

re 1991; Certeau 1984;
d Basso 1996; Gregory 1994;
rf and Arias 2009; Helms

nd Purcell 2000.

ped with official seals, have
s in Seleucia-on-the-Tigris;
rghis 2004: 154–156. They
on of Seleucid glyptic art and

um, have been edited and
nger, in their *Astronomical*
1988–1996), abbreviated in

um, are in the process of being
bert van der Spek as *Babylo-*
d in this book as *BCHP*; they
v.livius.org/cg-cm/chronicles/
1975 and Glassner 2004.

Inscriptions grecques d'Iran et
is book as *IGIAC*; de Rossi's
, abbreviated as *IEOG*;
? (Leipzig, 1903), abbreviated
Historical Period (London, 1934),
to John Ma's *Antiochus III and*
abbreviated as *Ma*. Up-to-date
in the annual *Supplementum*

invaluable numismatic
Lorber, *Seleucid Coins: A*
Antiochus III (London, 2002),
Oliver Hoover, *Seleucid Coins: A*
Antiochus XIII (London,

09 survey of historiography
1 2009.

collected by Felix Jacoby in
Fragmenta (Berlin, 1923–),
ed, extended, and translated

into English by *Brill's New Jacoby*, or *BNJ*, under the direction of Ian
Worthington; it can be found at <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com>.

35. See Lebreton 2005: 656–657.

36. For discussion of the natural resources and agricultural productivity of each
region, see Aperghis 2004: 35–86 and Cary 1949, with bibliography. For
Anatolia, see Mitchell 1993 and Magie 1950, and for the Iranian world, Frye
1984.

37. Potts 1999: 10–42.

38. This section is intended as historical scene setting for the book's abundantly
documented chapters, so here, except for direct quotations, I will not include
references to our ancient sources and modern scholarship. In brief, the
invaluable, if dated, overview of all Hellenistic political history is Will 1966.
The more outstanding Seleucid kings have earned for themselves mono-
graphs: Mehl 1986 on Seleucus I, Schmitt 1964 on Antiochus III, Mørholm
1966 and Mittag 2006 on Antiochus IV, and Fischer 1970 on Antiochus VII.
Ehling 2008 is a remarkably clear narrative of the dynasty after Antiochus IV.

39. Just. *Epit.* 17.2.2: *victor victorum*; similar sentiments in App. *Syr.* 61 and Arr.
Anab. 7.22.5.

40. Polyb. 31.2.11.

1. India—Diplomacy and Ethnography at the Mauryan Frontier

1. Especially in the fragments of Hieronymus of Cardia, main source for the
Successor Wars; see Hornblower 1981.

2. See, e.g., Herrenschildt's 1976 demonstration that in Old Persian inscrip-
tional formulae the word *būmiš* designates at the same time "empire" and
"earth." For further attestations of the universal, all-encompassing claims of
the Achaemenid kingdom one could look to Persian imperial art, palatial
architecture, royal rituals, *paradeisos* gardens, demands of earth and water,
and much else (Briant 2002).

3. The cache of Akkadian documents found at Tell el-Amarna represents the
developed international system of the mid-fourteenth century during the
reign of Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten); see Cohen and Westbrook 2000. The
Great Powers' club consisted of Egypt, Mittani, Babylonia, and Hatti, with
the independent kingdoms of Arzawa (southern Anatolia) and Alashiya
(Cyprus). Numerous vassal states appear. Interestingly, the archive plots the
transformation of Assyria from vassal of Mittani to Great Power.

4. These can be observed most clearly in the assigning of responsibilities at
Babylon and Triparadisus and in various subsequent episodes of peer
recognition. For example, the Peace of 311 declared that "Cassander is to be
stratēgos of Europe until the Alexander born of Roxane comes of age;
Lysimachus is to be master of Thrace, and Ptolemy of Egypt and the cities
bordering on it in Libya and Arabia; Antigonos is to have command over all
Asia; the Greeks are to be autonomous" (Diod. Sic. 19.105.1).

5. See Rigsby 1996.
6. E.g., the dossier for the “crowned games” of Artemis Leucophryene at Magnesia-on-the-Maeander, discussed in Chapter 8.
7. E.g., the Rhodian earthquake (Polyb. 5.88–90).
8. Just. *Epit.* 15.4.11–12. For the date I follow Skurzak 1964, Lauffer 1956: 43, and Schwarz 1972: 91. Breloer’s suggestion (1941: 175) of 308/7 does not permit sufficient campaigning time in Central Asia. Schmitt 1964: 66 and Schober 1981: 140–146 prefer 303.
9. I.e., ruling both the Gangetic and Indic basins. Chandragupta’s conquest of northwestern India remains obscure. On Chandragupta’s rise to power, see Yardley, Wheatley, and Heckel 2011: 275–291, with bibliography. Porus and Taxiles had been recognized by the settlement of Triparadisus (Diod. Sic. 18.39) in 321/0. In 318, Porus was assassinated by Eudamus, who subsequently abandoned his Indian responsibilities to join the satrapal coalition against Pithon, taking with him 120 elephants (Diod. Sic. 19.14.8). This evacuation of Macedonia’s Indian possessions no doubt created a power vacuum into which the new Gangetic empire could expand, perhaps c. 312 (Habib and Jha 2004: 17). Capdetrey 2007: 39–48 has suggested that Seleucus’ campaign was defensive, not expansionist, aimed at limiting Chandragupta’s expansion into the Central Asian satrapies rather than at conquering into India.
10. The occasional spelling “Androcottus” tends to follow words ending in *sigma*; the loss of the initial *sigma* from the start of this unusual name would be a simple scribal error, known as haplography. Of course, *Andr-* would have been familiar as the first part of a male Greek name.
11. Just. *Epit.* 15.4.20 (*sic adquisito regno Sandrocottus ea tempestate qua Seleucus futurae magnitudinis fundamenta iaciebat Indiam possidebat*, “Sandrocottus, having gained the throne in this way, took possession of India at the time when Seleucus was laying the foundations of his future greatness”) synchronizes the formation of the Mauryan kingdom with the beginnings of Seleucus’ own imperial greatness: the very word order frames Seleucus’ achievements within Chandragupta’s.
12. Plut. *Al.* 62.4. The trope of the youthful encounter with the previous generation’s great ruler is familiar (e.g., Galba and Augustus; Alexander and the Persian envoys). Ptolemy I’s history of Alexander should be considered as an extended account of this type.
13. Plut. *de laude ipsius* 10 (542d).
14. Plut. *Al.* 62.4.
15. Some South Asian scholars have argued for a decisive “national” victory, thereby fashioning a prototype of the twentieth-century’s anticolonial struggle (see Thapar 2002a: 16–17). Oddest of all is Senarat Paranavitana’s 1971 monograph, *The Greeks and the Mauryas*. Paranavitana, former professor of archaeology at Ceylon University, claimed to have had “the good fortune to discover documents written in Sanskrit which give the Indian version of the events narrated by Greek and Roman historians, and also embody accounts of personages and documents are of such a nature and their discovery so important that their announcement of their existence is recounted in lengthy, picturesque accounts of the capture of the Mauryan king, Anantayogya, the son of the king who had been taken prisoner, the Suriya kingdom. He decided to take hostile action. Therefore he sent his son, Suvarṇnakuḍya, to the Sugdha kingdom, the Sindh kingdom, and the Suvarṇnākṣi, the daughter of the king, to conclude a treaty on these terms with the king. Calukya Nikatora returned to his father, given him by Chandragupta a place named Ipsus, made him a king and died in due course” (39). This is an invention. The account is Seleucus’ pre-Ipsus Syrian version. The names have been Sanskritized. See a comic book, *Travellers to India*, for its framing narrative from its copy to my editor, Sharm.
16. App. *Syr.* 55 is the only so far mentioned; there is no reason to doubt it.
17. Just. *Epit.* 15.4.21; App. *Syr.* 55.
18. Tarn 1966: 100; Schmitt 1964: 156–183, based on Strabo 15.1.1.
19. Mookerji 1928: 12 and Farnell 1928: 15. The discovery in Kandahar of the Ashoka inscription, confirming the mid-third century; as evidence of later Mauryan rule, between the two kingdoms, that Seleucus ceded the region of Bactria obliges caution. Strabo 15.1.1 indicates a Mauryan king.
20. Plut. *Alex.* 62.4; Strabo 15.1.1. The elephants were stabled at Seleucia. 20.113.5 gives 480 at Seleucia. Although the immense size of the elephants Tarn 1940: 84–89, whose

Leucophryene at

964, Lauffer 1956: 43, 5) of 308/7 does not
Schmitt 1964: 66 and

dragupta's conquest of
pta's rise to power, see
ibliography. Porus and
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s, and also embody

accounts of personages and events not dealt with in these sources. These documents are of such a unique character, and the manner of their preservation and their discovery so unusual, that the skepticism which greeted the announcement of their existence is quite understandable" (5). The inscriptions recount in lengthy, novelistic detail Chandragupta's noble and courageous capture of the Macedonian king. Paranavitana "translates" as follows: "Anantayogya, the son of Calukya Nikatora, heard that Calukya Nikatora had been taken prisoner, and came to the Suvarṇṇakuḍya kingdom from the Suriya kingdom. He decided that it was not possible to release his father by hostile action. Therefore he gave an undertaking to cede to Candragupta the Suvarṇṇakuḍya kingdom, the Gandhāran kingdom, the Takṣaśila kingdom, the Sugdha kingdom, the Paropaniśadha kingdom, the Suvāsta kingdom and the Sindhu kingdom, and also to give to Candragupta the princess Suvarṇṇākṣi, the daughter of Calukya Nikatora, and having contracted the treaty on these terms with Candragupta, returned to the Suriya kingdom. Calukya Nikatora returned to the Suriya kingdom with the force of elephants given him by Candragupta, obtained victory in the great battle fought at a place named Ipsus, made the kingdom of Suriya an empire, reigned and died in due course" (39). Needless to say, Paranavitana's work is complete invention. The account is replete with historical inaccuracies (such as, here, Seleucus' pre-Ipsus Syrian kingdom and epithet) and Greek words and names have been Sanskritized from their English forms. The popular Indian comic book, *Travellers to India: Megasthenes* (New Delhi, 2010), appears to take its framing narrative from Paranavitana's fabrication; I owe my cherished copy to my editor, Sharmila Sen.

16. App. Syr. 55 is the only source to mention Seleucus' crossing the Indus, but there is no reason to doubt it.
17. Just. *Epit.* 15.4.21; App. Syr. 55; Strabo 15.2.9.
18. Tarn 1966: 100; Schmitt 1964: 66 n.4, and with caution Schober 1981: 156–183, based on Strabo 15.2.9 (using Eratosthenes).
19. Mookerji 1928: 12 and Foucher 1942: 208, based on Plin. *HN* 6.20.78 and the discovery in Kandahar of two royal edicts issued by Chandragupta's famous grandson, Ashoka, confirming Mauryan possession of Arachosia, at least by the mid-third century; as Will 1966: 1.266 observes, in the absence of evidence of later Mauryan expansion and with friendly relations maintained between the two kingdoms (see later), the most economical explanation is that Seleucus ceded the region of Kandahar, but the state of our evidence obliges caution. Strabo 15.1.10 notes that much of Aria passed from Macedonian into Indian hands. Aelian's reference (*NA* 16.16) to Ἀριανοὶ οἱ Ἰνδικοί may indicate a Mauryan presence.
20. Plut. *Alex.* 62.4; Strabo 15.2.9; Strabo 16.2.10 mentions that the 500 war elephants were stabled at Apamea-on-the-Axios in northern Syria. Diod. Sic. 20.113.5 gives 480 at the battle of Ipsus (301), Plut. *Demetr.* 28.6 400. Although the immense size of the elephant force has raised doubts (notably Tarn 1940: 84–89, whose arguments have been dismissed by Trautmann

- 1982: 269), it is by no means impossible. If Megasthenes is to be believed, all elephants had passed into royal ownership since Alexander's invasion. Kautiliya's *Arthashastra*, an Indian handbook of good governance dating back in part to the Mauryan kingdom, contains a canonical list of eight royal elephant forests. Trautmann 1982 points to medieval parallels: Mahmud of Ghazna had 1,300 elephants in his muster of 1023 CE, his son Mas'ud almost 400 more less than a decade later; in 1311 CE the eunuch general Malik Kafur brought more than 600 to Delhi as spoils of his southern expedition.
21. As Siebert 1967: 47 has pointed out, it is more likely that a daughter or niece of Seleucus is unknown to us than an Indian wife. In this context *ἐπιγαμία* or *κῆδος* are certainly more personal and real than an abstract and legal *ius conubii* (Yardley, Wheatley, and Heckel 2011: 295 *contra* Thapar 1961: 20 and Coloru 2009: 142–143).
 22. A couple of parallels exist for this practice. Darius had offered Alexander the hand of his eldest daughter, Barsine-Stateira after Issus, with all Achaemenid territories east of the Euphrates as dowry (Arr. *Anab.* 2.25.1). Ptolemy III married Berenice II, heiress of Cyrene, who brought him the territory as a dowry (see Ogden 1999: 80). Antiochus II married Ptolemy Philadelphus' daughter Berenice, whose epithet was *φερνοφόρος*, "dowry-bringer" (Porphyry *BNJ* 260 F43 = Jer. *in Dan.* 11:6). The Ptolemies claimed that Antiochus III had given his daughter Cleopatra Syra to Ptolemy V Epiphanes with Coele Syria as dowry.
 23. Just. *Epit.* 15.4.21: *Seleucus conpositisque in oriente rebus in bellum Antigonī descendit.*
 24. For a detailed geographical description, see Foucher 1942: 186–188. The region has functioned historically as a sort of eastern Coele Syria.
 25. Seleucus adopted the diadem of kingship in the year 305/4; the earliest Babylonian document dated by Seleucus' reign is one of 16 April 304 (Parker and Dubberstein 1942: 18). This was almost two years after the coronation of Antigonos and almost six years after the murder of Alexander IV, posthumous son of Alexander the Great; see Gruen 1985: 258. Diod. Sic. 20.53.4 explicitly connects Seleucus' military activity in the Upper Satrapies to his taking the diadem (οἱ λοιποὶ δυνάσται ζηλοτυπήσαντες ἀνηγόρευον ἑαυτοὺς βασιλεῖς, Σέλευκος μὲν προσφάτως τὰς ἄνω σατραπείας προσκεκτημένος). Schober 1981: 143–146 places the adoption of the royal title before Seleucus' Indian expedition, but the connection may be supported by numismatic evidence: the earliest coinage to bear Seleucus' name and title celebrates, above all, his involvement in India (Houghton and Lorber 2002: 3).
 26. Crossing a border river to engage in battle is a standard narrative trope of attempted imperial expansion (see Hartog 1988: 57). In Herodotus, for example, Croesus crossed the Halys to fight the Persians, Cyrus the Araxes to meet the Massagetae, Darius the Ister to enter Scythia, and Xerxes the Bosphorus to subjugate the Thracians.
 27. The Treaty of the Indus finds parallels in Parthian-Chinese diplomacy of the second and first centuries. Here, too, a shared and unprivileged peripheral zone was divided up, gifts culturally unfamiliar people.
 28. See later and Wiesehöfer elephant force at Apamea came to be the generic term that elephants understood amount of ethnic exclusivity.
 29. Strabo 2.1.9. Amitrochates Greek sources derives from or Amitrakhada ("eater of Deimachus" (*BNJ* 716) are tactical handbook, and as a discussion of these words untrustworthy of all Indians (2.1.9.1).
 30. Liverani 2001.
 31. See Briant 2002: 388–42.
 32. Phylarchus *FGrHist* 81 F3.
 33. Plin. *HN* 16.32.135. Pliny their original habitat rattles incense.
 34. Ath. 14.652f–653a. Schweighart evidence of the Hellenization.
 35. See Godelier 1999, who, Mauss 1954, observed the gift-giving contexts and, relationship: it aims both establishing an inequality.
 36. Polyb. 11.34.11–12.
 37. Thapar 1961: 190.
 38. Polyb. 11.34.11; Strabo 1.
 39. Polyb. 8.23. For Antioch 1993: 190–197.
 40. Polyb. 11.34.1–10. For A Coloru 2009: 177–186.
 41. For the place of the Treaty Seleucid historiography.
 42. Plut. *Demetr.* 28–29; Dio.
 43. See Kosmin 2013b.
 44. Plut. *Demetr.* 25.5–9 and F19 = Ath. 6.261b. The date (298/7) and the presence (Hauben 1974) must explain 1985: 260) must explain date: Cassander's absence.

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rebus in bellum Antigoni

cher 1942: 186–188. The istern Coele Syria. year 305/4; the earliest is one of 16 April 304 (Parker 0 years after the coronation of r of Alexander IV, posthu- 85: 258. Diod. Sic. 20.53.4 1 the Upper Satrapies to his αντες ἀνηγόρευον ἑαυτοῦς πείας προσκεκτημένος). ie royal title before Seleucus' upported by numismatic name and title celebrates, ind Lorber 2002: 3). andard narrative trope of : 57). In Herodotus, for Persians, Cyrus the Araxes to cythia, and Xerxes the

an-Chinese diplomacy of the nd unprivileged peripheral

zone was divided up, gifts exchanged, and regular contacts opened between culturally unfamiliar peers; see Leslie and Gardiner 1982.

28. See later and Wiesehöfer 1998: 230. Indian mahouts lived with the Seleucid elephant force at Apamea-on-the-Axios in northern Syria; although *Indos* came to be the generic term for elephant rider, Aelian's insistence (*NA* 11.25) that elephants understood only the Indian language implies a certain amount of ethnic exclusivity in the profession; see Sick 2002: 135.
29. Strabo 2.1.9. Amitrochates is Chandragupta's son Bindusara. His name in Greek sources derives from his throne name, Amitraghata ("slayer of foes") or Amitrakhada ("eater of foes"); see Habib and Jha 2004: 20. Three works of Deimachus (*BNJ* 716) are known by title only: an Indian ethnography, a tactical handbook, and an ethical tract (*Περὶ εὐσεβείας*); see Schwarz 1969 for a discussion of these works. Eratosthenes condemned Deimachus as the most untrustworthy of all Indian ethnographers, which is quite a claim (Strabo 21.9.1).
30. Liverani 2001.
31. See Briant 2002: 388–421.
32. Phylarchus *FGrHist* 81 F35b = Ath. 1.18d–e.
33. Plin. *HN* 16.32.135. Pliny is discussing here the transplantation of trees from their original habitat rather than the importation of already processed incense.
34. Ath. 14.652f–653a. Schwarz 1969: 295 rather uncautiously takes this as evidence of the Hellenization of intellectual life at the Mauryan court.
35. See Godelier 1999, who, in a criticism of the influential gift-giving theory of Mauss 1954, observed the importance of inalienable goods/services/people in gift-giving contexts and, therefore, the ambivalence of the gift-exchange relationship: it aims both at solidarity by sharing and at superiority by establishing an inequality.
36. Polyb. 11.34.11–12.
37. Thapar 1961: 190.
38. Polyb. 11.34.11; Strabo 15.2.9.
39. Polyb. 8.23. For Antiochus III in Armenia, see Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1993: 190–197.
40. Polyb. 11.34.1–10. For Antiochus III in Bactria, see Holt 1999: 127–130 and Coloru 2009: 177–186.
41. For the place of the Treaty of the Indus and the Indian elephant in official Seleucid historiography and iconography, see Kosmin 2013b.
42. Plut. *Demetr.* 28–29; Diod. Sic. 21.1.5.
43. See Kosmin 2013b.
44. Plut. *Demetr.* 25.5–9 and Mor. *Prae. ger. reip.* 823c–e; Phylarchus *FGrHist* F19 = Ath. 6.261b. The date of the toast turns on the absence of Cassander (d. 298/7) and the presence of Antigonus (d.301): accordingly, a date of 302 (Hauben 1974) must explain the absence of Cassander; a date of 290s (Gruen 1985: 260) must explain the presence of Antigonus. 302 is a more persuasive date: Cassander's absence can be explained by his weakness in 302; Demetrius

- officially recognized his opponents after Ipsus (not least in marrying his daughter Stratonice to Seleucus); and Seleucus' elephants would hardly be mocked after the battle. Gruen 1985: 260 objects, in addition to the absence of Cassander, that the anecdote is an excursus and that Agathocles would not have impressed the other dynasts before his conquest of Corcyra in 299 or the marriage of his daughter to Pyrrhus in 295. These do not hold: Agathocles' war with Carthage would have been unmissable; its failure and the restriction of his rule to Sicily explain the mockery of "the Sicilian nesiarch."
45. Megasthenes could well have been qualified from his earlier association with Sibyrtius, Macedonian satrap of Arachosia, 325–316/5 (BNJ 715 T2a = Arr. *Anab.* 5.6.2); see Appendix.
46. Tarn 1940: 86.
47. Hellenistic historiography and ethnography have suffered more than most; see Schepens 1997.
48. Dihle 1984: 93–97.
49. Josephus, Clement of Alexandria, and Eusebius were naturally drawn to the prominence of Nebuchadnezzar II and to Megasthenes' paralleling of Jewish and Brahmanical wisdom. The paradoxographical or natural historical traditions (Phlegon, Antigonus of Carystus, Aelian, Plutarch, and Pliny) preserved, no doubt secondhand, various *thaumata*.
50. The *Indica*'s "fragments" were first collected by Schwanbeck, in his monograph of 1846 (translated for the Indological audience without significant change by McCrindle in 1876), then by Felix Jacoby, as #715 of his extraordinary *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Jacoby was unable to write the commentary for the *Indica* before his death. This task has been completed recently by Duane Roller (BNJ 715), who has accepted, in my view incorrectly, Bosworth's 1996 antedating; see the Appendix. A comparison of Schwanbeck and Jacoby/Roller demonstrates the latter's greater caution. *FGrHist*/BNJ must be used carefully; see Bowersock 1997 and Humphreys 1997: 211 on the danger of denying authorial rights to "secondary" (i.e., extant) authors in order to restore authorship to a lost writer. In this light, see Muntz 2012 on Diodorus Siculus' own authorial craft in describing India.
51. BNJ 264; see Murray 1970: 166–168. Diodorus' epitome of Hecataeus suffers from the Sicilian's pride in having visited Egypt himself; he was "not averse from giving the impression that the whole was the result of his own researches" (Murray 1970: 145). India offered no danger of such claims.
52. BNJ 715 F3 = Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.72.4: ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν Ἰνδικῶν ὧδε γράφει . . . The reference to a fourth book in F1a = Joseph. *AJ.* 10.227 (καὶ Μεγασθένης δὲ ἐν τῇ δ' τῶν Ἰνδικῶν μνημονεύει) is almost certainly in error. Jacoby emended the Δ to Α, but an abbreviated δευτέρᾳ seems more likely. Brunt 1980: 487 has observed, "[N]umbers are particularly liable to textual corruption, and since in any individual case the author himself may have carelessly cited the wrong book, we need a fair number of such book references to provide reciprocal confirmation . . . Implicit faith in all book references is thus unwarranted."
53. BNJ 715 F4 = Diod. Sic. 2.3.
54. Cole 1967: 4. The subject of peoples, as here, where his name is not mentioned. Accordingly, we find the same subject in Philochorus (*FGrHist* 328 F7), in Arcadian local history (BNJ 264 F25 = Diod. Sic. 2.3).
55. BNJ 715 F12 = Arr. *Ind.* 7.2. Megasthenes' translation of the word "king" in 2012: 32–34 has argued that the original is more original than Diodorus'.
56. Especially Hdt. 4.17–19.
57. BNJ 715 F12 = Arr. *Ind.* 7.2.
58. BNJ 715 F4 = Diod. Sic. 2.3.
59. BNJ 715 F12 = Arr. *Ind.* 7.2. account.
60. See Saunders 2001 and C. The fragments of the account of Megasthenes abbreviates Diod. Sic. 1.8. The accumulation of technological and inventive process starkly contrasts the naturalistic vs. euhemeristic vs. episodic and more democratic vs. royal.
61. Cole 1967: 162: Hecataeus' account of the palace and the court, made over in the image of the palace of the seventy occurrences of the name of the six books: they include C. Heracles, Theseus, Zeus, Hephaestus, and many others.
62. Henrichs 1999: 237.
63. BNJ 715 F4 = Diod. Sic. 2.3.
64. BNJ 715 F4 = Diod. Sic. 2.3.
65. BNJ 715 F4 = Diod. Sic. 2.3.
66. For other instances of Hecataeus' account, see Lacroix 1974. In the story faced by travelers in the old world, the civilizing activities close to the center of the world.
67. BNJ 715 F4 = Diod. Sic. 2.3.
68. Udayin, son of Ajatasha, the First Buddhist Council.
69. BNJ 715 F17 = Arr. *Ind.* 7.2.
70. BNJ 715 F18b = Strabo 1.1. account.

282 Notes to Pages 42–44

71. In Arrian's parallel account, the wall has sixty-four gates (*BNJ* 715 F18a=Arr. *Ind.* 10.6).
72. Waddell 1903: 21–23.
73. Recorded in Arrian's parallel account: *BNJ* 715 F18a=Arr. *Ind.* 10.6.
74. *BNJ* 715 F31=Strabo 15.1.50–52: the *astunomoi*, operating within the royal capital, are collectively concerned with the upkeep of public works, markets, harbors, and temples and also divided into six groups of five officials each for the control and oversight of craftsmen, foreigners, births and deaths, retail trade, artisanal production, and taxation, respectively. The activities of the officials who are responsible for foreign visitors are described in detail: assigning lodgings, forwarding the possessions of the dead, looking after the sick, and burying the dead. This may reflect the actual logistics behind Megasthenes' diplomatic presence at Pataliputra.
75. Hdt. 3.98.3. Concurrent settled and nomadic populations are found elsewhere in Herodotus: Scythians (4.18, 53), Libyans (4.186, 191), and Persians (1.125); see Briant 1982b: 13.
76. *BNJ* 715 F19b=Strabo 15.1.41.
77. *BNJ* 715 F19a=Arr. *Ind.* 11.11.
78. *BNJ* 715 F33=Strabo 15.1.60.
79. Hdt. 4.46.2–3.
80. Hartog 1988: 202.
81. *FGH Hist* 156 F72=Eustath. *ad Dionys.* 669.
82. Diod. Sic. 19.94–100; see the interesting discussion of Bosworth 2002: 187–209.
83. Diod. Sic. 2.1.5.
84. Bosworth 2002: 195–196.
85. Curt. 7.8.8–9.2.
86. Briant 1982b: 19–20.
87. E.g., Ephorus (*BNJ* 70 F147=Strabo 10.4.8: [ὁ 'Ραδάμανθους] πρῶτος τὴν νῆσον ἐξημερῶσαι δοκεῖ νομίμοις καὶ συνοικισμοῖς πόλεων καὶ πολιτείαις) synchronizes city foundation and law giving. Philochorus' Cecrops founded cities, held the first census, established the earliest cults, and invented weapons and armor (*FGH Hist* 328 F94=Strabo 9.1.20, F95=Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 9.70, F97=Macrob. *Sat.* 1.10.22). Perhaps closest to the Megasthenic *Kulturgeschichte* is Schol. Eur. *Or.* 1646: Πελασγὸς ὁ Ἀργεῖος . . . ἐλθὼν εἰς Ἀρκαδίαν θηριώδεις ὄντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἰς τὸ ἡμερώτερον μετέβαλε καὶ πόλιν ἔκτισεν, ἣν Παρρασίαν ὠνόμασεν.
88. As portrayed by Pl. *Prt.* 322b; Diod. Sic. 1.8.2–6; Polyb. 6.5.5; Lucr. 5.982–1010.
89. See Cole 1967.
90. Pl. *Prt.* 322b; Pl. *Leg.* 3.681a; Thuc. 1.2 (city fortification, implicitly). Other models associated the birth of the city with the absence of individual or household self-sufficiency (Pl. *Resp.* 2.369b; Arist. *Pol.* 1252a–1253a) and the centralizing tendency of primitive monarchy (Polyb. 6.5; Lucr. 5.1108–1109).
91. Arist. *Pol.* 1285b, 1310b; see influence on Aristotle's do in Macedonia; see, among
92. Diod. Sic. 15.72.4; Paus. 8. Messene is the fortification
93. As demonstrated by the Siptinea in 385.
94. Hatzopoulos 2011; Deman
95. Indeed, Alexander's speech *Anab.* 7.9.1–5) depicted Ph of the Megasthenic order; activities, according to his a militarily vulnerable M; ethnographic commonplace rhetorical elaboration, the nians and may be genuine 657–660, Bosworth 1988: speech (10.2.23) also refe
96. Kosmin 2013d: 198–200;
97. *Contra* Bosworth 2003, w rule in India and an impl “full-blooded justification *Kulturgeschichte* and the sj interpretation.
98. Michel de Certeau (1986: *Cannibals* and de Léry's *Hi* distribute places through and focalization; see Gia
99. Cf. the Ionian accounts c counts Taxiles among “tl
100. *BNJ* 709; see Chapter 2 o
101. For Herodotus' Indian ge reorients the Indus, so it
102. Hdt. 3.94–106, 4.44.
103. *FGH Hist* 688 F45=Phot. 1 Ctesias claims habitable unknown.
104. Lenfant 2004: cxxxviii. is the Thar, separating n 207).
105. The nature of the Indian not unambiguous. Are t a mark of subservience Lenfant 2004: cxl–cxli l

our gates (*BNJ* 715

18a = Arr. *Ind.* 10.6.

operating within the royal
 ep of public works, markets,
 ous of five officials each for
 s, births and deaths, retail
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 re described in detail:
 the dead, looking after the
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ulations are found else-
 s (4.186, 191), and Persians

on of Bosworth 2002:

δάμανθους] πρῶτος τὴν νῆσον
 καὶ πολιτείας) synchronizes
 rops founded cities, held the
 vented weapons and armor
 d. *Ol.* 9.70, F97 = Macrob.
Kulturgeschichte is Schol. Eur.
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Polyb. 6.5.5; Lucr.

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 bsence of individual or
 . *Pol.* 1252a–1253a) and the
 lyb. 6.5; Lucr. 5.1108–1109).

91. Arist. *Pol.* 1285b, 1310b; see Nagle 1996: 158–159. We should consider the influence on Aristotle's doctrine of kingship of contemporary developments in Macedonia; see, among others, Kelsen 1937.
92. Diod. Sic. 15.72.4; Paus. 8.27.1. Still the most striking architectural feature of Messene is the fortification wall.
93. As demonstrated by the Spartan policy of *διοικισμός*, applied to, e.g., Mantinea in 385.
94. Hatzopoulos 2011; Demand 1990: 151–155.
95. Indeed, Alexander's speech to mutinying Macedonian troops at Opis (Arr. *Anab.* 7.9.1–5) depicted Philip II as a comprehensive monarchic culture-hero of the Megasthenic order; see Bosworth 1988: 109. Philip's civilizing activities, according to his son, centered on city foundation and transformed a militarily vulnerable Macedonia into a geopolitical master. Despite ethnographic commonplaces (mountains to plains, skins to clothes) and rhetorical elaboration, the speech contains details specific to the Macedonians and may be genuine in substance; see Hammond and Griffith 1979: 657–660, Bosworth 1988: 111–113, and Nagle 1996. Curtius' version of the speech (10.2.23) also refers to Philip and cultural transformation.
96. Kosmin 2013d: 198–200; Primo 2009: 58–59.
97. *Contra* Bosworth 2003, who sees the *Indica* as "a justification of Macedonian rule in India and an implicit encomium of the men who created it" (318) and "full-blooded justification of aggrandisement" (320). The logic of the *Kulturgeschichte* and the space of India (see later) do not permit such an interpretation.
98. Michel de Certeau (1986: 68; 1984: 116) has observed, of Montaigne's *On Cannibals* and de Léry's *Historia*, the power of ethnography to compose and distribute places through narrative procedures of delimitation ("bornage") and focalization; see Giard 1991.
99. Cf. the Ionian accounts of the Nile rejected by Hdt. 2.15. Arr. *Anab.* 4.22.6 counts Taxiles among "the Indians on this side of the river Indus."
100. *BNJ* 709; see Chapter 2 on royal-sponsored *peripli*.
101. For Herodotus' Indian geography, see Puskás 1983. Strangely, Herodotus reorients the Indus, so it flows from west to east.
102. Hdt. 3.94–106, 4.44.
103. *FGrHist* 688 F45 = Phot. *Bibl.* 72.5: in a clear analogy with Egypt and the Nile, Ctesias claims habitable India is watered by the Indus since rainfall is unknown.
104. Lenfant 2004: cxxxviii. It has been frequently suggested that the great desert is the Thar, separating modern Pakistan from Rajasthan (e.g., Puskás 1983: 207).
105. The nature of the Indian monarch's relationship to the Persian Great King is not unambiguous. Are the gifts (*FGrHist* 688 F45 = Phot. *Bibl.* 72.47) he offers a mark of subservience or a diplomatic practice of an independent king? Lenfant 2004: cxl–cxli has persuasively shown that, since the Royal Road in

- the *Persica* runs right to the Indus (F33), the area was considered part of the Achaemenid empire and the king of the Indians a vassal ruler.
106. *FGrHist* 688 F45=Phot. *Bibl.* 72.23.
 107. *FGrHist* 688 F45=Phot. *Bibl.* 72.41.
 108. Caution demands that, where explicit attribution is lacking, the Indian geography of the lost Alexander Historians be reconstructed from historical campaign narratives and not theoretical geographical passages, which are more prone to contamination by later, better-informed sources (not least Megasthenes).
 109. The major development is rumor of the Gangetic basin and the Nanda kingdom; in addition, Onesicritus (*BNJ* 134 F12=Strabo 15.1.15 and F13=Pliny, *HN* 6.22.81) knew of Sri Lanka ("Taprobane") and lauded the utopian kingdom of Musicanus, in the southernmost part of the country (*BNJ* 134 F22=Strabo 15.1.21–24 and F24=Strabo 15.1.34).
 110. Although *Hirḍuś* frequently appears as a destination in the Fortification Tablets, we do not know the satrapy's capital (although the Bhir Mound at Taxila is the most likely site) or the name of a single satrap; see Fleming 1993.
 111. Murray 1972. Pearson 1960: 13: "It is noteworthy that the historians of Alexander made no effort to revolutionize geographical knowledge; their object, on the whole, was to make new discoveries harmonize with what was known and believed"; Romm 1992: 94: "[R]eports from the edges of the earth tended to assume the forms molded for them long before."
 112. Dihle 1984: 89–91 has shown that the Achaemenid concept of India (the Indus and its tributaries) was revived in later antiquity, within the framework of the Parthian and Sasanid empires. This is the India visited by St. Thomas in the apocryphal Acts and in the account of Mani's voyage from Mesopotamia to India.
 113. *BNJ* 715 F6b=Arr. *Ind.* 3.7–8.
 114. *BNJ* 715 F9a=Arr. *Ind.* 5.2.
 115. *BNJ* 715 F6c=Strabo 15.1.11.
 116. The move from the Indus to the Ganges resembles a shift from the Ionian to the Herodotean conception of the Nile (*Hdt.* 2.15–17).
 117. *BNJ* 715 F6c=Strabo 15.1.11.
 118. Seleucia-on-the-Tigris was also situated on a major river and embraced by a canal; see Theophylactus Simocatta, *Histories* 5.6 and Plin. *HN* 5.26.90 with Gullini 1967: 144 and 1968–1969: 40.
 119. *BNJ* 715 F23a=Arr. *Ind.* 15.7.
 120. *BNJ* 715 F13a=Arr. *Ind.* 9.1–8; F13b=Plin. *HN* 6.20.76; F13c=Phlegon, *Mir.* 33; F13d=Plin. *HN* 7.2.29.
 121. *BNJ* 715 F26=Plin. *HN* 6.22.81. According to Pliny, Megasthenes called the island's inhabitants Palaeogoni, perhaps indicating their ancient birth. Onesicritus (*BNJ* 134 F13=Plin. *HN* 6.22.81) had already observed that Taprobane's elephants were larger and more belligerent.
 122. *BNJ* 715 F27a=Strabo 2.1 sthenes does not combine
 123. Megasthenes would, no d included in the *Barrington*
 124. *BNJ* 715 F27b=Strabo 15
 125. *BNJ* 715 F27b=Strabo 15 populations will be trans
 126. Ael. *NA* 13.25. The passa king is unnamed, but th parallels *BNJ* 715 F31=S
 127. On this travel tale, see G
 128. Diod. *Sic.* 2.60.2.
 129. The passage shows famil Palimbothra as the roya good relations with Gre improve on existing acc implies knowledge of su
 130. Romm 1992.
 131. See later for Mauryan i tions to model Greek et Moyer 2011: 42–83.
 132. The country's climate a monsoon inundations), annual harvests (*BNJ* 7 F8=Strabo 15.1.20); th fruits," also support th consequently unknow claims of external con the homeland (F14=A
 133. *Contra* Bosworth 2003 *Indica* (see Appendix), priate for the Seleucid of Alexander's Indian ethnography's consist heartland, where Dio which Alexander nev
 134. Megasthenes counted F12=Arr. *Ind.* 7.1).
 135. Zambrini 1985: 825.
 136. Zambrini 1985: 824, *Sic.* 2.38.7.
 137. Ashoka makes no me 1961: 121–122.
 138. *Contra* Zambrini 198

122. *BNJ* 715 F27a=Strabo 2.1.9; F27b=Strabo 15.1.57. Unlike Ctesias, Megasthenes does not combine human and animal anatomies.
123. Megasthenes would, no doubt, be relieved to know that the Astomoi are included in the *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, p. 6 E3.
124. *BNJ* 715 F27b=Strabo 15.1.57.
125. *BNJ* 715 F27b=Strabo 15.1.57. The passage responds to the expectation that populations will be transported to Palimbothra.
126. Ael. *NA* 13.25. The passage almost certainly derives from Megasthenes: the king is unnamed, but the royal stabling of horses and elephants directly parallels *BNJ* 715 F31=Strabo 15.1.52.
127. On this travel tale, see Graf 1993, Winston 1976, and Brown 1955.
128. Diod. *Sic.* 2.60.2.
129. The passage shows familiarity with Megasthenes' *Indica*: the identification of Palimbothra as the royal capital, the city's distance from the coast, the king's good relations with Greeks. Moreover, Iambulus' claim (Diod. *Sic.* 2.60.4) to improve on existing accounts of India, while a stock assertion, at least implies knowledge of such works.
130. Romm 1992.
131. See later for Mauryan imperial space; on the capacity of indigenous traditions to model Greek ethnographers' basic conceptions of space and time, see Moyer 2011: 42–83.
132. The country's climate and hydrology (fifty-eight navigable rivers and two monsoon inundations), described in book one of the *Indica*, result in two annual harvests (*BNJ* 715 F9a=Arr. *Ind.* 4.2–5.2, F4=Diod. *Sic.* 2.36.4–5, F8=Strabo 15.1.20); the αὐτοματίζοντες καρποί, "spontaneously growing fruits," also support the population (F4=Diod. *Sic.* 2.36.5). Famine is consequently unknown in India. Megasthenes goes to great length to refute claims of external contact or conquest. No Indian army or colony ever exited the homeland (F14=Arr. *Ind.* 9.12, F4=Diod. *Sic.* 2.38.1 and 2.39.4).
133. *Contra* Bosworth 2003, who, based on his controversial backdating of the *Indica* (see Appendix), argues that the *Kulturgeschichte* were "totally inappropriate for the Seleucid court" (312) because they emphasized the uniqueness of Alexander's Indian conquests. But, among other things, this ignores the ethnography's consistent privileging of the Gangetic basin as India's true heartland, where Dionysus and Heracles performed their civilizing works but which Alexander never reached.
134. Megasthenes counted 118 ethnically distinct peoples in India (*BNJ* 715 F12=Arr. *Ind.* 7.1).
135. Zambrini 1985: 825.
136. Zambrini 1985: 824, discussing *BNJ* 715 F19a=Arr. *Ind.* 12.5 and F4=Diod. *Sic.* 2.38.7.
137. Ashoka makes no mention of such entities in his inscriptions; see Thapar 1961: 121–122.
138. *Contra* Zambrini 1985: 782, 825 and Murray 1972: 208.

139. Temporal distance: e.g., Hesiod's Golden Age, Plato's Atlantis, ancient Athens, and ideal future foundations; geographical distance: e.g., Homer's Ethiopians, Abii, and Phaeacians, Theopompus' Meropis, Euhemerus' Panchaea, Hecataeus' land of the Hyperboreans, and Iambulus' Islands of the Sun.
140. Strabo 7.3.6 recognized this ethnographic subset of the utopian genre. Note that the basic geometry of circular space explains the size of the world's margins.
141. The indicative present tense, "prétend rendre compte d'une réalité contemporaine, mais suggère en même temps un univers coupé du temps" (Lenfant 2004: cxxxviii).
142. BNJ 715 F4=Diod. Sic. 2.35.3, 2.36.4, F8=Strabo 15.1.20.
143. BNJ 715 F4=Diod. Sic. 2.36.2.
144. BNJ 715 F4=Diod. Sic. 2.36.1, 2.38.1.
145. BNJ 715 F4=Diod. Sic. 2.39.5, F16=Arr. *Ind.* 10.8, F32=Strabo 15.1.54.
146. BNJ 715 F4=Diod. Sic. 2.40–2.41, F19a=Arr. *Ind.* 11–12, F19b=Strabo 15.1.39–49.
147. BNJ 715 F32=Strabo 15.1.53–54.
148. In an odd footnote Droysen 1878: 3.22 n.1 claimed that Euhemerus may have been sent by Cassander as ambassador to the court of Chandragupta. This entirely unsubstantiated suggestion points out, in fact, the important difference between Megasthenes' *Indica* and Euhemerus' *Hiëra Anagraphê*, that is, between the real world of India and the imaginary and incredible island Panchaea.
149. Several generations after Dionysus and Heracles some of the cities became democracies (BNJ 715 F4=Diod. Sic. 2.38.7, 2.39.4).
150. BNJ 715 F4=Diod. Sic. 2.35.3, 2.36.6; F19a=Arr. *Ind.* 11.10; F19b=Strabo 15.1.40.
151. Thieves are executed (BNJ 715 F31=Strabo 15.1.51). Perjurers have their hands and feet cut off; those who maim others lose their hand and receive in addition the injury they inflict; and those who blind or cripple craftsmen are put to death (BNJ 715 F32=Strabo 15.1.54).
152. BNJ 715 F19b=Strabo 15.1.48.
153. BNJ 715 F32=Strabo 15.1.55. It is difficult not to recall the Successor period's cluster of conspiracies, which resulted in the assassination of, among others, Meleager, Perdiccas, Alexander IV, Philip III Arrhidaeus, Heracles (son of Barsine), Olympias, and eventually Seleucus Nicator himself. Alexander's death, too, was quickly (correctly?) the object of suspicion.
154. The loss of India as a land for utopian speculations seems to have been compensated in part by the relocation of ideal states into the world of Ocean. Gabba 1981: 55–59 has demonstrated the emergence of far-off islands as privileged sites for this genre (as well as paradoxography), as they combined with greatest efficiency isolation, atemporality, and the self-contained perfection of a total system; moreover, the postulate of the outbound and return voyage, that is, the account, empowered the strangeness of the picture.
155. Hartog 1988: 324.
156. In some respects, Hecataeus' marker of otherness. But the dynastic history of Egypt institution per se.
157. BNJ 715 F11a=Strabo 15.1.1. though less detailed, fragment.
158. Observed by Kuhrt and others that the Macedonians or Alexander derive from Megasthenes' comm.; similarly, the fragment directly contradicts Megasthenes' culture-hero argument.
159. Semiramis' expedition modeled on Xerxes' invasion. Nearchus mentioned he had modeled on Alexander's invasion of an invasion abandoned on Alexander's Arabian expedition asserting the failure of Alexander rejecting Hecataeus of Abdera's had overcome and brought Idanthyrsus appears in (Hdt. 4.76) and interlocutor all Asia up to Egypt appears.
160. Arrian's abbreviated list they are interpolated in Nebuchadnezzar is well Pharaoh Taharqa, last reference to Megasthenes' instance of unfamiliar (FGrHist 609 F64: γ' Τά nacherib during the re yoke (2 Kings 19:9; Isaiah the Neo-Babylonian king and deported the Jews tative of Babylonian historiographical tradition to know of Nebuchadnezzar of the early Seleucid century. From where did Megasthenes

155. Hartog 1988: 324.
 156. In some respects, Hecataeus' *Aegyptiaca* similarly neutralized kingship as a marker of otherness. But this was achieved by inscribing Ptolemy within the dynastic history of Egyptian rulers rather than naturalizing the monarchic institution per se.
 157. *BNJ* 715 F11a=Strabo 15.1.6–7; F11b=Arr. *Ind.* 5.4–7 preserves a parallel, though less detailed, fragment.
 158. Observed by Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1993: 97. Note that the references to the Macedonians or Alexander in these catalogues are intrusions, unlikely to derive from Megasthenes, as Duane Roller has observed (*BNJ* 715 F11 comm.); similarly, the inclusion of Heracles in a list of foreign conquerors directly contradicts Megasthenes' explicit account of Heracles as an autochthonous culture-hero and Dionysus as sole invader.
 159. Semiramis' expedition had been described in Ctesias' *Persica*, where it was modeled on Xerxes' invasion of Greece (*FGH Hist* 688 F1b=Diod. Sic. 2.16–19); Nearchus mentioned her disastrous return through the Gedrosian desert (*BNJ* 133 F3a=Arr. *Anab.* 6.24.2, F3b=Strabo 15.1.5). Megasthenes' account of an invasion abandoned on account of the queen's death may be modeled on Alexander's Arabian expedition, aborted by his passing in Babylon. In asserting the failure of Sesostris' expedition, Megasthenes may have been rejecting Hecataeus of Abdera's claim in the *Aegyptiaca* that pharaoh Sesostis had overcome and brought civilization to India (Diod. Sic. 1.55.2–4). King Idanthyrsus appears in Herodotus as the nephew of transgressive Anacharsis (Hdt. 4.76) and interlocutor with Darius I (Hdt. 4.126–127). His conquest of all Asia up to Egypt appears to be Megasthenes' creation.
 160. Arrian's abbreviated list omits these kings, but there is no indication that they are interpolated into Strabo's version. Megasthenes' discussion of Nebuchadnezzar is well attested by Josephus and Eusebius. Tegarcon is Pharaoh Taharqa, last of the twenty-fifth (Kushite) dynasty. In a cross-reference to Megasthenes, his expedition appears in Strabo 1.3.21 as an instance of unfamiliar history. Manetho merely gives his regnal years (*FGH Hist* 609 F64: γ' Ἰδρκος ἐτὶ ἡ'). Taharqa had waged war against Senacherib during the reign of Hezekiah, saving Jerusalem from the Assyrian yoke (2 Kings 19:9; Isaiah 37:9). Nebuchadnezzar II of Babylon, greatest of the Neo-Babylonian kings, rebuilt Babylon, destroyed the Jerusalem Temple, and deported the Jews. Megasthenes' choice of Nebuchadnezzar as representative of Babylonian monarchy bypassed the great builder-queens of the early Seleucid court (see Appendix). But Taharqa is more startling. From where did Megasthenes derive his information? The combination of

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these two monarchs in this passage most plausibly suggests Jewish influence. Megasthenes' interest in Jews is shown by *BNJ* 715 F3a = Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.15.72.5, where he parallels the Brahmans in India with the Jews in Syria; Megasthenes' observation was picked up by Clearchus of Soli (F69 M; 6 W. Joseph. *Ap.* 1.22). Large Jewish diaspora communities existed within the Seleucid kingdom in the core regions of Babylonia and Syria. Not only are Taharqa and Nebuchadnezzar prominent foreign kings in the Hebrew Bible, but they also appear, as here, in the context of imperial conquest.

161. *BNJ* 715 F13a = Arr. *Ind.* 8.11–12.
162. *BNJ* 715 F13a = Arr. *Ind.* 8.10. For Heracles' associations with the sea and its creatures, see Lacroix 1974: 47–53.
163. Theophr. *de lapidibus* 36. According to Caley and Richards 1956: 4, "[i]nternal evidence indicates that the treatise was written near the end of the fourth century B.C."
164. The pearl swarm's absolute dependence on the king may derive from Aristotle's account of the monarchism of bee society (Arist. *Hist. an.* 624a).
165. E.g., Xen. *Cyr.* 5.1.24, where Cyrus' innate kingliness is compared with the queen bee, whom the drones willingly obey and follow; see Pomeroy 1984.
166. Note that pearls were closely associated with the domineering ambitions of the late Roman Republic's Big Men: at his triumph of 61 Pompey exhibited thirty-three pearl crowns and a pearl portrait of his own face; Suetonius (*Iul.* 47) writes that Caesar, according to malicious gossip, invaded Britain *spe margaritarum* ("in the hope of pearls") and gave his mistress Servilia an extravagant pearl (*Iul.* 50). More relevantly, in a famous anecdote indicating the identification of pearls with eastern monarchy and female rule, Cleopatra VII dissolved and drank one of her enormous pearl earrings at a banquet for Antony; the other was cut in two and dedicated by Augustus in the Pantheon (Plin. *HN* 9.35.119–121). Pliny writes that the pearls were a possession handed down from one generation of kings of the east to the next: *utrumque possedit Cleopatra, Aegypti reginarum novissima, per manus orientis regum sibi traditos* (Plin. *HN* 9.35.119); see Flory 1988. Interestingly, Marco Polo reports that the kings of the Malabar coast (the same region as Megasthenes' Pandaeon kingdom) wore a necklace of 108 pearls, which was handed down from one generation of kings to the next.
167. For example, Jewsiewicki 1989 on the Belgian Congo.
168. In contrast to, e.g., Onesicritus, according to whom the gymnosophist Mandanis, speaking through a chain of three interpreters, equated the act of translation to pure water flowing through mud (*BNJ* 134 F17a = Strabo 15.1.64). Greenblatt 1991: 131–135 has persuasively argued that imperializing, possessive ethnography depends on the effacement of strong affinities, echoes, structural parallels.
169. According to Buddhist legend, Ashoka executed ninety-nine of his brothers, but this may be explained by the tendency in Buddhist texts to demonize preconversion Ashoka in order to stress the transformation wrought by *dhamma*; see Habib and Jha 2004: 21.
170. Thapar 1961: 180.
171. For a discussion of conce Puranas, see Minkowski
172. Robert 1958a: 17 observe formulaic oracular respo Pythagorean ideas (Robe εὐσέβεια (see Schlumber gested that the περὶ εὐσεf chus, may reflect the de court. More generally, P similarities between Asf Hellenistic kingship.
173. *Dhamma* is represented l *mhqšt*, both deriving fro 2:47; 4:34). Old Persian (controlled), ^h*u*"*patayasti* Aramaic provincialism. Sommer 1958.
174. Schlumberger 1958.
175. Thapar 1961: 7.
176. Thirteenth Major Rock
177. *Majjhima Nikāya* 93, qu
178. Thirteenth Major Rock
179. On the *yojana* in Indian
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181. Note that Prakrit dialect heartland and its north e.g., *raja*, used in the Ir 2002b: 6–7 for brief dis

2. Central Asia—Noma

1. Diplomatic relations be first century, between China, Ssu-ma Ch'ien' chapter 123 from the p the Yüeh-chih nomad: 1982 suggest that the distant west should be Daphne, respectively, 1999, however, identifi the-Tigris. Chinese hi that the phonological too thoroughly mythic
2. The most detailed disc

170. Thapar 1961: 180.
171. For a discussion of concentric Indian geography derived from the Sanskrit Puranas, see Minkowski 2010.
172. Robert 1958a: 17 observes that the edict's phrase λῶιον καὶ ἄμεινον is a formulaic oracular response to consultants. The ἀποχή τῶν ἐμψύχων recalls Pythagorean ideas (Robert 1958a: 15–16). Ashoka's *dhamma* is translated as εὐσέβεια (see Schlumberger 1958: 5–6). Schwarz 1969: 298–301 has suggested that the περὶ εὐσεβείας of Antiochus I's Indian ambassador, Deimachus, may reflect the developing importance of *dhamma* at the Mauryan court. More generally, Pugliese Carratelli 1953 has demonstrated the similarities between Ashokan *dhamma* and the politico-ethical theory of Hellenistic kingship.
173. *Dhamma* is represented by the substantive adjective and hafeḥ participle *qšyṭ' mḥqšt*, both deriving from the verbal stem *qšt*, "to be truthful" (cf. Daniel 2:47; 4:34). Old Persian loanwords include *pāti-zbāta* (to ban), **frabasta* (controlled), **u'patayasti* (obedient), *mazišta* (older). Note that *'fzy* is an Aramaic provincialism. For detailed linguistic discussion, see Dupont-Sommer 1958.
174. Schlumberger 1958.
175. Thapar 1961: 7.
176. Thirteenth Major Rock Edict 9 (Shahbazgarhi version).
177. *Majjhima Nikāya* 93, quoted in Habib and Jha 2004: 134.
178. Thirteenth Major Rock Edict 17–18.
179. On the *yojana* in Indian geography, see Minkowski 2010: 13.
180. Second Major Rock Edict 1 (Kalsi version).
181. Note that Prakrit dialectal differences between the Mauryan Gangetic heartland and its northwestern periphery explain the variations between, e.g., *raja*, used in the Indus region, and *laja*, used in eastern India; see Thapar 2002b: 6–7 for brief discussion.

2. Central Asia—Nomads, Ocean, and the Desire for Line

1. Diplomatic relations between the Near East and China opened only in the first century, between the Arsacid and Han courts. The first great history of China, Ssu-ma Ch'ien's *Shih-chi*, derives its description of western Asia in chapter 123 from the personal account of Chang Ch'ien, sent on a mission to the Yüeh-chih nomads by Emperor Wu, from c. 138–125. Leslie and Gardiner 1982 suggest that the account's geographical pair *Li-kan/T'iao-chih* of the distant west should be identified as Seleucia-on-the-Tigris and Antioch-by-Daphne, respectively, splitting the syllable *kan* down the middle. Pulleyblank 1999, however, identifies *Li-kan* and *T'iao-chih* as Hyrcania and Seleucia-on-the-Tigris. Chinese historian Martin Kroger, in correspondence, cautions that the phonological changes are too obscure and the far western geography too thoroughly mythologized for positive identifications.
2. The most detailed discussion remains Schober 1981: 145–151.