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#### *Autour du Périples de la mer Érythrée*

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## **ON DACHINABADES AND LIMYRIKE IN THE *PERIPLUS MARIS ERYTHRAEI***

It is a truism that the names of regions, or choronyms, are a far more interesting subject of study, from a historical point of view, than the names of places, or toponyms. While the rationale for the latter lies in too distant and obscure times and tells very little about the subsequent history of a place, choronyms are sensitive to historical dynamics and their significance may fluctuate either objectively in the diachrony or subjectively in the synchrony. They may therefore be highly significant for the political, economic and social history of both the regions to which they refer and the surrounding areas. When compared to their equivalents in Indian sources, the occurrences in the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (*PME*) of the two Indian choronyms *Dachinabades* and *Limyrike* allow for interesting insights about the historical geography of the subcontinent and the perspective by which its author interprets it.

Barygaza, its gulf, and the Ariake region around it marks a sort of geopolitical watershed in the map of the author of the *PME*. On one side, it signals the start of the kingdom of Manbanes and the whole of India : « Right after Barake is the gulf of Barygaza and the land of the Ariake region, beginning of the kingdom of Manbanes and the entire India »<sup>1</sup>. On the other side, it adjoins the land called *Dachinabades*, which stretches widely towards the south : « Immediately after Barygaza the adjoining land extends from north to south. For this reason the region is called *Dachinabades* : the south, indeed, is called *dachanos* in their language »<sup>2</sup>.

This emphasis on Barygaza and its region is hardly surprising. In the *PME*, the Indian Ocean is mainly represented from the perspective of Roman trade, and

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1. *PME* 41 : μετὰ δὲ τὸν Βαράκιην εὐθύς ἐστιν ὁ Βαρυγάζων κόλπος καὶ ἡ ἥπειρος (Schwanbeck : ἡ πρὸς) τῆς Ἀριακῆς (Stuck : Ἀραβικῆς) χώρας, τῆς (τῆς τε Frisk) Μανβάνου βασιλείας ἀρχὴ καὶ τῆς ὅλης Ἰνδικῆς οὐσα.

2. *PME* 50 : μετὰ δὲ Βαρυγάζαν εὐθέως ἡ συναφῆς ἥπειρος ἐκ τοῦ βορέου εἰς τὸν νότον παρεκτείνειν· διὸ καὶ Δαχιναβάδης καλεῖται ἡ χώρα· δάχανος γὰρ καλεῖται ὁ νότος τῇ αὐτῶν γλώσσει.

Barygaza was specified as one of the three major Indian destinations of the Roman merchants active in those seas – the other two being Barbarikon, at the mouth of the Indus, and the emporia of the *Limyrike*, in present-day Kerala<sup>3</sup>. Much less obvious, however, is the awareness of the importance of Barygaza's inland connections with *Dachinabades*, a choronym which, perhaps not insignificantly, is not found in any other Greek or Latin work.

*Dachinabades* is the Greek transcript of a Prakrit form of the Sanskrit *Dakṣiṇāpatha*, a notion which evokes – in different ways, as we shall see – the southern parts of India. From it the concept of Deccan arose<sup>4</sup>. Exceptionally, and quite interestingly, the author of the *PME* offers an interpretation of the expression by referencing the local language<sup>5</sup>. Even more remarkable, however, is the fact that his understanding of the term is, strictly speaking, both imprecise and incomplete. As a matter of fact, the compound transcribed in Greek as *Dachinabades* is composed from two words: the adverb *dakṣiṇā*, which actually means « southwards », and the substantive *patha*, « road, route », which the author omitted to translate. Again strictly speaking, his explanation of the term is inexact. Since it means « southwards route », the expression *Dakṣiṇāpatha* cannot be logically explained with the circumstance that after Barygaza the land (ἡπειρος) extends from north to south.

However, the omission of *patha* and the imprecise rendition of *dakṣiṇā* are not casual mistakes. At the time of the *PME*, *Dakṣiṇāpatha* was not understood anymore in its original sense of « southwards route ». In the everyday language of the locals, the hodonym (name of a road) « southwards road » had become a choronym designating the region south of the Barygaza region. As a consequence, a translation of the second element of the compound (*patha*) and a proper

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3. Cfr. *PME* 57 : ἀφ' οὗ μέχρι καὶ νῦν τινὲς μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ Κανίη, τινὲς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀρωμάτων ἀφιέντες οἱ μὲν εἰς Λιμυρικὴν πλέοντες ἐπὶ πλεῖον τραχηλίζοντες, οἱ δὲ εἰς Βαρύγαζαν οἳ τε (Müller : οἱ δὲ) εἰς Σκυθίαν κτλ. Consequently, lists of the exchanged items are given only for Barbarikon (*PME* 39), Barygaza (*PME* 49) and the emporia of the *Limyrike* (*PME* 56). Ships and merchants sailing back from either Barygaza and the Ariake or Barygaza or *Limyrike* may call, respectively, at the emporia of the Somali coast (*PME* 14) or Socotra (*PME* 31) and Moscha (*PME* 32). Barygaza is a major destination also for merchants from Muza (*PME* 21) and Cane (*PME* 27) ; its ships sail to Omana (*PME* 36) ; it receives goods from Minnagara in Ariake (*PME* 41) and Ozene (*PME* 48).
  4. Cfr. R.G. BHANDARKAR, *Early History of the Dekkan*, Bombay 1895<sup>2</sup>, p. 1-2 ; D.K. CHAKRABARTI, *The Archaeology of the Deccan Routes. The Ancient Routes from the Ganga Plain to the Deccan*, New Delhi (2005), p. 1-21.
  5. Elsewhere, African and Arabian toponyms are etymologically explained by referencing the Greek, cfr. *PME* 16 : [...] τὰ Ῥάπτα [τὰ] (L, Stuck) λεγόμενα, ταύτην ἔχον τὴν προσωνυμίαν ἀπὸ τῶν προειρημένων ῥαπτῶν πλοιαρίων ; 26 : Εὐδαίμων Ἀραβία [...] Εὐδαίμων δ' ἐπεκλήθη κτλ.

understanding of the first (*dakṣiṇā*) must have appeared, respectively, misleading and meaningless to the author of the *PME* and his Indian informers.

This evolution from hodonym to choronym is not unparalleled. Similar cases are those of the ancient Italian choronyms *Aemilia* (modern Emilia) and *Flaminia*, which come out from the hodonyms *via Aemilia* the former and *via Flaminia* the latter. However, such transformations take place only when a new trunk road deeply affects the material life of the surrounding areas. The commercial importance of what must have been the original *Dakṣiṇāpatha*<sup>6</sup> – the main trunk road that went from Barygaza to Paithana, Tagara, and probably the coastal regions of the Bay of Bengal – is still clearly recognizable in the text of the *PME*. In chapter 51, the location of the two major emporia of *Dachinabades*, Paithana and Tagara, is accompanied by specific information concerning the number of travel days from Barygaza and Paithana, respectively : « Among those in the same *Dachinabades*, two are the most conspicuous emporia : Paithana, which is twenty days travel south of Barygaza, and, ten days east from it, Tagara, another very big city »<sup>7</sup>. Extensions of the « southwards route » from Tagara to the coastal regions of the Bay of Bengal are not explicitly mentioned. Still, they are implied by the merchandise « of the coastal parts » first exported to Tagara and then re-exported to Barygaza<sup>8</sup>.

In its original, hodonymic sense, the expression *Dakṣiṇāpatha* occurs in a passage of the *Arthaśāstra* : « In the case of a land-route : ‘The route to the Himavat is preferable to the southwards route. Commodities such as elephants, horses, perfumes, ivory, skins, silver and gold are of very high value’. So say the teachers. ‘No’ says Kauṭilya ‘leaving out commodities such as blankets, skins and horses, (those items) and commodities such as conch shells, diamonds, rubies, pearls and gold are more plentiful on the southwards route’ »<sup>9</sup>.

6. Cfr., e.g., H.P. RAY, *Monastery and Guild. Commerce under the Śātavāhanas*, Delhi (1986).

7. *PME* 51 : τῶν δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Δαχίναβάδει δύο ἐστὶν τὰ διασημότερα ἐμπόρια, Παίθανα μὲν (Schwanbeck : ἐπιφαινόμενα) ἀπὸ Βαρυγάζων ἔχουσα ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν εἴκοσι πρὸς νότον, ἀπὸ <δὲ> (edd.) ταύτης ὡς ἡμερῶν δέκα πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἑτέρα πόλις μεγίστη Ταγάρα (Fabricius : Ταγάρα μεγίστη). Here, ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ = ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ, cfr. H. FRISK, *Le périple de la mer Érythrée. Suivi d'une étude sur la tradition et la langue*, Göteborg (1927), p. 65-66.

8. *PME* 51 : κατάγεται δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν πορείαις ἀμαξῶν καὶ ἀνοδίαις μεγίσταις εἰς τὴν Βαρυγάζαν ἀπὸ μὲν Παϊθάνων ὄνουχινῃ λιθία πλείστη, ἀπὸ δὲ Ταγάρων ὀθόνιον πολὺ[v] (edd.) χυδαῖον καὶ σινδόνων παντοῖα καὶ μολόχινα καὶ τινα ἄλλα τοπικῶς ἐκεῖ προχωροῦντα φορτία τῶν παραθαλασσίων μερῶν.

9. *Arthaśāstra* VII 12.22-4 : *sthalapathe* ‘pi ‘haimavato dakṣiṇāpathācchreyān, hastyaśvagandhadantājinarūpyasuvārṇapaṇyāḥ sāravattarāḥ’ ityācārāḥ // *neti kauṭilyaḥ* // *kambalājinaśvārṇavarjāḥ śāṅkhavajramaṇimuktāsuvārṇapaṇyāśca prabhūtatarā dakṣiṇāpathe*.

This passage is noteworthy in many ways. Besides showing the term in its original meaning and confirming that it actually referred to a land-route (*sthalapatha*) and not to, as would have been theoretically possible, a water-route (*vāripatha*), it proves that *Dakṣiṇāpatha* was a commercial road used by merchants who could choose to carry on business either along the « southwards » or the *Haimavata* route<sup>10</sup>. It makes therefore clear that the « southwards route » was a contrastive denomination, suggested by the opposition (and competition) between the « southwards » and the *Haimavata* routes. For a long time, trade with Himālaya had been considered preferable to trade along the « southwards route », but when those lines of the *Arthaśāstra* were conceived, the latter turned out to be more lucrative than the former, thereby disproving the elders' opinions. It is therefore self-evident that the expression *Dakṣiṇāpatha* was forged in an area around the northern end of that route by a commercial milieu whose trading activities were poised between the Himālaya and Deccan. This circumstance explains why *Dakṣiṇāpatha* is, so to speak, a one-way hodyonym, oriented in a direction north-south.

It has been observed that the contextual reference to Deccan and Himālaya land-routes implies a standpoint « of a person in the midlands, neither a southerner nor a northerner »<sup>11</sup>. The text of the *PME* may suggest a more precise localization. In chapter 47, the list of tribes lying behind Barygaza – which includes the Arachosians, the Gandharians and the Bactrians<sup>12</sup> – reflects Barygaza's commercial connections with the Himālayan region. The same conclusion can be drawn from chapter 48, where import to Barygaza via Ozene (= Ujjayinī) of nard, costus and bdellium from the « upper places » is mentioned<sup>13</sup>. Just mid-way between the

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10. For archaeological evidence pointing to connections between Deccan and Gandhara, cfr. P. BRANCACCIO, « Close Encounters : Multicultural Systems in Ancient India », in D. SRINIVASAN (ed.), *On the Cusp of an Era : Art in the Pre-Kuṣāṇa World*, Leiden (2007), p. 385–398 ; EAD., *The Buddhist Cave at Aurangabad : Transformation in Art and Religion*, Leiden (2010), p. 67-68 ; 69-70 ; EAD., « Terracottas from Western Deccan : An Exploration of Sources and Transmission of Models in the Early Historic Period », in Ph. GRANOFF (ed.), *A Pantheon Rediscovered : Changing Perceptions of Early Historic India*, forthcoming.
11. R.P. KANGLE, *The Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra. Part II. An English Translation with Critical and Explanatory Notes*, Bombay (1972<sup>2</sup>), p. 360, nt. 22.
12. *PME* 47 : ἐπίκειται δὲ (Fabricius : γὰρ) κατὰ <ν>του τῆ Βαρυγάζῃ μεσόγεια (Frisk : κατὰ του τῆ Βαρυγάζῃ μεσογεία) πλείονα ἔθνη, τό (edd. : ἡ) τε τῶν Ἀρατρῶν καὶ <A>ραχουσ<ι>ων (Stuck) καὶ Γανδαράων (Salmasius : τανθαράγων) καὶ τῆς Προκλ<α>ΐδος (Müller), ἐν οἷς ἡ Βουκέφαλος Ἀλεξάνδρεια. καὶ τούτων ἐπάνω μαχίμωτατον ἔθνος Βακτριανῶν, ὑπὸ βασιλεῖα ὄντων (Müller : οὔσαν) ἴδιον [τόπον] (Stuck).
13. *PME* 48 : κατάγεται δὲ δι' αὐτῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄνω τόπων ἢ διὰ Προκλαΐδος καταφερομένη νάρδος ἢ Καττυβουρίνη καὶ ἡ Πατροπαπίγη (ἢ Κασπαυρηνή καὶ ἡ Παροπανίσην) Müller in Proll. p. CIV) καὶ ἡ Καβαλίτη καὶ ἡ διὰ τῆς παρακειμένης

Himālaya and Deccan regions, the Barygaza-Ozene region was perhaps the only Indian area where the alternative between a *Haimavata* and a *Dakṣiṇāpatha* land-route made perfect sense.

Incidentally, I would like to point out another example in which a comparison with the text of the *Arthaśāstra* may improve our understanding of the text of the *PME*. Again, it relates to the *Dachinabades* land-route. In chapter 51 items from Paithana and Tagara are brought to Barygaza πορείαις ἀμαξῶν καὶ ἀνοδίαις μεγίσταις, which Casson translates as « by conveyance in wagons over very great roadless stretches »<sup>14</sup>. Müller's Latin rendition is similar : « per loca maxime in via plaustriis merces devehuntur »<sup>15</sup>. Both these translations assume that such long journey was made on stretches of land that were simultaneously roadless and accessible by wagons, which is contradictory.

Evoked by the author of the *Arthaśāstra* in the very same chapter containing the comparison between *Dakṣiṇāpatha* and *Haimavata* land-route, is the distinction between *cakrapatha* « the wheel-track », *pādapatha* « the foot-path » and *kharoṣṭrapatha* « the ass- or camel-road » : « [...] as between a wheel-track and a foot-path, the wheel-track is preferable, as it enables undertakings on a large scale. Alternatively, path for donkeys and camels in conformity with place and time (is to be preferred) »<sup>16</sup>. This line suggests that a long land-route may not be entirely suitable to wheeled vehicles and may therefore require changes in the mode of transport, such as shifting between wagons and donkeys. It is consequently probable that at *PME* 51 the καί which connects πορείαις ἀμαξῶν and ἀνοδίαις μεγίσταις is disjunctive : from Paithana and Tagara the items are brought « with journeys of wagons and long roadless tracts ». In other words, « journeys of wagons » (πορείαις ἀμαξῶν) and « roadless tracts » (ἀνοδίαις μεγίσταις) refer to two distinct modalities of transport, each adopted as needed along different legs of the voyage. The long route from Tagara to Paithana and Barygaza was to be travelled with wagons on « wheel-track » (*cakrapatha*) only in part : for long stretches 'the ass- or camelroads' (*kharoṣṭrapatha*) were the only option available.

While in the *Arthaśāstra* the term *Dakṣiṇāpatha* still retains its original meaning of « southwards route », its earliest inscriptional occurrences already show

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Σκυθία, ὅ τε κόστος καὶ ἡ βδέλλα. The same items are available at Barbarikon, on the mouth of the Indus : *PME* 39.

14. L. CASSON, *The Periplus Maris Erythraei. Text with Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*, Princeton (1989), p. 83.
15. C. MÜLLER, *Geographi Graeci Minores*, I, Paris (1855), p. 294. A more fit translation is given by W.H. SCHOFF, *The Periplus of Erythraean Sea*, New York, London, Bombay and Calcutta (1912), p. 43 : « [...] brought down to Barygaza from these places by wagons and through great tracts without roads ».
16. *Arthaśāstra* VII 12, 27 : *tatrāpicakrapādapathayoścakrapathovipulārambhatvātchreyān, deśakālasambhāvano vā kharoṣṭrapathaḥ*.

its evolution into a choronym. *Dakṣiṇāpatha* was claimed by Sātavāhana rulers as the geographical frame of their sovereignty : *Dakṣiṇāpathapati* and *Dakṣiṇāpathesara* are the synonymous formulas (both meaning « Lord of *Dakṣiṇāpatha* ») which occur in inscriptions from Nāṇeghāt, Nāsik and Gīrnār<sup>17</sup>. The inscriptions of Nāsik and Gīrnār refer respectively to Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāvi and to his immediate successor Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi. The inscription from Nāṇeghāt probably refers to Simuka, the founder of the dynasty.

The lordship over *Dakṣiṇāpatha* claimed by the Sātavāhanas explains how one of them, called « the elder Saraganos » (= Śātakarṇi) by the author of the *PME*, made Kalliena, not far from Nāṇeghāt, a « lawful emporion »<sup>18</sup>. It explains also why Ptolemy locates at Baithana (= Paithana, one of the two most conspicuous emporia of *PME*'s *Dachinabades*) the royal residence of Sirip(t)olemaios (= Siri Puḷumāvi)<sup>19</sup>. Nonetheless, however powerful (or charlatan) were the Sātavāhana kings<sup>20</sup>, their domain could have hardly coincided with the *Dakṣiṇāpatha* of some passages of the *Purāṇas*, where it includes Pāṇḍya, Kerala and Cola, in the southern end of the subcontinent<sup>21</sup>. Disconnected from any political or economical reality, this expanded *Dakṣiṇāpatha* is the result of a generalization, elaborated by the

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17. V.V. MIRASHI, *The History and Inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas*, Bombay (1981), n. 3, l. 2, p. 11 (*dakṣiṇāpathapati* in the Nāṇeghāt inscription of Nāganikā) ; *ibid.*, n. 18, l. 11, p. 46 (*dakṣiṇāpathesara* in the Nāsik inscription of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāvi) ; D.C. SIRCAR, *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization. Volume I. From the Sixth Century B.C. to the Sixth Century A.D.*, Calcutta (1965<sup>2</sup>), n. 67, l. 12, p. 178 (Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi styled as *dakṣiṇāpathapati* in the Rudradāman inscription of Gīrnār).
18. *PME* 52 : τοπικὰ δὲ ἐμπόρια κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς κείμενα Ἄκαβαρου, Σούππαρα (edd. : ἀπὸ Βαρυ<γάζων> Σούππαρα Müller in comm. : Ἄκαβαρους οὐππαρα), Καλλίενα (καὶ Καλλίενα Frisk) πόλις, ἡ ἐπὶ τῶν Σαραγάνου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου χρόνων ἐμπόριον (Gelenius : ἐμποριῶ) ἐνθεσμον γενομένη (Fabricius : γενόμενον). For the identification of the « elder Saraganos » with the husband of queen Nāganikā, cfr. A.M. SHASTRI, *The Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas: a historical framework*, Nagpur (1998), p. 55-60.
19. Ptol., *Geogr.* VII 1, 82 : Βαίθανα, βασιλείον Σιριπτολεμαίου (UKX : Σίριος πολεμίου V : Σίριος πτολεμαίου R : Σιροπολεμίου A : Σιριπολεμαίου Z) ριζ ιη Λ'. It is to be noticed that in Bhāgavatapurāṇa IX 1, 41-42 the title *pratiṣṭhānapati* (skt. Pratiṣṭhāna = Gk. Paithana) is given to a king, whose three sons were *dakṣiṇāpatharājānaḥ*, « kings of *dakṣiṇāpatha* ».
20. SHASTRI, *op. cit.*, p. 7-12 ; C. SINOPOLI, « On the Edge of the Empire : Form and Substance in the Sātavāhana Dynasty », in S.E. ALCOCK, T.N. D'ALTROY, K.D. MORRISON, and C.M. SINOPOLI (eds), *Empires : Perspectives from Archaeology and History*, Cambridge (2001), p. 162-178.
21. *Mātsyapurāṇa* 114, 46-49 ; *Vāyupurāṇa* 45, 124-128 ; *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* 57, 45-49, where the names of *pāṇḍyāḥ*, *keralāḥ* and *colāḥ* are corrupt in *punḍrāḥ*, *kevalāḥ* and *golāṅgūlāḥ*.



Indian cosmography, of the choronymic notion of « southern region ». Still, it is interesting to note that this « Greater *Dakṣiṇāpatha* » coexists with a narrower sense of the choronym. In the rivers section, the *Mātsyapurāṇa* draws a clear distinction between the *Dakṣiṇāpatha* rivers (from Godāvarī up to the Kāverī) and the rivers of southern Tamil Nadu, which spring from the Western Ghats of Kerala<sup>22</sup>. But even more remarkable is the fact that puranic *Dakṣiṇāpatha* maintains the Narmadā region as its northern landmark. Like *Dachinabades* in the *PME*, the *Dakṣiṇāpatha* of the *Purāṇas* begins after Barygaza – a detail which confirms that the hodonym *Dakṣiṇāpatha* was a creation of the merchants from this area.

A distinction between *Dakṣiṇāpatha* and the Dravidian south is also suggested by the joint mention of *Dachinabades* and *Limyrike* at *PME* 47, where the author claims that Alexander penetrated as far as the Ganges, « leaving aside both the *Limyrike* and the southern parts of India »<sup>23</sup>. If we recognize that the formula τὰ νότια τῆς Ἰνδικῆς is just the Greek translation of *Dachinabades/Dakṣiṇāpatha*, the two choronyms are both mentioned in order to evoke the entire south India, which in turn implies that *Dachinabades* does not include *Limyrike*.

Unlike *Dachinabades*, which occurs only in the *PME*, the choronym *Limyrike* appears again in Ptolemy with the same spelling ; in the Peutinger Table<sup>24</sup> with the forms *Damirice/Dymirice* (the latter in the conflated formula *Scytiadymirice*) ; and in the *Geographus Ravennas*<sup>25</sup> with the forms *Dimerice/Dimirice/Dimirica*, joined either by the biblical toponym *Evilat* or by *India*. Independently attested by both the *PME* and Ptolemy, the form in *L*- cannot be considered just a scribal error (Λ for Δ). Still, there can be no doubt that the *Limyrike* of the *PME* and Ptolemy on one side, and the *Dymirice/Damirice/ Dimerice/Dimirica* etc. of the Peutinger Table and the *Geographus Ravennas* on the other, are only different forms, due to phonetic reasons<sup>26</sup>, of the same choronym. As a matter of fact, it doesn't seem to me that the reduplication *Scytiadymirice/Damirice* and their locations in the Peutinger Table offer a strong argument for disconnecting those forms from *PME*' and Ptolemy's *Limyrike*. Indeed, it is to be noticed that the *Geographus Ravennas*,

22. *Mātsyapurāṇa* 114, 29-30.

23. *PME* 47 : καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὀρμηθεὶς ἀπὸ τῶν μερῶν τούτων ἄχρι τοῦ Γάγγου διῆλθε, καταλιπὼν τὴν τε Λιμυρικὴν καὶ τὰ νότια τῆς Ἰνδικῆς.

24. *Tab. Peut.* seg. XI.

25. *Geogr. Rav.* p. 5, 40 ; 15, 34 ; 37 ; 16, 22 ; 44 ; 32, 3 ; 103, 9-10 ; 103, 14 ; 15-16 ; 19 ; 104, 13 Schn.

26. Notice the variants *keralaputra* (Ma) *keraḍaputro* (Sh) *ketalaputo* (Gi) in Aśoka R.E. II ; or *Puḷumāvil/ Puḍumāvi* in Sātavāhana coins and inscriptions.

following Castorius *cosmographus*, includes Maziris, namely Muziris, in the India Dimirica<sup>27</sup>.

Both the forms *Limyrike* and *Damirica/Dymirica* etc. must stem from the ethnonym *Tamil* and clearly echo the sense of linguistic otherness of Dravidian India. The *Tolkāppiyam*, the earliest extant literary document in Tamil, projects the linguistic identity of the Tamils in a space defined *Tamiḷkūru*, whose landmarks are the Vēnkaṭa mountain to the north, Cape Comorin to the south and the sea both to east and west<sup>28</sup>. The choice of the Vēnkaṭa hill as its northern landmark shows – quite unsurprisingly – that the Tamils themselves « felt » the axis of the Dravidian India east of the Western Ghats, a perception which is consistent with the fact that the residences of the Chera, Pandya and Chola kings too are east of the Western Ghats and also that most of the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions come from what is now Tamil Nadu.

Land connections across the Western Ghats between the centers of Tamil political power and the maritime emporia of the Malabar Coast were rather poor at the age of the *PME*. Its author, so well informed about the distance between Barygaza, Paithana and Tagara, knows only that both the Chera and the Pandya kings dwell somewhere in the interior<sup>29</sup>. Merchants from Egypt are not said to bring any special items for those rulers<sup>30</sup>. Unsurprisingly, the perception of the *Limyrike* by the author of the *PME* is quite different from that of the *Tamiḷkūru* by the author of the *Tolkāppiyam* : it begins with Naoura and Tyndis, the northernmost emporia of the Kerala coast<sup>31</sup>, and does not include the emporia Kamara, Podouke and Sapatma on the Coromandel coast<sup>32</sup>. We are not, however, informed exactly

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27. *Geogr. Rav.* p. 15, 64 Schn.

28. *Tolkāppiyam*, Pāyiram: *vaṭa vēnkaṭa teṇ kumari āyīṭait tamiḷkūrum nal ulakattu*. The same idea occurs also in several other later texts, cfr. K.K. PILLAI, *A Social History of the Tamils*, Madras (1975), p. 14-15, nt. 3.

29. *PME* 55 : αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἐμπορίων ἐν τῇ μεσογαίῳ κατοικοῦσιν.

30. The list of the exports at *PME* 56 includes no special items for the Chera or Pandya kings, while *PME* 6 mentions special items for the king Zoskales ; *PME* 24 special items for the king Charibael and the tyrannos Cholaibos ; *PME* 28 special items for the king Eleazos ; *PME* 49 special items for the king Manbanes. With the possible exception of Zoskales, none of these rulers dwells in a coastal emporium. Pliny knows that the Pandya king dwells *longe ab emporio in mediterraneo distante oppido quod vocatur Modura* (Plin., *N.H.* VI 103). We have to wait until Ptolemy to get a vision of the inland regions of the southern end of India.

31. *PME* 53 : εἴτα Νάουρα καὶ Τύνδις τὰ (m. alt. : τύμπεστα) πρῶτα ἐμπόρια τῆς Λιμυρικῆς.

32. *PME* 60 : τῶν δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον (Frisk : τοπικῶν Müller : καὶ τούτων) ἐμπορίων τε καὶ ὄρων, ἐς οὓς οἱ τε ἀπὸ τῆς Λιμυρικῆς καὶ ἀπὸ ἄρκτου πλέοντες κατάγονται,

how far the *Limyrike* stretched south of Naoura or how deeply inland from the coastal line it penetrated.

As for the *Limyrike*'s north-south extension, some information might have been provided by chapter 58 of the *PME*, if the text didn't come to us with a lacuna : ἀπὸ δὲ Βακαρῆ (Stuck : ἀπ'ἐλαβακαρῆ) τὸ λεγόμενον Πυρρὸν ὄρος <καὶ> (Müller in comm.) ἄλλη παρήκε<ι> (edd.) χώρα τη \*\* κης ἢ Παραλία λεγομένη πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν νότον (« After Bakare, there is the mountain called Pyrrhon (= 'Red') and another region of the \*\* extends, called *Paralia* (= 'Seaboard'), directly to the South »). Apparently, *Paralia* is a district of a bigger region, whose name, ending with the suffix -ικη, became almost completely illegible in the exemplar. In the Heidelberg manuscript, between a τη which must be the beginning of the genitive feminine form of the article (τῆς), and the κης, which must be the ending of a major choronym including *Paralia*, there is a blank space long enough for approximately thirteen letters. The adjective ἄλλη shows that the missing choronym was already mentioned in the text.

Restorations of the defective text have been proposed by Müller<sup>33</sup>, who suggested either τῆς ὑπὸ Πανδίωνι Ἴνδι>κῆς or τῆς καλουμένης Κοττοναρι>κῆς and by Frisk<sup>34</sup>, who suggested either τῆς πρὸς νότον Ἴνδι>κῆς or τῆς Ἴνδικῆς ἐπιμή>κῆς. All these restitutions entail the idea that the coast immediately south of Bakare was already outside the *Limyrike*, an idea which agrees exactly with what Ptolemy implies<sup>35</sup>. Nonetheless, are we justified in assuming that *PME*'s *Limyrike* coincided with Ptolemy's *Limyrike* ?

Passages such as *PME* 47, where the *Limyrike* is juxtaposed with « the southern parts of India » (τὰ νότια τῆς Ἴνδικῆς = *Dakṣiṇāpatha*)<sup>36</sup> or *PME* 56, where the Lakshadweep islands are identified as those « lying off the same *Limyrike* »<sup>37</sup> strongly suggest that in the perception of the author of *PME* *Limyrike* was a choronym of considerable extent. Moreover, a reference to Ἴνδική without any further specification (ἄλλη παρήκε<ι> χώρα τῆς Ἴνδικῆς ἐπιμή>κῆς) here would be too generic. The context, I believe, requires a more specific and limited

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ἐπισημότερα καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς κείμενά ἐστιν ἐμπόρια Καμάρα καὶ Ποδοῦκη καὶ Σωπάτμα, ἐν οἷς τοπικὰ μὲν ἐστὶν πλοῖα μέχρι Λιμυρικῆς παραλεγόμενα τὴν γῆν κτλ.

33. MÜLLER, *op.cit.*, p. CXLIV.

34. FRISK, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

35. Ptol., *Geogr.* VII 1, 8-9 : the coast of the *Limyrike* begins with Tyndis and ends with Bakare, after which the Aioi begin.

36. Cfr. *supra* nt. 23.

37. Cfr. *PME* 56 : χελώνη [...] ἢ περὶ τὰς νήσους θηρευομένη τὰς προκειμένας αὐτῆς τῆς Λιμυρικῆς. Here again αὐτῆς τῆς = τῆς αὐτῆς (« the tortoise shell caught around the islands lying off the same *Limyrike* »), cfr. *supra* nt. 7.

choronym. On the other hand, periphrases such as τῆς ὑπὸ Πανδίωνι Ἰνδι>κῆς or τῆς πρὸς νότον Ἰνδι>κῆς seem either alien from the *usus scribendi* of the author<sup>38</sup> or awkward<sup>39</sup>. Finally, if the missing choronym were *Kottanarike*<sup>40</sup>, and *Paralia* was « another region » of the *Kottanarike*, we should conclude that in the mind of the author both *Paralia* and *Limyrike*, right north of the former, were just districts of the *Kottanarike*. Such a view, however, is hardly compatible with *PME* 47, where *Limyrike* – not *Kottanarike* – is contrasted with « the southern parts of India ». In sum, it seems to me much more probable that in the *PME*'s mind *Limyrike* was a hierarchically superior choronym and that *Kottanarike* and *Paralia* were just districts of it.

If this conclusion is right and the blank space of the Heidelberg manuscript replicates with some precision the length of the lacuna, we can propose the following restoration : [...] καὶ ἄλλη παρήκε<ι> χώρα τῆς αὐτῆς<sup>41</sup> Λιμυρι>κῆς ἢ Παραλία λεγομένη πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν νότον, « [...] and another region of the same *Limyrike* extends, called *Paralia* (= 'Seaboard'), directly to the South ».

Admittedly, this restoration of the corrupt text compels us to extend *PME*'s *Limyrike* beyond the southern limits given to it by Ptolemy, perhaps up to Kolchoi, after which is *Aigialos* (= Strand) « having an inland region named *Argalou* »<sup>42</sup>. However, it must be emphasized that from the time of the *PME* to that of Ptolemy the political geography of the Dravidian India underwent considerable changes :

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38. If he really wanted to refer to another land of the Pandya kingdom, he would have probably written ἄλλη ὑπὸ τὸν Πανδίωνα παρήκει χώρα or, maybe better, ἄλλη παρήκει χώρα τῆς Πανδίωνος βασιλείας, cfr. *PME* 54 : βασιλείας δέ ἐστιν ἑτέρας, τῆς Πανδίωνος. In the *PME*, land controlled by the kings is quite often referred to as their βασιλεία : βασιλεία Χαριβαήλ (*PME* 26), βασιλεία Ἐλεάζου (*PME* 27), Μανβάνου βασιλεία (*PME* 41), βασιλεία Κηπροβότρου (*PME* 54).
39. The result would be ἄλλη παρήκε<ι> χώρα τῆς πρὸς νότον Ἰνδι>κῆς ἢ Παραλία λεγομένη πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν νότον.
40. Where the black pepper sold at Muziris and Nelkynda grows or comes from, cfr. *PME* 56 : φέρεται δὲ πέπερι μονογενῶς ἐν ἐνὶ τόπῳ τούτων τῶν ἐμποριῶν (Müller : τούτῳ τῷ ἐμπορίῳ) γεννώμενον πολὺ, λεγομένη Κοττοναρικῆ (Müller : λεγομένη Κοττοναρικῆ). Plin., *N.H.* VI 105 : *regio autem, ex qua piper monoxylis lintribus Becaren convehunt, vocatur Cottonara*. Ptolemy (*Geogr.* VII 1, 9) mentions a Κοττιάρα μητρόπολις in the land of the Aioi.
41. Cfr. *PME* 25 : [...] παραθαλάσσιος ἐστὶν Ἀράβων κώμη τῆς αὐτῆς τυραννίδος Ὕκηλις ; 26 : [...] ἐστὶν Εὐδαίμων Ἀραβία, κώμη παραθαλάσσιος βασιλείας τῆς αὐτῆς Χαριβαήλ ; 54 : ἡ δὲ Μούζιρις βασιλείας μὲν τῆς αὐτῆς κτλ. ; *PME* 56 : [...] τὰς νήσους [...] τὰς προκειμένας αὐτῆς τῆς Λιμυρικῆς (cfr. *supra* nt. 37).
42. *PME* 59 : μετὰ δὲ Κόλχους ἐκδέχεται † πρότερος † (ἕτερος Müller in comm.) Αἰγιαλὸς ἐν κόλπῳ κείμενος, ἔχων χώραν μεσόγειον, λεγομένην (λεγόμενον Müller in comm.) Ἀργάλου.

in the north, Naoura had fallen in the hands of the pirates<sup>43</sup>; and in the center, Bakare was no longer controlled by the Pandya king (whose domain, even in the interior, was not conterminous with the *Limyrike*<sup>44</sup>). The territorial losses of the Pandya kings may have affected the commercial practice. In the mid I century AD, the author of the *PME* mentions generically the *Limyrike* as the destination of the western merchants<sup>45</sup> and refers to both Muziris and Nelkynda as the then (most) dynamic emporia<sup>46</sup>. Around the same years, Pliny even suggests to go, rather than to Muziris, to the « more serviceable port, belonging to the Neacyndes tribe, called Becare »<sup>47</sup>. On the contrary, in the II cent. AD 'Muziris papyrus', the standard loan contracts for voyages to south India are referred to as « the loan contracts for Muziris »<sup>48</sup>. This concentration of the Roman trade in Muziris in the II cent. AD may have at that time suggested a narrower notion of *Limyrike*, basically restricted to the portion of the Malabar coast from Tyndis to Bakare and the inland regions of the Chera domain. The notion of a geographically wider *Limyrike*, however, survived in the western geography, surfacing again in the *Damirical/Dymirica* etc. of the *Geographus Ravennas* and the Peutinger Table.

The linguistic distinctiveness of southern India was apparent to both Dravidian and non-Dravidian speakers in ancient India. In non-Dravidian India, a reflection of this perception is found in the Hāthīgūmphā inscription of Khāravēla, where a *tramira-deṣa-saṃghātam* (or *tamara-deha-saṃghātam* or *tamira-daha-saṃghāta*<sup>49</sup>), a « confederacy of the T(r)amira countries » appears. The choronym *Limyrike* was inspired by the same perception, and is likely to have penetrated into the Greek geographic literature through the mediation of the very same merchants from Barygaza, who had popularized the choronym *Dachinabades*. As a matter of fact, besides the Himālaya and Deccan regions, Barygaza merchants also had

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43. Ptol., *Geogr.* VII 1, 7. But it is still an ἐμπόριον.

44. Along the coast, the land of Pandion begins only with the gulf *Argarikos*, after Cape Comorin and Kolchoi (Ptol., *Geogr.* VII 1, 11). In the interior, between the *Limyrike*, which includes the residence of the Chera king, and the « land of Pandion » are, again, the Aioi (Ptol., *Geogr.* VII 1, 86-89).

45. Cfr. *supra* nt. 3.

46. *PME* 53 : εἶτα Νάουρα καὶ Τύνδης τὰ (m. alt. : τύμπεστα) πρῶτα ἐμπόρια τῆς Λιμυρικῆς, καὶ μετὰ ταύτας Μούζιρις καὶ Νέλκυνδα, αἱ νῦν πράσσουσαι.

47. Plin., *N.H.* VI 105 : *alius utilior portus gentis Neacyndon, qui vocatur Becare.*

48. P.Vindob. G 40.822 recto, l. 12-13: [...] ἐν ταῖς κατὰ Μουζεῖριν τοῦ δα[[νείου σ] υνγραφαῖς κτλ.

49. SIRCAR, *op. cit.*, n. 91, l. 11, p. 217 ; S. KANT, *The Hāthīgūmphā Inscription of Khāravēla and the Bhabru Edict of Aśoka. A Critical Study*, New Delhi (2002), p. 17.

commercial relationships with Muziris<sup>50</sup> : the wording of *PME* 47 καταλιπὼν τήν τε Λιμυρικὴν καὶ τὰ νότια τῆς Ἰνδικῆς, « leaving aside both the *Limyrike* and the southern parts of India », reflects their vision of South India, characterized by the duality between an inland *Dakṣiṇāpatha* and a maritime *Limyrike*.

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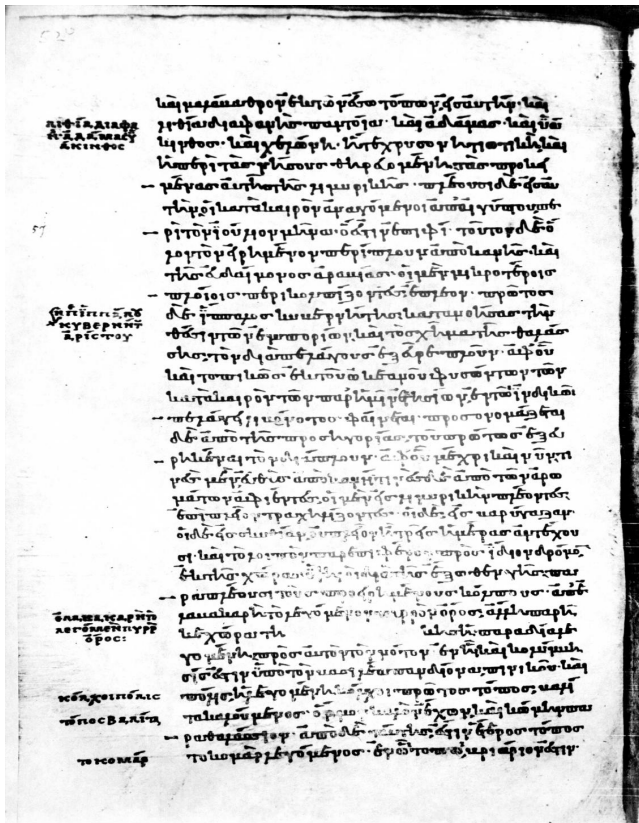


Fig. 1 – Codex Palatinus Gr. 398 f. 52v.

50. *PME* 54 : ἡ δὲ Μούζιρις βασιλείας μὲν τῆς αὐτῆς, ἀκμάζουσα δὲ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀριακῆς εἰς αὐτὴν ἐρχομένοις πλοίοις καὶ τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς. Cfr. *PME* 51, where the all coasting navigation as far as the *Limyrike* (probably from the promontory Astakapra just opposite Barygaza) is estimated 7,000 *stadia* : ὁ δ' ὄλος παράπλους μέχρι τῆς Λιμυρικῆς ἐστὶν σταδίων ἑπτακισχιλίων. For the implications of such distance estimates, cfr. P. ARNAUD, « De la durée à la distance : l'évaluation des distances maritimes dans le monde gréco-romain », *Histoire & Mesure* 8 (1993), p. 225-247.