυγάζων. Κλίνουσι γὰρ εὐθύς ἀπὸ τῆς σόματος τῆς κόλπης διὰ τὰ τενάγη τοῖς πληρώμασιν, καὶ ῥυμκλῆσιν αὐτὰ σαθμοῖς ἤδη τεταγμένοις, ἀρχομένης μὲν τῆς πλήμης ἀφροντες, ἐσημένης δὲ διορμίζοντες κατὰ τινὰς ὄρμυς καὶ κυθρίνας. Οἱ δὲ κυθρίνοι τόποι εἰσὶν τῆς ποταμῆς βαθυτέροι μέχρι Βαρυγάζων. Ἀπέχει γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς σόματος ἄνω παρὰ ποταμὸν κεκλιμένη ὡς σαδίων τριακοσίων. Πᾶσα μὲν ἡ Ἰνδικὴ χώρα ποταμῶν ἔχει πλείους, ἀμπάτους τε καὶ πλήμης μεγίστας, <sup>2</sup> συναπτομένας ὑπὸ τὴν ἀνατολὴν καὶ τὴν πανσέληνον ἄχρι τριῶν ἡμερῶν, καὶ τοῖς μεταξὺ κατασῆμασιν τῆς σελήνης ἐλασσεμένας. Πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ Βαρυγάζων, ὡς αἰφνίδιον τὸν τε βυθὸν ὀραῖσθαι, καὶ τινὰ μέρη τῆς ἡπείρου ποτὲ δὲ ξηρὰ, τὰ πρὸ μικροῦ πλωιζόμενα. Τῆς τε ποταμῆς, ὑπὸ τὴν εἰσβολὴν τῆς πλήμης τῆς πελάγους ὅλα συναθρομέναι, σφοδρότερον ἄνω φέρεσθαι τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ρεύματος ἐπὶ πλείους σαδίας. Διὸ καὶ κινδυνώδεις εἰσὶν αἱ τῶν πλοίων προσαγωγαὶ καὶ ἐξαγωγαὶ τοῖς ἀπέροις καὶ πρῶτως εἰσάγουσιν ἐς τὸ ἐμπόριον. Γινομένης γὰρ ὄρμης ἤδη περὶ τὴν πλήμην

ment keeps fishermen in pay, with large vessels called Tráppaga and Kotumba, to lie at the entrance of the gulph, or to watch the approach of vessels as far off as Suratrène [or the coast of Kutch,] and to pilot them up to Barugáza.

These vessels have stout crews, and from the entrance of the gulph, they tow the vessels up through the shoals, halting them at certain regular patches of deep water, stiled basons; weighing at the commencement of the flood, and anchoring during the tide of ebb in these basons, which are found quite up to Barugáza. Barugáza lies at the distance of three hundred stadia from the sea.

The whole country of India abounds in rivers, which are subject to the most impetuous tides. The course of these is from the east, and they are highest at the full moon, and the three following days; after which they fall off again during the interval. But at Barugáza the violence is still more remarkable; so that in a moment, when the water drops, the bottom is laid bare, and parts of the shore are dry, where a few minutes before vessels were sailing. Again, upon the coming in of the tide, the flood from the sea drives back the water in the rivers, and their stream is reversed for a great number of miles, with a stronger current than that which they have in their natural descent to the ocean.

This makes the approach or departure of vessels highly dangerous to those who are inexperienced, or who arrive at this port for the first time. For upon the rising of the tide, the stream rushes in without <sup>3</sup> remission, when no strength of

<sup>2</sup> συναυξομένης Stuckius.

<sup>3</sup> γιγνομένης ὄρμης—ὡδὲν παρισμένης.

<sup>3</sup> ἔδ' ἐν παριεμένης, αἱ ἄγκυραι οὐ κατέ-  
 χασιν. Διὸ καὶ τὰ προληφθέντα πλοῖα  
 τῇ Ἰνδία, πλαγιασθέντα ὑπὸ τῆ ὀξύτητος  
 τῆ ροῆς, ἐποκέλλει τοῖς τεναγέσι καὶ ἀνα-  
 κλάται· τὰ δὲ μικρότερα καὶ περιτρέ-  
 πεται· τινὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰς διώρυχας  
 ἀποκεκλικότα διὰ τὸ περὶ τὴν ἄμπωτιν,  
 ὅτ' ἂν μὴ διερίσῃ, τῆς πλήμης αἰφνίδιον  
 ἀπελθούσης, ὑπὸ τῆς πρώτης κεφαλῆς  
 τῆ ροῆς ἐμπίμπεται. Τοσαῦτα γὰρ περὶ  
 τὴν ἐσβολὴν τῆς θαλάσσης γίνονται βία  
 κατὰ τὰς συμμηνίας ὑπὸ τὴν νυκτερινὴν  
 μάλιθα πλήμην· ὥστε ἀρχομένης ἤδη τῆς  
 εἰσαγωγῆς, ὅτ' ἂν ἡρεμῇ τὸ πέλαγος,  
 ὑπ' αὐτῆ φέρεσθαι τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆ σόματος,  
 παραπλήσιον βοῆς στρατοπέδου μακρόθεν  
 ἀκκομένης, καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον αὐτὴν ἐπιτρέ-  
 χειν τοῖς τεναγέσι ροίζω τὴν θαλάσσαν.  
 Ἐπίκειται γὰρ κατὰ τὰ τῆ Βαρυγάζῃ  
 μεσόγεια, πλείονα ἔθνη, τό τε τῶν Ἀρα-  
 τριῶν καὶ Ῥαχάσων, καὶ Τανθαραίων,  
 καὶ τῆς <sup>4</sup> Προκλαίδος. Ἐν οἷς ἡ Βυκέ-  
 Φαλος Ἀλεξάνδρεια. Καὶ τούτων ἐπ'  
 ἀνώ μαχιμώτατον ἔθνος Βακτριανῶν, ὑπὸ  
 βασιλείᾳ ἔσαν ἴδιον τόπον. Καὶ Ἀλέξ-

cables is a sufficient security; ships are  
 caught in an instant, and turned with  
 their sides to the stream, and in that situa-  
 tion driven on the shoals and lost; at the  
 same time that the smaller vessels are  
 completely overfet. Many take refuge  
 in the creeks during the tide of ebb, when  
 the falling of the water has been so in-  
 stantaneous as to stop their progress in a  
 moment; [but this expedient is fruitless;]  
 for, upon the return of the flood, the rise  
 of the water is so rapid, that they are  
 filled before they float. These instances  
 occur most frequently during the night  
 tide, at the full of the moon; for it is  
 then that the flood is most violent, and  
 the rise most rapid. And if, upon this  
 conjuncture, you are prepared to enter  
 upon the first of the flood, and when the  
 sea appeared perfectly calm; you shall  
 hear in a moment a rushing sound from  
 the mouth of the river, like the tumult  
 of battle, and the water, driving forward  
 with the utmost impetuosity, covers the  
 bare shoals in an instant <sup>u</sup>.

In the country which lies inland from  
 Barugáza there is a variety of tribes, such  
 as the Aratrii, the Rhakhoosi, the Tan-  
 tharagi, and the Prokléans: in this re-  
 gion lies the Alexandria of <sup>x</sup> Bucéphalus,  
 and farther to the north the warlike na-  
 tion of the Bactrians, under a regal go-  
 vernment. It was from this tract of

Prokláis  
 Penge-ab?

<sup>3</sup> ἔδ' ἐν παριεμένης αἱ κατέχασιν ἄγκυραι Gelenius. Read, γιγνομένης ὁρμῆς—ἔδ' ἐν παριεμένης. Gelenius.

<sup>4</sup> Προκλαίδος

<sup>t</sup> προληφθέντα πλοῖα τῇ Ἰνδία. For the two last words, which are manifestly corrupt, I propose τῇ βία. See βία, line 11.

<sup>u</sup> The author is so minute and graphical in his description of this bay, that there can be little doubt of his having experienced the dangers he details; exaggerated perhaps by his fears, or really alarming from the imperfect state of navigation, but still conformable in all essential particulars to the account of modern geographers. To judge

from his enlargement here, we may naturally conclude that he had little acquaintance with the coast of Gadrófia, where his narrative is as barren as it is here diffuse.

<sup>x</sup> There is nothing, ancient or modern, to assist us in placing these tribes; but the mention of Bucéphalus and the Bactrians marks the geography of the author as tending to the sources of the Indus and the north.

ανδρος ὀρηθεὶς ἀπὸ τῶν μερῶν τέτων  
 ἄχρι τῆς Γάγγης διήλθε, καταλιπὼν τὴν  
 τε Λιμυρικὴν καὶ τὰ νότια τῆς Ἰνδικῆς.  
 ἀφ' οὗ μέχρι νῦν ἐν Βαρυγάζοις παλαιαὶ  
 προχωρῶσι δραχμαὶ, γράμμασιν Ἑλλη-  
 νικοῖς ἐγκεχαραγμένα, ἐπίσημα τῷ μετὰ  
 Ἀλεξάνδρον βεβασιλευκότων Ἀπολλοδότῃ  
 καὶ Μενάνδρῳ. Ἐνὶ δὲ αὐτῆς καὶ ἐξ ἀνα-  
 τολῆς πόλις, λεγομένη Ὀζήνη, ἐν ἣ καὶ  
 τὰ βασίλεια πρότερον ἦν. Ἀφ' ἧς πάντα  
 τὰ πρὸς εὐθηνίαν τῆς χώρας εἰς Βαρυ-  
 γάζα καταφέρεται, καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἐμπο-  
 ρίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν, ὄνυχιν λιθία καὶ μαρ-  
 ρίνη, καὶ σινδόνες Ἰνδικαὶ, καὶ μολόχιναι,  
 καὶ ἰκανὸν χυδαῖον ὀθόνιον. Κατάγεται  
 δὲ δι' αὐτῆς, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνω τόπων, ἡ  
 διὰ Προκλαίδος καταφερομένη νάρδος, ἡ  
 κατύβερνιη, καὶ ἡ πατροπαπίγη, καὶ ἡ  
 καθαλίτη, καὶ ἡ διὰ τῆς παρακειμένης  
 Σκυθίας. Ὁ, τε κόσος καὶ ἡ βδέλλα.  
 Προχωρεῖ δὲ εἰς τὸ ἐμπόριον οἶνος προ-  
 γαμένως Ἰταλικὸς, καὶ Λαοδικηνὸς, καὶ  
 Ἀραβικὸς, καὶ χαλκὸς, καὶ κασσίτερος,  
 καὶ μόλυβδος, κοράλλιον, καὶ χρυσόλιθον,

country that Alexander proceeded to the  
 ὕ Ganges, leaving Limúrikè, and the whole  
 peninsula on the south. And [in conse-  
 quence of his expedition] ancient coins  
 with Greek inscriptions are still current  
 at Barugáza; some of these bear the im-  
 pression of Apollódotus and <sup>z</sup> Menander,  
 who reigned [in these northern provinces]  
 after the time of Alexander.

On the east of Barugáza lies the city  
 of Ozênè, [still called Ougein] which <sup>Ujjain.</sup>  
 was formerly the <sup>a</sup> seat of government.  
 From this city all the necessaries of life  
 are brought down to Barugáza in abun-  
 dance, and many articles for our trade;  
 such as onyx stones, porcelane, the finest  
 mullins, some of inferior <sup>p</sup> quality, and  
 ordinary cottons in large quantities. The  
 spikenard also from <sup>c</sup> Prokláís [in the  
 north] passes through Ozênè in its way  
 to Barugáza; and of this there are several  
 species, distinguished by the names of  
 Katabórinè, Patropápigè and the Kaba-  
 litic. The same article, with the addition  
 of kostus and gum bdellium, is intro-  
 duced also through <sup>d</sup> Scindi, the province  
 adjoining to Prokláís.

The imports are, wine; Italian has the  
 preference; and next to that, Syrian and  
<sup>e</sup> Arabian; brass, tin, lead, coral, topazes,

<sup>y</sup> This is an unfortunate assertion, and proves that our author was more conversant in trade and navigation than history.

<sup>z</sup> Menander is well known in history as a Greek king of Bactria: the name of Apollódotus does not occur, but he was probably a Greek, who had established himself in some province on the west of the Indus. See Bayer. Hist. Bact.

<sup>a</sup> Ougein is still in one sense the capital of the Mahrattas, for it is the Jaghire of Scindia.

<sup>b</sup> Μολόχιναι. Rendered also mullin of the colour of mallows.

<sup>c</sup> I have already mentioned the difficulty of assigning a site to Prokláís; but if Kabalites means Kabool, (which I believe it does,) the conveyance

of spikenard out of Tartary by Kabool, and the provinces on the sources of the Indus, is conformable to the track of the regular caravans at this day. The information of our author, who acquaints us that spikenard came out of Tartary, is very remarkable; for this plant is a native of Thibet and Boodtan, and has been brought down in all ages by the same route, till of late that it has found a nearer conveyance by Bengal. What the other species are besides the Kabalitic, we have no means of discovering.

<sup>d</sup> Scythia in the Periplus always means Scindi, and is probably a corruption of Scinthia.

<sup>e</sup> Perhaps toddy or palm-wine.

ίματισμὸς ἀπλῆς καὶ νόθος παντοῖος, πολύμιτοι ζῶναι πηχυαῖαι, σύραξ, μελίλατον, ἕελος ἀργή, σανδάρακη, <sup>5</sup> σήμι, δηνάριον χρυσῶν καὶ ἀργυρῶν, ἔχον ἀλλαγὴν καὶ ἐπικέρδειάν τινα πρὸς τὸ ἐντόπιον νόμισμα, μύρον οὐ βαρῦτιμον, ἐδὲ πολὺ. Τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ κατ' ἐκείνας τὰς καιρὰς εἰσφερόμενα βαρῦτιμα ἀργυρώματα, καὶ μασικά, καὶ παρθένοι εὐειδέεις πρὸς πάλλακιαν, καὶ διάφορος οἶνος, καὶ ἱματισμὸς ἀπλῆς πολυτελής, καὶ μύρον ἔξοχον. Φέρεται δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων νάρδος, κόσος, βδέλλα, ἐλέφας, ὄνυχιν λίθια, καὶ σμύρνα, καὶ λύκιον, καὶ ὀθόνιον παντοῖον, καὶ σπριγκόν, καὶ μολόχινον, καὶ νῆμα, καὶ πέπερι μακρὸν, καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμπορίων φερόμενα. Ἀποπέσιν δὲ κατὰ καιρὸν οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου εἰς τὸ ἐμπόριον ἀναγόμενοι περὶ τὸν Ἰάλιον μῆνα, ὅς ἐστιν Ἐπιφί. Μετὰ δὲ Βαρυγάζα εὐθέως ἢ συναφῆς ἤπειρος ἐκ τῆ βορέα εἰς τὸν νότον παρεκτείνει. Διὸ καὶ Δαχίναβάδης καλεῖται ἢ χώρα. Δάχανος γὰρ καλεῖται ὁ νότος τῆ αὐτῶν γλώσση. Ταύτης ἢ μὲν ὑπερκειμένη πρὸς ἀνατολὰς μεσόγειος

cloth plain and adulterated, fine safes, half yard wide, storax, sweet lotus, flint glass, cinnabar, stibium for tinging the eyes, specie, gold and silver, on which there is profit by exchanging it with the coin of the country; perfumes of no great price, and not many. Gold and silver plate of the most expensive sort for the king, at the <sup>f</sup> time when the government was at Ozène. The articles imported specially for the king were musical instruments, handsome girls for the haram, wine of the best sort, cloth of the highest price, and the finest perfumes.

[These imports and exports seem all relative to the market at Ozène:] but spikenard, bdellium, kostus, onyx stones, cottons of all sorts and muslins were obtained likewise at Barugáza; and besides these, ivory, myrrh, box thorn, silks, silk thread, long pepper, and black pepper, brought from other parts on the coast.

The season for the voyage to this part of India is in July or Epiphi, [that is, during the south-west monsoon.]

From <sup>ε</sup> Barugáza the coast of the adjoining continent stretches down from the north to the south; and the general name of the country is Dakhinabades, from <sup>h</sup> Dakhan, which in the native language signifies SOUTH. The interior, which lies eastward from the coast,

<sup>5</sup> σίμι is the common usage.

<sup>f</sup> Κατ' ἐκείνας τὰς καιρὰς seems to imply, not the immediate time when the merchant was at Barugaza, but a former period, when the metropolis was Ougein.

<sup>ε</sup> The long detail of circumstances at Barugáza is the highest internal evidence that the Periplus is not the work of a geographer, but of a merchant who performed the voyage in person; and the correspondence of these circumstances with the present state of the country and the trade, must be highly interesting to those who are acquainted

with the geography of these regions, and the commerce of the present age. We have only one other port (Nelkunda) where the same accuracy will occur, and these two correspond with the India trade at Surat and Tellicheri, as first established by the English. Considering therefore that the Periplus is 1800 years old, the agreement is astonishing.

<sup>h</sup> The Deccaun is the term now in use for the whole peninsula, but specially for the Nizam's dominions.



ἐμπεριέχει χώρας τὲ πολλὰς καὶ ἐρήμους,  
καὶ ὄρη μεγάλα, καὶ θηρίων γένη παν-  
τοίων, παρδάλεις τὲ καὶ τίγρεις, καὶ ἐλέ-  
φαντας, καὶ δράκοντας ὑπερμεγέθεις, καὶ  
κροκότιδας, καὶ κυνοκεφάλων πλείετα γένη.  
Ἐθνη τὲ πλείετα καὶ πολυάνθρωπα, τὰ  
ἕως τῆ συνέγγυς. Τῶν δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ  
τῇ Δαχινάβαδει δύο εἰσὶν τὰ διασημότεα  
ἐμπορία ἐπιφαινόμενα, ἀπὸ Βαρυγάζων  
ἔχοντα ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν εἴκοσι πρὸς ἑνὸς.  
Ἀπὸ ταύτης ὡς ἡμερῶν δέκα πρὸς ἀνα-  
τολήν, ἑτέρα πόλις Ταγάρα μεγίστη.  
Κατάγεται δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν πορείαις ἀμαξῶν  
καὶ ἀνοδίας μεγίσταις εἰς τὴν Βαρυγάζαν.  
Ἀπὸ μὲν Πλιθάνων ὀνυχίνη λιθία πλεί-  
ετα, ἀπὸ δὲ Ταγάρων ὀφόνιον πολὺ χυ-  
δαῖον, καὶ σινδόνων παντοῖα, καὶ μολό-  
χινα, καὶ τινὰ ἄλλα τοπικῶς ἐκεῖ προ-  
χωρῶντα φορτία τῶν παραθαλασσίων  
μερῶν. Ὁ δὲ ὅλος παράπλευρος μέχρι τῆ  
Λιμυρικῆς εἰσὶν ἑξαδίων ἑπτακισχιλίων,  
πλείετοι δὲ εἰς αἰγιαλόν. Τοπικὰ δὲ ἐμ-  
πόρια κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς κείμενα, Ἀκαβάρας,  
Ἐππαρα, Καλλίενα πόλις, ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν

comprehends a number of regions, some  
desert, and others mountainous : in these  
parts there are wild animals of all sorts,  
leopards, tigers, elephants, prodigious ser-  
pents, hyenas, and baboons of different  
species. There is a variety also of pro-  
vinces, extremely populous, quite to the  
Ganges. But in that tract which is  
called the Dakhan, or South, Plithana and  
Tagara are two inland parts of great  
preeminence : Plithana lies at the distance  
of twenty days south from Barugaza,  
and Tagara, which is an immense city, Deoghur.  
ten days east from Plithana.

The produce of these two places is  
brought down to Barugaza by land car-  
riage, through a country where the roads  
are obstructed with extraordinary diffi-  
culties : from Plithana great quantity of  
the onyx stone ; and from Tagara ordi-  
nary cottons, common muslins, and some  
of the finest sort, besides a variety of other  
articles which reach that capital from the  
countries on the coast.

The extent of the navigation from Ba-  
rugaza to Limurikè [which is the mo-  
dern Canara] amounts to seven thousand  
stadia down the coast. The parts  
frequented by the natives lie in the fol-  
lowing order ; first, Akabarous and Oop-  
para, or Sooppara, [which are apparently  
in the province of Guzerat,] and then  
Kalliena, [which is Gallian in the vi-  
cinity of Bombay and in the district of  
Ariakè, the pirate coast of the ancients,  
the Konkan or Mahratta country of the  
moderns.]

<sup>6</sup> See Stuckius.

<sup>7</sup> Πλιθανα is wanting.

<sup>8</sup> Σπαράρα Ptolemæi.

<sup>1</sup> Μέχρι τῆ συνέγγυς. Corrected by Stuckius  
μέχρι τῆ Γάγγυς.

<sup>k</sup> Tagara is Deoghur, since called Elore, the  
head of the province of Dowlatabad, and within  
six or seven miles of the modern Aurungabad.  
Plithana is said by Captain Wilford to be Pulta-

nah; but I have not found it in Rennell, De la Ro-  
chette, or any other map that I have seen. πορεί-  
αις and ἀνοδίας relate to the roads through the  
Ghauts.

<sup>1</sup> This statement is too large.

Σαραγάνῃ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῃ χρόνων ἐμπόριον ἔνθεσμον γενόμενον. Μετὰ γὰρ τὸ καταρχεῖν αὐτὸν Σανδάνην, ἐκωλύθη ἐπὶ πολὺ. Καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἐκ τύχης εἰς τὰς τῶν τόπων ἐσβάλλοντα πλοῖα Ἑλληνικὰ, μετὰ φυλακῆς εἰς Βαρυγάζαν εἰσάγεται. Μετὰ δὲ Καλλιέναν ἄλλα ἐμπόρια τοπικὰ, Σήμυλλα, καὶ Μανδαγόρα, καὶ Παλαιπάτμα, καὶ Μελιζεγάρα, καὶ Βυζαντίων Ἱ Τοπαρόν, καὶ Τυραννοσώας. Εἶτα Σησεκρέιεναι λεγόμεναι νῆσοι, καὶ ἡ τῶν Αἰγιδίων, καὶ ἡ τῶν Καϊνεϊτῶν, κατὰ τὴν λεγομένην χερσόνησον, καθ' οὓς τόπους εἰσὶν πειραταί. Καὶ μετὰ ταύτην Λευκὴ νῆσος. Εἶτα Νάορα καὶ Τύνδις τὰ πρῶτα ἐμπόρια τῆς Λιμυρικῆς, καὶ μετὰ ταύτας Μόοζιρις, καὶ Νελκύνδα, αἱ νῦν πρῶσσανται. Βασιλείας δὲ εἰσὶν ἡ μὲν Τύνδις Κηπροσότα, κώμη παραθαλάσσιος ἐνσημος, ἡ δὲ Μόοζιρις βασιλείας μὲν τῆς αὐτῆς, ἀκμάζουσα δὲ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀριακῆς εἰς αὐτὴν ἐρχομένοις πλοίοις καὶ τοῖς

Kalliena was formerly an established mart under the sovereignty of Saragánus; but the present chief is Sandánes, who has obstructed the commerce of the Greeks [from Egypt]: so that if any of their vessels touch here by accident, he puts a guard on board them, and sends them to Barugáza.

Below Kalliena the ports in succession are <sup>m</sup> Semulla, Mandágora, Palai-Patma, Melizeigara, Tóparon of the Byzantians, and Turannósboas. Then follow the islands called Séfekreienai; then two more, de-

Vingorla rocks? Goa and Murmagon?

nominated Aigidii and Kaineitæ, close to the peninsula [of Soonda] where there are PIRATES; and last of all the White Island <sup>o</sup>.

Angedive?

Below the White Island commences the kingdom of Kepróbotas, styled Limú-Canara. rikè, the first mart of which is Naoora, then Tundis, a large village close to the shore; and next to these Mooziris, a flourishing place, frequented both by the native vessels from Ariakè, and by

<sup>9</sup> Ἰσπύκουρα Stuckius.

<sup>m</sup> There is nothing which can enable us to assign any one of these names to a modern representative. I have offered a conjecture in the Commentary, that Meli-Zeigara may be Zyghur, and Palai-Patma (the *old* or *great city*) Dunda Rajah-poor; but it is mere conjecture. They must be on the pirate coast and not in Guzerat, where D'Anville places them, because they are below Kalliena, which he acknowledges to be near Bombay. They are all mentioned by Ptolemy, who writes Bali-patma (or the city of the god Bali) for Palai-Patma. Mandágora has the termination ghur, (a fort,) or oor, (a city,) which is still a native usage.

<sup>n</sup> I dare not answer for the arrangement of these islands, as we have scarcely any characteristics to direct us: but it suits best with the groups actually

on the coast, and the peninsula of Soonda does lie between Ariakè and Limúrikè, that is, between the termination of the Mahratta coast and Canara; and I find no other peninsula, or Chersonese as it is called, on the whole coast, either above or below.

<sup>o</sup> Angedive lies off Carwar, the cape which is the limit between the province of the Soonda Rajah and Canara; and as the author makes Naoora, next mentioned, the first mart of Limúrikè, and Limúrikè is Canara, the ancient and modern boundary correspond. Ariakè or Konkan is under Sandánes; Naoora, Tundis, and Mooziris are in the dominion of Kepróbotas, that is, Limúrikè or Canara.

Ἑλληνικοῖς. Κεῖται δὲ παρὰ ποταμὸν, ἀπέχουσα ἀπὸ μὲν Τύνδεως διὰ τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης σαδίας πεντακοσίας, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν ἑκκοσι. Ἡ δὲ Νελκύνδα σαδίας μὲν ἀπὸ ἸΜεζιριως ἀπέχει σχεδὸν πεντακοσίας ὁμοίως, διὰ τε ποταμῶν καὶ πεζῶν καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης· βασιλείας δὲ ἐστὶν ἐτέρας τῆς Πανδίωνος· κεῖται δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ παρὰ ποταμὸν, ὡσεὶ ἀπὸ σαδίων ἑκατὸν ἑκοσι τὴν θαλάσσης. Ἐτέρα δὲ κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα τῶν ποταμῶν πρόκειται κώμη Βαράκη, εἰς ἣν ἀπὸ Νελκύνδων ἐπὶ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς προκαταβαίνουσι τὰ πλοῖα, καὶ ἐπὶ σάλε διορμίζεται, πρὸς ἀνάληψιν τῶν φορτίων. Διὰ δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν ἄλλατα καὶ διάπλευς ἔχει ἐλαφροῦς. Αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἐμπορίων ἐν τῇ μεσογείῳ κατοικῶσι. Καὶ περὶ τοὺς δὲ τῶν τόπους, τοῖς ἐκ πελάγους σημείοις ἐπιβολῆς εἰσὶν οἱ προαπαντῶντες ὄφεις, μέλανες μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν χροῶν, βραχύτεροι δὲ, καὶ δρακοντοειδῆς τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ τοῖς ὄμμασιν

<sup>1</sup> Μυθίσιος Gelenius.

<sup>p</sup> I do not comprehend what the author means by the expression διὰ τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης: but I have elicited a sense, though I dare not say that it is correct.

<sup>q</sup> I have given my reasons at large in the Commentary for placing Naoora, Tundis, and Mooziris at Onoor, Barceloor, and Mangaloor. They are founded on the authority of Major Rennell, who fixes Nelkunda at Neli-ceram; and on the correspondence of distances, which are nearly fifty miles between these three places respectively; and on the local circumstances at Neli-ceram.

the Greeks from Egypt. It lies upon a river but at the distance of twenty stadia, and five hundred from Tundis; the intermediate space is equal, whether you measure by land from river to river, or take the passage by sea. [Naoora, Tundis, and <sup>q</sup> Mooziris,] are succeeded by Nelkunda, which is in another province under the government of Pandion. This part is again five hundred stadia from Mooziris, by measurement between their two rivers, or by the road on shore, or by the course of the vessel along the coast.

Nelkunda lies on a river at the distance of an hundred and twenty stadia from the sea; but at the mouth of the river there is a village called Barákè, and here the vessels, which come down from Nelkunda, lie in an open road to receive their cargoes: for the river is full of shoals, or <sup>s</sup> mud banks, and the channel between them is not deep. Both Nelkunda and Barákè are subject to a king who resides in the interior.

Upon approaching this river you again find snakes, but they are black, and are shorter in the body [than those at the Indus]; their eyes are as red as blood, and they are <sup>t</sup> crested.

<sup>2</sup> τίλματα Stuckius.

<sup>r</sup> This accords with the site of Neli-ceram.

<sup>s</sup> διὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἄλλατα καὶ διάπλευς ἔχει ἐλαφροῦς. Corrected by Stuckius διὰ τὸν ποταμὸν τίλματα καὶ διάπλευς ἔχει ἐλαφροῦς. Τίλματα, *loca caepofa*, is a good correction: ἐλαφροῦς is a dubious term; but the author has used it once before in a passage where the context requires *shallow*. Hesychius renders ἐλαφρὰ by τὰ μὴ βάθια: but this sense is not approved by the editor.

<sup>t</sup> Δρακοντοειδῆς. I do not know the distinction between ὄφεις and δράκων.

Onoor.  
Barceloor.  
Mangaloor.

Perhaps Mooziris, not Barákè.  
Pandion at Mádura.

αἱματώδεις. Πλεῖ δὲ εἰς τὰ ἐμπορία  
<sup>3</sup> ταῦτα πολλὰ πλοῖα, διὰ τὸν ὄγκον καὶ  
τὸ πλῆθος τῆ πεπέρεως καὶ τῆ μαλα-  
βάθρου. Προχωρεῖ δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν προηγου-  
μένως χρήματα πλείστα, χρυσόλιθα, ἱμα-  
τισμὸς ἀπλῆς οὐ πολὺς, πολύμιτα, σί-  
μη, κοράλλιον, ἄυαλος ἀργή, χαλκός,  
κασσίτερος, μόλυθος. Οἶνος δὲ οὐ πο-  
λὺς, σώζει δὲ τοσῶτον, ὅσον ἐν Βαρυ-  
γάροις. Σανδαράκη, ἀρσενικόν. Σίτος  
δὲ, ὅσος ἀρκέσει τοῖς περὶ τὸ ναυκλήριον,  
διὰ τὸ μὴ τὲς ἐμπορίας αὐτῶ χρῆσθαι.  
Φέρεται δὲ πέπερι, μονογενῶς ἐν ἐνὶ τόπῳ  
τέτῳ τῷ ἐμπορίῳ γεννώμενον πολὺ, λε-  
γόμενον Κοπιοναρικόν. Φέρεται δὲ καὶ μαρ-  
γαρίτης ἰκανὸς καὶ διάφορος, καὶ ἐλέφας,  
καὶ ὀθόνια σερικὰ, καὶ νάρδος ἢ <sup>5</sup> γαπα-  
νική, καὶ μαλάβαθρον ἐκ τῶν ἔσω τόπων  
εἰς αὐτὴν, καὶ λιθία διαφανῆς παντοία,  
καὶ ἀδάμας, καὶ ἀάκινθος, καὶ χελώνη,  
ἢ <sup>6</sup> χρυσονητιωτική, καὶ ἢ περὶ τὰς νή-  
σους θηρευομένη, τὰς προκειμένας αὐτῆς  
τῆς Λιμυρικῆς. Πλέεσι δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν οἱ  
κατὰ καιρὸν ἀναγόμενοι ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου  
περὶ τὸν Ἰέλιον μῆνα, ὅς ἐστιν Ἐπιφί.  
Τῆτον δὲ ὅλον τὸν εἰρημένον περίπλυν ἀπὸ  
Κανῆς καὶ εὐδαίμονος Ἀραβίας, οἱ μὲν  
μικροτέροις πλοίοις περικολπίζοντες ἔ-  
πλεον. Πρῶτος δὲ Ἰππαλος κυβερνήτης,  
κατανοήσας τὴν θέσιν τῶν ἐμπορίων, καὶ

There is a great resort of shipping to  
this port for pepper and betel; the mer-  
chants bring out a large quantity of  
specie, and their other imports are to-  
pazes, a small assortment of plain cloth,  
fibium, coral, flint glass, brass, tin, lead,  
a small quantity of wine, as profitable as  
at Barugáza, cinnabar, fine cloth, arsenic,  
and wheat, not for sale, but for the use  
of the crew.

The principal article obtained here is  
PEPPER, which is the staple of the coun-  
try, as growing in the interior; it is brought  
down to this port in preference to all  
others, and is of that species called Cot-  
tonarikon, [from Canara the province  
where it grows.] Great quantities of  
the best pearl are likewise purchased here,  
[brought from Ceylon,] ivory, silk in the  
web, spikenard from the <sup>u</sup> Ganges, betel  
from the countries farther to the east,  
transparent stones of all sorts, diamonds,  
rubies, and tortoise shell from the golden  
Cherfonefe, or from the [Lackdive] islands  
off the coast of Limúrikè.

The best season for the voyage is to  
leave Egypt in the month of July or Epi-  
phi; and this voyage was originally per-  
formed in small vessels from Kanè and  
Aden in <sup>x</sup> Arabia, which followed the  
coast during their whole passage.

But HIPPALUS was the first navigator  
who discovered the direct course across  
the ocean, by observing the position of

<sup>3</sup> ταῦτα μετὰ πλοῖα Gelenius.  
<sup>6</sup> χρυσονητιωτική Stuckius.

<sup>4</sup> τίλος ἀργή Gelenius.

<sup>5</sup> Γαγγική Stuckius. Rather Γαγγιτική.

<sup>u</sup> Νάρδος ἢ Γαπανική. Read Γαγγιτική by Hud-  
son; and so used by the author below.

<sup>x</sup> It is worthy of especial notice, that the author  
makes no mention of the voyages supposed to have

been performed under the Ptolemies from Egypt,  
but seems to confine the trade wholly to the Arabs  
of Yemen and Hadramaut.

τὸ ὄμμα τῆς θαλάσσης, τὸν διὰ πελάγους ἐξέυρε πλῆν. Ἄφ' οὗ καὶ τοπικῶς ἐκ τῆς Ὠκεανῆ φυσῶντων τῶν κατὰ καιρὸν, τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἐτησίων, ἐν τῷ Ἰνδικῷ πελάγει λιθόντος φαίνεται προσονομάζεσθαι, ἀπὸ τῆς προσηγορίας τῆς πρώτως ἐξευρηκότος τὸν διάπλυν. Ἄφ' οὗ μέχρι καὶ νῦν τινὲς μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ Κανῆ, τινὲς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀρωμάτων ἀφιέντες, οἱ μὲν εἰς Λιμυρικὴν πλέοντες, ἐπὶ πλείον τραχηλίζοντες, οἱ δὲ εἰς Βαρύγαζαν, οἱ δὲ εἰς Σκυθίαν, οὐ πλείον ἢ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀντέχουσι. Καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν παρεπιφέρων πρὸς ἴδιον δρόμον, ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὑψηλοὶ διὰ τῆς ἐξώθεν γῆς παραπλέουσι τὰς προειρημένους κόλπους. Ἄπ' Ἐλαβακαρῆ τὸ λεγόμενον Πυρρὸν ὄρος, ἄλλη παρεῖχε χώρα τῆ \* \* \* κης ἢ<sup>8</sup> Παραλία λεγομένη, πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν νότον. Ἐν ἧ καὶ κολύμβησις ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τῆ βασιλείᾳ Πανδίωνα

the ports and the general appearance of the sea. For at the season when the annual winds peculiar to our climate fettle in the north, and blow for a continuance upon our coast from the Mediterranean; in the Indian ocean the wind is continually from the south-west. And this wind has in those seas obtained the name of Hippalus, from the pilot who first took advantage of it to make his passage to the east.

From the period of that discovery to the present time, vessels bound to India take their departure either from Kanè on the Arabian, or cape Arómata on the African side; and from these points they stretch out into the open sea at once, leaving all the windings of the gulphs and bays at a distance, and make for their several destinations on the coast of India: those that are intended for Limúrikè waiting some time before they fail, but those that are destined for Barugáza or Scindi, seldom more than three days.

Upon leaving Ela-bakarè, or the Ruddy Ram d'Illi? Mountain, the country which succeeds is under the<sup>2</sup> government of Pandión; it is called Parália, [or THE coast, by way of preeminence,] and lies almost directly north and south; [as this coast winds

<sup>7</sup> Ἐλαβακαρῆ—Βαρυκῆ before.

<sup>8</sup> Παραλία Gelenius.

<sup>1</sup> The expression is τραχηλίζοντες: what it expressly means, I cannot say. The verb signifies to twist the neck or head of an adversary in struggling or wrestling. Τραχηλίζοντες τὰς ναῦς might signify, turning the heads of their ships different ways, backwards and forwards; that is, tacking or cruising off Aromata or Kanè: but I have no authority better than conjecture for supposing that this is the sense of the author.

<sup>2</sup> The text here has a chasm, which possibly contained another name of the country: ἀπ' Ἐλαβακαρῆ τὸ λεγόμενον Πυρρὸν ὄρος, ἄλλη παρεῖχε χώρα τῆ.....κης ἢ Παραλία λεγομένη. The chasm I have

filled up with τῆς Πανδιονικῆς, but it is dubious. Elabákare may be the ruddy mountain, but rather, as I suppose, Ramdilli, which lies at the entrance of the Neliceram river; and then Πυρρὸν ὄρος ought to be mount D'Illi: but I do not know that that mountain is red. Red cliffs are noticed in modern geography both just previous to D'Illi, and lower down, near Anjengo; but the latter seem too low for our purpose: for I conceive Balita to be the capital of Malabar proper, like the modern Calicut: but the author is so brief, that I conclude he never was lower down than Nelkunda.

πινικῶν, καὶ πόλις ἡ λεγομένη Κόλχοι.  
 Πρῶτος τόπος Βαλίτα καλέμενος, ὄρμον  
 καλὸν ἔχων, καὶ κώμην παραθαλάσσιον.  
 Ἄπὸ δὲ ταύτης ἐστὶν ἕτερος τόπος τὸ Κο-  
 μαρ λεγόμενος. Ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ ὁ Φρούριον  
 ἐστὶν, καὶ λιμὴν. Εἰς ὃν οἱ βυλόμενοι τὸν  
 μέλλοντα αὐτοῖς χρόνον ἱεροὶ γενέσθαι,  
 χῆροι μένουσιν αὐτῶν, ἐκεῖ ἐρχόμενοι ἀπο-  
 λύνονται. Τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ γυναῖκες. Ἴσο-  
 ρεῖται γὰρ τὴν θεὸν ἐκεῖ ἐπὶ μῆνας κατὰ  
 τινὰ χρόνον ἐκεῖ ἀπολελῶσθαι. Ἄπὸ δὲ  
 τῆς Κομαρῆς ἐκτείνεσθαι χώρα μέχρι Κόλ-  
 χων, ἐν ἣ καλύμνησις τῶν πινικῶν ἐστὶν,  
 ἀπὸ δὲ κατακρισίμων κατεργάζεται.  
 Πρὸς τὸν νότον, ὑπὸ τὸν Πανδίωνά ἐστιν.

round again to the east] it reaches to Kolkhi, in the vicinity of the pearl fishery, and Pandion is sovereign of the whole.

But the first port after leaving the Ruddy Mountain, is Balita, and next to that is Komar, which has a fort and a <sup>Cape Co-</sup>harbour. This place is frequented for the purpose of ablution by those who have dedicated themselves to a religious life, and taken a vow of celibacy. Women as well as men are admitted into this <sup>a</sup> institution; and the legend respecting it reports, that a goddess in some former period practised the same ablutions once a month at this spot.

From Komar the district extends to Kolkhi, and the pearl fishery; which is conducted by slaves or criminals condemned to this service; and this whole southern [point of the] continent is part of Pandion's <sup>b</sup> dominion.

<sup>9</sup> βραχίριον Gelenius.

<sup>a</sup> This society is said by Paolino still to exist, but at a place three leagues inland. The superstition, however, is the same, and Comar or Comorin takes its name from Canyamuri or Cumari, the virgin deity.

<sup>b</sup> The court of Pandion was at Mádura, called Módufa by Pliny, and Modoora by Ptolemy; and by both placed far inland from the coast of Malabar, agreeing with its actual site. In the age of the Periplus, this sovereign must have extended his power over the whole of Malabar proper, Travancore, Marawa, and the pearl fishery; but in the age

of Ptolemy, Malabar, or the country of the Aii, was no longer part of his dominions. Pandion is probably a name common to all the kings of Mádura, for the natives of that province are called Pandoos and Pandavais in Sanskreet. Kolkhi, I have no doubt, is Raman-Coil in the island of Rami-ceram, near Manar, the seat of the pearl fishery. Coil signifies a temple, Raman-Coil the temple of Ram, Rami-ceram the island Ram. This temple or pagoda still exists; and Ram is a Hindoo deity, the fabulous conqueror of Ceylon with an army of monkies.

Handwritten text, possibly a signature or a list of names, located in the center of the page. The text is faint and difficult to read.

## ON MAMBARUS.

THE continual attention, which a regular translation requires, had led to the discovery of some few inaccuracies that occur in the commentary, which I have given on this work: but as they were not of importance, I have corrected them silently, without troubling the reader with an apology.

But there is one error which I regret, as it affects a material part of the work. For I have attributed the sovereignty of Ariake or Concan to Mámbarus, and I am now convinced that his dominion was Guzerat. For this portion of the error I can shelter myself under the corruption of the text;—but in order to render the text consistent, after having adopted the reading of Hudson, I made the Parthian power at Minnagar on the Indus extend over Guzerat, whereas in reality it embraced only Scindi and Kutch; and for this portion of the error I am accountable.

The text in the first edition stands thus; Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Βαράκην εὐθύς ἔστιν ὁ Βαρυγάζων κόλπος, καὶ ἡ πρὸς τῆς Ἀραβικῆς χώρας τῆς Μαμβάρου βασιλείας ἀρχή, καὶ τῆς ὅλης Ἰνδικῆς ἄσας. Ταύτης τὰ μὲν μεσόγεια τῆς Σκυθίας. &c.

For APABIKHΣ Hudson and Stuckius read APIAKHΣ. And it is evident Arabia can have here no relation to India. But still if Ἀριακῆς be substituted, the author does not mention the territory of Mámbarus by name, but says only, “*here is the commencement of the kingdom of Mámbarus [πρὸς] towards Ariake, or, towards*

[*the confines of*] Ariake.

Let us next observe that Barugáza or Baroache is the principal mart of Guzerat; and that Ariakè is equivalent to Concan, the Pirate or Mahratta coast. If therefore the territory of Guzerat is undefined at its northern limit, and marked only by its southern boundary, our geography travels the contrary way, to our course; and this can only be reconciled by noticing, that we sail first, southerly to Diu head; and then come up the gulph of Cambay north, to the boundary between Guzerat and Concan. This interpretation is as circuitous as our course.

Under the pressure of this difficulty I have a conjecture to offer, which I submit to the judgement of the reader. That is, instead of APIAKHΣ I would substitute ΛΑΡΙΚΗΣ for APABIKHΣ. For ΛΑΡΙΚΕῖ is the title assigned to Guzerat by Ptolemy, and ΛΑΡ it is called by Abu'lfeda.

If this conjecture should be deemed admissible, I would read the whole passage thus;

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Βαράκην, εὐθύς ἔστιν ὁ Βαρυγάζων κόλπος, καὶ ἡ τῆς ΛΑΡΙΚΗΣ χώρας τῆς Μαμβάρου βασιλείας ἀρχή, καὶ τῆς ὅλης Ἰνδικῆς οὐσα ταύτης.

Next to Barakè immediately succeeds the gulph of Barugáza, and the commencement of the <sup>a</sup> province of Lar, [which is] the kingdom of Mámbarus, and the whole of <sup>b</sup> this part of India has the same commencement.

<sup>a</sup> Λαρικὴ is an adjective like Ἰνδική. Λαρικῆς χώρας the province of Lar.

<sup>b</sup> ταύτης is taken from the following sentence. This part of India is the peninsula.



I do not wish to lay greater stress on a conjectural emendation than it will bear; but if this should be thought admissible, it gives the arrangement of the provinces in exquisite order;

Minnagar and Su-  
rastrênè, Scindi and } under the Parthian  
Kutch, } government at  
Minnagar.

Lárikè or Guzerat,—under Mámbarus.

Ariakè, Concan,  
Kemkem, the Pi-  
rate or Mahratta } under Sandánes,  
coast, } successor to Sara-  
gánus.

Limúrikè or Canara,—under Kepróbotas.

Parália or Malabar }  
proper, } under Pandíon.

The limits assigned to these provinces

by the Periplus continue to this day the respective limits of distinct languages peculiar to the several different countries; an usage in this instance which has prevailed over the lapse of ages, and the intrusions of conquest; and which preserves an indelible feature, by which the provinces may be distinguished after a course of eighteen centuries.

In short, if Nelkunda has been identified with Neli-ceram, (as I am persuaded the documents in the commentary will sufficiently prove,) the whole voyage, contained in the original work, has been ascertained from Muos Hormus in Egypt to the coast of Malabar.

<sup>c</sup> This arrangement is conformable to the author's plan in both voyages, giving the parts or provinces, with their respective governments.

## AFRICAN VOYAGE.

<i>Marts or provinces.</i>	<i>Government.</i>
Muos Hormus and Berenikè,	} Egypt.
Troglodytes,	
Motkhóphagi and Akridóphagi,	} Tribes under their respective chiefs.
Axúma and Adooli,	
Marts of Adel or Barbaria,	} Severally under chiefs.
Marts of Azania or Ajan,	
Rhapta and its dependencies,	} under Kharibaël and KholaiBUS, Arabs.

## ORIENTAL VOYAGE.

<i>Marts or provinces.</i>	<i>Government.</i>
Arabia Petrèa,	under Malikhas.
Arabia Deferta Hejaz,	{ Bedoweens, called Kanraites.
Sabéans and Homérites,	
Maphartis South-West angle of Arabia,	} under Kharibaël.
Hadramaut, or Incense country,	
Mazeira,	under Eleázus.
South-east angle of Arabia, or modern Oman,	} under the king of Persia.
Apólogus, or Oboleh,	
Omana in Karmania,	under Arab chiefs.

# SEQUEL

TO

## THE PERIPLUS OF THE ERYTHREAN SEA.

ΜΕΤΑ δὲ Κόλχης ἐκδέχεται πρότερος αἰγιαλὸς ἐν κόλπῳ κείμενος, ἔχων χώραν μεσόγειον λεγόμενος Ἀργάλας. Ἐν ἐνὶ τόπῳ τερονεῖται παρ' αὐτὴν τῆς Ἠπιδῶρος συλλεγόμενοι πινικόν. Φέρονται γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῆς σινδόνες Ἐσσαργαρέτιδες λεγόμεναι. Τῶν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐμπορίων τὴν καὶ ὄρμων, ἐς οὓς οἱ τε ἀπὸ τῆς Λιμυρικῆς καὶ ἀπὸ ἄρκτε πλέοντες κατάγονται, ἐπισημότερα καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς κείμενά ἐστιν ἐμπόρια, Καμάρα, καὶ Ποδέκη, καὶ Σωπάτμα. Ἐν οἷς τοπικὰ μὲν ἐστὶν πλοῖα μέχρι Λιμυρικῆς παραλεγόμενα τὴν γῆν. Ἄτερα δὲ ἐκ μονοξύλων πλοίων μεγίστων ἂν ἦς ἐζευγμένων, λεγόμενα Σάγγαρα. Τὰ δὲ εἰς τὴν Χρυσῆν καὶ εἰς τὸν Γάγγην διάροντα κολανδιόφωνα τὰ μέγιστα. Προχωρεῖ δὲ εἰς τὰς τόπας τὰς

THE first place that succeeds after leaving Kolkhi is the bay <sup>a</sup> Argalus, connected with a district inland [of the same name]. Here, and here only, the pearls obtained in the fishery at the island of Epiodorus are [allowed to be] perforated and prepared for the market. And from the same island are procured the fine <sup>b</sup> muslins sprinkled with pearls. Rami-ceram. Manar.

Proceeding from Argalus, the most conspicuous of all the marts and anchorages on the coast are Kámara, Podooka, and Sopatna. To these the traders from Limúrikè, and the other provinces north of Caveri. Soro-patma, or Coromandel? Limúrikè, resort: and in these marts are found the native vessels which make coasting voyages to Limúrikè, the <sup>c</sup> Monoxúla of the largest fort called Sàngara, and others styled Colandiophonta, which are vessels of great bulk, adapted to the voyages made to the Ganges and the Golden Chersonese. Canara.

<sup>a</sup> Μαργαρίτιδες Salmafius.

<sup>b</sup> ἀφ' ἧς Hudfon and Gelenius.

<sup>a</sup> This bay in our charts has no native name; but it is called Palk's Passage. It extends from Ramanadaburam to Point Kalymere; the coast round it is Marawar and the country of Tondiman.

<sup>b</sup> Σινδόνες μαργαρίτιδες, muslins ornamented

with pearls. Salmafius.

<sup>c</sup> Monoxúla are not vessels made out of a single tree, but which have a single piece of timber for their keel or bottom, from which the planking of the sides is raised without ribs. Such vessels are still in use on this coast, able to carry 150 men.

τας, πάντα τὰ εἰς τὴν Λιμυρικὴν ἐργαζόμενα, καὶ σχεδὸν εἰς αὐτὰς καταναῖ. Τὸ δὲ χρῆμα τὸ ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου φερόμενον τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ, \* κατὰ πλεῖστα γένη πάντων τῶν ἀπὸ Λιμυρικῆς φερομένων, διὰ ταύτης τῆς παραλίας ἐπιχρησθέντων. Περὶ δὲ τῶν μετ' αὐτὴν χωρῶν ἤδη πρὸς ἀνατολὴν τῷ πλοῦς ἀπονεύοντος, εἰς Πέλαγος ἐκκείται πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν δύσιν, νῆσος λεγομένη <sup>3</sup> Παλαισιμόνδου, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις αὐτῶν Ταπρόβανα. Ταύτης τὰ μὲν πρὸς βορρῆαν εἰς ἡμέρας, <sup>4</sup> καὶ διαπλέεται τὸ πλεῖον εἰκοσινῆ, καὶ σχεδὸν εἰς τὸ κατ' αὐτῆς ἀντιπαρακείμενον Ἀζανίας παρήκει. Γίνεται δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ πινικὸν καὶ λιθία διαφανῆς, καὶ σινδόνες, καὶ χελῶνας. Περὶ δὲ τέττας τῆς τόπας, πολὺ τῆς μεσογείας παρήκασα, Μασαλία παρὰ κείται χώρα. Γίνονται ἐν αὐτῇ σινδόνες πλεῖστα. Ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης, εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν ἀνατολὴν διαπεράσαντι τὴν παρακείμενον κόλπον, ἡ Δησαρήνη χώρα, Φέρρσα ἐλέφαντα, τὸν λεγόμενον βωσαρή. Καὶ μετ' αὐτὴν, εἰς τὸν βορρῆαν ἤδη ἀπονεύοντος τῷ πλοῦς, βάρβαρα πολλὰ ἔθνη, ἐν οἷς οἱ Κιρράδα, γένος ἀνθρώπων, ἐκ-

To these parts are brought all the articles prepared [in Egypt] for the market of Limúrikè; and almost all the specie, of which Egypt is continually drained by its trade with Limúrikè, finally centres in this coast, as well as all the produce of Coromandel. Limúrikè itself.

But after passing Limúrikè and the provinces next in <sup>d</sup> succession, the coast winds round to the east; and, as the vessel takes this direction in her course, the island now called Palaifimoondu, but formerly Tapróbana, lies out in the open Ceylon. sea to the west. The northern part of this island is civilized, <sup>e</sup> but the passage to it from the continent is seldom performed in less than twenty days. The whole extent is so large that it reaches almost to the opposite <sup>f</sup> coast of Azania [in Africa;] <sup>Ajan. Zanguebar.</sup> and here, pearls, precious stones, fine muslins, and tortoise shell are to be obtained.

But [returning now to the coast of Coromandel; above Kámara, Podooka, and Sopatma lies] Mafalia, a district which <sup>Maffulipatan.</sup> extends far inland. In this country a great quantity of the finest muslins are manufactured: and from Masália the course lies eastward across a bay to Defarênè, <sup>Oriiffa.</sup> where the ivory is procured of that species called Bófarè <sup>g</sup>.

Leaving Defarênè, the course is northerly <sup>h</sup>, passing a variety of barbarous tribes, one of which is styled <sup>i</sup> Kirrhadae,

<sup>3</sup> πάλαι Σιμόνδου Gelenius.

<sup>4</sup> καὶ διαπλέεται τοῖς-εἰς τὸν πλιονακισίνου Gelenius; for which Salmastius reads τοῖς ἰσοπισπομημένους νησί: (Q. ταῖς) but Vossius τὸ πλεῖον εἰκοσινῆ, much nearer the text. \* καὶ τὰ?

<sup>d</sup> Malabar proper, Travancore, and Tinivelli.

<sup>e</sup> The text is corrupt; but in the first edition it is written εἰς τὸν πλιονακισίνου, corrected by Vossius, τὸ πλεῖον εἰκοσινῆ, for the most part in twenty days. This correction is supported by Strabo, πλεῖον ἡμερῶν εἰκοσι.

<sup>f</sup> This error, relative to the magnitude of Ceylon, was perpetuated till the time of Gama; but in no author is the extent carried so far as in the Periplus.

<sup>g</sup> I would willingly suppose this to be the horn of the rhinoceros, called βῆς μονοκερῶς: but the author has distinguished that by the term rhinoceros, on the coast of Africa.

<sup>h</sup> I am afraid our course has been hitherto easterly all the way from Argalus.

<sup>i</sup> The Kirrhadae of Ptolemy are on the east of the Ganges, and he is probably correct; as they seem to correspond with the Kadrange of oriental geography, which I take to be Arracan.

τεθλιμμένων τὴν ῥίνα, ἀγρίων. Καὶ Βαρ-  
γύσων, ἕτερον ἔθνος. Καὶ τὸ τῶν ἰππιό-  
προσώπων, μακροπροσώπων, λεγόμενον  
ἀνθρωποφάγων εἶναι. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα,  
εἰς τὴν ἀνατολὴν καὶ τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἐν δεξιῶις  
ἐχόντων, εὐώνυμα δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ μέρη ἔξ-  
ωθεν παραπλεόντων, ὁ Γάγγης ἀπαντᾷ,  
καὶ ἡ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐσχάτη τῆς ἀνατολῆς  
ἡπειρος ἡ Χρυσῆ. Ποταμὸς δὲ ἐστὶν περὶ  
αὐτὸν, ὁ Γάγγης λεγόμενος, καὶ αὐτὸς μέ-  
γιστος τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν, ἀπόβασιν  
τε καὶ ἀνάβασιν τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχων τῷ Νέ-  
λῳ. Καθ' ὃν καὶ ἐμπόριον ἐστὶν ὁμώνυμον  
τῷ ποταμῷ ὁ Γάγγης, δι' οὗ φέρεται τό-  
τε μαλάθατρον, καὶ ἡ Γαγγίτικὴ νάρδος,  
καὶ πινικόν, καὶ σινδόνες αἱ διαφορώταται,  
αἱ Γαγγίτικαὶ λεγόμεναι. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ  
χρυσωρύχια περὶ τὴν τόπον εἶναι, νόμι-  
σμά τε χρυσοῦ, ὁ λεγόμενος Κάλτις.  
Κατ' αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν νῆσος ἐστὶν  
Ἰνδικῆ, ἐσχάτη τῶν πρὸς ἀνατολὴν με-  
ρῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης, ὅπου αὐτὸν ἀνέχοντα  
τὸ ἥλιον, καλεσμένη Χρυσῆ, χελώνη ἔχου-  
σα πάντων τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν τόπων  
ἀρίστην. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν χώραν, ὑπ'  
αὐτὸν ἤδη τὸν βορέαν, ἔξωθεν εἰς Σινῶν  
τινα τόπον ἀποληγέσης τῆς θαλάσσης,  
παράκειται ἐν αὐτῇ πόλις μεσόγειος με-

a savage race with noses flattened to the face. Another tribe are the Bargufi, and there are others distinguished by the projection of the face, like that of the horse, and others by the length of the head from the forehead to the <sup>k</sup> chin; both which tribes are said to be cannibals.

After passing these, the course turns again to the east, and, proceeding with the coast on the left, and the sea on the right, you arrive at the Ganges, and the extremity of the continent towards the east, called Khruse, [or the Golden Cher-

The peninsula of Ava, &c.

sonese.] The Ganges is the largest river of India; it has an annual increase and decrease, like the Nile; and there is a mart on it of the same name, through which passes a considerable traffic, consisting of pearls, betel, the Gangetic spikenard, and Gangetic muslins, which are the finest manufacture of the sort.

In this province also is <sup>1</sup> said to be a gold mine, and a gold coin called <sup>m</sup> Kalties.

Immediately upon leaving the Ganges there is an island in the ocean, of great celebrity, called Khruse, or the Golden Isle, which lies directly under the rising sun, and at the extremity of the world towards the east. This island produces the finest tortoise shell that is found throughout the whole of the Erythrean sea.

The Indian ocean.

But still beyond this, immediately under the north, at a certain point, where the exterior sea terminates, lies a city called

<sup>5</sup> ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἀνέχοντα τὸν ἥλιον κλειομένην χρυσὴν χελώνην ἔχουσα Gelenius. Καλεσμένη Χρυσῆ is a better reading, but κλειομένη is preferable to καλεσμένη, famous, celebrated.

<sup>6</sup> εἰς τινα τόπον ἀποληγέσης Gelenius.

<sup>k</sup> The wildest tribes of India are in the northern parts of Orissa; but when an author turns them into monsters, we know that he is at the extent of his knowledge.

<sup>1</sup> The expression is λέγεται: a proof, apparently, that the author speaks from report only.

<sup>m</sup> Kurdeen or Kardeen is still applied to gold, or a gold coin, in Bengal.

γίση, λεγομένη Θίνα. Ἄφ' ἧς τό τε ἔριον, καὶ τὸ νῆμα, καὶ τὸ ὀθόνιον τὸ σηρικόν, εἰς τὸν Βαρυγάζαν διὰ Βάκτρων περὶ Φέρεται. Καὶ εἰς τὴν Λιμυρικὴν πάλιν διὰ τῆς Γάγγης ποταμῶ. Εἰς δὲ τὴν Θίνα ταύτην οὐκ ἔστιν εὐχερῶς ἀπελθεῖν. Σπανίως γὰρ ἀπ' αὐτῆς τινες οὐ πολλοὶ ἔρχονται. Κεῖται δὲ ὁ τόπος ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν μικρὰν ἄρκτον. Λέγεται δὲ συνορίζειν τοῖς ἀπετραμμένοις μέρεσι τῆς Πόντος, καὶ τῆς Κασπίας θαλάσσης, καθ' ἣν ἡ παρακειμένη λίμνη Μαιώτις εἰς τὸν ὠκεανὸν συναναφοῦσα. Κατ' ἔτος δὲ παραγίνεται ἐπὶ τὴν συνορίαν τῆς Θίνας ἔθνος τι, τῶ μὲν σώματι κολοβοὶ καὶ σφόδρα πλατυπρόσωποι, σιμοὶ εἰς τέλος, αὐτὰς δὲ λέγεσθαι Σησάτας, παρομοίως ἀνημέροις. Παραγίνονται σὺν γυναῖξιν καὶ τέκνοις, βασιάζοντες φορτία μεγάλα ἐν ταρπόναϊς, ὠμαμπελίνων παραπλήσια.

Thina, not on the coast, but inland; from which both the raw material, and manufactured silk, are brought by land through Bactria to Barugaza; or else down the Ganges [to Bengal,] and thence by sea to Limurikè on the coast of Malabar.

Canara.

<sup>n</sup> To Thina itself the means of approach are very difficult; and from Thina some few [merchants] come, but very rarely: for it lies [far remote] under the constellation of the lesser bear, and is said to join the <sup>o</sup> confines of the Euxine sea, the Caspian, and the lake Méotis, which issues at the same mouth with the Caspian into the northern ocean.

On the confines of Thina an annual fair or mart is established; for the Sefatae, Tartars of Lassa? who are a wild uncivilized tribe, assemble there with their wives and children. They are described as a race of men squat and thick set, with their face broad, and their nose <sup>p</sup> greatly depressed. The articles they bring for trade are of great bulk, and enveloped in mats or sacks, which in their outward appearance resemble the early leaves of the <sup>q</sup> vine. Their place of

<sup>n</sup> We are to understand by this strange passage, 1. That the coast of China lies open to a great ocean on the east, (now the Pacific ocean.) 2. That the capital of China lies in a high northern latitude, as Pekin does in 40°, (but not under the bear-star.) 3. That the sea is not farther navigable to the north. 4. That the silk of China passes one way, through Tartary to Bactria, and thence by the Indus down to Guzerat; and, by another route, down the Ganges to Bengal, and from Bengal to the coasts of Coromandel and of Malabar. See the Commentary and Dissertation. 5. That the dominion of China extends far through Tartary to the west. And, 6. That the Caspian and Palus Méotis communicate with the northern ocean, (which is an ancient error.)

<sup>o</sup> Τοῖς ἀπετραμμένοις μέρεσι τῆς Πόντος, &c. The country of China reaches to the limits of those

regions which front (north) to another sea. He has used ἀπετραμμένοις once before in this sense, when he places the Atlantic at the back of Libya, Africa, &c.

<sup>p</sup> This description can refer to no nation but a tribe of Tartars; the Bésadæ of Ptolemy have the same attributes, and are apparently the same people. He places them N. E. of the Ganges. They may be in any site from Affam to Thibet or Boudtan. We learn from Goez, that eight tribes of Tartars came to trade on the confines of China, under pretence of embassies.

<sup>q</sup> The betel is a species of the pepper-plant; the fruit grows on a vine, the leaves of which are wrapped round the areka-nut, with other ingredients, and is then called betel-nut, or betre, from *petros*. This mode of manufacture will perhaps explain why the mats are said to be of the colour of vine-

Εἴτ' ἐνεπιμένουσιν ἐπὶ τινα τόπον τῆς συν-  
ορίας αὐτῶν, καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς Θίνας. Καὶ  
ὀρτάζουσιν ἐπὶ τινὰς ἡμέρας, ὑποσρώσαν-  
τες ἑαυτοῖς τὰς ταρπύνας, καὶ ἀπαίρουσιν  
εἰς τὰ ἴδια εἰς τὰς ἐσωτέρους τόπους. Οἱ  
δὲ ταῦτα δοκῶντες τότε παραγίνονται ἐπὶ  
τὰς τόπους, καὶ συλλέγουσι τὰ ἐκείνων ὑπο-  
σρώματα, καὶ ἐξινιάσαντες καλάμους τὰς  
λεγομένους πέτρος ἐπὶ λεπτὸν ἐπιδιπλώ-  
σαντες τὰ φύλλα καὶ σφαιροειδῆ ποιῶντες,  
διέρουσι ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν καλάμων ἴναις.  
Γίνεται ἣ γένη τρία. Ἐκ μὲν τῶν μείζονος  
φύλλου, τὸ ἀδρόσφαιρον μαλάβαθρον λε-  
γόμενον. Ἐκ ἣ τῶν ὑποδεεστέρας, τὸ με-  
σόσφαιρον. Ἐκ δὲ τῶν μικροτέρας, τὸ μι-  
κρόσφαιρον. Ἐνθεν τὰ τρία μέρη τῶν μα-  
λαβάθρων γίνεται, καὶ τότε φέρεται εἰς  
τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ὑπὸ τῶν καλεργαζομένων αὐτά.  
Τὰ δὲ μετὰ τὰς τόπους, διὰ τε ὑπερβο-  
λὰς χειμῶνων, καὶ πάσης μεγίστης δυσ-  
εάτων τῶν τόπων, εἴτα καὶ θεῶν τινὶ δυνά-  
μει θεῶν, ἀνερεύνητά ἐστιν.

assembly is between their own borders and those of Thina; and here, spreading out their mats, on which they sit [and exhibit their goods for sale,] they hold a feast [or 'fair'] for several days, and at the conclusion of it return to their country in the interior.

Upon their retreat, the Thinae, who have continued on the watch, repair to the spot, and collect the mats which the strangers left behind at their departure; from these they pick out the haulm which is called *petros*, and, drawing out the fibres, spread the leaves double, and make them up into balls, passing the fibres through them. Of these balls there are three sorts, the large, the middle sized, and the small; in this form they take the name of *Malá-bathrum*, and under this denomination the three sorts of that masticatory are brought into India, by those who prepare them [for the market.]

All the regions beyond Thina [towards the north] are unexplored, either on account of the severity of the winter, the continuance of the frosts, or the difficulty of the country; perhaps also the will of the gods has fixed these limits to the curiosity of man.

*leaves*: the rolling up of these leaves—the drawing out of the fibres—the rolling up into balls, &c. and however inadequate the description may be, it proves that the *mala-bathrum* of the ancients is the *betre*, or *petros*.

† It is *ἀρπάζουσιν* in the original, which *Salmafius* reads *ὀρτάζουσιν*. Perhaps *ἀγοράζουσιν* is better, and approaches nearer to *ἀρπαζουσιν*, which is nonsense.

*Notices received since the publication of the Second Edition of the  
Commerce of the Ancients in the Indian Ocean.*

Vol. I. p. 174.

THE title of Nullah Sunkra is applied to the easternmost branch of the Indus; but Colonel Reynolds, who has been employed many years upon a survey of India, has found, that the western branch, usually called the Laribundar river, is the true Nullah Sunkra. The mistake was derived from Frezier's account of Nadir Shah's treaty with the Mogul emperor, in which the province of Tatta is ceded to Nadir, and it was concluded that the Pattalênè or Delta of the Indus was the more especial part of that province.

Vol. I. p. 185.

Rhambakia. There is a *castle of Rham* mentioned in Nadir Shah's treaty; it is the same as Rham-baugh, the *garden of Rham*, found by Colonel Reynolds at the head of Crotchy bay. This site does not accord with the marches of Alexander, but doubtless Rham-baugh and Rhambakia are in some sense or other allied.

It may be well imagined that Colonel Reynolds, whose attention was more particularly directed to the countries on the Indus, will be enabled to throw great light on the transactions of Alexander in that quarter, and the course of the fleet down the river. Very happy should I have been to have received the information and corrections of so able a geographer. But the voyage of Nearchus could be conducted only on such intelligence as was previously in existence; and I have

the satisfaction to know from Colonel Reynolds, that my general outline is correct, notwithstanding some errors in particulars.

Vol. II. p. 531.

The Adulitic inscription is described by Cosmas, with whom it originates, as consisting of two parts, one engraved upon a chair or throne, and the other upon a tablet; but both parts are supposed by Cosmas to relate to one of the Ptolemies.

The commentators also who have published this inscription from Cosmas, as Leo Allatius, Berkelius, Spon, Melchizedec Thevenot, Chishull, and Montfaucon, all agree in the same opinion, and conclude that Ptolemy Euérgetes is the sovereign designed.

Berger, Valkenaer, and others, who object to the authenticity of the inscription, seem never to have suspected that the two different parts relate to different persons.

But time has produced a discovery, of which no one was aware. For Lord Valentia has visited Abyssinia, and his Secretary Mr. Salt has met with an inscription at Axum, which proves that the tablet only relates to Euérgetes, and that the inscription on the chair is appropriate to Aéisánas, a king of Abyssinia in the fourth century.

That such a prince did reign in Abyssinia, he proves by a letter directed to a sovereign of this name by the Emperor Constantius, by the coincidence of his

reign with that of Constantius, by the duration of his reign for seven and twenty years, and by the assumption of his descent from Mars; whereas the tablet derives the pedigree of Ptolemy from Hercules on the father's side, from Dionûsus and Jupiter on the mother's.

Mr. Salt from these premises concludes therefore, that the tablet only relates to Ptolemy, and the chair to Aetanas; and that they contain distinct inscriptions to different persons.

As I had bestowed much time on this inscription, I cannot help feeling some disappointment from the reflection that my labour has been thrown away; but integrity requires that, being convinced, I should acknowledge my conviction.

Mr. Salt indeed has made ample amends for my disappointment by the share he has allotted me in the unraveling of the

inscription (Vol. III. p. 184.) But he imputes a doubt to me, as suspecting that *αχρειστον* might be the unknown name of a month. Such a doubt I had upon my first communication with him upon the subject; but upon a second view I saw it was *αχρεισ ου*, and immediately imparted the correction to Lord Valentia. As this correction was adopted, and *αχρεισ ου* received into the Greek text, and as it was rendered accurately in the English "till the time that," I could have wished that my first crude conjecture had been suppressed. But I have no right to complain; due justice has been rendered to the full extent of my wishes; and though I am forced to abandon a favourite dissertation, I feel that it was constructed on firm ground, when it required a journey into the heart of Abyssinia to convince me of my mistake.

*Vol. 71. p. 445.*

*Nellea-seram. If Nellea-seram or Coram were the true Orthography, as Orme writes it, there is nothing wrong in interpreting it the Rice-country, as derived from the Etymology of Padina. but according to Dr. Buchanan, Vol. III. p. 10. the true Orthography is Nil-Swara, equivalent to Nil-Kunda, both titles of Siva. For Nil-Swara is the blue Deity and Nil-Kunda [the Deity with] the blue neck. (see*

*Buchanan Vol. III. p. 261.) hence it is demonstrable that the ancient Nil-Kunda & the modern Nil-Swara are identified, & the proof is complete. It appears likewise that the Jains & other cast on this part of the coast styled Siva-Baktars are worshippers of Siva, in preference to Brahma & Vishnoo; from which circumstance, the name of the place in both instances is derived. see Buch. passim.*

*See L. Wilford on the Hindu lands. c. 11. with the map of India. p.*



## ERRORS.

- P. 27. lin. penult. for ἦκον, ἔχοντες read ἦκον ἔχοντες.  
P. 29. lin. 21. for expedition read expedition.  
P. 41. lin. 4. for which having accomplished read this they accomplished; and then.  
P. 42. lin. 28. for and that to take the place by force would require the delay of a siege read and that the delay of a siege was destructive.  
P. 38. lin. 5 from the bottom. for considerably read considerably.  
P. 48. lin. 15. for forty read an hundred & fifty.  
P. 62. margin. for Tab or Indian read Tab or Indian.  
P. 67. lin. 1. for this read his.  
P. 81. note. 9. for Quitea read Quilpa.  
P. 91. lin. 26. for steep too read steep to.



