

SCYLAX' CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF INDIA AND ITS INTERPRETATION IN EARLY GREEK GEOGRAPHY, ETHNOGRAPHY AND COSMOGRAPHY, II*

THE MONSOONS OF THE INDIAN OCEAN AS FOUND IN THE SEA SOUTH OF AFRICA

It is said in the *Meteorologics* of Aristotle (363 a 5):

περὶ τὴν ἔξω Λιβύης θάλατταν τὴν νοτίαν ... εὐροὶ καὶ ζέφυροι
διαδεχόμενοι συνεχεῖς αἰεὶ πνέουσιν.

In the sea south of Libya east and west winds alternate with each other continuously.

This striking assertion has not received the attention that it deserves. The one point worth noting is that Aristotle, while speaking about the sea south of Libya, claims to know something that was not in Herodotus' story of the Phoenician circumnavigation of Africa and that came from the books and not from a new circumnavigation. But it is the characterisation of the winds that is directly relevant to our purpose. While other commentators remain silent about this, H. D. P. Lee notes: "Perhaps the Trade Winds in the Indian Ocean". His hesitation is quite understandable. What Aristotle says about the winds is wrong as applied to the sea south of Africa ("Libya"). However, it is basically correct in respect to the sea east of Africa. The question is, then, of how the monsoons of the Indian Ocean could have been misplaced in the sea south of Africa.¹

One can hardly doubt that the *Meteorologics* was written before Alexander's return to Babylon and Nearchus' naval expedition. Scylax is the

* The Part I, devoted mostly to the route of Scylax' expedition, see in *Hyperboreus* 4 (1998): 2, 211–242. See also my papers in *Hyperboreus* 5 (1999): 2, 341–345; 8 (2002): 1, 5–12. English translations of the Greek and Latin authors quoted in this paper come from the *Loeb Classical Library*; minor modifications are not specified.

¹ It would be groundless to assume that Aristotle means in fact something like "the sea far in the south, east of Libya". One might object that since the passage describes the conditions of the northern hemisphere, the sea in question cannot be south of Africa. But Aristotle's idea of how far Africa ('Libya') stretches towards the south was very different from ours. One may recall Strabo for whom it is a matter of course that the equatorial area is occupied by the ocean (2. 3. 3; cf. 2. 5. 35). Nor can I approve the assertion by A. Rehm, "Etesiai", *RE* 6 (1907) 713–717, esp. 716: "vom Monsun des Indischen Ozeans hat ja Aristoteles noch keine Kunde".

only plausible source for early Greek knowledge of the monsoons. But Scylax never sailed south of Africa and he could not place the monsoons there. A simple explanation to the paradox is available. The Ethiopians were known at the late sixth century BC as the black (Xenophanes B 16 DK) and the "farthermost of men" (*Od.* 1. 23) and also as dwelling in the extreme east (Mimn. 5. 9 Gentili-Prato; *Od.* 1. 24). When Scylax saw the black people of India, he could easily treat them as the Ethiopians and their country as Ethiopia. It is also possible that these names were applied to India and its population by Hecataeus who used Scylax' account and whose work was better known and more influential than the latter. As a matter of fact, Herodotus speaks of the "Ethiopians of the east" who "served with the Indians" in Xerxes' army (7. 70). Ephorus cites "the ancient view" according to which "the nation of the Ethiopians stretches from the winter sunrise to sunset", thus occupying the whole southern part of the oikumene (*FGrH* 70 F 30; Strab. 1. 2. 28). It was natural for a writer who held such a view to refer to the monsoons of the Indian Ocean as the alternating winds in the sea south of Ethiopia. Now, the ancient citations from the work by Hecataeus imply that he divided the oikumene into two parts, Europe and Asia. Later on the division into three parts, Europe, Asia, and Libya became predominant, as attested to already in Herodotus (4. 42–45). On such a new division, Ethiopia was attached to Libya. Accordingly the sea south of Ethiopia became the sea south of Libya.

ETHIOPIA, INDIAN AND LIBYAN

Scholars have repeatedly observed that our sources locate the same phenomena in India, Ethiopia or Libya.²

Herodotus places the horned asses and the dog-headed people in western parts of Libya (4. 191). Ctesias locates both in India and has much to say about them (*FGrH* 688 F 45. 37 ff.; 45 ff.). In the same passage Herodotus mentions "the headless that have their eyes in their breasts", and "the wild men and women". Also Pliny mentions among the peoples of Africa the Blemmyae who "are reported to have no heads, their mouth and eyes being attached to their chests" (5. 45), but elsewhere he uses Ctesias to refer to Indian people "without necks, having their eyes in their shoulders" (7. 23;

² E. A. Schwanbeck, *Megasthenis Indica* (Bonn 1846) 1–5 n. 1; A. Dihle, *Antike und Orient: Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Heidelberg 1984) 50 f. n. 6; K. Karttunen, *India in Early Greek Literature* (Helsinki 1989) 137 n. 6. Many of the examples cited below are borrowed from these books.

FGrH 688 F 51). Herodotus' "wild men and women" are apparently Pliny's Satyrs, the inhabitants of Libya which "have nothing of ordinary humanity about them except human shape" (5. 45). But these Satyrs, "sometimes going on all fours and sometimes standing upright, like human beings", are again found in India (Plin. 7. 24, cf. Ctesias, F 51). Herodotus (3. 102) made famous Indian gold-digging ants, but Sophocles mentioned them in his play called *Aethiopes* (F 29 Radt); Philostratus (*Vit. Apoll.* 6. 1) unambiguously placed them in Ethiopia. There were rumours about hyenas able to imitate human speech; Agatharchides associates them with Ethiopia (Phot. *Bibl.* 456 a 3), but Porphyrius (*Abst.* 3. 4) locates them in India. Herodotus assures that there are no wild boars in Libya (4. 192); Ctesias makes the analogous statement about India (F 45. 27; cf. Ael. *NA* 16. 37). Aelian says: "Among the people called Psylli in India (there are other Psylli in Libya also) the horses are bigger than rams, the sheep look as small as lambs, etc." The Libyan Psylli appear in Herodotus according to whom, however, they all perished in the sand (4. 173); Hecataeus (F 332) mentioned Ψυλλικός κόλπος in Libya. Ctesias (F 51; cf. Scylax F 6 and 7 a) locates the Cave-dwellers (the *Troglodytae*) in India, but Herodotus (4. 183) and Pliny (5. 45) place the Cave-dwellers in Libya. Already Homer speaks of the Pygmies (*Il.* 3. 3 ff.). Philostratus places them in Ethiopia (*Vit. Apoll.* 6. 25), yet the same author makes the Pygmies dwell in India beyond the Ganges (3. 47). Megasthenes knows of the Pygmies in India too (*FGrH* 715 F 27, 29; Strab. 2. 1. 9; 15. 1. 57; Plin. 7. 26, cf. 6. 70).³ Diodorus (2. 15. 1; 3. 9. 3) and Strabo (17. 2. 3) say that the Ethiopians pour glass over dead bodies; the story is apparently known already to Herodotus (3. 24) who has, however, transparent stone instead of glass. Lucian (*Luct.* 21) ascribes the same custom to the Indians. Indian Gymnosophists were famous in antiquity; however, we find Ethiopian ones as well (Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* 6. 6; Helioid. *Aeth.* 10. 2 ff.). Already Hellanicus (*FGrH* 4 F 190) and later on Megasthenes (*FGrH* 715 F 10 a; Strab. 15. 1. 38) reported on the Indian river Silla (or Sila), where the water is so light that nothing can float on it.⁴ Herodotus also refers to such water in Ethiopia (3. 23). The Ethiopians of Herodotus are μακρόβιοι, but long-living people are repeatedly mentioned in connection with India too (Strab. 15. 1. 34, 37; Plin. 6. 91, 7. 27–30). Again, the Ethiopians were reputed to have been four to five cubits high (Ps.-Sc. 112); but

³ According to Hdt. 7. 70 the eastern Ethiopians in the army of Xerxes had the skins of cranes instead of shields, which can be an echo of geranomachy.

⁴ Strabo specifies that neither Democritus nor Aristotle admitted that the report could be true.

Philostratus (*Vit. Apoll.* 2. 4) knows black Indians of the same height. According to Arrian, the Indians are “the tallest men of Asia, mostly five cubits, or very little less, darker-skinned than all other men except the Ethiopians” (*Anab.* 5. 4. 4).⁵ Onesicritus says that in southern India “there are men five cubits and two spans high, and people live a hundred and thirty years, and do not grow old but die middleaged” (*FGrH* 134 F 11; *Plin.* 7. 28).

Scholars tend to interpret the situation in terms of arbitrary locations of marvellous things in extremities of the oikumene.⁶ The ancient descriptions of the northern edges of the oikumene would not fit well with such an interpretation. Moreover, the monsoons hardly belong with *mirabilia*, so their appearance in the sea south of Libya should not be explained in terms of arbitrary displacement of marvellous things. And since this case is analogous to the other confusions mentioned above, it is natural to venture an analogous explanation: *Ethiopia*, as a country of the dark-skinned people found by Scylax in Hindustan, was subsequently interpreted by some writers as India and by others as a part of Libya; some simply retained the name.

As a matter of fact, we are told that Scylax located the Sciapodes in India (F 7; as also Ctesias, F 51), but Hecataeus placed them in Ethiopia (F 327; as also Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 6. 25), and Antiphon in Libya (87 B 47 DK; as also almost certainly schol. in *Aristoph. Aves* 1553).⁷ The silent trade is also located by various sources in India⁸ (*Mela* 3. 60; *Plin.* 6. 88), Ethiopia (Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* 6. 2), and Libya (*Hdt.* 4. 196). A further confirmation comes from Athenaeus (110 e): “Sophocles in *Triptolemus* mentions *orindes* bread, *i. e.* the bread which is made with rice, a seed which grows in Ethiopia and resembles sesame”. Rice belongs properly to India, and if Athenaeus was correct interpreting the words of Sophocles, we have a clear case of substituting Ethiopia for India.⁹

⁵ Also *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, 41 knows very high black people in India. Indian kings Sophites and Porus are said to have been four and five cubits high respectively (*Diod.* 17. 91. 7; 88. 4; *Arr. Anab.* 5. 19. 4). According to Herodotus 2. 106, four cubits and the half is the height of two figures of a warrior cut in relief, with the equipment that is “both Egyptian and *Ethiopian*”.

⁶ E. g. A. Dihle, “Arabien und Indien”, in: *Hérodote et les peuples non grecs* (Genève 1990) 41 ff., esp. 56; cf. J. S. Romm, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought* (Princeton 1992) 91.

⁷ It was African Ethiopia if Stephanus is correct that Hecataeus spoke of the Sciapodes ἐν Περικλήσει Αἰγύπτου.

⁸ Near India, to be precise, but see the discussion below.

⁹ As also Karttunen (n. 2) 87 supposes; cf. Schwanbeck, *loc. cit.*: “Ctesias martichoram Indicam memoraverat ... Plinius, dum Aethiopiam describit, ibi esse

One may consider the possibility of a special role of the stories about the Pygmies in exchanging Indian scenery for Ethiopian. In a passage in which he cites Scylax, Philostratus describes the Pygmies as ὑπόγειοι (*Vit. Apoll.* 3. 47). He says that they dwell beyond the Ganges. The Pygmies identified as ὑπόγειοι or the Troglodytae appear not only in Philostratus, but also in Aristotle who locates them, however, above Egypt.¹⁰ While Aristotle, and Hecataeus before him (*FGrH* 1 F 328), accepted the very existence of the Pygmies, their orthodox location became Ethiopia and not India. The reason for that is easy to see. The Pygmies were mentioned in Homer in connection with the cranes that “flee from wintry storms and measureless rain ... toward the streams of Ocean, bearing slaughter and death to Pigmy men”. It was clear that the cranes, to avoid the harshness of winter, fly south and not east. If the Pygmies were recognised as the real people, then their fight with the cranes no longer seemed utterly incredible, and then they were to be located in Ethiopia.¹¹

Including the Pygmies among the real people is an instance of the continuity between Greek poetry and science. This became possible because the myth was supported by real knowledge: the reports on African tribes of very small people had reached the fathers of Greek science (*Hdt.* 2. 32; 4. 43).¹² In the case of the Ethiopians, the influence of poetry upon early science was of a somewhat similar nature: already the myth contained a grain of real knowledge, namely that there are dark-skinned people far in the south.¹³

martichoram dicit, ad ipsum Ctesiam auctorem provocans, in qua re vix potest dubitari, quin voce Aethiopiae de India Ctesias usus est”.

¹⁰ Aristot. *Hist. an.* 597 a 9 on the Pygmies: τρωγλοδύται δ' εἰσὶ τὸν βίον. Cf. Scylax F 6: Ἦαρροϋ. s. v. ὑπὸ γῆν οἰκοῦντες· λέγοντι ἄν τοὺς ὑπὸ Σκύλακος ἐν τῷ Περίπλῳ λεγομένους Τρωγλοδύτας.

¹¹ Strab. 1. 2. 28 testifies that the orthodox view located the Pygmies among “the Ethiopians of Egypt”. In the words of Aristotle, “the cranes move from the Scythian plains to the marshes above Egypt from where the Nile flows; this is the region whereabouts the Pygmies live” (*Hist. an.* 597 a 5).

¹² Many scholars believe that the myth itself “was inspired by tales which the Greeks heard during their travels to and contacts with Egypt” – G. Ahlberg-Cornell, *Myth and Epos in Early Greek Art* (Jonsared 1992) 139, with references. It is more likely, however, that the myth of geranomachy, known throughout Eurasia, originated in the north rather than south – see: D. Sinor, “The Myth of Languages and the Language of Myth”, in: *The Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Peoples of Eastern Central Asia*, ed. by V. H. Mair, 2 (Philadelphia 1998) 729–745.

¹³ A. Lesky, “Aithiopia”, *Hermes* 87 (1957) 27–38, esp. 33 is prone to derive the colour of the Ethiopians from the belief that the sun burns stronger those who dwell near the place where it rises. This means to see mythical imagination working as scientific speculation of a bad kind. It is likely, moreover, that the location of the Ethiopians near

The question, however, arises as to whether we are dealing with a number of similar, ever recurring mistakes or rather with a single construction. The former can be true in some cases, especially when the competing locations are India and Ethiopia.¹⁴ But there are facts that suggest another explanation for the cases in which competing locations are India and Libya. First, two contemporary authors, Herodotus and Antiphon, locate Indian phenomena in Libya. Second, the whole Herodotus' passage that includes competing locations involves only *western* Libya. The Sciapodes of Libya are located in its south-*western* parts too.¹⁵ We shall shortly see that we are dealing most probably with a conscious work of a theorist.

THE KINGS AND THE CROCODILES

We are told that Scylax' expedition originated with the Great King's desire to make an inquiry into the habitat of the crocodiles. He was perplexed by

the sunrise, well attested to by poets, is in fact secondary and postdates the core of the myth. I suppose that the myth of the blessed Ethiopians originated far north from Balkan Greece, among the people who experienced severe winters and for whom those who never did were the blessed (that is, dark-skinned people far in the south). For the people who lived in the climate of Greece and were better aware of the conditions of the far south, this no longer made sense. The association between the Ethiopians and the sun was preserved, but the blessed people were now to be found near the sunrise and (less emphatically) sunset. Whatever the origin of this myth, I find very misleading the main idea of Lesky's elegantly written essay: "Die mythischen Elemente ... sind in vielfacher Veränderungen – fast möchte man von Tarnung sprechen – in das wissenschaftlich fundierte Weltbild späterer Zeiten eingegangen" (38). Since there is no place here to discuss epistemological matters, I will only note that one should not underestimate the difference between myth and science just because both science and tales can be found within a single work composed by one author. It is remarkable that Lesky (35 n. 2) does not see the essential difference between Herodotus' description of the Αἰθίοπες μακρόβιοι (3. 17 ff.) and his passage on nomad Ethiopians (2. 29), while the latter contains nothing of *mirabilia* and belongs to geographical rather than ethnographic genre (it is characteristic that Meroe – "the capital of Ethiopia" – appears only in 2. 29).

¹⁴ Some cases are difficult to interpret. For instance, Cerne, an island located by Hanno, Pseudo-Scylax and Eratosthenes in the Atlantic Ocean against the shores of the Ethiopians, appears in Ephorus (Plin. 6. 198 f.) as situated opposite the Persian Gulf; moreover, in both Pseudo-Scylax and Ephorus the sea is no more navigable beyond Cerne, though for different reasons. It is worth noting that Strab. 1. 3. 2 denies the very existence of this island. Hecateus F 281 mentions Κύρη, an island in the 'Persian sea'.

¹⁵ Schol. in Aristoph. *Aves* 1553: γένος δέ ἐστι τῶν περὶ τὸν δυτικὸν ὠκεανόν, πρὸς τῇ κεκαυμένῃ ζώνῃ. Also those Ethiopians who are four to five cubits high are located by Pseudo-Scylax (112) in western Libya, near Cerne. Surprisingly for the times and area, they are horsemen, but cf. Hdt. 7. 70 on the eastern (that is, Indian) Ethiopians. Interestingly, Hdt. 3. 114 locates Aethiopia in the south-*west* of the inhabited world; cf. Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* 6. 1.

the curious fact that *the Indian river* is the only another river, except the well-known case of the Nile, where crocodiles can be found (Hdt. 4. 44).

This sounds a bit surprising. Darius was no doubt an outstanding person, but he hardly was a conscientious scientist. His concern with the crocodiles reflects rather Herodotus' manner of adopting the information he borrowed from a literary source (or from such its equivalent as someone's public lecture). Herodotus, the historian, knew well the deeds of the Great Kings. So he added information about Darius' military advancement and care of navigation, both points of no immediate relevance to the question of the size and disposition of continents (which is the context of Herodotus' account of Scylax' voyage). As he made Darius play an important role, it was natural for him to supply a motif. However the motif, Darius' curiosity, happened to be unnatural, for the rivers containing crocodiles came from a scientific discussion of geographical matters.

Now it is worth recalling that another renowned king, Alexander the Great, also displayed remarkable interest in the rivers that contained crocodiles. One finds the following story in Arrian's *Anabasis of Alexander*:

He had already seen crocodiles on the Indus, as no other river except the Nile (μόνον τῶν ἄλλων ποταμῶν πλὴν Νείλου), and beans growing on the banks of the Acesines of the same sort as the land of Egypt produces and, having heard that the Acesines runs into the Indus, he thought he had found the origin of the Nile; his idea was that the Nile rose somewhere thereabouts in India, flowed through a great expanse of desert, and there lost the name of Indus, and then, where it began to flow through inhabited country, got the name of the Nile from the Ethiopians in those parts and the Egyptians ... (6. 1).¹⁶

Modern historians frequently treat this story as an amusing example of the geographical ignorance of Alexander and his officers. However, the king's mistake (abandoned soon by Alexander himself) was based on theories of his epoch. Before we turn to the best of them, it is appropriate to recount yet another story about a mighty king and a river with crocodiles. We learn from a mediaeval Latin version of Aristotelian *De inundatione Nili* that Arthaxerxes Ochos considered the possibility of suppressing an Egyptian revolt by diverting an Indian river with crocodiles. The king was told that this river *circumfluere exterius Rubrum Mare*.¹⁷ As the Nile is thought of here to be the continuation of

¹⁶ Cf. Strab. 15. 1. 25 (with a reference to Nearchus): "when Alexander saw crocodiles in the Hydaspes and Egyptian beans in the Aescines, he thought he had found the sources of the Nile and thought of preparing a fleet for an expedition to Egypt, thinking that he would sail as far as there by this river, but he learned a little later that he could not accomplish what he had hoped".

¹⁷ *De inund. Nili*, 6: *Deceptus est autem et Rex Arthaxarxes Okhos cognominatus, quando super Egyptum debebat militare; conatus est enim avertere Indorum fluvium*

an Indian river, the idea apparently implies a land bridge connecting India with eastern Africa. Ptolemy has indeed such. A more elegant theory, however, assumed a land bridge between India and western Africa.

THE EARTH IS ROUND

Aristotle argues in the *De Caelo* that "the earth is spherical and its periphery is not large". After establishing this, he makes the following remark:

For this reason those who imagine that the region around the Pillars of Hercules joins on to the regions of India, and that in this way the ocean is one (συνάπτειν τὸν περὶ τὰς Ἡρακλείους στήλας τόπον τῷ περὶ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν, καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον εἶναι τὴν θάλατταν μίαν), are not, it would seem, suggesting anything utterly incredible. They produce also in support of their contention the fact that elephants are a species found at the extremities of both lands, arguing that this phenomenon at the extremes is due to communication (διὰ τὸ συνάπτειν) between the two (298 a).

It is easy to see that Aristotle refers to the mode of argumentation already familiar to us from the story about Alexander, the only difference being that he refers to elephants rather than crocodiles. It is not so clear how one should interpret συνάπτειν in the passage. The language seems to favour Guthrie's interpretation (quoted above), but the discussion of συνάπτειν in Strabo 1. 3. 13 shows that no conclusive interpretation is possible.¹⁸

Regardless of what Aristotle meant here, the above quoted passage from the Arrian's *Anabasis of Alexander* implies an idea that a *land bridge* existed between India and Africa. As mentioned above, the idea that such a bridge connected Asia with eastern Libya is well attested. It is not the case for a theory of a bridge linking India and western Libya. But provided that

tamquam existentem eundem, audiens quia cocodrillos habet quemadmodum Nilus; mittens autem ad vocatos Onifalos audivit quia fluit fluvius in Rubrum Mare et cessavit a conatu; iterum persuasum est dicentibus Indis quia fluvius alter esset ad illas partes Indiae, fluens ex Monte vocato Aieto, ex quo quidem Indus; hunc autem dicebant habere cocodrillos et circumfluere exterius Rubrum Mare, sive veraces sint hoc dicentes sive mentientes; verumtamen Rex debebat conari hunc avertere, sed ipsum prohibuerunt quoniam ad curam hanc miserat, dicentes quia maiorem destruit regionem quam accipit dominans Egyptiis. (I am grateful to Stavros Solomou for attracting my attention to this passage.)

¹⁸ Simplicius (548. 4 Heiberg) took συνάπτειν to mean a short distance, but the sea west of Africa was a matter of course since the first century AD. H. Berger, *Geschichte der wissenschaftlichen Erdkunde der Griechen* (Leipzig 21903) 318 f. makes too much of Simplicius' interpretation.

Aristotle speaks clearly of the proximity of India and *western* Africa, there are many signs that such a theory existed.

A hypothesis is to be checked by the consequences it entails. To assume the existence of a land bridge between India and western Africa meant to deny the reality of the Phoenician circumnavigation of Africa. And we encounter indeed a view according to which the sea *west* of Africa is no more navigable beyond some point in the south. There is a hint to this view already in Herodotus' story of Sataspes (4. 43). About the middle of the next century, it is stated in Pseudo-Scylax that the sea west of Libya is impassable beyond Cerne because of the shoals, mud and sea-weeds (112). It is, further, characteristic that post-Herodotean ancient geographical tradition never takes the circumnavigation of Libya by the Phoenicians as an established fact.

It is also worth noting that the *Indian river* of Herodotus flows *eastwards* (4. 44), while his Nile begins in the *western* parts of Libya (2. 31). Furthermore, he asserts that "among all men of whom hearsay gives us any clear knowledge the Indians dwell *farthest to the east* and the sunrise; for on the *eastern* side of India all is desert by reason of sand" (3. 98) and that in Libya there is waterless desert west and south-west of the Pillars (4. 185). Although Herodotus does not accept the idea of a land bridge (inasmuch he believes that the Phoenicians circumnavigated Africa), it is still possible that he preserves echoes of the theory that did advance this opinion. This kind of inconsistency is not without parallel in Herodotus. He assumes, on the one hand, that Europe is as long as Libya and Asia together (4. 42; 45), but insists, on the other hand, that nobody knows the eastern limits of either Europe (4. 45) or Asia (4. 40).

According to Ctesias, India was as large as the rest of Asia; it is most likely that it was such already for Democritus.¹⁹ Also Herodotus while making Darius discover a very large part of Asia (τῆς δὲ Ἀσίας τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ Δαρείου ἐξευρέθη), speaks only about Scylax' exploration of India (4. 44). It is clear that an idea of India extending very far eastwards fits better with the assumption of a land bridge on the western rather than eastern side of Libya.

A remark in Strabo seems to provide another hint to a land bridge between India and western Libya: "the Maurusians are said by some to be the Indians who came thither with Heracles" (17. 3. 7).²⁰

¹⁹ See Part I, 236 f.

²⁰ It is not clear on which side of Libya a land bridge is located in Proc. *Aed.* 6. 1. 6 (Νεῖλος μὲν ὁ ποταμὸς ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου φερόμενος) and Vergilius'

Now, if Asia in the east and Libya in the west constitute a continuous body of land, where should one locate the various people and beasts, reported for an area populated by dark-coloured and woolly-haired people, in Asia or rather Libya for which this kind of population is characteristic? I am guessing that this approximates the reasoning of that theorist who transplanted Indian phenomena into Libya and who was followed by Antiphon and Herodotus.

A Sophocles' fragment also seems to point to a work of a theorist rather than a simple confusion of two Ethiopias. In this fragment, amber comes from a land "beyond India", where it is formed from the tears shed for Meleager by the birds *meleagrides*.²¹ It was usually thought in early times that the amber came from the mouth of the Eridan river, somewhere in the far north-west; Aeschylus placed the river in Iberia.²² On a theory of a round earth, these parts could be conceived as situated beyond India. One may admit that the evidence concerning the *meleagrides* is ambiguous.²³ But even then it is still remarkable that Ctesias located the Eridan river in India (F 65).

I have to specify that a round earth was not necessarily a spherical earth for our fifth-century theorist. It could be a hill-like earth or a disc-like earth with the centre at the sub-polar point. Imagine a modern map centred on the North Pole: the line through the pole connects Greece with Alaska; imagine now, say, the Punjab occupies the place normally assigned to Alaska.²⁴ On

assertion that the Nile flows *ab coloratis Indis* (*Georg.* 2. 288–93). – W. A. Heidel, "A Suggestion Concerning Plato's Atlantis", *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 68 (1933): 6, 189–228, esp. 208 believes that "in the earlier period the connection was supposed to be on the eastern side of Africa; after the acceptance of the globe earth a connection between Africa on the west with Asia was imagined". But one finds no evidence in Heidel's valuable paper for such a sequence of ideas.

²¹ F 830 a Radt; Plin. 37. 40; cf. Karttunen (n. 2) 86 f.

²² F 73 a Radt; Plin. 37. 32.

²³ There was a tradition according to which the *meleagrides* were located in the north-western Africa. Plin. 37. 38 (Mnas. fr. 44 Cappelletto): *Mnaseas Africae locum Sicyonem appellat et Crathin amnem in oceanum effluentem e lacu, in quo aves, quas meleagridas et penelopas vocat, vivere*. A very plausible emendation makes read ὄρνιθες αἱ Μελεαγρίδες instead of meaningless ὄρνιθες λιμελελιφίδες in Ps.-Scyl. 112; see Müller *ad loc.*, who also supposes that the river Crathis of Mnaseas is identical with the Κράβις of Ps.-Scyl. 112. Agatharchides, 81 mentioned the *meleagrides* on the eastern coast of Africa (the whole passage suspiciously recalls a number of descriptions of the north-western coast). See also D'Arcy W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds* (London – Oxford 1936) 197–200.

²⁴ Curiously, we hear of the opinion according to which the Indian nomads reach the region of Thracian tribes: *Nomades quoque Indiae vagantur huc. Aliqui ab aquilone*

such an earth, Europe occupies an inner band, while Libya and Asia occupy the outer one. Europe cannot be surrounded by the ocean, and it is worth noting that Herodotus emphatically denies both the existence of an ocean north of Europe (4. 45) and that the river Eridan empties into the northern sea (3. 115). But this question is not to be discussed here in detail.²⁵ Nor will I here guess who was the first to advance the theory of a land bridge connecting India with Libya and related ideas. I will, however, point to a possibility that not only Scylax' reports about marvellous things, but his route as well became subject to quite a curious interpretation.

There is a striking detail in Herodotus' account of Scylax' expedition (4. 44). Although Scylax was sent to India by the Persian king, his point of return was not the Persian Gulf, not mentioned at all, but Egypt. Moreover, Scylax returned exactly to the starting point of those Phoenicians who had circumnavigated Africa.

How long did Scylax sail the sea? This lasted thirty months. The voyage of the Phoenicians took approximately the same time.

What lesson is drawn from Scylax' story? That Asia and Libya are almost in all respect similar or even "identical" (ὅμοια).

One may suspect that Herodotus' source made Scylax sail in fact round Africa!

To be sure, Herodotus says that Scylax sailed westwards. But this statement is a simplification in any case. Herodotus' source, however, could easily find in Scylax the indications such as: after reaching the mouth of *the Indian river* (the Ganges) we turned to the right (southwards), after long way towards the south we turned (at the Cape Comorin) towards the north, and then towards the west. Such indications were quite compatible with the alleged counter-clockwise circumnavigation of Africa.

That such an interpretation of Scylax' route was actually suggested in the fifth century remains, of course, hypothetical. Whatever the truth about that, the various data presented in this study make one suspect that the expedition of Scylax enriched the speculations of the Greeks no less than

contingi ab ipsis et Ciconas dixere et Brisaros (Plin. 6. 55; see also an important version in Solin. 51. 1; cf. Mart. Cap. 6. 694). The nomads of India are mentioned in Hdt. 3. 98 f. A reference to the Cicones and Brisari points to quite an early writer.

²⁵ For various early theories of the shape of the earth see my papers: "Anaxagoras' Argument Against the Sphericity of the Earth", *Hyperboreus* 3 (1997): 1, 175–178; "The Shape of the Earth in Archelaus, Democritus and Leucippus", *Hyperboreus* 5 (1999): 1, 22–39 and "The City of the Branchidae and the Question of Greek Contribution to the Intellectual History of India and China", *Hyperboreus* 8 (2002): 2, 244–256, esp. 251–254.

their actual knowledge. If that indeed was the case, how could that happen? What does it say about the availability of Scylax' book? What was the role of Scylax himself in the emergence of theories and constructions based on his account? I reserve the discussion of all these questions for another occasion.

THE SERES AND INDIAN UTTARAKURU: ALREADY IN SCYLAX?

It has long been clear to scholars that competing locations of the same phenomena in India and Libya have something to do with identification of the dark-skinned population of both India and Africa as the Ethiopians. Since scholars saw no particular pattern beyond such competing locations, they admitted that the ancients could easily misplace phenomena in both directions. It was suggested, however, in this paper that competing locations typically emerged, first, because of the general tendency to attach all things reported about Ethiopia to Libya rather than Asia and, second, because of a specific theory according to which Asia in the remote south-east and Libya in the south-west constitute a continuous body of land. If these suggestions are essentially justified, they entail the following principle: unless we have specific reasons for the contrary, we have to assume an originally *Indian* location for all the doublets in question. The chronological priority of a *preserved* source should not affect the matter. Thus if Herodotus locates in western Libya those things that we find in later authors located in India, we have still to start with hypothesis that in author(s) whose work predates that of Herodotus these things were located in India.

Now, Scylax is the only plausible candidate for a detailed account of India available in the fifth century – directly or indirectly.²⁶ Hence our additional hypothesis is that the phenomena misplaced by Herodotus in Libya were likely located in India already by Scylax.

Of all the doublets, I will discuss here only the silent trade.

²⁶ It was repeatedly argued that Hecataeus' account of India was largely based on what he learned from Scylax. One may add to the point that the probability of their personal acquaintance is very high. For a friend of Aristagoras, a Carian captain named Scylax (Hdt. 5. 33), is almost certainly our Scylax – see *Hyperboreus* 8 (2002): 1, 7 n. 10. And while Herodotus, who gives us an artistically brilliant but historically most biased portrait of Aristagoras, emphasises the points on which Hecataeus and Aristagoras disagreed, the plain fact emerging from his account is that Hecataeus participated in the revolt started by Aristagoras and either consulted its leaders or was himself among them (Hdt. 5. 36; 125 f.).

One finds its earliest mention in Hdt. 4. 196. This kind of trade is said here to be conducted by the Carthaginians with the people who dwell beyond the Pillars of Heracles. The Carthaginians are cited as the source of information. We need not go into debate of how typically Herodotean source citation is fictional. It is enough to say that sometimes it is certainly so.²⁷ A reference to the Carthaginians was the most appropriate for the things beyond the Pillars of Heracles and such could have easily been Herodotus' clever invention.

The silent trade in the east appears in Mela, Pliny, Solinus, Martianus Capella, and also in Ammianus Marcellinus (23. 6. 68) and Eustathius (on Dionysius Per. 752) who already notes the similarity of the account with that found in Herodotus. The Seres are the local people involved in the silent trade in all these authors.²⁸ The Seres of the Greek and Roman authors are silk-producing people identified, however, by modern scholars not so much with the Chinese themselves as with the people of the Tarim basin, or adjacent regions, who mediated in the silk trade. The Seres appear once in Ctesias, but scholars believe that this is an interpolated passage. If that is so, one finds the earliest mention of the Seres in Apollodorus of Artemita (*FGrH* 799 F 7; Strab. 11. 11. 1), in connection with the events of either the late third or early second century BC. Nobody seems to have ever considered the possibility that the Seres were already mentioned in a work earlier than Herodotus' *Histories*. But we will.

Mela gives us a brief characteristic of the Seres: *genus plenum iustitiae et commercio, quod rebus in solitudine absens peragit, notissimum* (3. 60). In an analogous context, Pliny makes a vague remark that the Seres *coetum reliquorum mortalium fugiunt, commercia expectant* (6. 54). But in his description of Taprobane, he provides a few details about the Seres and their trade. Taprobanian traders are cited as the eyewitness source of information. We are told that the Seres dwell *ultra montes Hemodos*, that is, beyond the Himalayas. "The people themselves are of more than normal height, and have flaxen hair and blue eyes, and they speak in harsh tones and use no language in dealing with travellers. The remainder of the envoys' account agreed with the reports of our traders – that commodities were deposited on the opposite bank of a river by the side of the goods offered for the sale by

²⁷ "The Medes' own account of themselves" in 7. 62 is an indisputable example.

²⁸ The *Periplus Maris Erythraei* 65 is frequently cited by scholars as another instance of silent barter in classical literature. It is described here how the people of Thina (i. e., the Chinese) benefit from visits of a bordering tribe called Sesatai, but the passage speaks nothing of *exchange* of the goods.

natives" (6. 88). The text appears in that part of the account of Taprobane which is presented in Pliny as recently acquired knowledge. We need not discuss here the reliability of this claim. It is enough that Pliny observes that the information about the trade with the Seres agrees with previous reports, and Mela shows that this is true. It seems to me clear that we are dealing in Pliny with the conflation of two (or more) ultimately different reports. Direct trade between the inhabitants of Taprobane, that is, Ceylon (or possibly Sumatra) and people beyond the Himalayas is most unlikely. Martianus Capella locates the same people (without calling them the Seres) and their silent barter in Taprobane itself. According to Pausanias, "Seria is known to be an island lying in a recess of the Erythrian Sea" (6. 26. 6).²⁹ Fa-hsien, a Chinese traveller of early fifth century AD, heard of the silent trade in Ceylon.³⁰ It is likely, therefore, that one of Pliny's sources had Taprobane itself as the site of mute barter. But since authorities in geography located the Seres beyond the Himalayas, the site was shifted accordingly.³¹

Philostratus (*Vit. Apoll.* 6. 2) speaks of the silent trade between the Egyptians and Ethiopians. He emphasises the moral superiority of this kind of trade. Herodotus also explicitly refers to the fairness of the silent trade, and Mela's concise formulation likewise hints at it. This lends additional credit to the hypothesis that we are dealing with one rather than three different stories.

If the mechanisms of competing locations suggested in this paper do not deviate much from the truth, one expects to find the Seres, as people involved in the silent trade, in an Indo-*Ethiopian* context. This expectation is fully justified. "The Seres are of Ethiopian race", explicitly says Pausanias who also remarks that "some say, however, that they are not Ethiopians, but a mongrel race of Scythians and Indians" (6. 26. 6). Heliodorus makes the Seres appear in the army of the Ethiopian king (*Aeth.* 9. 16. 3).³² That the

²⁹ The continuation is also interesting: "But I have heard that it is not the Erythrean Sea, but a river called Ser, that makes this island, just as in Egypt the Delta is surrounded by the Nile and by no sea".

³⁰ *The Travels of Fa-hsien*, tr. by H. A. Giles (Cambridge 1923) 66 f.

³¹ Although blond people with blue eyes are attested to on the frescoes excavated "beyond the Himalayas", there are also hints to their presence in southern India. – See: S. Faller, *Taprobane im Wandel der Zeit* (Stuttgart 2000) 91 n. 498. For the whole passage see also K. Karttunen, *India and the Hellenistic World* (Helsinki 1997) 341.

³² Interestingly Heliodorus shows two fighting armies using different musical instruments to start the battle – the trumpet by the Persians and the drum by the Ethiopians. The drum was used for such a purpose in India, China, by several tribes of Eurasian steppes and was also adopted by the Parthians.

Seres were listed among the *makrobioi* (Strab. 15. 1. 37, in an Indian context) may also point to their Ethiopian affiliation.

One arrives at the conclusion that an account of the silent trade conducted with the Seres in all probability antedates a similar report by Herodotus for the same practice in the far west. However, it is not so much clear whether Scylax (or Hecataeus) had in mind a silk-trading people. Names can be deceptive. It was repeatedly suggested, in connection with Pliny's passage, that *Seres* could designate the population of Kerala, on the western coast of the southern Hindustan. It is quite possible that original report on Indian Seres was subsequently associated with the silk-trading Seres of the Tarim basin and adjacent regions just because of the similarity of the names. However, one may also consider the possibility that Indian Seres were the silk-traders of the south.³³ There were many stories about quite peculiar ways of getting rare goods of the edges of the oikumene;³⁴ the silent barter, accounting for how the silk reaches the known world, would fit well with this pattern.³⁵ It is safer, therefore, to suspend our judgement as to who the Seres of the initial account on the silent trade were.³⁶

I will end this section with one more suggestion. One has to consider the possibility that even those elements in Herodotus' description of western Libya that do not share in competing locations might originally belong to an Indian context. So Herodotus (4. 184 f.) locates in north-western Libya the

³³ S. Faller (*op. cit.*, 91) points out that the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* 56 makes these parts of the coast export among the goods ὀθόνια Σηρικὰ. See also A. Diehle, "Serer und Chinesen", in his *Antike und Orient* (n. 1) 201–215, esp. 204 n. 7. On the other hand, Herrmann, "Taprobane", *RE* 2. R. 4 (1932) 2260–2272, esp. 2261 thinks that Seria of Pausanias is another name for Taprobane = Ceylon.

³⁴ E. g. Hdt. 3. 107–112 for the spices.

³⁵ In this respect the passage of *Periplus Maris Erythraei* 65 provides indeed an analogy (cf. above, n. 28).

³⁶ There is also no strict proof that the story entered Greek literature with Scylax, yet there is no other candidate in view. A stronger case can be possibly made for Scylax as the originator of Western tradition on the unicorn. Herodotus' horned asses of western Libya (4. 191) are clearly rhinoceros (cf. Aristot. *Hist. an.* 499 b 18; *Part. an.* 663 a 23). In the Indian part of his *Life of Apollonius*, Philostratus calls them wild asses and offers quite a reasonable description of these creatures (3. 2), and, as I argued in *Hyperboreus* 8 (2002): 1, 5–12, Scylax was an important source for Philostratus' description of India. Herodotus too knows of the wild asses of India, and when he says that the chariots of the Indians in the army of Xerxes were driven by wild asses (7. 86), this is to be taken, I guess, as an echo of the stories about marvellous Indian rhinoceros, or unicorns, rather than a piece of authentic evidence. Representation of Indian tribute, including a wild ass, on the Apadana in Persepolis (see G. Walser, *Die Völkerschaften auf den Reliefs von Persepolis* [Berlin 1966] 94 f.) can be of similar nature.

mountain Atlas: "Its shape is slender and a complete circle; and it is said to be so high that its summits cannot be seen, for cloud is ever upon them winter and summer. The people of the country call it the pillar of heaven. These men have got their name, which is Atlantes, from this mountain. It is said that they eat no living creature, and see no dreams in their sleep". Nineteenth-century commentators justly emphasised that there is no remarkable mountain in north-western Africa, and since Herodotus clearly describes a peak, his description corresponds no reality. But his description is not unlike those of Indian Meru, and people who do not eat any living thing recall Indian ascetics; and if they never have any dreams, it is probably one of the beneficial results of their asceticism, for "when a man is asleep, composed, serene, and knows no dream, that is the self, that is the immortal, the fearless; that is *Brahman*" (*Chāndogya Upanishad*, 8. 11. 1, S. Radhakrishnan's transl.).³⁷ It is also worth noting that an ancient tradition placed the *Atarantes* near the Atlantes.³⁸ Pliny speaks of the tribe of the Attacorae "sheltered by sunbathed hills from every harmful blast with the same temperate climate as that in which dwell the Hyperborei" (6. 55). It has been long recognised that the Attacorae echo Indian Uttarakuru, happy people of the remote north.³⁹ Ἀτάραντες, then, may reflect the shortened form of the same name, without *-kuru*, meaning "the northerners". Now, one can easily imagine how a Greek intellectual could infer from an account of a mount called 'Pillar of Heaven' that there was grain of truth in traditional stories about Atlas and locate and name such a mountain accordingly.

POSTSCRIPT

In Part I of this paper, published five years ago, I tried to show that *the Indian river* navigated by Scylax was the Ganges. My arguments were essentially as follows.

Herodotus says that Scylax and his crew "sailed down the river towards the east and the sunrise till they came to the sea", which does not fit with the Indus (this river flows south and south-west), but fits well enough with the Ganges. John L. Myres emphasised this already.

Since the Ganges was also an Indian river, it is easier to imagine confusion or misapplication of the names rather than confusion of the east and south. The confusion of the two rivers appears indeed in Pliny, who affirms

³⁷ Compare Plato's fear of impious dreams in *Rep.* 571 c – 572 b.

³⁸ Stephanus, s. v. Ἀτλαντες, and Eustathius on Dionys. *Perieg.* 66.

³⁹ See Karttunen (n. 2) 138 et al.

that the Indus “forms a huge island named Prasiene” (6. 71), and Prasiene is to be located on the Ganges.⁴⁰ Herodotus was quite capable of confusing different rivers, as the case of his Araxes shows.

Strabo (2. 1. 34) cites Hipparchus that the Indus was shown on early maps to flow “between the south and the equinoctial sunrise”. Such a direction points to the Ganges; the name of the Indus seems to have been (mis)applied to this river. Also Aristotle (*apud* Strabo 15. 1. 23) contrasts the Nile, which “passes across many *klimata*”, that is, latitudes, to the streams of India as “lingering for a long time in the same *klimata*”. Such a contrast fits better with the Ganges and its tributaries rather than with the Indus and the rivers of the Punjab.

Aelian says that the Ganges “contains islands larger than Lesbos and Cynus” (*NA* 12. 41). The standard source in Hellenistic and Roman times for the Ganges valley was Megasthenes. However, his audience, in the early third century BC, was not interested in either Lesbos or Cynus. The former belonged to an area now of lesser significance, the latter was in the remote west, while common interest turned to the east. The situation was very different in the times of Scylax. Lesbos was a natural point of reference, while Cynus was an outstanding place in the fascinating west. One may think, then, that the comparison involving Lesbos and Cynus goes ultimately back to Scylax, and for similar reasons, this is likely to be the case with the comparison of tributaries of the Ganges with the Maeander (Megasthenes *apud* Arr. *Ind.* 4. 6).

Another comparison, the one used by Strabo, points to Scylax’ visit to the eastern Punjab. We are told about five thousand cities between the Hypanis and the Hydaspes – “cities no smaller than Cos Meropis” (15. 1. 33; cf. Plin. 6. 59). For various reasons, such a reference is very strange for historians of Alexander, but the island of Cos was the closest big island to Caryanda, the native city of Scylax.

Onesicritus, one of Alexander’s officers, says of Taprobane “that it is five thousand stadia in size, without distinguishing its length or breadth; and that it is a twenty days’ voyage distant from the mainland, but that it is difficult voyage for ships that are poorly furnished with sails and are constructed without belly-ribs on both sides; and that amphibious monsters are to be found round it, some of which are like kine, others like horses, and others like other land-animals” (Strab. 15. 1. 15; *FGrH* 134 F 12). The mouth of

⁴⁰ Another obvious case of such confusion can be added: while Mela 3. 70 locates the island of Argyre near the mouth of the Ganges, Pliny 6. 80 has it “after the mouth of the Indus”. Ptolemy and modern scholars support Mela’s version.

the Indus, where Alexander and his fleet turned back, is very far from Ceylon. Therefore, Onesicritus' knowledge of the details of navigation in the Gulf of Bengal is very surprising. His reference to the length of voyage is especially worth noting. Ceylon comes very close to the continent, but we learn from a parallel remark in Pliny (6. 82) that "twenty days' sail was formerly believed to be a distance of Taprobane from the nation of the Prasii". Hence, the information cited by Onesicritus came from a mariner who sailed to Taprobane from the mouth of the Ganges, for the Prasii were the inhabitants of the Ganges valley. The estimate of the size of the island in terms of the *stadia* points to a Greek-speaking (and not an Indian) authority of Onesicritus. Scylax is the only plausible candidate.⁴¹

My hypothesis met recently a strange kind of criticism.⁴² It was rejected without examining my arguments except for a brief touching upon two of them. 1) The argument of the eastwards flowing river is met with the objection that "the Ganges issues into the Gulf of Bengal in the southern direction". Do my critics really mean that the assertions "the Indus flows eastwards" and "the Ganges flows eastwards" are of comparable degree of inaccuracy? Besides, as quoted in my paper from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, the estuary of the Ganges is "most easterly of a great number of mouths or channels", and this estuary shows rather insignificant bend towards the south. 2) My suggestion is mentioned that Megasthenes identified the river navigated and described by Scylax as the Ganges. It is said that I came to this conclusion because "Megasthenes compared the Ganges with the Maeander, 'the native river of Scylax', and since 'it is difficult to assume, that the comparison was introduced by Megasthenes himself', he had to find it in the work by Scylax. It remains unclear why it is *difficult*, and why Asia Minor could not have been the native country of Megasthenes himself or the Maeander a river well known to him". Now, according to our sources, Megasthenes compared with the Meander tributaries of the Ganges and not, of course, this mighty river itself, as correctly stated in my paper. "Родная река Скилака"

⁴¹ If Scylax sailed from the mouth of the Ganges and if the names adopted by him for the Ganges valley and the southern Hindustan were *India* and *Ethiopia* respectively, one may see how could arise the enigmatic description that one finds in Strabo: "Taprobane is a large island in the open sea, which lies off India to the south. It stretches lengthwise in the direction of Ethiopia for more than five thousand stadia" (2. 1. 14).

⁴² Г. М. Бонгард-Левин, М. Д. Бухарин, А. А. Вигасин, *Индия и античный мир* [G. M. Bongard-Levin, M. D. Bukharin, A. A. Vigin, *India and the Classical World*] (Москва 2002) 66 прим. 115. The section in question is written by G. M. Bongard-Levin and M. D. Bukharin.

(‘the native river of Scylax’) is both bad Russian and an inaccurate translation of my words. As to the difficulty that my critics do not see, it is explained right in the paragraph that they quote. I say: “Wherever he (sc. Megasthenes) was born, he was addressing the audience in Seleucia, Alexandria and Athens, and not the Carians or the Ionians”. As I continue, “the opposite was the case for Scylax. The Maeander valley was not only his homeland, but also the cultural centre of the Greek-speaking world as he knew it” (222 f.).

I appreciate a prompt reaction to my work, which is no longer common nowadays, but I regret about the style adopted by my critics.

Five years later, I still think that the facts do not agree well with the assumption that Scylax sailed down the Indus and still believe that the river navigated by Scylax was the Ganges. However, I am now less certain that Scylax reached the *mouth* of the Ganges and circumnavigated India. My little doubt arises from my own proposal according to which Indian journey of Apollonius in Philostratus is patterned on the story of Scylax’ voyage. Although Philostratus brings Apollonius to the Ganges valley, he offers a surprising description of his way from there to the sea. We are told that “Apollonius keeping the Ganges on his right hand, but the Hyphasis on his left, went towards the sea” and that this was a journey of ten days (3. 50). As I observed in *Hyperboreus* 8 (2002): 1, 10, a number of characteristics of the Hyphasis, both in Philostratus and in some other sources, point to the Narmada (rather than the Sutlej or Beas, one of the two rivers to be identified with the Hyphasis in the context of Alexander’s story). What I did not formulate there is that the identification of the Hyphasis as the Narmada makes Philostratus’ description of Apollonius route reasonable enough. If one leaves the Ganges valley near, say, Benares and turns west, one will have the Ganges on the right and the Narmada on the left. One may think accordingly that the oceanic part of Scylax’ voyage started in the Gulf of Cambay. This would fit well with the view expressed by Herodotus that Arabia (and thus not India) is the southernmost country of the inhabited world (3. 107). However, such an interpretation implies that Philostratus confused two different rivers with the name *Hyphasis*. “Ten days journey” towards the sea from the region of Benares is hardly realistic even on camels, which makes the whole description of the route suspect. Moreover, Philostratus never makes Apollonius navigate any Indian river. Herodotus’ geography of the passage in question, with India in the east (3. 106), Arabia in the south (3. 107), and Ethiopia in the south-west (3. 114), is suspiciously Persocentric (as in 4. 37–41); it thus may reflect quite a peculiar point of view. Scylax might have failed to recognise that

India stretches farther in the south than Arabia if he sailed along their shores in different seasons. And for the traveller or geographer for whom the country south of the Ganges valley was no longer India but Ethiopia, Arabia did stretch much farther towards the south than India.

A few remarks are appropriate on the starting point of Scylax' Indian route. It was *Κασπάπυρος*, a πόλις Γανδαρική, according to Hecataeus (F 295). I suggested in the Part I that "Hecataeus' Γανδαρική was quite likely the land in the eastern Punjab or the Ganges valley" (233). It can be added to the point that W. W. Tarn made a strong case for the presence of the Gandaridae east of the Beas in the time of Alexander.⁴³ However, I am no longer willing to defend the possibility (I did not claim more) that Scylax' starting point could have been Pataliputra. A more plausible suggestion seems available. Words by Herodotus and Hecataeus clearly imply that *Κασπάπυρος* was an important place, and yet it never emerges in later authors.⁴⁴ The fate of Hastinâpura may provide a solution. It was "the capital of the Kurus, north-east of Dehli, entirely diluviated by the Ganges. It was situated twenty-two miles north of Mirat and south-east of Bijnor on the right bank of the Ganges. Nichakshu, the grandson of Janamejaya of the *Mahâbhârata*, removed his capital to Kauśâmbi after the destruction of Hastinâpura".⁴⁵

I suggested in my paper "The dark-skinned and woolly-haired Kolchoi"⁴⁶ that Herodotus' evidence, as he claims, for a Negroid population on the Black Sea shores is in fact a distorted reflection of Scylax' account of the Kolchoi of southernmost India. It seems that Herodotus was not the only author confused by allegedly identical names of two distant peoples. In a context that points to an ultimately very early source, Pliny has *regio Colica* in the south-eastern corner of the Black Sea (6. 15; cf. Ps.-Scyl. 78). According to Mela, *Colis* is that promontory in India where the eastern coast ends and the southern begins (3. 67). Pliny (6. 86) speaks in an Indian context of *promunturium Coliacum*. Further, Scylax located μακροκέφαλοι in India (F 7), while Mela (1. 107) and Pliny (6. 11) locate them in Kolchis (Ps.-Scyl. 85 places them near Trapezus). A curious fragment of Palaephatus seems to combine this confusion with that which was the main subject of our Part II. We are told that μακροκέφαλοι "dwell in Libya above the Kolchoi"

⁴³ W. W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great II* (Cambridge 1950) 279.

⁴⁴ The problem was justly emphasised by P. Daffinà, "On Kaspapyros and the So-called 'Shore of Scythians'", *AAHu* 28 (1980) 1-8, esp. 5, who unjustly is prone to conclude that the place was *not* of importance.

⁴⁵ Nundo Lal Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India* (London 1927) 74.

⁴⁶ *Hyperboreus* 5 (1999): 2, 341-345.

(*FGrH* 44 F 2). One may suppose that Scylax located μακροκέφαλοι in that part of India which was referred to by an early authority as *Ethiopia*; and when Ethiopia was attached to Lybia, μακροκέφαλοι, and the Kolchoi as well, were transplanted accordingly.

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В античной литературе одни и те же реалии и псевдореалии относятся то к Индии, то к Эфиопии, то к Ливии. В основе этой путаницы лежит, по-видимому, тот факт, что эфиопами были названы индийские дравиды, о которых сообщал побывавший в Индии Скилак. Наряду с обычными недоразумениями можно отметить сознательную тенденцию локализовать в западной Ливии ряд изначально связанных с Индией сообщений о диковинных племенах и животных. Такая тенденция, очевидно, связана с географическими теориями, согласно которым Индия, поскольку Земля круглая, столь близко подходит к западной Ливии, что образует с ней единый массив суши.