

Sri Lanka As Known To Strabo

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In this paper I propose to examine a number of references to Taprobane (the ancient Greek name for Sri Lanka) occurring in the *Geography* of Strabo (64 B. C. - A. D. 21 at least) ¹ in order to understand the extent of the knowledge possessed by the educated Romans in the early days of the Empire. It will be shown that although these Romans had considerable opportunities of acquiring up-to-date information concerning Sri Lanka and other countries of the East, they were prevented from doing so by restrictions enforced by a highbrow attitude to the classical literary tradition.

Strabo came from Amasea, a Greek town in the kingdom of Pontus, and lived during the reign of Augustus and at least into the first five years of Tiberius; for he mentions the great earthquake of Sardis which occurred within that period. ² He was a historian as well as a geographer, but his *Historical Sketches*, which were in 47 books, have not survived. ³ What we do have is his *Geography* in 17 books.

Much of his information came from personal observation during his wide travels, but the *Geography* also reflects his extensive reading and critical study of earlier authorities. "I shall accordingly describe," he says in the second book, "partly the lands and seas which I have travelled through myself; partly what I have found credible in those who have given me information orally or by writing" ⁴ He goes on to claim that he has travelled more widely than any previous geographer.

The basis of his treatise was the geographical work of Eratosthenes (3rd century B. C.) which he examined, analyzed, criticized and corrected, while at the same time making additions of his own. But between Eratosthenes's day and his own, much material of a geographical nature had been added by historical writers and adventurers by sea and land. Roman conquests revealed new lands of which Eratosthenes and his contemporaries knew little or nothing. Strabo could have drawn much of value from the memoirs of Roman generals and historic accounts of Roman campaigns; he does in fact make some use of Julius Caesar, Assinius Pollio and Fabius Pictor. But in spite of his admiration for

1. For text cf. *The Geography of Strabo with an English Translation* by H. L. Jones, in eight volumes. (London & New York, Loeb Classical Library) 1917-1932.

2. Strabo xiii.4.8; cf. Tacitus *Annales* ii.4.7

3. This work is cited by some ancient authors, e.g. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xiv. 7.

4. Strabo ii.5 10.

the Romans and their empire, Strabo had only a poor opinion of their geography (and, no doubt, posterity is in agreement with him on this point); and so his sources are predominantly Greek. However, by the time he wrote, Eratosthenes and the Alexander historians, whom he utilized, had become "classics" and a new work, if it was to command any respect, had to derive from them.

It comes to us as no surprise, therefore, that Strabo should prefer to use the earlier and respected writers rather than the accounts of more recent travellers who, as he himself says, were men without education and therefore unreliable.⁵

"As for the merchants who nowadays go from Egypt to India by way of the Nile and the Arabian Gulf, those who have gone round the coast of India as far as the Ganges are few. They were all moreover people without education, and therefore useless for giving any information about the geography."

To accommodate the accounts of these uneducated men would have been unthinkable for Strabo; after all it was imperative that his work should be a respectable one. For he was not writing for the masses. His work was intended for the educated, particularly for those engaged in the higher departments of public administration.⁶ These persons would derive from it the geographical and historical information about each country indispensable to their careers. That is why the physical characteristics of a country were supplemented with notices of its chief cities, illustrious men, and important political events.

His work is thus a sort of highly readable historical geography, highlighting what is most characteristic and interesting in a country. But this also meant that he would deliberately suppress whatever he thought was not useful to the class of persons for whom he was writing. Thus the role of astronomy and mathematics in geographical description is undervalued, and no attention is paid, for instance, to the determination of positions by means of co-ordinates.

One important feature of Strabo's work is that it has preserved extracts from authors who have long since perished. It is in this manner that we have preserved for us two of the earliest Greek notices of Sri Lanka, namely those of Onesicritus and Eratosthenes. These are quoted in the fifteenth book within the description of India.⁷

"They say that Taprobane is an island in the ocean seven days sail distant towards the south from the southernmost regions of India around the Koniakoi; that its length is about eight thousand stades in the direction of Aethiopia and that it has elephants too. Such, then, are the statements of Eratosthenes. But the additional statements of others, also, wherever they are accurate, will characterize

5. Strabo xv.1.4.

6. At i.2.2-6 Strabo emphasizes the importance of geographical knowledge in public affairs. At ii.5 17, he maintains that accounts of obsolete constitutions and modes of life are still useful as object lessons for imitation or avoidance.

7. Strabo xv.1.14-15.

my description. For instance, concerning Taprobane Onesicritus says that it is five thousand stades in size without defining its length or breadth; that it is twenty days voyage distant from the mainland, but that ships sail badly since their sailing gear is inefficient and they are built without belly-bolts on both sides; that there are also other islands between it and India, though that island is the southernmost; that amphibious creatures exist around it, some similar to oxen, others to horses, and others to other land animals."

Since I have commented elsewhere at greater length⁸ I shall confine myself to observing that the sentence which links the notice of Eratosthenes to that of Onesicritus gives the impression that Strabo is checking one source against the other. Onesicritus, who got his information most probably somewhere in northern India, gave the distance to the island as one of twenty days journey by sea, whereas Eratosthenes, who specifies the point of departure as the most southern parts of India, the land of the Koniakoi, gives the distance as one of seven days voyage. Similarly, whereas Eratosthenes noticed only the elephants of Taprobane, Onesicritus spoke of amphibious creatures resembling cows, horses and other land animals. Again, while Eratosthenes recorded the length of the island in the direction of Aethiopia, that is to say from east to west, Onesicritus gave the size, (*megathos*) without specifying length or breadth.

A modern observer might be tempted to imagine that Strabo preferred the sober facts of Eratosthenes to the "romantic fables" of Onesicritus. Yet it is interesting to note that he considers the account of the latter as containing "more accurate information" worth adding to what he has learnt from Eratosthenes. The context shows that his judgment is meant to apply to the entire description of India as well. With regard to Taprobane it is even possible that he actually preferred Onesicritus's figure of five thousand stades to Eratosthenes's eight thousand, seeing that he gives the lower figure earlier also when describing the island in the second book.⁹ There is, however, one important consideration which appears to have been overlooked, not only by Strabo, but also by modern critics of Onesicritus. Unlike the geographer concerned with the length and breadth of a land, Onesicritus as a navigator would have been more interested in the circumnavigation, so that the figure of five thousand stades may represent the circumference of the island than its length or breadth. In that case it may also be noted in passing that the figure is hardly an exaggeration of the reality.

One interesting feature of Strabo's information on Taprobane, one that came to be perpetuated by subsequent Greek geographers, is the comparison of the island

8. D. P. M. Weerakkody: 'The Earliest Greek Notices of Sri Lanka' *S. L. J. H.* x. 1 & 2 (1984) pp 1-26.

9. Strabo ii.1-14. In a note to the Greek text at xv.1.14. Jones says that Meineke, following Groskurd, proposed to emend the figure for the length of Taprobane to "five thousand" to bring it, I suppose, in line with the present passage. However, what Meineke says in his Teubner edition of 1913 (p. 962) is that a figure of five thousand stades for the breadth should be added, following Bernhardy.

with Britain. According to him, Taprobane is no less in size than Britain.¹⁰

"In this southern sea there lies in front of India an island not smaller than Britain, namely, Taprobane."

A similar statement is also found in the cosmological work known as the *De Mundo*, which had been falsely attributed to Aristotle. According to its author Taprobane, situated beyond India and lying aslant to the inhabited world, is not smaller than Britain.¹¹

However, whereas Strabo and later geographers frequently make the island lie to the west of India, this author places it beyond India. This is probably not due so much to accurate knowledge as to the prevalent notions of Taprobane as a land outside the inhabited world. We know that Pomponius Mela, following Hipparchus, thought that Taprobane was either a rather big island or the first part of another world, one reason for his indecision being that, though inhabited, the island had not been circumnavigated.¹² Within half a century of Strabo's death the elder Pliny could still speak of Taprobane as "banished by nature to the confines of the world."¹³ The Roman poet Ovid, who was Strabo's contemporary, knew of Taprobane as a remote tropical place in the Indian Ocean, but whether he knew of its insularity is a difficult matter to decide owing to divergences in readings in the various manuscripts of his *Letters from the Pontus*.¹⁴

We have no means of tracing the origins of the comparison between Taprobane and Britain. We cannot even determine which Greek geographer was the first to use it; this is because the date of the *De Mundo* is uncertain. Did one author borrow from the other, or were they both following a common source? It is not possible to give a definite answer. We know, however, that Strabo was considerably influenced by the teaching of Posidonius, while the same philosopher's impact on the *De Mundo*

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10. Strabo ii, 5.32. As far as we know, Julius Caesar (*B.G.* v.12) was the first to give any definite measurements for Britain, and according to him (*B.G.* iv.20) that island, up to his time, was pretty well unknown.
11. Ps. - Aristotle: *De Mundo* 3.393 B 14. There is also a Latin translation of the *De Mundo* by Apuleius, author of the celebrated *Golden Ass*. As we have it, this Latin version displays outstanding ignorance either on the part of the scribes or on the part of the author himself. The relevant phrase reads: *Minores vera ultra Indos Bromane atque Zone*. The Greek word *loxē* ("aslant") in the original has been misread as *Zoxe*, and taken to be the name of an island. P. Thomas amended "*Bromane*" to "*Taprobane*" (Cf. *Apuleius De Deo Socratis* etc. ed. P. Thomas, *De Mundo* cap. 7 p. 70.) This correction is no doubt supported by the Greek text, but the rest of the passage does not approximate to the original. Not only did the author of the Latin version misunderstand his original, but evidently he knew nothing of the regions that were being described. The work therefore deserves nothing more than passing mention.
12. Pomponius Mela: *Chorographia* iii. 7.70.
13. Pliny *N. H.* vi. 89.
14. Ovid: *Ex Ponto* i. 5. 80: *Aut ubi Taprobanen Indica tingit aqua*. *Tingit* ("bathes") is supported by the best manuscript tradition, but less reliable readings include *cingit* ("surrounds") and *pingit* ("paints"). For discussion of this problem cf. D. P. M. Weerakkody: "Sri Lanka in Greek and Latin Verse". *Navasamskriti: Cultural Quarterly* i. 3. (1986) pp. 39-46.

has also been recognized. It is therefore tempting to speculate whether the comparison might not go back ultimately to Posidonius. But the extant geographical fragments of Posidonius, which have no references to Taprobane, cannot support any such speculations.

One fact, however, is certain. From now on the comparison becomes natural and standard to the Greeks and Romans. Britain and Taprobane, the two ends of the known world come to be thought of as possessing parallel characteristics, thus giving the inhabited world some sort of symmetry. Britain like Taprobane, was sometimes thought to be the first part of another world. Even after the insularity of the two islands was known, their size was exaggerated and, just as the northern part of Britain was turned east, by Ptolemy for instance, and made to hug the coast of the European mainland, so, too, the southern part of Taprobane was made to extend westwards until it almost touched the eastern shore of Africa.¹⁵

Ideas regarding the size of the two islands appear to have undergone some transformation with time. What was maintained by Strabo and the *De Mundo* was that Taprobane was not smaller than Britain. However, in the next century, Ptolemy says that of the most noteworthy island, the first is Taprobane, and the second is Albion of the British Isles, the implied criterion being clearly that of size.¹⁶ Britain was better known to the Graeco-Roman world of Ptolemy's time owing to the exploits of the Romans. Thus Taprobane, being the less known of the two, came to be thought of as the larger.

Unlike many of his Roman contemporaries, Strabo, as we have seen, believed that Taprobane was not a region outside the inhabited world, but that it was part of our own world. In supporting this conviction, interestingly enough, he relied on the reports of the navigators of whom, at least of those who sailed to the far east, he elsewhere expresses such a poor opinion. He thus locates Taprobane opposite the Cinnamon-bearing Land (i.e., Somalia) and places it towards the east on the same parallel. It is also on the south in relation to India.¹⁷

15. cf. *Periplus Maris Erythraei* 61.

16. Ptolemy *Geography* viii 5, 1.

17. Strabo ii. 1. 14. Almost all ancient Greek and Roman writers who have dealt with the subject attribute cassia and cinnamon to Arabia and East Africa. Herodotus (iii. 110 - 111) has a story of how cinnamon and cassia are protected by fierce birds in southern Arabia. According to Agatharchides (fr. 187, Muller, *G. G. M. i.*, p. 186) these spices were produced among the Sabaeans, and he is followed in this by Artemidorus (apud Strabo xvi. 4. 19), while Pliny says that both spices came from Aethiopia. According to Hipparchus, (apud Strabo ii, 5.35) the Cinnamon-bearing Land was in Africa, south of Meroe, while Strabo himself (xvi 4. 14 and xvii. 1. 1) places it inland from the East African port of Daphnus. Today, these lands do not produce any cinnamon or cassia. These spices are known to have been used widely for embalming; but chemical tests have not reported anything in surviving mummies other than resinous substances akin to myrrh and frankincense, and it has even been suggested that the words *cassia* and *cinnamomum* probably did not designate the same spices we know under those names today. (cf. M. G. Raschke: "New Studies in Roman Commerce with the East" *A. N. W. R.* ii. 9. 2 (1978) pp. 604-681; cf. p. 655 with notes.) I feel that the problem of the reticence of early foreign writers concerning cinnamon in Sri Lanka should be studied against a similar background rather than one concerned with professional trade secrets jealously guarded.

"Let us pass on to the region which rises up opposite to the Cinnamon-bearing Land and lies on the same parallel towards the east. This is the region around Taprobane. It is firmly believed that Taprobane is a large island in the Ocean which lies in front of India towards the south. It stretches lengthwise towards Aethiopia more than five thousand stades, as they say, and from it, both ivory is brought in abundance to the markets of the Indians, and tortoise-shell and other merchandise. If we allot to this island a breadth corresponding to its length, and include the crossing from India, the distance would come to not less than three thousand stades as much as that from the boundary of the inhabited world to Meroe, if indeed the capes of India are to rise opposite Meroe. But it is more convincing to put down even more than three thousand."

In this description, Strabo is proceeding eastward from Africa; therefore the words "lie in front of India" (*prokeitai tēs Indikēs*) imply that he thought of Taprobane as lying to the west of India as well as being to the south of it. This is also confirmed by his statement that it extends in the direction of Aethiopia. A similar view is also expressed in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*. It is therefore possible that while some geographers placed Taprobane too far to the east and south, even taking it beyond the limits of the inhabitable world, others brought it too close to the shore of eastern Africa. These latter writers, who include Strabo and the author of the *Periplus*, appear to be indebted to the actual experiences of navigators, whereas the theoreticians locate the island far away beyond anything reached by Alexander the Great. It is also worth realizing that these navigators, who doubtless had first hand experience of the regions they were describing, have probably preserved an echo of the trans-oceanic trade route between East Africa and south East Asia. We may also note that, as late as the sixth century A. D., Cosmas Indicopleustes also spoke of Taprobane as one of the "outer" countries, i. e. lying to the west of India: and he too had been a practicing navigator.¹⁸

As we have seen, Strabo generally adopts a somewhat snobbish and mistrustful attitude towards information supplied by merchants and others who have sailed to the east. However, when it suits him, he does not hesitate to use their evidence in support of his general geographical arguments. Thus the point he wishes to establish in citing their evidence on Taprobane is that the island, though further south from India, is still in the inhabitable world. We have already noted the opinion of those Hellenistic and early Roman geographers who believed that Taprobane was part of a southern continent. Against them he cites the report of navigators that Taprobane is much to the south of India, and that it is nevertheless inhabited and is situated opposite to the Island of the Egyptians and the Cinnamon-bearing Land, and that the temperature of their atmospheres was similar.¹⁹

18. Cosmas Indicopleustes : *Topographia Christiana* xi. 448 A. (Winstedt).

19. Strabo ii. 5. 24; cf. also i. 4. 2 and ii. 1. 17.

“For, (those who have sailed to the east) tell us that the island called Taprobane is much further south from India, though inhabited for all that; it rises opposite to the island of the Egyptians and the Cinnamon-bearing Land; for the temperature of their climates is very much alike.”

Passages such as the above show that accounts of personal experiences were available to Strabo, had he chosen to use them. Strabo's point is that, if Taprobane has the same climate as the Cinnamon-bearing Land, then it must be on the same parallel and not further south and beyond the inhabitable world as some Hellenistic geographers had thought.

Elsewhere,²⁰ he defines the parallel of latitude applicable to Taprobane as the parallel of the Cinnamon-bearing Land, a definition which leaves no doubt that he wished to locate the island within the parallels of the inhabited world. For the island, or at least its southern-most inhabitants, would, come within this parallel.

“This parallel is produced on the one side just about to the more southerly parts of Taprobane or to its furthest inhabitants, and on to the other side to the southern-most parts of Libya.”

J. Filliozat²¹ is of the opinion that Taprobane and the Cinnamon-bearing Land were identical. This opinion is based on a misinterpretation of certain passages in the *Natural History* of the Elder Pliny. Thus, when Pliny says²² that cinnamon is brought to southern Arabia across a wide expanse of sea by the Troglodytes, who were often linked by marriage to certain Aethiopians, Filliozat thinks that by the Troglodytes and Aethiopians we should understand, not the inhabitants of the western shore of the Red Sea, but the people of Sri Lanka, India, and even Southeast Asia, in whose lands cinnamon is most abundant, and who might be designated as Aethiopians in the widest sense, i. e. “people with burnt faces”, since they share many traits of appearance with the peoples of Africa. He also cites the opinion of certain authors quoted by Strabo²³ to the effect that most of the cinnamon exported by the Arabs came to them from India. He further points out that Strabo attributes to the Cinnamon-bearing Land the same latitude and characteristics as Taprobane making it the last of the inhabited lands, and compares this last point with Pliny's statement that Taprobane was long considered to be another world.²⁴

Although later Greek and Roman authors did sometimes confuse Aethiopia with India, there can be no doubt however that the passages of Pliny and Strabo

20. Strabo ii. 5. 35.

21. J. Filliozat: “Les échanges entre l'Inde et l'Empire Romain aux premiers siècles de l'ère Chrétienne” *Revue Historique* cci. (1949) pp. 1-29; cf. p. 7-8.

22. Pliny *N. H.* xii. 42.

23. Strabo xvi. 4. 25.

24. Pliny *N. H.* vi. 81.

which Filliozat has cited to confirm his interpretation actually refer to East Africa and not to South Asia. Moreover, the complete silence of Greek and Latin authors concerning the cinnamon of Taprobane is matched by a similar reticence on the part of the early writers of Sri Lanka; the obvious implication being that the commodity was, in all probability, not produced in the island on a commercial scale before the late middle ages. Therefore the Cinnamon-bearing Land of Greek geographers could not have been the same as Taprobane. Strabo thus agrees with the general Greek tradition of not associating Taprobane with the production of cinnamon.

But he does associate the island with other well known exotic products of antiquity, namely, ivory and tortoise-shell. These were apparently produced on a commercial scale at this time, for he specifically says, "both ivory is brought in abundance to the markets of the Indians, and tortoise-shell and other merchandise."²⁵ What the other merchandise consisted of, Strabo does not tell us; the *Periplus* mentions pearls, transparent stones, and muslins in addition to tortoise-shell, while a century later Ptolemy could mention rice, honey, ginger, beryl, and other metals as well as elephants and tigers.²⁶

Strabo tells us that these products of Taprobane were brought in large quantities to the Indian markets. This was one piece of evidence that led Warmington to conclude that at this time the Greek merchants did not come directly to Sri Lanka, but were content to buy its products from the markets of India where all of them were available.²⁷ As a corollary he cites the scarcity of Republican and early imperial Roman coin finds in the island and believes that it was Tamil middlemen who brought these goods from Sri Lanka to India.

There may be more than one reason for the absence of early Roman coins on the island (such as melting, re-exporting, and extensive use of barter). There is however little doubt that at this period Tamil influence over Sri Lanka was considerable. Five Tamil kings are recorded between 43 and 29 B. C., and their influence appears to have lasted still longer.²⁸ These Tamil kings are thought to be of Pandya origin. Now we know that the Pandyas had by this time achieved a significant position in international commerce. Strabo himself mentions an embassy sent by one of their kings to the Roman emperor, Augustus, offering friendship and the right of access to his kingdom.²⁹ It is therefore not altogether improbable that Sri Lanka's dependence on South Indian intermediaries for its international commerce must have continued at least up to the time of the emperor

25. Strabo ii. 1. 14.

26. *Periplus Maris Erythraei* 61; Ptolemy : *Geography* vii. 4. 1.

27. E. H. Warmington *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India* (Cambridge 1928) p. 10

28. *Mahavamsa* xxxiii. 38 ff. (Geiger).

29. Strabo xv. 1. 4.

Claudius (A. D. 41-54) when Sri Lanka was able to send an embassy directly to Rome.³⁰

The reference to tortoise-shell is interesting. In literature, this product often had the epithet "Indian", and since such references become frequent with the beginning of the Roman empire, it appears that by that time it had come into use as an article of luxury in the West. It was chiefly used by wealthy Romans to provide a veneer for their rich furniture, and ivory bedsteads were especially decorated in this manner.

Strabo's statement leads us to believe that the tortoise-shell of Taprobane was known to the Romans as early as the utilization of monsoon navigation for trade with India, if not from earlier times. That the trade in tortoise-shell increased greatly with the utilization of monsoon navigation is clear from the increase of references in classical authors of the subsequent period. According to the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, which is now generally believed to date from mid first century A. D.,³¹ the best of all tortoise-shell came from the Malay Peninsula; but the supplies from Taprobane still remained sufficiently important to attract the attention of the author. Moreover, according to Pliny,³² large tortoises formed the chief object of fishing in Taprobane, where the occupation was pursued with considerable pleasure. What is surprising, however, is Pliny's further statement that their shells formed the roof of houses. (As *testudo* may denote "vault", "tile", or "shelter" as well as a tortoise-shell it is possible that there is some linguistic confusion here.) This statement is also given by Aelian with considerable exaggeration and elaboration for rhetorical effect.³³

"Now in this sea turtles of immense size are hatched, and their shells are made into roofs, for a single shell measures fifteen cubits across, so that quite a number of persons can live underneath; and it keeps off the most fiery sun and affords a welcome shade; moreover it resists a down-pour of rain, and being stronger than any tiles, it shakes off pelting showers, while the inmates beneath listen to it being pounded, as though the water were descending upon a tiled roof. Yet they have no need to exchange old for new as you must with a broken tile, for the turtle shell is hard and resembles a rock that has been hollowed out on the roof of a cavern vaulted by nature."

It is very probable that Aelian is here writing under Pliny's inspiration. The alternative is to assume that both authors derived from a common original, now lost.

30. Pliny: *N. H.* vi. 84; cf. D. P. M. Weerakkody: Sri Lanka's diplomatic mission to Rome in the first century A.D. *Palmali: Classical Association of Ceylon Golden Jubilee Commemoration Volume (1935-1985)*, pp. 66-80.

31. *Periplus Maris Erythraei* 63 and 61; cf. Warmington, *op. cit.*, p. 166. On the date of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* see especially pp 663-664 of the article by M. G. Raschke cited in note 34 below.

32. Pliny: *N. H.* vi. 91: *Esse et in piscatu voluptatem testudinum maxime. quarum superficie familias habitantium contigi: tanta reperiri magnitudine.*

33. Aelian *Historia Animalium* xvi. 17 (Scholfield).

but I am not aware of any evidence in favour of such a hypothesis. There are other instances of correspondence between these two authors, even within their accounts of Taprobane. Strabo, on the other hand, appears to have followed a different tradition.

Recent scholarship is inclined to consider the use of the southwest monsoon for commercial voyages to India as beginning before the time of Strabo,³⁴ probably going back as far as the two voyages of Eudoxus of Cyzicus.³⁵ The author of the *Periplus* attributes its discovery to one Hippalus, and this attribution appears to be implied also in Pliny's account of the voyage to India.³⁶ The effects of this discovery, however, came to be fully realized only with favourable economic conditions brought about by the "swift and dramatic return of wealth and prosperity to the Mediterranean world after 30 B C, which led to the enormous increase in Red Sea and Indian Ocean commerce of which we know from Strabo, Pliny, and the *Periplus*."³⁷

The existence of works such as the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* leads us to believe that this growth in commerce was no doubt reflected in a corresponding increase in the flow of knowledge concerning eastern lands. But reverence for the time-honoured tradition of the "classics", particularly the writings of Alexander's companions and of Hellenistic writers such as Megasthenes, Eratosthenes and Hipparchus, prevented Strabo and his contemporaries from making full use of this material, which they rejected because it was different from what the old masters had written.³⁸ Strabo's all too brief notices of Taprobane are a sad reflection of what could have been achieved, had their author thought better of his contemporary informants.

34. M. G. Raschke ; *op. cit.* p. 660 ff. with notes.

35. Strabo ii. 3-4 = Posidonius, *F. Gr. Hist.* no. 87, fr. 28. 4; cf. also Pliny ; *N. H.* ii. 168. Onesicritus (apud. Strabo xv. 1. 34) seems to have been aware of the southwest monsoon (though not using it for navigation), but Agatharchides (fr. 106, Muller p. 193) is not aware of it at all.

36. *Periplus Maris Erythraei* 57; Pliny : *N. H.* vi. 100-104.

37. Raschke *op. cit.* p. 662.

38. A. Dihle: 'The conception of India in Hellenistic and Roman literature' *P.C.P.S.* cxc = n.s. x, (1964) pp. 15-23.