

ἑαυτὸν κτείνει. ταυτὶ δέ, ὦ Δάμυ, τὰ τοῦ Πάριου
δαίδαλα μήτε χαλκευτικῆς μόνον ἀποφανώμεθα, γε-
γραμμένοις γὰρ εἴκαστα, μήτε γραφικῆς, ἐπειδὴ
ἐχαλκεύθη, ἀλλ' ἠγώμεθα σφίσσασθαι αὐτὰ γρα-
φικὸν τε καὶ χαλκευτικὸν ἕνα ἄνδρα, οἷον διή τι παρ'
'Ομήρῳ τὸ τοῦ 'Ηφαιστοῦ περὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως
ἀσπίδα ἀναφάνεται. μεστὰ γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα ὀλλύτων
τε καὶ ὀλλυμένων,²⁷ καὶ τὴν γῆν ἡμιστῶσθαι φήσεως
χαλκῆν οὖσαν."

23. Τοιαῦτα σπουδάζοντι τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐφίσταται
παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἄγγελοι καὶ ἐρμηνεῖς, ὥς ποιοῦτο
αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς ξένον ἐς τρεῖς ἡμέρας, μὴ γὰρ
πλείωνων νενομίσθαι τοὺς ξένους ἐνομλῆν τῇ πόλει,
καὶ ἡγοῦντο αὐτῷ ἐς τὰ βασίλεια. ἡ πόλις δ' ὥς μὲν
ἔχει τοῦ τείχους, εἴρηκα, φασὶ δ' ὥς εὐτάκτως τε καὶ
Ἀττικῶς τοὺς στενωποὺς τέτμηται κατεσκευασταί τε
οἰκίας, εἰ μὲν ἔξωθεν ὁρῶν τις αὐτάς, ἕνα ἐχούσας
ὄροφον, εἰ δ' ἔσω παρέλθαι τις, ὑπογείους ἦδη καὶ
παρεχομένους ἴσα τοῖς ἀνω τὰ ὑπὸ τῇ γῇ.

24. Ἱερὸν δὲ ἰδεῖν Ἥλιου φασίν, ὃ ἀνέτην Ἀίας
ἐλέφας, καὶ ἀγάλματα Ἀλεξάνδρου Χρυσοῦ καὶ Πάριου
ἑτέρα, χαλκοῦ δ' ἦν ταῦτα μέγαντος. οἱ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ
τοῦχοι, πυρραῖς λίθοις ὑπαστράπτει Χρυσὸς αὐγὴν
ἐκδοδὸς ἐοικυῖαν ἀκτίνι. τὸ δὲ ἔδος αὐτὸ μαργαρί-
τιδος ἔνυγκεται ξυμβολικὸν τρόπον, ὃ Βάριβαροι πάν-
τες ἐς τὰ ἱερά χρώνται.

²⁶ Homer, *Iliad* 18.483-608.

of Porus, Darius, we should not define merely as the work
of bronze-casters since they look like pictures, or as the
work of painters, since they are cast in bronze. Let us
rather think them the creations of a single man who com-
bined the arts of painting and bronze-casting, just as
Hephaestus is represented in Homer doing with the shield
of Achilles.²⁶ Those pictures too are full of men killing and
being killed,²⁷ and one can say that the ground is smeared
with blood, even though it is of bronze."

23. As the Master was giving this discourse, messengers
arrived from the king with an interpreter, announcing that
he would have Apollonius as his guest for three days, since
it was not lawful for strangers to stay in the city longer, and
they led the way to the palace. I have mentioned what the
walls of the city were like. The party says that it was divided
into orderly rows of houses like Athens,²⁸ and the houses
were so built that from the outside they appeared to be of
only one story, but when you went inside they proved to be
subterranean, and of the same height below ground as
above.

24. They say there was also a shrine of the Sun, to whom
Ajax the elephant had been consecrated,²⁹ and statues of
Alexander in gold and others of Porus which were of dark
bronze. The walls of the shrine were of red stone that had a
golden sheen, giving off a light like the sun's rays. The im-
age itself was of mother-of-pearl, made in the symbolic
shape that all barbarians use for their holy objects.

²⁷ Homer, *Iliad* 4.451, 8.65.

²⁸ Some of the excavated streets of Taxila are in fact laid out in
rectangles. Some manuscripts have "disorderly" (*ataktōs*).

²⁹ See 12.2.

25. Περὶ δὲ τὰ βασιλῆα οὔτε ὄγκον ἰδεῖν φασιν οἰκοδομημάτων, οὔτε δορυφόρους ἢ φύλακας, ἀλλ' οἷα περὶ τὰς τῶν λαμπρῶν οἰκίας, ἀλόγους οἰκέτας καὶ διαλεχθῆναι τῷ βασιλεῖ δεομένους τρεῖς, οἷμα, ἡ τέτταρας, καὶ τὸν κόσμον τοῖτον ἀγασθῆναι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι φλεγμαινόμενα, καὶ πολλὰ πλέων ἔσω παρελθούτες· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἀνδρῶνας καὶ τὰς στοάς καὶ τὴν αὐλήν πᾶσαν κεκολλᾶσθαι φασίν.

26. Ἐδοξεν οὖν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ φιλοσοφεῖν ὁ Ἰνδὸς καὶ παραστῆσάμενος τὸν ἐρμηνεῖα "χαίρω," εἶπεν "ὦ βασιλεῖ, φιλοσοφοῦντά σε ὀρῶν." "ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπερ-χαίρω," ἔφη, "ἐπειδὴ οὐτῶ περὶ ἑμοῦ οἶε." "τοῦτ' δὲ νεόμυσται παρ' ὑμῖν," εἶπεν, "ἢ σὺ πρὸς τὸ ἐπτεκεῖς τοῦτο τὴν ἀρχὴν κατεστήσω;" "σφρόνως" ἔφη "νεομυσμένῳ σφφρονέστερον χρῶμαι, καὶ πλεῖστα μὲν ἔχω ἀνθρώπων, δέομαι δὲ ἀλόγων, τὰ γὰρ πολλὰ τῶν φύλων τῶν ἑμαυτοῦ ἡγοῦμαι." "μακάριε τοῦ θησαυροῦ," εἶπεν, "εἰ χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου ἀντεργύῃ τοὺς φίλους, ἔξ ὧν ἀναφέρετά σοι πολλὰ τε καὶ ἀγαθὰ." "καὶ μὴν καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς" ἔφη, "κουνωῶ τοῦ πλοῦ-του, τοὺς γὰρ αἰεὶ ποτε διαφόρους τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ βαρβάρους προσουκονῶντας, καὶ καταδρομαῖς χρωμέ-νους ἐς τὰμὰ ὄρια, ὑποποιῶμαι τουτοῦτ' τοῖς χερή-μασι καὶ δορυφορεῖτά μοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἡ χώρα, καὶ οὔτε αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὰμὰ φοιτῶσι τοὺς τε ὁμόρους αὐτοῖς βαρ-βάρους ἀνείργουσι, χαλεποὺς ὄντας." ἐρομένου δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, εἰ καὶ Πῶρος αὐτοῖς ἐτέλει

25. In the palace they say that they saw no elaborate rooms, no bodyguards or watchmen, but just as in the houses of the upper class a few slaves and three or four people awaiting an audience with the king. They say they admired this simplicity more than the splendor of Babylon, and even more so when they went inside, since they say that the men's quarters and the colonnades and the whole forecourt were plain.

26. Apollonius concluded that the Indian was a philosopher and, keeping the interpreter beside him, he said, "I am glad, king, to see that you are a philosopher." "I am very glad," he replied, "that you think me so." "Is this the custom with you," said Apollonius, "or did you introduce this moderation into your kingdom?" "Our customs are modest, and I observe them even more modestly," he replied. "I have more than any human, but need little, considering most things to belong to my own friends." "Congratulations on your treasure," said Apollonius, "if you value your friends above gold and silver, and many advantages accrue to you from them." "Why," he said, "I give a share of my riches to my enemies too. There once were barbarians constantly hostile to my country, who made incursions across my borders, but I win them over with this money and they patrol my realm. They do not encroach on my possessions, but keep out their barbarian neighbors, who are fierce." Apollonius asked him if Porus too had paid

Χρήματα, "Πῶρος" εἶπε "πολέμου ἦρα, ἐγὼ δὲ εἰρήνης."

2 Πάνν τοῖς λόγους τούτοις ἐχειροῖτο τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, καὶ οὕτως αὐτοῦ ἠτήθη, ὡς Εὐεφράτη ποτὲ ἐπαλήττω μὴ φιλοσοφοῦναι "ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀλλὰ τὸν Ἰνδὸν Φραάτην αἰδώμεθα," φάσαι, ὄνομα γάρ τῷ Ἰνδῷ τοῦτο ἦν. σαρράπου δέ, ἐπειδὴ μεγάλων παρ' αὐτοῦ ἡξιώθη, βουλαιθέτος αὐτὸν ἀναδίστασι μίτρα. Χρυσῇ κεκοσμημένῃ λίθους ποικίλους, "ἐγώ," εἶπε, "καὶ τῶν ξηλόντων τὰ τουαῖτα ἦν, παρητησάμην αὐτὰ νῦν καὶ ἀπέρριψα τῆς κεφαλῆς Ἀπολλωνίου ἐν-τυχών, οἷς δὲ μήπω πρότερον ἀναδείσθαι ἡξίωσα, πῶς αὖ νῦν κοσμοίμην τὸν μὲν ξένον ἀγνοήσας, ἑμαυτοῦ δὲ ἐκλαθόμενος;"

3 Ἦρτο αὐτὸν καὶ περὶ διαίτης ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὁ δὲ "οἶνον μὲν" εἶπε "πίνω τοσοῦτον, ὅσον τῷ Ἥλιῳ σπένδω, ἃ δ' αὖ ἐν θήρᾳ λάβω, ταῦτα στυοῦνται ἔτερον, ἐμοὶ δ' ἀπόχρη τὸ γεγυμνάσθαι. τὰ δὲ ἐμὰ στυία λάχαινα καὶ φουίκων ἐγκέφαλοι καὶ ὁ καρπὸς τῶν φουίκων καὶ ὅπσια ὁ ποταμὸς κηπέει. πολλὰ δέ μοι καὶ ἀπὸ δένδρων φύεται, ὧν γεωργοὶ αἰδεαὶ χεῖρες;" ταῦτα ἀκούων ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ὑπερῆθε τὸ τε καὶ ἐς τὸν Δάμην θαμὰ εἶρα.

27. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἱκανῶς διελέχθησαν περὶ τῆς οδοῦ τῆς παρὰ τοὺς Βραχμᾶνας, τὸν μὲν παρὰ τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου ἡγεμόνα ἐκέλευσε ξεῖλεν, ὥσπερ εἰσθελὶ τοὺς ἐκ Βαβυλωνος ἦκουτας, τὸν δὲ παρὰ τοῦ σαρράπου ἀπιέναι λαβόντα ἐφόδια. αὐτὸς δὲ λαβόμενος τῆς τοῦ Ἀπολ-

them money. "Porus loved war," he replied, "but I love peace."

2 Apollonius was quite won over by these remarks, and was so struck by him that once, when he was rebuking Euphrates for not being a philosopher, he said, "But let us at least respect the Indian Phraotes" (since that was the Indian's name).³⁰ A viceroy who had been greatly favored by him wanted to crown him with a golden diadem studded with multicolored stones, but he said, "Even if I were the kind of man to covet such things, I would have declined them now and torn them from my head on meeting Apollonius. But since I never saw fit to wear such crowns before, how could I use ornaments now, mistaking my guest and forgetting myself?"

3 Apollonius also asked him about his diet and he said, "Of wine I drink as much as I pour out to the Sun, and others eat the spoils of my hunting, since the exercise is enough for me. My food consists of vegetables, the pith and fruit of date palms, and everything that the river nourishes. I also eat many things from trees cultivated by these hands of mine." Apollonius was delighted when he heard this, and kept glancing at Damis.

27. When they had conversed enough about the journey to the Brahmins, the king gave orders for the guide from the king of Babylon to be entertained, as was his custom with visitors from Babylon, and dismissed the guide from the viceroy with provisions for the road. Then, taking

³⁰ No king of this name is known among the rulers of Taxila.

λαίου χειρός, καὶ κελείσας ἀπελθεῖν τὸν ἐρμηνεῖα
 “ὁρ’ αὖν” ἔφη “ποιήσαίό με συμπόσην;” ἦροτο δ’ αὐτὸν
 φωνῇ Ἑλλὰδου. ἐκπαραγέμενος δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, καὶ
 “τοῦ χάριν οὐκ ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὕτω διελέγου;” φήσαςτος,
 “ἔδεισά” ἔφη “θρασὺς δόξαι μὴ γυγνώσκων ἐμαυτὸν,
 μηδ’ ὅτι βάρβαρον εἰναι με δοκεῖ τῇ τύχῃ, σοὺ δὲ
 ἡττηθεῖς, ἐπειδὴ καὶ σὲ ὅρῳ ἐμοῦ χαίρουσα, οὐκ ἡδυνή-
 θην ἐμαυτὸν κρύπτειν, ὥς δὲ μεστός ἐμὲ τῆς Ἑλλήνων
 φωνῆς, ἐν πολλοῖς δηλώσω.”

2
 “Τί οὖν” εἶπεν “οὐκ αὐτὸς ἐπηγγέλσας ἐμοὶ τὸ
 συμπόσιον, ἀλλ’ ἐμέ σοι κελεύεις ἐπαγγέλλειν;” “ὅτι
 σὲ” ἔφη “βελτίω ἐμαυτοῦ ἡγοῦμαι, τὸ γὰρ βασίλ-
 κώτερον σοφία ἔχει.” καὶ ἅμα ἦγεν αὐτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς
 ἄμφ’ αὐτὸν, οὐπερ εἰώθει λοῦσθαι. τὸ δὲ βαλανεῖον
 παρὰδευστος ἦν σταδίου μήκος, ᾧ μέσῃ κολλημβήθρα
 ἐνωρώρυκτο πηγὰς ἐκδεχουμένη ποτίμου τε καὶ ψυχροῦ
 ὕδατος, τὰ δὲ ἐξ’ ἐκάτερα ὁρόμω ἦσαν, ἐν οἷς ἀκοντίζῃ
 τε καὶ δίσκῳ τὸν Ἑλληγνικὸν τρόπον αὐτὸν ἐξήσκει,
 καὶ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ἔρρωτο ὑπὸ τε ἡλικίας, ἐπὶ γὰρ καὶ
 εἴκοσιν ἔτη γεγονὼς ἦν, ὑπὸ τε τοῦ ἀδὲ γυνυιάσθαι.
 ἔπει δὲ ἱκανῶς ἔχου, ἐπῆδα ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ἐγυῖμαζεν
 αὐτὸν τῷ νέν. ὥς δὲ ἐλούσαντο, ἐβαδίζον ἐς τὸ
 συσσίτιον ἐστεφανωμένοι, τουτὶ δὲ νενομίσται Ἰν-
 δοῖς, ἐπειδὴ ἐν¹⁸ τοῦ βασίλῆως πίνωσιν.

28. Ἀξίων δὲ μηδὲ τὸ σχῆμα παραλιπεῖν τοῦ πότου
 σαφῶς γε ἀναγεγραμμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ Δάμωδος· εὐωχεῖ-

¹⁸ ἐν Richards: ἐς

Apollonius's hand, and ordering the interpreter to leave,
 he said, "Will you make me your drinking-companion?"
 asking him in the Greek language. In amazement Apol-
 lonius asked, "Why did you not talk this way from the be-
 ginning?" "I was afraid," said the king, "to appear forward
 and not 'to know myself,'³¹ or that it pleases fate to make
 me a barbarian. But overcome by you, and seeing that you
 are pleased with me, I could not conceal my true self, and
 will fully satisfy you that I am thoroughly grounded in the
 Greek language."

2
 "Well then," said Apollonius, "why did not you invite
 me to dinner yourself instead of asking me to invite you?"
 "Because I think you are superior to me," he said, "since
 wisdom is more kingly." So saying, he led Apollonius and
 his party to the place where he usually bathed. His bath-
 ing place was a park about a stade long. In the middle a
 pool had been dug so that springs of cold, drinkable water
 flowed into it, and on either side there were tracks in which
 the king practiced the javelin and the discus in the Greek
 way, for he was strong in body both because of his age
 (since he was twenty-seven) and because of this exercise.
 Whenever he had had enough, he would jump into the
 water and exercise himself by swimming. When they had
 bathed, they proceeded to the dining room wearing
 wreaths, since that is the custom of the Indians when they
 drink in the king's presence.

28. It would not be right to omit the arrangement of the
 feast either, since Damis has described it in detail. The

³¹ Alluding to the Delphic maxim "Know thyself."

τα μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ στηβαδὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τῶν ξυγγενῶν μέχρι πέπτε οἱ ἔγγυς, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες ἐν θάλακς στυσσουσι. τράπεζα δέ, ὥσπερ Βωμὸς ὕψους ἑξ ὧν ἀνδρὸς ἐξωκοδόμηται μέσση, κύκλῳ ἐπέχουσα. χορὸν ξυμβεβλημένον ἀνδρῶν τριάκοντα, ἑβ' ἥρ δάβηται τε διαστρώννυνται καὶ κλίνες ἕτεροι παρ- πλῆτοι μὲν τῇ μωρήνῃ, φέροντες δὲ Ἰνδοὺς μύρον. ἑταῖθα δάκνυνται ἰχθὺς μὲν καὶ ὄρνιθες, δάκνυνται δὲ λέοντες τε θῖοι καὶ δορκάδες καὶ σῦες καὶ τίγρεις ὁσφές (τὰ γὰρ λοιπὰ τοῦ θηρίου παρατινύνται ἑσθί- ει, ἐπειδὴ τὸ ζῶον τοῖτ' φασσι, ὅταν πρῶτον γένηται, τοὺς ἑμπροσθίους τῶν ποδῶν αἰσχυροὺς αἶρειν τῷ ἡλῶ). καὶ ἀνιστάμενος ὁ διατημὼν φορεῖ πρὸς τὴν τράπεζαν καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀνεκλόμενος τούτων, τὰ δὲ ἀπο- τεμὼν ἀπεκλῶν ἐς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θάκον ἐμπίπτειναι, θα- μνὰ ἐκασθίων τοῦ αἵματος.

Ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἱκανῶς ἔχουσιν, ἐοφένοντα κρατῖνες ἀργυροὶ τε καὶ χρυσοί, θέατα συμπότας ἀποχρῶν εἶς, ἀφ' οὗ πόνους κύματα, ἀππερ ποτὶ δόμῃσι. μεταξὺ δὲ πόνους ἐπεσάγονται ἀγρωχίας ἑτακιδόνους καὶ οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ σποδάλειν· παῖς γάρ τις, ἀσπερ ὁ πῶν ὀρχηστρῶν, ἀεργηπτόν κούφος σπυαφειμένου ἀνῶ βέλους ἐς τὸ αἶμα, καὶ ἐπειδὴ πολὺ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς γένουτο, ἐκβόστα ὁ παῖς ὑπεράφρων εὔνοτον τοῦ βέλους, καὶ ἀματρίονα τοῦ κυβιστῶν ἔτοιμα τῇν βελβήσθαι· ὁ γὰρ τοξότης πρὺν ἀφέναι περὶ τὸν ξυμπότας ἑπιδεικνύς τῇν ἀκίδα καὶ δίδους ἔλγυχον τοῦ βέλους· καὶ τὸ διὰ σφενδόνης δὲ τοξῦστα,

king dines on a couch with no more than five of his close kin, while all the rest sit on chairs to share the meal. There is a table built in the middle like an pedestal about the height of a man's knee, and with a circumference as large as a circle of thirty people close together. On it they strew branches of laurel and of other plants that resemble laurel, but in India produce perfume, and they set out fish, fowl, whole lions, venison, boar, and loins of tiger (they avoid eating the other parts of this animal, since they say that immediately after birth it raises its front paws to the rising sun). The guest gets up, goes to the table, and talking or carving what he likes, goes back to his chair and takes his fill, eating a lot of bread as well.

When they are satisfied, bows of silver and gold are carried in, each one enough for ten guests, and they bend over to drink from them like animals being watered. As they drink, they exhibit shows of skill that are dangerous and quite worth attention. A boy, like the ones that accompany dancing girls, was tossed high while an arrow was shot at the same time into the air, and when the boy was high above the ground he twisted himself, lifting himself over the arrow, sure of being hit if he twisted wrongly, since before shooting the archer went round the diners showing the point and letting them test the arrow. Shooting through

καὶ τὸ ἐς τρήχα ἰέναι, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ σκα-
γραφῆσαι βέλεσιν ἀνεστῶτα πρὸς στανίδα, σπου-
δάζουσιν ἐν τοῖς πότοις, καὶ κατορθοῦσιν αὐτὰ με-
θύοντες.

29. Οἱ μὲν δὴ περὶ τὸν Δάμνιν ἐπελήττοισιν αὐτὰ ὡς
εὐσκόπα καὶ τὴν ξυμμετρίαν τῆς τοξείας ἐθαύμαζον, ὁ
δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, ξυνεστίει γὰρ τῷ Βασίλει ὁμοδιαιτῷ
ᾧντι, τοῖσι μὲν ἤττον προσείχε, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Βασι-
λέα "εἰπέ μοι, ὦ Βασίλει," ἔφη "πόθεν οὕτως ἔχεις
φαιῆς Ἑλλάνδος φιλοσοφία τε ἢ περὶ σὲ πόθεν ἐν-
τασθῆαι; οὐ γὰρ ἐς διδασκάλους γε οἶμαι ἀναφέρειν,
ἐπεὶ μηδὲ εἶναι τινος ἐν Ἰνδοῖς εἰκὸς διδασκάλους
τούτου."

2 Ἐλάσας οὖν ὁ Βασίλειος "οἱ μὲν παλαιοὶ" ἔφη "ταῖς
ἐρωτήσεσι τῶν καταπλεόντων ἐπιαιεῖται, εἰ λησταί
εἰσιν, οὕτως αὐτὸ καίτοι χαλεπὸν ὄν κοινὸν ἡγοῦντο,
ὑμεῖς δὲ μοι δοκεῖτε τοὺς ἐπιφουδιώτας ὑμῖν ἐρωτᾶν,
μὴ φιλόσοφοι εἰσιν, οὕτως αὐτὸ καίτοι βεβόησαν τῶν
κατ' ἀνθρώπων ὄν καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτυχούσιν ὑπάρχειν
οἶσθαι. καὶ ὅτι μὲν παρ' ὑμῖν ταῦτα τῷ ληστειῶν
ἔστιν, οἶδα, ὁμοίᾳ μὲν γὰρ σοὶ ἀνδρὶ οὐ φασιν εἶναι
ἐντυχεῖν, τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς, ὥσπερ σκυλεύσαντας αὐτὸν
ἐτέρων περιβεβληθῆναι τε ἀναρμόστως καὶ σοβεῖν
ἀλλοτριᾶν ἐσθῆτα ἐπισύρουσας· καὶ γὰρ Δί', ὥσπερ οἱ
λησταὶ τρυφᾶσιν εἰδότες ὅτι ὑπὸ τῇ δίκῃ κείνται,
οὕτω κἀκείνους φασὶ γαστρί τε διδόναι, καὶ ἀφρο-
δισίοις, καὶ ἀμπεχόνη λεπτῇ. τὸ δὲ αἴτιον νόμοι ὑμῖν,
οἶμαι, εἰσὶν, εἰ μὲν τὸ νόμισμα παραβέβηκεν τῆς,

a hoop, aiming at a hair, and outlining one's own son with
arrows while he stands against a board, these constitute
their pursuits as they drink, and they succeed in doing
them even when drunk.

29. Damiis and the others were amazed by this sharp-
ness of eye, and admired the accuracy of the shooting, but
Apollonius, who was eating with the king at the same table,
was not so interested in such things, and said to the king:
"Tell me, king, how it is that you have such command of
Greek, and where did you get your philosophy from in
these parts? I do not think you will ascribe it to teachers,
since there is not likely to be anybody to teach this subject
in India."

The king said with a laugh, "Men of old had this ques-
tion about those arriving by sea, whether they were pi-
rates, so common did they consider piracy to be, despite
its cruelty. But you people seem to me to ask your visi-
tors whether they are philosophers, so much do you con-
sider this within the competence even of ordinary people,
though it is the most divine of human possessions. Among
you, I know, it is no different from piracy, since I hear that
it is impossible to meet men of your own type. With most of
you, philosophy is something filched from others, which
people wear like an ill-fitting garment, prancing around
dressed in other people's clothes. Indeed, just as pirates in-
dulge themselves, knowing that they are liable to the law,
so they say those types are devoted to gluttony, sex, and
fine haberdashery. The reason is that you have laws to put

ἀποθνήσκων αὐτόν, καὶ παιδίον ἔτις παρεγγράφου,¹⁹
ἣ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι ἐπὶ τοῦτω, τοὺς δὲ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν
ὑποβαλλομένους ἢ παραφθείροντας οὐδέεις, οἶμαι,
νόμος παρ' ὑμῶν ἴσχει, οὐδὲ ἀρχή τις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς
τέτακται.

30. "Παρ' ἡμῶν δὲ δόλγυ μὲν τοῦ φιλοσοφῆν
ἄπτονται, δοκιμάζονται δὲ ὧδε Χρῆ τὸν νέον, ἐπειδὴν
ὀκτακαιδέκα ἔτη γεγονὼς τέχῃ, τουτὶ δ', οἶμαι, καὶ
παρ' ὑμῶν ἐφήβου μέτρον, ὅτερον τὸν "Ἰφασιν ποταμὸν
ἐλθεῖν παρὰ τοὺς ἀνδρας, <ἐς>²⁰ οὓς σὺ ὤρμηκας,
εἰπόντα δημοσίᾳ πρότερον ὅτι φιλοσοφῆσαι, ἐν' ἣ
τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐξείργειν αὐτόν, εἰ μὴ καθαρὸς φοι-
τήτῃ, καθαρὸν δὲ λέγω πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ἐς πατέρα καὶ
μητέρα ἦκον, μὴ περὶ αὐτοὺς ὄνειδός τι ἀναβαίνοντο,
εἶθ' οἱ τοῦτων γονεῖς καὶ τρίτον γένος ἐς ἄνω, μὴ
ὑβριστῆς τις ἢ ἀκρατῆς ἢ χρηματιστῆς ἄδικος. ὅταν
δὲ μηδεμία οὐλὴ περὶ τοῦτους ἀναβαίνῃται, μηδὲ
στύγμα ὧς μηδὲν, αὐτὸν ἥδη διορᾶν τὸν νέον καὶ
βασανίζειν, πρῶτον μὲν, εἰ μηημονικός, εἴτα, εἰ κατὰ
φύσιν αἰδημένων, ἀλλὰ μὴ πλατύνετος τοῦτο, μὴ
μεθυστικός, μὴ λήχνος, μὴ ἀλαζών, μὴ φιλόγελως, μὴ
θρασὺς, μὴ φιλοδοξοδότης, εἰ πατὴρ ὑπὸ νόμος, εἰ
μητὴρ, εἰ διδασκάλων, εἰ παιδαγωγῶν, ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, εἰ
μὴ κακὸς περὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὥραν.

2 "Ἰὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν γενομένων αὐτὸν καὶ οὐ ἐκείνους
ἐγγείναντο, ἐκ μαρτύρων ἀναλέγονται καὶ γραμμάτων,
ἃ δημοσίᾳ κείνται. ἐπειδὴν γὰρ τελευτήσῃ ὁ Ἰνδός,
φουτὰ ἐπὶ θύρας αὐτοῦ μία ἀρχὴ τεταγμένη ὑπὸ τῶν

someone to death for counterfeiting money, or entering a
son illegally as a citizen, and whatever you like in addition,
but you have no law restraining those who falsely claim or
corrupt philosophy, and there is no magistrate appointed
against such people.

30. "With us, however, few people aim to be philoso-
phers, and they are examined as follows. The young man
who has attained the age of eighteen (which I think is
also your criterion for an ephebe) goes across the river
Hyrphasis to the Masters whom you are seeking, after first
making an open profession of his intention to be a philoso-
pher, so that anyone who wishes can exclude him if he
is not a pure student. By 'pure' I mean first as regards
his father and mother, in whom nothing disgraceful must
appear, and then his parents up to the third generation;
none of them must be violent, or dissolute, or dishonest
in making money. If no such defect appears in them, and
no blemish of any kind, then they inspect and test the
young man. First, has he a good memory? Then, is he self-
respecting by nature and not by pretence, not a drunkard,
a glutton, a boaster or a prankster, not rash or argumen-
tative? Is he obedient to his father, mother, teachers, guides,
above all, does he use his young looks for vice?

"Information about his parents and their parents they
collect from witnesses and from documents that are pub-
licly available. For when an Indian dies, there goes to his
house a special magistrate appointed by the laws to record

¹⁹ παρεγγράφοι Kay: παρεγγράψατο or παραγγράψατο
20 <ἐς> Jon.

νόμων ἀναγράφειν αὐτόν, ὡς ἐβίω, καὶ ψευσαμένῳ τῷ
ἡ ψευσθέντι τῷ ἄρχοντι ἐπιτιμῶσιν οἱ νόμοι μὴ ἄρξαι
αὐτὸν ἔτι ἀρχὴν μηδεμίαν, ὡς παραποιήσαντα βίον
ἀνθρώπου. τὰ δὲ τῶν ἐφίθλων ἐς αὐτοὺς ὀρώντες ἀνα-
μαρτύουσι· πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ ὀφθαλμοὶ τῶν ἀνθρω-
πέων ἡθλῶν ἐρμηνεύουσι, πολλὰ δ' ἐν ὀφρύσι καὶ
παραεῖς κείται γνωματεύειν τε καὶ θεωρεῖν, ἀφ' ὧν
σοφοί τε καὶ φυσικοὶ ἄνδρες, ὥσπερ ἐν κατόπτρῳ
εἶδωλὰ, τοὺς νοῦς τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαβέβωται. με-
γάλων γὰρ δι' ἀξιουμένης φιλοσοφίας ἐνταῖθα, καὶ
τυμῇν τοῦτου παρ' Ἰνδοῖς ἔχοντος, ἀνάγκη πᾶσα ἐκ-
Βασανίζεσθαι τε τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῇν ἰόντας ἐλέγχους τε
ὑποβεβλῆσθαι μυρίοις. ὥς μὲν δι' ἐπὶ διδασκάλους
αὐτὸ ποιούμεθα καὶ ἐς δοκιμασίαν ἡμῶν τὸ φιλο-
σοφεῖν ἥκει, σαφῶς εἴρηκα, τοῦμὸν δὲ ὧδε ἔχει·

31. “Ἐγὼ μὲν πάππου Βασιλέως ἐγενόμην, ὃς ᾤν-
μοι ὁμώνυμος, πατὴρ δὲ ἰδιώτου. καταλειφθεὶς γὰρ
κοιμῶν νέος ἐπίτροποι μὲν αὐτῷ ἐγένοντο δύο τῶν
ἐν γένει κατὰ τοὺς τῶν Ἰνδῶν νόμους, ἔπραττον δὲ
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τὰ βασιλικά οὐ χρηστῶς, μὰ τὸν “Ἥλιον,
οὐδὲ ξυμμέτρως, ὅθεν βαρεῖς τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἐφαίνοντο
καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ κακῶς ἦκουε. ξυστάωτες οὖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς
τῶν δυνατῶν τινες ἐπιτίθενται σφισιν ἐν ἑορτῇ καὶ
κτείνουσι τῷ Ἰνδῷ θύοντας, αὐτοὶ τε ἐπεσπληδῆσαντες
τῷ ἄρχεω ξυνέσχον τὰ κοινά. δείσαντες οὖν οἱ ξυ-
γενεῖς περὶ τῷ πατρὶ μῆπω ἐκκαίδεκα ἔτη γεγονότι
πέμπουσιν αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τὸν “Ἰφασιν παρὰ τὸν ἐκεῖ

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how he lived. If the official is at all deceitful or deceived, the laws forbid him to hold any further office for having falsified a human life. Information about the young men they gather by looking at them directly. Many human characteristics are conveyed by the eyes and many await interpretation and observation in the brows and the cheeks, and by means of them skilled students of nature inspect human minds, like images in a mirror. Philosophy is highly valued here, and the pursuit enjoys honor among the Indians, so that it is absolutely essential for candidates in philosophy to undergo scrutiny and face countless tests. Well, the fact that we study it with teachers, and that it involves examination, all this I have clearly explained. However, my own story is as follows.

31. “My grandfather was a king, and had the same name as myself, but my father was a commoner. He was orphaned very young, and two relatives became his guardians, as the laws of the Indians require. They managed the affairs of the kingdom on his behalf neither with virtue, I swear by the Sun, nor with moderation, so that their subjects thought them oppressive, and their rule fell into disrepute. Certain of the barons, therefore, formed a conspiracy and attacked them at a festival, killing them as they sacrificed to the Indus, and then usurped power for themselves and governed the state. So my father’s relatives were afraid for him, since he was not yet eleven years old, and sent him across the Hyphasis to the king there, since he has

Βασίλεια. παλείων δὲ ἦ ἐγὼ ἄρχει καὶ εὐδαίμων ἡ
χώρα παρὰ πολὺ τῆς ἐνταύθα.

2 "Βουλομένου δ' αὐτὸν τοῦ Βασιλέως παῖδα ποι-
εῖσθαι, τουτὶ μὲν παρατήσατο φήσας μὴ φιλονεικεῖν
τῇ τύχῃ ἀφηρημένη αὐτὸν τὸ ἄρχειν, ἐδέσθη δ' αὐτοῦ
ἐνγλωττῆσαι οἱ φιλοσοφῆσαι βαδίσαντι παρὰ τοὺς
σοφούς, καὶ γὰρ αὖ καὶ ῥᾶον κατεστῆσαι τὰ οἴκου
κακά. βουλομένου δὲ τοῦ Βασιλέως καὶ κατὰρχειν
αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρῴαν ἀρχὴν 'εἰ γνησίως' ἔφη
'φιλοσοφοῦντα αἰσθοιο, κίταγε, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἔα με οὕτως
ἔχειν.' αὐτὸς οὖν ὁ Βασίλειος ἦκον παρὰ τοὺς σοφούς
μεγάλων αὖ ἔφη παρ' αὐτῶν τυχεῖν, εἰ τοῖ παδὸς
ἐπιμεληθεῖεν γενναίου τῇ φύσει ἥδιη ὄντος. οἱ δὲ
κατ'ιδόντες τι ἐν αὐτῷ πλέον ἡσπάρδαυτο προσδοῦναι
οἱ τῆς αὐτῶν σοφίας, καὶ προβήμιας ἐπαίδευσιν προσ-
κείμενον πάντων τῷ μαυθάνειν. ἐβδόμῳ δὲ ἔτει νοσῶν ὁ
Βασίλειος, ὅτε διῆ καὶ ἐτελεύτα, μεταπέμπετα αὐτὸν
καὶ κουνων τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀποφαίνει τῷ υἱῷ τῇν τε
θυγατέρα ὁμολογεί πρὸς ὧραν οὖσαν.

3 "Ὁ δέ, ἔπειδ' αὖ τὸν τοῦ Βασιλέως υἱὸν εἶδε κολάκων
καὶ οὔνου καὶ τῶν τοιοῦτων κακῶν ἥττω μεστόν τε
ὑποβίων πρὸς αὐτόν, 'ὅτ' μὲν' ἔφη 'ταῦτ' ἔχει καὶ τῆς
ἀρχῆς ἀπάσης ἐμφορῶ, καὶ γὰρ εὐήθες μηδὲ τῇν
προστήκουσαν ἑαυτῷ Βασιλείαν ἀνακτῆσασθαι.²¹ δι-
νηθέντα θρασέως δοκεῖν ἐπὶ τῇν μὴ προστήκουσαν
ἦκειν. ἔμοι δὲ τῇν ἀδειφῇν δίδου, τουτὶ γὰρ μάλλον
ἀπόχρη μοι τῶν σῶν.' καὶ λαβὼν τὸν γάμον ἔζη
πλησίον τῶν σοφῶν ἐν κώμας ἐπτα εὐδαίμων, ὥς

more subjects than I do, and his territory is far more fertile
than this one.

2 "The king wanted to adopt my father as his son, but he
declined. He said he did not want to quarrel with fortune
which had taken away his kingdom, but he asked the king
to allow him to go to the Wise Men and study philosophy,
since that way he would more easily endure his domestic
misfortunes. When the king actually wanted to restore him
to his father's rule, he said, 'Restore me if you find me
studying philosophy sincerely, but otherwise leave me as I
am.' The king went in person to the Wise Men, and said
they would be doing him a great favor by looking after the
boy, who was already of noble nature. But they saw some-
thing more in him, and seized the opportunity to give him a
share of their own wisdom, and were glad to educate him,
while he followed their lessons very attentively. After six
years had passed, the king had an illness which was eventu-
ally fatal, so that he sent for my father and made him a co-
ruler of his kingdom with his own son. He also gave him
the hand of his daughter, who was just entering maturity.

3 "Now my father observed that the king's son was a prey
to flatterers, wine, and suchlike evils, and full of suspicion
towards himself, so he said to him: 'You may keep these
things, and enjoy all your power to the full. I was not even
able to recover a throne that was mine, and it would be
stupid to seem to have rash ambitions for one that be-
longed to another. However, grant me your sister; that
alone of your possessions is enough for me.' He received
permission to marry her, and lived near the Wise Men in

²¹ ἀνακτῆσασθαι Jackson: κτήσασθαι

ἐπείδωκε τῇ ἀδελφῇ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐς ζώνην. γίγνομαι τοῖνυν ἐγὼ τοῦ γάμου τοῦτον καί με ὁ πατήρ τὰ Ἑλλήνων παιδείας ἄγει παρὰ τοὺς σοφοὺς πρὸ ἡλικίας ἵσως, δάδεκα γάρ μοι τότε ἦν ἔτη, οἱ δὲ ἔτρεφον ἵστα καὶ ἑαυτῶν παῖδα, οὓς γὰρ αὖ ὑποδέξονται τῇν Ἑλληνικὴν φωνὴν εἰδότας, ἀγαπῶσι μάλιστα, ὡς ἐς τὸ ὁμοῖτες αὐτοῖς ᾗδῃ προσήκουσας.

32. "Ἀποθανόντων δέ μοι καὶ τῶν γονέων οὐ μετὰ πολὺ ἀλλ' ἄλλων, αὐτοὶ με βαδίσαντα ἐπὶ τὰς κώμας ἐκέλευσαν ἐπιμελεσθῆναι τῶν ἑμαυτοῦ, γεγονότα ἐν νεακαῖδεκα ἔτη. τὰς μὲν οὖν κώμας ἀφήρητό με ᾗδῃ ὁ Χρηστός θεός καὶ οὐδὲ τὰ γῆδιά μοι ὑπέλιπε τὰ κεκτημένα τῷ πατρί, πάντα γὰρ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχῇ προσήκειν αὐτῷ, ἐμὲ δ' αὖ μεγάλων παρ' αὐτοῦ τυχεῖν, εἴ με ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔρριπον οὖν ξυλλεξάμενος παρὰ τῶν τῆς μητρὸς ἀπελευθέρων ἀκολούθους εἶχον τέτταρας. καί μοι ἀναγεννώσκοντι τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας τὸ δῶμα ἐπέστη τις ἐντέλλεν ἐπιστολὴν φέρων παρὰ ἀνδρὸς ἐπιτηδείου τῷ πατρί, ὃς με ἐκέλευσε διαβάνα τὸν Ἰδραώτην ποταμὸν ξυγγίνεσθαι οἱ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἑνταῖθα, πολλὰς γὰρ ἐκπίδας εἶναί μοι ἀνακτήσασθαι αὐτῇν μὴ ἐλυνόντι.

2 "Ἦν δὲ μὲν διὰ δῶμα θεῶν τις οἶμαι ἐπὶ νύκτι ᾗγαγε καὶ εἰσέστη τῇ φήμῃ, διαβὰς δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν μὲν ἔτερον τῶν βεβιασμένων ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν πεθνάναι ᾔκουσα, τὸν δὲ ἔτερον ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις πολιορκεῖσθαι τοῖσι. ἐχώρουν διὰ ξυπτεύων καὶ βοῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς κώμας, δι' ὧν ἔστευον, ὡς ὁ τοῦ Δεῦνος εἴην υἱός

seven rich villages which the king gave to his sister for her dowry. I am the child of this marriage, and my father after giving me a Greek education took me to the Wise Men, perhaps prematurely, because I was then twelve years old. But they brought me up like their own son, since they are especially fond of those they accept who know the Greek language, thinking them already akin to themselves in manners.

32. "But when my parents also died at no great interval of time, the Wise Men told me to go to the villages and look after my own affairs, being now nineteen. Well, I had already been deprived of the villages by my kind uncle, who had not even left me the estates acquired by my father; he said they all belonged to his kingdom, and he was doing me a great favor by leaving me my life. Well, after taking up a collection from my mother's freedmen, I had four servants. I was reading the play *The Children of Hercules*³² when someone arrived from here, bringing a letter from a close friend of my father. He urged me to cross the river Hydractes and to confer with him about the kingdom here, for he had great hopes that I could win it back if I showed some energy.

"Well, I think one of the gods put the play into my mind, so in obedience to the omen I crossed the river. I learned that one of the usurpers of the kingdom had died, and the other was under siege in this very palace. I hastened my advance, shouting to those living in the villages through which I passed that I was the son of so-and-so, and was go-

³² Extant play of Euripides involving the punishment of Eurystheus, the king of Argos, for his persecution of Hercules's children.

καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἑμμουτοῦ ἴουμι, οἱ δὲ χαίροντές τε καὶ ἀσπαζόμενοι με προὔηκτον παραπαλήσιον ἡγούμενοι τῷ πάπῳ, ἐγχευομένη τε ᾗ αὐτοῖς καὶ τόξα καὶ πέλους αἰὲ ἐγγυήμεθα, καὶ προσελθόντα τὰς πύλαις οὕτω τι ἀσμενοι ἐδέξατο οἱ ἐνταῦθα, ὥς ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Ἥλιου δῶδους ἀνέμμενοι πρὸ πυλῶν τε ἤκειν καὶ ἡγέσθαι δέηρο, ἐφθυνοῦντες πολὺν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ πάπῳ, τὸν δὲ ἔσω κηφῆρα περὶ χειρὶ σάμενο²² εἶρξαν, καίτοι ἐμοὶ παραπαυμένου μὴ τοῦ-
 ᾧδε τρόπῳ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτόν.”

33. Ἵππολαβῶν οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος “Ἡρακλειδῶν” ἔφη “κάθοδον ἀτεχνῶς διεληλῆνθας, καὶ ἔπαυετο οἱ θεοὶ τῆς διανοίας, ὅτι γενναίῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ στείχοντι ξυνήραντο τῆς καθόδου. ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνό μοι περὶ τῶν σοφῶν εἰπέ· οὐ καὶ ὕμῳ Ἀλέξανδρῳ ποτὲ ἐγένοντο οὗτοι καὶ ἀναχθέντες αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐφελοςόφησαν;” “Ὁξυδράκα” ἔφη “ἐκεῖνοι ᾗσαν, τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τοῦτο ἐλευθεράζει τε αἰὲ καὶ πολυεμεκῶς ἐξήσαντα, σοφίαν τε μεταχειρίζεσθαι φασιν οὐδὲν Χρηστών εἰδότες· οἱ δὲ ἀτεχνῶς σοφοὶ κεύραται μὲν²³ τοῦ Ἵφάσιδος καὶ τοῦ Ἰάγρου μέσσοι, τὴν δὲ χάριαν ταύτην οὐδὲ ἐπηλθεῖν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, οὗτοι τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ δέσσας, ἀλλ’ οἶμαι, τὰ ἱερὰ ἀπεστήμηνεν αὐτῷ. εἰ δὲ καὶ διέβη τὸν Ἵφασιν καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ γῆν ἡδυνήθη ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὴν γε τύρωσιν, ᾗν ἐκεῖνοι καρτο-
 κούσω, οὐδ’ αὖ μυρίους μὲν Ἀχαιλάεας, τρισμυρίους δὲ

²² περὶ χειρὶ σάμενοι Scheibe (Kay): πέριξ τὸ τείχος

ing in quest of my own kingdom. Giving me a joyful welcome, they followed me in the belief that I resembled my grandfather, arming themselves with daggers and bows, and our numbers kept growing. As I approached the gates, the inhabitants welcomed me so happily that they lit fire-brands from the altar of the Sun, came out before the gates, and led me here, singing many praises of my father and grandfather. As for the drone inside, they imprisoned him and walled him in, though I begged that he should not die in this way.”

33. Apollonius said in reply, “You have narrated a real *Return of the Children of Heracles*. The gods be praised for their scheme in helping a virtuous man to return when he went in pursuit of his own. But tell me this about the Wise Men: did these same men not once fall into Alexander’s power, and on being brought before him give a discourse about heaven?” “Those were Oxydrakae,”³³ said the other, “and that tribe is always claiming its freedom and preparing for war. They say they are conversant with philosophy, but they know nothing about virtue. The true Wise Men are situated half way between the Hyphasis and the Ganges, in territory which Alexander did not even approach, not because he was afraid of what it contained, presumably, but I suppose because he had received contrary signals from sacrifices. Even if he had crossed the Hyphasis, and been able to seize the land around the Wise Men, he could have brought ten thousand Achilleses and thirty

³³ People situated between the rivers Akesines (Chenab) and Hydraotes (Ravi).

²³ μὲν West: μέντοι