



Brill's New Jacoby

Skylax of Karyanda (709)

T 1

Suda s.v. Σκύλαξ

Translation

Subject: **genre: geography**Source Date: **10th century AD**Historian's Date: **6th-5th century BC**Historical Period: **519-516 BC**

Καρυανδεύς (πόλις δ' ἐστὶ τῆς Καρίας πλησίον Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ τὰ Καρύανδα)· μαθηματικὸς καὶ μουσικὸς. Περίπλου τῶν ἐκτὸς τῶν Ἑρακλέους στηλῶν· τὰ κατὰ Ἑρακλείδην τὸν Μυλασσῶν βασιλέα· Γῆς Περιόδον· Ἀντιγραφὴν πρὸς τὴν Πολυβίου ἱστορίαν.

A Karyandan (**Karyanda** is a city in **Caria** near **Halikarnassos**); a mathematician and scholar. **Circumnavigation of Lands Beyond the Pillars of Heracles**. **On Herakleides, King of the Mylassans**. **Circuit of the Earth**; **Reply to the history of Polybios**.

Commentary

The entry in the *Suda* is notoriously confused. It names **Skylax** the inhabitant of **Karyanda** as a mathematician and a scholar (or musician). There is no other evidence that he was accomplished in these fields; it is likely a confusion with **Skylax of Halikarnassos**, an astrologer and magistrate and friend of **Panaetius** (**Cicero, De Divinatione** 2.42 [88]; cf. F. J. González Ponce, 'Suda, Σκύλαξ, Sobre el título, el contenido y la unidad de *FGrHist* 3C 709' *GeogrAnt* 6 (1997) 37). Of the works it attributes to him, the two geographical works, the **Circumnavigation of Lands Beyond the Pillars of Herakles** and the **Circuit of the Earth**, may correspond to the original account of Skylax's journey to the east, and to the later **Periplous** of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic coast of **Africa** that circulated under his name; but the match is not exact. **Gēs Periodos** would be a reasonably accurate title for the original exploration account, as it took Skylax to the outer edges of the known world (and it is a title used for **Hecataios**' geographical work, which was influenced by Skylax). *Circumnavigation of Lands Beyond the Pillars of Herakles* is more problematic, as it does not describe the pseudonymous **Periplous tēs thalassēs tēs oikoumenēs Eurōpēs kai Asias kai Libuēs** well. Vossius, followed by Müller (*GGM* vol. I, xxxviii), emended the title to ἐκτὸς καὶ ἐντὸς (outside and within) to make it conform better to the extant pseudonymous text, but there is not sufficient warrant for this change, and Adler kept the original reading in her edition. **Periplous** may in fact be an alternate title of the original account of his eastern voyage; it is used by **Harpokration** as the title of Skylax's work on the east (F 6). The Pillars may refer to some boundary in the east, rather than the more commonly known Pillars at the **Straits of Gibraltar** (**Strabo** [3.5.6] suggests that Pillars of **Herakles** were pointed out in **India** at the time of **Alexander**'s expedition). Others have suggested that Skylax made a subsequent venture into the Western Mediterranean (so S. Hornblower, *Mausolus* (Oxford 1982), 20), and wrote a comprehensive work describing the ends of the earth; but there is no evidence in the fragments definitely attributable to him that he visited the west. The work on **Herakleides** belongs to the early Skylax, although Jacoby did not accept it; see G. Schepens, 'Skylax of Karyanda' No. 1000J. Bollansée, J. Engels, G. Schepens and E. Theys (eds), *FrGrHist IV A: Biography. I. The Pre-Hellenistic Period*

(Leiden/Boston/Köln 1998), 2–27). Herakleides, son of **Ibanollis**, led an ambush against the Persian army in the course of the Carian revolt (**Herdotos** 5.121), and successfully engaged the enemy; he also took part in the battle of **Artemisium**—the famous battle against the **Persians** off of **Euboea**, although some have seen him fighting offshore of an obscure Artemisium in the Western Mediterranean—according to a fragmentary papyrus of **Sosylos** in Würzburg (BNJ176 F 1; U. Wilcken, 'Ein Sosylos-Fragment in der Würzburger Papyrussammlung' *Hermes* 41 (1906), 103–141; see V. Krings, *Carthage et les Grecs c. 580-480 Av. J.C.* (London/Boston/Köln 1998), 218-219). As a contemporary of Skylax and king of neighboring **Mylassa**, Herakleides would have been a suitable subject for a biography, which, if Sosylos' description of Herakleides' clever maneuver derived from Skylax (so Krings, *Carthage*, 225), was favorable. The reply to **Polybius** is not the Karyandan's, and most likely belongs to the Halikarnassian.

T 2 a

Strabo 14.2.20

Translation

Subject: **genre: geography**

Source Date: **1st century BC-1st century AD**

Historian's Date: **6th-5th century BC**

Historical Period: **519-516 BC**

ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξύ Καρύανδα λιμὴν καὶ πόλις καὶ νῆσος ὁμώνυμος ταύτηι, ἣν ὠίκουν Καρυανδεῖς (ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἦν καὶ Σκύλαξ ὁ παλαιὸς συγγραφεύς).

In between them (**Myndos** and **Bargylia**) is **Karyanda**, a harbor and city and island with the same name, on which live the **Karyandans**; from there came **Skylax** the ancient writer.

T 2 b

Stephanus Byzantius s.v. Καρύανδα

Translation

Subject: **genre: geography**

Source Date: **6th century AD**

Historian's Date: **6th-5th century BC**

Historical Period: **519-516 BC**

· πόλις καὶ λιμὴν ὁμώνυμος, πλησίον Μύνδου καὶ Κῶ· Ἑκαταῖος Καρύανδαν αὐτὴν φησι ... ἣν καὶ Σκύλαξ ὁ παλαιὸς λογογράφος.

A city and harbor of the same name, near **Myndos** and **Kos**; **Hekataios** (BNJ1 F 242) says it is **Karyanda**. From there came **Skylax** the ancient story-writer.

Commentary

The **Suda** makes **Karyanda** a Carian city in the vicinity of the **Halikarnassos** peninsula; **Strabo** (in the new Radt edition) puts it between **Myndos** and **Bargylia**, suggesting the northern coast of the peninsula. **Stephanos** (here in the edition of Meineke—Billerbeck has not yet published the volume that includes this entry) locates it near Myndos and **Kos** to the south; **Pseudo-Skylax** (99), **Strabo's** source, lists Karyanda as a νῆσος καὶ λιμὴν καὶ πόλις (island and harbor and city). The location of Karyanda is uncertain; G. E. Bean and J. M. Cook, 'The Halikarnassos Peninsula' *ABSA* 50 (1955), 155–160, argue that the town was moved in the Hellenistic period. They note that mss. of **Strabo** and **Stephanos** both name a λίμνη (lake), on which grounds they place the later Hellenistic town at the modern village of **Türkbükü** on the mainland near a small lake; but they suggest that that the Archaic city was on the island of **Salih**, closer to ancient **Bargylia**. This solution is followed in the *Barrington Classical Atlas* and P. Flensted-Jensen, '896. Karyanda' M.H.

Hansen and T.H. Nielsen (eds), *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis* (Oxford 2004), 1119–20. But if Pseudo-Skylax is the source of the description, then the λίμνη of Strabo and Stephanos is a corruption—Radt prefers λιμῆν in Strabo. We need only seek a city on an island with a harbor, in which case the island of Salih, which has ruins from the 4th Century BCE (PECS, “Salihada”) suffices. Pliny’s list of the cities of the peninsula (*Naturalis Historia* 5.107) is topographically confused, but distinguishes Karyanda from Neapolis, which suggests he means the island. Stephanos’ entry follows Strabo, except for the mention of Hekataios, on whom he draws frequently; his description of Skylax as a *logographos* is simply a variant on Strabo’s *syngraphheus*.

T 3 a

Herodotos 4.44.1-3

Translation

Subject: **genre: geography**

Source Date: **5th century BC**

Historian's Date: **6th-5th century BC**

Historical Period: **519-516 BC**

Τῆς δὲ Ἀσίας τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ Δαρείου ἐξευρέθη, ὃς βουλόμενος Ἴνδὸν ποταμόν— ὃς κροκοδείλους δεύτερος οὗτος ποταμῶν πάντων παρέχεται—τοῦτον τὸν ποταμὸν εἰδέναι τῆι, ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῖ, πέμπει πλοίοισι ἄλλους τε τοῖσι ἐπίστευε τὴν ἀληθείην ἐρέειν καὶ δὴ καὶ Σκύλακα ἄνδρα Καρυανδέα. (2) οἱ δὲ ὀρμηθέντες ἐκ Κασπατύρου τε πόλιος καὶ τῆς Πακτυίης γῆς ἔπλεον κατὰ ποταμὸν πρὸς ἠῶ τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς ἐς θάλασσαν, διὰ θαλάσσης δὲ πρὸς ἑσπέρην πλέοντες τριηκοστῶι μηνὶ ἀπικνέονται ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον, ὅθεν ὁ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς τοὺς Φοίνικας τοὺς πρότερον εἶπα ἀπέστειλε περιπλῶειν Λιβύην. (3) μετὰ δὲ τούτους περιπλώσαντας Ἴνδούς τε κατεστρέψατο Δαρεῖος καὶ τῆι θαλάσσει ταύτηι ἐχρᾶτο. οὕτως καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας πλὴν τὰ πρὸς ἠλίον ἀνίσχοντα τὰ ἄλλα ἀνεύρηται ὅμοια παρεχομένη τῆι Λιβύηι.

Most of the rest of **Asia** was discovered by **Darius**, who wanted to know where the **Indus** river, which is the only other of all the rivers to contain crocodiles, debouches into the sea. He sent on ships several he trusted to tell the truth, and especially **Skylax**, a Karyandan man. (2) Starting from the city of **Kaspattyros** in the **Pactyan** land they sailed on the river to the east and the rising of the sun to the sea, and through the sea to the west. Sailing for thirty months they arrived at the same land from which the Egyptian king had earlier sent the **Phoenicians** of whom I spoke previously (4.42), to circumnavigate **Libya**. (3) After they circumnavigated the Indus Darius conquered the Indians and made use of this sea. Thus, it was discovered that Asia, except for the parts farthest east, shares similarities with Libya.

Commentary

Herodotos (here in Rosèn’s edition) represents the only preserved account of **Skylax**’s expedition; but the description leaves much uncertain. Herodotos has the expedition ‘starting’ from **Kaspattyros**. Surely the expedition was commissioned and assembled farther west; but the account that survived must have begun at Kaspattyros; in which case all fragments referring to lands around the **Mediterranean** are likely to be from a different work, written later and preserved under Skylax’s name (of which the surviving **Periplous** is but one iteration). Herodotos’ Kaspattyros is the same as the (more correct) **Kaspapyros** known to **Hekataios**, as cited in **Stephanos of Byzantion** (s. Κασπάπυρος, *BNJ* 1 F 295). Hekataios described Kaspapyros as a Gandaran city, which he called a Σκυθῶν δὲ ἀκτὴ ‘Skythian promontory/shore’ (Jacoby accepted Sieglin’s emendation Σκυθῶν δὲ ἀντὶ ‘opposite the Skythians,’ which P. Daffinà, ‘On Kaspapyros and the So-Called “Shore of the Skythians”’ *AAnthung* 28 (1980[1984]), 1–8, rejects).

Herodotos has no certain idea where the city is. Elsewhere (3.102.1) he puts **Indians** at the border of Kaspatyros in the Pactyan land, to the north of the other Indians (certainly not the modern Afghan province of **Paktika**, nor the adjacent **Paktia**), and says that their way of life resembles that of the **Bactrians**; he also credits these Indians with using gold-digging ants. In the list of **Xerxes**' army, he associates **Pactyikē** with other eastern lands (7.85-6); but in **Darius**' tribute list, he joins the **Pactyans** with the **Armenians**, which makes no sense geographically (3.93.1). **Pactyikē** has no identifiable equivalent on the Persian royal inscriptions. Earlier attempts to place Kaspatyros on the **Indus**, either around **Multan** in the **Punjab** or up in **Kashmir**, have been abandoned (A.D.H. Bivar, 'The Indus lands' *CAH*² 4 (1988), 202). O. Caroe, *The Pathans 550 B.C.-A.D. 1957* (London 1957), 30-4, identifies Kaspatyros with Sanskrit **Purushapura**, which he locates near modern **Peshawar** on the **Kabul** river; he points out that the river is not consistently navigable upstream of Peshawar. W. Vogelsang, *The Rise and Organisation of the Achaemenid Empire: The Eastern Iranian Evidence* (Leiden 1992), 196, while accepting that **Gandara** encompasses the districts of Peshawar and **Taxila**, prefers to identify Kaspatyros with **Capisa**, farther up the Kabul in the vicinity of **Begram** in Northeast **Afghanistan**.

Herodotos notes emphatically that Skylax sailed east, but the Indus flows south by southwest. This discrepancy is partly accounted for if the voyage began on the Kabul; but even so, it is a major misrepresentation of the journey, impossible to credit to Skylax. D. Panchenko's revival (D. Panchenko, 'Skylax' Circumnavigation of India and its Interpretation in Early Greek Geography, Ethnography and Cosmography, *I' Hyperboreus* 4 (1998), 211-42) of a suggestion by J. L. Myres (in J. L. Myres, 'An attempt to reconstruct the maps used by Herodotos' *GJ* 8 (1896) 623) that Skylax sailed down the **Ganges** fails to convince. Herodotos's description of the voyage is lacking in verifiable details; indeed, he shows no knowledge of the Persian gulf, here or elsewhere. Furthermore, thirty months is a long time for the journey, which covered over 5000 miles. But an excessively protracted period is not *prima facie* evidence of falsehood. A circumnavigation of the gulf might account for some of the delay. Weather and sailing conditions—the summer monsoon in India, the prevailing northerly winds in the **Red Sea**—might be contributing factors as well. Furthermore, Skylax was likely charged with intelligence gathering and conducting diplomacy, as was **Demokedes** in the west (**Herodotos** 3.135-137) and the Fish-eaters sent by **Cambyzes** to the **Ethiopians** (3.17.2, 21.2). Although Herodotos refers to **Darius**' 'conquest' of **India** as a subsequent event, military operations may have been involved in Skylax's voyage as well (H. Schiwiek, 'Der Persische Golf als Schiffahrts- und Seehandelsroute in Achämenidischer Zeit und in der Zeit Alexanders des Großen' *BJ* 162 (1962), 8-19).

Herodotos' aside on the presence of the crocodile, *Crocodylus palustris*, in the Indus, may derive from Skylax' observation. Herodotos' comments on the crocodile and on the general similarity of **Asia** to **Libya** reflect what would become a common theme in Greek geography: namely, the close connection, in climate and natural history, between the **Nile** and the Indus. While supporting this connection, he implicitly rejects the idea that the Nile and the Indus are physically connected—especially as he has the Nile start in the west of **Africa** (2.31-4), evidently confusing it with the **Niger**.

T 3 b

Strabo 2.3.4 p. 98

Translation

Subject: **genre: geography**

Source Date: **1st century BC-1st century AD**

Historian's Date: **6th-5th century BC**

Historical Period: **519-516 BC**

μνησθεῖς δὲ τῶν περιπλεῦσαι λεγομένων τὴν Λιβύην, Ἡρόδοτον μὲν οἴεσθαι φησὶν ὑπὸ Δαρείου πεμφθέντας τινὰς τελέσαι τὸν περίπλουν ... ἀμάρτυρα δὲ ταῦτ' εἶναι φήσας...

Recalling those who are said to have sailed around **Libya**, [**Poseidonios** (*BNJ* 87 F 28)] says that **Herodotos** thinks that some men sent by **Darius** accomplished the circumnavigation ...

but he says that these reports are unsupported by evidence ...

Commentary

Strabo 's reference (in the new Radt edition) has nothing to do with **Skylax** ' expedition. **Poseidonios** was undoubtedly referring to the expedition of **Phoenicians** sent by **Necho II** to circumnavigate **Africa** , confusing it with the failed expedition around the continent sent by **Darius** and led by **Sataspes** (**Herodotos** 4.42-43).

T 4

Scholias on Pseudo-Skylax, *Periplus* § 1

Subject: **genre: geography**

Source Date: **5th century AD**

Historian's Date: **6th-5th century BC**

Historical Period: **519-516 BC**

Σκύλαξ ὁ Καρυανδεὺς ἀρχαιότατος μὲν ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ, τῶν δὲ πλείστων ἔτι μερῶν τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένης καὶ τῆς ἔνδον Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν θαλάσσης παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἀγνοουμένων, περίπλου τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀναγράψαι προείλετο. τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῆς ἐώιας Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδῶν δῆλα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πάντα κατέστησε, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἐσπερίων ἔθνῶν ἢ Ῥωμαίων ἀνδρεία πολέμῳ τούτῳ κρατήσασα. τῆς μὲν οὖν ἀκριβοῦς γνώσεως τῶν τόπων ἀπάντων διὰ τὰς εἰρημένας αἰτίας οὐκ ἴσχυσεν ἐφικέσθαι, μέρη δὲ πλείστα καλῶς καὶ ἀκολούθως περιέπλευσεν, ὥσπερ τὸν Ἴόνιον ἦτοι Ἀδρίαν κόλπον, καὶ προσέτι γε τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον πᾶσαν μετὰ τῶν ἐνοικούντων ἔθνῶν, ἔτι μὴν ἕτερα μέρη τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τῶν προσοικούντων αὐτῇ σαφῶς παραστήσας. δοκεῖ δὲ πως καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς ἀγνοίας τῶν πλείστων τόπων τὴν βραχυλογίαν ὥσπερ ἀπολογίαν τινὰ πεποιῆσθαι, δι' ὀλίγων σφόδρα χωρίων τὰ πλείστα τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ἢ ἀναζητεῖν ἢ εἰδέναι βουλόμενος. τῆς δὲ ἀρχαιότητος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐναργὲς γνώρισμα τὸ μήτε Ἀλέξανδρον εἰδέναι τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλέα μήτε (τινὰ) τῶν ὀλίγων ἔμπροσθεν ἐκείνου χρόνου, ὥστε οὐκ ἂν τις ἀμάρτοι θαύματος ἄξιον ἡγούμενος τὸν ἄνδρα τῶν πλείστων ἐφικέσθαι δυνηθέντα. Αἴλιος Δῖος ἐν τῷ Περὶ

Translation

Skylax of Karyanda is the earliest man, at a time when most parts of our settled world and the sea within the Pillars of Herakles were still unknown to most people, to endeavor to write up a periplous of the settled world. **Alexander of Macedon** revealed all the lands of the east clearly for men, while Roman valor in war conquered the lands of the western peoples. He was not capable of attaining exact knowledge of all the places because of the reasons mentioned, but for most places he traced the circuit well and consistently, as in the Ionian or **Adriatic gulf** , as well as in **Attica** and all the **Peloponnese** with the peoples who live there. Indeed, he presented clearly still other parts of the sea and the peoples dwelling next to it. He himself, somehow, from his ignorance of most places, seems to have made a brief account, as a means of defence, for in very few lands is he eager to inquire or know about most of those encountered there. The clear indication of the extreme antiquity of the man is that he does not know **Alexander** the king of the **Macedonians** , nor of matters a little before his time. One would not then go wrong in believing it worthy of awe that the man was able to gain knowledge of most places. **Aelius of Dion** in the first book of his **About Alexandria** (*BNJ* 629 F 1) says that

Ἀλεξανδρείας βιβλίῳ πρώτῳ φησὶν ὅτι
Δαρείῳ προσεφώνησε Σκύλαξ τὸ φρόντισμα.

Skylax dedicated his work to **Darius** .

Commentary

The passage is an introduction to the pseudonymous **Periplus** , appearing before the title of the work in the codex Parisinus 443. Most of the extract relates to the work of **Pseudo-Skylax** . Its author—perhaps **Marcianus** , the late antique geographer who epitomized several of the writers in the manuscript (so A. Diller, *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers* (Lancaster, PA 1952), 45-6, 147-50; M.L. Allain, *The Periplus of Skylax of Karyanda* (The Ohio State University 1977), 7, 45 n. 3)—emphasizes **Skylax** 's antiquity, which suggests that he makes no distinction between the early Skylax and the author of the surviving periplus. He suggests that the author lived shortly before **Alexander** , the period in which most modern authorities put the *Periplus* of Pseudo-Skylax in its current form. The final comment, from **Aelius** , a student of **Harpokration** (so *BNJ* 629 T 3), must reflect actual knowledge of Skylax's original text, which could have been dedicated to Darius, even if it were written in Greek and circulated among **Greeks** .

T 5

Avienus, Ora Maritima 32

Translation

Subject: **genre: geography**

Source Date: **4th century AD**

Historian's Date: **6th-5th century BC**

Historical Period: **519-516 BC**

interrogasti si tenes, Maeotici / situs qui(s)
esset aequoris. Sallustium / noram id dedisse,
dicta et eius omnibus / praeiudicatae au(c)
toritatis ducier / non abnuebam. ad eius igitur
inlytam / descriptionem, qua locorum
formulam / imaginemque expressor efficax
stili / et veritatis paene in optutus dedit /
lepore[m] linguae, multa rerum iunximus / ex
plurimorum sumpta commentariis. /
Hecataeus istic quippe erit Milesius /
Hellanicusque Lesbius, Phileus quoque /
Atheniensis (V), Caryandaeus
Scylax, /Pausimachus (V) inde, prisca quem
genuit Samos, / quin et Damastus nobili natus
Sige, / Rhodoque Bacoris (V) ortus, Euctemon
(V) quoque / popularis urbis Atticae, Siculus
Cleon (V), / Herodotus ipse Thurius, tum qui
decus / magnum loquendi est Atticus
Thucydides.

You have inquired, if you recall, as to the location of the **Maeotic sea** . I knew that **Sallust** had given it, and I was not denying that his words are judged by all to be of the greatest authority. Therefore, to his renowned description, in which that powerful producer of style and truth presented almost entirely to the gaze, through the charm of his language, the form and image of the places, we will add many things taken from the commentaries of several writers. For **Hekataios the Milesian** (*BNJ* 1) will be here, and **Hellanikos the Lesbian** (*BNJ* 4), along with **Phileus the Athenian** , **Skylax the Karyandan** , and then **Pausimachus** , to whom old **Samos** gave birth; then too there will be **Damastus** (*BNJ* 5), born to noble **Sige** , and **Bacoris** whose origin is **Rhodes** , and **Euctemon** of the democratic city of **Attica** , **Cleon the Sicilian** , **Herodotus** himself the Thurian, and then Attic **Thucydides** , who is the great glory of eloquence.

Commentary

Avienus’ list of sources can not be related well to his surviving text, which covers, in disjointed fashion, the Atlantic coast from **Brittany** to the **straits of Gibraltar** , and the northern Mediterranean shore to **Massalia** , and cites only a few of the individuals named here. It is widely thought to be based largely on an early *periplous*, possibly of Massaliote origin (whose early date is challenged by J. Hind, ‘Pyrene and the Date of the “Massalio Sailing Manual”’ *RSA* (1992), 39–52). The work is part of a longer poem by a Roman senator of the fourth century CE, which covered the shores of the Mediterranean and Black Seas. The list is a display of erudition: some of the names are well-known, while others are more obscure. **Hekataios of Miletus** is reconstructed by Schulten from *Haec ad eus istic quippe erit mille suis* (cf. D. Stichtenoth, *Rufus Festus Avienus. Ora Maritima* (Darmstadt 1968), 16-7), but is not cited again in the text; **Hellanikos** , whose ethnography of peoples around the **Mediterranean** might have been useful, is not cited; nor is **Herodotos** or **Thucydides** . **Phileas** , an Athenian geographer of the 5th century BCE (H.A. Gärtner, ‘Phileas [1]’, *BNP* 11 (Leiden 2007), 14; F. Gisinger, ‘Phileas (6)’, *RE* 19 (1938), 2133-6), is cited on the division of **Europe** and **Libya** at the **Rhone** river (ll. 695-6). **Euktemon** , an astronomer and geographer of the later 5th century BCE, wrote a **Periplous of the Inner Sea** that was concerned with the western Mediterranean (W. Hübner, ‘Euctemon’, *BNP* 5 (Leiden 2004), 143; A. Rehm, ‘Euktemon (10)’, *RE* 6 (1907), 1060-1); he is cited on the nature of the Pillars of **Herakles** (ll. 350-352). **Damastes of Sigeion** , a minor historian of the 5th century BCE who wrote a **Periplous** which may be the same as his **Catalogue of Peoples and Cities** (*BNJ* 5; cf. C. Van Paasen, *The Classical Tradition of Geography* (Groningen 1957), 231-2), is cited by Avienus on the distance between the Pillars of Herakles (ll. 370-2). **Kleon of Syracuse** , author of a **Periplous** (known alternately as **Peri limenōn** , ‘**On Harbors** ’), was a sycophant of **Alexander** and rival of **Kallisthenes** (*Curtius* . 8.5, 7-10; F. Jacoby, ‘Kleon (8)’, *RE* 11 (1921), 718-719); he is not cited in the existing text. **Pausimachus** (F. Gisinger, ‘Pausimachus (9)’, *RE* 18 (1949), 2423) and **Bacoris** (E.H. Berger, ‘Bacorus’, *RE* 2 (1896), 2724), are known only from this reference. Significantly, the list contains only geographical writers, not explorers (apart from **Skylax** and possibly **Kleon**).

Avienus’ reference to **Skylax the Karyandan** is uncertain: the ms. gives *Cariae dictus Scylax* here and at l. 372, which Schulten in his edition, following Heinsius, emended to *Caryandaeus Scylax* (Stichtenoth, 16, and L. Antonelli, *Il Periplo Nascosto* (Padova 1998), 114, 132, retain the reading of the ms.) It is unclear whether Avienus here refers to Skylax as the explorer of **India** , or as the pseudonymous author of the **Periplous** of the Mediterranean. Avienus ll. 341-713, describing the coastal route from the Pillars of Herakles to **Massalia** , corresponds in topic to **Pseudo-Skylax** 1-4, but the former did not use the latter for detail. The one other place where Avienus cites Skylax, his reading of the *Periplous* seems to be wrong (F 8).

T 6

Marcianus, Epitoma 2

Translation

Subject: **genre: geography**

Source Date: **5th century AD**

Historian's Date: **6th-5th century BC**

Historical Period: **519-516 BC**

Γράφω δὲ ταῦτα πολλοῖς μὲν ἐντυχῶν
περίπλοις οἱ γὰρ δὴ δοκοῦντες ταῦτα μετὰ
λόγων ἐξητακένας Τιμοσθένης ὁ Ῥόδιός (V)
ἐστίν, ἀρχικυβερνήτης τοῦ δευτέρου
Πτολεμαίου γεγινώς, καὶ μετ’ ἐκεῖνον
Ἐρατοσθένης (V) ..., πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Πυθέας τε
ὁ Μασσαλιώτης (V) καὶ Ἰσίδωρος ὁ Χαρακηνὸς
καὶ Σώσανδρος ὁ κυβερνήτης, τὰ κατὰ τὴν
Ἰνδικὴν γράψας, Σιμμέας τε (V) ὁ τῆς

I write these things, having come across many
periploi ... those who seem to have examined
these matters with due consideration include
Timosthenes of Rhodes , who was the chief
pilot of **Ptolemy the Second** ; and after him
Eratosthenes ...; in addition to them there is
Pytheas the Massaliote and **Isidore of Charax**
(*BNJ* 781) and **Sosander** the pilot, who wrote
about **India** (*BNJ* 714), and **Simmeas** who wrote

οίκουμένης ἐνθεὶς τὸν περίπλου· ἔτι μὴν Ἄπελλᾶς ὁ Κυρηναῖος (V) καὶ Εὐθυμένης ὁ Μασσαλιώτης (V) καὶ Φιλέας ὁ Ἀθηναῖος (V) καὶ Ἀνδροσθένης ὁ Θάσιος καὶ Κλέων ὁ Σικελιώτης (V), Εὐδοξός τε ὁ Ῥόδιος καὶ Ἄννων ὁ Καρχηδόνιος (V), οἱ μὲν μερῶν τινῶν, οἱ δὲ τῆς ἐντὸς πάσης θαλάττης, οἱ δὲ τῆς ἐκτὸς περίπλου ἀναγράψαντες· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Σκύλαξ ὁ Καρυανδεὺς καὶ † Βωτθαῖος· οὗτοι δὲ ἐκάτεροι διὰ τῶν ἡμερησίων πλῶν, οὐ διὰ τῶν σταδίων τὰ διαστήματα τῆς θαλάσσης ἐδήλωσαν. καὶ ἕτεροι δὲ πλείους εἰσὶν, οὓς περιττὸν οἶμαι καταριθμεῖν.

Commentary

Menippus of Pergamum, a geographer of the Augustan Age (F. Gisinger, ‘Menippos (9)’, *RE* 15 (1931), 862-88), wrote a **periplous** of the Black and Mediterranean Seas, of which sections survive in an epitome by **Marcianus of Herakleia**, a late 4th-century geographer. The epitome is headed by a proimion, which lists the geographical predecessors to the current text. It reflects **Marcianus**’ erudition rather than **Menippus**’, as it goes on (in 3) to list the latter in the tradition of *periplous* writers. Marcianus’ list is miscellaneous, like **Avienus**’, but includes more explorers, suggesting that Marcianus put **Skylax** in their company. The best-known figure on the list, **Eratosthenes**, the 3rd century BCE polymath and head of the Library of **Alexandria** (R. Tosi, ‘Eratosthenes [2]’, *BNP* 5 (Leiden 2004), 17-8), wrote a **Geographika** that contained descriptions of the lands of the earth; and he was particularly concerned with measuring the earth. He relied on the resources of the Library rather than his own travels (to the detriment of his reputation: Marcianus here refers to his nickname **Beta**); but he utilized the reports of explorers such as **Pytheas** (**Strabo** 2.4.1-2 C 104). No travels are recorded of **Phileas** either. **Eudoxos of Rhodes**, an early 3rd century BCE author, was known as the author of **Historiai** (F. Jacoby, ‘Eudoxos (7)’, *RE* 6 (1909), 930); no other citations of a *periplous* survive, which raises the possibility that he is here confused with **Eudoxos of Cyzicus**, the better known explorer of the coasts of **Africa** (**Strabo** 2.3.4-5). The rest all deployed some autopsy. Nothing is known of the life of **Isidore**, an Augustan-era geographer whose **Parthian Stations**, a description of overland routes through **Iran**, survives (J. Oelsner, ‘Isidoros [2]’, *BNP* 6 (Leiden 2005), 960; F.H. Weissbach, ‘Isidoros (20)’, *RE* 9 (1916), 2064-8); but his home in **Charax** (whichever one it was) suggests personal familiarity with the lands of the east. About **Apelles** little is known, but he may be the same as **Ophelas of Cyrene** (E.H. Berger, ‘Apellas’, *RE* 1 (1894), 2686). The rest are quite definitely explorers rather than simply *periplous*-writers. **Pytheas** (H.A. Gärtner, ‘Pytheas (4)’, *BNP* 12 (Leiden 2008), 288-9) and **Euthymenes** (K. Broderson, ‘Euthymenes of Massalia’, *BNP* 5 (Leiden 2004), 235) were two early explorers of the Atlantic coasts of **Europe** and **Africa**; accounts of their discoveries were available to later writers such as **Strabo**, who nonetheless doubted their reliability. **Hanno**, the fifth-century BCE *suffete* of **Carthage**, was credited with an exploratory voyage down the Atlantic coast of Africa; an account in Greek under his name survives (K. Broderson, ‘Hanno [1]’, *BNP* 5 (Leiden 2004), 1129-30; J. Blomqvist, *The Date and Origin of the Greek Version of Hanno’s Periplous. With an Edition of the Text and a Translation* (Lund 1979)). **Androstheneis** (E. H. Berger, ‘Androstheneis (9)’, *RE* 1 (1894), 2172-3) and **Kleon** both accompanied **Alexander**; the former was a Trierarch who was sent to explore the Arabian coast (**Arrian, Anabasis Alexandrou** 7.20.7) and later wrote a **παράπλους τῆς Ἰνδικῆς** (**Circumnavigation of India**), while the *periplous* of the latter was also undoubtedly based on his own observations. **Timosthenes of Rhodes**, the fleet commander of **Ptolemy the Second** (H.A. Gärtner, ‘Timosthenes [2]’, *BNP* 14/1 (Leiden 2009), 706), must have based his **Περὶ λιμένων** (**On Harbors**) on first-hand knowledge. **Skylax** is linked most

a **periplous** of the inhabited world; then indeed **Apelles of Cyrene** and **Euthymenes the Massaliote** and **Phileas of Athens** and **Androstheneis of Thasos** (*BNJ* 711) and **Kleon the Sicilian** and **Eudoxos of Rhodes** (*BNJ* 79 T 2) and **Hanno of Carthage**. Some wrote about certain parts of the world, others of all of the inner sea, still others of the external sea. In addition there is also **Skylax of Karyanda** and **Botthaios**; they each indicated nautical distances by days’ sail rather than by stades. And there are many others who I think it is superfluous to enumerate.

closely with **Botthaios**, about whom nothing is known; the name may be corrupt (E.H. Berger, 'Botthaios', *RE* 3 (1899), 794). While Skylax' presence in this list of explorers is not conclusive, it does suggest that he is included because his account was based on first-hand knowledge and therefore was reliable. Another clue that **Marcianus** here refers to the original Skylax—or at least, that he knows of a version of the *periplous* that is prior to the extant one—is the reference to his recording nautical distances by days' sail. **Pseudo-Skylax** uses both days' sail and stades, and ends with a list of meridians, clear evidence of the composite nature of the text. **Herodotos** was the first geographical writer to attempt to measure distances in stades, although he admits that his method is to establish general equivalences between the two measuring systems, and to use days' sail measurements to estimate stade measurements (4.86). Thus, Marcianus must have known of an early text of Skylax, quite likely the original account of his voyage.

F 1

Herodotos 4.44

Translation

Subject: **genre: geography**

Source Date: **5th century BC**

Historian's Date: **6th-5th century BC**

Historical Period: **519-516 BC**

see T 3.

F 2

Scholia on Pseudo-Skylax, *Periplus* § 1

Translation

Subject: **genre: geography**

Source Date: **5th century AD**

Historian's Date: **6th-5th century BC**

Historical Period: **519-516 BC**

see T 4.

F 3

Athenaios 2.82 p. 70 A-C

Translation

Subject: **genre: geography**

Source Date: **2nd-3rd century AD**

Historian's Date: **6th-5th century BC**

Historical Period: **519-516 BC**

κινάρα. ταύτην Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Κολχίσι κυνάραν καλεῖ, ἐν δὲ Φοίνικι «κύναρος ἄκανθα πάντα πληθύει γῆν». Ἐκαταῖος δ' ὁ Μιλήσιος ἐν Ἀσίας περιηγήσει ...λέγει οὕτως· περὶ τὴν Ὑρκανίην θάλασσαν καλεομένην οὖρα ὑψηλὰ καὶ δασέα ὕλησιν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖσιν οὖρεσιν ἄκανθα κυνάρα. καὶ ἐξῆς· Πάρθων πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα Χοράσμιοι οἰκοῦσι γῆν, ἔχοντες καὶ πεδία καὶ οὖρα· ἐν δὲ τοῖσιν οὖρεσι δένδρα ἐνὶ ἄγρια, ἄκανθα κυνάρα,

Artichoke. **Sophokles** in the **Colchian Women** (F 348 Radt) calls this a 'kunara,' but in the **Phoenix** (F 718 Radt) says 'the thorny artichoke [kunaros] fills all the field'. **Hekataios of Miletos**, in his **Circuit of Asia** (1 F 291) ... says thus: around the so-called **Hyrcanian Sea** are high mountains and thick woods, and on these mountains are thorny artichoke. He goes on to say that the **Chorasmians** live in a land to the east of the

ιτέα, μυρική. καὶ περὶ τὸν Ἴνδον δέ φησι
ποταμὸν γίνεσθαι τὴν κυνάραν. καὶ Σκύλαξ δὲ
ἢ Πολέμων γράφει· εἶναι δὲ τὴν γῆν ὕδρηλὴν
κρήνησι καὶ ὄχετοῖσιν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς οὖρεσι
πέφυκε κυνάρα καὶ βοτάνη ἄλλη.

Parthians, inhabiting both the plains and the mountains. In the mountains there are wild trees, thorny artichoke, willow and tamarisk. He also says that there are artichokes around the Indus river (F 296). And **Skylax** or **Polemon** (F 92 Preller) writes: ‘the land is well watered with springs and streams; in the mountains grow artichoke and other plants.’

Commentary

Although **Athenaios** (here in Olson’s edition in the Loeb series) records the only quoted fragments attributed to **Skylax**, his uncertainty about the author of this quote suggests that he knew of it at second hand. The **Polemon** given as an alternative is probably the second century geographer from **Ilium** (if the **Cosmic Periegesis** or **Geography** reported in the **Suda** is correct, which K. Deichgräber, ‘Polemon (9)’, *RE* 21 (1952), 1303-4, doubts). The reference comes immediately after the extensive citation of **Hekataios** —who he doubts as well, reporting that **Callimachus** ascribes it to a **Nesiotēs** —describing artichoke growing on high mountains around the **Hyrcanian Sea** (the **Elburz** south of the **Caspian**), and in the mountains of the **Chorasmians**. Hekataios may well have got his information about the landscape and flora of inner **Asia** from Skylax, and may even have cited him (although he is not otherwise known to cite anyone in his fragments). The plant to which Skylax refers is unlikely to be the globe artichoke (*Cynara scolymus*) or its ancestor, the cardoon (*Cynara cardunculus*), which was native to the **Mediterranean**; but ancient plant identifications are notoriously uncertain.

F 4

Athenaios 2.82 p. 70 C-D

Translation

Subject: **genre: geography**

Source Date: **2nd-3rd century AD**

Historian's Date: **6th-5th century BC**

Historical Period: **519-516 BC**

Καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς· «ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ὄρος παρέτεινε
τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ἴνδοῦ καὶ ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν,
ὕψηλόν τε καὶ δασὺ ἀγρίηι ὕληι καὶ ἀκάνθηι
κυνάραι. » Δίδυμος δ’ ὁ γραμματικὸς
ἐξηγούμενος παρὰ τῷ Σοφοκλεῖ τὸ ‘κύναρος
ἄκανθα’ «μήποτε» φησὶν «τὴν κυνόσβατον
λέγει διὰ τὸ ἀκανθῶδες καὶ τραχὺ εἶναι τὸ
φυτόν· καὶ γὰρ ἡ Πυθία ξυλίνην κύνα αὐτὸ
εἶπεν, καὶ ὁ Λοκρὸς χρησμὸν λαβὼν ἐκεῖ πόλιν
οἰκίζειν ὅπου ἂν ὑπὸ ξυλίνης κυνὸς δηχθῆι,
καταμυχθεὶς τὴν κνήμην ὑπὸ κυνοσβάτου
ἔκτισε τὴν πόλιν». ἔστι δὲ ὁ κυνόσβατος
μεταξὺ θάμνου καὶ δένδρου, ὡς φησι
Θεόφραστος, καὶ τὸν καρπὸν ἔχει ἐρυθρόν,
παραπλήσιον τῇ ροιᾷ· ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὸ φύλλον
ἀγνώδες.

And he goes on to write ‘from there a mountain extends along the **Indus** river on both sides, high and shaggy with wild woods and the thorny artichoke’. But **Didymos** the grammarian (p. 242 Schmidt), explaining the term ‘thorny artichoke’ in **Sophokles**, says ‘perhaps he means the dog rose, since the plant is thorny and rough; in addition, the Pythian priestess calls it dog-wood, and **Lokros** received an oracle to found a city on the spot where he would be bitten by a wooden dog; having been scratched on the shin by a dog rose, he founded the city’. The dog rose is somewhere between a bush and a tree, according to **Theophrastus** (*Historia plantarum* 3, 18, 4), and it has red fruit, like a

pomegranate; but it has a thorny leaf.

Commentary

The quote from **Skylax** (in Olson's Loeb edition of **Athenaios**) indicates a mountainous area along the **Indus** river. O. Caroe, *The Pathans 550 B.C.-A.D. 1957* (London 1957), 33 suggests that the stretch of the Indus south of **Attock** as far as **Bilot** is the region here indicated, although only as the river passes the **Kala-Chitta** range, which rises to a maximum height of ca. 1075 m, can mountains be said to be on both sides of the river. At **Kalabagh** the low hills that form the western extent of the **Salt Range** come into view to the east, but these can hardly be described as extending along the river. If, on the other hand, Skylax never distinguished the **Kabul** from the Indus, the mountains to which he refers may well be those of northeast **Afghanistan** , through which the Kabul passes before reaching **Peshawar** . **Theophrastus** ' discussion of the κυνόςβατος (**Historia plantarum** 3.18.4) points to the genus *Rosa*; Amigues suggests *Rosa canina*, Dog Rose or Dog's Bramble, which is found widely throughout **Asia** (S. Amigues, *Théophraste. Recherches sur les Plantes* Vol. 2 (Paris 1989), 193). Despite **Didymus** ' wide reading, there is no reason to believe his suggestion in regard to the 'thorny artichoke' in **Sophokles** ' **Phoenicians** —whose context is unknown—is correct; or that it might apply to Skylax either.

F 5

Aristoteles, Politica 7.13.1 p. 1332b 12

Translation

Subject: **genre: geography**

Source Date: **335-322 BC**

Historian's Date: **6th-5th century BC**

Historical Period: **519-516 BC**

Ἐπεὶ δὲ πᾶσα πολιτικὴ κοινωνία συνέστηκεν ἐξ ἀρχόντων καὶ ἀρχομένων, τοῦτο δὴ σκεπτέον, εἰ ἐτέρους εἶναι δεῖ τοὺς ἀρχοντας καὶ τοὺς ἀρχομένους ἢ τοὺς αὐτοὺς διὰ βίου· δῆλον γὰρ ὡς ἀκολουθεῖν δεήσει καὶ τὴν παιδείαν κατὰ τὴν διαίρεσιν ταύτην. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν εἴησαν τοσοῦτον διαφέροντες ἄτεροι τῶν ἄλλων ὅσον τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἥρωας ἡγούμεθα τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαφέρειν, εὐθύς πρῶτον κατὰ τὸ σῶμα πολλὴν ἔχοντες ὑπερβολήν, εἶτα κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν, ὥστε ἀναμφισβήτητον εἶνα καὶ φανεράν τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις τὴν τῶν ἀρχόντων, δῆλον ὅτι βέλτιον αἰεὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοὺς μὲν ἄρχειν τοὺς δ' ἄρχεσθαι καθάπαξ· (2) ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτ' οὐ ράϊδιον λαβεῖν οὐδ' ἔστιν ὡσπερ ἐν Ἰνδοῖς φησι Σκύλαξ εἶναι τοὺς βασιλέας τοσοῦτον διαφέροντας τῶν ἀρχομένων, φανερόν ὅτι διὰ πολλὰς αἰτίας ἀναγκαῖον πάντας ὁμοίως κοινωνεῖν τοῦ κατὰ μέρος ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι.

Since all political communities are composed of rulers and the ruled, it is certainly necessary to consider, whether there should be a change of the rulers and the ruled, or they should be permanent. For it is clear that education should follow this distinction. Now if some should surpass the rest just as the gods and the heroes are thought to surpass men, having first of all a great superiority in their bodies, and then in their minds, so that the superiority of the rulers over the ruled were clear and undisputed, it would obviously be better for the one group to be ruler and the other be ruled once and for all. (2) But since this is not easy to achieve, as **Skylax** says is the case in **India** , where the kings are so different from the ruled, it is evident that for many reasons it is necessary for all members of the community equally to take turns in ruling and being ruled.

Commentary

Aristotle (here in Ross' OCT edition) had access, at first or second hand, to the original account of **Skylax**. Skylax's observation about the physical or other distinction between the kings of **India** and their subjects is the first hint of Greek knowledge of the Indian caste system, which appears in the **Alexander** historians (**Nearchus** on the Brahmins: *BNJ*133 F 23;) and later (such as the more developed account in **Megasthenes** : *BNJ*715 F 19a [**Arrian**, *Indika* 11-12], b [**Strabo** 15.1.39-41 C 703]). The citation suggests that Skylax made observations on encounters with the Indian communities he met along the way; he may have made general ethnographic comments on the **Indians**, of the type familiar from **Herodotos** (who may have been indebted in this regard to Skylax).

F 6

Harpokration s.v. ὑπὸ γῆν οἰκοῦντες

Translation

Subject: **genre: geography**

Source Date: **2nd century AD**

Historian's Date: **6th-5th century BC**

Historical Period: **519-516 BC**

· Ἀντιφῶν ἐν τῷ Περὶ ὁμοιοίας, λέγοι ἂν τοὺς ὑπὸ Σκύλακος ἐν τῷ Περίπλῳ λεγομένους Τρωγλοδύτας καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ Ἡσιόδου ἐν ᾧ Καταλόγῳ Κατουδαίους ὀνομαζομένους.

Antiphon in **On Concord** (F 47 Pendrick). He may mean those beings called 'Troglodytes' by **Skylax** in his **Periplus** and named 'Subterraneans' by **Hesiod** in book 3 of the **Catalogue** (F 150 Merkelbach-West).

Commentary

Harpokration's, **Philostratos**' , and **Tzetzes**' comments on **Skylax** have profoundly shaped perceptions of the ancient explorer, putting him at the head of the tradition of 'Wonders of the East' accounts continued by **Herodotos**, **Ktesias** and others (cf. **Pliny**, **Naturalis Historia** 7.21-32). Primitives, called 'Troglodytes' and the like, pygmies, and monstrous races, become a staple of descriptions of lands to the East (J.B. Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought* (Syracuse, NY 2000), 5-25; J. Romm, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought* (Princeton, NJ 1992), 82-94). Troglodytes— or Trogodytes, after G. J. Pendrick, *Antiphon the Sophist: the Fragments* (Cambridge, UK 2002), 190-1 and 379, following Jahn, "Trogodytai", *RE* 7A (1948), 2497--are, however, not necessarily fantastic; such cave-dwellers were often identified as peoples living on the African coast of the **Red Sea** (J.-F. Salles, 'Le circumnavigation de l'Arabie dans l'antiquité classique' J.-F. Salles (ed.), *L'Arabie et ses Mers Bordières, I. Itinéraires et Voisinages* (Lyon 1988), 80). Harpokration's citation (in the edition by Keaney) raises a number of questions about his source for Skylax's use of the word. The **Antiphon** he names is almost certainly the sophist who was an interlocuter of **Socrates** mentioned in **Xenophon**'s **Memorabilia** 1.6.1-15, and who is credited with a number of philosophical works. Whether he is to be identified with the orator **Antiphon of Rhamnus** (as Harpokration believed) is an open question (see Pendrick, 1-26, and M. Gagarin, *Antiphon the Athenian* (Austin, TX 2002), 37-52, for opposing views). Three of the surviving fragments of **On Concord** from Harpokration (FF 45-47 Pendrick) refer to fantastic creatures mentioned by Skylax (FF 7a-b): Σκιάποδες, Μακροκέφαλοι, ὑπὸ γῆν οἰκοῦντες. It is tempting to suppose that Antiphon read of all three in Skylax; but Harpokration says of the Skiapods that they dwelt in **Libya**, and Harpokration cites **Hesiod** for the Long-heads as well. Harpokration was more likely drawing from Skylax's text to interpret Antiphon; in which case Skylax's account was available in **Alexandria** in the second century CE.

F 7 a

Philostratos, *Vita Apollonii* 3.47

Translation

Subject: **genre: geography**

Source Date: **2nd-3rd century AD**

Historian's Date: **6th-5th century BC**

Historical Period: **519-516 BC**

τοὺς δὲ Πυγμαίους οἰκεῖν μὲν ὑπογείους,
κειῖσθαι δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸν Γάγγην, ζῶντας τρόπον ὃς
πᾶσιν εἴρηται. Σκιά- ποδας δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἢ
Μακροκεφάλους ἢ ὅποσα Σκύλακος ξυγγραφαὶ
περὶ τούτων αἰδοῦσιν, οὔτε ἄλλοσέ ποι
βιοτεύειν τῆς γῆς οὔτε μὴν ἐν Ἰνδοῖς.

[**Iarchos** the Indian sage says that] the
Pygmies who live underground, lie beyond the
Ganges , living in a way that is mentioned by
all. He also said of the Shade-footed men or
Long-heads or whatever else the writings of
Skylax extoll about them, that they did not
live anywhere on earth, and least of all in
India .

Commentary

Philostratos , the Athenian writer of the 3rd century CE (cited here in the Loeb edition by Jones), uses his fanciful account of **Apollonios** ' visit to the **Indians** to critique the stories circulating about the far east. He has **Iarchos** verify the underground **Pygmies** (although he puts them beyond the **Ganges** , out of range of autopsy). He disparages **Skylax** 's account of Shadefoots and Long-heads; his skepticism implies a widespread view of Skylax as a fabulist. D. Panchenko argues on highly circumstantial grounds that much of Philostratos' description of Apollonios' travels through **Asia** is a reworking of Skylax's account (D. Panchenko, 'Scylax in Philostratos' Life of Apollonios of Tyana' *Hyperboreus* 8 (2002), 5–12); but C.P. Jones sees Philostratos' debt to a variety of earlier writers on the east (C.P. Jones, 'Apollonios of Tyana's Passage to India' *GRBS* 41 (2001), 185–99).

Skylax was not the first to describe such fantastic creatures: The Pygmies who battle cranes appear in **Homer** (*Iliad* 2.3-6; eventually to be located in **India** : **Pliny, Naturalis Historia** 7.26), and **Hesiod** is credited with references to Long-heads, along with Half-dog men and Pygmies (F 153 Merkelbach-West). But Skylax seems to have been the first to locate them in Asia. From **Herodotos** on (2.104.3; cf. 3.94.2) the *Makrokephaloi* come to be associated with the **Makrones** , neighbors of the **Kolchoi** on the **Black Sea** (so **Pseudo-Skylax** 85; **Scholion on Apollonios of Rhodes** 1.1024 p. 90; **Palaephatus** (BNJ 44 F 2; see Jacoby's commentary); **Strabo** 11.11.8 (called the **Siginnoi**); **Stephanos of Byzantion** s.v. Μακροκέφαλοι). **Hekataios** (BNJ 1 F 327) named **Skiapods** as an Aithiopian tribe, an identification reflected in the **Suda** ; in this, at least, he is not following Skylax. **Ktesias** , on the other hand, places the Skiapods in **Asia** (688 FF BNJ 688 F 51b, BNJ 688 F 60), following Skylax's tradition. **Philostratos** reflects dismissively on the geographical uncertainty of these fantastic beings, placing himself in the skeptical tradition of Strabo (1.2.35; cf. J. J. Romm, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought* (Princeton, NJ 1992), 95-103).

F 7 b

Tzetzes, Chiliades 7.629-630, 7.640

Translation

Subject: **genre: geography**

Source Date: **12th century AD**

Historian's Date: **6th-5th century BC**

Historical Period: **519-516 BC**

Καρυανδέως Σκύλακος ὑπάρχει τι βιβλίον /
περὶ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν γράφον ἀνθρώπους
πεφυκέναι, / οὔσπερ φασὶ Σκιάποδας, καὶ γε

There is a book by **Skylax of Karyanda** (630)
that describes men who live around the Indian
land, whom he calls Shade-feet and

τοὺς Ὠτολίκνους· / ὧν οἱ Σκιάποδες πλατεῖς
 ἔχουσιν ἄγαν πόδας, / καιρῶι τῆς μεσημβρίας
 δὲ πρὸς γῆν καταπεσόντες, / τοὺς πόδας
 ἀνατείναντες σκιὰν αὐτοῖς ποιοῦσι· / μέγала
 δ' οἱ Ὠτόλικνοι τὰ ὦτα κεκτημένοι / ὁμοίως
 σκέπουσιν αὐτοὺς τρόπῳ τῶν σκιαδείων. / ὁ
 Σκύλαξ οὗτος γράφει δὲ καὶ ἕτερα μυρία / περι-
 γε Μονοφθάλμων τε καὶ τῶν Ἐνοτικτόντων /
 καὶ ἔκτραπέλων ἄλλων δὲ μυρίων
 θεαμάτων. / ταῦτά φησι δ' ὡς ἀληθῆ μηδὲ τῶν
 ἐψευσμένων. / ἐγὼ τῆι ἀπειρία δὲ ταῦτα
 ψευδῆ νομίζω. / ὅτι δ' εἰσὶ τῶν ἀληθῶν, ἄλλοι
 φασὶ μυριοί / τοιαῦτα καὶ καινότερα
 θεάσασθαι ἐν βίῳ, / Κτησίας καὶ Ἰάμβουλος
 κτλ.

Winnowing-fan-ears; of whom the Shade-feet
 have extremely wide feet, and at noontime
 they stretch out on the ground, and putting up
 their feet make shade for themselves. The
 Winnowing-fan-ears, on the other hand, have
 large large ears, which protect them as if they
 were parasols. This same **Skylax** also writes
 countless other things concerning the One-
 eyes and the Single-bearers, and countless
 other outlandish wonders. (640) He tells of
 these things as if they were true and not
 inventions. But I, lacking direct knowledge of
 these things, believe them to be false.
 Countless others say that there really are such
 things, and similar novelties to be seen in life,
Ktesias (BNJ 688 F 51) and **Iamboulos** etc.

Commentary

Tzetzes, in this passage (from the edition by Leone) which introduces a section on fantastic tales, gives the most explicit testimony of an account written by **Skylax** about **India**, and mentions some details not included in **Philostratos** and **Harpokration**. But the late date of the source—the 12th century—and its notorious unreliability (C. Wendel, ‘Tzetzes’, *RE* 7A (1948), 1959-2011) raises the question of whether he had access to the original account. Tzetzes, following Harpokration and Philostratos, suggests that the account focuses exclusively on the fantastic, without mentioning the real circumstances of Skylax’s voyage east. On the other hand, **Herodotos**, who must have used Skylax’ account, while not mentioning fantastic semi-human monsters, tells stories of the **Indians**’ way of life, including the gold-digging ants of India and the Indians’ way of gathering the gold, that seem a mixture of observation and fantastic tales (3.98-106). Such fantastic creatures may very well have occurred in Skylax’s account; although whether he claimed to see them himself, or merely to have heard of them, is not clear from the later citations.

The term Ὠτόλικνοι is a hapax, which is why Tzetzes sees fit to explain it. They may have given rise to the medieval *Panotii*, ‘all-ears’ (J.B. Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought* (Syracuse, NY 2000), 23). *Monophthalmoi*, human monsters as opposed to the Cyclopes, appear frequently at the ends of the earth: **Herodotos** makes them the **Arimaspian**s who live in the far north and (like the Indians) make a living by stealing gold from fierce creatures, in this case griffins (3.116). This story originated in the poem **Arimaspia** by **Aristeas of Prokonnesos** (Herodotos 4.13-14; **Pausania** s 1.24.6; **Tzetzes, Chiliades** 7.678-84); but a different strain, originating in Skylax and perpetuated by **Deimachus** and **Megasthenes** (BNJ 715 F 27a, 716 F 5), puts the *Monophthalmoi* in India. The Ἐνοτίκτοντες, creatures that bear a single young, were a human version of the lioness, which Herodotos believed bore only one cub before losing her womb (ἄπαξ ἐν τῷ βίῳ τίκτει ἐν· “it gives birth only once in its life,” Herodotos 3.108.4). **Ktesias** reported human single-bearers in India as well (BNJ 688 F 45: τούτων αἱ γυναῖκες ἄπαξ τίκτουσιν ἐν τῷ βίῳ, **Photius, Bibliotheka** 72 p. 45 a 50; cf. FF 45t, 52). T. Kiessling, *Ioannis Tzetze Historiarum Variarum Chiliades* (Leipzig 1826), 264 proposed *Enōtokoitoi*, ‘Ear-sleepers’, used also by Deimachus and Megasthenes (BNJ 715 F 27a, BNJ 716 F 5); followed by J. Romm, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought* (Princeton, NJ 1992), 85, and R. French, *Ancient Natural History* (London/New York 1994), 3, but the term is not more common than *Henotiktontes*, and Leone prefers the reading of the mss.

Subject: **genre: geography**Source Date: **4th century AD**Historian's Date: **6th-5th century BC**Historical Period: **519-516 BC**

sed ad columnas quicquid interfunditur / und
(a)e aestuantis stadia septem vix ait /
Damastus esse; Caryandaeus Scylax / medium
fluentum inter columnas adserit / tantum
patere quantus aestus Bosp[h]oro est.

But as to the churning waves that flow
between the columns, **Damastus** (*BNJ* 5 F 2)
says that there are hardly seven stades. **Skylax**
the Karyandan asserts that the water between
the columns is as much as in the sea at the
Bosporos .

Commentary

Fragments 8-13, listed by Jacoby as belonging to ‘Der Periplograph,’ do not refer to lands traversed in the journey of the original **Skylax** . They all apparently come from a version of the later **Circumnavigation of the Inhabited Sea of Europe, Asia and Africa** which has survived in Codex Parisinus 443; but several of the references make it clear that there were different texts in circulation under Skylax’s name. **Avienus** (here in Schulten’s edition), if he is citing the extant **Pseudo-Skylax** , has confused his sources somewhat; or he is using a different text. The existing text gives the distance between the columns of **Herakles** as a day’s sail (1, 111); elsewhere, it gives the width of the mouth of the **Pontos** at **Hieron** near the north end of the **Bosporos** as seven stades (67). The measurement of seven stades for the Bosporos is generally accurate—at **Rumeli** and **Anadolu Kavađı** , where the *Barrington Classical Atlas* (Map 53) places **Hieron** , the width of the Bosporos is just over a kilometer—but other authorities gave varying measurements of the width of the strait (P. Counillon, *Pseudo-Skylax: Le Périples du Pont-Euxin* (Paris 2004), 71). It is a severe underestimate, however, for the interval between the pillars of **Herakles** , which is somewhere around 130 stades, whether the southern pillar is considered the **Jebel Musa** or **Monte Hacho** on **Ceuta** ; but this too is less than a day’s sail.

F 9

Scholion on Apollonios Rhodios, 4.1215

Translation

Subject: **genre: geography**Source Date: **1st century BC-2nd century AD**Historian's Date: **6th-5th century BC**Historical Period: **519-516 BC**

Νεσταίους τε: τοὺς Νεσταίους Σκύλαξ φησὶν
ἔθνος Ἰλλυρικόν· ἀπὸ τούτων παράπλους
ἔστιν εἰς τὸν κόλπον (...) καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν γ
Γεωγραφουμένων φησί· «μετὰ Ἰλλυριοῦς
Νεσταῖοι, καθ’ οὓς νῆσος Φάρος, Παρίων
ἄποικος».

Nestaians : **Skylax** says that the Nestaians are
an Illyrian people; ‘from them the coastal
route is to the gulf’. And **Eratosthenes** in Book
3 of the **Geography** (III B 112 Berger) says,
‘after the **Illyrians** are the Nestaians, across
from whom is the island of **Pharos** , a colony of
the **Parians** ’.

Commentary

The scholiast to **Apollonios** (perhaps one of the older ones, collected in Wendel’s edition) seems to have a faulty memory, or a variant text, of **Pseudo-Skylax** 23. He attributes to **Skylax** the

identification of the **Nestaians** as Illyrian, adding some information about its relation to a gulf, the identification of which has dropped out; while **Eratosthenes** put them opposite the island of **Pharos**, the Croatian island of **Hvar** (so M. S. Kos, *Appian and Illyricum* (Ljubljana 2005), 171-2, 185; cf. 315). The existing text of Pseudo-Skylax does not explicitly state that the Nestaians are **Illyrians**, but implies it by listing them after the Illyrians (22) and before the **Manians** (24), who are described as Illyrians. The quoted phrase does not appear in the current text; instead, after the entry 'Nestaians' comes the phrase 'Ἀπὸ δὲ Νέστου πλοῦς ἐστὶ κολπώδης ('from the **Nestos** the journey is gulf-shaped'), which is probably corrupt. The river Nestos, referred to in 22 as the southern boundary of the territory of the **Boulini**, is probably the **Cetina** river; while as the following sentence in Pseudo-Skylax shows, the gulf referred to is the **Manian** gulf. Pseudo-Skylax also lists 'new Pharos', a 'Greek island', founded by **Paros** in 385/4 (**Diodoros** 15.3.4; cf. Kos, 234).

F 10

Scholion on Apollonios Rhodios 1.1177-1178a

Translation

Subject: **genre: geography**

Source Date: **1st century BC-2nd century AD**

Historian's Date: **6th-5th century BC**

Historical Period: **519-516 BC**

Κιανίδος ἦθεα γαίης / ἄμφ' Ἀργανθώνειον
 ὄρος προχοάς τε Κίοιο. τοὺς μὲν εὐξείνως
 Μυσοὶ ... δειδέχατ', ἐνναέται κείνης χθονός]
 περιφραστικῶς τὴν Κίον. ἔστι δὲ πόλις Μυσίας
 ἀπὸ Κίου τοῦ ἀφηγησαμένου τῆς Μιλησίων
 ἀποικίας, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν Κιανῶν
 πολιτείαι. κατώικησαν δὲ αὐτὴν πρῶτον
 Μυσοί, ἔπειτα Κᾶρες, τρίτον Μιλήσιοι.. καὶ
 ποταμὸς δὲ ἐστὶν οὕτως ὀνομαζόμενος, τὴν
 πόλιν περιρρέων, οὗ μνημονεύει Σκύλαξ ὁ
 Καρυανδεύς.

The abodes of Kian land /around **Mount Arganthonios** and the mouth of the **Kios**. The **Mysians** ... who lived in that land received them as friends] Periphrastic for the city of Kios. It is a city of **Mysia** named for **Kios**, leader of the colony of **Milesians**, so reports **Aristotle** in his **Constitution of the Kians** (F 519 Rose). First the Mysians settled this city, then the **Carians**, third the Milesians. And the river is named after it, which flows around the city, which **Skylax the Karyandan** records.

Commentary

The scholiast to **Apollonios** (from Wendel's standard edition) matches **Pseudo-Skylax** closely on Kios: Pseudo-Skylax (93) describes **Mysia** in the following way: 'it is on the left of the **Olbian gulf** [the **Astacene Gulf**, mod. **Gulf of Izmit**] as one sails out to the **Kian** gulf up to **Kios** ...these are the Greek cities in Mysia...the headland of the Kian Gulf and on the left Kios the city and the river Kios. And the coastal voyage along Mysia to Kios is one day.' The **periplous** does not specify that the river is named after the city, or flows around it; but these could well be extrapolations of the scholiast. The river may be the same as the **Ascanian river** (**Pliny, Naturalis Historia** 5.40, although he lists the **Ascanius** separately from the Kios and the **Hylas**), that runs from **Lake Ascania (Iznik)** to the gulf, at the head of which is **Gemlik**, on the site of ancient Kios. Kios was founded by the **Milesians** in 626/5, according to **Eusebius, Chronologia** 97b, Helm (A. Avram, '745. Kios' M.H. Hansen and T.H. Nielsen (eds), *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis* (Oxford 2004), 982-3).

F 11

Strabo 12.4.8 p. 566

Translation

Subject: **genre: geography**

Source Date: **1st century BC-1st century AD**

Historian's Date: **6th-5th century BC**

Historical Period: **519-516 BC**

ὅτι δ' ἦν κατοικία Μυσῶν ἢ Βιθυνία πρῶτον μαρτυρήσει Σκύλαξ ὁ Καρυανδεύς φήσας περιοικεῖν τὴν Ἀσκανίαν λίμνην Φρύγας καὶ Μυσούς, ἔπειτα Διονύσιος ὁ τὰς Κτίσεις συγγράψας ὃ τε Εὐφορίων ... καὶ ὁ Αἰτωλὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ... τὸ αὐτὸ ἐκμαρτυροῦσιν, οὐδαμοῦ τῆς Ἀσκανίας λίμνης εὕρισκομένης ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα μόνον.

Skylax the Karyandan will be the first to give evidence that **Bithynia** was a settlement of the **Mysians**, for he says that the **Phrygians** and Mysians live around the **Askanian Lake**; then **Dionysius** will, who wrote the **Foundings** (FHG 4, 395 fr. 7) ... then **Euphorion** (CA 43 fr. 74) ... and **Alexander the Aitolian** (fr. 6 Magnelli) ... they bear witness to this very fact, that the Askanian Lake is to be found nowhere but here alone.

Commentary

Strabo's version of the **Periplus**, referred to here in Radt's edition, is more divergent from the extant version of the **periplus**. The **Bithynia** entry lists the **Sangarios** river, the **Artanes** river, the **Thynias** river, and the **Rhebas** river, all on the Pontic coast of Bithynia; it then goes on to the **Bosporos** and the settlement of **Hieron** (cf. 67), and gives a measurement of the distance from the **Maryandinoi** to the **Olbian Gulf** of three days' sail, followed by a statement that the distance from the mouth of the **Maiotic lake** to the mouth of the **Pontos** is nearly the same along the European shore as it is along the Asiatic shore. Neither entry mentions **Lake Askania** or the settlement of **Mysians** in Bithynia; indeed, **Pseudo-Skylax** includes the **Bithynians** with the **Thracians**, and makes the Mysians separate; while Strabo is intent to make the case, based on **Dionysius of Chalcis**' use of the term 'Mysian Bosporos,' that the Mysians were Thracians.

F 12

Strabo 13.1.4 p. 582-583

Translation

Subject: **genre: geography**

Source Date: **1st century BC-1st century AD**

Historian's Date: **6th-5th century BC**

Historical Period: **519-516 BC**

εὐθὺς γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Προποντίδα τόπων ὁ μὲν Ὅμηρος ἀπὸ Αἰσῆπου τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιεῖται τῆς Τρωάδος· Εὐδοξος δὲ ἀπὸ Πριάπου καὶ Ἀρτάκης ... συστέλλων ἐπ' ἔλαττον τοὺς ὄρους· Δαμάστης δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον συστέλλει, ἀπὸ Παρίου ... Χάρων δ' ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς τριακοσίους ἄλλους ἀφαιρεῖ σταδίους, ἀπὸ Πρακτίου ἀρχόμενος ... Σκύλαξ δὲ ὁ Καρυανδεὺς ἀπὸ Ἀβύδου ἄρχεται· ὁμοίως δὲ τὴν Αἰολίδα Ἐφορος μὲν λέγει ἀπὸ Ἀβύδου μέχρι Κύμης· ἄλλοι δ' ἄλλως.

For instance, concerning the places on the **Propontis Homer** (*Iliad* 2.824/7) makes the **Troad** begin at the **Aisepos** River; **Eudoxos** starts it from **Priapos** (F 336 Lass.= 78 Brandes) and **Artake** ...diminishing its boundaries; **Damastes** (BNJ 5 F 9) diminishes it even more, from **Parion** ...**Charon of Lampsakos** (BNJ 262 F 18) removes a further three hundred stades, starting it from **Praktios**; and **Skylax of Karyanda** begins it from **Abydos**; and similarly **Ephoros** (BNJ 70 F 163) says that **Aeolis** extends from **Abydos** to **Kyme**; while others say differently.

Commentary

In the context of a discussion of **Aeolis**, **Strabo** is here demonstrating his concern with Homeric geography, by reviewing the long debate over the extent of the **Troad**. **Strabo's** citation of **Skylax** for the extent of the Troad matches the existing text of **Pseudo-Skylax** fairly closely. The **periplous** ends the section on **Phrygia** (94) with a list of cities on the Hellespontine shore, ending with **Abydos** followed by the phrase *καὶ τὸ στόμα κατὰ Σηστόν τῆς Προποντίδος τοῦτό ἐστιν* ('and this is the mouth of the **Propontis** opposite Sestos'), referring to Abydos' position across the strait from Sestos. The following section on the Troad (95) begins *Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ Τρωὰς ἄρχεται* ('from here the Troad begins'); so although Abydos is included in Phrygia, it also marks the beginning of the Troad.

F 13

Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De thematibus* 1.2 Translation

Subject: **genre: geography**

Source Date: **10th century AD**

Historian's Date: **6th-5th century BC**

Historical Period: **519-516 BC**

τὸ θέμα τὸ καλούμενον Ἀρμενιακὸν οὐ κύριον ἔχει τὸ ὄνομα, οὐδὲ ἀρχαία τίς ἐστὶν ἢ τούτου προσηγορία ... οὔτε γὰρ Στράβων τῆς τοιαύτης ὀνομασίας ἐμνήσθη ... οὔτε Μένιππος ὁ τοῦς σταδισμοῦς τῆς ὅλης κατοικουμένης ἀπογραφάμενος οὔτε μὴν Σκύλαξ ὁ Καρυανδηνός, οὔτε Πausanίας οὔτε ἄλλος τις τῶν ἱστορίας γεγραφότων.

The theme known as the Armenian does not have a current name, nor was this its title in ancient times ... for neither does **Strabo** recall such a name ... nor **Menippos** the recorder of the stade-measurements of the entire settled world nor indeed **Skylax the Karyandan** nor **Pausanias** or any of the other history writers.

Commentary

Constantine Porphyrogenitus begins his account of the Armenian theme (in the edition by Pertusi) with a review of early Greek writers, to demonstrate that the term Armenian, known in Classical writers as a region and kingdom in eastern **Anatolia**, came to be applied to a region of north central Anatolia around the **Halys** river in more recent times. As **Constantine notes**, the Armenian theme was created by **Heraclius** in the early seventh century by the withdrawal and restationing of the eastern Byzantine armies closer to home (M. Whittow, *The Making of Byzantium, 600-1025* (Berkeley/Los Angeles 1996), 120). The reference reveals that the tenth century scholar-emperor had a copy of a text attributed to **Skylax**; it would have to be one that covered central Anatolia in order for Constantine to find it worth citing. He would most likely have had the pseudonymous **periplous** or a variant of it, which covers the eastern and southern Pontic shores in sections 70-92.

Commentary

Skylax's report of the expedition east was probably intended both for **Darius** and for a wider readership. As all the references to places in the **Mediterranean** can be attributed to a version of the later pseudonymous **periplous**, the original work most likely confined itself to the territory covered by the actual expedition. It is not clear whether the account was written as a description of the journey, similar to the account of the voyage of the Carthaginian explorer **Hanno** along the Atlantic coast of **Africa**; as a geographical treatise, along the lines of **Hekataios' Periagesis**; or as a treatise on **India**, comparable to the *logoi* embedded in **Herodotos** and to **Ktesias' later Indika**. The evidence of **Aristotle**, **Athenaios**, and the later commentators suggests that the

work contained geographical, botanical, ethnographical and thaumatological observations. Skylax's text was influential early on: there is no evidence, before Ktesias, of any other Greek writer having direct contact with the eastern lands of the Persian empire. Several fragments of Hekataios concerning the eastern Persian empire (BNJ 1 FF 289-299) may derive ultimately from Skylax's account; the references to artichokes growing in the east (291, 292, 296) and the city of **Kaspapyros** (295) depend directly on Skylax (see also the association of the two writers in **Stephanos**'s entry on **Karyanda**, T 2b). Herodotos is more problematic; he gives the only description of the expedition, but his major error in describing the orientation of the **Indus** suggests that, if he did read it, he did not do so very carefully. He also leaves out substantial details, failing to account for the length of the journey. It may be that he had access only to Hekataios' digest. The account probably provided Herodotos with his somewhat fanciful description of the **Indians** (3.98-106), and possibly that of **Arabia** as well (107-113). In addition, Herodotos may have used Skylax's biography of **Herakleides** for some details concerning the Ionian revolt (cf. 5.34, 121-2). Of the later references to Skylax, Aristotle's and Athenaios's suggest real familiarity with him; these works reveal Skylax's ethnographic and botanical interests. It is troubling that **Nearchos** and the other **Alexander** historians do not refer explicitly to Skylax's work, although they were influenced by the fantastic elements in their descriptions of the east. The late references in **Harpokration**, **Philostratos** and **Tzetzes** suggest a work containing fanciful descriptions of monstrous races; these may have been reported as hearsay in the original account, but came to dominate memory of the work (having been enormously influential in later works on **India**, such as that of **Ktesias**). The other references (FF 8-13) are to a periplous of the **Mediterranean**, either the one extant under Skylax's name, which has generally been dated to the mid-fourth century (F.J. González Ponce, 'La Posición del Ps.-Escílax en el Conjunto del Género Periplográfico' *REA* 103 (2001), 370), or to a variant of it. A. Peretti, *Il periplo di Scilace. Studio sul primo portolano del Mediterraneo* (Pisa 1980), and A. Peretti, 'I peripli arcaici e Scilace di Carianda' F. Prontera (ed.), *Geografia e geografi nel mondo antico. Guida storica e critica* (Rome 1983), 69-114, have made the case that the Carian Skylax was the author of the earliest version of the *Periplous* of the Mediterranean; but the best we can do is to say that the *Periplous*, the extent version of which took shape in the fourth century BC, was attributed to Skylax by **Strabo**'s day. If the original Skylax was responsible for a periplographic description, either of the Mediterranean or of lands outside the Pillars of **Herakles**, it may have figured as a source for the *periplous* later attributed to him (so P. Counillon, *Pseudo-Skylax: Le Périples du Pont-Euxin* (Paris 2004), 24-25); but there is no independent evidence for such a text.

Biographical Essay

Skylax's patronymic is not recorded; nor are his dates or biographical details other than his expedition to the east. The name Skylax is common in **Caria**—another Skylax, of **Myndos**, is mentioned by **Herodotos** (5.33). Despite its Greek etymology, it is probably a Carian name, and has been identified in Carian inscriptions, as in the Athenian bilingual grave inscription found in the Themistoklean wall [Kerameikos inv. I 190], in which the name Skylax, father of Tyr[- (not Tym[nes]), appears as *Sakqur-* or the like (L. H. Jeffrey, 'The Inscribed Gravestones of Archaic Attica' *ABSA* 57 (1962), 126-127; M. Meier-Brügger, 'Karika I-III' *Kadmos* 17 (1978), 87; J.D. Ray, 'The Carian Script' *PCPhS* 208 (1982), 83 and Fig. 4). Nonetheless Skylax wrote in Greek. The dates of his journey down the **Indus** are not known exactly; it was a prelude to **Darius**' acquisition of **Hindush**, a province that probably corresponds with the lower **Indus valley** (W. Vogelsang, 'The Achaemenids and India' H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt (eds), *Achaemenid History IV. Centre and Periphery* (Leiden 1990), 98). Hindush is not listed in the Bisitun Inscription, but first appears in Darius' later inscriptions at **Persepolis** and **Naqsh-e Rostam** (DPh, Dpe, DNa; R.G. Kent, *Old Persian. Grammar. Texts. Lexicon* (New Haven, CT 1950), 136-8). The expedition probably took place in 519-516.

Darius sent Skylax, along with an unspecified number of others, to reconnoitre the eastern borderlands of the empire preliminary to conquest. It is likely that Skylax did not command the expedition—such an honor would have been granted to a Persian—but served in a key capacity, such as navigator, and represented himself as its leader to his Greek audience. If **Herodotos** is to be relied upon, Darius sent out a substantial group, with diplomatic, intelligence-gathering and

military functions. The closest parallel would be the expedition he sent to the west, comprised of a number of **Persians** and a Greek, **Demokedes** (3.135–137); similarly, **Cambyses** sent an embassy with gifts, to spy upon the land of the **Ethiopians** prior to a planned conquest (3.17.2, 21.2). The ships that Skylax and his fellow travellers took must have been built in the east, as **Alexander** would later do. Herodotos describes the mission as heading east towards the rising sun; this is likely confusion on Herodotos' part, rather than Skylax's. The thirty months that the expedition took is difficult to account for. Progress down the **Indus** might have been retarded in the monsoon season, and the journey along the Iranian coast, possibly into the **Persian Gulf**, and around the **Arabian peninsula**, must have been painfully slow, with the requirements of diplomacy and intelligence-gathering further slowing progress. The expedition finished at the northern end of the **Red Sea**. **Darius'** completion of the canal from the **Nile** to the Red Sea may indicate a desire to exploit the southern seas, although there is no evidence that the sea route from the **Red Sea** to the Persian Gulf and thence to **India** became a regular trade route at this time (C. Tuplin, 'Darius' Suez Canal and Persian Imperialism' H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt (eds), *Achaemenid History VI. Asia Minor and Egypt: Old Cultures in a New Empire* (Leiden 1991), 270–278). It is impossible to say whether the account that circulated was the report he drafted for Darius, or a subsequent work written for a Greek audience.

Skylax also wrote an admiring account of **Herakleides of Mylasa**, who fought the **Persians** in **Caria** and at **Artemesium** (according to a fragment of **Sosylos**, who probably relied on Skylax), which indicates that he was sympathetic to the Greek and Carian side in the Persian Wars. It is therefore very likely that he returned to **Karyanda** after his service to the King, and may have taken part in the Ionian Revolt. H. Bengtson, 'Skylax von Karyanda und Herakleides von Mylasa' *Historia* 3 (1954/55), 304–305 raises the possibility that the tombstone in **Athens** inscribed in Greek and Carian for Tyr[] son of Skylax the Carian indicates that the explorer—or at least his son—settled in Athens after the Ionian Revolt; but Jeffrey claims on the basis of the letter forms in the Greek that it dates to c. 525.

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Kaplan, Philip (University of North Florida)

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