Brill's New Jacoby

Skylax of Karyanda (709)

T 1

Suda s.v. Σκύλαξ

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

Skylax of Karyanda (709)

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 Polybius.

Commentary

The entry in the Suda is notoriously confused. It names Skylax the inhabitant of Karyanda as a mathematician and scholar. 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. Gês 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 Hecataïos' 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 tês thalassês tês oikoumenês Eurôpês kai Asias kai Libuês well. Vossius, followed by Müller (GGM vol. I, xxxviii), emended the title to ἔκτος καὶ ἑντὸς (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.
Herakleides, son of Ibanolis, 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 (BNJ 176 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

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 μεταξὺ Καρύανδα λιμήν καὶ πόλις καὶ νῆσος ὁμώνυμος ταύτηι, ἣν ὤικουν Καρανδεῖς (ἐντεῦθεν δ’ ἦν καὶ Σκύλας 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

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

· πόλις καὶ λιμήν ὁμώνυμος, πλησίον Μύνδου καὶ Κῶ· Ἐκατάιος Καρύανδαν αὐτήν φησὶ ... ἦν καὶ Σκύλας ὁ παλαιὸς λογογράφος.

A city and harbor of the same name, near Myndos and Kos; Hekataios (BNJ 1 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 Meinske—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 λιμήν 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 λιμὴν 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 *syngrapheus*.

**T 3 a**

**Herodotos 4.44.1-3**

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

Τῆς δὲ Ἀσίης τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ Δαρείου ἐξευρέθη, ὃς βουλόμενος Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν— ὃς κροκοδείλους δεύτερος οὗτος ποταμῶν πάντων παρέχεται—τούτον τὸν ποταμὸν εἶδέναι τῇ, ἐς τὸ καλασασαν ἐκδιδόντος, πέμπει πλοῖοι ἄλλους τὸ τούτο ἐπίστευε τὴν ἀληθείην ἐρέειν καὶ δὴ καὶ Σκύλην ἄνδρα Ἀρμανά. (2) οἱ δὲ ὄρμηθενενέ ἐκ Κασπάτυρου τὸ πόλιος καὶ τῆς Πακτυίης γῆς ἐπέλεον κατὰ ποταμὸν πρὸς ἅγιο τῇ καὶ ἤλιον ἀνατολάς ἐς τὸ καλασασαν, διὰ τὰς ἀλασασις ἐς ἄστρον ἀπορρέψανεν πλεύσεσιν τρικιστείς μηνὶ ἀπικνέοντας ἐς τούτον τὸν χώρον, ὅθεν ὁ Ἀῖγυπτόγας βασιλεὺς τους Φοίνικας τους πρότερον εἶπα ἀπέστειλε περιπλώς. (3) μετὰ δὲ τούτου περιπλῶσαντας Ἰνδούς τε κατεστρέφατο Δαρείος καὶ τῇ καλασαση ταῦτη ἑχράτο, όμως καὶ τῆς Ἀσίης πλὴν τὰ πρὸς ἅγιον ἀνέσχοντα τὰ ἄλλα ἀνεύρηται ὅμοια παρεχομένη τῇ Λιβύην.

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 *Kasparytos*. Surely the expedition was commissioned and assembled farther west; but the account that survived must have begun at Kasparytos; 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’ Kasparytos is the same as the (more correct) *Kasparytos known to Hekataios*, as cited in *Stephanos of Byzantion* (s. Κασάπαρος, BN 1 F 295). Hekataios described Kasparytos as a Gandaran city, which he called a Σκυθων δὲ ἀκτή ‘Skythian promontory/shore’ (Jacob) accepted Sieglin’s emendation Σκυθων δὲ ἀντίη ‘opposite the Skythians,’ which P. Daffinà, ‘On Kasparytos and the So-Called “Shore of the Skythians”’ *AAntHung* 28 (1980[1984]), 1—8, rejects.

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 *Kasparytos* 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.
Herodotos has no certain idea where the city is. Elsewhere (3.102.1) he puts Indians at the border of Kasparyros 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 Kasparyros 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 Kasparyros 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 Kasparyros 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 Cambyses 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. Schiwek, ‘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

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

μνησθεὶς δὲ τῶν περιπλεῦσαι λεγομένων τῇ Λιβύῃ, Ἡρόδοτος μὲν οἴεσθαί φησιν ὑπὸ Δαρέιου περιβάλλοντος τινὰς τελέσαι τὸν περίπλουν ... ἀμάρτυρα δὲ ταύτ᾽ 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’s 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).

Scholia 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

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 Peloponnesse 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...
Commentary

The passage is an introduction to the pseudonymous Periplous, 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 Periplous 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 periplous. He suggests that the author lived shortly before Alexander, the period in which most modern authorities put the Periplous 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.

Avienus, Ora Maritima 32

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 inclytam / 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, prisa 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.

Translation

You have inquired, if you recall, as to the location of the Maecotic 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, Herodotos himself the Thurian, and then Attic Thucydides, who is the great glory of eloquence.
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 periplois, possibly of Massaliote origin (whose early date is challenged by J. Hind, ‘Pyrene and the Date of the “Massaliot 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 Haece 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. 370–2). Kleon of Syracuse, author of a Periplous (known alternately as Peri limen Ώ, ‘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 Bacorios (E.H. Berger, ‘Bacorios’, 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 Karyandand is uncertain: the ms. gives Cariae dictus Skylax here and at l. 372, which Schulten in his edition, following Heinsius, emended to Caryandaeus Skylax (Stichenonoth, 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 Periplois 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 Periplois seems to be wrong (F 8).

T 6

Marcianus, Epitoma 2

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 ἐντυχών περίπλοις ..... οἱ γάρ δὴ δοκοῦντες ταῦτα μετὰ λόγων ἐξητακέναι Τιμοσθένης ὁ Ῥόδιός (V) ἐστιν, ἀρχικυβερνήτης τοῦ δευτέρου Πτολεμαίου γενόμενος, καὶ μετ᾽ ἐκείνου Ἐρατοσθένους (V) ...., πρὸς δὲ τούτων Πυθέας τε ὁ Μασσαλιώτης (V) καὶ Ἰσιδώρος ὁ Χαρακηνὸς καὶ Εὐσανδρός ὁ κυβερνήτης, τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἴνδικην 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
oikoumenês ènóeis tôn periplouson' eti mòn 'Apeílás o Kúrphnías (V) kai Eúthyménês o Maseossilítis (V) kai Filéas o 'Athenaio (V) kai 'Anfrosthénhs o Thásios kai Kléws o Sikelíwths (V), Eúdathès te o 'Ródhos kai "Anwv o Kárchhánous (V), oî mën memor tônins, oi dé tôis éntos pásis thaláttis, oi dé tôis ektôs periplouson anagráfantes; oû mòn allá kai Skúlías o Kárpanðeúçs kai † Vouthaios; oûtoi dé ekáteroi dia tôs hmerhêsion plów, oû dia tôwn stadiów tâ diastýmta tôs thalássis edhilwâs. kai éteroi dé plèousies eisí, Òûs perittôn oîma kataríthêmên.

Commentary

Menippus of Pergamum, a geographer of the Augustan Age (F. Gisinger, 'Menippus (9)', RE 15 (1931), 862-88), wrote a *periplous* of the Black and Mediterranean Seas, of which sections survive in an epimethe by Marcianus of Herakleia, a late 4th-century geographer. The epimethe 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 Aviènuos', 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, 'Isidorus [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 Ophelias 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)). Androstenes (E. H. Berger, 'Androstenes (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 *parapleusos tîs Índikhs* (Circumnavigation of India), while the *periplous* of the latter was also undoubtedly based on his own observations. Timothenes of Rhodes, the fleet commander of Ptolemy the Second (H.A. Gärtner, 'Timothenes [2]' BNP 14/1 (Leiden 2009), 706), must have based his Περί Λιμενών (On Harbors) on first-hand knowledge. Skylax is linked most
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

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

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

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 «κύναρας ἄκανθα πάντα πληθύει γύην». Ἐκαταῖος δ᾽ ὁ Μιλήσιος ἐν Ἁσίας περιηγήσει ...λέγει οὕτω· περὶ τὴν Ὑρκανίην θάλασσαν καλεομένην οὔρεα ὑψηλὰ καὶ δασέα ὕληισιν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖσιν ὰρείσιν ἄκανθα κυνάρα. καὶ ἐξῆς· Πάρθον πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα Χοράσμιοι οἰκοῦσι γῆν, ἐχόντες καὶ πεδία καὶ οὐρέα· ἐν δὲ τοῖσιν οὐρέαι 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 [kunarios] 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
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 Ilum (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 Nesiotes—in 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.

And he goes on to write ‘from there a mountain extends along the Indus river on both sides, high and shaggy with 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.’

F 4

Athenaios 2.82 p. 70 C-D

Subject: genre: geography

Source Date: 2nd-3rd century AD

Historian’s Date: 6th-5th century BC

Historical Period: 519-516 BC

Kai en tois ejhēs: eivesthev dē drōs parēteine toû potamoi toû Ínous kai envesen kai envesen, úphilōn te kai dasu agrēi olyi kai akánthi kuvárai. »Díymos de’ o grámatikoús exēghoúmenos pará toû Sophoklēi to ‘kynaroς akandha ‘mehpote’ fēsin ‘tín kynobatou legei diá to akandwdes kai traxh eina to phuton’ kai γαρ ἡ Πυθία ξυλίνην κόνα αὐτό εἶπεν, kai o Lοkrōs χρησμόν λαβὼν ἐκεῖ πόλιν οἰκίζει ὅπου ἄν υπὸ ξυλίνης κῦνος δηχθή, καταμυχθεὶς τὴν κνήμην ὑπὸ κυνοσβάτου ἔκτισε τὴν πόλιν». Εστὶ δὲ ὁ κυνόσβατος μεταξὺ δάμνου καὶ δένδρου, ὡς φησὶ Θεόφραστος, kai τὸν καρπὸν ἔχει ἐρυθρόν, παραπλῆσιον τῇ ροἴοιν: ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὸ φύλλον ἀγνῶδες.

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

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

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.

pomegranate; but it has a thorny leaf.
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: BN/133 F 23; ) and later (such as the more developed account in Megasthenes: BN/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).

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 ‘Trogloidytes’ 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). Trogloidytes— 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 Bordieres, 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): Σκύλακος, Μαρκοκέφαλοι, ήπιο γῆν οἰκούντες. 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 6

Harpokration s.v. ὑπὸ γῆν οἰκούντες

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

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

F 7 a

Philostratos, Vita Apollonii 3.47

Translation
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 Shade-footed men or 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, ‘Skylax 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. Romm, The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought (Princeton, NJ 1992), 95-103).

F 7b

Tzetzes, Chiliades 7.629-630, 7.640

There is a book by Skylax of Karyanda (630) that describes men who live around the Indian land, whom he calls Shade-feet and
toûς Ὄτολίκνους / ὄν ὦς Σκιάποδες πλατεῖς ἐξουσίαν ἔγαγαν πόδας, / καρυῳ τῆς μεσομημερίας δὲ πρὸς γην καταπέσοντες, / τοὺς πόδας ἀνατείναντες σκοῖν αὐτοῦς ποιοῦν / μεγάλα δ᾽ οἱ Ὄτολίκνοι τὰ ὅτα κεκτημένοι / ὁμοίως σκέπουσιν αὐτοὺς τρόπωι τῶν σκιαδείων. / ὁ Σκύλαξ οὗτος γράφει δὲ καὶ ἔτερα μυρία / περὶ γε Μονοφθάλμων τε καὶ τῶν Ἑνοτικτόνων / καὶ ἕκτραπέλων ἄλλων δὲ μυρίων θεαμάτων. / ταῦτα φησὶ δ᾽ ὡς ἀληθῆ μηδὲ τῶν ἐψευσμένων. / ἐγὼ τῇ ἀπειρίᾳ δὲ ταῦτα ψευδῆ νομίζω. / ἄλλοι δ᾽ εἰσὶ τῶν ἀληθῶν, ἄλλοι φαινόμενοι ότους καὶ καινότερα θεάσασθαι ἐν βίωι, / Κτησίας καὶ ἱάμβουλος 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 new novelties to be seen in life, Ktesias (BNJ 688 F 51) and Iamboules 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 Ὄτολίκνοι 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 Arimaspians 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 Ἑνοτικτόνες, creatures that bear a single young, were a human version of the lioness, which Herodotos believed bore only one cub before losing her womb (ἐπαξ 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: τοῦτον αἱ γυναῖκες ἐπαξ 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 Ἐνοτικτοίτοι, ‘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 that Henotiktontes, and Leone prefers the reading of the mss.
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 Kavagi, 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 Périple 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

Nestaiouste: touς Nestaiouς Skulας φησίν ἔθνος Ἰλλυρικόν ἀπὸ τούτων παράπλους ἐστίν εἰς τὸν κόλπον (...) καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν Γεωγραφουμένων φησὶν: ἐμετὰ Ἰλλυρίσσων Nestaiouς, καθ' οὖς νῆσος Φάρος, Παρίων ἀποικίος. A 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 ‘Απὸ 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

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 Izmik] 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 periploös 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 (Izmik) 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).
Skylax of Karyanda was 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 Periplous, referred to here in Radt’s edition, is more divergent from the extant version of the periplous. 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 Dionysios of Chalcis’ use of the term ‘Mysian Bosporos,’ that the Mysians were Thracians.

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.

Strabo 13.1.4 p. 582-583

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 Euphoros (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 Troade. Strabo’s citation of Skylax for the extent of the Troade 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 Abidos followed by the phrase καὶ τὸ στόμα κατὰ Σηστὸν τῆς Προποντίδος τοῦτό ἐστιν (‘and this is the mouth of the Propontis opposite Sestos’), referring to Abidos’ position across the strait from Sestos. The following section on the Troade (95) begins Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ Τρωὰς ἄρχεται (‘from here the Troade begins’); so although Abidos is included in Phrygia, it also marks the beginning of the Troade.

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

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 Hannibal along the Atlantic coast of Africa; as a geographical treatise, along the lines of Hekataios’ Periegesis; 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 periplus of the Mediterranean, either the one extant under Skylax’s name, which has generally been dated to the mid-fourth century (F. J. Gonzalez 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 periplus 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 Periplus of the Mediterranean; but the best we can do is to say that the Periplus, 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 periplus later attributed to him (so P. Counillon, Pseudo-Skylax: Le Périple 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. 1 190], in which the name Skylax, father of Tyr[- (not Tym[nes]), appears as Sakwur- 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), Achemenid 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-i Rustam (DPh, Dpe, DNar; 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 Heracleides 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 Heracleides 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.

Bibliography

M. L. Allain, The Periplous of Skylax of Karyanda (Diss: Ohio State University 1977), 43-85


F. J. González Ponce, ‘Suda, Σκύλαξ. Sobre el título, el contenido y la unidad de FGrHist 3C 709’ Geographica Antiqua 6 (1997), 37-51


A. Peretti, Il periplo di Scilace. Studio sul primo portolano del Mediterraneo (Pisa 1980)


Kaplan, Philip (University of North Florida)

Citation:


<http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=bnj_a709>

Copyright © 2009 Koninklijke Brill NV. For more information please visit www.brill.nl