JO

FRAGMENT I., OR A KLMTRK OF MMWLFNRS. (Diolt. 11.35-42.)

3 India, which is in shape quadrilateral, has its eastern as well as its western side bounded by the great sea, but on the northern side it is divided by Mount Hémados from that part of Skythia which is inhabited by those Skythians who are called the Sákai, while the fourth or western side is bounded by the river called the Indus, which is perhaps the largest of all rivers in the world after the Nile.

The extent of the whole country from east to west is said to be 28,000 staedia, and from north to south 32,000. Being thus of such vast extent, it seems well-nigh to embrace the whole of the northern tropic zone of the earth, and in fact at the extreme point of India the gnomon of the sundial may frequently be observed to cast no shadow, while the constellation of the Bear is by night invisible, and in the remotest parts even Arcturus disappears from view. Consistently with this, it is also stated that shadows there fall to the southward.

India has many huge mountains which abound in fruit-trees of every kind, and many vast plains of great fertility—more or less beautiful,
but all alike intersected by a multitude of rivers.

5 The greater part of the soil, moreover, is under irrigation, and consequently bears two crops in the course of the year. It teems at the same time with animals of all sorts,—beasts of the field and fowls of the air,—of all different degrees of strength and size. 6 It is prolific, besides, in elephants, which are of monstrous bulk, as its soil supplies food in unsparing profusion, making these animals far to exceed in strength those that are bred in Libya. It results also that, since they are caught in great numbers by the Indians and trained for war, they are of great moment in turning the scale of victory.

(36.) 7 The inhabitants, in like manner, having abundant means of subsistence, exceed in consequence the ordinary stature, and are distinguished by their proud bearing. They are also found to be well skilled in the arts, as might be expected of men who inhale a pure air and drink the very finest water. 8 And while the soil bears on its surface all kinds of fruits which are known to cultivation, it has also under ground numerous veins of all sorts of metals, for it contains much gold and silver, and copper and iron in no small quantity, and even tin and other metals, which are employed in making articles of use and ornament, as well as the implements and accoutrements of war.

* In addition to cereals, there grows throughout

8 Conf. Fragm. xi.
India much millet, which is kept well watered by the profusion of river-streams, and much pulse of different sorts, and rice also, and what is called boreporum, as well as many other plants useful for food, of which most grow spontaneously. 10 The soil yields, moreover, not a few other edible products fit for the subsistence of animals, about which it would be tedious to write. It is accordingly affirmed that famine has never visited India, and that there has never been a general scarcity in the supply of nourishing food. 11 For, since there is a double rainfall in the course of each year,—one in the winter season, when the sowing of wheat takes place as in other countries, and the second at the time of the summer solstice, which is the proper season for sowing rice and boreporum, as well as sesamum and millet—the inhabitants of India almost always gather in two harvests annually; and even should one of the sowings prove more or less abortive they are always sure of the other crop. 12 The fruits, moreover, of spontaneous growth, and the esculent roots which grow in marshy places and are of varied sweetness, afford abundant sustenance for man. 13 The fact is, almost all the plains in the country have a moisture which is alike genial, whether it is derived from the rivers, or from the rains of the summer season, which are wont to fall every year at a stated period with surprising regularity; while the great heat which prevails
vipsens the roots which grow in the marshes, and especially those of the tall reeds.

14 But, further, there are usages observed by the Indians which contribute to prevent the occurrence of famine among them; for whereas among other nations it is usual, in the contests of war, to ravage the soil, and thus to reduce it to an uncultivated waste, among the Indians, on the contrary, by whom husbandmen are regarded as a class that is sacred and inviolable, the tillers of the soil, even when battle is raging in their neighbourhood, are undisturbed by any sense of danger, for the combatants on either side in waging the conflict make carnage of each other, but allow those engaged in husbandry to remain quite unmolested. Besides, they neither ravage an enemy's land with fire, nor cut down its trees.

(37.) 15 India, again, possesses many rivers both large and navigable, which, having their sources in the mountains which stretch along the northern frontier, traverse the level country, and not a few of these, after uniting with each other, fall into the river called the Ganges. 16 Now this river, which at its source is 30 stadia broad, flows from north to south, and empties its waters into the ocean forming the eastern boundary of the Ganga-rıdai, a nation which possesses a vast force of the largest-sized elephants. 17 Owing to this, their country has never been conquered by any
foreign king: for all other nations dread the overwhelming number and strength of these animals. 18 [Thus Alexander the Makedonian, after conquering all Asia, did not make war upon the Gangaridai,† as he did on all others; for when he had arrived with all his troops at the river Ganges, and had subdued all the other Indians, he abandoned as hopeless an invasion of the Gangaridai when he learned that they possessed four thousand elephants well trained and equipped for war.] 19 Another river, about the same size as the Ganges, called the Indus, has its sources, like its rival, in the north, and falling into the ocean forms on its way the boundary of India; in its passage through the vast stretch of level country it receives not a few tributary streams which are navigable, the most notable of them being the Hupanis, the Hudaspès, and the Akesinês. Besides these rivers there are a great many others of every description, which permeate the country, and supply water for the nurture of garden vegetables and crops of all sorts. 20 Now to account for the rivers being so numerous, and the supply of water so superabundant, the native philosophers and proficient in natural science advance the following reasons:—They

† Conf. Lassen, Pentapot. 16.
21 Conf. Fragm. xxi. in Ind. Ant. vol. V. p. 88, c. vi. 2-3
say that the countries which surround India—those of the Skythians and Baktrians, and also of the Aryans—are more elevated than India, so that their waters, agreeably to natural law, flow down together from all sides to the plains beneath, where they gradually saturate the soil with moisture, and generate a multitude of rivers.

21 A peculiarity is found to exist in one of the rivers of India,—that called the Sīlīas, which flows from a fountain bearing the same name. It differs from all other rivers in this respect,—that nothing cast into it will float, but everything, strange to say, sinks down to the bottom.

(38.) 22 It is said that India, being of enormous size when taken as a whole, is peopled by races both numerous and diverse, of which not even one was originally of foreign descent, but all were evidently indigenous; 23 and moreover that India neither received a colony from abroad, nor sent out a colony to any other nation. 24 The legends further inform us that in primitive times the inhabitants subsisted on such fruits as the earth yielded spontaneously, and were clothed with the skins of the beasts found in the country, as was the case with the Greeks; and that, in like manner as with them, the arts and other appliances which improve human life were gradually invented, Necessity herself teaching

Conf. Pragm. xvi.
them to an animal at once docile and furnished not only with hands ready to second all his efforts, but also with reason and a keen intelligence.

The men of greatest learning among the Indians tell certain legends, of which it may be proper to give a brief summary.‡ They relate that in the most primitive times, when the people of the country were still living in villages, Dionysos made his appearance coming from the regions lying to the west, and at the head of a considerable army. He over-

‡ Πραγμ. Ι. Β. Diod. ΙΙΙ. 65.

Concerning Dionysos.

Now some, as I have already said, supposing that there were three individuals of this name, who lived in different ages, assign to each appropriate achievements. They say, then, that the most ancient of them was Indos, and that as the country, with its genial temperature, produced spontaneously the vine-tree in great abundance, he was the first who crushed grapes and discovered the use of the properties of wine. In like manner he ascertained what culture was requisite for figs and other fruit trees, and transmitted this knowledge to after-times; and, in a word, it was he who found out how these fruits should be gathered in, whence also he was called Lēnaios. This same Dionysos, however, they call also Katapogōn, since it is a custom among the Indians to nourish their beards with great care to the very end of
ran the whole of India, as there was no great city capable of resisting his arms. The heat, however, having become excessive, and the soldiers of Dionusos being afflicted with a pestilence, the leader, who was remarkable for his sagacity, carried his troops away from the plains up to the hills. There the army, recruited by the cool breezes and the waters that flowed fresh from the fountains, recovered from sickness. The place among the mountains where Dionusos restored his troops to health was called Mēros; from which cir-

their life. Dionusos then, at the head of an army, marched to every part of the world, and taught mankind the planting of the vine, and how to crush grapes in the winepress, whence he was called Lēuaios. Having in like manner imparted to all a knowledge of his other inventions, he obtained after his departure from among men immortal honour from those who had benefited by his labours. It is further said that the place is pointed out in India even to this day where the god had been, and that cities are called by his name in the vernacular dialects, and that many other important evidences still exist of his having been born in India, about which it would be tedious to write.

22 et sequ. Conf. Fragm. lvii.
29-32 Conf. Fragm. i. in Ind. Ant. vol. V. p. 89, c. viii.—"He tells us further," &c. to e. viii.—"on the principle of merit."
circumstance, no doubt, the Greeks have transmitted to posterity the legend concerning the god, that Dionysos was bred in his father's thigh. § 28 Having after this turned his attention to the artificial propagation of useful plants, he communicated the secret to the Indians, and taught them the way to make wine, as well as other arts conducive to human well-being. 29 He was, besides, the founder of large cities, which he formed by removing the villages to convenient sites, while he also showed the people how to worship the deity, and introduced laws and courts of justice. 30 Having thus achieved altogether many great and noble works, he was regarded as a deity and gained immortal honours. It is related also of him that he led about with his army a great host of women, and employed, in marshalling his troops for battle, drums and cymbals, as the trumpet had not in his days been invented; 31 and that after reigning over the whole of India for two and fifty years he died of old age, while his sons, succeeding to the government, transmitted the sceptre in unbroken succession to their posterity. 32 At last, after many generations had come and gone, the sovereignty, it is said, was dissolved, and democratic governments were set up in the cities.

(39.) 33 Such, then, are the traditions regarding Dionysos and his descendants current

§ μηρός. 32 Conf. Fragm. li.
among the Indians who inhabit the hill-country.  

They further assert that Heraklēs|| also was born among them.  

They assign to him, like the Greeks, the club and the lion’s skin. He far surpassed other men in personal strength and prowess, and cleared sea and land of evil beasts.  

Marrying many wives he begot many sons, but one daughter only. The sons having reached man’s estate, he divided all India into equal portions for his children, whom he made kings in different parts of his dominions. He provided similarly for his only daughter, whom he reared up and made a queen.  

He was the founder, also, of no small number of cities, the most renowned and greatest of which he called Palibothra. He built therein many sumptuous palaces, and settled within its walls a numerous population. The city he fortified with trenches of notable dimensions, which were filled with water introduced from the river.  

Heraklēs, accordingly, after his removal from among men, obtained immortal honour; and his descendants, having reigned for many generations and signalized themselves by great achievements, neither made any expedition beyond the confines of India, nor sent out any colony abroad.  

\[34,35\] Conf. Fragment 1. in Ind. Ant. vol. V. pp. 89-90, c. viii., from “But that Hercules,” &c. to “of his daughter.”  

|| Apparently Śiva is meant, though his many wives and sons are unknown to Hindu mythology.—En.  

\[36\] Conf. Fragment. xxv.
last, however, after many years had gone, most of the cities adopted the democratic form of government, though some retained the kingly until the invasion of the country by Alexander. Of several remarkable customs existing among the Indians, there is one prescribed by their ancient philosophers which one may regard as truly admirable: for the law ordains that no one among them shall, under any circumstances, be a slave, but that, enjoying freedom, they shall respect the equal right to it which all possess: for those, they thought, who have learned neither to domineer over nor to cringe to others will attain the life best adapted for all vicissitudes of lot: for it is but fair and reasonable to institute laws which bind all equally, but allow property to be unevenly distributed.

(40.) The whole population of India is divided into seven castes, of which the first is formed by the collective body of the Philosophers, which in point of number is inferior to the other classes, but in point of dignity preeminent over all. For the philosophers, being exempted from all public duties, are neither the masters nor the servants of others. They are, however, engaged by private persons to offer the sacrifices due in lifetime, and to celebrate the obsequies of

**Notes:**

1. Πέλαγοςοι, Strabo, Diod. Σοφισταί, Arr.
2. Conf. Fragm. xxxii. in Ind. Ant. vol. V. pp. 91-92, r. xi. and xii.
the dead: for they are believed to be most dear to the gods, and to be the most conversant with matters pertaining to Hades. In requital of such services they receive valuable gifts and privileges. 42 To the people of India at large they also render great benefits, when, gathered together at the beginning of the year, they forewarn the assembled multitudes about droughts and wet weather, and also about propitious winds, and diseases, and other topics capable of profiting the hearers. 43 Thus the people and the sovereign, learning beforehand what is to happen, always make adequate provision against a coming deficiency, and never fail to prepare beforehand what will help in a time of need. The philosopher who errs in his predictions incurs no other penalty than obloquy, and he then observes silence for the rest of his life.

43 The second caste consists of the Husbandmen,* who appear to be far more numerous than the others. Being, moreover, exempted from fighting and other public services, they devote the whole of their time to tillage; nor would an enemy coming upon a husbandman at work on his land do him any harm, for men of this class, being regarded as public benefactors, are protected from all injury. The land, thus remaining unravaged, and producing heavy crops, supplies the inhabitants with all that is

requisite to make life very enjoyable. The husbandmen themselves, with their wives and children, live in the country, and entirely avoid going into town. They pay a land-tribute to the king, because all India is the property of the crown, and no private person is permitted to own land. Besides the land-tribute, they pay into the royal treasury a fourth part of the produce of the soil.

The third caste consists of the Husbandmen, and their wives and children, live in the country, and entirely avoid going into town. They pay a land-tribute to the king, because all India is the property of the crown, and no private person is permitted to own land. Besides the land-tribute, they pay into the royal treasury a fourth part of the produce of the soil.

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The fourth caste consists of the Artizans. Of these some are armourers, while others make the implements which husbandmen and others find useful in their different callings. This class is not only exempted from paying
taxes, but even receives maintenance from the royal exchequer.

49 The fifth caste is the Military. It is well organized and equipped for war, holds the second place in point of numbers, and gives itself up to idleness and amusement in the times of peace. The entire force—men-at-arms, war-horses, war-elephants, and all—are maintained at the king's expense.

50 The sixth caste consists of the Overseers. It is their province to inquire into and superintend all that goes on in India, and make report to the king, or, where there is not a king, to the magistrates.

51 The seventh caste consists of the Counsellors and Assessors,—of those who deliberate on public affairs. It is the smallest class, looking to number, but the most respected, on account of the high character and wisdom of its members; for from their ranks the advisers of the king are taken, and the treasurers of the state, and the arbiters who settle disputes. The generals of the army also, and the chief magistrates, usually belong to this class.

52 Such, then, are about the parts into which the body politic in India is divided. No one is allowed to marry out of his own caste, or to

|| Πολεμισται, Strab. Arr.

† Εφοροι, Diod. Strab. Ἐπίσκοποι, Arr. Is this the class of officers referred to as sheriiffs—mahānābra—the Ashoka inscriptions? Conf. Ind. Ant. vol. V. pp. 267-8.—Ed.
exercise any calling or art except his own: for instance, a soldier cannot become a husbandman, or an artizan a philosopher.*

(42.) "India possesses a vast number of huge elephants, which far surpass those found elsewhere both in strength and size. This animal does not cover the female in a peculiar way, as some affirm, but like horses and other quadrupeds. The period of gestation is at shortest sixteen months, and at furthest eighteen.† Like mares, they generally bring forth but one young one at a time, and this the dam suckles for six years. Most elephants live to be as old as an extremely old man, but the most aged live two hundred years.

Among the Indians officers are appointed even for foreigners, whose duty is to see that no foreigner is wronged. Should any of them lose his health, they send physicians to attend him, and take care of him otherwise, and if he dies they bury him, and deliver over such property as he leaves to his relatives. The judges

* "It appears strange that Megasthenes should have divided the people of India into seven castes... Herodotus, however, had divided the people of Egypt into seven castes, namely priests, soldiers, herdsmen, swineherds, tradesmen, interpreters, and steersmen: and Megasthenes may therefore have taken it for granted that there were seven castes in India. It is a curious fact that, from the time of Alexander’s expedition to a comparatively recent date, geographers and others have continually drawn analogies between Egypt and India."—Wheeler’s Hist. of India, vol. III. p. 192, note 44-46. Conf. Fragm. xxxvi.

† For some remarks on this point see Blochmann’s translation of the Atn-i-Akbari, p. 118.
also decide cases in which foreigners are concerned, with the greatest care, and come down sharply on those who take unfair advantage of them. [What we have now said regarding India and its antiquities will suffice for our present purpose.]

BOOK I.

FRAGM. II.

Arr. Exped. Alex. V. 6. 2-11.

Of the Boundaries of India, its General Character, and its Rivers.†

According to Eratosthenes, and Megasthenes who lived with Siburthios the satrap of Arachosia, and who, as he himself tells us, often visited Sandrakottos§ the king of the Indians, India forms the largest of the four parts into which Southern Asia is divided, while the smallest part is that region which is included between the Euphrates and our own sea. The two remaining parts, which are separated from the others by the Euphrates and the Indus, and lie between these rivers, are scarcely of sufficient size to be compared with India, even should they be taken both together. The same writers say that India is bounded on its

† Conf. Epit. ad init.

eastern side, right onwards to the south, by the great ocean; that its northern frontier is formed by the Kaukasos range as far as the junction of that range with Tauros; and that the boundary, towards the west and the north-west, as far as the great ocean, is formed by the river Indus. A considerable portion of India consists of a level plain, and this, as they conjecture, has been formed from the alluvial deposits of the river,—inferring this from the fact that in other countries plains which are far away from the sea are generally formations of their respective rivers, so that in old times a country was even called by the name of its river. As an instance, there is the so-called plain of the Hermos—a river in Asia (Minor), which, flowing from the Mount of Mother Dindymon, falls into the sea near the Æolian city of Smyrna. There is also the Lydian plain of the Kaüstrós, named after that Lydian river; and another, that of the Kaîkos, in Mysia; and one also in Karia,—that of the Maiandros, which extends even to Miletos, which is an Ionian city. [As for Egypt, both the historians Herodotus and Hekataios (or at any rate the author of the work on Egypt if he was other than Hekataios) alike agree in declaring it to be the gift of the Nile, so that that country was perhaps even called after the river; for in early times Aigyptos was the name of the river which now-a-days both the Egyptians and other nations call the Nile, as the words
of Homer clearly prove, when he says that Menelaös stationed his ships at the mouth of the river Aigyptos. If, then, there is but a single river in each plain, and these rivers, though by no means large, are capable of forming, as tlicy flow to the sea, much new land, by carrying down silt from the uplands, where their sources are, it would be unreasonable to reject the belief in the case of India that a great part of it is a level plain, and that this plain is formed from the silt deposited by the rivers, seeing that the Hermos, and the Kauïstros, and the Kaikos, and the Maiandros, and all the many rivers of Asia which fall into the Mediterranean, even if united, would not be fit to be compared in volume of water with an ordinary Indian river, and much less with the greatest of them all, the Ganges, with which neither the Egyptian Nile, nor the Danube which flows through Europe, can for a moment be compared. Nay, the whole of these if combined all into one are not equal even to the Indus, which is already a large river where it rises from its fountains, and which after receiving as tributaries fifteen rivers all greater than those of Asia, and bearing off from its rival the honour of giving name to the country, falls at last into the sea.*

* Strabo, XV. 1. 32, p. 700.—[All the rivers mentioned (the last of which is the Jupanis) unite in one, the Indus.] They say that fifteen considerable rivers, in all, flow into it.
Fragm. III.

Arr. Indica, II. 1. 7.

Of the Boundaries of India.

(See translation of Arrian.)

Fragm. IV.

Strabo, XV. i. 11,— p. 689.

Of the Boundaries and Extent of India.

India is bounded on the north by the extremities of Taurus, and from Ariana to the

† Conf. Epit. 1, and for notes on the same see Indian Antiquary, vol. V. p. 330.—Ed.

‡ Conf. Epit. 1, 2. Pliny (Hist. Nat. VI. 21. 2) states that India extends from north to south 28,150 thousand paces. This number, though it is not exactly equal to 22,300 stadia, but to 22,800, nevertheless approaches the number given by Megasthenes nearer than any other. From the numbers which both Arrian (Ind. iii. 8) and Strabo (pp. 68-69, 690) give, Diodorus differs remarkably, for he says the breadth extends to 28,000, and the length to 32,000 stadia. It would be rash to deny that Megasthenes may also have indicated the larger numbers of Diodorus, for Arrian (Ind. iii. 7-8) adds to the number the words "where shortest" and "where narrowest," and Strabo (p. 689) has added to the expression of the breadth the words "at the shortest," and, referring to Megasthenes and Démachos, says distinctly "who state that in some places the distance from the southern sea is 20,000 stadia, and in others 30,000 (pp. 68-69). There can be no doubt, however, that Megasthenes regarded the smaller, and Démachos the larger number as correct; for the larger seemed to Arrian unworthy of mention, and Strabo (p. 690) says decidedly, "Megasthenes and Démachos incline to be more moderate in their estimate, for according to them the distance from the southern sea to Caucasus is over 20,000 stadia: Démachos, however, allows that the distance in some places exceeds 30,000 stadia!" by which he quite excludes Megasthenes from this opinion. And at p. 72, where he mentions the 30,000 stadia of Démachos, he does not say a word of Megasthenes. But it must be certain that 16,000 stadia is the only measure Megasthenes gave of the breadth of India. For not only Strabo (p. 689)
Eastern Sea by the mountains which are variously called by the natives of these regions Παραπαμισός, and Πομόδος, and Ηίμαος, and other names, but by the Macedonians Καυκάσος. The boundary on the west is the river Indus, but the southern and eastern sides, which are both much greater than the others, run out into the Atlantic Ocean. The shape of the country is thus rhomboidal, since each of the greater sides exceeds its opposite side by 3000 stadia, which is the length of the promontory common to the south and the east coast, which projects equally in these two directions. [The length of the western side, measured from the Kaukasian mountains to the southern

and Arrian (Ind. iii. 7) have not quoted a larger number from Megasthenes, but Hipparchos also (Strabo, p. 69),—where he shows that Patroklos is unworthy of confidence, because he has given smaller dimensions for India than Megasthenes—only mentions the measure of 16,000 stadia; where, for what Hipparchos wanted, the greatest number was the most suitable for his proof.—I think the numbers were augmented because Megasthenes regarded as Indian, Kabul and that part of Ariana which Chandragupta had taken from Scelekos; and on the north the frontier nations Uttarakuras, which he mentions elsewhere. What Megasthenes said about the breadth of India remained fixed throughout the whole geography of the Greeks, so that not even Ptolemy, who says India extends 16,800 stadia, differs much from it. But his measure of length has either been rejected by all, for fear of opposing the ancient opinion that the torrid zone could not be inhabited, or (like Hipparchos) erroneously carried much too far to the north.—Schwanbeck, pp. 29, 30, n. 24.

§ Schmieder suggests Ηίμαος in Arrian.
|| i.e. The Himalayas.

† The world was anciently regarded as an island surrounded by the Atlantic Sea.
sea along the course of the river Indus to its mouths, is said to be 13,000 stadia, so that the eastern side opposite, with the addition of the 3000 stadia of the promontory, will be somewhere about 16,000 stadia. This is the breadth of India where it is both smallest and greatest. The length from west to east as far as Pali-bothra can be stated with greater certainty, for the royal road which leads to that city has been measured by schoeni, and is in length 10,000 stadia.* The extent of the parts beyond can only be conjectured from the time taken to make voyages from the sea to Pali-bothra by the Ganges, and may be about 6000 stadia. The entire length, computed at the shortest, will be 16,000 stadia. This is the estimate of Eratosthenes, who says he derived it principally from the authoritative register of the stages on the Royal Road. Herein Megasthenes agrees.

* All the texts read δισμυρίων instead of μυρίων. In all the MSS. of Strabo also we read σχοινίως, and in Arrian, who extracts the same passage from Megasthenes, everywhere σχοινίως. Though there is nothing to blame in either lection, yet it is easier to change σχοινίως than σχοινίως, for Strabo may have been surprised to find the Greek schoenus in use also in India. The schoenus, however, which with Eratosthenes is a measure of 40 stadia (Plin. Hist. Nat. XII. 30), coincides precisely with the Indian yājana of four krodas. I do not forget that usually double this length is assigned to the yājana, but also that it is shorter than the Hindus reckon it (As. Res. vol. V. p. 105), and also by the Chinese pilgrims (Poe-koue-ki, 87-88), and, by Megasthenes himself, in Strabo (p. 708, Fragm. xxxiv. 3), from which it seems certain that ten stadia are equal to some Indian measure which cannot be a smaller one than the krodā.—Schw. p. 27, n. 23.
with him. [Patroklès, however, makes the length less by 1000 stadia.] Conf. Arr. Ind. iii. 1-5.

FRAGM. V.

Strabo, II. i. 7,—p. 69.

Of the Size of India.

Again, Hipparchos, in the 2nd volume of his commentary, charges Eratosthenês himself with throwing discredit on Patroklès for differing from Megasthenês about the length of India on its northern side, Megasthenês making it 16,000 stadia, and Patroklès 1000 less.

FRAGM. VI.

Strabo, XV. i. 12,—pp. 692-693.

Of the Size of India.

[From this, one can readily see how the accounts of the other writers vary from one another. Thus Klósias says that India is not of less size than the rest of Asia; Onêsikritos regards it as the third part of the habitable world; and Nearchos says it takes one four months to traverse the plain only.] Megasthenês and Dôimachos incline to be more moderate in their estimate, for according to them the distance from the Southern Sea to Kaukasos is over 20,000 stadia.—[Dôimachos, however, allows that the distance in some places exceeds 30,000 stadia. Of these notice has been taken in an earlier part of the work.]
**Fragm. VII.**
Strabo, II. i. 4,—pp. 63-63.

*Of the Size of India.*

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

**Fragm. VIII.**
Arr. Indicus, III. 7-8.

*Of the Size of India.*

With Megasthenēs the breadth of India is its extent from east to west, though this is called by others its length. His account is that the breadth at shortest is 16,000 stadia, and its length—by which he means its extent from north to south—is at the narrowest 22,300 stadia.

**Fragm. IX.**
Strabo, II. i. 19,—p. 76.

*Of the setting of the Bear, and shadows falling in contrary directions.*

Again, he [Eratosthenēs] wished to show the ignorance of Dēimachos, and his want of a

† Conf. Epit. 3.
practical knowledge of such subjects, evidenced as it was by his thinking that India lay between the autumnal equinox and the winter tropic, and by his contradicting the assertion of Megasthenes that in the southern parts of India the constellation of the Bear disappeared from view, and shadows fell in opposite directions, phenonema which he assures us are never seen in India, thereby exhibiting the sheerest ignorance. He does not agree in this opinion, but accuses Deimachos of ignorance for asserting that the Bears do nowhere in India disappear from sight, nor shadows fall in opposite directions, as Megasthenes supposed.

Fragm. X.


Of the Setting of the Bear.

Next [to the Pr as i i] in the interior are the Monedes and the Suari, to whom belongs Mount Malous, on which shadows fall towards the north in winter, and in summer to the south, for six months alternately. § The Bears, Baeton


§ "The Mandali would seem to be the same people as the Monedes of Pliny, who with the Suari, occupied the inland country to the south of the Pallibihri. As this is the exact position of the country of the Mandas and Suars, I think it quite certain that they must be the same race as the Monedes and Suari of Pliny. In another passage Pliny mentions the Mandei and Malli as occupying the country between the Calingas and the Ganges. Amongst the Malli there was a mountain named Mallus, which
says, in that part of the country are only once visible in the course of the year, and not for more than fifteen days. Megasthenes says that this takes place in many parts of India.

Conf. Solin, 52. 13:

Beyond Palibothra is Mount Maleus, on which shadows fall in winter towards the north, and in summer towards the south, for six months alternately. The North Pole is visible in that part of the country once in the course of the year, and not for longer than fifteen days, as Bacton informs us, who allows that this occurs in many parts of India.

FRAGM. XI.

Strabo, XV. i. 20,—p. 693.

Of the Fertility of India.||

Megasthenes indicates the fertility of India by the fact of the soil producing two crops every year both of fruits and grain. [Eratosthenes writes to the same effect, for he speaks of a

would seem to be the same as the famous mount Maleus of the Menedes and Suari. I think it highly probable that both names may be intended for the celebrated mount Mandar, to the south of Bhfogpur, which is fabled to have been used by the gods and demons at the churning of the ocean. The Mandei I would identify with the inhabitants of the Mahanadi river, which is the Munada of Ptolemy. The Malli or Malei would therefore be the same people as Ptolemy's Mandala, who occupied the right bank of the Ganges to the south of Palibothra, or they may be the people of the Rajmahal hills who are called Maler . . . . .

. . . . . The Suari of Pliny are the Sabars of Ptolemy, and both may be identified with the aboriginal Savaras or Saurs, a wild race of woodcutters who live in the jungles without any fixed habitation.”—Cunningham's Anc. Geog. of India, pp. 508-9.

|| Conf. Epit. 5, 9.
winter and a summer sowing, which both have rain: for a year, he says, is never found to be without rain at both those seasons, whence ensues a great abundance, since the soil is always productive. Much fruit is produced by trees; and the roots of plants, particularly of tall reeds, are sweet both by nature and by coction, since the moisture by which they are nourished is heated by the rays of the sun, whether it has fallen from the clouds or been drawn from the rivers. Eratosthenes uses here a peculiar expression: for what is called by others the ripening of fruits and the juices of plants is called among the Indians coction, which is as effective in producing a good flavour as the coction by fire itself. To the heat of the water the same writer ascribes the wonderful flexibility of the branches of trees, from which wheels are made, as also the fact of there being trees on which wool grows.]

Conf. Eratosth. ap. Strabo. XV. i. 18,—p. 690:—

From the vapours arising from such vast rivers, and from the Etesian winds, as Eratosthenes states, India is watered by the summer rains, and the plains are overflowed. During these rains, accordingly, flax* is sown and millet, also sesamum, rice, and bosmorum,$ and in the winter time wheat, barley, pulse, and other esculent fruits unknown to us.

† Conf. Herod. II. 86. "Velleraque ut foliis depectant tenuia Seres?"—Virgil, Geor. ii. 121.—Falconer.

* Λίνον, perhaps the λίνον το ἅπαν δεμφέαν of Arrian.

$ Βοσμορόν—Strabo XV. i. 18.
Of some Wild Beasts of India.

According to Megasthenes the largest tigers are found among the Prasii, being nearly twice the size of the lion, and so strong that a tame tiger led by four men having seized a mule by the hinder leg overpowered it and dragged it to him. The monkeys are larger than the largest dogs; they are white except in the face, which is black, though the contrary is observed elsewhere. Their tails are more than two cubits in length. They are very tame, and not of a malicious disposition: so that they neither attack man nor steal. Stones are dug up which are of the colour of frankincense, and sweeter than figs or honey. In some parts of the country there are serpents two cubits long which have membranous wings like bats. They fly about by night, when they let fall drops of urine or sweat, which blister the skin of persons not on their guard, with putrid sores. There are also winged scorpions of an extraordinary size. Ebony grows there. There are also dogs of great strength and courage, which will not let go their hold till water is poured into their nostrils: they bite so eagerly that the eyes of some become distorted, and the eyes of others fall out. Both a lion and a bull were held fast by a dog. The bull was seized by the muzzle, and died before the dog could be taken off.
Of Indian Apes.

In the country of the Praxii,§ who are an Indian people, Megasthenes says there are apes not inferior in size to the largest dogs. They

§ The Prâchya (i.e. Easterns) are called by Strabo, Arrian, and Pliny Πράσιοι, Prasii; by Plutarch (Alex. 62) Πρασίωι, a name often used by Ælian also; by Nikolaus Damas. (ap. Stob. Floril. 37, 38) Πραυηιοι; by Diodorus (xvii. 93) Βρασιοι; by Curtius (IX. 2, 3) Pharrasti; by Justin (xii. 8, 9) Praesides. Megasthenes attempted to approximate more closely to the Sanskrit Prâchya, for here he uses Πραγικώσ. And it appears that Πράγιοι should be substituted for Πράαιοι in Stephan. Byzant., since it comes between the words Πράχιλος and Πρασ.—Schwanbeck, p. 82, not. 6.
have tails five cubits long, hair grows on their forehead, and they have luxuriant beards hanging down their breast. Their face is entirely white, and all the rest of the body black. They are tame and attached to man, and not malicious by nature like the apes of other countries.

Fragm. XIV.


*Of Winged Scorpions and Serpents.*

Megasthenes says there are winged scorpions in India of enormous size, which sting Europeans and natives alike. There are also serpents which are likewise winged. These do not go abroad during the day, but by night, when they let fall urine, which if it lights upon any one's skin at once raises putrid sores thereon. Such is the statement of Megasthenes.

Fragm. XV.

Strabo, XV. i. 56,—pp. 710-711.

*Of the Beasts of India, and the Reed.*

He (Megasthenes) says there are monkeys, rollers of rocks, which climb precipices whence they roll down stones upon their pursuers.

Most animals, he says, which are tame with us are wild in India, and he speaks of horses which are one-horned and have heads like those of deer; and also of reeds some of which grow straight up to the height of thirty *orguias*,|| while

|| The *orguias* was four cubits, or equal to 6 feet 1 inch.
others grow along the ground to the length of fifty. They vary in thickness from three to six cubits in diameter.

Fragm. XV. B.


Of some Beasts of India.

(20.) In certain districts of India (I speak of those which are most inland) they say there are inaccessible mountains infested by wild beasts, and which are also the haunts of animals like those of our own country except that they are wild; for even sheep, they say, run wild there, as well as dogs and goats and oxen, which roam about at their own pleasure, being independent and free from the dominion of the herdsman. That their number is beyond calculation is stated not only by writers on India, but also by the learned men of the country, among whom the Brachmans deserve to be reckoned, whose testimony is to the same effect. It is also said that there exists in India a quic-horned animal, called by the natives the Kartason. It is of the size of a full-grown horse, and has a crest, and yellow hair soft as wool. It is furnished with very good legs and is very fleet. Its legs are jointless and formed like those of the elephant, and it has a tail like a swine’s. A horn sprouts out from between its eyebrows, and this is not straight, but curved into the most natural wreaths, and is of a black colour. It is said to be extremely sharp, this horn. The animal, as I learn, has a voice beyond all example loud-ringing and dissonant. It allows other animals to approach it, and is good-
natured towards them, though they say that with its congeners it is rather quarrelsome. The males are reported to have a natural propensity not only to fight among themselves, by butting with their horns, but to display a like animosity against the female, and to be so obstinate in their quarrels that they will not desist till a worsted rival is killed outright. But, again, not only is every member of the body of this animal endued with great strength, but such is the potency of its horn that nothing can withstand it. It loves to feed in secluded pastures, and wanders about alone, but at the rutting season it seeks the society of the female, and is then gentle towards her,—nay, the two even feed in company. The season being over and the female pregnant, the Indian Kartazdn again becomes ferocious and seeks solitude. The foals, it is said, are taken when quite young to the king of the Prasii, and are set to fight each other at the great public spectacles. No full-grown specimen is remembered to have ever been caught.

(21.) The traveller who crosses the mountains which skirt that frontier of India which is most inland meets, they say, with ravines which are clothed with very dense jungle, in a district called by the Indians Korouda.† These ravines are said to be the haunts of a peculiar kind of animal shaped like a satyr, covered all over with shaggy hair, and having a tail like a horse's, depending from its rump. If these creatures are left unmolested, they keep within the coppices, living on the wild fruits; but should they hear the hunter's

† V. L. Kolounda.
halloo and the baying of the hounds they dart up the precipices with incredible speed, for they are habituated to climbing the mountains. They defend themselves by rolling down stones on their assailants, which often kill those they hit. The most difficult to catch are those which roll the stones. Some are said to have been brought, though with difficulty and after long intervals, to the Pra sii, but these were either suffering from diseases or were females heavy with young, the former being too weak to escape, and the latter being impeded by the burden of the womb.—Conf. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* VII. 2. 17.

**Fragm. XVI.**


**Of the Boa-Constrictor.**

According to Megasthenes, serpents in India grow to such a size that they swallow stags and bulls whole.

Solinus, 52. 33.

So huge are the serpents that they swallow stags whole, and other animals of equal size.

**Fragm. XVII.**


**Of the Electric Eel.**

I learn from Megasthenes that there is in the Indian Sea a small kind of fish which is never seen when alive, as it always swims in deep water, and only floats on the surface after it is dead. Should any one touch it he becomes faint and swoons,—nay, even dies at last.
Fragm. XVIII.


* Of Taprobane.*

Megasthenes says that Taprobane is separated from the mainland by a river; that the inhabitants are called Palaiogonoi, and that their country is more productive of gold and large pearls than India.

Solin. 53. 3.

Taprobane is separated from India by a

* This island has been known by many names:—
1. Lankaw.—The only name it goes by in Sanskrit, and quite unknown to the Greeks and Romans.
2. Simundu or Palesimundu.—Probably a Greek form of the Sanskrit Páli-Simanta. This name had gone out of use before the time of Ptolemy the Geographer.
3. Taprobane.—Supposed to represent the Sanskrit Támaraparni ('red-leaved' or 'copper-coloured sand'), a slightly altered form of the Páli Támi bapàññañ, which is found in the inscription of Aśoka on the Girnar Rock. Vide ante, vol. V. p. 272.
4. Salico (perhaps properly Salico), Sorendivas, Sirliodha, Sorendih, Zeilau, Ceylon. These are all considered to be derivatives from Siñala, the Páli form of Sīñala, 'the abode of lions.' The affix dib represents the Sanskrit dvipa, 'an island.'

† Lassen has tried to account for the name Palaiogonoi thus (Dissert. de insula Taprob. p. 9):—"We must suppose that Megasthenes was acquainted with the Indian myth that the first inhabitants of the island were said to have been Rákshasas or giants, the sons of the progenitors of the world, whom he might not inaptly call Palaiogonoi." Against this it may be remarked that, by this unusual term and so uncommon, Megasthenes meant to name the nation, not describ by the Sanskrit Páli-simanta ('head of the sacred doctrine'). I would also prefer to explain the name of the Palaiogonoi from the Sanskrit Páli-janás (i.e. 'men of the sacred doctrine').—Schwanbeck, p. 38, n. 35.
river flowing between: for one part of it abounds
with wild beasts and elephants much larger than
India breeds, and man claims the other part.

**Fragm. XIX.**

Antigon. Caryst. 647.

*Of Marine Trees.*

Megasthenes, the author of the *Indika*, men-
tions that trees grow in the Indian Sea.

**Fragm. XX.**

Arr. Ind. 4. 2-13.

*Of the Indus and the Ganges.*

See translation of Arrian.

**Fragm. XX.B.**


The *Prinas* § and the *Cainas* (a tributary
of the Ganges) are both navigable rivers. The
tribes which dwell by the Ganges are the *Ca li*
*n-ga,*|| nearest the sea, and higher up the *Mandei,
also the *Malli,* among whom is Mount Mallus,
the boundary of all that region being the Ganges.
Some have asserted that this river, like the Nile,
rises from unknown sources, and in a similar way
waters the country it flows through, while others
trace its source to the Skythian mountains. Nineteen
rivers are said to flow into it, of which, be-

V. pp. 331, 332.

§ V. L. Pumas.

|| A great and widely diffused tribe settled mainly be-
tween the Mahanadi and the Godavari. Their capital was
*Partualis* (called by Ptolemy *Kalligra*), on the
Mahanadi, higher up than the site of Katak. The name is
preserved in *Korimga,* a great port at the mouth of the
Godavari.
sides those already mentioned, the Condochates,\[\[\] Eramoboas, Cosoagus, and Sonus are navigable. According to other accounts, it bursts at once with thundering roar from its fountain, and tumbling down a steep and rocky channel lodges in a lake as soon as it reaches the level plain, whence it issues forth with a gentle current, being nowhere less than eight miles broad, while its mean breadth is a hundred stadia, and its least depth twenty fathoms.*

Solin. 52. 6-7.

In India the largest rivers are the Ganges and the Indus,—the Ganges, as some maintain, rising from uncertain sources, and, like the Nile,

\[\[\] V. Ll. Caucaam, Yamam.

* "The Bhâghrati (which we shall here regard as the true Ganges) first comes to light near Gangotri, in the territory of Garhwal, in lat. 30° 54', long. 79° 7', issuing from under a very low arch, at the base of a great snow-bed, estimated to be 300 feet thick, which lies between the lofty mountains termed St. Patrick, St. George, and the Pyramid, the two higher having elevations above the sea, respectively, of 22,798 and 22,654 feet, and the other, on the opposite side, having an elevation of 21,879. From the brow of this curious wall of snow, and immediately above the outlet of the stream, large and hoary icicles depend. They are formed by the freezing of the melted snow-water at the top of the bed; for in the middle of the day the sun is powerful, and the water produced by its action falls over this place in cascade, but is frozen at night. . . . At Sâkhî the river may be said to break through the 'Himâlaya Proper,' and the elevation of the waterway is hence 7,608 feet. At Devprâg it is joined on the left side by the Alaknanda. . . . From Devprâg the united stream is now called the Ganges. . . . Its descent by the Dehra Dûn is rather rapid to Haridwâr . . . sometimes called Gângâdwâra, or 'the gate of the Ganges,' being situated on its western or right bank at the southern base of the Sivâlik range, here intersected by a ravine or gorge by which the river, finally leaving the mountainous region, commences its course over the plains of Hindustân. The breadth of the river in the rainy season . . . is represented to be a full mile."—Thornton.
overflowing its banks; while others think that it rises in the Skythian mountains. In India there is also the Hupanis, a very noble river, which formed the limit of Alexander's march, as the altars set up on its banks testify. The least breadth of the Ganges is eight miles, and the greatest twenty; its depth where least is fully one hundred feet.

Conf. Fragm. XXV. 1.

Some say that the least breadth is thirty stadia, but others only three; while Megasthenes says that the mean breadth is a hundred stadia, and its least depth twenty cubits.

Fragm. XXI.
Arr. Ind. 6. 2-3.
Of the River Silas.
See translation of Arrian.

Fragm. XXII.
Boissoneau, Anecd. Ind. I. p. 419.
Of the River Silas.

There is in India a river called the Silas, named after the fountain from which it flows, on which nothing will float that is thrown into

† The same as the Huphasis or Satlej.
‡ Strab. 703, Diod. II. 37, and afterwards an anonymous writer whom Buluken (ad Collinwaich. fragm. p. 148) has praised, and whose account may be read in Boissson. Anecd. Ind. I. 149. The name is written Σιλας in Diodorus, in Strabo Σιλίας, but best Σιλας, in the epitome of Strabo and in the Anecd. II. 63, Bähr, 369, has collected the passages from Klesius. Lassen has also illustrated this fable (Zeitschrift. II. 63) from Indian literature:—"The Indians think that the river Silas is in the north, that it petrifies everything plunged in it, whence everything sinks and nothing swims." (Conf. Achibhār. II. 1858.) Silā means 'a stone.'—Schw. p. 37, n. 32.
of the chasm they voluntarily leap in, and disappear for ever from human sight so soon as they fall into this mysterious and viewless cavern of the earth. But above there are heard the bellowings of oxen, the bleating of sheep, the neighing of horses, and the plaintive cries of goats, and if any one goes near enough to the edge and closely applies his ear he will hear afar off the sounds just mentioned. This commingled sound is one that never ceases, for every day that passes men bring new victims to be their substitutes. Whether the cries of the animals last brought only are heard, or the cries also of those brought before, I know not,—all I know is that the cries are heard.

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

(18.) In the sea which surrounds the islands, tortoises are bred of so vast a size that their shells are employed to make roofs for the houses: for a shell, being fifteen cubits in length, can hold a

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*Footnote: In the classical writers the size of this island is always greatly exaggerated. Its actual length from north to south is 271½ miles, and its breadth from east to west 137½, and its circuit about 630 miles.*
good many people under it, screening them from the scorching heat of the sun, besides affording them a welcome shade. But, more than this, it is a protection against the violence of storms. Of rain far more effective than tiles, for it at once shakes off the rain that dashes against it, while those under its shelter hear the rain rattling as on the roof of a house. At all events they do not require to shift their abode, like those whose tiling is shattered, for the shell is hard and like a hollowed rock and the vaulted roof of a natural cavern.

The island, then, in the great sea, which they call Taprobâne, has palm-groves, where the trees are planted with wonderful regularity all in a row, in the way we see the keepers of pleasure-parks plant out shady trees in the choicest spots. It has also herds of elephants, which are there very numerous and of the largest size. These island elephants are more powerful than those of the mainland, and in appearance larger, and may be pronounced to be in every possible way more intelligent. The islanders export them to the mainland opposite in boats, which they construct expressly for this traffic from wood supplied by the thickets of the island, and they dispose of their cargoes to the king of the Kalingai. On account of the great size of the island, the inhabitants of the interior have never seen the sea, but pass their lives as if resident on a continent, though no doubt they learn from others
that they are all around enclosed by the sea. The inhabitants, again, of the coast have no practical acquaintance with elephant-catching, and know of it only by report. All their energy is devoted to catching fish and the monsters of the deep; for the sea encircling the island is reported to breed an incredible number of fish, both of the smaller fry and of the monstrous sort, among the latter being some which have the heads of lions and of panthers and of other wild beasts, and also of rams; and, what is still a greater marvel, there are monsters which in all points of their shape resemble satyrs. Others are in appearance like women, but, instead of having locks of hair, are furnished with prickles. It is even solemnly alleged that this sea contains certain strangely formed creatures, to represent which in a picture would baffle all the skill of the artists of the country, even though, with a view to make a profound sensation, they are wont to paint monsters which consist of different parts of different animals pieced together. These have their tails and the parts which are wreathed of great length, and have for feet either claws or fins. I learn further that they are amphibious, and by night graze on the pasture-fields, for they eat grass like cattle and birds that pick up seeds. They have also a great liking for the date when ripe enough to drop from the palms, and accordingly they twist their coils, which are supple, and large enough for the purpose, around
these trees, and shake them so violently that the dates come tumbling down, and afford them a welcome repast. Thereafter when the night begins gradually to wane, but before there is yet clear daylight, they disappear by plunging into the sea just as the first flush of morning faintly illumines its surface. They say whales also frequent this sea, though it is not true that they come near the shore lying in wait for thunnies. The dolphins are reported to be of two sorts—one fierce and armed with sharp-pointed teeth, which gives endless trouble to the fisherman, and is of a remorselessly cruel disposition, while the other kind is naturally mild and tame, swims about in the friskiest way, and is quite like a fawning dog. It does not run away when any one tries to stroke it, and it takes with pleasure any food it is offered.

(19.) The sea-hare, by which I now mean the kind found in the great sea (for of the kind found in the other sea I have already spoken), resembles in every particular the land hare except only the fur, which in the case of the land animal is soft and lies smoothly down, and does not resist the touch, whereas its brother of the sea has bristling hair which is prickly, and inflicts a wound on any one who touches it. It is said to swim atop of the sea-ripple without ever diving below, and to be very rapid in its movements. To catch it alive is no easy matter, as it never falls into the net, nor goes near the line and
bait of the fishing-rod. When it suffers, however, from disease, and, being in consequence hardly able to swim, is cast out on shore, then if anyone touches it with his hand death ensues if he is not attended to—nay, should one, were it only with a staff, touch this dead hare, he is affected in the same way as those who have touched a basilisk. But a root, it is said, grows along the coast of the island, well known to every one, which is a remedy, the swooning which ensues. It is brought close to the nostrils of the person who has fainted, who thereupon recovers consciousness. But should the remedy not be applied the injury proves fatal to life, so noxious is the vigour which this hare has at its command.

Frag. XV. B. follows here.*

(22.) There is also a race called the Skiratai,† whose country is beyond India. They are

* This is the fragment in which Ælian describes the one-horned animal which he calls the Kartazón. Rosenmüller, who has treated at large of the unicorn, which he identifies with the Indian rhinoceros, thinks that Ælian probably borrowed his account of it from Ktésias, who when in Persia may have heard exaggerated accounts of it, or may have seen it represented in sculpture with variations from its actual appearance. Tychsen derives its name from Kerú, an old name, he says, of the rhinoceros itself, and *ta**na*n, i.e., currens velox, irruens. Three animals were spoken of by the ancients as having a single horn—the African Oryx, the Indian Ass, and what is specially called the Unicorn. Vide ante, p. 50.

† Vide ante, Fragm. xxx. 3, p. 80, and p. 74, note†, where they are identified with the Kirātas. In the Rāmdyana there is a passage quoted by Lassen (Zeitschr. f. Kunde d. Morgenl. II. 40) where are mentioned “the Kirātas, some of whom dwell in Mount Mandara, others use their ears as a covering; they are horrible, black-faced, with but one foot
snub-nosed, either because in the tender years of infancy their nostrils are pressed down, and continue to be so throughout their after-life, or because such is the natural shape of the organ. Serpents of enormous size are bred in their country, of which some kinds seize the cattle when at pasture and devour them, while other kinds only suck the blood, as do the Aigithelai in Greece, of which I have already spoken in the proper place.

but very fleet, who cannot be exterminated, are brave men, and cannibals.” (Schwanbeck, p. 66.) [Lassen places one branch of them on the south bank of the Kausi in Nipal, and another in Tiperā.—Eo. Ind. Ant.]
TRANSLATION

OF THE

FIRST PART OF THE INDIKA
OF ARRIAN.

CHAPS. I.—XVII. inclusive.

FROM TEUBNER’S EDITION,
LEIPZIG, 1867.
Apollo (Gopala) - God of Art, Wisdom, & Sacred Cows.

Herkules (Hari-Kaliya) fights the Hydra Serpent
INTRODUCTION.

Arrian, who variously distinguished himself as a philosopher, a statesman, a soldier, and an historian, was born in Nikomedia, in Bithynia, towards the end of the first century. He became a pupil of the philosopher Epiktētos, whose lectures he published. Having been appointed prefect of Kappadokia under the emperor Hadrian, he acquired during his administration a practical knowledge of the tactics of war in repelling an attack made upon his province by the Alani and Massagetae. His talents recommended him to the favour of the succeeding emperor, Antoninus Pius, by whom he was raised to the consulship (A.D. 146). In his later years he retired to his native town, where he applied his leisure to the composition of works on history, to which he was led by his admiration of Xenophon. He died at an advanced age, in the reign of the emperor Marcus Aurelius. The work by which he is best known is his account of the Asiatic expedition of Alexander the Great, which is remarkable alike for the accuracy of its narrative, and the Xenophontic ease and clearness, if not the perfect purity, of its style. His work on India (Ἰνδία) or τὰ Ἰνδία may be regarded as a continuation of his Anabasis, though it is not written, like the Anabasis, in the Attic dialect, but in the Ionic. The reason may have been that he
wished his work to supersede the old and less accurate account of India written in Ionic by Ktesibias of Knidos.

The book consists of three parts:—the first gives a general description of India, based chiefly on the accounts of the country given by Megasthenes and Erasistratus (chaps. i-xvii.); the second gives an account of the voyage made by Nearchus the Kretan from the Indus to the Indus (chaps. xiii.-xlii.); the third contains a collection of proofs to show that the southern parts of the world are uninhabitable on account of the great heat (chap. xxi. to the end).
THE INDIKA OF ARRIAN.

I. The regions beyond the river Indus on the west are inhabited, up to the river Kophæu, by two Indian tribes, the Aσtάκεnοι and the Ασσακενοί, who are not men of great stature like the Indians on the other side of the Indus, nor so brave, nor yet so swarthy as most Indians. They were in old times subject to the Assyrians, then after a period of Median rule submitted to the Persians, and paid to Kyros the son of Kambyses the tribute from their land which Kyros had imposed. The Νyσαιοί, however, are not an Indian race, but descendants of those who came into India with Dionysos,—perhaps not only of those Greeks who had been disabled for service in the course of the wars which Dionysos waged against the Indians, but perhaps also of natives of the country whom Dionysos, with their own consent, had settled along with the Greeks. The district in which he planted this colony he named Νyσαια, after Mount Νyσα, and the city itself Νyσa.* But the mountain

* Nysa, the birthplace of the wine-god, was placed, according to fancy, anywhere up and down the world wherever the vine was found to flourish. Now, as the region watered by the Kophæs was in no ordinary measure feracious of the joyous tree, there was consequently a Nysa somewhere upon its banks. Lassen doubted whether there
close by the city, and on the lower slopes of which it is built, is designated Mērōs, from the accident which befell the god immediately after his birth. These stories about Dionysos are of course but fictions of the poets, and we leave them to the learned among the Greeks or Barbarians to explain as they may. In the dominions of the Assakēnoi there is a great city called Massaka, the seat of the sovereign power which controls the whole realm.† And there is another city, Peukelaîtis, which is also of great size and not far from the Indus.‡ These

was a city to the name; but M. de St. Martin is less sceptical, and would identify it with an existing village which preserves traces of its name, being called Nysa. This, he says, is near the northern bank of the river of Kabul at less than two leagues below Hassānagar, and may suitably represent the Nya of the historians. This place, he adds, ought to be of Median or Persian foundation, since the nomenclature is Persian, the name of Nysa or Nišya which figures in the cosmogonic geography of the Zendavesta being one which is far-spread in the countries of ancient Iran. He refers his readers for remarks on this point to A. de Humboldt’s Central Asia, I. pp. 116 seq. ed. 1843.

† Massaka (other forms are Massaga, Massaga, and Mazaga.)—The Sanskrit Massaka, a city situated near the Gauri. Curtius states that it was defended by a rapid river on its eastern side. When attacked by Alexander, it held out for four days against all his assaults.†

‡ Peukelaîtis (other forms—Peukelaitis, Peukolitas, Peukelaōtis). ‘‘The Greek name of Peukelaitis or Peukolaitis was immediately derived from Pukkalauti, which is the Pāli or spoken form of the Sanskrit Pushkalavatī. It is also called Pukkaḷa by Arrian, and the people are named Pukkalai by Dionysius Periegetes, which are both close transcripts of the Pāli Pukkalā. The form of Prokla, which is found in Arrian’s Periplus of the Erythrean Sea and also in Ptolemy’s Geography, is perhaps only an attempt to give the Hindi name of Pukhār, instead of the Sanskrit Pushkara.’’ So General Cunningham, who fixes its position at “the two large towns
settlements lie on the other side of the river Indus, and extend in a westward direction as far as the Kop hen.

II. Now the countries which lie to the east of the Indus I take to be India Proper, and the people who inhabit them to be Indians. The northern boundaries of India so defined are formed by Mount Tauros, though the range does not retain that name in these parts. Tauros begins from the sea which washes the coasts of Pamphylia, Lykia, and Kilikia, and stretches away towards the Eastern Sea, intersecting the whole continent of Asia. The range bears different names in the different countries which it traverses. In one place it is called Parapamisos, in another Emodos, and in a

Parâng and Charasada, which form part of the well-known Hashtna gar, or 'eight cities,' that are seated close together on the eastern bank of the lower Indus river." The position indicated is nearly seventeen miles to the north-east of Peshawar. Pusákâla, according to Prof. Wilson, is still represented by the modern Pókhály or Pakholi, in the neighbourhood of Peshawar.

§ In limiting India to the eastern side of the Indus, Arrian expresses the view generally held in antiquity, which would appear to be also that of the Hindús themselves, since they are forbidden by one of their old traditions to cross that river. Much, however, may be said for the theory which would extend India to the foot of the great mountain ranges of Hindu Kush and Parapamisos. There is, for instance, the fact that in the region lying between these mountains and the Indus many places either now bear, or have formerly borne, names which can with certainty be traced to Sanskrit sources. The subject is discussed at some length in Elphinstone's History of India, pp. 331-6, also by de St.-Martin.—Étude, pp. 9-14.

∥ Parapamisos (other forms—Parapamisos, Paropamisos, Paropamisso, Parapamisos). This denotes the great mountain range now called Hindu Kush, supposed to
third M a o s, and it has perhaps other names besides. The Makedonians, again, who served with Alexander called it Kaukasos,—this being another Kaukasos and distinct from the Skythian, so that the story went that Alexander penetrated to the regions beyond Kaukasos.

be a corrupted form of "Indicus Caucasus," the name given to the range by the Makedonians, either to flatter Alexander, or because they regarded it as a continuation of Kaukasos. Arrian, however, and others held it to be a continuation of 'Taurus. The mountains belonging to the range which lie to the north of the Kabul river are called Nishádha, (see Lassen, Ind. Alt. 1., p. 22, note), a Sanskrit word which appears perhaps in the form Paropamisós, which is that given by Ptolemy. According to Pliny, the Skythians called Mount Caucasus Grávakašas, a word which represents the Indian name of Paropamisós, Gravakshas, which Ritter translates "splendentes rupium montes." According to General Cunningham, the Mount Páresh or Aparása in of the Zendavesta corresponds with the Paropamisós of the Greeks. Páro, the first part of the word. St.-Martin says, represents undoubtedly the Parn or Parúta of the local dialects (in Zend, Páronta meaning mountain). He acknowledges, however, that he cannot assign any reason why the syllable pa has been intercalated between the vocables Parn and nishada to form the Paropamisados of the Greek. The first Greek writer who mentions the range is Aristotle, who calls it Parnassos: see his Meteorol. I. 18. Hindú Kush generally designates now the eastern part of the range, and Paropamisós the western. According to Sir Alexander Burnes, the name Hindú Kush is unknown to the Afghánas, but there is a particular peak and also a pass bearing that name between Afghanistán and Turkestan.—Emodos (other forms—Emoda, Emóm, Hemodos). The name generally designated that part of the Himalayan range which extended along Nepal and Bhútan and onward towards the ocean. Lassen derives the word from the Sanskrit haimavata, in Prakrit haimota, 'snowy.' If this be so, 'Hemodos' is the more correct form. Another derivation refers the word to "hémádrí" (hema, gold, and adri, mountain), 'the golden mountains,'—so called either because they were thought to contain gold mines, or because of the aspect they presented when their snowy peaks reflected the golden effulgence of sunset.
On the west the boundaries of India are marked by the river Indus all the way to the great ocean into which it pours its waters, which it does by two mouths. These mouths are not close to each other, like the five mouths of the I s t e r (Danube), but diverge like those of the N i l e, by which the Egyptian delta is formed. The Indus in like manner makes an Indian delta, which is not inferior in area to the Egyptian, and is called in the Indian tongue P a t t a l a. ¶

On the south-west, again, and on the south, India is bounded by the great ocean just mentioned, which also forms its boundary on the east. The parts toward the south about Pattala and the river Indus were seen by Alexander and many of the Greeks, but in an eastern direction Alex-

¶ Pattala.—The name of the Delta was properly Pātalone, and Pātala was its capital. This was situated at the head of the Delta, where the western stream of the Indus bifurcated. Thāṭha has generally been regarded as its modern representative, but General Cunningham would "almost certainly" identify it with N i r a n k o l or H aid a r ḍ ā ḍ, of which Pātalpur and Pāṭaśila (‘flat rock’) were old appellations. With regard to the name Pātala he suggests that "it may have been derived from Pātalī, the trumpet flower" (Bignonia suaveolens), in allusion to the trumpet shape of the province included between the eastern and western branches of the mouth of the Indus, as the two branches as they approach the sea curve outward like the mouth of a trumpet." Ritter, however, says:—"Pāṭāla is the designation bestowed by the Brāhmanas on all the provinces in the west towards sunset, in antithesis to P r a s i a k a (the eastern realm) in Ganges-land: for Pāṭāla is the mythological name in Sanskrit of the under-world, and consequently of the land of the west." Arrian’s estimate of the magnitude of the Delta is somewhat excessive. The length of its base, from the Pitti to the Kori mouth, was less than 1000 stadia, while that of the Egyptian Delta was 1300.
ander did not penetrate beyond the river Ḥ y-
p h a s i s, though a few authors have described the country as far as the river G a n g e s and the parts near its mouths and the city of P a-
limb o t h r a, which is the greatest in India, and situated near the Ganges.

III. I shall now state the dimensions of India, and in doing so let me follow Eratosthenes of Kyrenē as the safest authority, for this Eratosthenes made its circuit a subject of special inquiry.* He states, then, that if a line be drawn from Mount Tauros, where the Indus has its springs, along the course of that river and as far as the great ocean and the mouths of the Indus, this side of India will measure 13,000 stadia.† But the contrary side, which diverges from the same point of Tauros and runs along the Eastern Sea, he makes of a much different length, for there is a headland which projects far out into the

* Schmiider, from whose text I translate, has here altered (perhaps unnecessarily) the reading of the MSS. from ἡς περιόδον to γῆς περιόδον. The measurements given by Strabo are more accurate than those of Arrian. They are, however, at all wide of the mark; General Cunningham, indeed, remarks that their close agreement with the actual size of the country is very remarkable, and shows, he adds, that the Indians, even at that early date in their history, had a very accurate knowledge of the form and extent of their native land.

† The Olympic stadium, which was in general use throughout Greece, contained 600 Greek feet = 625 Roman feet, or 606 1/2 English feet. The Roman mile contained eight stadia, being about half a stadium less than an English mile. The schoinos (mentioned below) was = 2 Persian parasangs = 60 stadia, but was generally taken at half that length.
sea, and this headland is in length about 3,000 stadia. The eastern side of India would thus by his calculation measure 16,000 stadia, and this is what he assigns as the breadth of India. The length, again, from west to east as far as the city of P a l i m b o r a he sets down, he says, as it had been measured by s e v a n n ; since there existed a royal highway, and he gives it as 10,000 stadia. But as for the parts beyond they were not measured with equal accuracy. Those, however, who write from mere hearsay allege that the breadth of India, inclusive of the headland which projects into the sea, is about 10,000 stadia, while the length measured from the coast is about 20,000 stadia. But K t ô s i a s of Knidos says that India equals in size all the rest of Asia, which is absurd; while O n e s i k r i t o s as absurdly declares that it is the third part of the whole earth. N e a r c h o s, again, says that it takes a journey of four months to traverse even the plain of India; while M e g a s t h e n ô s, who calls the breadth of India its extent from east to west, though others call this its length, says that where shortest the breadth is 16,000 stadia, and that its length—by which he means its extent from north to south—is, where narrowest, 22,300 stadia. But, whatever be its dimensions, the rivers of India are certainly the largest to be found in all Asia. The mightiest are the G a n g e s and the I n d u s, from which the country receives its name. Both are greater than
the Egyptian Nile and the Skythian Ister even if their streams were united into one. I think, too, that even the Akēsínōs is greater than either the Ister or the Nile where it joins the Indus after receiving its tributaries the Ηυδασπῆς and the Ηῦδραοτές, since it is at that point so much as 300 stadia in breadth. It is also possible that there are even many other larger rivers which take their course through India.

IV. But I am unable to give with assurance of being accurate any information regarding the regions beyond the Ὑψάθις, since the progress of Alexander was arrested by that river. But to recur to the two greatest rivers, the Ganges and the Indus. Megasthenes states that of the two the Ganges is much the larger, and other writers who mention the Ganges agree with him; for, besides being of ample volume even where it issues from its springs, it receives as tributaries the river Kaĩnas, and the Erannobos, and the Kossoanos, which are all navigable. It receives, besides, the river Sonos and the Sītōkatis, and the Solomatis, which are also navigable, and also the Kondochatōs, and the Sambos, and the Magōn, and the Agorantis, and the Omalis. Moreover there fall into it the Kommenasōs, a great river, and the Kakouthis, and the Andomatis, which flows from the dominions of the Madyanidnōi, an Indian tribe. In
addition to all these, the Mystis, which flows past the city Katadupa, and the Oxymagis from the dominions of a tribe called the Pazalai, and the Erranysis from the Mathai, an Indian tribe, unite with the Ganges.

† Arrian here enumerates seventeen tributaries of the Ganges. The number is given as nineteen by Pliny, who adds the Prinas and the Jomandis, which Arrian elsewhere (cap. viii.) mentions under the name of the Johares. These tributaries have been nearly all identified by the researches of such learned men as Renel, Wilford, Schlegel, Lassen, and Schwanbeck. M. de St.-Martin, in reviewing their conclusions, clears up a few points which they had left in doubt, or wherein he thinks they had erred. I shall now show how each of the nineteen tributaries has been identified.

Kaïnas.—This has been identified with the Kan, or Kane, or Kena, which, however, is only indirectly a tributary of the Ganges, as it falls into the Jamna. The Sanskrit name of the Kan is Śona, and Schwanbeck (p. 36) objects to the identification that the Greeks invariably represent the Sanskrit Ṛ by their Ṣ, and never by Ṛ. St.-Martin attaches no importance to this objection, and gives the Sanskrit equivalent as Kaïana.

Erranoboas.—As Arrian informs us (cap. x.) that Pālinabothra (Pāṭaliputra, Pāṭnā) was situated at the confluence of this river with the Ganges, it must be identified with the river Sōn, which formerly joined the Ganges a little above Bankipur, the western suburb of Pāṭnā, from which its embouchure is now 16 miles distant and higher up the Ganges. The word no doubt represents the Sanskrit Ḥīranyavāha (‘carrying gold’) or Hiranyabhūm (‘having golden arms’), which are both poetical names of the Sōn. Megasthenes, however, and Arrian, both make the Erranoboas and the Sōn to be distinct rivers, and hence some would identify the former with the Gandak (Sanskrit Gandaki), which, according to Lassen, was called by the Buddhists Ḥīranyavati, or ‘the golden.’ It is, however, too small a stream to suit the description of the Erranoboas, that it was the largest river in India after the Ganges and Indus. The Sōn may perhaps in the time of Megasthenes have joined the Ganges by two channels, which he may have mistaken for separate rivers.
Regarding these streams Megasthenes asserts that none of them is inferior to the Mai-

Kosanjas.—Cossagrus is the form of the name in Pliny, and hence it has been taken to be the representative of the Sanskrit Kaushāki, the river now called the Kosī. Schwänbeck, however, thinks it represents the Sanskrit Kosāvāha ('treasure-bearing'), and that it is therefore an epithet of the Sōn, like Hiranyakavāla, which has the same meaning. It seems somewhat to favour this view that Arrian in his enumeration places the Kosanjas between the Brahmapusus and the Sōn.

Sōnas.—The Sōn, which now joins the Ganges ten miles above Dināpur. The word is considered to be a contraction of the Sanskrit Suvarṇa (Suvarna), 'golden,' and may have been given as a name to the river either because its sands were yellow, or because they contained gold dust.

Sitēkātis.—It has not been ascertained what river was denoted by this name, but St.-Martin thinks it may be the representative of the Sadākanta—a river now unknown, but mentioned in the Mahābhārata along with the Kosāvāra (the Kosī), the Sadāntāra (the Karnyā), and the Aūrāchya (the Atreyī), from which it is evident that it belonged to the northern parts of Bengal.

Solomatis.—It has not been ascertained what river was denoted by this name. General Cunningham in one of his maps gives the Solomatisa name of the Saraj, or Sarju, a tributary of the Ghagra; while Bonfey and others would identify it with the famous Sarasvatī or Sarsuti, which, according to the legends, after disappearing underground, joined the Ganges at Allahābād. There is more probability, however, in Lassen's suggestion, that the word somewhat erroneously transliterates Sāravatī, the name of a city of Kosāla mentioned by Kālidāsa and in the Purānas, where it appears generally in the form Sāravatī. This city stood on a river which, though nowhere mentioned by name, must also have been called Sārakatī, since there is an obvious connexion between that name and the name by which the river of that district is now known—the Raptī.

Konodhatēs.—Now the Gandak, in Sanskrit, Gandaki or Gandakavatī (Gandakavati),—because of its abounding in a kind of alligator having a horn-like projection on its nose. It skirted the eastern border of Kosāla, joining the Ganges opposite Fālibothra,

Samboas.—This has no Sanskrit equivalent. It perhaps designated the Gumaṭi, which is said to go by the name of the Samboā at, a part of its course below Lucknow.
... and as for the Ganges, it has a breadth where

Magana.—According to Mannert the Rāmganga, but much more probably the Mahananda, now the Mahona, the principal river of Magadha, which joins the Ganges not far below Pātnā.

Agorania.—According to Rennele the Ghagra—a word derived from the Sanskrit Gharghara ('of gurgling sound'). But according to St. Martin it must be some one or other of the Gauris so abundant in the river nomenclature of Northern India. The vulgar form is Gaurana.

Omalis has not been identified, but Schwanbeck remarks that the word closely agrees with the Sanskrit Vimala ('stainless'), a common epithet of rivers.

Komnenasos.—Rennele and Lassen identify this with the Karmanasa (honorum operum desastrarum), a small river which joins the Ganges above Buxur. According to a Hindin legend, whoever touches the water of this river loses all the merit of his good works, this being transferred to the nymph of the stream.

Kakouthis.—Mannert erroneously takes this to be the Gunzi. Lassen identifies it with the Kakoutha of the Buddhist chronicles, and hence with the Bagmati, the Bhagavati of Sanskrit.

Aindomatis.—Thought by Lassen to be connected with the Sanskrit Andhamati (tanericosus), which he would identify, therefore, with the Tanas, the two names being identical in meaning; but, as the river came from the country of the Madyanini (Sanskrit Madhyan deal, meridionalis),—that is, the people of the South,—Wilford's conjecture that the Andomatis is the Dammuda, the river which flows by Bardwan, is more likely to be correct. The Sanskrit name of the Dammuda is Dharmadaya.

Amystis.—The city Katadupa, which this river passes, Wilford would identify with Katwa or Cutwa, in Lower Bengal, which is situated on the western branch of the delta of the Ganges at the confluence of the Adji. As the Sanskrit form of the name of Katwa should be Katadvipa ('dvipa, an island'), M. de St. Martin thinks this conjecture has much probability in its favour. Tho Amystis may therefore be the Adji, or Ajavati as it is called in Sanskrit.

Oxymagis.—The Pazalai or Passalai, called in Sanskrit Pancaha, inhabited the Doab, and through this or the region adjacent flowed the Ikshumati ('abounding
narrowest of one hundred stadia, while in many places it spreads out into lakes, so that when the country happens to be flat and destitute of elevations the opposite shores cannot be seen from each other. The Indus presents also, he says, similar characteristics. The Hydaspēs, flowing from the dominions of the Kambistholi, falls into the Akesinēs after receiving the Hyphasis in its passage through the Astrybai, as well as the Saranges from the Kekians, and the Neudros from the ÄtaXenoi. The Ilydaspēs again, rising in the dominions of the Oxydrakai, and bringing with it the Sinarios, received in the dominion of the Arispai, falls itself into the Akesinēs, while the Akesinēs joins the Indus in the dominions of the Malloi, but not until it has received the waters of a great

name, since the letters Π and Τ in Greek could readily be confounded. The form of the name in Megasthenēs may have been Oxymctis.

Errenysis closely corresponds to Varānasi, the name of Sāmaras in Sanskrit,—so called from the rivers Varāma and Asi, which join the Ganges in its neighbourhood. The Mathai, it has been thought, may be the people of Magadhā. St.-Martin would fix their position in the time of Megasthenēs in the country between the lower part of the Gumft and the Ganges, adding that as the Journal of Hiwen Theang places their capital, Matipūra, at a little distance to the east of the upper Ganges near Gāngādvāra, now Hardwār, they must have extended their name and dominion by the traveller's time far beyond their original bounds. The Prinas, which Arrian has omitted, St.-Martin would identify with the Tāmasā, which is otherwise called the Parnēsā, and belongs to the same part of the country as the Kaṇasā, in connexion with which Pliny mentions the Prinas.
tributary, the Toutapós. Augmented by all these confluents the Akesínês succeeds in imposing its name on the combined waters, and still retains it till it unites with the Indus. The Kóphen, too, falls into the Indus, rising in Peukqlaítis, and bringing with it the Malantos, and the Soastos, and the Garroia. Higher up than these, the Parenós and Saparnos, at no great distance from each other, empty themselves into the Indus, as does also the Soános, which comes without a tributary from the hill-country of the Aíssaracans.§

§ Tributaries of the Indus.—Arrian has here named only 13 tributaries of the Indus (in Sanskrit Sindhu, in the Periplús of the Erythrean Sea Sinthos), but in his Anabasis (v. 6) he states that the number was 15, which is also the number given by Strabo. Pliny reckons them at 19.

Hydráotês.—Other forms are Rhomadis and Hyrartos. It is now called the Rávi, the name being a contraction of the Sanskrit Airavatí, which means 'abounding in water,' or 'the daughter of Airavat,' the elephant of Indra, who is said to have generated the river by striking his tusk against the rock whence it issues. His name has reference to his 'ocean' origin. The name of the Kambistholai does not occur elsewhere. Schwanbeck (p. 33) conjectures that it may represent the Sanskrit Kapisthala, 'apo-land,' the letter 'm' being inserted, as in 'Palimbothra.' He rejects Wilson's suggestion that the people may be identical with the Kambijin. Arrian errs in making the Hyphasis a tributary of the Hydráotês, for it falls into the Akesínês below its junction with that river. See on this point St.-Martin, Etude, p. 306.

Hyphasis (other forms are Bibasis, Hypasis, and Hypanis).—In Sanskrit the Vipśa, and now the Byasa or Bais. It lost its name on being joined by the Satadru, 'the hundred-channelled,' the Zarudros of Ptolemy, now the Satluj. The Aостсbai are not mentioned by any writer except Arrian.

Saranagos.—According to Schwanbeck, this word represents the Sanskrit Saranga, 'six-limbed.' It is not known what river it designated. Thg Kekians, through
According to Megasthenes most of these rivers are navigable. We ought not, therefore, to

whose country it flowed, were called in Sanskrit, according to Lassen, Sekaya.

Neudros is not known. The Attakenoi are likewise unknown, unless their name, is another form of Assakenoi.

Hydaspès.—Bhagés is the form in Ptolemy, which makes a nearer approach to its Sanskrit name—the Vitasta. It is now the Buhn or Jhelum; called also by the inhabitants on its banks the Bedustā, ‘widely spread.’ It is the “fabulosus Hydaspes” of Horace, and the “Medus (i.e. Eastern) Hydaspes” of Virgil. It formed the western boundary of the dominions of Pheres.

Akesinēs.—Now the Chenab: its Sanskrit name, Akikā (‘dark-coloured’) is met with in the hymns of the Veda. It was called afterwards Chandrabhāga (portio luna). This would be represented in Greek by Sandrophagos— a word in sound so like Androphagos or Alêxandrophiagos (‘devourer of Alexander’) that the followers of the great conqueror changed the name to avoid the evil omen,— the more so, perhaps, on account of the disaster which befell the Macedonian fleet at the turbulent junction of the river with the Hydaspēs. Ptolemy gives its name as Sandabaga (Sandabala by an error on the part of copyists), which is an exact transcription of the Prākrit Chandabahaga, of which word the Cantabrum of Pliny is a greatly altered form. The Malli, in whose country this river joins the Indus, are the Malava of Sanskrit, whose name is preserved in the Multān of the present day.

Tantapōs.—Probably the lower part of the Satadru or Satlej.

Kophēn.—Another form of the name, used by Strabo, Pliny, &c., is Kophēs, -ēsis. It is now the Kabul river. The three rivers here named as its tributaries probably correspond to the Suvāstū, Gaurī, and Kampana mentioned in the 6th book of the Mahābhārata. The Soastos is no doubt the Suvāstu, and the Garna the Gaurī. Curtius and Strabo call the Susas the Ch oasis. According to Mannert the Susas and the Garna or Garens were identical. Lassen, however (Ind. Alterthums. 2nd ed. II. 673 ff.), would identify the Susas with the modern Su wad or Svāt, and the Garea with its tributary the Panjkora; and this is the view adopted by Cunningham. The Malamanto som would identify with the Ch oos (mentioned by Arrian, Arabasis iv. 25), which is probably represented by the Kamēh or Kho nar, the largest of the tributaries of the
distrust what we are told regarding the Indus and the Ganges, that they are beyond comparison greater than the Euphrates and the Nile. In the case of the Nile we know that it does not receive any tributary, but that, on the contrary, in its passage through Egypt its waters are drawn off to fill the canals. As for the Euphrates, it is but an insignificant stream at its sources, and though it no doubt receives many confluents, still these are neither equal in number to the confluents of the Indus and

Kābul; others, however, with the Panjikora, while Cunningham takes it to be the Bāra, a tributary which joins the Kābul from the south. With regard to the name Kophe or this author remarks:—"The name of Kophe is as old as the time of the Vedas, in which the Kubha river is mentioned [Roth first pointed this out;—conf. Lassen, ut sup.] as an affluent of the Indus; and, as it is not an Aryan word, I infer that the name must have been applied to the Kābul river before the Aryan occupation, or at least as early as B.C. 2500. In the classical writers we find the Choas, Kophe, and Choaspe rivers to the west of the Indus; and at the present day we have the Kunur, the Kurang, and the Gomal rivers to the west, and the Kunil or river to the east of the Indus,—all of which are derived from the Skythian ku, "water." It is the guttural form of the Assyrian kū, in "Euphrates" and "Eulmam," and of the Turki su and Tibetan chu, all of which mean "water" or "river." Ptolemy the Geographer mentions a city called Kabura, situated on the banks of the Kopfen, and a people called Kabotita.

Parnes.—Probably the modern Burindu.

Sapharnos.—Probably the Abbasin.

Suanus represents the Sanskrit Savana, "the sun," or "fire,"—now the Swan. The Abissarans, from whose country it comes, may be the Abrisara of Sanskrit: Lassen, Ind. Anti. II. 163. A king called Abisarēs is mentioned by Arrian in his Anabasis (iv. 7). It may be here remarked that the names of the Indian kings, as given by the Greek writers, were in general the names slightly modified of the people over whom they ruled.
Ganges, nor are they navigable like them, if we except a very few,—as, for instance, the Inn, and Save which I have myself seen. The Inn joins the Ister where the Noricans march with the Rhaetians, and the Save in the dominions of the Pannonians, at a place which is called Taurum.|| Some one may perhaps know other navigable tributaries of the Danube, but the number certainly cannot be great.

V. Now if anyone wishes to state a reason to account for the number and magnitude of the Indian rivers let him state it. As for myself I have written on this point, as on others, from hearsay; for Megasthenes has given the names even of other rivers which beyond both the Ganges and the Indus pour their waters into the Eastern Ocean and the outer basin of the Southern Ocean, so that he asserts that there are eight-and-fifty Indian rivers which are all of them navigable. But even Megasthenes, so far as appears, did not travel over much of India, though no doubt he saw more of it than those who came with Alexander the son of Philip, for, as he tells us, he resided at the court of Sandrakottos, the greatest king in India, and also at the court of Póros, who was still greater than he. This same Megasthenes then informs us that the Indians neither invade other men, nor do other men invade the Taurum.—The modern Semlin.
Indians: for Sesostris the Egyptian, after having overrun the greater part of Asia, and advanced with his army as far as Europe, returned home; and Idanthyrsos the Skythian issuing from Skythia, subdued many nations of Asia, and carried his victorious arms even to the borders of Egypt; and Semiramis, again, the Assyrian queen, took in hand an expedition against India, but died before she could execute her design; and thus Alexander was the only conqueror who actually invaded the country. And regarding Dionysos many traditions are current to the effect that he also made an expedition into India, and subjugated the Indians before the days of Alexander. But of Herakles tradition does not say much. Of the expedition, however, which Bakkhos led, the city of Nysa is no mean monument, while Mount Meros is yet another, and the ivy which grows thereon, and the practice observed by the Indians themselves of marching to battle with drums and cymbals, and of wearing a spotted dress such as was worn by the Bacchanals of Dionysos. On the other hand, there are but few memorials of Herakles, and it may be doubted whether even these are genuine: for the assertion that Herakles was not able to take the rock Aornos, which Alexander seized by force of arms, seems to me all a Macedonian vaunt, quite of a piece with their calling Parapamisos—Kaukasos, though it had no connexion at all with Kaukas-
In the same spirit, when they noticed a cave in the dominions of the Parapamisadai, they asserted that it was the cave of Prometheus the Titan, in which he had been suspended for stealing the fire. So also when they came among the Sibai, an Indian tribe, and noticed that they wore skins, they declared that the Sibai were descended from those who belonged to the expedition of Heracles and had been left behind: for, besides being dressed in skins, the Sibai carry a cudgel, and brand on the backs of their oxen the representation of a club, wherein the Macedonians recognized a memorial of the club of Heracles. But if any one believes all this, then this must be another Heracles,—not the Theban, but either the Tyrian or the Egyptian, or even some great king who belonged to the upper country which lies not far from India.

VI. Let this be said by way of a digression to discredit the accounts which some writers have given of the Indians beyond the Hyphasis, for those writers who were in Alexander's expedition are not altogether unworthy of our faith when they describe India as far as the Hyphasis. Beyond that limit we have no real knowledge of the country: since this is the sort of account which Megasthenes gives us of an Indian river:—Its name is the Silas; it flows from a fountain.

† The Cave of Prometheus.—Probably one of the vast caves in the neighbourhood of Bamiyan.
called after the river, through the dominions of the Silæans, who again are called after the river and the fountain; the water of the river manifests this singular property—that there is nothing which it can buoy up, nor anything which can swim or float in it, but everything sinks down to the bottom, so that there is nothing in the world so thin and unsubstantial as this water.*

But to proceed. Rain falls in India during the summer, especially on the mountains Parapamisæs and Emódos and the range of Imæos, and the rivers which issue from these are large and muddy. Rain during the same season falls also on the plains of India, so that much of the country is submerged: and indeed the army of Alexander was obliged at the time of midsummer to retreat in haste from the Akessinos, because its waters overflowed the adjacent plains. So we may by analogy infer from these facts that as the Nile is subject to similar inundations, it is probable that rain falls during the summer on the mountains of Ethiopia, and that the Nile swollen with these rains overflows its banks and inundates Egypt. We find, at any rate, that this river, like those we have mentioned, flows at the same season of the year with a muddy current, which could not be the case if it flowed from melting snows, nor yet if its waters were driven back from its

* See note, p. 65.
mouth by the force of the Etesian winds which blow throughout the hot season,† and that it should flow from melting snow is all the more unlikely as snow cannot fall upon the Ethiopian mountains, on account of the burning heat; but that rain should fall on them, as on the Indian mountains, is not beyond probability, since India in other respects besides is not unlike Ethiopia. Thus the Indian rivers, like the Nile in Ethiopia and Egypt, breed crocodiles, while some of them have fish and monstrous creatures such as are found in the Nile, with the exception only of the hippopotamus, though Onesikritos asserts that they breed this animal also. With regard to the inhabitants, there is no great difference in type of figure between the Indians and the Ethiopians, though the Indians, no doubt, who live in the south-west bear a somewhat closer resemblance to the Ethiopians, being of black complexion and black-haired, though they are not so snub-nosed nor have the hair so curly; while the Indians who live further to the north are in person liker the Egyptians.

VII. The Indian tribes, Megasthenes tells us, number in all 118. [And I so far agree with him as to allow that they must be indeed numerous, but when he gives such a precise estimate I am at a loss to conjecture how he

† Cf. Herodotus, II. 20-27.
arrived at it, for the greater part of India he did not visit, nor is mutual intercourse maintained between all the tribes.] He tells us further that the Indians were in old times nomadic, like those Skythians who did not till the soil, but roamed about in their wagons, as the seasons varied, from one part of Skythia to another, neither dwelling in towns nor worshipping in temples; and that the Indians likewise had neither towns nor temples of the gods, but were so barbarous that they wore the skins of such wild animals as they could kill, and subsisted on the bark of trees; that these trees were called in Indian speech *talu*, and that there grew on them, as there grows at the tops of the palm-trees, a fruit resembling balls of wool;† that they subsisted also on such wild animals as they could catch, eating the flesh raw,—before, at least, the coming of *Dionysos* into India. *Dionysos*, however, when he came and had conquered the people, founded cities and gave laws to these cities, and introduced the use of wine among the Indians, as he had done among the Greeks, and taught them to sow the land, himself supplying seeds for the purpose,—either because *Triptolemos*, when he was sent by *Demeter* to sow all the earth, did not reach these parts, or this must have been some *Dionysos* who came to India before *Triptolemos*, and gave the people the seeds of

† *Tala.* —The fan-palm, the *Borassus flabelliformis* of botany.
cultivated plants. It is also said that Dionysos first yoked oxen to the plough, and made many of the Indians husbandmen instead of nomads, and furnished them with the implements of agriculture; and that the Indians worship the other gods, and Dionysos himself in particular, with cymbals and drums, because he so taught them; and that he also taught them the Satyric dance, or, as the Greeks call it, the Kordax; and that he instructed the Indians to let their hair grow long in honour of the god, and to wear the turban; and that he taught them to anoint themselves with unguents, so that even up to the time of Alexander the Indians were marshalled for battle to the sound of cymbals and drums.

VIII. But when he was leaving India, after having established the new order of things, he appointed, it is said, Spatembas, one of his companions and the most conversant with Bakkhic matters, to be the king of the country. When Spatembas died his son Boudayas succeeded to the sovereignty; the father reigning over the Indians fifty-two years, and the son twenty; the son of the latter, whose name was Kradeuas, duly inherited the kingdom, and thereafter the succession was generally hereditary, but that when a failure of heirs occurred in the royal house the Indians elected their sovereigns on the principle of merit; Hérakleas, however, who is currently reported to have come as a stranger into the country, is said to have been in reality a native
of India. This Hērkles is held in especial honour by the Sourasenoi, an Indian tribe who possess two large cities, Methora and Cleisobora, and through whose country flows a navigable river called the Lobares. But the dress which this Hērkles wore, Megasthenēs tells us, resembled that of the Theban Hērkles, as the Indians themselves admit. It is further said that he had a very numerous progeny of male children born to him in India (for, like his Theban namesake, he married many wives), but that he had only one daughter. The name of this child was Pandaiα, and the land in which she was born, and with the sovereignty of which Hērkles entrusted her, was called after her name, Pandaiα, and she received from the hands of her father 500 elephants, a force of cavalry 4000 strong, and another of infantry consisting of about 130,000 men. Some Indian writers say further of Hērkles that when he was going over the world and ridding land and sea of whatever evil monsters infested them, he found in the sea an ornament for women, which even to this day the Indian traders who bring us their wares eagerly buy up and carry away to foreign markets, while it is even more eagerly bought up by the wealthy Romans of to-day, as it was wont to be by the wealthy Greeks long ago. This article is the sea-pearl, called in the Indian tongue margarita. But Hērkles, it is said, appreciating its beauty as a wearing ornament, caused it to
be brought from all the sea into India, that he might adorn with it the person of his daughter.

Megasthenes informs us that the oyster which yields this pearl is there fished for with nets, and that in these same parts the oysters live in the sea in shoals, like bee-swarms: for oysters, like bees, have a king or a queen, and if any one is lucky enough to catch the king he readily encloses in the net all the rest of the shoal, but if the king makes his escape there is no chance that the others can be caught. The fishermen allow the fleshy parts of such as they catch to rot away, and keep the bone, which forms the ornament: for the pearl in India is worth thrice its weight in refined gold, gold being a product of the Indian mines.

IX. Now in that part of the country where the daughter of Herakles reigned as queen, it is said that the women when seven years old are of marriageable age, and that the men live at most forty years, and that on this subject there is a tradition current among the Indians to the effect that Herakles, whose daughter was born to him late in life, when he saw that his end was near, and he knew no man his equal in rank to whom he could give her in marriage, had incestuous intercourse with the girl when she was seven years of age, in order that a race of kings sprung from their common blood might be left to rule over India; that Herakles therefore made her of suitable age for
marriage, and that in consequence the whole nation over which Panadaia reigned obtained this same privilege from her father. Now to me it seems that, even if Perakles could have done a thing so marvellous, he could also have made himself longer-lived, in order to have intercourse with his daughter when she was of mature age. But in fact, if the age at which the women there are marriageable is correctly stated, this is quite consistent, it seems to me, with what is said of the men's age,—that those who live longest die at forty; for men who come so much sooner to old age, and with old age to death, must of course flower into full manhood as much earlier as their life ends earlier. It follows hence that men of thirty would there be in their green old age, and young men would at twenty be past puberty, while the stage of full puberty would be reached about fifteen. And, quite compatibly with this, the women might be marriageable at the age of seven. And why not, when Megasthenes declares that the very fruits of the country ripen faster than fruits elsewhere, and decay faster?

From the time of Dionysos to Sandrakottos the Indians counted 153 kings and a period of 6042 years, but among these a republic was thrice established * * * and another to 300 years, and another to 120 years.§ The

§ It is not known from what sources Megasthenes derived these figures, which are extremely modest when compared with those of Indian chronology, where, as in geology, years are hardly reckoned but in myriads. For a notice of
Indians also tell us that Dionysos was earlier than Herakles by fifteen generations, and that except him no one made a hostile invasion of India,—not even Kyros, the son of Kambyses, although he undertook an expedition against the Scythians, and otherwise showed himself the most enterprising monarch in all Asia; but that Alexander indeed came and overthrew in war all whom he attacked, and would even have conquered the whole world had his army been willing to follow him. On the other hand, a sense of justice, they say, prevented any Indian king from attempting conquest beyond the limits of India.

X. It is further said that the Indians do not rear monuments to the dead, but consider the virtues which men have displayed in life, and the songs in which their praises are celebrated, sufficient to preserve their memory after death. But of their cities it is said that the number is so great that it cannot be stated with precision, but that such cities as are situated on the banks of rivers or on the sea-coast are built of wood, for were they built of brick they would not last long—so destructive are the rains, and also the rivers when they overflow their banks and inundate the plains; those cities, however, which stand on commanding situations and lofty eminences are built of brick and mud. The greatest city in India is

the Magadha dynasties see Elphinstone’s History of India, bk. III. cap. iii.
that which is called Palimbothra, in the
dominions of the Prasians, where the streams
of the Erannoboas and the Ganges unite,—
the Ganges being the greatest of all rivers, and
the Erannoboas being perhaps the third largest
of Indian rivers, though greater than the greatest
rivers elsewhere; but it is smaller than the
Ganges where it falls into it. Megasthenes
says further of this city that the inhabited part of
it stretched on either side to an extreme length
of eighty stadia, and that its breadth was fifteen
stadia, and that a ditch encompassed it all round,
which was six plethra in breadth and thirty cubits
in depth, and that the wall was crowned with
five hundred and seventy towers and had four-and-
sixty gates." The same writer tells us further this

|| The Prasioi.—In the notes which the reader will
find at pp. 9 and 57, the accepted explanation of the
name Prasioi, by which the Greeks designated the
people of Magadha, has been stated. General Cunningham
explains it differently:—"Strabo and Pliny," he says,
"agree with Arrian in calling the people of Palibothra
by the name of Prasi, which modern writers have
unanimously referred to the Sanskrit Prâchya, or 'eastern.'
But it seems to me that Prasi is only the Greek
form of Palâsa or Parâsa, which is an actual and
well-known name of Magadha, of which Palibothra was
the capital. It obtained this name from the Palâsa, or
Butea frondosa, which still grows as luxuriantly in the
province as in the time of Hiwen Thâng. The common
form of the name is Parâs, or when quickly pronounced
Prâs, which I take to be the true original of the Greek
Prasii. This derivation is supported by the spelling of
the name given by Curtius, who calls the people Pharnasii,
which is an almost exact transcript of the Indian name
Parasiya. The Prasiakos of Ælian is only the derivative
from Palâsaka."

† The more usual and the more accurate form of the name
is Palibothra, a transcription of Paliputra, the spoken
remarkable fact about India, that all the Indians are free, and not one of them is a slave. The form of Pātaliputra, the name of the ancient capital of Magadha, and a name still occasionally applied to the city of Pātānā, which is its modern representative. The word, which means the son of the trumpet-flower (Bignonia suaveolens), appears in several different forms. A provincial form, Pātaliputra, is common in the popular tales. The form in the Panchatantra is Pātaliputra, which Wilson (Introd. to the Dasa Kāmara Chuditra) considered to be the true original name of the city of which Pātaliputra was a later corruption,—sanctioned, however, by common usage. In a Sanskrit treatise of geography of a somewhat recent date, called the Kshetra Samasa, the form of the name is Pālihāttra, which is a near approach to Polibotra. The Ceylon chroniclers invariably wrote the name as Pātaliputta, and in the inscription of Asoka at Giriñā it is written Pātaliputta. The earliest name of the place, according to the Rāmāyana, was Kauśambi, as having been founded by Kauśa, the father of the famous sage Visvamitra. It was also called, especially by the poets, Paścimapura or Kasumapura, which has the same meaning—"the city of flowers." This city, though the least ancient of all the greater capitals in Gangetic India, was destined to become the most famous of them all. The Vayu Purāṇa attributes its foundation to Udaya (called also Udayaśāna), who mounted the throne of Magadha in the year 519 B.C., or 24 years after the Nirvīna (Vishnu Purāṇa, p. 467, n. 15; Lassen, Ind. Alt. II. p. 63). Pātaliputra did not, however, according to the Cingalëse chronicles, become the residence of the kings of Magadha till the reign of Kauśa, who ascended the throne 453 B.C. Under Chandragupta (the Sandrakottos of the Greeks), who founded the Buddhistic dynasty of the Mauryas, the kingdom was extended from the mouth of the Ganges to the regions beyond the Indus, and became in fact the paramount power in India. Nor was Pātaliputra—to judge from the account of its size and splendour given here by Arrian, and in Frag. XXV. by Strabo, who both copied it from Megasthenes—unworthy to be the capital of so great an empire. Its happy position at the confluence of the Son and Ganges, and opposite the junction of the Gandak with their united stream, naturally made it a great centre of commerce, which would no doubt greatly increase its wealth and prosperity. Asoka, who was third in succession from Chandragupta, and who made Buddhism the state religion, in his inscription on the rock at Dhauli in Katak, gives it the title of Metropolis of the Religion, i.e. of Buddhism. The wooden wall by which, as Megasthenes tells us, it was surrounded, was still standing
Lakedaimonians and the Indians here so far agree. The Lakedaimonians, however, hold seven centuries later than his time, for it was seen about the beginning of the 5th century after Christ by the Chinese traveller Fu-Hian, who thus writes of Poliputra, which he calls Pa-lian-fu:— "The city was the capital of king A-you (Asoka). The palaces of the king which are in the city have walls of which the stones have been collected by the gogii. The carvings and the sculptures which ornament the windows are such as this age could not make; they still actually exist." These 'palaces of the king' are mentioned by Diodoros in his epitome of Megasthenes, as will be seen by a reference to p. 39. It was in the interval which separates the journey of Fu-Hian from that of his compatriot Hiwen Thsang—that is, between the year 400 and the year 632 after Christ—that the fall of Poliputra was accomplished, for where the splendid metropolis had once stood Hiwen Thsang found nothing but ruins, and a village containing about two or three hundred houses. The cause of its downfall and decay is unknown. The ruins seen by the Chinese traveler are no longer visible, but lie buried deep below the foundations of modern Patna. An excavation quite recently made in that city for the construction of a public tank placed this fact beyond question; for when the workmen had dug down to a depth of 12 or 15 feet below the surface of the ground, some remains were discovered of what must have been the wooden wall spoken of by Megasthenes. I have received from a friend who inspected the excavation the following particulars of this interesting and remarkable discovery:— "During the cold season 1876, whilst digging a tank in Sheikh Mithia Ghari, a part of Patna almost equally distant from the chaunk (market-place) and the railway station, the excavators, at a depth of some 12 or 15 feet below the swampy surface, discovered the remains of a long brick wall running from N.W. to S.E. How far this wall extended beyond the limits of the excavation—probably more than a hundred yards—it is impossible to say. Not far from the wall, and almost parallel to it, was found a line of palisades; the strong timbers of which it was composed inclined slightly towards the wall. In one place there appeared to have been some sort of outlet, for two wooden pillars rising to a height of some 8 or 9 feet above what had evidently been the ancient level of the place, and between which no trace of palisades could be discovered, had all the appearance of door or gate posts. A number of wells and sinks were also found, their mouths being in each case indicated by heaps of fragments of broken mud vessels. From the best-preserved specimens of these, it
the Helots as slaves, and these Helots do servile labour; but the Indians do not even use aliens as slaves, and much less a countryman of their own.

XI. But further: in India the whole people

...d that their shape must have differed from that of those now in use. One of the wells having been cleared out, it was found to yield capital drinking water, and among the rubbish taken out of it were discovered several iron spear-heads, a fragment of a large vessel, &c. The fact thus established—that old Pulibothra, and its wall with it, are deep underground—takes away all probability from the supposition of Ravenshaw that the large mounds near Pata was (called Panich-Palhri, or 'five hills'), consisting of débris and bricks, may be the remains of towers or bastions of the ancient city. The identity of Pataliputra with Pata was a question not settled without much previous controversy. D'Anville, as has been already stated, misled by the assertion of Piny that the Jamna (Jamna) flows through the Pulibothra into the Ganges, referred its site to the position of Allahabad, where these two rivers unite. Kennel, again, thought it might be identical with Kanaj, though he afterwards abandoned this opinion; while Wilford placed it on the left bank of the Ganges at some distance to the north of Ramaiah, and Franklin at Bhagalpur. The main objection to the claims of Pata its not being situated at the confluence of any river with the Ganges—was satisfactorily disposed of when in the course of research it was brought to light that the Son was not only identical with the Erranohea, but that up to the year 1879, when it formed a new channel for itself, it had joined the Ganges in the neighbourhood of Pata. I may conclude this notice by quoting from Strabo a description of a procession such as Megasthenes (from whose work Strabo very probably drew his information) must have seen parading the streets of Pulibothra:—"In processions at their festivals many elephants are in the train, adorned with gold and silver, numerous carriages drawn by four horses and by several pairs of oxen; then follows a body of attendants in full dress, (bearing) vessels of gold, large basins and goblets an oxya in breadth, tables, chairs of state, drinking-cups, and layers of Indian copper, most of which were set with precious stones, as emeralds, beryls, and Indian carbuncles; garments embroidered and interwoven with gold; wild beasts, as buffaloes, tigers, tigers; and a multitude of birds of variegated plumage and of fine song."—Bohn's Transl. of Strabo, III. p. 117.
are divided into about seven castes. Among these are the Sophists, who are not so numerous as the others, but hold the supreme place of dignity and honour,—for they are under no necessity of doing any bodily labour at all, or of contributing from the produce of their labour anything to the common stock, nor indeed is any duty absolutely binding on them except to perform the sacrifices offered to the gods on behalf of the state. If any one, again, has a private sacrifice to offer, one of these sophists shows him the proper mode, as if he could not otherwise make an acceptable offering to the gods. To this class the knowledge of divination among the Indians is exclusively restricted, and none but a sophist is allowed to practise that art. They predict about such matters as the seasons of the year, and any calamity which may befall the state; but the private fortunes of individuals they do not care to predict,—either because divination does not concern itself with trifling matters, or because to take any trouble about such is deemed uncrowning. But if any one fails thrice to predict truly, he incurs, it is said, no further penalty than being obliged to be silent for the future, and there is no power on earth able to compel that man to speak who has once been condemned to silence. These sages go naked, living during winter in the open air to enjoy the sunshine, and during summer, when the heat is too powerful, in meadows and low grounds under large trees, the shadow where-
of Nearchos says extends to five plethra in circuit, adding that even ten thousand men could be covered by the shadow of a single tree. They live upon the fruits which each season products, and on the bark of trees,—the bark being no less sweet and nutritious than the fruit of the date-palm.

After these, the second caste consists of the tillers of the soil, who form the most numerous class of the population. They are neither furnished with arms, nor have any military duties to perform, but they cultivate the soil and pay tribute to the kings and the independent cities. In times of civil war the soldiers are not allowed to molest the husbandmen or ravage their lands; hence, while the former are fighting and killing each other as they can, the latter may be seen close at hand tranquilly pursuing their work,—perhaps ploughing, or gathering in their crops, pruning the trees, or reaping the harvest.

The third caste among the Indians consists of the herdsmen, both shepherds and neatherds; and these neither live in cities nor in
villages, but they are nomadic and live on the hills. They too are subject to tribute, and this they pay in cattle. They scour the country in pursuit of fowl and wild beasts.

XII. The fourth caste consists of handi-craftsmen and retail dealers. They have to perform gratuitously certain public services, and to pay tribute from the products of their labour. An exception, however, is made in favour of those who fabricate the weapons of war,—and not only so, but they even draw pay from the state. In this class are included shipbuilders, and the sailors employed in the navigation of the rivers.

The fifth caste among the Indians consists of the warriors, who are second in point of numbers to the husbandmen, but lead a life of supreme freedom and enjoyment. They have only military duties to perform. Others make their arms, and others supply them with horses, and they have others to attend on them in the camp, who take care of their horses, clean their arms, drive their elephants, prepare their chariots, and act as their charioteers. As long as they are required to fight they fight, and when peace returns they abandon themselves to enjoyment,—the pay which they receive from the state being so liberal that they can with ease maintain themselves and others besides.

The sixth class consists of those called superintendents. They spy out what goes
on in country and town, and report everything to the king where the people have a king, and to the magistrates where the people are self-governed,† and it is against use and wont for these to give in a false report;—but indeed no Indian is accused of lying.

The seventh caste consists of the councilors of state, who advise the king, or the magistrates of self-governed cities, in the management of public affairs. In point of numbers this is a small class, but it is distinguished by superior wisdom and justice, and hence enjoys the prerogative of choosing governors, chiefs of provinces, deputy-governors, superintendents of the treasury, generals of the army, admirals of the navy, controllers, and commissioners who superintend agriculture.

The custom of the country prohibits intermarriage between the castes:—for instance, the husbandman cannot take a wife from the artizan caste, nor the artizan a wife from the husbandman caste. Custom also prohibits any one from exercising two trades, or from changing from one caste to another. One cannot, for instance, become a husbandman if he is a herdsman, or

† "There have always been extensive tracts without any common head, some under petty chiefs, and some formed of independent villages; in troubled times, also towns have often for a long period carried on their own government. All these would be called republics by the Greeks, who would naturally fancy their constitutions similar to what they had seen at home."—Elphinstone's History of India, p. 240.
become a herdsman if he is an artizan. It is permitted that the sophist only be from any caste; for the life of the sophist is not an easy one, but the hardest of all.

XIII. The Indians hunt all wild animals in the same way as the Greeks, except the elephant, which is hunted in a mode altogether peculiar, since these animals are not like any others. The mode may be thus described:—The hunters having selected a level tract of arid ground dig a trench all round it, enclosing as much space as would suffice to encamp a large army. They make the trench with a breadth of five fathoms and a depth of four. But the earth which they throw out in the process of digging they heap up in mounds on both edges of the trench, and use it as a wall. Then they make huts for themselves by excavating the wall on the outer edge of the trench, and in these they leave loopholes, both to admit light, and to enable them to see when their prey approaches and enters the enclo- sure. They next station some three or four of their best-trained she-elephants within the trap, to which they leave only a single passage by means of a bridge thrown across the trench, the framework of which they cover over with earth and a great quantity of straw, to conceal the bridge as much as possible from the wild animals, which might else suspect treachery. The hunters then go out of the way, retiring to the cells which they had made in the earthen wall. Now the
wild elephants do not go near inhabited places in the day-time, but during the night-time they wander about everywhere, and feed in herds, following as leader the one who is biggest and boldest, just as cows follow bulls. As soon, then, as they approach the enclosure, and hear the cry and catch scent of the females, they rush at full speed in the direction of the fenced ground, and being arrested by the trench move round its edge until they fall in with the bridge, along which they force their way into the enclosure. The hunters meanwhile, perceiving the entrance of the wild elephants, hasten, some of them, to take away the bridge, while others, running off to the nearest villages, announce that the elephants are within the trap. The villagers, on hearing the news, mount their most spirited and best-trained, elephants, and as soon as mounted ride off to the trap; but, though they ride up to it, they do not immediately engage in a conflict with the wild elephants, but wait till these are sorely pinched by hunger and tamed by thirst; when they think their strength has been enough weakened, they set up the bridge anew and ride into the enclosure, when a fierce assault is made by the tame elephants upon those that have been entrapped, and then, as might be expected, the wild elephants, through loss of spirit and faintness from hunger, are overpowered. On this the hunters, dismounting from their elephants, bind with fetters the feet of the wild ones, now by this time quite
exhausted. Then they instigate the tame ones to beat them with repeated blows, until their sufferings wear them out and they fall to the ground. The hunters meanwhile, standing near them, slip nooses over their necks and mount them while yet lying, on the ground; and, to prevent them shaking off their riders, or doing mischief otherwise, make with a sharp knife an incision all round their neck, and fasten the noose round in the incision. By means of the wound thus made they keep their head and neck quite steady; for if they become restive and turn round, the wound is galled by the action of the rope. They shun, therefore, violent movements, and, knowing that they have been vanquished, suffer themselves to be led in fetters by the tame ones.

XIV. But such as are too young, or through the weakness of their constitution not worth keeping, their captors allow to escape to their old haunts; while those which are retained they lead to the villages, where at first they give them green stalks of corn and grass to eat. The creatures, however, having lost all spirit, have no wish to eat; but the Indians, standing round them in a circle, soothe and cheer them by chanting songs to the accompaniment of the music of drums and cymbals, for the elephant is of all brutes the most intelligent. Some of them, for instance, have taken up their riders when slain in battle and carried them away for burial; others have covered them, when lying on the ground, with a
shield; and others have borne the brunt of battle in their defence when fallen. There was one even that died of remorse and despair because it had killed its rider in a fit of rage. I have myself actually seen an elephant playing on cymbals, while other elephants were dancing to his strains: a cymbal had been attached to each foreleg of the performer, and a third to what is called his trunk, and while he beat in turn the cymbal on his trunk he beat in proper time those on his two legs. The dancing elephants all the while kept dancing in a circle, and as they raised and curved their forelegs in turn they too moved in proper time, following as the musician led.

The elephant, like the bull and the horse, engenders in spring, when the females emit breath through the spiracles beside their temples, which open at that season. The period of gestation is at shortest sixteen months, and never exceeds eighteen. The birth is single, as in the case of the mare, and is suckled till it reaches its eighth year. The elephants that live longest attain an age of two hundred years, but many of them, die prematurely of disease. If they die of sheer old age, however, the term of life is what has been stated. Diseases of their eyes are cured by pouring cows' milk into them, and other distempers by administering draughts of black wine; while their wounds are cured by the application of roasted pork. Such are the remedies used by the Indians.
It is sufficient for me to have set forth these facts regarding the Indians, which, as the best known, both Nearchos and Megasthene, two men of approved character, have recorded. And since my design in drawing up the present narrative was not to describe the manners and customs of the Indians, but to relate how Alexander conveyed his army from India to Persia, let this be taken as a mere episode.