

1. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελάνουσι περὶ τὸ θέρος αἰετοὶ τε ὀχούμενοι καὶ ὁ ἡγεμών, ἱπποκόμος δὲ ἦν τῶν καμήλων καὶ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύα, ὅπως αὐτοὺς εἰδέντο. ἦν δ' ἄφθονα βασιλέως δόρυς, ἣ τε χάρα, δι' ἣς ἐπορεύοντο, εὖ ἔπραττε, εἰδέντο δὲ αὐτοὺς αἱ κώμαι θεραπεύουσαι. Χρυσὸν γὰρ ψάλλον ἡ πρώτη κάμηλος ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου ἔφερε, γινώσκουσιν τοῖς ἐπηνυγάνουσιν, ὥς πέμπτοι τινὰ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων.

2. Προσιόντες δὲ τῷ Καυκάσῳ φασὶν εὐδαιμόνους τῆς γῆς αἰσθένθαι· τὸ δὲ ὄρος τοῦτο ἀρχὴν ποιούμεθα Ταύρου τοῦ δι' Ἀρμενίας τε καὶ Κιλικίαν ἐπὶ Παμφύλους καὶ Μυκάλην στρέχοντος, ἣ τελευτῶσα εἰς θάλατταν, ἣν Κῆρες οἰκοῦσι, τέρμα τοῦ Καυκάσου νομίζουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐχ, ὥς ἐνιοὶ φασιν, ἀρχή, τό τε γὰρ τῆς Μυκάλης ὕψος οὕτω μέγα καὶ αἱ ὑπερβολαὶ τοῦ Καυκάσου τοσοῦτον ἀνεστᾶσιν, ὥς σخیλῃσθαι περὶ αὐτὰς τὸν ἥλιον. περὶβάλλει δὲ Ταύρῳ ἑτέρῳ καὶ τὴν ὁμοίαν τῇ Ἰνδικῇ Σκυθίαν πᾶσαν κατὰ Μαυωτῶν τε καὶ ἀμωτερόν Πόντον, σταδίαν μάλιστα διαμυρίων μῆκος, τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἔχει μέτρον τῆς γῆς ὁ ἀγκὼν τοῦ Καυκάσου. τὸ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ Ταύρου

1. They set out from there in the summer, riding with their guide, who served as groom for the camels. They had abundant provisions, and as much as they needed, by the gift of the king; the territory through which they traveled was prosperous; and the villages received them with attention, as the leading camel had a gold chain on its brow to tell those they met that the king was sending one of his friends on their way.

2. As they approached the Caucasus,¹ they say that they noticed the soil smelling sweeter. This range can be considered as the origin of the Taurus that runs through Armenia and Cilicia to Pamphylia and Mycale.² Here it terminates at the sea that borders on Caria, and should be considered the end of the Caucasus, and not its beginning, as some say. The height of Mycale is not very great, while the passes of the Caucasus are so elevated that they say the sun grazes against them. By means of a second Taurus, the Caucasus surrounds all of Scythia bordering on India, and is about twenty thousand stadia in length: that is the extent of the land enclosed within its angle. As for what is said about the Taurus in our region, that it stretches beyond

¹ On the geographical references to India in this book, see Introduction.

² Mount Mycale, north of the Meander.

λεγόμενον, ὡς ὑπὲρ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν πορεύοντο, Χρόνῳ ἀπιστηθέν πιστοῦνται λοιπὸν αἱ παρδάλεις, ἃς οἶδα ἀλισκομένους ἐν τῇ Παμφύλῳ ἀρωματοφόρῳ. Χαίρουσι γὰρ τοῖς ἀρώμασι καὶ πολλοὺ τὰς ὁσμὰς ἔλκουσαι φοιτῶσαι ἐξ Ἀρμενίας διὰ τῶν ὄρων πρὸς τὸ δάκρυον τοῦ στύρακος, ἐπειδὴ οἱ τε ἀνέμοι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πνέουσιν καὶ τὰ δένδρα ὁπώδη γένηται.

2 Καὶ ἀλὼναί ποτέ φασιν ἐν τῇ Παμφυλίᾳ πᾶσαι στερπτῷ αἶμα, ὃν περὶ τῇ δέξη ἔφερε, χρυσοῦς δὲ ἦν καὶ ἐπ' ἐγγράπτῳ Ἀρμενίῳ γράμμασι. "Βασίλειος Ἀρσάκης θεῷ Νυσίᾳ." Βασίλειος μὲν δὴ Ἀρμενίας τότε ἦν Ἀρσάκης, καὶ αὐτός, οἶμαι, ἐλὼν τὴν πᾶρδαλιν ἀνῆκε τῷ Διονύσῳ διὰ μέγεθος τοῦ θηρίου. Νύσιος γὰρ ὁ Διόνυσος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Ἰνδοῖς Νύσσης Ἰνδοῖς τε ὀνομάζεται καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς πρὸς ἀκτῶνα ἔθνεσιν. ἡ δὲ Χρόνον μὲν τῶν ὑπελεύχθῃ ἀνθρώπων καὶ χεῖρα ἠνέσχετο ἐπαφωμένῃν τε καὶ καταβῶσαν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνοίστησεν αὐτὴν ἔαρ, ὅτε δὴ ἀφροδισίων ἥτρος καὶ παρδάλεις, ἀνέθροεν ἐς τὰ ὄρη πῶθ' ἀρσένων, ὡς εἶχε τοῦ κόσμου καὶ ἦλα περὶ τὸν κάτω Ταύρον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρώματος ἐλχθεῖσα. ὁ δὲ Καύκασος ὀρίζει μὲν τὴν Ἰνδικὴν τε καὶ Μηδικὴν, καθήκει δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλατταν ἐτέρῳ ἀγκῶνι.

3. Μυθολογεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων τὸ ὄρος, ὃ καὶ Ἑλλήνες ἐπ' αὐτῷ ᾄδουσιν, ὡς Προμηθεὺς μὲν ἐπὶ φυλακῇ φωτὶα δεθείη ἐκεῖ, Ἡρακλῆς δὲ ἕτερος, οὐ γὰρ

¹ ἐλὼν Schenkl 1892: ἰδὼν

Armenia, that was disbelieved for a long time, but now is confirmed by the fact that leopards, as I know, are trapped in the spice-bearing part of Pamphylia. They love these spices, and inhaling their perfumes from far away they migrate from Armenia through the mountains to the gum of the storax tree, when the winds blow from that direction and the trees produce their gum.³

2 They say that a female leopard was once captured in Pamphylia with a collar around its neck, and this collar was of gold and had written on it in gold letters, "King Arsaces to the Nysian God." Arsaces was king of Armenia at the time,⁴ and after capturing the leopard, I believe, he dedicated it to Dionysus because of the beast's size. (Dionysus is called "the Nysian" after Nysa in India, both by the Indians and all the nations of the Orient.) For a while, this animal could be yoked by humans, and allowed itself to be touched and stroked by hand. When spring, however, threw it into a frenzy (a time when leopards too are subject to sexual urges) it bounded off to the mountains lusting for a male, still wearing its decoration, and was caught in the lower Taurus, to which it been attracted by the spice. The Caucasus is the limit of the Indian and Median territories, but extends to the Red Sea by another arm.

3. The barbarians tell the same myths about the mountain as the Greeks do in their poetry, that Prometheus was bound there because of his kindness to man. Heracles (a

³ Storax (*styrax officinalis*) was valued both for its wood and its resin, and was used mainly as incense. Galen (XIV 79) praises the storax of Pamphylia for its medicinal qualities.

⁴ An Arsaces ruled Armenia briefly about the year 35 CE.

τὸν Θηβαίων γε βούλοντα, μὴ ἀνίσχουτο τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ τοξέουσι τὸν ὄρνυ, ὃν ἔβασκεν ὁ Προμηθεὺς τοῖς σπλάγχνοις· δεθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν ἐν ἄντρον φασί, ὃ δὲ ἐν πρὸς τοῦ ὄρους δείκνυται, καὶ δεσμὰ ὁ Δάμις ἀντὶθῆναι τῶν περὶ λέγει οὐ βῆδρα ξυμβαλὲν τῇν ὕλην, οἱ δ' ἐν κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους· δικόρυμβος δὲ ἡ κορυφὴ καὶ φασιν, ὡς τὰς χεῖρας ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐδέθη διαλειπουσῶν οὐ μέν τῃ στάδιον, τοσοῦτος γὰρ εἶναι. τὸν δὲ ὄρνυ τὸν ἄετον οἱ τῷ Καυκάσῳ προσοικούντες ἐχθρὸν ἡγούνται καὶ καλῶς γε, ὅπως ἐν τοῖς πάροις οἱ ἄετοὶ παιδύνται, καταπιμπῶσιν ἱέντες βέλῃ πυρφόρα, θήραρά τε ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἵστανται τιμωρὲν τῷ Προμηθεὶ φάσκοντες· ἄδε γὰρ τοῦ μύθου ἡγηται.

4. Παραμείναντες δὲ τὸν Καύκασον τετραπῆχους ἀνθρώπους ἰδεῖν φασιν, οὓς ἦδη μελαινέσθαι, καὶ πεντηπῆχους δὲ ἑτέρους ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν ἐλθόντες. ἐν δὲ τῇ μέλῃ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦτον ὁδοπορίαν τὰδε εἶπον ἀφηγήσεως ἄξια· ἐπορεύοντο μὲν γὰρ ἐν σελήνῃ λαμπρῇ, φάσμα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐμπούσης ἐνέπεσε τὸ δέονα γνωμῆναι καὶ τὸ δέονα αὐτὸ οὐδὲν εἶναι, ὃ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ξυνήκειν, ὃ τι εἴη, καὶ αὐτὸς τε ἐλαιοδρεῖτο τῇ ἐμπούσῃ, τοῖς τε ἀμφοῖν αὐτὸν προσέειπε ταῦτο πρῶτον, ταυτὶ γὰρ ἄκος εἶναι τῆς προσβολῆς ταύτης· καὶ τὸ φάσμα φυνγῇ ὧχετο περὶ γῆς, ὡς περ τὰ εἶδωλα.

5. Κορυφὴν δ' ὑπερβάλλοντες τοῦ ὄρους καὶ βαδίζοντες αὐτῇ, ἐπειδὴ ἀποτόμως εἶχεν, ἦρετο οὐτως τὸν Δάμιον· “εἰπέ μοι,” ἔφη “ποῦ χθὲς ἦμεν;” ὃ δὲ ἐν τῷ

different one, since they do not mean the Theban) was outraged, and shot the bird that was feeding on Prometheus's entrails. A cave is pointed out at the foot of the mountain that they say is the one he was imprisoned in, and according to Damis, the chains are attached to the rocks, and are of a material not easy to make out. Others, however, say that Prometheus was bound on the mountain's summit. This summit has two peaks, no less than a stade apart, and he was allegedly tied with each of his hands on one of them, so great was his size. The bird in question, the eagle, is considered an enemy by those bordering the Caucasus, and they set fire to any nests that the eagles make in the crags by shooting fire-bearing arrows into them. They also lay traps for them, claiming to avenge Prometheus, such a hold does the myth have over them.

4. After crossing the Caucasus they say they saw people four cubits tall, who were already rather black, and once they had crossed the river Indus they saw others of five cubits. As for the journey as far as this river, this is what I have found worth noting. They were traveling in full moonlight when they encountered a phantom, a vampire that changed into this and that and yet was nonexistent. Apollonius realized what it was, and himself rebuked the vampire and told the others to do the same, since that was the way to counter this attack. The vampire went off gibbering like a ghost.

5. To cross the highest part of the mountain, they went on foot, since it was precipitous. Apollonius put this question to Damis. “Tell me, where were we yesterday?” “In

πεδίῳ" ἔφη. "τῆμερον δέ, ὦ Δάμυ, ποῦ;" ἐν τῷ Καν-
κάστῳ," εἶπεν "εἰ μὴ ἐμαυτοῦ ἐκλήγησμαι." "πότε οὖν
κάτω μάλλον ἦσθα;" πάλιν ἤρετο, ὁ δὲ "τοῦτ' ἐμὲν" ἔφη
"οὐδὲ ἐπερωτᾷς ἄξιον. χθὲς μὲν γὰρ διὰ κολίης τῆς
γῆς ἐπορευόμεθα, τῆμερον δὲ πρὸς τῷ οὐρανῷ ἐστῆμεν."
"οἶε οὖν," ἔφη ὁ Δάμυ, τὴν μὲν χθὲς οδοιπορίαν κάτω
εἶναι, τὴν δὲ τῆμερον ἄνω;" "νῆ Δ', εἶπεν "εἰ μὴ
μαίνομαί γε." "τί οὖν ἡγῶ" ἔφη "παρὰλλάττειας τὰς
ὁδοὺς ἀλλήλων ἢ τί τῆμερον πλέον εἶναι σοι τοῦ
χθὲς;" "ὅτι χθὲς" ἔφη "ἐβάδιζον οἵπτερ πολλοί, σήμε-
ρον δέ, οἵπτερ ὀλίγοι." "τί γάρ, ὦ Δάμυ, οὐ καὶ
τὰς ἐν ἄστει λεωφόρους ἐκτεταμένῳ βαδίζειν ἔσται
ἐν ὀλίγοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων;" "οὐ τοῦτο" ἔφη "εἶπον,
ἀλλ' ὅτι χθὲς μὲν διὰ κομῶν ἐκοιμύμεθα καὶ ἀνθρώ-
πων, σήμερον δὲ ἀστυβέες τι ἀναβαίνουμεν χωρίον καὶ
θεῖον, ἀκούεις γὰρ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, ὅτι οἱ βάρβαροι
θεῶν αὐτὸ ποιοῦνται οἰκον" καὶ ἄμα ἀνέβλεπεν ἐς τὴν
κορυφὴν τοῦ ὄρους.

2 Ὁ δὲ ἐμβυβάζων αὐτὸν ἐς ὃ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἠρώτα, "ἔχεις
οὖν εἰπεῖν, ὦ Δάμυ, ὃ τι ξυνῆκας τοῦ θεῖου βαδίζων
ἀγχοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ;" "οὐδὲν" ἔφη. "καὶ μὴν ἔχρηγ' γε"
εἶπεν, "ἐπὶ μηχανῆς τηλικαύτης καὶ θέας οὐτως ἐστη-
κότα, περὶ τε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ σφαιροτέρας ἥδη ἐκφέρειν
δόξας περὶ τε τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ τῆς σελήνης, ὧν γε καὶ
ῥάβδῳ ἴσως ἡγῶ ψαύσειν προσεσσηκῶς τῷ οὐρανῷ
τούτῳ." "ὦ χθὲς" ἔφη "περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγίνωσκον,
γινώσκω καὶ τῆμερον καὶ οὐπω μοι ἔτερα προσέπεσε
περὶ αὐτοῦ δόξα." "οὐκοῦν," ἔφη ὁ Δάμυ, κάτω τυν-

the plain," he replied. "And where are we today, Damis?"
"In the Caucasus," he said, "unless I have forgotten who
I am." "When were you lower down, then?" Apollonius
asked next, and the other said, "This question is not even
worth asking, since yesterday we were traveling through a
cleft of the earth, but today we are near heaven." "You
think, then," said Apollonius, "that yesterday's journey was
below and today's above?" "Of course," replied Damis,
"unless I have gone mad." "In what way," said Apollonius,
"do you think our two paths differ from one another, then?"
What is better for you yesterday than today?" "Yesterday,"
said Damis, "we were traveling where there were many
people, but today where there are few." "Why, Damis,"
said Apollonius, "can you not turn out of the thoroughfares
in the city and walk where there are few people?" "I did
not mean that," said Damis, "but rather that yesterday
we were traveling through villages and human habitation,
while today we are climbing some untrodden and sacred
region. You have heard our guide say that the barbarians
consider it the home of the gods." As he said this, he looked
up at the peak of the mountain.

2 Bringing him back to the original question, Apollonius
said, "Is there anything, Damis, that you can claim to
have realized about the divine as you walk near heaven?"
"Nothing," he replied. "Well," said Apollonius, "when you
are standing on so large and sacred a platform, you should
express clearer notions about the heaven, the sun and the
moon. Perhaps you think you can touch them with a rod,
standing close to heaven here." "What I knew about divi-
nity yesterday," said Damis, "I know today too, and no new
belief about it has occurred to me yet." "In that case,
Damis," said Apollonius, "you are still below, and have got

χάινεις ὦν ἔτι καὶ οὐδὲν παρὰ τοῦ ὕψους εἰληφάς, ἀπέχεις τε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὁπότεον χθές· καὶ ἐκείνως σε ἠρόμην, ἃ ἐν ἀρχῇ· σὺ γὰρ ὧν γελοιὸς ἐρωτᾶσθαι.”

3 “Καὶ μὴν” ἔφη “καταβήσεσθαί γε σοφώτερος ὤμην ἀκούων, Ἀπολλώνιε, τὸν μὲν Κλαζομένιον Ἄναξ-ἀγόραν ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωνίαν Μίμαντος ἐπεσκεύεσθαι τὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, Θαλῆν τε τὸν Μιλήσιον ἀπὸ τῆς προσοίκου Μικαλῆς, λέγονται δὲ καὶ τῷ Παργαίῳ ἔνιοι φροντιστηρίῳ χρῆσασθαι καὶ ἔτεροι τῷ Ἀθῶ. ἐγὼ δὲ μέγιστον τούτων ἀνελθὼν ὕψος οὐδὲν σοφώ-τερος ἑμαυτοῦ καταβήσομαι.” “οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκείνοι,” ἔφη “αἱ γὰρ τοιαῖδε περιπατοὶ γλαυκότερον μὲν τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀποφαίνουσιν καὶ μέλλουσιν τοὺς ἀστέρας καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα ἐκ νυκτός, ἃ καὶ ποιμέσιν ἦδη καὶ αἰπόλοις ἐστὶ δῆλα, ὅπῃ δὲ τὸ θέλον ἐπιμελέσθαι τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου γένους, καὶ ὅπῃ χαίρει ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ θερα-πειούμενον, ὃ τί τε ἀρετῇ καὶ ὃ τι δικαιοσύνῃ τε καὶ σωφροσύνῃ, οὐτε Ἄθως ἐκδέχεται τοῖς ἀνελθοῦσιν οὐτε ὁ θουμαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν Ὀλύμπιος, εἰ μὴ διορῶν αὐτὰ ἢ ψυχῇ, ἢν, εἰ καθαρά καὶ ἀκήρατος αὐτῶν ἀπτοίτο, πολλὸν μείζον ἐγὼν’ αὖν φαίην ἔσταιεν τούτου τοῦ Καυκάσου.”

6. “Περεβάτες δὲ τὸ ὄρος ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἐπ’ ἐλ-φάντων ἦδη ὀχουμένους ἀνδράσιν, εἰσὶ δ’ οὗτοι μέτροι Καυκάσου καὶ ποταμοὶ Κωφῆτος ἄβυσσος τε καὶ ἱππότα τῆς ἀγέλης ταύτης, καὶ κάμηλοι δὲ ἐνίοις ἦγον, αἷς χρώνται Ἰνδοὶ ἐς τὰ ὀρομικά, πορεύονται δὲ χίλινα σταδία τῆς ἡμέρας γόνυ οὐδαμῷ κάμψασα. προσ-

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nothing from being up high, but are as far from heaven as you were yesterday. So the question I put to you at first was a reasonable one, though it seemed a ridiculous one to you.”

3 “And yet,” said Damis, “I thought that I would be wiser when I descended, Apollonius, having heard that Anaxagoras of Clazomenae observed the heavenly bodies from Minias in Ionia, as Thales of Miletus did from nearby Mycale. Some people, they say, have used Pangaeus for advanced study, and others Athos.⁵ But though I have climbed this mountain that is the highest of all, I shall come down it none the wiser.” “Nor did they,” said Apollonius. “Such vantage points show the heaven more brilliant, the stars bigger, and the sun rising during the night, but such things are evident to shepherds and goatherds too. But how the Deity cares about the human race, and how it loves to receive worship from it, what virtue is and justice and chastity, all this Athos will not reveal to those who climb it, nor will the famous Olympus so admired by the poets, unless the soul discerns them. If it is pure and unblemished when it apprehends them, in my opinion it soars much higher than the Caucasus here.”

6. Once they had crossed the mountain, they began to encounter men riding on elephants. These live between the Caucasus and the river Cophen, destitutes who drive this kind of herd. Some, however, rode on camels that are used by the Indians for speed, and can go a thousand stades a day without once bending their knees to rest. One

⁵ Minias is a mountain enclosing the gulf of Smyrna, and Pangaeus a mountain of Thrace.

ελάσας οὖν τῶν Ἰνδῶν εἰς ἐπὶ καμήλου τουαύτης ἡρώτα τὸν ἡγεμόνα οἷον στείχειεν, ἔπει δὲ τὸν νοῦν τῆς ἀποδημίας ἤκουσεν, ἀπήγγειλε τοῖς νομάσῃ, οἱ δὲ ἀνεβόησαν ὥσπερ ἡσθέτες ἐκένευον τε πλῆυσίνην ἦκεν καὶ ἀφυκομένους οἰόνον τε ἔργον, ὃν ἀπὸ τῶν φονύων σοφίζοντα καὶ μέλι ἀπὸ ταύτου φυτοῦ καὶ τεμάχῃ λεόντων καὶ παρδάλεων, ὧν καὶ τὰ δέρματα νεόδαρτα ἦν, δέξάμενοι δὲ πλὴν τῶν κρέων πάλαι ἀπηλάσαντες ἐς³ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς καὶ ἐχώρουν πρὸς ἑαυ.

7. Ἀριστοπορευόμενων δὲ αὐτῶν πρὸς πτηγῇ ὕδατος, ἐγγέας ὁ Δάμις τοῦ παρὰ τῶν Ἰνδῶν οἰόνον "Διὸς" ἔφη "Ἰσότηρος ἦδε σοι, Ἀπολλώνιε, διὰ πολλοῦ γε πόνου. οὐ γὰρ, οἶμαι, παρατήρησθαι καὶ τοῦτον, ὥσπερ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀμπέλων" καὶ αὖτα ἔσπευσεν, ἔπειδ' οὖν τοῦ Διὸς ἐπεμνήσθη. γελᾶσας οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος "οὐ καὶ χρημάτων" ἔφη "ἀπεχόμεθα, δὲ Δάμι;" "οὐ Δί;" εἶπεν "ὡς πολλαχού ἐπεδείξω." "ἀρ' οὖν" ἔφη "χρυσῆς μὲν δραχμῆς καὶ ἀργυρᾶς ἀφ' ἐξόμεθα, καὶ οὐχ ἡττησόμεθα τοιούτου νομίσματος καίτοι κεχηγρότας ἐς αὐτὸ ὁρῶντες οὐκ ἰδιώτας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλείας, εἰ δὲ χαλκοῦν τις ὡς ἀργυροῦν ἢ ὑπόχρυσόν τε καὶ κεκρίβδηλευμένον ἡμῶν διδοίη, ληψόμεθα τοῦτο, ἔπει μὴ ἐκείνῳ ἔστω, οὐ οἱ πολλοὶ γαλίζοντα;

2 "Καὶ μὴν καὶ νομίσματά ἐστω Ἰνδοῦς ὀρειχάλκου τε καὶ χαλκοῦ μέλανος, ὧν δεῖ δήπου πάντα ὠνεῖσθαι πάντας ἡκοντας ἐς τὰ Ἰνδῶν ἥθη. τί οὖν; εἰ χρήματα ἡμῶν ἔργον οἱ Χρηστοὶ νομάδες, ἀρ' αὖν, δὲ Δάμι, παραποιούμενόν με ὁρῶν ἐνουθέτης τε καὶ ἐδιδασκες,

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of the Indians rode up to them on such a camel, and asked their guide where they were headed. When he heard the purpose of their journey, he reported it to the herdsmen, and with a shout of joy they invited the party to approach. On their arrival, they offered them wine which they contrived to make from dates, honey from the same tree, and steaks cut from lions and leopards that they had just flayed. After accepting everything except the meat, the party started off for India in an easterly direction.

7. They were having breakfast by a source of water, into which Damis mixed some of the Indians' wine, saying, "This is your libation to Zeus the Savior, Apollonius, since you have not drunk for a long time. I do not think you will refuse this wine, as you do wine made from grapes." So saying he poured a libation, since he had mentioned Zeus. Apollonius laughed and said, "We shun money too, do we not, Damis?" "Yes indeed," was the reply, "as you have often demonstrated." "Well," said Apollonius, "let us agree that we shun a gold or silver drachma, and are not tempted by such a coin, although we see not just private citizens gaping after it, but kings too. Suppose then that someone gave us a bronze coin as if it were silver, or a gold-plated and counterfeit coin: are we going to accept that, when it is not of the kind which most people are greedy for?"

"Why, the Indians have coins of brass and black bronze, with which all who come to the Indian region doubtless have to buy everything. Well then, suppose these good herdsmen offered us money, and you saw me refuse it: surely you would not blame me, pointing out that the other

2 of Cob.: οἷον
3 <ἐς> Conyb.

ὅτι χρήματα μὲν ἐκείνᾳ ἔσται, ἃ Ῥωμαῖοι χαράσσουσιν ἢ ὁ Μῆθων βασιλεὺς, ταυτὶ δὲ ὕλη τις ἔτέρα κεκομνημένη τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς; καὶ ταῦτα πέρας τίνα ἂν ἡγήσω με; ἂρ' οὐ κίβδηλόν τε καὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀποβέβηκόςτα μάλλον ἢ οἱ ποιητοὶ στρασιῶται τὰς ἀσπίδας; καίτοι ἀσπίδος μὲν ἀποβιβέσσης ἔτέρα γένοιτ' ἂν τῷ ἀποβαλόντι κακίαν οὐδὲν τῆς πορείας, ὥς Ἀρχιλόχῳ δοκεῖ, φιλοσοφία δὲ πᾶς ἀνακτῆρα τῷ γε ἀπυμάσσαντι αὐτῇν καὶ βίβλην; καὶ νῦν μὲν ἂν ξυγγενῶσται ὁ Διώνυσος οὐδενὸς οἴνου ἡττημένῳ, τὸν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν φουίκων εἰ πρὸ τοῦ ἀμπελίνου αἰπόλῳ, ἀχθέσεται, εἰ οἶδα, καὶ περὶ βλάβῃ φήσει τὸ ἑαυτοῦ δάρον. ἔσμεν δὲ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ γὰρ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἀκούεις, ὥς παλῆστον ἡ Νῦσα τὸ ὄρος, ἐφ' οὗ ὁ Διώνυσος πολλά, οἶμα, καὶ θαυμαστά πράττει.

3 “Καὶ μὲν καὶ τὸ μεθύειν, ὦ Δάμ, οὐκ ἐκ βοτάνων μόνων ἐσθουῖ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν φουίκων παραπλησίως ἐκβαλχέειν πολλοῖς γούνῃ ᾗδῃ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐνερύχομεν κατεσχημένους τῷ οἴνῳ τούτῳ, καὶ οἱ μὲν ὀρχοῦνται πίπτοντες, οἱ δὲ ῥόδουσιν ὑπονοστήζοντες, ὥσπερ οἱ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐκ πότου νύκτωρ τε καὶ οὐκ ἐν ὥρᾳ ἀναλύνοντες. ὅτι δὲ οἶνον ἡγῆται καὶ τοῦτο τὸ πᾶμα, δηλοῖς τῷ σπένδειν τε [ἀπ']⁴ αὐτοῦ τῷ Διὶ καὶ ὅπῃ ἐπ' οἴνῳ εὐχέσθαι. καὶ εἰρητὰ μοι, ὦ

⁴ [ἀπ'] secl. Headlam.

is money of the kind which Rome or the Median king strikes, but this is some different substance devised by the Indians? And if you persuaded me in this case,⁶ what would you think I was? Would you not think me an impotator, who had abandoned philosophy more than cowardly soldiers abandon their shields? However, if someone abandons his shield, he can get another one not at all inferior to the previous, so Archilochus thinks,⁷ but there is no way you can recover philosophy once you have dishonored and jettisoned it. Moreover, Dionysus might pardon someone for not being partial to any wine, but I am quite sure he will be angry with me for preferring date wine to the kind made from grapes, and will say I am insulting his own gift. We are not far from the god, since you have heard our guide saying that we are near Mount Nysa,⁸ where I believe Dionysus performs many miracles.

3 “In addition, drunkenness does not come to people only from grapes, but is intoxicating when derived from dates too. We have met many Indians under the influence of this wine, some dancing when they have fallen over, others singing when they are nodding off, like those at home who leave off drinking not when they should, but at night. You show that you consider this liquid too to be wine when you pour a libation of it to Zeus, and make all the prayers that are proper over wine. Well, this is what I have to say in

⁶ I.e., if you persuaded me to drink date wine.

⁷ Poet of the mid-sixth century from Paros, later colonist on Thasos. He lost his shield fighting barbarians on the mainland opposite, and wrote a much-quoted poem which ended, “I’ll get one just as good right away.”

⁸ Usually referred to as a city, not a mountain.

Δάμνι, πρὸς σέ ἕνερ ἐμαυτοῦ ταῦτα· οὔτε γάρ σε τοῦ πίνευ ἀπάγουμι, ἂν οὔτε τοὺς ὀπαδοὺς τοῖόνους, ξυγχοροῖν δ' αὖ ὑμῖν καὶ κρεῶν στερῆσθαι, τὸ γὰρ ἀπένεσθαι τούτων ὑμῖν μὲν ἐς οὐδὲν ὄρω προβαῖναι, ἐμαυτῷ δὲ ἐς ἀ ἀμολόγηται μοι πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἐκ παιδός." ἐδῆξαιτο τὸν λόγον τούτων οἱ περὶ τὸν Δάμνιν καὶ ἡσπιάσαντο εὐαχέσθαι, ῥῆον ἡγούμενοι πορεῦσασθαι, ἣν ἀφθονώτερον διατηῶνται.

8. Διαβάντες δὲ τὸν Κωφῆν ποταμὸν αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ νεῶν, κῆμηλοι δὲ πέζῃ τὸ ὕδωρ, ὁ γὰρ ποταμὸς οὔτω μέγας, ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ βασανλευμένη ἡπείρῳ, ἐν ᾗ ἀνατείνον πεφύτευται Νῦσα ὄρος ἐς κορυφὴν ἄκραν, ὥσπερ ὁ ἐν Λυδία Τιμόλιος, ἀναβαίνεν δ' αὐτὸ ἐξ-εστῆν, ὡδοποιήται γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ γεωργεῖσθαι. ἀνελθόντες οὖν ἱερῷ Διονύσου ἐντυχεῖν φασιν, ὃ δι' Διόνυσον ἑαυτῷ φυνεῖσθαι δάφνας περιεστηκυίας κύκλῳ, τοσοῦτον περιεχούσας τῆς γῆς, ὅσον ἀπὸ χερσὶ νεῷ ξυμμέτρῳ, κυττὸν τε περιβαλεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀμπελούς ταῖς δάφναις, ἀγαλμά τε ἑαυτοῦ ἔνδον στήσασθαι γυγνώσκοντα ὡς ξυμψύσει τὰ δένδρα ὁ χρόνος καὶ δάσει τὰ αἶν' αὐτῶν ὄροφον, ὃς οὔτω ξυμβέβηται νῦν, ὡς μήτε ὕεσθαι τὸ ἱερὸν μήτ' ἀνέμῳ ἐσπνέεσθαι. δρέπανα δὲ καὶ ἄρρηχοι καὶ ἄγροι καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ ληνούς ἀνάκειται τῷ Διονύσῳ χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ καθάρπετρα γυγῶντι. τὸ δὲ ἀγαλμα εἰκαστα μὲν ἐθήβῳ Ἰνδῷ, λίθου δὲ ἕξεσται λευκοῦ. ὀργυζόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ σείοντος τῇν Νῦσαν ἀκούουσιν αἱ πόλεις αἱ ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει καὶ ξυνεξαίονται.

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my own defense, Damis. I do not want to keep you or these companions of ours from drinking, and I do not mind you all eating meat as well, since I see that avoidance of such things is of no advantage to you, while for me it leads to the philosophic goal I have set myself from boyhood." Damis and the others accepted this argument and were glad to eat their fill, thinking that more plentiful nourishment would make their journey easier.

8. They themselves crossed the river Cophen in boats, while the camels forded the water since the river is not at all deep, and thus they arrived in the region ruled by the king. Here Mount Nysa rises up, planted to its very peak like Timolus in Lydia, and since paths have been made for the purpose of cultivation it can be climbed. After doing so, they say they found a sanctuary of Dionysus, which the god is said to have planted for himself with laurel trees growing all around it. These take up enough ground to be sufficient for a modest temple. He also trained ivy and vines around the laurels, and among them he set up a statue of himself, knowing that time would cause the trees to grow together and make a kind of natural roof. This is now so densely woven that no rain falls on the sanctuary and no wind blows into it. There are pruning hooks, baskets, and wine presses with their equipment in gold and silver, all dedicated to Dionysus as if he was harvesting the grapes. The statue looks like a youthful Indian, and is of polished marble. When the god revels and shakes Nysa, the cities beneath the mountain hear him and join in his ecstasy.

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9. Διαφέρονται δὲ περὶ τοῦ Διωνύσου τοῦτου καὶ Ἕλληνες Ἰνδοῖς καὶ Ἰνδοὶ ἀλλήλους· ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ τὸν Θεβαῖον ἐπὶ Ἰνδοὺς ἐλάσαι φημὲν στρατεύοντά τε καὶ βακχεύοντα, τεκμηρίους χρώμενοι τοῖς τε ἀλλοῖς καὶ τῷ Πυθῷ ἀναθήματι, ὃ διῇ ἀπόθερον οἱ ἐκεῖ θησαυροὶ ἴσχυουσιν· ἔσται δὲ ἀργύρου Ἰνδικοῦ δίσκος, ὃ ἐπιγέγραπται “Διώνυσος ὁ Σεμέλης καὶ Διὸς ἀπὸ Ἰνδῶν Ἀπόλλωνι Δελφῷ.”

2 Ἰνδῶν δὲ οἱ περὶ Καύκασου καὶ Κωφίνης ποταμοῦ ἐπηλύτην Ἀσσύριον αὐτὸν φασιν ἐλθεῖν τὰ τοῦ Θεβαίου εἰδότες· οἱ δὲ τὴν Ἰνδοῦ τε καὶ Ὑδραώτου μέσσην νεμόμενοι καὶ τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα ἤπειρον, ἣ διῇ ἐς ποταμὸν Ἰάγγην τέλευτῇ, Διώνυσον γενέσθαι ποταμοῦ παῖδα Ἰνδοῦ λέγουσιν, ὃ φοιτήσαντα τὸν ἐκ Θεβῶν ἐκείνου θύρου τε ἀμυσθαι καὶ δοῦναι ὀργίοις, εἰπόντα δέ, ὡς εἴη Διὸς καὶ τῷ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐμβύλιῳ μνηρῷ τόκου ἔνεκα, Μηρόν τε εὐρέσθαι παρὰ αὐτοῦ ὄρος, ὃ προσβέβηκεν ἡ Νῦσα, καὶ τὴν Νῦσαν τῷ Διωνύῳ ἐκφυγεῖν αἰτάγοντα ἐκ Θεβῶν τὸ γόνυ τῆς ἀμπέλου, οὗ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὀργιάσας.

3 Οἱ δὲ τὴν Νῦσαν οἰκούντες οὐ φασιν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀνελθεῖν ἐς τὸ ὄρος, ἀλλ’ ὀρμηγεῖσθαι μὲν, ἐπειδὴ φιλότιμός τε ἦν καὶ ἀρχαιολογίας ἥττωι, δείσαντα δὲ μὴ ἐς ἀμπέλους παρελθόντες οἱ Μακεδόνες, ὥς χρόνου ἥδη οὐχ ἐωράκεσσαν, ἐς πόθον τῶν οἴκοι ἀνευχεθῶσιν ἡ ἐπιθυμία τινὰ οἴνου ἀναλάβωσιν εἰλισμένον ἡδη

9. The Greeks have a different opinion from the Indians about this Dionysus, as the Indians do with each other. We say that the Theban Dionysus traveled to India as a general and an ecstatic, and our evidence includes the dedication at Delphi, which is kept locked away in the storehouses there. It is a disc of Indian silver with this inscription: “Dionysus the son of Semele and Zeus after his Indian victory to Apollo of Delphi.”

2 Among the Indians, those near the Caucasus and the river Cophen say that this person was a visitor from Assyria who knew about the deeds of the Theban. Those who live in the region between the Indus and the Hydrates and in the land beyond, which extends as far as the river Ganges, say that Dionysus was born the son of the river Indus. The famous Theban, after paying him a visit, took up the thyrsus and went in for ecstatic rites. Claiming he was the son of Zeus and had lived in his father’s thigh in order to reach birth, the Theban discovered a mountain called Meros (Thigh),⁹ to which Nysa is adjacent and he planted it for Dionysus with a slip of the vine he had brought from Thebes.

3 Though it is said that Alexander’s revel took place here, the inhabitants of Nysa deny that Alexander climbed the mountain. He desired to, since he was ambitious and devoted to antiquity, but was afraid that the Macedonians, not having seen vines for a long time, once they had come across them would be overcome by regret for those of their native land, and would feel a desire for wine after getting

⁹ An unidentified mountain near Nysa, on which Alexander the Great had held a bacchic revel, according to some accounts. Greek legend said that Zeus had kept the embryonic Dionysus in his thigh.

τῷ ὕδατι, παρελάσσει τὴν Νύσαν, εὐξάμενον τῷ Διονύσῳ καὶ θύσαντα ἐν τῇ ὑπωρείᾳ. καὶ γυγνώσκω μὲν οὐκ ἐς χάριν ταῦτα ἐνίοις γράφων, ἐπειδὴ οἱ ξὺν Ἀλέξανδρῳ στρατεύσαντες οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἐς τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀνέγραψαν, δεῖ δὲ ἀληθείας ἑμοὶ γοῦν, ἣν εἰ κάκεῖνοι ἐπῆρσαν, οὐκ αὖ ἀφέλονται καὶ τοῖδε τοῦ ἐγκωμίου τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον· τοῦ γὰρ ἀνελθεῖν ἐς τὸ ὄρος καὶ βαχεῦσαι αὐτοῦ, ἃ ἐκέλευι λέγουσι, μέλλω, οἷμα, τὸ ὑπὲρ καρτερίας τοῦ στρατοῦ μῆδὲ ἀναβῆναι.

10. Τὴν δὲ Ἄορνον πέτραν οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχουσαν τῆς Νύσας ἰδεῖν μὲν οὐ φησιν ὁ Δάμις, ἐν ἐκβολῇ γὰρ κέσθαι τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ δεδιέναι τὸν ἡγέμονα ἐκτρέπεσθαι ποι παρὰ τὸ εὐθὺ, ἀκούσαι δέ, ὡς ἀλωρὸς μὲν Ἀλέξανδρῳ γένουτο, Ἄορνος δὲ ὀνομάζουτο οὐκ ἐπειδὴ στάδια πεντεκαίδεκα ἀνέστηκε, πέτονται γὰρ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦτο οἱ ἱεροὶ ὄρνιθες, ἀλλ' ἐν κορυφῇ τῆς πέτρας ὁῖγμα εἶναι φασὶ τοὺς ὑπερπετομένους τῶν ὀρνίθων ἐπισπώμενον, ὡς Ἀθηγησὶ τε ἰδεῖν ἔσται ἐν προδρόμῳ τοῦ Παρθενῶνος καὶ πολλαχοῦ τῆς Φρυγίᾳ καὶ Ἀνδῶν γῆς, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν πέτραν Ἄορνον κεκλήσθαι τε καὶ εἶναι.

11. Ἐλευνόντες δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν παυοῖ ἐναυγάζοντο τρισεκαίδεκά που ἔτη γεγονότι ἐπ' ἀλέφαντος ὀχουμένῳ, καὶ παύοντι τὸ θηρίον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐθαύμασαν ὁρῶντες "τί ἔργον," ἔφη "ὦ Δάμι, ἀγαθὸν ἱμπέως;" "τί δ' ἄλλο γέ," εἶπεν, "ἣ ἱστῶντα ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου

5 ἀφ' ἑσθ'.

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used to water. So he skirted Nysa after praying to Dionysus and sacrificing in the foothills. I am aware that this account of mine will displease some people, but those who were on Alexander's campaign falsified this part of it too. I by contrast am bound to the truth, and if those historians too had honored it, they would not have deprived Alexander of this additional praise. For rather than climbing the mountain and holding revel, as they assert, it was a nobler act to ensure the endurance of his army by not climbing it.

10. The crag called Aornos¹⁰ is not far from Nysa, but Damis claims not to have seen it, since it lay off their route and their guide was afraid of diverging anywhere from their forward path. He apparently heard, however, that Alexander managed to take it, and it was so called not because it rises fifteen stades, since sacred birds can fly above that level, but because there is a cleft at the summit of the rock, and this sucks in the birds that fly over it. You can see the same thing at Athens in the forecourt of the Parthenon,¹¹ and in many parts of Phrygia and Lydia. This is the feature which causes the crag both to be called and to be "birdless."

11. As they were approaching the Indus, they met a boy about thirteen years old riding an elephant and beating the animal. When they had got over their surprise at the sight, Apollonius said, "What is the function of a good horse rider, Damis?" "What else," he replied, "than to sit on the

¹⁰ Aornos = "birdless," the modern Pir-sar on the upper Indus, taken by Alexander after fierce fighting.

¹¹ Urrutze: there was however a cleft under the Erechtheion, and also a legend that Athena had banned crows from the Acropolis.

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