

ἀρχεῖν τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ χαλινῷ στρέφειν καὶ κολλάειν ἀτακτοῦντα καὶ προορᾶν, ὡς μὴ ἐς βόθρον ἢ πάφρον ἢ χάσμα κατευχεθήη ὁ ἵππος, ὅτε γε δι' ἔλους ἢ πηλοῦ χωροῖ;· “ἀλλο δὲ οὐδέν, ὦ Δάμι, ἀπατησομην” ἔφη “τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἵππεα;·” “νῆ Δί,” εἶπε “τό τε ἀναπαίδωνται μὲν τῷ ἵππῳ πρὸς τὸ συμὸν ἐφέναι τὸν χαλινόν, κατὰ πραινούς δὲ ἰόντι οἱ μὴ ξυγχωρεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀμβέλειαν, καὶ τὸ καταψῆσαι δὲ τὰ ἄλλα ἢ τὴν χάσιν, καὶ μὴ αἰεὶ ἢ μάστιξ σοφοῦ ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ἵππέως, καὶ ἑταυρόντων αὐτὸν ὧδε ὀχούμενον.” “τῷ δὲ δι' μαχίμῳ τε καὶ πολέμιαστρον τίνων δέ;” “τῶν γε αὐτῶν,” ἔφη “ὦ ἄπολλωνιε, καὶ πρὸς γε τούτοις τοῦ βάλλειν τε καὶ φυλάττειν, καὶ τὸ ἐπελάσσειν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀπελάσσειν καὶ τὸ ἀνελήσσειν πολέμους καὶ μὴ εἶναι ἐκπηγήσθαι τὸν ἵππον, ὅτε δουπήσειεν ἀσπίς ἢ ἀστροβέλειαν αἱ κόρυθες ἢ παυανύζοντων τε καὶ ἀλαλζόντων βοῇ γένουτο, σοφία, οἶμα, ἱπτικὴ πρόσκεται.”

2

“Τοῦτον οὖν” ἔφη “τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐλέφαντος ἵππεα τί φήσεις;” “πολλῷ” ἔφη “θαυμασιώτερον, ἄπολλωνιε, τὸ γὰρ θηρίῳ τηλικούτῳ ἐπιτετάχθαι τηλικόνδε ὄντα καὶ εὐθύνειν αὐτὸ καλάρωσι, ἣν ὀρεῖς αὐτὸν ἐμβαλόντα τῷ ἐλέφαντι, ὥσπερ ἄγκυραν, καὶ μήτε τὴν ὅψιν τοῦ θηρίου δεδιέναι μήτε τὸ ὕψος μήτε τὴν βόμην τσαυτήν οὖσαν, δαιμόνιον ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ, καὶ οὐδ' αὖ ἐπίστευστα, μὰ τὴν Ἰθηνᾶν, εἰ ἔτερου ἦκουσα.” “τί οὖν,” ἔφη “εἰ ἀποδόσθαι τις ἡμῖν τὸν παῖδα βούλοιο, ὠήσῃ αὐτόν, ὦ Δάμι;” “νῆ Δί,” εἶπε “τῶν γε ἑμῶν τοῦ πάντων. τὸ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἀκρόπολιν κατεληφόντα δε-

horse, govern it, turn it with the bit, punish it when it is unruly, and watch out so that the horse does not fall into a hole, a ditch, or a cleft, when it is going through marshes or mud.” “And shall we expect nothing more from a good rider?” said Apollonius. “Oh yes,” replied Damis, “when the horse is galloping uphill he must relax the bit but when it is going downhill he must not indulge it but hold it in. He must stroke its ears or its mane, since the constant use of the whip does not seem to me the mark of a good rider, but I would praise him for riding as I have said.” “Well,” said Apollonius, “what skills does a fierce, warlike rider need?” “The same ones, Apollonius,” replied Damis, “and in addition he must strike blows and avoid them, advance and retreat, press the enemy and not let the horse shy at the clang of a shield, the flash of plumes, or the noise of men chanting in victory or giving a war whoop—this is part of a rider’s skill.”

2

“Well,” said Apollonius, “how will you describe the elephant rider?” “As someone much more amazing, Apollonius,” said Damis. “For someone of that size to be in charge of an elephant, to drive it with a stick such as you see him sticking into the elephant like an anchor, not to fear the sight of the animal or its height or its colossal strength, that seems superhuman to me. By Athena, I would not have believed it if I had heard it from someone else.” “Well, then,” said Apollonius, “suppose someone were willing to sell us the boy, would you buy him, Damis?” “Yes indeed,” said Damis, “with everything I own. For to be master of the largest animal on the face of the

σπόμεν θηρίου μεγίστου ὦν ἡ γῆ βόσκει, ἐλευθέρας
 ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ φύσεως καὶ λαμπρᾶς εἶναι." "τί οὖν
 χρηστὴ τῷ παιδί," ἔφη "εἰ μὴ καὶ τὸν ἐλέφαντα ἀνή-
 στη;" "τῇ τε οἰκίᾳ" ἔφη "ἐπιστήσω τῇ ἑμάρῳ καὶ τοῖς
 οἰκέταις καὶ πολλῷ βέλῳ τούτων ἢ ἐγὼ ἄρξαι." "σὺ
 δὲ οὐχ ἱκανὸς" ἔφη "τῶν σεαυτοῦ ἀρχεῖν;" "ὅν γε" εἶπε
 "καὶ σὺ τρόπον, ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε· καταλαττὸν γὰρ τὰμὰ
 περιέμει, ὥσπερ σὺ, φλογομάθων καὶ περιφρονῶν τὰ ἐν
 τῇ ξύτῃ."

3 "Εἰ δὲ διῇ πρίαιο τὸν παῖδα, καὶ ἴππῳ σοι γε-
 νοέσθην ὁ μὲν ἀμυλλήτριος, ὁ δὲ πολέμικός, ἀνα-
 θέστη αὐτόν, ὃ Δάμῳ, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους;" "ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν
 ἀμυλλήτριον" εἶπε "ἵσως αὖν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἑτέρους
 ὁρῶ, τὸν δὲ μάχιμόν τε καὶ ὀπλιτεύοντα πῶς αὖ
 ἀναβαίνει οὗτος; οὔτε γὰρ ἀσπίδα δύναται αὖ φέρειν,
 ἥς δει τοῖς ἱππεύουσιν, οὔτ' αὖ θώρακα ἢ κράνος,
 αἰχμῇν δὲ πῶς οὗτος, ὃς οὐδὲ ἀρρακτον βέλους ἢ
 τοξεύματος κραδαίνει αὖν, ψελλίζομενος ὥς τὸ εὐκὸς
 ἔστι;" "ἔτερον οὖν τι," ἔφη "ὃ Δάμῳ, ἐστίν, ὁ τὸν
 ἐλέφαντα τοῦτον ἡμιοχεῖ καὶ πέμπει, καὶ οὐχ ὁ ἡμί-
 οχος οὗτος, ὃν σὺ μόνον προσκυνεῖς ὑπὸ θαύμα-
 τος;" τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος "τί αὖ εἶπες τοῦτο, Ἀπολλώνιε; ὁρῶ
 γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ θηρίου πλὴν τοῦ παιδὸς οὐδὲν ἔτερον,"
 4 "Τὸ θηρίον" ἔφη "τοῦτο εὐπαίδευτόν τε παρὰ πάντα
 ἔστί, καμπειδᾶν ἀπαξ ἀναγκασθῇ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπῳ⁶ ζῆν,
 ἀνέχεται τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πάντα καὶ ὁμοῦθιαν
 ἐπιτηδεύει τῇν πρὸς αὐτόν, χαίρει τε στυγόμενον ἀπὸ
 τῆς χειρὸς, ὥσπερ οἱ μικροὶ τῶν κυνῶν, προστάττα τε

154

earth would be like occupying a citadel, and in my opinion
 the mark of a free and exalted nature." "Well," said
 Apollonius, "what use will you have for the boy if you do
 not buy the elephant too?" "I will put him in charge of my
 own household and of the servants," said Damis, "and he
 will govern them much better than I do." "Why, are you not
 able to control your own servants?" asked Apollonius. "As
 much as you are, Apollonius," said Damis, "for like you I
 go around in search of knowledge and studying foreign
 cultures."

3 "Well, suppose you bought the boy and you had two
 horses, one a race horse and one a war horse, would you
 put him up on these horses?" "Perhaps on the race-horse,"
 was the reply, "since I see other people too doing that, but
 how could this boy ride a horse trained for battles and ar-
 mor? He could not carry a shield, which cavalrymen need,
 nor a breastplate or a helmet, and how could he carry a
 spear? He could not even manage the shaft of a missile or
 an arrow, when he is probably still lisping." "Well then,
 Damis," said Apollonius, "it is something else that rides
 and accompanies this elephant, not the driver, whom you
 are practically worshipping in your admiration." Damis re-
 plied, "And what can that be, Apollonius? Because I do not
 see anything on the animal except this boy."

4 "This animal," said Apollonius, "is easier to train than
 any other, and once it has been forced to live under a
 human's control, it puts up with anything from the human
 and adapts its habits to him. It likes to eat from his hand, as
 little dogs do; it fondles him with its trunk when he comes

⁶ ἀνθρώπου Kay: ἀνθρώπων

τῇ προνομίᾳ αἰκάλῃ, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐς τὴν φά-
ρυγα ἐσθλοῦντα ἀνέχεσθαι, καὶ κέχηται ἐφ' ὅσον τῇ
ἀνθρώπῳ δοκεῖ, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς νομάσιν ἐωρῶμεν.
νύκτωρ δὲ λέγεται τὴν δουλείαν ἀποφύγεσθαι, μὰ Δί',
οὐ τετραγός, ὅποδον εἴθευ, ἀλλ' οἰκτρόν τε καὶ ἐλε-
εινὸν ἀνακλῆσαι.¹ εἰ δὲ ἀθροῖος ἐπιστάτης ὀδυσσεύς
ταῦτα, ἴσχει τὸν θρῆνον ὁ ἐλέφας, ὥσπερ αἰδούμενος.
αὐτὸς δὴ εἰπὼν, ὦ Δάμῃ, ἄρχει καὶ ἡ πελὶς αὐτὸν ἡ
τῆς φύσεως ἄγει μάλλον ἢ ὁ ἐπικείμενός τε καὶ ἀπε-
θύνων.”

12. Ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Ἴνδον ἐλθόντες ἀγέλην ἐλεφάντων
ἰδεῖν φασι περαιομένους τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τὰδε ἀκού-
σαι περὶ τοῦ θηρίου. ὡς οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἔλκει, οἱ δ' αὖ
ᾄρει, καὶ τῆτον ἥδη γένος πεδινοὶ εἴσιν, ἀλόκονταί
τε ἐς τὴν τῶν πολεμικῶν χρεῖαν. μάχονται γὰρ διῇ
ἐπεσκευασμένοι πύργους οἴους κατὰ δέκα καὶ πεντε-
καίδεκα ὁμοῦ τῶν Ἰνδῶν δέξασθαι, ἀφ' ὧν τοξεύουσι
τε καὶ ἀκοντίζουσιν οἱ Ἰνδοί, καθάπερ ἐκ πυλῶν βάλ-
λουντες. καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ θηρίον χεῖρα τὴν προνομίαν
ἡγείσθαι καὶ χεῖρα αὐτῇ ἐς τὸ ἀκοντίζειν, ὅσον δὲ
ἴππου Νισαίου μέλιν οἱ Λιβυκὸς ἐλέφας, τοσοῦτον
τῶν ἐκ Λιβύης οἱ Ἰνδοὶ μέλινος.

2 Περὶ δὲ ἡλικίας τοῦ ζώου καὶ ὡς μακροβιώτατον,
εἴρηται μὲν καὶ ἑτέροις, ἐντυχεῖν δὲ καὶ οἱ τοὶ φασιν
ἐλέφαντι περὶ Τάξιλα μεγίστην τῶν ἐν Ἰνδοῖς πόλιν,
ὃν μυρίειν τε οἱ ἐπυχάριοι καὶ ταινιῶν. εἶναι γὰρ διῇ
τῶν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπὲρ Πώρου μεμαχημένων εἰς
οὗτος, ὃν, ἐπειδὴ προθύμως ἐμεμάχητο, ἀνῆκεν ὁ Ἀλέ-

near, allows him to thrust his head down its throat, and
opens its mouth as wide as the man wishes, as we saw
among the nomads. But they say that at night it grieves
over its state of slavery, not indeed with its usual trumpet-
ing, but with sad, pitiful moans, and if a human comes up
when it is mourning like this, the elephant checks its grief
as if from shame. It governs itself therefore, Damiis, and is
led more by the prompting of its own nature than by the
driver who directs it.”

12. When they reached the Indus, they say they saw a
herd of elephants crossing the river, and were told the fol-
lowing about the animal. Some of them live in marshes,
others in mountains, and a third type on the plain, and they
are caught for use in warfare. When they fight, they are
equipped with towers made so as to hold up to ten or fif-
teen Indians simultaneously. The Indians fire arrows and
lances from these towers, as if shooting from gates. The an-
imal itself considers its trunk a hand and uses it for hurling
lances. The Indian elephants exceed those from Libya in
size to the same extent as those exceed a Nisaeon horse.

The age of the animal and its great length of life have
been discussed by others, but these two say that they en-
countered in Taxila, the largest city in India, an elephant
which the natives perfumed and bedecked with ribbons.
This indeed was one of these that had fought on the side of
Porus¹² against Alexander, and because it had fought val-

¹² King of a territory in the modern Punjab, whom Alexander
first defeated, and then set up as a dependent ruler.

¹ ἀνακλῆσαι Huettius (Kay): ἀνακλῆσαι

ξανδρος τῷ Ἠλίου. εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χρυσοῦ ἔλικας περὶ τοὺς εἰς ὁδοῦναι εἶτε κέρασι καὶ γράμματα ἐπ' αὐτῶν Ἑλληνικὰ λέγοντα "Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Διὸς τὸν Αἴαντα τῷ Ἠλίῳ", ὄνομα γὰρ τοῦτο τῷ ἐλέφαντι ἔθετο μεγάλου ἀξιώσας μέγα. ξυμβέβληντο δὲ οἱ ἐπυχάριοι πευτῆκοντα εἶναι καὶ τριακόσια ἔτη μετὰ τὴν μάχην, οἷα λέγοντες καὶ ὅποια γεγονὺς ἐμάχετο.

13. Ἰόβας δέ, ὃς ἦρξέ ποτε τοῦ Λιβυκοῦ ἔθνους, φησὶ μὲν ξυμπεσεῖν ἀλλήλοις ἐπ' ἐλεφάντων πάλαι Λιβυκοὺς ἱμπέας, εἶναι δὲ τοὺς μὲν πύργων ἐς τοὺς ὁδόντας κεχαρμαμένον, τοὺς δὲ οὐδὲν, νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπ' ἑλβούσης τὴν μάχην ἡττηθῆναι μὲν τοὺς ἐπιστήμους φησὶ, φυγεῖν δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἀτλάντα τὸ ὄρος, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκείνῃ τετρακοσίαν μήκει ἔτων ὕστερον τῶν διαφυγόντων εἶναι, καὶ τοῖς ἰσχυροῦς εἶναι αὐτῷ κοῖλον καὶ οὐκ ὡς περὶ ρυμμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου. οὗτος ὁ Ἰόβας τοὺς ὁδόντας κέρατα ἡγείται τῷ φέσθαι μὲν αὐτοὺς ὀθεν περ οἱ κρόταφοι, παραθίγασθαι δὲ μηδεὶν. ἔτέρῳ, μὲνεν δ' ὡς ἔφυσαν καὶ μῆ, ὅπερ οἱ ὁδόντες, ἐκτίπτειν εἰς ἀναφύεσθαι.

2 Ἐγὼ δ' οὐ προσδέχομαι τὸν λόγον κέρατά τε γὰρ εἰ μὴ πάντα, τά γε τῶν ἐλάφων ἐκτίπτει καὶ ἀναφύεται, ὁδόντες δὲ οἱ μὲν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκπεσόντων καὶ ἀναφύσονται πάντες, ζώων δ' ἂν οὐδενὶ ἑτέρῳ χαυλιόδους ἢ κυνόδους ἀντομάτως ἐκπέστοι, οὐδ' ἂν ἔταιν-ἐλθοι ἐκπεσόν, ὅπλον γὰρ ἔνεκα ἡ φύσις ἐμβυβάζει αὐτοὺς ἐς τὰς γένους. καὶ ἄλλως τὰ κέρατα γραμμῇ ἀποτορνεύει κύκλῳ πρὸς τῇ ρίζῃ κατ' ἐναντιὸν ἑκα-

iantly Alexander dedicated it to Helios. It had gold bangles on its teeth or (if you prefer) tusks, and on these were Greek inscriptions saying "Alexander the son of Zeus dedicates Ajax to the Sun." Ajax" was what he called the elephant, thinking a great creature deserved a great name.¹³ The natives reckoned that the battle had occurred three hundred and fifty years before, but did not say how old the animal was when it fought.

13. Juba, however, the former ruler of the African people,¹⁴ says that long ago African riders fought a battle on elephants. The animals on one side had a tower engraved on their tusks, while those on the other had nothing. When night ended the battle, the marked animals were defeated and ran away to Mount Atlas. He personally captured one of the runaways four hundred long years later, and its mark was still deep and not yet worn away by time. This Juba believes that the tusks are horns, since they grow out of the place of the temples, and are not sharpened by anything external, but remain in their natural state, and do not fall out and grow back again like teeth.

I do not accept this reasoning. Even if not all horns fall out and grow back, those of deer do. As for humans, all their teeth fall out and grow back, but in no other animals do the teeth or the tusks fall out naturally, nor can they be restored when they do, since nature implants them into the jaws as a weapon. In addition, horns produce a circular ridge at their base every year, as can be seen in goats,

¹³ Ajax the son of Telamon is called "great" in Homer, to distinguish him from his namesake, Ajax son of Oileus.

¹⁴ King of Mauretania from 25 BCE to ca. 23 CE, a prolific writer on history, ethnography, and other topics.

στον, ὡς αἰγὴς τε δηλοῦσι καὶ ποῖμναι καὶ βόες, ὁδοὺς δὲ λείως ἐκφύεται καὶ ἦν μὴ πηρώσῃ τι αὐτὸν, τοῖοδε αἰεὶ μένει, μετέχει γὰρ τῆς λιβδόου ὁλῆς τε καὶ οὐσίας. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ κεραιφόρεῖν περὶ τὰ δίχηλα τῶν ζώων μόνα ἔσται, τὸ δὲ ζῶον τοῦτο πειρώωντων καὶ πολυσχιδὲς τὴν βάσιν, ἥ δια τὸ μὴ ἐσφύγῃται χηλαῖς ὥσπερ ἐν ὑγρῷ ἔσται. καὶ τοῖς μὲν κερασφόροις ἄπασιν ὑποβιάλονται ἡ φύσις ὅσα σπασγώδη περιφύει τὸ κέραις ἐξωθεῖν, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἐλεφάντων πλῆρες ἀποφαίνει καὶ ὁμοιοῖ, ἀναπτύξαιτι δὲ σῆρυγξ αὐτὸ λεπτῇ διέρπει μέσον, ὥσπερ τοὺς ὁδοῦντας.

3 Εἰσι δὲ οἱ μὲν τῶν ἐλείων ὁδοῦντες πελιδνοὶ καὶ μαυροὶ μεταχειρίσασθαι τε ἄστοχοι, πολλοῦ γὰρ αὐτῶν ὑποδεδύκασιν σήραγγες, πολλοῦ δὲ ἀνεστῆαι χάλαζαι μὴ ξυγχωροῦνται τῇ τέχνῃ, οἱ δὲ τῶν ὁρέων μέγιστοι μὲν ἢ οἴοιτο, λευκοὶ δὲ ἰκανῶς καὶ δύσεργον περὶ αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν, ἄριστοι δὲ οἱ τῶν πεδυνῶν ὁδοῦντες, μέγιστοί τε γὰρ καὶ λευκότεροι καὶ ἀναπτύξαι ἡδείς καὶ γίνονται πᾶν ὃ τι θέλει ἢ χεῖρ. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἦθη ἐλεφάντων χρητὴ ἀναγράφειν, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἐλῶν ἀλυσκομένους ἀνοήτους ἡγοῦνται καὶ κόφους⁸ Ἴνδοί, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὁρῶν κακοήβεις τε καὶ ἐπιβουληντῆς καὶ ἦν μὴ δέωται τυγος, οὐ βεβαίους τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, οἱ πεδυνῶν δὲ χρηστοὶ τε εἶναι λέγονται καὶ ἐνδύωνται καὶ μιμήσεως ἐρασταί· γράφουσι γοῦν καὶ ὀρχοῦνται καὶ παρυσταλέουσι πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ πηδῶσιν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐκείνου.

14. Ἴδων δὲ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τὸν 160

sheep, and oxen, but a tooth grows smooth, and always retains its original shape unless harmed by something, since it partakes of the material and nature of stone. Moreover, having horns is a property only of cloven-footed animals, while the elephant has five nails and several clefts in its foot, which has a soft cushion, as it were, and lacks hooves to make it firm. Since nature supplies all horned animals with porous bones, it puts a covering on the outside of their horns, but it makes the elephant's tusk full and even, though if you split it you find a narrow channel running through the middle, as in teeth.

The tusks of the marsh elephants are dark, fibrous, and difficult to work, since in many places they have sunken cavities, in many others knots that resist fashioning, while the tusks of the mountain kind are smaller than those but very white and not at all difficult to work. But the tusk of the plains elephant is the best, largest, and whitest, easy to split and capable of anything the hand desires. If I must describe the elephants' natures, the marsh kind are considered by the Indians to be stupid and deaf, the mountain kind to be malevolent, crafty, and only loyal to human beings when they need something; while they say the plains kind are good, tractable, and fond of mimicry. These ones write, dance, sway to the music of the pipe, and jump in the air.

14. Apollonius saw the elephants crossing the Indus,

⁸ κόφους Jac.: κοίφους

Ἰνδὸν περασιμένους, ἦσαν δέ, οἷμα, τρακάκοντα, καὶ Χρυσίμους ἡγέμονι τῷ σμικροτάτῳ σφῶν, καὶ τοὺς μείλους αὐτῶν ἀνελήφοντας τοὺς αὐτῶν πάλους ἐνὶ τὰς τῶν ὀδυνῶν προβολὰς, τὰς τε προνομίας ἐπε-
 λευχότας δεσμοῦ ἔνεκα, "ταῦτα μέν," ἔφη ὁ Δάμν, οὐδὲ ἐπιτάττοντος οὐδενὸς αὐτοῖς ἀπ' αὐτῶν οὔρου διὰ ξύνεσσι τε καὶ σοφίαν πρᾶττοντι, καὶ ὄρεῖς, ὡς παρὰ-
 πλησίως τοῖς σκευαγοῦσιν ἀνελήφασιν τοὺς πώ-
 λους, καὶ καταδησάμενοι αὐτοὺς ἄγουσιν;" ὁρῶν, ἔφη ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὡς σοφῶς τε αὐτὸ καὶ ξυνεστῶς πρᾶτ-
 τουσιν. τί οὖν βούλεται τὸ εὔθες ἐκείνο φρόνημα, τοῖς ἐρεσχελοῦσι φυσικῇν ἢ μὴ τῇν πρὸς τὰ τέκνα εἶναι εὐνοῖαι; τοῦτ' ἂν γὰρ καὶ ἐλέφαντες ἦδη βωῶσιν, ὡς παρὰ τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῖς ἦκει οὐ γὰρ διῇ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων γε μεμθηκάσιν αὐτό, ὥσπερ τὰ ἄλλα, οἷ γε μῆδὲ ξυμβεβιάσιν πῶ ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ φύσει κεκτημένοι τὸ φιλεῖν, ἃ ἔτεκον, προκρίδονταί τε αὐτῶν καὶ παίδουροφούσι."

2
 "Καὶ μὴ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας εἴπη, ὁ Δάμν. τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ζῷον δεύτερον ἀνθρώπου τάττω κατὰ ξύνεσιν τε καὶ βουλὰς, ἀλλὰ τὰς τε ἄρκτους ἐνθυμοῦμαι μάλλον, ὡς ἀγριώταται θηρίων οὖσαι πάντ' ὑπὲρ τῶν σκύμνων πρᾶττονσι, τοὺς τε λύκους, ὡς αἰὶ προσκείμενοι τῷ ἀρπάζειν ἢ μὲν θήλεια φυλάττει, ἃ ἔτεκεν, ὁ δὲ ἄρην ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν σκυλάκων ἀπάγει αὐτῇ σῖτον, τὰς τε παρθάλιας ὡσαύτως, αἱ διὰ θερμότητα χαίρουσι τῷ γίνεσθαι μητέρες, δεσπόζειν γὰρ διῇ τότε βούλωνται τῶν ἀρρένων καὶ τοῦ οἴκου ἄρχειν, οἱ δὲ ἀνέχονται τὸ

about thirty of them, I think, and using the smallest of their number as leader, while the larger ones carried their own young on their projecting tusks, fastening their trunks around them for security. "This, Damis," he said, "they do not because anyone has told them, but because of their understanding and intelligence. You see the way in which they carry their young like porters, and tie them on to transport them?" "Yes, Apollonius," said Damis, "I see how cleverly and intelligently they do it. What is the point of that silly problem which people toy with as to whether it is natural to feel goodwill for offspring? Even elephants are enough to proclaim that it comes to them from nature. They certainly have not acquired it from humans as they have other things, since they have not yet lived together with humans. It is because they have acquired their love of offspring by nature that they care for them and feed their young."

2
 "Do not only mention elephants, Damis," said Apollonius, "since I consider them an animal second to humans in intelligence and rational capacity; I am thinking rather of bears. They are the most savage of animals, and yet they do anything for their cubs. Or wolves: they are always occupied in plunder, and yet the she wolf guards her young, and the male preserves the cubs by bringing her food. So also leopards: because of their hot temperaments, they love motherhood, since then they want to lord it over the males and rule the household, and the males allow them to do

ἐξ αὐτῶν πᾶν ἡττώμενοι τοῦ τόκου. λέγεται δέ τις καὶ περὶ τῶν λευκῶν λόγος, ὡς ἐραστὰς μὲν ποιοῦνται τοὺς παρδάλεις καὶ δέχονται αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς εὐνὰς τῶν λεόντων ἐς τὰ πεδία, τῆς δὲ γαστρὸς ὧραν ἀγούσης ἀναφεύγουσιν ἐς τὰ ὄρη καὶ τὰ τῶν παρδάλεων ἦβη, στικτὰ γὰρ τίκτουσιν, ὅθην κρύπτουσιν αὐτὰ καὶ θηλάσουσιν ἐν σκολαῖς λόχμας, πηλασάμεναι ἀφημερθεῖν πρὸς θήραν. εἰ γὰρ φαράσειαν τοῦτ' οἱ λέοντες, διασπώνται τοὺς σκύμους καὶ ξάινουσιν τὴν σπορὰν ὡς νόθον.

3 “Ἐνέτυχες δῆπου καὶ τῶν Ὀμηρείων λεόντων ἐνί, ὡς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ σκύμων δεινὸν βλέπει καὶ βάνυσιν ἑαυτὸν μάχης ἀπτεσθαι. καὶ τὴν τρίγυν δὲ χαλεπωτάτην οὖσαν φασιν ἐν τῇδε τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ περὶ τῇ θάλαττᾳ τὴν Ἑρυθρὰν ἐπὶ τὰς ναὺς ἵεσθαι, τοὺς σκύμους ἀπαυοῦσαν, καὶ ἀπολαβούσαν μὲν ἀπιέναι χαίρουσαν, εἰ δὲ ἀποπλεύσασαι, ἀρῦεσθαι αὐτῇ πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν ἑνὶ ὄρε. τὰ δὲ τῶν ὀρνίθων τίς οὐκ οἶδεν; ὡς αἰετοὶ μὲν καὶ πελαργοὶ καλῶς οὐκ αὖ πῆξαιτο μὴ πρότερον αὐταῖς ἐναρμόσωνται ὁ μὲν τὸν αἰετὸν λίθον, ὁ δὲ τὸν λυχνίτην ὑπὲρ τῆς ὥρογυίας καὶ τοῦ μὴ πελάζειν σφίσι τοὺς ὄφεις.

4 “Ἐὰν τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ σκοπῶμεν, τοὺς μὲν δελφῖνας οὐκ αὖ θαυμάσαιμεν, εἰ Χρηστοὶ ὄντες φιλοτεκνοῦσι, φαλάνας δὲ καὶ φώκας καὶ τὰ ξωτόκα ἔθνη πῶς οὐ θαυμασιόμεθα, εἰ φάκη μὲν, ἣν εἶδον ἐγὼ ἐν Αἰγαίᾳ καθειργμένην ἐς κυνήγια, οὕτως ἐπένθησεν ἀποθανόντα τὸν σκύμνον, ὃν ἐν τῷ οἰκίσκῳ ἀπεκύη-

anything out of devotion to their offspring. And there is a story told about lionesses, that they take leopards as lovers, and receive them into the lions' beds in the plains, but when their wombs reach their time they retreat to the mountains and the haunts of the leopards. Their offspring are spotted, so they conceal them and suckle them in dense thickets, pretending that they are away hunting. If ever the lions find this out, they tear the pups to pieces and mangle the brood as bastards.

3 “No doubt you have come across one of the Homeric lions, and how it looks fierce in defense of its own cubs, and summons up its strength in order to do battle.¹⁵ The tigress is the most savage of animals in this region, and yet they say it will go even to the ships on the Red Sea and beg for the return of its cubs. If it recovers them, it goes away happy, but if the ships sail away, it howls on the shore and some of them even die. As for birds, everyone knows about them. Eagles and storks cannot make their nests without first incorporating in them an eagle stone or a lamp stone,¹⁶ in order to ensure that the eggs will hatch and that snakes will not approach them.

4 “Suppose we consider sea creatures. We cannot wonder at dolphins loving their young out of kindness, but how can we not wonder at whales, seals, and sea mammals? I once saw a seal caged for the purpose of a wild-beast show at Aegeae, and it so mourned for the dead pup that it had

¹⁵ *Iliad* 17.133–36.

¹⁶ Eagle stone: lump of clay ironstone. Lamp stone: red-colored precious stone.

σει, ὡς μὴ προσδέξασθαι τριῶν ἡμερῶν σίτον, καίτοι βορωτάτη θηρίων οὖσα, φάλασσα δὲ ἐς τοὺς χηλαμοὺς τῆς φάρυγγος ἀναλαμβάνει τοὺς σκύλλους, ἐπειδὴν φεύγη τι ἐαυτῆς μεΐζον; καὶ ἔχιδνα ᾗφθη ποτὲ τοὺς ὄφεις, οὓς ἀπέτεκε, λυχμωμένη καὶ θεραπέουσα ἐκείνη τῇ γλώττῃ. μὴ γὰρ δεχάμεθα, ὦ Δάμι, τὸν εὐήθη λόγον, ὡς ἀμήτορες οἱ τῶν ἐχιδνῶν τίκονται, τουτὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἡ φύσις ξυγκεχώρηκε, οὔτε ἡ πέριρα." ὕπο- λαβὼν οὖν ὁ Δάμιος "ξυγχωρεῖς οὖν" ἔφη "τὸν Εὐρι- πίδην ἐπαυεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ ἱαμβεύῳ τούτῳ, ὅτι πεποιήται αὐτῷ ἡ Ἀνδρομάχη λέγουσα 'ἄπασι δ' ἀνθρώποις ἄρ' ἦν ψυχὴ τέκνα.' " ξυγχωρῶ," ἔφη "σοφῶς γὰρ καὶ δαιμονίως εἴρηται, πολλὰ δ' αὖ σοφώτερον καὶ ἀγ- θέστερον εἶχεν, εἰ περὶ πάντων ζώων ὕμνητο." "ἔαι- κας," ἔφη "Ἀπολλώνιε, μεταγράψαι τὸ ἱαμβεῖον, ἵν' οὕτως ᾄδουμεν ἄπασι. δὲ ζώοις ἄρ' ἦν ψυχὴ τέκνα;" καὶ ἔποιμά σοι, βέλτεον γάρ.

15. "Ἄλλ' ἐκείνο μοι εἰπέ. οὐκ ἐν ἀρχῇ τῶν λόγων ἔφαμεν σοφίαν εἶναι περὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας καὶ νοῦν περὶ ἃ πράττουσι;" καὶ εἰκότως," εἶπεν "ὦ Δάμι, ἔφαμεν, εἰ γὰρ μὴ νοὺς ἐκυβέρινα τὸδε τὸ θηρίον, οὗτ' αὖ αὐτὸ διεγύγνετο οὗτ' αὖ τὰ ἔθνη, ἐν οἷς γίγνεται." "τί οὖν" ἔφη "οὕτως ἀμαθῶς καὶ οὐ πρὸς τὸ χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς τὴν διάβασιν ποιοῦνται; ἡγέεται μὲν γάρ, ὡς ὄρεος, ὁ μικρότατος, ἔπειτα δὲ αὐτῷ τις ὀλίγη μεΐζων, εἴτα ὑπερ τοῦτον ἔτερος, καὶ οἱ μέγιστοι κατόπιν πάντες. ἔδει δὲ πῶς τὸν ἐναρτίον τρόπον αὐτοῦ πορεῖ-

given birth to in its cage that it did not accept food for three days, though seals are the most voracious of animals. A whale takes its young into the hollows of its gullet when it is running from something larger than itself. And a viper has been observed to lick the snakes it had borne, and fondle them with that well known tongue. For let us not accept, Damis, that ignorant fable about the young of vipers having no mothers, since that is something which neither nature nor experience has confirmed." In reply Damis said, "So you are willing to praise Euripides and that verse in which he makes Andromache say, 'So for all humans children are their life?'" "I am," said Apollonius, "because it is a wise and inspired remark, and would be wiser and truer if the praise concerned all living things." "You seem, Apollonius," said Damis, "to rewrite the verse, so that we should recite it thus: 'So for all creatures children are their life.' I agree with you, it is better that way.

15. "But tell me this. Did we not say at the beginning of our discussion that elephants possessed wisdom and sense in their actions?" "And quite plausibly, Damis," said Apollonius, "since if this animal did not have sense to govern it, neither it, nor the peoples among whom it exists, would survive." "Well then," said Damis, "why do they make their crossing in a way so stupid and disadvantageous to themselves? As you see, the smallest one leads, and he is followed by one slightly bigger, then by one bigger than him, while all the largest are in the rear. Surely they should cross

¹⁷ *Andromache* 418-19.

εσθαι καὶ τοὺς μεγίστους τέλχη καὶ προβλήμματα
ἐαυτῶν ποιέσθαι."

2 "Αλλ', ὦ Δάμιμ, ἔφη "πρῶτον μὲν ὑποφείγην ἐοί-
κασι δῶξεν ἀνθρώπων, οἷς που καὶ ἐντευξόμεθα ἐπο-
μένους τῷ ἔχρει, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπικειμένους δεῖν τὰ
κατὰ νότον πεφράχθαι μᾶλλον, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς πολέ-
μοις, καὶ τοῦτο τακτικώτατον ἡγού τῶν θηρίων, ἔπειτα
ἡ διάβασις, εἰ μὲν προδιέβαινον οἱ μέγιστοι σφῶν,
οὔτω τεκμαιρόμεθα παρεῖχον αὐ τοῦ ὕδατος εἰ διαβή-
σονται πάντες, τοῖς μὲν γὰρ εὐπόρος τε καὶ ῥαδίᾳ ἡ
περαιοσύνη ὑψηλοτάτοις οὖσι, τοῖς δὲ χαλεπῇ τε καὶ
ἄπορος, μὴ ὑπεραίρουσι τοῦ ῥεύματος, διελθὼν δὲ ὁ
σμηκρότατος τὸ ἄλυσον ἥδη καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐρημη-
νεύει, καὶ ἄλλως οἱ μὲν μέλινους προέμβαιοντες κοιῶ-
τερον αὐ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀποφάνοιεν τοῖς σμηκροῖς,
ἀνάγκη γὰρ συνιζάνειν τὴν ἰλὺν ἐς βόθρους διὰ τε
βαρύνητα τοῦ θηρίου διὰ τε παχύνητα τῶν ποδῶν, οἱ
δ' ἐλάττους οὐδὲν αὐ βαδίσκειν τὴν τῶν μειζόνων
διαπορείαν ἦττον ἐμβοθρεύοντες."

16. Ἐγὼ δὲ εὖρον ἐν τοῖς Ἰόβα λόγοις, ὥς καὶ
ξυλλαμβάνουσιν ἀλλήλοις ἐν τῇ θηρᾷ καὶ προ-
ίστανται τοῦ ἀπειπόντος, καὶν ἐξέλωνται αὐτῶν, τὸ
δάκρυον τῆς ἀλγῆς ἐπαλείφουσι τοῖς τραύμασι περ-
εστῶτες ὥσπερ ἰατροί. πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ἐφλοισσοφείτο
αὐτοῖς ἀφορημὰς ποιουμένοις τὰ λόγου ἄξια.

17. Τὰ δὲ Νεάρχῳ τε καὶ Ὀρθαγόρῳ¹⁰ περὶ τοῦ

just the opposite way, and make the largest ones their walls
and ramparts?"

"No, Damiis," said Apollonius. "First, they seem to be
evading pursuit from humans following their tracks, whom
we shall perhaps meet. When under attack, it is the rear
that needs protection above all, just as in war, and you
should consider this animal a more skilful tactician than
any. Second, as to the crossing, if the largest of them went
first, they could not form an estimate about the water and
whether they could all cross it, since for these it is readily
and easily crossed, being the tallest, but for the others it is
difficult and tricky, as they do not exceed the level of the
stream. But if the smallest crosses, that tells the rest to ex-
pect no harm. In addition, if the larger went first, they
would make the river deeper for the small ones. The mud
would inevitably form trenches because of the animal's
weight and the thickness of its feet, whereas the smaller
ones cannot impede the crossing of the larger, since they
tread less deeply."

16. Now I myself have found in the accounts of Juba
that elephants collaborate when hunting and defend an in-
jured comrade, and if they carry him away they smear aloes
gum on his wounds, standing around him like doctors. The
two had many such learned discussions, taking whatever
was noteworthy as their starting point.

17. Now what Nearchus and Orthagoras have said

⁹ Δεῖ Kay.: ἔδει

¹⁰ Ὀρθαγόρα F. Jacoby on FG-Hist 713: Πυθαγόρα

Ἀκεσίνου ποταμοῦ εἰρημένα, ὡς ἐοβόλλαι μὲν ἐς τὸν Ἰνδὸν οὖτος, πρέφει δὲ ὄφεις ἐβδομήκοντα πηχῶν μήκος, τοιαῦτα εἰναί φασιν, ὅποια εἴηται, καὶ ἀνακείσθω μοι ὁ λόγος ἐς τοὺς δράκοντας, ὧν ὁ Δάμυς ἀφηγείται τὴν θήραν. ἀφικόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν καὶ πρὸς διαβάσει τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄντες ἤρουντο τὸν Βαβυλῶνιον, εἴ τι τοῦ ποταμοῦ οἶδε, διαβάσεως πέρι ἐρωτῶντες, ὁ δὲ οὕτω ἔφη πεπλευκέναι αὐτόν, οὐδὲ γινώσκων, ὁπόθεν πλεῖται.

2 "τί οὖν" ἔφασαν "οὐκ ἔμυσθῶσα ἡγεμόνα;" "οὐ ἔστιν" ἔφη "ὁ ἡγησόμενος" καὶ ἅμα ἐδείκνυ τινὰ ἐπιστολὴν ὡς τοῦτο πράξουσιν, ὅτε διη καὶ τὸν Οὐαρδάην τῆς τε φιλανθρωπίας καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας ἀγασθηναί φασιν. πρὸς γὰρ τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ σατραπὴν ἔπεμψε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ταύτην, καίτοι μὴ ὑποκείμενον τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀρχῇ, εὐεργεσίας ἀναμνησκων αὐτόν, καὶ χάριν μὲν οὐκ αὖ ἐπ' ἐκείῃ ἀπατηῖσθαι φάσκων, οὐ γὰρ εἶναι πρὸς τοῦ αὐτοῦ τρόπον τὸ ἀνταπατεῖν, Ἀπολλώνιον δὲ ὑποδεξαμένῳ καὶ πέμψαντι οἱ βοῦλῆται χάριν αὖ γνῶναι. χρυσίον δὲ τῷ ἡγεμόνι ἔδωκεν, ἔνι εἰ δεηθέντα τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον αἰσθούτο, δοίη τοῦτο καὶ μὴ ἐς ἄλλου χεῖρα βάλῃεν.

3 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὁ Ἰνδὸς ἔλαβε, μεγάλων τε ἀξιοῦσθαι ἔφη καὶ φιλοτιμήσεσθαι περὶ τὸν ἀνδρα μείων οὐδὲν ἢ εἰ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰνδῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἔγραψε, καὶ τὴν τε ναῦν τὴν σατραπίδα ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ἐμβῆναι πλοῦν τε ἔτερα, ἐφ' ὧν αἱ κάμηλοι ἐκομίζοντο, ἡγεμόνα τε τῆς γῆς πάσης, ἣν ὁ Ὑδραώτης

170

about the Acesines,¹⁸ that it joins with the Indus and contains snakes seventy cubits long; all this they say corresponds to the facts, and I will reserve my account of the dragons, since Damis has described how they are hunted.¹⁹ When they had reached the Indus and were preparing to cross it, they asked their Babylonian guide if he had any experience of the river, questioning him about the crossing. He said that he had never sailed on it before, and in fact did not know at what point the crossing was made.

"Why did you not hire a guide, then?" they asked. "We have a guide," he answered, revealing a letter designed for the purpose. This, it seems, really made them admire the courtesy and thoughtfulness of Vardanes, as he had sent this letter to the viceroy of the Indus despite not having him as a subject. He reminded him of a benefit, but said he would not ask a return for that, it not being in his nature to ask a return for favors; but he would be grateful if the viceroy welcomed Apollonius and looked after him. He had also given money to the guide to give to Apollonius if he noticed him in need of anything, so that he would not have to depend on another's generosity.

When the Indian received the letter, he said that he felt greatly honored, and would be as attentive to Apollonius as if the king of India had written on his behalf. He gave him the vice-regal ship to cross in and other boats in which the camels were ferried over, as well as a guide for the whole region bordered by the Hydraotes. He also wrote to his

¹⁸ Nearchus: companion and admiral of Alexander, who wrote an account of the campaign in India and of his own return by sea with Alexander's fleet. Orthogoras: historian of uncertain date who wrote about India.

¹⁹ III 6-8.

ὀρίξει, πρὸς τε τὸν βασιλέα τὸν αὐτοῦ ἔγραψε μὴ χεῖρω αὐτοῦ Οὐαρδάνου γεινέσθαι περὶ αὐδρα "Ελ-
ληνὰ τε καὶ θεῖον.

18. Τὸν μὲν δι' Ἰνδὸν διδὲ ἐπερωδήσαν σταδίους
μέλιστα τεσσαράκοντα, τὸ γὰρ πλούμιον αὐτοῦ τοσ-
ούτων, περὶ δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦτου τὰδε γράφουσιν· τὸν
Ἰνδὸν ἄρχεσθαι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Κανικάσου μέλιω αὐτῶθεν
ἣ οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ποταμοὶ πάντες, προχωρεῖν δὲ
πολλοὺς τῶν ναυσιπόρων αὐτοῦ ποιούμενον, ἀδεῖφά
δὲ τῷ Νεῖλῳ πράττοντα τῇ τε Ἰνδικῇ ἐπικεῖσθαι γῆν
τε ἐπάγειν τῇ γῇ καὶ παρέχειν Ἰνδοῖς τὸν Αἰγυπτίων
τρόπον στείρειν.

2
λέγειν μὲν οὐκ ἀξιῶ διὰ τοὺς εἰπόντας, οὐ μὴν ξυν-
τίθεμαι γε λογιζόμενος τὸν Ἰνδόν, ὡς ταῦτον τῷ
Νεῖλῳ ἐργάζεται μὴ νυφομένης τῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν χώρας,
καὶ ἀλλως τὸν θεὸν οἶδα κέραια τῆς γῆς ξυμπάσης
Αἰθιοπίας τε καὶ Ἰνδοῦς ἀποφαίνοντα μελαινουρά τε
τοὺς μὲν ἀρχομένου ἡλίου, τοὺς δὲ λήγοντος, ὃ πῶς αὖ
ξυνέβαινε περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὸν χει-
μῶνα ἐθέλουντο; ἦν δὲ αὖτὰ πᾶν ἔπος θάλαπτε γῆν ἡλίος,
πῶς αὖ τις ἠγούετο νύφεσθαι, πῶς δ' αὖ τὴν χιόνα
χορηγῶν τοὺς ἐκείνη ποταμοὺς γίνεσθαι τοῦ ὑπερ-
αίρειν τὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν μέτρα; εἰ δὲ καὶ φοιτᾶν χιόνα ἐς
τὰ οὕτω πρόσκειντα, πῶς αὖ αὐτῇ ἐς τοσόνδε ἀναχυ-
θῆναι πέλαγος; πῶς δ' αὖ ἀποχρηῖσαι ποταμῷ βυθί-
ζοντι Ἀγυπτου;

19. Κομίζεμενοι δὲ διὰ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ πολλοὶς μὲν
172

own king, advising him to prove as good as Vardanes to a
man who was both a Greek and divine.

18. They crossed the Indus at a width of about forty
stadia, so great is its navigable size. In their account of this
river, they relate that it rises in the Caucasus, already
larger at its source than any single river in Asia, and as it
progresses it absorbs other navigable rivers. Acting like the
Nile, it floods India, covering the soil with soil and allow-
ing the Indians to sow in the Egyptian way.

I hardly dare deny the snows of Ethiopia and the moun-
tains of the Cataract, considering those who have spoken
about them, but when I contemplate the Indus I cannot
agree. This behaves as the Nile does without snow falling
in the region above it. Besides, I know that god has made
Ethiopia and India the limits of the entire earth, and
causes those in the farthest east and the farthest west to be
black: and how could that happen to those peoples unless
they were sunburned even in winter? And if a land is
warmed by the sun throughout the year, how could it con-
ceivably have snow? And how could the snow be sufficient
to make the rivers there rise above their usual levels? And
even if snow fell in such tropical regions, how could it
create such a flood when it melted? And how could it be
enough for a river that floods all of Egypt?

19. As they crossed the river, they say, they observed

ποταμίους ἴππους ἐπυχεῖν φασι, πολλοὺς δὲ κροκο-
δελίους, ὥσπερ οἱ τὸν Νεῖλον πλέουσες, λέγουσι· καὶ
ἄβη τῷ Ἰνδῷ εἶναι, οἷα τοῦ Νεῖλου ἀναφύετα, καὶ
τὰς ὥρας, αἱ περὶ τὴν Ἰνδικήν εἰσι, χειμῶνος μὲν
ἀλευνὺς εἶναι, θέρους δὲ πυκνῆς, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο
ἀριστὰ μειγχανῆσθαι τῷ δαίμονι, τὴν γὰρ χώραν
αὐτοῖς θαμὰ ὕεσθαι.

2 Φασὶ δὲ καὶ ἀκοῦσθαι τῶν Ἰνδῶν, ὡς ἀφικνοῦντο μὲν
ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦτον, ὅτε ἀναβιβάξουεν
αὐτὸν αἱ ὄραι, θύοι δὲ αὐτῷ ταύρους τε καὶ ἵππους
μέλαινας (τὸ γὰρ λευκὸν ἀτιμότερον Ἰνδοὶ τίθενται τοῦ
μέλανος δι', οἷμα, τὸ ἐαυτῶν χρῶμα), θύσαντα δὲ
καταποτοῖν φασι τῷ ποταμῷ χρυσοῦν μέτρον, εἰ-
κασμένον τῷ ἀπομετροῦντι τὸν σῆτον, καὶ ἐφ' ὅτῳ μὲν
τοῦτο πράττει ὁ βασιλεὺς, οὐ ξυμβάλλεσθαι τοὺς
Ἰνδοὺς, αὐτοὶ δὲ τεκμαίρεσθαι τὸ μέτρον καταπο-
τοῦσθαι τοῦτο ἢ ὑπὲρ ἀβηθονίας καρπῶν, οὓς γεωργοὶ
ἀπομετροῦσιν, ἢ ὑπὲρ ξυμμετρίας τοῦ ρεύματος, ὡς
μὴ κατακλύσειε τὴν γῆν πολλὸς ἀφικόμενος.

20. Πορευθέντας δὲ αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τὸν ποταμὸν ἦγεν
ὁ παρὰ τοῦ σατράπου ἡγεμὼν εὐθὺ τῶν Ταξίλων, οὗ
τὰ βασιλεια ἦν τῷ Ἰνδῷ. στολὴν δὲ εἶναι τοὺς μετὰ
τὸν Ἰνδὸν λίαν φασὶν ἐγχεῶριον καὶ ὑποδήματα βύ-
βλου καὶ κυτῆν, ὅτε ὕοι, καὶ βύσσω δὲ τοὺς φανερω-
τέρους αὐτῶν φασιν ἐστάλαθαι, τὴν δὲ βύσσον φύ-
εσθαι δένδρου φασὶν ὁμοίου μὲν τῇ λεύκῃ τὴν βάσιν,
παμπληστόν δὲ τῇ ἰτέᾳ τὰ πέταλα. καὶ ἡσθῆναι τῇ
βύσσῳ φησὶν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ἐπειδὴ ἔοικε φαίῳ τρι-

many hippopotamuses and many crocodiles, as those who
sail the Nile do. They say also that there are flowers in the
Indus similar to those that grow in the Nile, that the cli-
mate in India is warm in winter and stifling in summer, and
that it has been excellently constituted by fortune so that
the soil has continual rain.

They also claim to have heard from the Indians that the
king visited the river when the season caused it to rise, and
sacrificed black bulls and horses to it, white being held in
less regard by the Indians than black because of their own
color, I suppose. After his sacrifice he throws into the river
a golden measure, resembling those used for measuring
grain. The Indians could not make out why the king did
this; but our travelers inferred that the reason for throwing
in this measure was either to ensure either a plentiful har-
vest, which farmers "measure" out, or else a "measured"
flow, so that the river should not flood the land by coming
down too full.

20. When they had crossed the river, the guide from the
viceroys led them straight to Taxila where the Indian had
his palace. They say that those on the other side of the
Indus wore the local linen, shoes of bark, and hats for the
rain, while the upper class dressed in cotton. This, they
relate, grows on a tree with a trunk like a poplar and with
leaves like a willow. Apollonius says he was pleased by the
cotton, since it looked like a gray philosopher's cloak. In

βωμῶν. καὶ ἐς Ἀγύρην τε καὶ ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἐς πολλὰ τῶν
ἱερῶν φοιτῶν ἢ βύσσος.

2 Τὰ δὲ Τάξιλα μέγθος μὲν εἶναι κατὰ τὴν Νίνου,
τετελειόθαι δὲ συμμέτρος, ὥσπερ αἱ Ἑλλήδες, βασι-
λεια δὲ εἶναι ἀνδρὸς τὴν Πιάρου τότε ἀρχὴν ἀρχοντος,
νεῶν δὲ πρὸ τοῦ τέλους ἰδεῖν φασιν οὐ παρὰ πολὺ
τῶν ἑκατομπῶδων.¹¹ λίθου κογχυλίου, καὶ κατεσκευ-
άσθαι τι ἱερὸν ἐν αὐτῇ ἦσαν μὲν ἢ κατὰ τὸν νεῶν
τοσοῦτον τε ὄντα καὶ περικύονα, θαυμάσια δὲ ἀξίων
χαλκοῖ γὰρ πύλας ἐγκεκρότηται τόχῳ ἐκαστῷ,
γεγραμμένοι τὰ Πιάρου τε καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργα·
γεγράφεται δὲ ὀρεχάλας, καὶ ἀργύρεα, καὶ χρυσῶ,
καὶ χαλκῷ μέλανι ἐλέφαντες, ἵπποι, στρατιῶται,
κράνη, ἀσπίδες, λόγχαι δὲ καὶ βέλη, καὶ ξίφη σιδή-
ρου πάντα, καὶ ὥσπερ λόγος εὐδοκίμου γραφῆς, οἷον
εἰ Ζεύς ἰδὸς εἴη τι ἢ Πολυγνώστου τε καὶ Εὐφράνορος,
οἳ τὸ εὖσκιον ἡσπιάσαντο καὶ τὸ ἔμπνουν.¹² καὶ τὸ
ἰσχύον τε καὶ ἐξέχον, οὕτως, φασί, κάκεῖ διαφάνεται,
καὶ ξυμπετήκασιν αἱ δῖαι καθάπερ χροῖματα.

3 Ἦδὺ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἦθος τῆς γραφῆς· ἀναβῆς γὰρ
ταῦτα μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Μακεδόνα τελευτήν· ὁ Πιάρος νικῶν
ἐν αὐτοῖς ὁ Μακεδὼν, καὶ τὸν Πιάρον ἀνακτᾶται τε-
τραμμένον, καὶ δαρεῖται τὴν Ἰνδικὴν αὐτοῦ λουπὸν
οὖσαν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ περὶθῆναι τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρον ἀπο-
θανόντα ὁ Πιάρος, ἀλοφύρασθαι τε ὡς γενναῖον καὶ

¹¹ ἑκατομπῶδων Kay: ἑκατὸν ποδῶν

¹² ἔμπνουν Jac.: εὐπνουν

fact, cotton comes from India to many of the sanctuaries in Egypt.

Taxila, they said, was similar to Ninos in size,²⁰ symmetrically fortified like a Greek city, and was the seat of the king then ruling Porus's domain. They say they saw a temple in front of the walls a little less than hundred-foot ones in length and built with shell stone.²¹ Inside it there was a shrine comparatively small for such a large, many-columned temple, but worth admiring. Into every wall there are nailed bronze panels illustrating the deeds of Alexander and Porus. On them, in brass, silver, gold, and dark bronze, there are depicted elephants, horses, soldiers, helmets and shields, with spears, javelins, and swords all in iron. Just as they say of a famous painting, for example one by Zeuxis, Polygnotus, or Euphranor,²² that the artists liked shadow, verisimilitude, and perspective, the same effects, so they say, are visible here too, and the materials are blended like colors.

The moral of the pictures was also pleasing. Though Porus had dedicated them after the death of the Macedonian, the Macedonian is shown as the victor, winning the wounded Porus over, and giving him India though it was now his own. They say too that Porus mourned Alexander at his death, and grieved for him as a good and noble king,

²⁰ That is, Syrian Hierapolis, the birthplace of Damis; see I 3.1.

²¹ Certain temples were known as "hundred-footers" (*hekatonpeda*); "shell stone" is a kind of limestone found in the Mediterranean with embedded shells or shell fragments. There is no evidence that it was used at Taxila.

²² Classic Greek painters of the fifth and fourth centuries BCE.

χρηστὸν βασιλέα, ζῶντος τε Ἀλέξανδρου μετὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἀναχώρησιν μήτε εἰπεῖν τι ὡς βασιλεὺς καίτοι ξυγχωρῶντος, μήτε προστάξει τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς, ἀλλ' ὡς περ σατράπης σωφροσύνης μεστός εἶναι, καὶ πράττειν ἐς χάριν τὴν ἐκείνου πάντα.

21. Οὐ ξυγχωρεῖ μοι ὁ λόγος παρελθεῖν, ἀ περὶ τοῦ Πάριου τοῦτον ἀναγράφουσι πρὸς διαβάσει γὰρ τοῦ Μακεδότος ὄντος καὶ ξυμβουλευόντων αὐτῷ ἐνίων τοὺς ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰφασίην τε καὶ τὸν Ἰάγγην ποταμὸν ποιεῖσθαι ξυμμάχους, οὐ γὰρ αὖ πρὸς τὴν Ἰνδικὴν πᾶσαν ξυμφοροῦσαν παρατάξεσθαι ποτε αὐτόν, "εἰ τοιοῦτον ἐστί μοι" ἔφη "τὸ ὑπάρκειον, ὡς μὴ σόλζεσθαι ἀνευ ξυμμάχων, ἐμοὶ βέλτερον τὸ μὴ ἄρχεω." ἀπαγγέλαντος δὲ αὐτῷ τινος, ὅτι Δαρείων ἦρχκε "Βασιλέα," ἔφη "ἀνδρα δὲ οὐ." τὸν δὲ ἐλέφοντα, ἔφ' οὗ μάχεσθαι ἔμελλε, κοσμήσαντος τοῦ ὀρεωκόμου καὶ εἰπόντος "οὗτος σέ, ὦ Βασιλεῦ, σώσει,"¹³ ἔγω μὲν οὖν" ἔφη "τοῦτον, ἦν γε ἀνὴρ ἑμαυτῷ ὅμοιος γένωμαι." γνώμην δὲ ποιουμένων θύσας αὐτὸν τῷ ποταμῷ ὡς μὴ δέξαιτο τὰς Μακεδόνων σχεδίας, μὴδὲ εὐπτορος τῷ Ἀλέξανδρῳ γένοιτο, "οὐκ ἔστω" ἔφη "τὼν ὅπλων ἔχόντων τὸ καταρᾶσθαι."

2 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην, ὅτε καὶ τῷ Ἀλέξανδρῳ θεός τε καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν φύσιν τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν ἔδοξε, εἰπόντος τῶν ξυγγενῶν τινος, "εἰ δὲ προσεκύνῃσας διαβάμενα, ὦ Πάριε, οὐτ' αὖν ἡττήθης μαχόμενος οὐτ' αὖν τοσοῦτον Ἰνδῶν ἀπώλοντο, οὐτ' αὖν αὐτὸς ἐτέρωσο," ἔγω τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον" εἶπε "φιλοδομότησαν ἀκούων ξυνηκά, ὅτι

and that while Alexander lived he never spoke like a king, though Alexander allowed him to, or ordered the Indians around. Like a victor, he was full of modesty, and did everything to please his friend.

21. My account forbids me to omit the records of this Porus. When the Macedonian was about to cross, some were advising Porus to make allies of those beyond the Hyphasis and the Ganges, saying that Alexander would not dare to confront an entirely united India. Porus however replied: "If my realm is of such a kind that it cannot be saved without allies, it would be better for me not to be king." When the news came of the capture of Darius,²³ he called him "a king, but no man." When the groom had prepared the elephant on which he was to fight, and said to him, "This will keep you safe, Majesty," he replied, "No, I will keep it safe, if I prove a man worthy of myself." When some people advised him to sacrifice to the river so that it should not bear the Macedonians' rafts or be passable for Alexander, he said, "It is not for those in arms to curse."

And after the battle, when Alexander had seen how godlike he was and superhuman in nature, one of his relatives said to him, "Porus, if you had done obeisance when he crossed, you would not have been defeated in battle, or lost so many Indians, or received a wound yourself." He replied: "Having heard of Alexander's great ambition, I knew

²³ Darius III, last Achaemenid king of Persia, captured by Alexander after the battle of Gaugamela (331 BCE).

¹³ σώσει Cob.: σώσει

προσκυνήσαντα μὲν δοῦλόν με ἡγήσασα, πολέμη-
σαντα δὲ βασιλέα, καὶ θαυμάζεσθαι μᾶλλον ἡξίουν ἢ
ἐλπίσθαι, καὶ οὐκ ἐλεύσθηγ'· παρασχὼν γὰρ ἑμμανόν,
οἷον Ἀλέξανδρος εἶδε, πάντα ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ· καὶ
ἀπώλεσα καὶ ἀνεκτασίμην.¹⁴ τοιοῦτον μὲν τὸν Ἰνδὸν
τούτων ἐξιστοροῦνσι, γενέσθαι δὲ φασιν αὐτὸν κά-
λυστον Ἰνδῶν καὶ μῆκος, ὅσον οὕτω τινὰ ἀνθρώπων
τῶν μετὰ τοὺς Τρωικοὺς ἀνδρας, εἶναι δὲ κομιδῇ νέον,
ὅτε τῷ Ἀλέξανδρῳ ἐπολέμει.

22. Ὃν δὲ διέτρυβεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ Χρόνον, πολλὸς δὲ
οὔτος ἐγένετο, ἔστ' ἀναγελθείη¹⁵ τῷ βασιλεῖ ξένους
ἦκεν, ὃ δὲ Δάμι' ἔφη ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ἔσται τι γραφικὴ;
"εἴ γε" εἶπε "καὶ ἀλήθεια." "πράττει δὲ τί ἢ τέχνη
αὕτη;" "τὰ Χρώματα" ἔφη "ζυγχεράνυσται, ὅποσα
ἐστί, τὰ κυανᾷ τοῖς βατραχείοις, καὶ τὰ λευκὰ τοῖς
μέλασι, καὶ τὰ πυρρὰ τοῖς ὠχροῖς." "ταυτὶ δέ" ἦ δ' ὅς
"ὑπὲρ τίνος μίγνυσται; οὐ γὰρ ὑπὲρ μόνου τοῦ αἵθους,
ὥσπερ αἱ κήρυται."¹⁶ "ὑπὲρ μιμήσεως" ἔφη "καὶ τοῦ
κύνα τε ἐξεκιάσαι, καὶ ἱππον, καὶ ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ναῦν,
καὶ ὅποσα ὀρεῖ ὁ ἥλιος, ἥδη δὲ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον αὐτὸν
ἐξεκιάζει· τὸτ' ἐπὶ τεττάρων ἱππων, ὅσος ἐνταῦθα
λέγεται φαίνεσθαι, τὸτ' δ' αὖ καὶ διαπυρρύνεται τοῦ
οὐρανοῦ, ἐπειδὴν αἰθέρα ὑπογράφῃ καὶ θεῶν οἶκον."
"μίμησις οὖν ἢ γραφικὴ, ὦ Δάμι;" "τί δὲ ἀλλο;" εἶπε
"εἰ γὰρ μὴ τοῦτο πρᾶττο, γελοία δόξει· Χρώματα
ποιοῦσα εὐήθως."

2 "Τὰ δ' ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ" ἔφη "βαπτόμενα, ἐπειδὴν αἱ
νεφέλαι διασπασθῶσιν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, τοὺς κενταύρους

180

that if I made obeisance, he would think me a slave, but if
war, a king. I preferred to be admired rather than pitied,
and I was not disappointed. I proved myself the man Alex-
ander saw me to be, and so in a single day I lost everything
and regained it." This is the character which they attribute
to the Indian, and they also say that he was the handsomest
man in India and taller than any man since the heroes at
Troy, and was very young when he warred with Alexander.

22. Apollonius spent what turned out to be a long time
in this temple until the king could be informed that visitors
had arrived. "Damis," he said, "is there such a thing as
painting?" "Yes," said Damis, "if there is such a thing as
truth." "What does this art do?" "It blends all the colors
there are," said Damis, "blue with green, white with black,
red with yellow." "What does it blend them for?" asked
Apollonius, "since it is not simply for superficial color, like
made-up women." "For imitation," Damis replied, "in or-
der to reproduce dogs, horses, humans, ships, everything
under the sun. In fact art sometimes represents the sun
himself with his four horses, which is the way they say he
appears in these regions; and sometimes again blazing in
heaven, when art represents the heavens and the home of
the gods." "So painting is imitation, Damis?" "Of course,"
was the reply; "if that was not its business, it would be con-
sidered absurd, a pointless mixing of colors."

"Now," said Apollonius, "the things we see in the sky,
when the clouds are separated from one another, centaurs

2

¹⁴ ἀνεκτασίμην Lucanini: ἐκτασίμην

¹⁵ ἀναγελθείη Plati: ἀν ἀγελθῇ

¹⁶ κήρυται J. Tour (Kay): κορύνα

181

καὶ τραγέλαφους καὶ νῆ Δί, οἱ ἄνκοι τε καὶ οἱ ἵπποι, τί φήσεις; ἄρ' οὐ μιμητικῆς εἶναι ἔργα;" "ἐούκειν," ἔφη. "ζωγράφος οὖν ὁ θεός, ὃ Δάμυ, καὶ καταλκωνὸν τὸ πτηνὸν ἄρμα, ἐβ' οὐ πορεύεται διακοσμητῶν τὰ θεῖα τε καὶ ἀνθρώπεια, κάθηται τότε ἀθύρων τε καὶ γράφων ταῦτα, ὥσπερ οἱ παῖδες ἐν τῇ ψάμμῳ;" ἡρωδρίας ὁ Δάμυ ἐς οὕτως ἄτοπον ἔκπεσεν δόξαντος τοῦ λόγου. οὐχ ὑπεριδὼν οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, οὐδὲ γὰρ πικρὸς πρὸς τὰς ἐλέγξεις ἦν, "ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῦτο" ἔφη "βοῦλει λέγειν, ὃ Δάμυ, τὸ ταῦτα μὲν ἄσχημά τε καὶ ὥς ἔτυχε διὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φέρεσθαι τό γε ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ, ἡμᾶς δὲ φύσει τὸ μιμητικὸν ἔχοντας ἀναρρομήσειν τε αὐτὰ καὶ ποιῆν;" "μᾶλλον" ἔφη "τοῦτο ἡγώμεθα, ὃ Ἀπολλώνιε, πιθειώτερον γὰρ καὶ πολλῷ βέλτιον."

3 "Διττῇ ἄρα ἡ μιμητικῇ, ὃ Δάμυ, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἡγώμεθα οἶαν τῇ χειρὶ ἀπομυμνεῖσθαι καὶ τῷ νῷ, γραφικῇν δὲ εἶναι ταύτην, τὴν δ' αἶ μόνω τῷ νῷ εἰκάξειν." "οὐ διττὴν," ἔφη ὁ Δάμυς "ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν τελευτῆσαι ἡγεῖσθαι προσήκει γραφικῇν γε οὖσαν, ἣ δύναιται καὶ τῷ νῷ καὶ τῇ χειρὶ ξεικιάσασα, τὴν δὲ ἔτεραν ἐκείνης μόριον, ἐπειδὴ ξυνύσται μὲν καὶ μίμνεται τῷ νῷ καὶ μὴ γραφικός τις αὖ, τῇ χειρὶ δὲ οὐκ αὖ ἐς τὸ γράφειν αὐτὰ χρῆσθαιτο." "ἄρα," ἔφη "ὃ Δάμυ, πεπηρωμένος τὴν χεῖρα ὑπὸ πλῆγης τινος ἦ νόσου;" "μὰ Δε" εἶπεν "ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ μήτε γραφίδος τινος ἦσθαι, μήτε¹⁷ ὀργάνου τινος ἢ χρωμάτων, ἀλλ' αἰμαθὼς ἔχειν τοῦ γράφειν."

4 "Οὐκοῦν," ἔφη "ὃ Δάμυ, ἄμφω ὁμολογοῦμεν μὴ-

and goat-deer, and wolves and horses for that matter—how do you account for them? As the results of imitation, surely?" "I suppose so," Damis said. "Then does god seem to be an artist, Damis? Does he leave the winged chariot in which he travels setting the affairs of gods and men to right, and does he then sit drawing these things for fun, as boys do in sand?" Damis blushed at the absurd conclusion to which his argument seemed to come, but Apollonius did not humiliate him, for he was not harsh in refutation, but said, "Surely what you mean, Damis, is that the things passing through the sky are shapeless and haphazard as far as god is concerned, but we, because imitation is in our nature, rearrange and create them?" "Yes," said Damis, "let us rather think that, Apollonius, as it is more plausible and far better."

3 "Well then, imitation is of two kinds, Damis. Let us hold that one kind is imitation of both the hand and the mind, and this is painting, and the other is imagination of the mind alone." "It is not of two kinds," said Damis. "The one kind we should consider more perfect, since it is painting, which can depict both with the mind and the hand, whereas the other is a part of the first, since one can comprehend and copy things in the mind without being a painter, but he cannot use his hand to represent them." "Because his hand is maimed by an injury or by disease, Damis?" asked Apollonius. "Of course not," said Damis, "but because he has never handled any kind of brush, tool, or color, and is ignorant of painting."

"Well then, Damis," said Apollonius, "we are both

¹⁷ μήτε West.: μηδέ

μητρικῇ μὲν ἐκ φύσεως τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἦκειν, τὴν γραφικὴν δὲ ἐκ τέχνης· τοῦτ' ὁ αὖ καὶ περὶ τὴν πλαστικὴν φαίνεται. τὴν δὲ δι' ἡ γραφίαν αὐτὴν οὐ καὶ δοκεῖς μόνον τὴν διὰ τῶν χρωμάτων ἡγεῖσθαι, καὶ γὰρ ἐν Χρῶμα ἐς αὐτὴν ἦρκεσε τοῖς γε ἀρχαιοτέροις τῶν γραφέων, καὶ προῖοντα τετάρτων εἶτα πλείωνων ἦλθοσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γραμμὴν καὶ τὸ ἀνευ Χρώματος, ὃ δι' ὅσας τε ξύγκειται καὶ φωνάς, ζωγραφίαν προσήκει καλεῖν. καὶ γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως τε ὁρᾶται εἰδὸς τε καὶ νοῦς καὶ αἰδὼς καὶ θρασύτης, καίτοι χηρεῖν χρωμάτων ταῦτα, καὶ οὐτ' αἶμα ἐνσημαίνει οὐτ' κόμης τυνὸς ἢ ὑπὴρης ἄνθος, ἀλλὰ μονοτρόπως ξυγνυμένην τῷ τε ξανθῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἔοικε καὶ τῷ λευκῷ, καὶ τούτων τινὰ τῶν Ἰνδῶν λευκῇ τῇ γραμμῇ γράψωμεν, μέλας δῆπου δοξεῖ, τὸ γὰρ ὑπόστατον τῆς βύνης καὶ οἱ ὀρθοὶ βόστροχοι καὶ ἡ περιττὴ γένυς καὶ ἡ περὶ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁλὸν ἐκπηγξίς μελάνειν τὰ ὁρώμενα, καὶ Ἰνδὸν ὑπογράφει τοῖς γε μὴ ἀνοήτως ὀρώσων.

“Ὁθεὶς εἶπομι· ἂν καὶ τοὺς ὀρώντας τὰ τῆς γρᾶφικῆς ἔργα μιμητικῆς δεῖσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐπαυέσσειέ τις τὸν γεγραμμένον ἔσπον ἢ ταῦτον μὴ τὸ ζῶον ἐκθυμῆς, ᾧ εἴκαστα, οὐδ’ ἂν τὸν ἅπαντά τις τὸν Τιμομάχου ἀσασθῇ, ὅς δι’ ἀναγέγραπται ἀν’ ᾧ μετρώς, εἰ μὴ ἀναάβει τι ἐς τὸν πόντον Ἀἰαντος εἰδὼλον καὶ ὡς εἰκὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεκρυότα τὰ ἐν τῇ Τροίᾳ Βουκόλια καθύσθαι ἀπειρηκότα, Βουλήν πτυοῦμενον καὶ

agreed that the art of imitation comes to humans from nature, but that of painting from skill, and the same would appear to be true of sculpture. But, to take portraiture, I do not think you consider it merely the art of using colors, since painters of earlier times were content with only one color, and as portraiture advanced it involved four and then more colors. Line-drawing and monochrome, involving only light and shade, deserve to be called portraiture too, since in them too we can see similarity, shape, intelligence, modesty, boldness, although they are devoid of color and do not indicate blood or the color of a person's hair or beard, but being composed in one color, they convey a fair-haired man and a white-haired one. And if we draw one of these Indians with a white line, he will surely seem black; the snub nose, fuzzy hair, prominent jaws, and a look of surprise, as it were, in the eyes lend blackness to the picture, and convey an Indian at least to an educated observer.²⁴

"I would say, then, that those who view the works of painters need the imitative faculty, since no one will praise the picture of a horse or bull if he has no idea of the creature represented. No one is likely to admire Timomachus's Ajax, when the artist represents him as insane, if he does not call to mind the image of Ajax and how he is likely to have looked after killing the cattle at Troy, sitting in despair and turning over the thought of suicide.²⁵ But these reliefs

²⁴ The meaning seems to be that drawing with black on a white surface is enough to convey the impression of a white man, and drawing with white on a black surface that of a black one.

²⁵ Timomachus is a painter of disputed date from Byzantium. His *Mad Ajax* was purchased by Julius Caesar and displayed at Rome.