THE

PERIPLUS

OF THE

ERYTHRÉAN SEA

BOOK I

PRELIMINARY DISQUISITIONS.

I. Introduction. — II. Account of the Periplus. — III. Homer. —
IV. Herodotus. — V. Ctesias. — VI. Iamblichus. — VII. Agatharchides;
VIII. Hippalus. — IX. Age of the Periplus. — X. Intercourse
with India.

NAVIGATION, perfected as it is at the present hour, opens
all the maritime regions of the world to the knowledge
of mankind; but in the early ages, personal intercourse was impracticable: the communication by sea was unexplored, and
travelling by land was precluded by insecurity. The native com-
modities of one climate passed into another by intermediate agents,
who were interested in little beyond the profits of the transit; and
nations in a different hemisphere were known respectively, not
by their history, but their produce.
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Such was the situation of Europe in regard to India; the produce of each was conveyed to the other by channels which were unknown to both; and the communication by land through Tartary or Persia, was as little understood, as the intercourse by the Indian Ocean. That both existed in some sense or other is undeniable; for the most ancient of all histories mentions commodities which are the native produce of India, and which if they were known, of necessity must have been conveyed. What the means of conveyance were by land, or on the north, is a subject which does not enter into the plan of the following work; but the transport by sea is a consideration of all others the most important; it is dependent on a discovery common to all the nations of the world: the dominion of the sea may pass from one people to another, but the communication itself is opened once for all; it can never be shut.

That the Arabians were the first navigators of the Indian Ocean, and the first carriers of Indian produce, is evident from all history, as far as history goes back; and antecedent to history, 'from analogy, from necessity, and from local situation; out of their hands this commerce was transferred to the Greeks of Egypt, and to the Romans' when masters of that country; upon the decline of the Roman power it reverted to the Arabians, and with them it would have remained, if no Gama had arisen to effect a change in the whole commercial system of the world at large.

It is the interval between the voyage of Nearchus and the discoveries of the Portuguese which I intend to examine in the follow-
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The work; the basis which I assume is the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea; and in commenting on this work, an opportunity will be given to introduce all the particulars connected with the general subject.

Account of the Periplus.

II. The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea is the title prefixed to a work which contains the best account of the commerce carried on from the Red Sea and the coast of Africa to the East Indies, during the time that Egypt was a province of the Roman empire.

This work was first edited from the press of Froben at Basle, in 1533, with a prefatory epistle by Gelenius; but from what manuscript I have never been able to discover; neither is it known whether any manuscript of it is now in existence. The edition of Stuckius at Zurich, in 1577, and Hudson in 1698, at Oxford, are both from the printed copy, which is notoriously incorrect, and their emendations remove few of the material difficulties*; besides these, there is a translation in the collection of Ramusio, faithful indeed, as all his translations are, but without any attempt to amend the text, or any comment to explain it; he has prefixed a discourse however of considerable merit and much learning, which I have made use of wherever it could be of service, as I have also of the commentaries of Stuckius, Hudson, and Dodwell; but the author with whom I am most in harmony upon the whole,

* The two inexplicable difficulties are, *EuvoupyoyxepBia* p. 9, and *Eovuvxvov* in *Bv* p. 7. See infra.
is Vossius, who in his edition of Pomponius Mela has touched upon some of these points, and I wish we had the ground of his opinion in detail.

The Erythraean Sea is an appellation given in the age of the author to the whole expanse of ocean reaching from the coast of Africa to the utmost boundary of ancient knowledge on the east; an appellation, in all appearance, deduced from their entrance into it by the straits of the Red Sea, styled Erythra by the Greeks, and not excluding the gulf of Persia, to which the fabulous history of a king Erythras is more peculiarly appropriate.

Who the author was, is by no means evident, but certainly not Arrian of Nicomedia, who wrote the history of Alexander, whose writings have been the subject of my meditations for many years, and whose name I should have been happy to prefix to the present work; he was a man of eminence by birth, rank, talents, and education, while the author before us has none of these qualities to boast; but veracity is a recommendation which will compensate for deficiency in any other respect: this praise is indisputably his due, and to display this in all its parts is the principal merit of the commentary I have undertaken.

We are warned against the connexion of Erythra with Erythraean by Agatharchides, p. 4. Geog. Min. Hudson, Saluettar Ecuqeb, he says, signifies the Red Sea; Saluettar Ecuqeb, the sea of Erythras, is the ocean which takes its name from king Erythra, according to the Persian account. Salmasius and Hudson give little credit to Agatharchides for this intelligence. See note, ibid: both agree in supposing Edom, Red, to be the true etymology, the sea of Edom, or Elau, the Idumean Sea.

Agatharchides says, it is not from the colour of the sea, for it is not red, τε μιν από την ερυθραες ματας την ελαυναι ναυτησιν, Ἀνδρος (ν γαρ ετιν ἑπτελο), this is well known, but it ought to be remembered that Im Suph of the Hebrews is the weedy sea; and Lobo asserts, that Suph is a name still applied to a weed in this sea used for dyeing red; this is probably indeed not the source of the etymology, but it is not unworthy of notice.

Arrian
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Arrian of Nicomedia has left us the Paraplûs of Nearcûsh, and the Periplûs of the Euxine Sea, and was a name of celebrity to the early editors of Greek manuscripts, long before the work now under contemplation was known; it is not impossible, therefore, if the Periplûs of the Erythrean Sea was found anonymous, that it was attributed to an author whose name on similar subjects was familiar. But if Arrian be the real name of the author now under contemplation, and not fictitious, he appears from internal evidence to have been a Greek, a native of Egypt, or a resident in that country, and a merchant of Alexandria: he manifestly failed on board the fleet from Egypt, as far as the gulph of Cambay, if not farther; and, from circumstances that will appear hereafter, is prior to Arrian of Nicomédia by little less than a century. His work has long been appreciated by geographers, and is worthy of high estimation as far as the author can be supposed personally to have visited the countries he describes; some scattered lights also occur even in regard to the most distant regions of the east, which are valuable as exhibiting the first dawn of information upon the subject.

Of this work no adequate idea could be formed by a translation; but a comparison of its contents with the knowledge of India, which we have obtained since Gama burst the barrier of discovery, cannot but be acceptable to those who value geography as a science, or delight in it as a picture of the world.

The Periplûs itself is divided into two distinct parts, one comprehending the coast of Africa from Myos Hormus to Rhapta; the other, commencing from the same point, includes the coast of Arabia, both within the Red Sea and on the ocean; and then passing
passing over to Guzerat runs down the coast of Malabar to Ceylon. It is the first part, containing the account of Africa, which I now present to the public; a work which, perhaps, I ought never to have undertaken, but which I hope to complete with the addition of the oriental part, (if blessed with a continuance of life and health,) by devoting to this purpose the few intervals which can be spared from the more important duties in which I am engaged. The whole will be comprehended in four books; the first consisting of preliminary matter, and the other three allotted respectively to Africa, Arabia, and India, the three different countries which form the subject matter of the Periplius itself. In the execution of this design I shall encroach but little on the ground already occupied by Doctor Robertson; but to Harris, and his learned editor Doctor Campbell, I have many obligations. I follow the same arrangement in my consideration of the Greek authors, borrowing sometimes from their materials, but never bound by their decisions: where I am indebted I shall not be sparing of my acknowledgments; and where I dissent, sufficient reasons will be assigned. I could have wished for the company of such able guides farther on my journey; but I soon diverge from their track, and must explore my way like an Arab in the desert, by a few slight marks which have escaped the ravages of time and the desolation of war.

To a nation now mistress of those Indian territories which were known to Alexander only by report, and to the Greeks of Egypt only by the intervention of a commerce restricted to the coast, it may be deemed an object of high curiosity at least, if not of utility, to trace back the origin and progress of discovery, and to
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Examine the minute and accidental causes which have led to all our knowledge of the east; causes, which have by slow and imperceptible degrees weakened all the great powers of Asia, which have dissolved the empires of Persia and Hindostan, and have reduced the Othmans to a secondary rank; while Europe has arisen paramount in arts and arms, and Britain is the ruling power in India, from Ceylon to the Ganges:—a supremacy this, envied undoubtedly by our enemies, and reprobated by the advocates of our enemies. Anquetil du Perron and Bernoulli, exclaim at the injustice of our conquests; but who ever asserted that conquest was founded upon justice? The Portuguese, the Hollanders, and the French were all intruders upon the natives, to the extent of their ability, as well as the British. India in no age since the irruptions of the Tartars and Mahomedans has known any power, but the power of the sword; and great as the usurpation of the Europeans may have been, it was originally founded in necessity. It is not my wish to justify the excess; but there are nations, with whom there can be no intercourse without a pledge for the security of the merchant. The Portuguese, upon their first arrival at Calicut, could not trade but by force: it was in consequence of this necessity, that all the Europeans demanded or extorted the liberty of erecting forts for their factories; and this privilege, once granted, led the way to every encroachment which ensued. I notice this, because the same danger produced the same effects from the beginning. It will appear from the Periplus, that the Arabians in that age had fortified their factories on the coast of Africa, and the Portuguese historians

* See Description de l'Inde, in three vols. by Bernoulli, Berlin 1787, vol. ii.
mention the same precaution used in the same country by the Arabs in the age of Gama. From this slender origin all the conquests of the Europeans in India have taken their rise, till they have grown into a consequence which it was impossible to foresee, and which it is now impossible to control. No nation can abandon its conquests without ruin; for it is not only positive subtruction from one scale, but preponderancy accumulated in the other. No power can be withdrawn from a single province, but that it would be occupied by a rival upon the instant. Nothing remains but to moderate an evil which cannot be removed, and to regulate the government by the interests of the governed. This imports the conquerors as much as the conquered; for it is a maxim never to be forgotten, that the Portuguese lost by their avarice the empire they had acquired by their valour; but of this too much:—our present business is not with the result of discovery, but its origin.

Voyages are now performed to the most distant regions of the world without any intervening difficulties but the ordinary hazard of the sea.—In the ancient world the case was very different: a voyage from Thessaly to the Phasis was an achievement which consecrated the fame of the adventurers by a memorial in the Heavens, and the passage from the Mediterranean into the Atlantic Ocean was to the Phenicians a secret of state.

The reality of the Argonautic expedition has been questioned; but if the primordial history of every nation but one is tinged with the fabulous, and if from among the rest a choice is necessary to be made, it must be allowed that the traditions of Greece are less inconsistent than those of the more distant regions of the earth. Oriental learning is now employed in unravelling the mythology of India,
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...and recommending it as containing the seeds of primeval history; but hitherto we have seen nothing that should induce us to relinquish the authorities we have been used to respect, or to make us prefer the fables of the Hindoos or Guebres to the fables of the Greeks. Whatever difficulties may occur in the return of the Argonauts, their passage to Colchis is consistent; it contains more real geography than has yet been discovered in any record of the Bramins or the Zendavesta, and is truth itself, both geographical and historical when compared with the portentous expedition of Ram 5 to Ceylon; it is from considerations of this sort that we must still refer our first knowledge of India to Grecian sources, rather than to any other; for whatever the contents of the Indian records may finally be found to have preserved, the first mention of India that we have is from Greece, and to the historians of Greece we must still refer for the commencement of our inquiries; their knowledge of the country was indeed imperfect, even in their latest accounts, but still their very earliest shew that India had been heard of, or some country like India in the east; a glimmering towards-day is discoverable in Homer, Herodotus, and Ctesias; obscure indeed, as all knowledge of this sort was, previous to Alexander, but yet sufficient to prove that India was always an object of curiosity and inquiry.

Homer.

III. The father of poetry is naturally the first object of our regard, his writings contain the history, the manners, and antiquities

of his country; and though his information upon the point proposed may be problematical, still nothing that he has touched is unworthy of attention. When he conducts Neptune into Ethiopia, he seems to place him in the centre between two nations both black, but both perfectly distinguished from each other; and he adds, that they lived at the opposite extremities of the world east and west; let us then place the deity in Ethiopia above the Cataracts of Syène, and let a line be drawn east and west, at right angles with the Nile; will it not immediately appear that this line cuts the coast of Nigritia on the west, and the peninsula of India on the east? and though it may be deemed enthusiasm to assert, that Homer considered these as his two extremities, and placed his two Ethiopian nations in these tracts, which are their actual residence at present, still it is not too much to say, that the centre he has assumed is the most proper of all others, that the distant Ethiopians to the east of it, are Indians, and to the west, Negroes. These two species are perfectly distinguished by their make, by their features, and above all by their hair; whether Homer knew this characteristic difference does not admit of proof, but that he

6 Θείοι ἡ ἱλικεὶς ἀπαντεῖς

Νέωτης Ποιμένικης, ἢ ἠπτερεῖς μεταλλα ἄντικοψα τοῖς ἐν γαίας ἐστιν ἐκεῖνος.

"Ἀλλ' ἐ μὲν Ἀδικέως μετείχας τοῦ ἑστάντος,

(Ἀδικέως τοῦ ἱλαρον ἀποκρατᾷ, ἤχεικας ἕρων,

Οὐ μὲν ἰσομείους ἔσπειοιν, οὐ μεῖνοιν,.) Od. A. 19.

See the note upon this passage in Pope's translation of the Odyssey, where he addsuces with great propriety, the testimony of Strabo, to prove that all those nations were accounted Ethiopians by the early Greeks, who lived upon the Southern Ocean from east to west; and the authority of Ptolemy to shew, "that

"under the zodiac from east to west, in-

"habit the Ethiopians black of colour."

The whole passage in Strabo, and the various reading of Aristarchus and Crates, are well worth consulting. Lib. i. p. 30.

7 'Εν ουδὲν ἐγγίζει τίτυλος ἄντι 

Ἀρχην ὑπέρ τινος τινας τοῖς σώμασιν ὑπὲρ γὰρ 

Ἀρχην ὑπέρ τινος τινας ἀνεμεί 

Strabo, Lib. ii. p. 103. it is not probable that Homer knew India at all, certainly not as India, but as Ethiopia.

"Εχθείσω.
know they were of a separate race is undeniable, and that he placed them east and west at the extent of his knowledge, is an approximation to truth, and consistent with their actual position at the present hour.

HERODOTUS.

IV. The distinction which Homer has not marked, is the first circumstance that occurred to Herodotus; he mentions the eastern Ethiopians considered as Indians, and differing from those of Africa expressly by the characteristic of long hair, as opposed to the woolly head of the Caffre. We may collect also, with the assistance of a little imagination, the distinct notice of three sorts of natives, which correspond in some degree with the different species which have inhabited this country in all ages. The Padêi on the north, who are a savage people resembling the tribes which are still found in the northern mountains, mixed with Tartars perhaps, and approaching to their manners; a second race living far to the south, not subject to the Persian empire, and who abstain from all animal food; under this description we plainly

9 Lib. vii. p. 541.
10 If the situation of the Padêi were ascertained we might inquire about the manners attributed to them by the historian; but he mentions only some tribes that live upon the marshes formed by the river (that is, probably the Indus), and then the Padêi to the east of these; this places them on the north of India: as to all appearance the marshes noticed are those formed by the rains in the Panjab, but how far east beyond this province we are to fix the Padêi is indefinite. I cannot suppose that Herodotus had received any report of the nations north of the Himalay Mountains, or else I should offer a conjecture to the Orientalists, whether Padêi, converted into Pudêi, might not allude to Budan; for and are convertible, as is evident in Multan, which is only another form of reading Mul-tan for Mal-tan or Maliflan, the country of the Mali.

11 Lib. iii. p. 248.
discover the real Hindoos; and a third inhabiting Paçtyia and Caspatyrus, who resemble the Bactrians in their manners, dress, and arms, who are subject to Persia, and pay their tribute in gold; these, whether we can discover Caspatyrus or not, are evidently the same as those tribes which inhabit at the sources west of the Indus; who never were Hindoos, but possess a wild mountainous country, where their fastnesses qualify them for a predatory life, and where they were equally formidable to Alexander, to Timour, and Nadir Shah**; they resemble to this day the Bactrians, as much as in the time of Heródotos, or rather the Agwhans in their neighbourhood; and are as brave as the one, and as ferocious as the other. These tribes it is more necessary to mark, because it will prove that the Persians never were masters of India properly so called, but of that country only which is at the source of the Indus. Whether they penetrated beyond the main stream, that is the Indus or the Attock itself, must be left in doubt; but Paçtyia, according to major Rennell, is Peukeli; and if Caspatyrus be the same as the Caspíra of Pólemy, there is some ground for supposing that city correspondent to Multan. Should these conjectures be confirmed by future inquiry, it would prove that the Persians did pass the Attock, and were really masters of the Panjeab and Multan; and the tribute which they received, equal to half the revenues of the empire, affords some reason for supposing this to be the fact. Much depends upon the issue of this inquiry, because the Attock, or forbidden river, has been the western boundary of Hindostan in all ages; if the Persians passed it, India

** Nadir was glad to compound with these tribes, to let him pass unmolested with the plunder of the unhappy Mahomed Shah.
was tributary to them; if they did not, the tribes west of the Attick only were subjected, and they were never Hindoos, however esteemed so by the Persians. Another circumstance dependent on this inquiry, is the voyage of Scylax, said to have commenced from Paevia and Caspatyrus, and to have terminated in the Gulph of Arabia. There are two inconsistencies in the report of this voyage by Herodotus; the first, that he mentions the course of the Indus to the east," which is in reality to the south-west: the second, that he supposes Darius" to have made use of the discoveries of Scylax for the invasion of India. Now if Darius was master of the Attick, Peukeli, and Multan, he wanted no information concerning the entrance into India, for this has been the route of every conqueror; or if he obtained any intelligence from Scylax it is certain that neither he, nor his successors ever availed themselves of it, for any naval expedition. The Persians were never a maritime people. History no where speaks of a Persian fleet in the Indian ocean, or even in the Gulph" of Persia; and in the Mediterranean, their sea forces always consisted of Phenicians, Cyprians, or Egyptians.

Far is it from my with wantonly to discredit any historical fact supported on the testimony of such a writer as Herodotus; but there

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23 See Hyde Rel. Vet. Pers. cap xxiii. who is half disposed to make Scylax navigate the Ganges on account of its eastern direction. He hesitates only because Scylax must have returned to the north again from C. Comorin to survey the mouths of the Indus. See Wesseling ad Herod. lib. iv. p. 300. note 34.

44 Hytafasp, father of Darius is the Gushudasp of the Zendavesta, and king of Balk or Bactria; but I have never been able to discover, that the Persian Darius of the Greeks, or his father Hytafasp, can be identified with the Bactrian Gushudasp of the Zenda or Oriental writers; and I see Richardson in the preface to his Persian Dictionary affirms no real antiquity to the Zenda of Anquer du Perron.

"I speak of a navy, not ships for trade."

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are insuperable difficulties in admitting this voyage of Scylax, or that of the Phenicians round the continent of Africa; the greatest of all is, that no consequences accrued from either. That Herodotus received the account of both from Persians or Egyptians, is undeniable; that they were performed is a very different consideration. I do not dwell upon the fabulous part of his account of India; because even his fables have a foundation in fact”; but I cannot believe from the state of navigation in that age, that Scylax could perform a voyage round Arabia, from which the bravest officers of Alexander shrank; or that men who had explored the desert coast of Gadrosia, should be less daring than an unexperienced native of Caryanda. They returned with amazement from the sight of Mussenden and Ras-al-had, while Scylax succeeded without a difficulty upon record. But the obstacles to such a voyage are numerous, first, whether Pactyia be Peukeli, and Cyspatyrus, Multan: secondly, if Darius were master of Multan, whether he could send a ship, or a fleet, down the Indus to the sea, through tribes

"What the fable is of the ants which turned up gold, and the manner of collecting it by the natives, I cannot determine; but it is possible, that as our knowledge of India increases, it will be traced to its source; and one thing is certain, that it is a tale exciting from the time of Herodotus to the age of De Thou; it is countenanced likewise in the Letters of Busbequius, who saw one of these ants [skins] sent as a present from the king of Persia to the Porte. See Lareser, tom. iii. p. 339. Another fable, totally different to the ordinary manners of the Hindus, I shall give in the words of the historian, μή ἐν τῷ μὲν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ ἡ κατάθεσις, τῶσι ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ ἡ κατασκευή, τῶσι ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ ἡ κατασκευή, lib. iii. 248. quod populo univerlo nequaquam obiciendum est, sed originem ducit ex illo spuriissimo commercio fœminarum prolis defiderio laborantium, cum Hylobis et Neautontimoreumenia. I can, upon similar principles, account for the greatest part of the fables imputed to Megasthenes, Daimachus, Onesicritus. Lt. Wilford explains Ctesias’s fable of the Martichora.

"Not all indeed, for his voyage of Hercules to Scythia is mere mythology. I do not use this to discredit the voyage of Scylax; my object is to mark fable as fable, and to select the truths mixed with it for observation. See Herod. lib. iv. p. 283. ed. Well. where
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where Alexander sought his way at every step; thirdly, whether Scylax had any knowledge of the Indian Ocean, the coast, or the monsoon: fourthly, if the coast of Cadiz were friendly, which is doubtful, whether he could proceed along the coast of Arabia, which must be hostile from port to port. There and a variety of other difficulties, which Nearchus experienced, from famine, from want of water, from the built of his vessels, and from the manners of the natives, must induce an incredulity in regard to the Persian account, whatever respect we may have to the fidelity of Herodotus.

CTESIAS.

V. Next to Herodotus, at the distance of little more than sixty years, succeeds Ctésias. He resided a considerable time in the court of Persia, and was physician to Artaxerxes Mnemon. What opportunities he had of obtaining a knowledge of India must have been accidental, as his fables are almost proverbial, and his truths very few; his abbreviator Photius, from whose extracts only we have

10 That there was such a person as Scylax, that he was in India, and that his account of that country was extant, appears from Aristotle's Politicks, lib. vii. in Dr. Gillies's translation, book iv. p. 240. I learn likewise from Larcher, that the Baron de Sainte Croix defends the work which now bears the name of Scylax as genuine, in a dissertation read before the Academy of Inscriptions; but I know not whether that dissertation be published. See Larcher's Herod. tom. iii. p. 407. I have one objection to its authenticity, which is his mention of Dardanus, Rhétæum, and Ilium in the Troad, p. 35. for there is great doubt whether Rhétæum was in existence in the time of the real Scylax; and of India, he says nothing in the treatise now extant.

19 Strabo says, Poseidonius disbelieved this whole history of Scylax, though he believed the voyage of Eudoxus, lib. ii. p. 700. The fact is, there were so many of these voyages pretended, and so few performed, that the best judges did not know what to believe; Strabo believed nothing of the circumnavigation of Africa. See lib. i. p. 53.
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an account of his works, seems to have passed over all the details of Indian manners; and to have reserved only his tale of the marvellous. The editor, however, is very desirous of preserving the credit of his author, and that part of the work which relates to Persia is worthy of the estimation he assigns it; but we are not bound to admit his fable of the martichora, his pygmies, his men with the heads of dogs and feet reversed, his griffins and his four-footed birds as big as wolves. These fictions of imagination indeed are still represented on the walls of the Paganas; they are symbols of mythology, which the Bramins pointed out to the early visitors of India, and became history by transmission.

The few particulars appropriate to India, and consistent with truth, obtained by Ctesias, are almost confined to something resembling a description of the cochineal plant, the fly, and the beautiful tint obtained from it, with a genuine picture of the

Ctesias says, there is a pool which is annually filled with liquid gold; that an hundred measures (ηκίσκον) of this are collected, each measure weighing a talent; at the bottom of this pool is found iron, and of this iron he had two swords, one presented to him by the king, and the other by Parysatis the king's mother. The property of these swords was, that when fixed in the ground they averted clouds, hail, and tempests; he saw the king make the experiment, and it succeeded.

Now whatever a traveller says he saw with his own eyes, (unless there are other reasons for doubting his veracity,) is deserving of credit, but when he sees things that imply an impossibility, all faith is at an end. That there was some superstitious practice in Persia of fixing swords in the ground for this purpose, may be believed, but that these swords must be wrought of metal from the golden fountain, or that they had this effect, is a different consideration; the words are, εἰ μὴ τὴν ταύτα φασί, ἀμοιβὴν αὐτοῖς παρατηρέω. Why does Weffling tell me to believe this? nay I would have believed it, if he had not affected the success of the experiment, but only that the king tried it. Perhaps some ingenious modern may hereafter quote παρατηρεῖν ἀπόροδον, to prove that iron was known to be a conductor in that age, and that electricity was concerned in this experiment. See p. 827. Weffling's ed. of Herod; and Ctesias.

Some other circumstances recorded by Ctesias may be collected from Diodorus, but I have confined myself to his own work.

monkey
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- monkey and the parrot; the two animals he had doubtless seen in Persia, and flowered cottons emblazoned with the glowing colours of the modern chintz, were probably as much coveted by the fair Persians in the Hariams of Sufa and Ecbatana, as they still are by the ladies of our own country.

Ctésias is contemporary with Xenophon, and Xenophon is prior to Alexander by about seventy years; during all which period, little intelligence concerning India was brought into Greece; and if the Macedonian conquests had not penetrated beyond the Indus, it does not appear what other means might have occurred of dispelling the cloud of obscurity in which the eastern world was enveloped.

The Macedonians, as it has been shewn in a former work, obtained a knowledge both of the Indus and the Ganges; they heard that the seat of empire was, where it always has been, on the Ganges, or the Jumna. They acquired intelligence of all the grand and leading features of Indian manners, policy, and religion: they discovered all this by penetrating through countries where possibly no Greek had previously set his foot; and they explored the passage by sea, which first opened the commercial intercourse with India to the Greeks and Romans, through the medium of Egypt and the Red Sea; and finally to the Europeans by the Cape of Good Hope.

It matters not that the title of fabulists is conferred upon Megalsphines, Nearchus, and Onesicritus, by the ancients; they published more truths than falsehoods, and many of their imputed falsehoods are daily becoming truths, as our knowledge of the country is improved. The progress of information from this origin is materially
ally connected with the object we have proposed, and it cannot be deemed superfluous to pursue it through the chain of authors, who maintain the connection till the discovery of the passage across the ocean by means of the monsoon.

Megastrines and Daimachus** had been sent as embassadors from the kings of Syria to Sandrocottus and his successor Allitrochades; the capital of India was in that age at Palibothra, the situation of which, so long disputed, is finally fixed, by Sir William Jones, at the junction of the Saone and the Ganges. These embassadors, therefore, were resident at a court in the very heart of India, and it is to Megastrines in particular that the Greeks are indebted for the best account of that country. But what is most peculiarly remarkable is, that the fables of Ctesias were still retained in his work; the Cynocéphali, the Pigmies, and similar fables were still asserted as truths. It is for this reason that Strabo* prefers the testimony of Eratosthenes and Patrocles, though Eratosthenes was resident at Alexandria, and never visited India at all; and though Patrocles never saw any part of that country beyond the Panjeb, still their intelligence he thinks is preferable, because Eratosthenes had the command of all the information treasured in the library of Alexandria; and Patrocles was possessed of the materials which were collected by Alexander himself, and which had been communicated to him by Xeno the keeper of the archives.

It is inconceivable how men could live and negotiate in a camp on the Ganges, and bring home impossibilities as truth; how

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** Bruce says, Megastrines and Denis, which misled him; he is not in the habit of from Ptolemy king of Egypt, vol. i. p. 461. citing his authorities.
* This seems as if he followed French authority, * Lib. ii. in initio, p. 70.

Megastrines
Megassthenes could report that the Hindoos had no use of letters; when Nearchus had previously noticed the beautiful appearance of their writing, and the elegance of character, which we still discover in the Shanfkeet; but the fabulous accounts of Ctésias were repeated by Megassthenes, professedly from the authority of the Bramins; and whatever reason we have to complain of his judgment or discretion, we ought to acknowledge our obligations to him as the first author who spoke with precision of Indian manners, or gave a true idea of the people.

It is not possible to enter into the particulars of all that we derive from this author, but the whole account of India, collected in the fifteenth book of Strabo, and the introduction to the eighth book of Arrian, may justly be attributed to him as the principal source of information. His picture is, in fact, a faithful representation of the Indian character and Indian manners; and modern observation contributes to establish the extent of his intelligence, and the fidelity of his report.

This source of intelligence, commencing with Alexander and concluding with Megassthenes and Daimachus, may be classed under the title of Macedonian, as derived from Alexander and his successors, and such knowledge of the country as could be acquired by a hasty invasion, by the inspection of travellers and embassadors, or by the voyage down the Indus, the Macedonians seem to have

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**Strabo, lib. XV. p. 709. an imputation on Megassthenes, which the good father Paolino is very unwilling should attach to him. See his Dissertation De veteribus Indis, in answer to Augustinus Georgius, author of the Thibet Alphabet, p. 12.**

**Shanfkeet, or Sanscrit, is the mode of writing this word, which has prevailed among our English writers. I always prefer the most popular, but Paolino writes Sams Crda, lingua perfecta, p. 358. or Knda = perfecta, Sam = simul, coeval with creation.**

D 2. attained
attained with singular attention, and, notwithstanding particular errors, to have conveyed into Europe with much greater accuracy than might have been expected.

The voyage of Nearcphon opened the passage into India by sea, and obviated the difficulties of penetrating into the east by land, which had previously been an insurmountable barrier to knowledge and communication. But it is to Onesicritus \(^\text{26}\) we trace the first mention of Taprobana, or Ceylon, and what is extraordinary, the dimensions he has assigned to it, are more conformable to truth \(^\text{27}\), than Ptolemy had acquired four hundred years later, and at a time when it was visited annually by the fleets from Egypt; but on this subject more will be said in its proper place.

**IAMBULUS.**

VI. The mention of Ceylon naturally introduces us to the voyage of Iambulus

\(^{26}\) To Onesicritus only, if we follow Strabo or Pliny, vi. 24. who, he says, mentions elephants there larger and more fit for war than elsewhere, a truth to this day. Megasthenes notices a river, gold and pearls, and that the people are called Palógoni. Eratosthenes seems to have enlarged upon the size given it by Onesicritus, for instead of 625 miles, he says, it is 875 miles long, 625 broad. In Pliny's age the northern side was grown to 1250 miles, and the error was always on the increase till the time of Ptolemy. Pliny adds, that Rachia [Raph] was the head of the embassy to Rome, and that Rachia's father had visited the Sereas. One incidental circumstance seems to mark Arabian intercourse previous to the voyage of Annius Poccamus's freed man. Regi, cultum Liberis Pateris, ceteris, Arabum, the king worshipped Bacchus, the people on the coast followed the rites of the Arabians. The king wore the garment of India, the people (on the coast) that of the Arabians. He adds also, that Hercules was worshipped, that is, Bali, the Indian Hercules. Whence both Palógoni, and Palaimoonus. This, however, ought not to be asserted without giving due weight to Paulino, who derives Palaimoonus from Parthria mandala, the kingdom of Parthria, and Parthria is the Indian Bacchus.

\(^{27}\) He makes it 625 miles, without mentioning length or breadth; it is in reality near 280 miles long, and 138 broad; but Ptolemy extends it to more than 966 miles from north to south, 759 from west to east.

\(^{21}\) See Harris, vol. i. 383. and Ramusio.
probably founded on fact, and because Diodorus has ranked it as history.

Lucian "," perhaps, formed a better judgment when he classed him with the writers of fiction; for his account of the Fortunate Islands and of Ceylon stand almost on the same ground; the circumstance of the Island he seems to give at five thousand stadia from Onesicritus, and the navigation across the ocean from Ethiopia he derived from the general knowledge that this voyage had been performed, or imputed, from a very early age; his departure from Ceylon to the Ganges, his arrival at Palibothra, and his intercourse with the king, who was an admirer of the Greeks, may be referred to Megasthenes and Daimachus, while his fictions of impossibilities are all his own. Notwithstanding all this there are some allusions to characteristic truths, which though they do not bespeak the testimony of an eye-witness, prove that some knowledge of the island had reached Egypt, and this at a time previous to the discovery of the monsoon; for Iambulus must be antecedent to Diodorus, and Diodorus is contemporary with Augustus. It is this

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29 Luc. de vera historia, i. cap. 3. γραφμον μεν ἔκειν ὑμίν ψευδος πλασμός ὑπ' αἰτ-σφη δ' οἷος μεν τοι, ἦν π. 474., Wesseling in libr. ii. 167. Diod.

30 Φαλλατζ, though there be nothing in this word to raise suspicion in general, but at the strangeness of the circumstance, how a king of Palibothra should know enough of Greeks to be fond of the nation; there is still a secret allusion of much curiosity, which is this, the native chiefs who raised themselves to independence on the ruins of Syrian monarchy, (whether from the number of Greeks in the coast, or from the popularity of the Grecian sovereignty, is hard to determine,) assumed the title of Φαλλατζ; and this term is still found inscribed in Greek letters upon the coins of the first usurpers of the Parthian dynasty. See Bayer. p. 105. It seems, therefore, highly probable, that the inventor of this tale of Iambulus knew that some of the eastern potentates were stilyed lovers of the Greeks; and he has ignorantly applied this title to a sovereign of India, which appertained properly to that only who reigned in the north of Persia. This seems an additional proof of the imposture; the author knew a curious piece of secret history, but did not know how to apply it.

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single circumstance that makes it requisite to notice such an author. The truths alluded to are, I. The stature of the natives, and the flexibility of their joints. II. The length of their ears, bored and pendent. III. The perpetual verdure of the trees. IV. The attachment of the natives to astronomy. V. Their worship of the elements, and particularly the sun and moon. VI. Their cotton garments. VII. The custom of many men having one wife in common, and the children being entitled to the protection of the partnership. (This practice is said by Paolino to exist still on the coast of Ceylon, and is apparently conformable to the manners of the Nayres on the continent.) VIII. Equality of day and night. IX. The Calamus or Maiz. And it is submitted to future inquiry, whether the particulars of the alphabet may not have some allusion to truth; for he says, the characters are originally only seven, but by four varying forms or combinations they become twenty-eight.

The chief reason to induce a belief, that Iambûlus never really visited Ceylon, is, that he should assert he was there seven years, and yet that he should not mention the production of cinnamon. There is no one circumstance that a Greek would have noticed with more ostentation than a discovery of the coast where this spice grew; but Iambûlus, like the rest of his countrymen, if he knew the produce, adjudged it to Arabia, and never thought of this leading truth, as a sanction to the construction of his fable; he is described by Diodôrus as the son of a merchant, and a merchant himself, but possessed of a liberal education. In trading to Arabia

Paolino was a Romish missionary in Travecore, for thirteen or fourteen years; his work was published at Rome: he is sometimes mistaken on classical questions, but still it is a learned and instructive work, p. 378.
PRELIMINARY DISQUISTIONS.

... for spices, he was taken prisoner and reduced to slavery; he was carried off from Arabia by the Ethiopians, and by them committed to the ocean, to be driven wherever the winds might carry him; and in this case his reaching Ceylon would be the least improbable part of his narrative. No means occur to settle the date of this history, but the allusion to known truths makes it curious, even if it be a novel. These truths could have been obtained only from report in the age of Diodorus, and the wonder is, that it contains a circumstance dependent on the monsoon, of which Diodorus was himself ignorant, and which was not known to the Greeks and Romans till near a century later. I dare not claim it as a proof, that the Arabians failed by the monsoon at this time, but the scene is laid in Arabia, and the passage is made from the coast of Africa, as that of the Arabians really was; and it is natural to conclude, that the Arabians did really fail to Ceylon in that age, though the Greeks and Romans did not. The embassy from Pandion to Augustus cannot be a fiction, and the embassadors must have failed from India, either on board Arabian ships, which frequented their harbours, or in Indian vessels which followed the same course. All this is previous to Hippalus, and the whole taken together is a

22 P. Luigi Maria de Gesu, a Carmelite, afterwards Bp. of Ufuna, and Apostolick Vicar of the coast of Malabar, coming round Cape Comorin in a native vessel, was carried over to the Maldives, and thence to the coast of Africa. Paolin, p. 83. Annius Placanus was carried in a contrary direction from Arabia to Ceylon; and in fact, whenever a vessel, on either coast, is by accident forced out of the limit of the land and sea breece, she will be caught by the monsoon, and carried over to the opposite continent. To accidents of this sort we may impute a very early discovery of the monsoons by Arabian or Ethiopians, long before Hippalus imparted it to the Greeks and Romans.

22 Harris or Dr. Campbell are my precursors in this examination of Iambulus and Agatharchides. They gave credit to Iambulus. I here give the reasons for my different confirmation.
confirmation of an Arabian navigation previous to that from Egypt. That a novel should contain historical facts and truths is natural, and will not be denied by those who are acquainted with Heliodorus. Many Ethiopick customs are noticed in that work, which are true to this day. After all, the novel of Iambulus is not so surprizing in itself, as its existence in the page of Diodorus.

**AGATHARCHIDES.**

VII. **AGATHARCHIDES**, the next object of our consideration, is an author of far different estimation; he was president of the Alexandrian library, and is always mentioned with respect by Strabo, Pliny, and Diodorus. His work on the Erythrean or Red Sea, is preserved in an extract of Photius, and copied almost in the same terms, but not without intermixture, by Diodorus. Diodorus indeed professes to derive his information from the royal commentaries, and original visitors of the countries he describes; but that he copies Agatharchides is evident, by a comparison of this part of his work with the extract of Photius; or, perhaps, con-

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24 The Nagareet drums, so often noticed by Bruce, are discoverable in this work.
33 It is with much regret that I confess my neglect of this author, from whom I might have corroborated many circumstances in the voyage of Nearchus. A cursory perusal had induced me to view his errors in too strong a light; if justice be done to him on the present review, it is no more than he merits.
31 Diodorus speaks of Agatharchides and Artemidorus, as the only authors who have written truth concerning Egypt and Ethiopia, Lib. iii. 181.
37 In confirmation of this assertion, we may mention a passage, lib. iii. p. 208. Diod. where an allusion is evidently made to the separation of the waters of the Red Sea, as recorded by Moses; it is received in this sense by Grotius, Bochart, and Weissling; and if this was in Agatharchides, it could hardly have been omitted by Photius, a Christian bishop; if it was not in Agatharchides, it is plain that Diodorus joined other authorities to his. This is given as a conjecture, but it is of weight.
PRELIMINARY DISQUISITIONS.

Considering Agatharchides as librarian, he conceived that his work was founded on the commentaries or archives of the Alexandrian depository. Strabo\(^{38}\) likewise follows Agatharchides in almost all that relates to Ethiopia, the countries south of Egypt, and the western coast of Arabia\(^{39}\), or rather, as Weiseling has observed, with his usual accuracy, both copy Artemidorus\(^{40}\) of Ephesus\(^{41}\), who is the copyist of Agatharchides.

It is necessary to pay more attention to this author, as he is apparently the original source from whence all the historians drew, previous to the discovery of the monsoon; his work forms an epoch in the science, and when Pliny comes to speak of the discoveries on the coast of Malabar in his own age, and adds, that the names he mentions are new, and not to be found in previous writers; we ought to consider him as speaking of all those, who had followed the authority of the Macedonians, or the school of Alexandria, of which, in this branch of science, Eratosthenes and Agatharchides were the leaders.

Eratosthenes was librarian of Alexandria under Ptolemy Euergetes I. and died at the age of eighty-one, 194, A. C. He was rather an astronomer and mathematician than a geographer, and is honoured with the title of surveyor of the earth\(^{42}\), as the first astronomer who measured a degree of a great circle\(^{43}\), and drew the first parallel of latitude, the sublime attempt on which all the accuracy of the science depends.

\(^{38}\) Lib. xvi. p. 769.
\(^{39}\) Diod. lib. iii. p. 205. not. καλυμάν, &c. but Strabo cites both, p. 769.
\(^{40}\) Id. 774.
\(^{41}\) There are two Artemidorus's of Ephesus. See Hoffmann in voce. This Artemidorus lived in the reign of Ptolemy Lathyrus, anno 169, A. C.
\(^{42}\) See his eulogium in Pliny, lib. ii. c. 112.
\(^{43}\) Hipparchus is later than Eratosthenes; he is supposed to have lived to 129, A. C.
It appears from Strabo and Pliny, that Eratosthenes speaks of Meroë, India, and the Thinae, and of the latter as placed incorrectly in the more ancient maps; how this nation, which was the boundary of knowledge in the age of Ptolemy, (and which, if it does not intimate China, is at least as distant as the golden Chersonese of Malacca,) found its way into charts more early than Eratosthenes, will be considered in its proper place; but his knowledge of Meroë or Abyssinia is derived from Dalion, Aristocreon, and Bion, who had been sent by Philadelphus, or his successors, into that country, or from Timotheus, who sailed down the coast of Africa as low as Cernê. This information concerning India must be deduced from the Macedonians, but his information is confined on the subject of Oriental commerce; the spherical figure of the earth seems to be the grand truth he was desirous to establish, and his geographical inquiries were perhaps rather the basis of a system, than a delineation of the habitable world.

Agatharchides, according to Blair, must, though younger, have been contemporary with Eratosthenes; he was a native of Cnidus in Caria, and flourished 177, A. C. But Dodwell brings him down much lower, to 104, A. C. which can hardly be true, if Artemidorus copied his work, for the date of Artemidorus is attributed to 104, A. C. also, the same year which Dodwell gives to Agatharchides.

44 What credit Timotheus deserves is dubious, as Pliny mentions, that he makes the Red Sea only four days sail in length and two broad, if I understand the passage. Lab. vi. c. 35.

43 Sometimes supposed to be Madagascar.

See infra.

45 Bruce says, in the reign of Ptolemy IX. 100, A. C. but does not say a word of the contents of his work, i. 467.

47 See Diod. iii. 181. Wess. note.

These
These dates are of importance; if we assume the work of Agatharchides as an epoch, which in fact it seems to be, and the principal authority for the subsequent historians, previous to the discovery of Hippalus; his work it is by no means necessary to vindicate in all its parts, but it contains many peculiar truths confirmed by modern experience, and the first genuine characteristics of Abyssinia that occur in history.

Some of these circumstances, though not connected with the purpose before us, cannot be superfluous, as they contribute to establish the credit of the work; these are, I. The gold mines worked by the Ptolemies on the coast of the Red Sea; the proofs; the sufferings of the miners; the tools of copper found in them, supposed to have been used by the native Egyptians, prior to the Persian conquest. II. In Meroe, or Abyssinia, the hunting of elephants, and hamstringing them; the flesh cut out of the animal alive. III. The fly, described as the scavage of the country in

Great moderation is due in judging all writers who speak of a country in the first instance. Things are not false because they are strange, and an example occurs in this author, which ought to set rash judgment on its guard. Agatharchides mentions the worm which is engendered in the legs, and is wound out by degrees. Plutarch ridicules the assertion, and says, it never has happened and never will. In our days every mariner in the Red Sea can vouch the truth of the fact; and if Plutarch had lived to be acquainted with our illustrious Bruce, he would have shewn him that he carried with him the marks and effects of this attack to the grave. See Testimonia. Agatharchides De Rub. Mari. Hudson, p. 1. See also Diodorus, lib. iii, p. 199.
Preliminary Disquisitions.

the same manner as by Bruce. IV. Something like the enfeet tree of Bruce. V. Locusts described as food. VI. Trogloolites. VII. The rhinoceros, the camelopard, apes" strangely called sphinxes; the crocotta" or hyena; several other minute particulars might be enumerated, but not without a tincture of the fabulous.

His account of the coast is our more immediate concern; this commences at Arsinoc, or Suez, and goes down the western coast of the Red Sea to Ptolemæis Thérôn," it mentions Myos Hormus, but takes no notice of Berenice. The particulars of this navigation are very scanty, but still one fact is substantiated, that the ordinary course of trade carried on, went no lower than Ptolemæis, and was confined more especially to the importation of elephants.

Ptolemæis is the Ras Ahehaz of d'Anville, the Ras Ageg of Bruce, in latitude 18°. 10'." and full three hundred and fifty miles short of the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb. A proof that whatever Ptolemy Philadelphus had discovered of the coast of Africa, it was now little visited by the fleets from Egypt, but that there was some sort of commerce is certain; Strabo cites Eratosthenes 54 to prove that the passage of the straits was open, and Artemidorus, to shew the extension of this commerce to the Southern Horn; of this there will be

51 The sphinxes are supposed to be apes by Weffeling, and from their tameness it is probable. The crocotta I translate hyena, because it is said to be between a wolf and a dog; from the mention of its imitating the human voice, it may be the hyæna. I cannot help noticing that the animals enumerated by the author are all named in the same manner on the celebrated Palestrine Mosack. Haradin think that the distinction of these sphinxes from the common ape, was in the face, smooth and without hair. Ad Plin. libr. vi. See the Krokatas on the Palestrine marble, which I am not naturalist sufficient to appropriate.

53 So called from οφεια, because the elephants were here hunted and taken; they are so still according to Bruce, and below this cape, de la Rochette places the commencement of a vast forest, seen by all vessels which keep this coast.

54 18°. 7'. de la Rochette.

55 Lib. xvi. p. 769.
Frequent occasion to speak hereafter, neither ought it to be omitted, that perhaps Agatharchides knew the inclination of the African coast beyond the straits, for he notices its curvature to the east, [which terminates at Gardefan,] and which is apparently the boundary of his knowledge in this quarter; but our immediate business is with the coast between Myos Hormus and Ptolemäis, and here the first place mentioned is the Sinus Impurus, which admits of identification with the Ioul Bay of our modern charts, from the circumstances mentioned by Strabo, who says, it is full of shoals and breakers, and exposed to violent winds, and that Berenice lies in the interior of the bay.

Below this, Agatharchides, or his abbreviator, afford little information, for we are carried almost at once to two mountains, called the Bulls and Ptolemäis Thêrôn, without any intervening circumstance but the danger of shoals, to which the elephant ships from Ptolemäis are exposed: of these shoals there are many about Suakem in de la Rochette, though Bruce denies the existence of a single one on the whole western coast of the Red Sea. The geographer, however, is more to be depended on than the traveller, as is proved by the misfortunes to which some of our English vessels have been exposed, which verify the assertions of Eratothenes, Artemidorus, and Agatharchides.

At Ptolemäis the account closes, as if there were no regular commerce below that point; but its existence has been evinced by what is here said, and will be farther confirmed from the Adulitick.
marble in its proper place; but the total silence of Agatharchides, in regard to Berenícè, unless it be an omission of his abbreviator, is still more unaccountable; it appears, indeed, as if the caravan road from Coptus to this place, was a much greater object of attention under the Roman government than under the Ptolemies. The accounts extant are all Roman; from Pliny, from the Itinerary, and from the Peutingerian tables; but the Greek authorities may have perished, and Strabo mentions two different states of these roads; one from Coptus to Berenícè as it was first opened by Philadelphus, and another from Coptus to Myos Hormus, after it was furnished with wells and reservoirs, and protected by a guard.

Are we then to think that this, after being opened, was neglected again, when Agatharchides wrote? or are we to suppose that Berenícè is comprehended in the mention of Myos Hormus ⁵⁹; for Berenícè is no harbour ⁶⁰, but an open bay, and the ships which lade there, lie at Myos Hormus till their cargo is ready. However this may be, the account of Agatharchides returns again from Ptolemáis to Myos Hormus, and then, after passing the gulf of Arsínoë, or Suez, crosses over to Phenícôn ⁶¹ in the Elanitick Gulph, and runs down the coast of Arabia to Sabēa. In this course of great obscurity, there is no occasion at present to pursue the tract throughout, as it will be resumed in the third book, when the account of the Periplus is to be examined, and such light as is to

⁵⁹ It should rather seem from this that the road from Coptus to Myos Hormus (which was the nearest) was more frequented than that to Berenícè, and that the latter was never materially in use, till the time of the Romans.

⁶⁰ Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 815. Βερείνον ἀλλιμα- ⁶¹ De la Rochette places Phenícôn at Tor, but this will be considered hereafter.
PRELIMINARY DISQUISITIONS.

The collected from other geographers will be adduced, in order to elucidate the narrative, which is the first genuine account of Arabia that is extant. Neither is it unworthy of notice, that the Periplus itself is constructed upon the plan of Agatharchides; it goes down the western coast of the gulph in the same manner, then returns back to Myos Hormus, and crosses over to the eastern side, and pursues that line to its conclusion; the difference between the two consists in the difference of knowledge in the respective ages. Agatharchides describes the trade as it stood in the age of Philometor. The Periplus carries it to the extent it had obtained under the protection of the Roman emperors; but both set out from the same point for both voyages and it is only the extension of the line which constitutes the distinction.

But it is our immediate business to proceed to the country of the Sabæans, called Arabia the Happy, from its wealth, its commerce, and its produce, either native or imputed. This province answers generally to the modern Yemen, and the Sabæans of our author's age possessed the key to the Indian commerce, and stood as the intermediate agents between Egypt and the East. This is a most valuable fact, which we obtain from this work, and clouded as it may be with much that is dark and marvellous, the truth appears upon the whole incontestably. Certain it is that the wealth assigned to this nation is a proof of the existence of a commerce, which has enriched all who have stood in this situation, and equally certain is it that the information of the author ceases at the succeeding step.

Sabæa, says Agatharchides, abounds with every production to make life happy in the extreme, its very air is so perfumed with odours, that the natives are obliged to mitigate the fragrance by...
ficients that have an opposite tendency, as if nature could not support
even pleasure in the extreme. Myrrh, frankincense, balsam, cinnamon,
mon, and casia are here produced from trees of extraordinary magni-
tude. The king, as he is on the one hand entitled to supreme
honour, on the other is obliged to submit to confinement in his
palace, but the people are robust, warlike, and able mariners, they
fail in very large vessels to the country where the odoriferous com-
modities are produced, they plant colonies there, and import from
thence the larimna, an odour no where else to be found; in fact
there is no nation upon earth so wealthy as the Gerrhēi and Sabēi,
as being in the centre of all the commerce which passes between
Asia and Europe. These are the nations which have enriched the
Syria of Ptolemy; these are the nations that furnish the most
profitable agencies to the industry of the Phenicians, and a variety
of advantages, which are incalculable. They possess themselves every
profusion of luxury, in articles of plate and sculpture, in furniture
of beds, tripods, and other household embellishments, far superior
in degree to any thing that is seen in Europe. Their expence of

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63 So Bruce, vol. i. p. 408. quotes Hesiod, xlv. 14. *The merchandise of Ethiopia and of the
Sabeans, men of stature, as curious, for according
ing with this passage, in our author, as with
the testimony of their mercantile pre-eminence,
Sebaim. The term for Ethiopia, in
this passage, is Cufi, which means some tribe
of Arabia, and not the Ethiopians of Africa.

64 Strabo makes Larimna an odour, *ιωδί-
λιον τρικύλων, xvi. 778.

65 The fragment of Agatharchides preserves
a most valuable record in Photius which is lost
in Diodorus and Strabo. Strabo ends with
the riches of Sabēa, and does not go to the
White Sea, and the particulars of the fun
mentioned by Diodorus and Photius. In the
former part Diodorus is more expansive and
intelligible than Photius.

66 See Harris, i. 419. Josephus, lib. viii.
c. 2. where mention is made by Harris of
Ptolemy's building Philadelphia on the site of
Rahab of the Ammonites, which might have
some relation to Syria. But I cannot help
supposing that Σωδίας is here a false reading.
It ought to be the *kingdom of Ptolemy, and not
the *Syria of Ptolemy.
living rivals the magnificence of princes. Their houses are decorated with pillars glistening with gold and silver. Their doors are crowned with vases and beset with jewels; the interior of their houses corresponds in the beauty of their outward appearance, and all the riches of other countries are here exhibited in a variety of profusion. Such a nation, and so abounding in superfluity, owes its independence to its distance from Europe; for their luxurious manners would soon render them a prey to the European sovereigns, who have always troops on foot prepared for any conquest, and who, if they could find the means of invasion, would soon reduce the Sabæans to the condition of their agents and factors, whereas they are now obliged to deal with them as principals.

From this narrative, reported almost in the words of the author, a variety of considerations arise, all worthy of attention. It is, as far as I can discover, the first contemporary account of the commerce opened between Egypt and India, by the medium of Arabia; it proves that in the reign of Ptolemy Philomætor, in the year 177, A.C. and 146 years after the death of Alexander, the Greek sovereigns in Egypt had not yet traded directly to India, but imported the commodities of India from Saba the capital of Yemen; that the port of Berenice was not used for this commerce, but that

63 Strabo from Eratosthenes and Artemidorus, confirms all this splendour, and almost repeats the words of Agatharchides, lib. xvi. p. 778.

66 Harris, or Dr. Campbell, after talking magnificently of the commerce of the Ptolemies with India, at last confesses, vol. i. p. 432. that the discovery of Hippalus is the first certain date of a visit to that country. It is manifest from the whole of this account before us, that the Sabæans did go to India, and that the subjects of Ptolemy did not. It is this monopoly that made the riches of Arabia proverbial.—Ieci beatis nunc Arabum ipvides gazis. Hor. Ode 29. lib. i. where my excellent friend and patron the archbishop of York, reads, beatus nunc, which gives a beautiful turn to the whole Ode.
PRELIMINARY DISQUISITIONS.

Myos Hormus, or Arsinoe, was still the emporium. It proves that there was no trade down the coast of Africa (an intercourse afterwards of great importance) except for elephants, and that no lower than Ptolemiais Theron. It shews that the voyage down the Arabian coast of the Red Sea was still very obscure, and above all it demonstrates incontrovertibly by the wealth constantly attendant on all who have monopolised the Indian commerce, that the monopoly in the author's age was in Sabæa. The Sabéans of Yemen appear connected with the Gerrhèans on the Gulph of Persia; and both appear connected with the Phenicians by means of the Elanitick Gulph, and with the Greeks in Egypt, by Arsinoe and Myos Hormus.

I am not ignorant that the establishment of a trade with India is attributed to Ptolemy Philadelphus⁶⁷, that the immense revenue and wealth of Egypt is imputed to this cause, and that a number of Indian captives are mentioned by Athenèus, as composing one part of the spectacle and procession, with which he entertained the citizens of Alexandria. But this last evidence, which is deemed conclusive, admits of an easy solution; for Indian was a word of almost as extensive signification in that age, as the present; it comprehended the Cafres of Africa, as well as the handsome Asiatick blacks, and the commerce with Arabia was long called the Indian Trade, before the Greeks of Egypt found their way to India. But if real Indians were a part of the procession, they were obtained in Sabæa. The Arabians dealt in slaves, and the Greeks

⁶⁷ See Harris's Voyages, vol. 1. book i. c. 2. compared with p. 421. This work is quoted as Harris's, but this part of it, in the second edition here referred to, is by Dr. Campbell; and is executed most ably. I am obliged to him for many references to authors, which I have not in my power always to acknowledge.

might
might find Indian slaves in their market as well as any other. Huet, Robertson, and Harris are all very desirous of finding a trade with India under the Ptolemies; but the two latter, as they approach the real age, when this commerce took place, upon the discovery of Hippalus, fully acknowledge, that all proofs of a more early existence of it are wanting; no contemporary author affirms it: and the testimony of Agatharchides, whether we place him in 177, or with Dodwell, in 104, A. C. affords perfect evidence to the contrary. The internal evidence of the work itself carries all the appearance of genuine truth, and copied as it is by Strabo and Diodorus it obtains additional authority 68. They have both added particulars, but none which prove a direct communication with India in their own age. They both terminate their information at Sabēa, where he does, and both suppress one circumstance of his work which Photius has preserved, that ships from India were met with in the ports of Sabēa. Whatever knowledge of India, or Indian trade, they have beyond this, is such only as they derived from the Macedonians, and is totally distinct from the communication between Egypt and that country.

In regard to the influx of wealth into Egypt, it would be equally the same, whether the Greeks imported Indian commodities from Arabia or from India direct. For as the Sabēans were possessed of the monopoly between India and Egypt, so Egypt would enjoy the same monopoly between Sabēa and Europe.

68 The authority of Agatharchides is so often joined with that of Eratosthenes by Strabo, that it is highly probable it contains all that Eratosthenes knew, with the addition of his own information. See Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 778. τῶν δὲ τῶν μὲν παρεχομένων τῆς Εχθρονοῦ λόγων τὸ ὑφ᾽ ὑπερτύμου πολλῶν ἐρωτήσεων.
The consumers, indeed, must bear the burden of this double monopoly, but the intermediate agents in both instances would be gainers, and the profits, while the trade was a monopoly, would be, as they always have been, enormous. The sovereigns of Egypt were well apprized of this, and so jealous were they of this prerogative of their capital, that no goods could pass through Alexandria either to India or Europe, without the intervening agency of an Alexandrian factor.

In the description which Agatharchides gives of Sabēa there is nothing inconsistent with probability; but this is the boundary of his knowledge towards the East, and the marvellous commences at the succeeding step, for he adds, that as soon as you are past Sabēa, the sea appears white like a river; that the Fortunate Islands skirt the coast, and that the flocks and herds are all white, and the females without horns⁶⁹. If this has any foundation in truth, the islands are those at the mouth of the gulph, if we ought not rather to understand the ports of Aden and Cana; and the mention of vessels arriving here from the Indus, Patala, Persis, and Karmania is agreeable to the system of the commerce in that age. A slight notice of the different appearance of the constellations next succeeds, and then an illustrious truth, that in this climate there is no twilight in the morning. Other circumstances are joined to this, which mislead; as the rising of the sun not like a disk but a column; and that no shadow is cast till it is an hour above the horizon. A more extraordinary effect is added, that the evening

⁶⁹ It is not extraordinary that sheep should be found without horns, but it is remarkable that this should be regarded as a marvellous occurrence from the time of Homer to that of Agatharchides.
twilight lasts three hours after sun-set. These circumstances are introduced to excite the attention of the modern navigator; for notwithstanding they may be false, still there may be certain phenomena that give an origin to the fiction.

If it should now be inquired how the commerce with India could be in this state so late as the reign of Ptolemy Philometer, or why the discoveries of Nearchus had not in all this time been prosecuted? the answer is not difficult. The fleets from Egypt found the commodities of India in Arabia, and the merchants contented themselves with buying in that market, without entering upon new adventures to an unknown coast. There is every reason to suppose that Sabæa had been the centre of this commerce long prior to the discoveries of Nearchus, and the age of Alexander; and it is highly probable that the Arabians had even previous to that period ventured across the ocean with the monsoon. That they reached India is certain, for Indian commodities found their way into Egypt, and there is no conveyance of them so obvious as by means of Arabia and the Red Sea. The track of Arabian navigators is undoubtedly marked along the coast of Gadrosia, before Nearchus ventured to explore it, for the names he found there are many of them Arabick; and if conjecture in such a case be allowable, I should suppose that they kept along the coast of Gadrosia to Guadel or Poffem, and then stood out to sea for the coast of Malabar. My reason for supposing this, is, that Nearchus found a pilot at Poffem, which implies previous

70 Harris, i.e. Dr. Campbell, Bruce, and Robertson all subscribe to this opinion, and from this fact a strong degree of probability attaches to the account of Plocamus's freed man, for if he was carried to Ceylon by accident, he would readily find the means of returning by an Arabian vessel, he would likewise learn the nature of the monsoon. See Bruce, vol. i. 369.
navigation, and adds, that from that cape to the Gulph of Persia the coast was not so obscure as from the Indus to the cape.

But if Nearchus reported this, or if the commentaries in the Alexandrian library contained any correspondent information, how could Agatharchides be ignorant of the navigation beyond Sabæa? He was not ignorant of Nearchus's expedition, for he mentions the Icthyophagi of Gadrosia, with many circumstances evidently derived from Nearchus, and others added, partly fabulous perhaps, and partly true, from other sources of intelligence, such as the histories, journals, or commentaries in the library.

He mentions expressly the manner of catching fish, as described by Nearchus, within nets extended along the shoals upon the coast*, and the habitations of the natives formed from the bones of the whale. He notices the ignorance and brutal manners of the natives, their dress, habits, and modes of life; and one circumstance he records, which he could not have extracted from Nearchus, which is that beyond the straits which separate Arabia from the opposite coast, (meaning, perhaps, the entrance to the Gulph of Persia,) there are an infinite number of scattered islands very small and very low, and extended along the sea which washes India and Gadrosia", where the natives have no other means of supporting life but by the turtles which are found there in great abundance.

* He uses the very word, σιγιαρ, so often commented on in the journal of Nearchus.
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The mention of Gadrosia naturally induces obscurity and doubt, but the infinite number of these islands can hardly apply to any but the Laccadives or Maldives. The turtle also and tortoise shell is characteristic.
and of a prodigious size. I have thought it necessary not to omit this circumstance, because it appears to me as the first notice, however obscure, of the Lackdives and Maldives**, called the islands of Limyrike in the Periplus, and distinguished particularly as producing the finest tortoise-shell in the world. The mention of them by Agatharchides appears to be the earliest intimation of their existence. In that sense the fact is curious, and consistent with the purpose of the work, which is at present to shew the progress of discovery, as recorded by contemporary authors.

The extravagances or improbabilities which contaminate several parts of this account in Agatharchides, have been disregarded by design; where knowledge ends fable commences, and much lenity of judgment is due to all writers who speak of distant countries for the first time, or by report. This author does not distinctly mark his Ithyophagi. They are not merely those of Cadrofia, but others also apparently on the coast of Arabia or Africa**. Regions, it is true, where fish rather than bread has ever been the staff of life, and where it continues so at the present hour. Let any reader advert to the manner in which he speaks of the passage out of the Red Sea into the ocean, and he cannot fail to observe, that by giving the African coast an easterly direction, without notice of its falling down to the south, the commerce of that day had not yet passed cape Guardafuî.

** Ἐκκοινοτητηω̣ is by Salmacius, p. 997. supposed to relate to the Chryse of I tolau, i.e. Mahæca, the Golden Cheremuse. But it is coupled with the islands of Limyrike. X.- λιααν ἦν ἐκκοινοτητηω̣ καὶ πευτα γενες ἑρωμας, της περιμαξε ουτος της Λιμυρικης, Perip. p. 32.

** As are the Ithyophagi of Herodotus, lib. iii. p. 203., ed. Weißh.
Single ships”, or a few in company, might have doubted that promontory and flood to the south, and others of the same description might even have reached India. Some obscure accounts from these were possibly conveyed to Alexandria, and from that source might have been recorded by Agatharchides, but these are all very different from his description of Sabæa, and comparatively vague or obscure. Of the trade to Sabæa he speaks distinctly, as a regular established commerce; so far his knowledge was genuine, beyond that it is precarious. This is an opinion collected from a full consideration of the work itself, and to which no one, perhaps, after a similar attention would refuse to subscribe.

It has been thought of importance to detail these particulars from Agatharchides, because he is the genuine source from which Dio-
doros, Strabo, Pliny”, Pomponius Mela, and Ptolemy have derived their information. Diodoros lived in the beginning of the reign of Augustus. He has copied the whole of Agatharchides, so far as relates to the Ithyophagi, Troglydyes, Ethiopians, and Arabians, in his third book. Strabo who lived to the end of Augustus’s

75 It is everywhere apparent, that Ptolemy Philadelphia was more ardent in discovery than his successors. The Greeks who had been in Abythnia, as recorded by Pliny, vi. 35, were all possibly sent by him, as Dilllon, Arif-
thereon, Dion, Dafilius, and Simûnides; and Timotheus his admiral had certainly gone down the coast of Africa; for to him Pliny attributes the first mention of Cernè or Madagafcar. But what is here asserted is meant only to say, that no trade on that coast existed in consequence of this discovery, as late as Agatharchides; and even in the age of the Periplus the trade reaches no farther than Rhaptum and Menuthias, Zanguebar, in south lat 6°0'0", whereas the north point of Madagascar is in lat 12°0'0". Ptolemy also only goes to Praefum, lat. 15°0'0".

7 Pliny rather accords with Agatharchides than copies him; he seems to have gone to the source;—those Greeks I mean who entered Ethiopia in the age of Philadelphia. See lib. vi. 35.
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...reign", has followed Agatharchides in regard to the same countries, in his sixteenth book, and has added little to our knowledge of Arabia, but the expedition of Eliaus Gallus into that country. He has little more express concerning the navigation down the coast of Africa, and eastward he stops at Sabæa with his author. On the coast of Gadrosia he has followed Nearchus more faithfully than Agatharchides, but has no mention of the Laccadive Islands; and the little he says of Taprobana, is a proof that it was known by report, but not yet visited. Pliny and Pomponius Mela in many detached parts tred the same ground, and copy the same author.

But if Agatharchides lived under Prolemny Philométor, it is natural to ask, had nothing been done during 170 years, towards further discovery by the fleets that sailed annually from Egypt? The answer is, that whatever was done is not recorded; the course of discovery was doubtless in progression; but there is a great difference between effecting the discovery, and bringing it into general knowledge, or making it a part of history. It is possible, also, that the sovereigns of Egypt were more jealous of the trade than am-

77 The Romans do not appear a commercial people, because their great officers and their historians are too much attached to war, and the acquisition of power, to notice it. All, therefore, that we hear of commerce is obliquely, but the wealth of merchants was proverbial. (See Horace, lib. iii. od. 6. l. 30. See Cicer, who says, in contempt indeed, it is such a man who was a merchant and neighbour of Scipio, greater than Scipio, because he is richer?) But attend only to the merchants who followed the armies, who fixed in the provincias subjunctum or allied, the Italici genera homines, who were agents, traders, and monopolists, such as Jugurtha took in Zama, or the 100,000 that Mithridates slaughtered in Asia Minor, or the merchants killed at Genabum [Orleans], César Bell. Gall. and you see the spirit of adventure, and the extent of commerce at a single glance. (See also the Letters of Cicero while proconsul of Cilicia.) Dr. Campbell, in his Political Survey, has proved their conduct on this matter in regard to Britain, and the present work will give a most extraordinary specimen of it in Egypt.
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ambitious of the honour; and the later princes were more likely to cramp commerce by extortion, than to favour it by protection. The Phenicians had manifestly a share in the profits from its commencement, and it was not unlikely that the Romans might have felt this as an additional incentive for the subjugation of Egypt, if they had been fully informed of the means it afforded for adding to the wealth and aggrandisement of the republic.

It is not meant, therefore, to deny the extension of the voyages progressively, either to the east or the south; for as long as there was any vigour in the government of Alexandria, the trade on the Red Sea was a favoured object. We learn from Strabo and Diodorus, a circumstance not mentioned in Agatharchides, and probably later than his age, that the Nabathæans at the head of the gulf had molested the fleet from Egypt by their piracies, and had been suppressed by a naval force fitted out for that purpose. This, at the same time it proves the attention of the Egyptian government to this trade, proves likewise that the fleets still crossed the gulf from Myos Hormus or Berenicè, and did not strike down at once to Mûsa or Ócelis, as they did in the age of the Periplus.

This mark of attention also adds highly to the probability, that some progress had been made to the south, down the coast of Africa; for there, from the first mention of it, there seems always to have been a mart for Indian commodities; and the port of Mosyllon, as appears afterwards by the Periplus, was a rival to Sabèa or Hadramant. Mosyllon was under the power of the Arabian king of Maphartis, in the same manner as the Portuguese found that nation masters of the coast of Africa, fifteen centuries later, and the convenience of these possessions to the Arabs is self-evident; for
for as vessels coming with the monsoon, for the Gulph of Persia make Mafkat, so those bound for Hadramant or Aden run down their longitude to the coast of Africa; here, therefore, from the earliest period that the monsoons were known to the Arabians, perhaps much prior to Alexander, there would be marts for Indian commodities; and here it is highly probable the fleets from Egypt found them, when the Sabæans were too high in their demands.

That this commerce had taken place soon after the time of Agatharchides may be collected from Strabo, who cites Artemidorus to prove that there was a trade on the coast of Africa as low as the Southern Horn. He mentions, indeed, that at the straits of the Red Sea the cargo was transferred from ships to boats or rafts, which, though it manifests that the navigation was only at its commencement, still proves its existence. He does not name Mosyllon, but the Periplús, by noticing that several articles were called Mosyllitic, demonstrates, that a commerce had been carried on at that port previous to its own age, and that Indian commodities were sought on that coast before they were brought immediately from India. If there were such a mart, this must be a necessary event, for in the first instance the trade of Sabæa was a monopoly, and if the sovereigns of Aden or Mapharis had opened the commerce, either in their own country or Africa, it would draw a resort thither as soon as the port could be known, or the voyage to it be effected. The date of this transaction it is impossible to ascertain, but a variety of circumstances concur to shew that it had taken place previous to the discovery of the monsoon by Hippalus.
HIPPALUS.

VIII. The discovery of Hippalus opens a scene entirely new to our contemplation; and if it has appeared that hitherto there are only two sources of information, the Macedonians and Agatharchides; if it has been shewn that all the authors between Agatharchides and the discovery, speak the same language; it will now be still more evident, that a new era commences at this point, and that the Periplus, Pliny, and Ptolemy are as uniform in one system as their predecessors were in another, previous to the discovery.

Dodwell has observed, with his usual acuteness, that it is no proof that the Periplus is contemporary with the age of Pliny, because he mentions the same sovereigns, in the different countries of which it treats; for he adds, Ptolemy notices the very same, Ceprobota in Limyricë and Pandion in Malabar. He supposes, therefore, that the Periplus copied Pliny or Pliny's authorities, and that the same princes might be reigning from the time of Vespasian to the reign of Adrian. But would not this correspondence of the three be equally consistent, if we suppose them all to have but one source of information? Dodwell would subscribe to this in regard to Pliny and Ptolemy, whose age is known, but he refuses this solution to that of the Periplus, the date of which he chooses to bring down as low as Verus. Of this more in its proper place.

The truth is, that there are no data for fixing the discovery of Hippalus with precision. It is certainly subsequent to Strabo whose
death is placed", anno 25. P. C. for Strabo who was in Egypt with Elius Gallus must have heard of it, and to all appearance it must have been later than the accident, which happened to the freedman of Annius Plocamus, who, while he was collecting the tribute on the coast of Arabia, was caught by the monsoon and carried over to the island of Ceylon. This happened in the reign of Claudius, under whom Plocamus was farmer of the revenue in the Red Sea. The reign of Claudius commences in the year 41 of our era, and ends in 54. Let us assume the middle of his reign, or the year 47, for this transaction, and as Pliny dedicates his work to Titus the son of Vespasian, if we take the middle of Vespasian's reign it coincides with the year 73. This reduces the space for inquiry within the limits of twenty-six years. From these we may detract the first years of Vespasian, which were too turbulent for attention to commerce, with the two years of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius; Nero reigned fourteen, and in the early part of his reign, or the six last of Claudius, the date might be fixed with the greatest probability, because, if we suppose the return of the freedman of Plocamus, the embassage that accompanied him, or the knowledge he acquired to be a cause, or in any degree connected with the discovery, this space confined to about ten years is the most consistent of all others, to allot to this purpose. Another fact connected with this is, the profusion of Nero in cinnamon and aromaticks,

78 Blair's Chronology says twenty-five years, A. C. which is impossible, for Augustus subdued Egypt, anno 30, A. C. and Strabo must have been in Egypt with Gallus in twenty-seven or twenty-six, A. C. He could not write his work between that and twenty-five.

79 Salmastius says, 77. 830 anno urbis condita, p. 1186.

80 Harris fixes Hippalus's discovery in the reign of Claudius, vol. i. 431.
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at the funeral of Poppaea. An extravagance, wanton as it is, which bespeaks something like a direct importation of the material. And we are likewise informed by Pliny, that he sent two centurions from Egypt up into Ethiopia to obtain a knowledge of the interior; an inquiry naturally attached to the discoveries on the coast.

The usual date attributed to the discovery of Hippalus is the reign of Claudius. Dodwell and Harris are both of this opinion, and the latter, or rather Dr. Campbell his editor, has treated this subject so ably, that if it were not necessary for the illustration of the work before us, it would have been sufficient to refer to his inquiries, rather than to tread the ground again which he has occupied. Let us assume then the seventh year of Claudius, answering to the forty-seventh of the Christian era, for the discovery of Hippalus, and the next object of inquiry will naturally be the date of the work which we are to examine.

AGE OF THE AUTHOR OF THE PERIPLUS.

IX. The learned Dodwell and Salmasius affix two very different dates to the Periplus, and between two such able disputants it is easier to choose than decide. My own observations lead me to prefer the opinion of Salmasius, but not so peremptorily as to

**See Pliny, lib. xii. c. 18. The passage itself is obscure, it proves that Pliny knew, (what was not known in the prior age,) that cinnamon and carya were not the native produce of Arabia. But it does not fully prove that the merchants imported them from more distant parts.**

**Dodwell says, in primis annis Claudii, and supposes that Pliny takes his account of Hippalus from a work which Claudius himself wrote; certain it is, that the memory of Claudius was revered by the Alexandrians, and not improbably by reason of this discovery and the prosecution of it.**
Suppose the question cleared of all its difficulties, and there is a hint dropt by Dodwell, that I should wish to adopt, if I were not convinced that the author of the Periplus really visited several of the countries he describes.

Dodwell supposes that the work was compiled by some Alexandrian from the journal of Hippalus; and so far, it is just to allow, that the parallel information in Pliny and the Periplus does not appear so properly to be copied by either from the other, as from some authority common to both. But that the author, whatever he copied, was a navigator or a merchant himself, cannot be denied, when we find him speaking in the first person upon some occasions, and when we read his account of the tides in the gulph of Cambay, which is too graphical to come from any pen but that of an eye-witness.

This author and Pliny agree in the description of Hadramant and Sabbatha, in the names of the kings and of the ports on the coast of Malabar, as Muziris and Cottonara, and of the Sinthus; in the departure of the fleets from Ocelis and Cana, and a variety of other circumstances; but their most remarkable correspondence is in their history of the Spilgenard and Coftus; both mention the Ganges


Τῦνεκταί η τοις μεν χαρισμένοι η Μαρτσάλας ἐπεκινδυναμις τε η βασιλείς παισθανας, τοις δ' η γυμνάριας τε τη χαρα πλην οι τοιαυτο εφευρέσκει ισιώτατα καράλλες τι η χαράς ιστοπλαις δεμα-


Pliny, lib. xii. c. 12. Ed. Hard. De folio Nardi plura dici par est ut principale in Unguentis. ...alterum ejus genus apud Gangem ascens; damnatur in totum, Ozanitis nomine, virus redolene.-The first is the Gangatica of the Periplus, written also Gapanica. The latter
Ganges and Ozène as the mart for the former, and the Pattalène for the latter. The intelligence is undoubtedly the same in both, and yet there is no absolute proof that either copied from the other. But those who are acquainted with Pliny's method of abbreviation would much rather conclude, if one must be a copyist, that his title to this office is the clearest. Wherever we can trace him to the authorities, he follows, we find that narratives are contracted into a single sentence, and descriptions into an epithet. This appears to me fully ascertained in the present instance, but conclusions of this sort are not hastily to be adopted.

Pliny perished in the eruption of Vesuvius the same year that Vespasian died, which is the seventy-ninth of our era; and if we place the discovery of Hippalus in forty-seven, a space of thirty years, is sufficient for the circumstances of the voyage, and the trade to be known in Egypt; from whence to Rome the propagation of intelligence is more natural than the reverse. But if we should be disposed, with Dodwell, to carry the date of the Periplus down to the reign of Marcus and Lucius Verus, that commenced in 161;

... hardness is so far from understanding, that he writes Ozænidis ab OCEAUA, quod odore exodo nates ferat. The Costus Pliny mentions as obtained at Patara. Primo statim introitus annis Indi in Patale Insula, where the Periplus also finds it. See Perip. p. 28, 36. compared with p. 32. If these passages of the Periplus had stood contiguous, as they do in Pliny, the proof would have been complete; scattered as they are, it is nearly so.

The passage in the Periplus runs thus: "καὶ ζησμένοι καὶ διδόμενοι τοιούτω τινες σκέπτοντο" p. 13, that is, Cimmerian King of Saphar, is upon friendly terms with the Roman emperors, and receives presents and embassies from them. The word emperors, in the plural, induces Dodwell to carry down the date till he meets with two joint emperors reigning together. That a plural does not require this we may learn from Dionysius Perieget. who says of Rome, "MEurpose, ἵνα ἄνωθεν τοὐτες χρονοὺς, whence Barthius draws a similar conclusion, that Dionysius lived under the Antonines; but Pliny writes, Dionysium, quem in orientem præmissit Divus Augustus, lib. vi. 27. a clear proof that Dionysius lived under Augustus. This argument is from Vossius, Proef, ad Dionys. Perieg.
and at the distance of almost a century, its correspondence with Pliny is by no means equally consistent.

The strength of Dodwell's argument lies in the report of the Periplús concerning the destruction of Arabia Felix, or Aden, by the Romans; and the mention of the coast of Africa being subject to the sovereign of Maphartis, king of the first Arabia. The title of first or second annexed to a province, is a division which certainly seems of later date under the emperors, than any period that would suit the system of Salmasius; but there is reason to suspect the text, or the rendering of it; and no authority which appears sufficient to prove that the territory of Maphartis ever was a Roman province in any age; or even if it might be so called, as being tributary, no reason can be given why it should be distinguished as the first.

In regard to the destruction of Aden by Cesar, the author of the Periplús says, it happened not long before his time. But what Cesar this should be is a great difficulty. Dodwell, who supposes that it must be by some Cesar who destroyed it in person, can find no emperor to whom it can be attributed prior to Trajan. But Trajan never was on the southern coast of Arabia; he entered the country from the Gulph of Persia, but never penetrated to the southern coast by land, and never approached it from the Gulph of Arabia. It is much more just, therefore, to conclude that Aden was destroyed by the command of Cesar, than by

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The proof that Aden is the Arabia Felix of the Periplús, rests upon the interpretation of Aden=delicia, by Huet, and admitted by d'Anville, from its situation, which is certainly correspondent, or very nearly so. It is an unusual form for a name of a town: but it is confirmed by Pomp. Mela, lib. iii. c. 8. Canæ, Arabia et Gandanmus.
Cesar in person; and if so, any Cesar whose age will coincide with other circumstances may be assumed. Many probabilities conspire to make us conclude that this was Claudius.

The Romans, from the time they first entered Arabia under Elius Gallus, had always maintained a footing on the coast of the Red Sea. They had a garrison at Leuke Kome, in 'Helthea', where they collected the customs, and it is apparent that they extended their power down the gulph, and to the ports of the ocean, in the reign of Claudius, as the freedman of Annius Plocamus was in the act of collecting the tribute there, when he was carried out to sea. If we add to this the discovery of Hippalus in the same reign, we find a better reason for the destruction of Aden at this time, than at any other. Aden had been one of the great marts for the Indian commerce, and if Claudius, or the prefect of Egypt, was now disposed to appropriate this trade to the Romans, this was a sufficient cause for ruining Aden, in order to suppress rivals or interlopers. The jealousy or opposition of Aden to the new discovery would naturally afford ground for quarrel, and if not, the Romans knew how to provoke one whenever it suited their interest.

These considerations are offered as a probable answer to the weightiest of Dodwell's arguments; his long and tedious disquisition concerning Palesiumundus, will defeat itself. It stands thus: having determined that the age of the Periplus must be that of Marcus and Lucius Verus, he is obliged to suppose, that the author could not have seen the work of Proteus, who lived in the reign of Adrian. Now the reasons for establishing the priority of the

90 A port north of Totta and Yembo.
Periplus are these; first in order towards the south of Africa, the extent of discovery is榜样，Then there is a South, but in Ptolemy a farther progress is made to upward latitude 1, 50' 5' of South. This naturally appears a proof that Ptolemy is the later writer. The stranger follows; the Periplus states Ceylon, Palefismundus, and adds, "it is the same island as the ancients called Taprobana." But in the time of Ptolemy it had acquired a third name, Sālicē, and he accordingly writes, "Sālicē, which was "formerly named Palefismundus." It follows then, that the author who writes Palefismundus must be prior to the author who writes Sālicē. Dodwell, in order to obviate the self-evident truth, in the true spirit of system, is necessitated to allege, that the author of the Periplus, though an Alexandrian, had never seen the work of Ptolemy, who was of Alexandria also; but that he copied Pliny, who was a Roman; and then to support this strange hypothesis, he is compelled to maintain, that the Palefismundus of Pliny is not Ceylon, or the Taprobana of the ancients, but the Hippocura of Ptolemy on the coast of Malabar. How these assertions could be deemed authentic by any one, when Dodwell wrote, is incomprehensible, unless we calculate the dignity which attaches to tradition. But we now know that Sālicē is derived from Sala-bha, the Shanśkreet name of Ceylon, and Palefismundus, from Parashri-mandala, the country of Parashri", or the Indian Bacchus. Both are native names, and voyagers at different times acquired both from the

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*Page 54. Regi, cultorum Liberii.

*Ptolomo, p. 108. Sāla is manifestly the Pātra. The king, says Pliny, worships Bac-

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natives. When the island of Ceylon comes under consideration in the course of the narrative, more will be said on this subject, at present this is ample proof, that the merchants in the age of the author called Ceylon Palesimundus, and that in Ptolemy's age it was styled Sālicē; if Ptolemy then allows the former to be first in use, the Periplus must of necessity be prior to his publication.

Dodwell says**, that none of Ptolemy's astronomical observations are earlier than the ninth year of Adrian, answering to 123, A. D. If then the first year of Marcus and Lucius Verus is 161, A. D. We add nearly forty years to the antiquity of the Periplus at one step, it could not be later than 123, and how much earlier must be the next object of our inquiry. On this head probability and conjecture must supply the place of proof. The author speaks of the discovery of Hippalus, without specifying its date, or its distance from his own time. Some considerable interval is manifest from his expression, when he says, "from the time of "Hippalus to this day some sail straight from Kanē, &c." but what space to allot to this interval is by no means evident. From the seventh of Claudius, the assumed epoch of the discovery, to the ninth of Adrian**, is seventy-eight years, a space in which we may fix the publication of the Periplus, so as best to suit with other circumstances, and there is one reason to fix it considerably previous to Ptolemy**", which is this; Ptolemy professes to derive his

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** Dodart, p. 89.
** Page 32.
** Ptolemy, published much later, for he lived till 161 at least, near forty years after the 9th of Adrian.
** Salmans writes, hinc liquet autorems esse vetulissimum & longe Ptolemaeo anteriorem, at the conclusion of his argument on the temple of Augustus, in Limyricē, Plin. Ex. p. 1186.
Preliminary Observations.

information from, the merchants of Egypt, and the Periplóς seems to be the very work he would have consulted, if he had known it, and yet one circumstance is sufficient to prove, that it never came under his contemplation. His error, of extending the coast of Malabar, west and east, instead of north and south, is notorious; this he could not have done if he had consulted the Periplóς, for there it is laid down in its proper direction. This induces a belief, that it was not published in, or near the age of Ptolemy, but so much prior as to be neglected, or from its compass and contents not to have obtained much notice at the time of its publication. It is not easy to account for Ptolemy’s disregard of it on any other ground, unless he knowingly slighted it, and preferred the accounts of later voyagers.

But in order to see the state of things suitable to the internal evidence of the Periplóς, we must take a view of the Roman government in Egypt. Egypt became a Roman province in the year thirty before our era, and from the moment it was subdued, Augustus planned the extension of the Roman power into Arabia and Ethiopia, supposing that Arabia produced spices, and Ethiopia, gold, because these were the articles brought out of those countries into Egypt. The avidity with which this plan was adopted may be conceived by observing that, within ten years after the reduction of Egypt, Gallus had penetrated into the heart of Arabia, and Petronius had advanced eight hundred and seventy miles above Syênë into Ethiopia, and reduced Candácë the queen of that country to the condition of a tributary.

The expedition of Petronius is fixed to a certainty in 21 A.D. because the ambassadors of Candácë found Augustus at Samos.
Samos, where he was that year, and that of Gallus was contemporary, because his absence with a part of the troops of the province was the inducement for Candace to insult the government. And it must have been but a very few years after this, that Strabo went up to Syene with Elites Gallus, who was then become prefect. Upon this occasion he observes, that he was informed an hundred and twenty ships now sailed from Myra Hormus annually for India, whereas, under the Ptolemies, a very few only had dared to undertake that voyage.

The embassies from Porus and Pandion to Augustus, mentioned with so much ostentation by the historians, afford considerable proof of the progress of Roman discovery in the east; and the vessels which conveyed these embassadors from the coast of Malabar must have landed them either in Arabia, or in the Gulph of Persia, or the Red Sea; the conveyance also of the freedman of Plocamus back again from Ceylon to Egypt, proves that the voyage was performed previous to the discovery of Hippalus. Agreeably, therefore, to the assertion in the Periplus we ought to suppose that none of these conveyances were performed by means of the monsoon, unless we should allow the vessels to be Indian or Arabian, for both these nations appear visibly to have known the nature of these winds long before the Romans were acquainted with them. From these circumstances we may collect the extreme desire of Augustus to extend his knowledge and his power towards the east, and though the inert reign of Tiberius, or the wild tyranny of Caligula, furnish no documents of a further progress,
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we may conclude, that the success of those enterprises, and with which the emolumens of their own government were immediately connected. We must suppose, that the Roman fleet was superior in the Indian, and on the southern coast of Arabia, before any of the Arabs on that coast could become tributary, and tributary they probably were, before the reign of Claudius, or Plocamus could not have been farmer of the revenue.

When the freedman of Plocamus returned from Ceylon, if he came in a Roman vessel, he must have counted his whole voyage, but as the king of Ceylon sent four embassadors with him to Claudius, we must conclude that they came in an Indian vessel to Arabia, and that the freedman learned the nature of the monsoon in the course of his navigation; this is so near in point of time, that we cannot be mistaken in supposing it, connected with the attempt of Hippalus, and in consequence of it, the revolution in the whole course of Oriental commerce.

The advantage which Claudius made of this discovery, and the prosecution of it so beneficial to Egypt, rendered his name dear to the Alexandrians; his writings were rehearsed in their museum, and the account he gave of this commerce is justly believed by Dodwell to be the source of Pliny’s information.

It is this circumstance which above all others induces me to fix the destruction of Aden under Claudius, or at latest under Nero; whole
mind was equally fixed on Ethiopia, Arabia, and India, as the fountains of all the treasures of the east. The more important every step grew in pursuing this commerce to the source, the greater temptation there was to suppress every power which could come in competition. One thing is evident, Aden was not destroyed by any Caesar in person; for we cannot find in all history a Caesar that ever visited the southern coast of Arabia. If it was by the command of Caesar, it suits no one so well as Claudius or Nero, or if they are too early, there is no other but the reign of Adrian to which it can be attributed. Adrian was in Egypt himself; his system was all directed to the regulation and improvement of the provinces; this might be a part of his plan. But there is nothing in the Periplus itself to make us adopt this period and much to contradict it.

It has been necessary to investigate this fact with accuracy, because the date of the work depends upon it; for at whatever point we fix the destruction of Aden, very near to that we must fix the Periplus; as the author intimates that it was not long before the period in which he writes. It is not satisfactory to leave this question resting upon probabilities only. But where history is silent, probability is our only guide, and correspondent circumstances are the best foundation of probability.

From these premises the reign of Nero appears most accordant to the internal evidence of the work itself, or if the reign of Adrian should be preferred, it must be the year he was in Egypt, which is the tenth of his reign, and answers to the year 126, A.D. The objection to this is its coincidence with the age of Ptolemy, which for the reasons already specified can hardly be reconciled
reconciled to confidence. I assume, therefore, the reign of Claudius for the discovery of Hippalus, and the tenth year of Nero for the date of the Periplus, leaving the question still open for the investigation of those who have better opportunities for deciding upon its precision.

INTERCOURSE WITH INDIA ANTECEDENT TO HISTORY.

X. In entering upon this subject two considerations present themselves to our view, which must be kept perfectly separate and distinct: the first is, that the intercourse itself is historical; the second, that the means of intercourse can only be collected from circumstances: the former admits of proof; the latter is at best hypothetical. I can prove that spices were brought into Egypt, (which implies their introduction into all the countries on the Mediterranean,) and I argue from analogy, that Thebes and Memphis in their respective ages were the centre of this intercourse, as Alexandria was afterwards, and as Cairo is, in some degree, even at the present hour.

That some Oriental spices came into Egypt has been frequently asserted, from the nature of the aromatics which were employed in embalming the mummies; and in the thirtieth chapter of Exodus we find an enumeration of cinnamon, cassia, myrrh, frankincense, stacte, onycha, and galbanum, which are all the produce either of India or Arabia. Moses speaks of these as precious, and appropriate to religious uses; but at the same time in such

10* Mummia, or Mumia, was once a medicine, certainly not on account of the cadaverous but the aromatic substance.
quantities "", as to shew they were neither very rare, or very difficult, to be obtained. Now it happens that cinnamon and cassia are two species of the same spice 106, and that spice is not to be found nearer Egypt or Palestine, than Ceylon 106, or the coast of Malabar. If then they were found in Egypt, they must have been imported; there must have been intermediate carriers, and a communication of some kind or other, even in that age, must have been open between India and Egypt. That the Egyptians themselves might be ignorant of this, is possible; for that the Greeks and Romans, as late as the time of Augustus 107, thought cinnamon the produce of Arabia, is manifest from their writings. But it has been proved from Agatharchides, that the merchants of Sabêa traded to India, and that at the time when Egypt possessed the monopoly of this trade in regard to Europe 108, the Sabêans enjoyed a similar advantage in regard to Egypt. Of these circumstances Europe was ignorant, or only imperfectly informed; and if such was the case in so late a period as 200 years before the Christian era, the same circumstances may be supposed in any given age where it may be necessary to place them.

There are but two possible means of conveying the commodities of India to the west, one by land through Persia or the provinces on the north, the other by sea; and if by sea, Arabia must in all

105 Five hundred shekels of myrrh, five hundred of cassia, two hundred and fifty of cinnamon.
106 See article Kaffa Kafia in the list of articles of commerce.
107 See Strabo, lib. xvi. passim.
108 Καὶ γὰς ὅτι καὶ μοναποδέλειας ἡπε. Μόν γὰς ἡ Αλεξάνδρα τῶν τοιάτων ἔτεθε τὸ πολὺ καὶ ἑπεδο- κίνοι ἢλ. καὶ ἡ πορεία τοῖς ἀρχείας. Alexandria has the whole monopoly to herself. She is the receptacle of all [Indian] goods, and the dispenser of them to all other nations. Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 798.
ages have been the medium through which this commerce passed, whether the Arabians went to Malabar itself, or obtained these articles in Carmania, or at the mouths of the Indus.

In order to set this in its proper light, it is necessary to suppose, that the spices in the most southern provinces of India were known in the most northern, and if from the north, they might pass by land; from the south, they would certainly pass by sea, if the sea were navigated. But in no age were the Persians, Indians, or Egyptians, navigators; and if we exclude these, we have no other choice but to fix upon the Arabians, as the only nation which could furnish mariners, carriers, or merchants in the Indian ocean.

But let us trace the communication by land on the north: it is only in this one instance that I shall touch upon it; and that only because it relates to an account prior to Moses. Semiramis is said to have erected a column, on which the immensity of her conquests was described, as extending from Ninus or Ninivé, to the Itámenes, (Jómanes or Jumna,) eastward; and southward, to the country which produced myrrh and frankincense; that is, eastward to the interior of India, and southward to Arabia. Now, fabulous as this pillar may be, and fabulous as the whole history of Semiramis may be, there is still a degree of consiency in the fable; for the tradition is general, that the Assyrians of Ninivé did make

109 It is not meant to assert that these nations never used the sea; they certainly did, upon their own coasts, but there are not now, nor does history prove that there ever were, any navigators, properly so called, in the eastern seas, except the Arabians, Malays, and Chinese. The Chinese probably never passed the straits of Malacca, the Malays seem in all ages to have traded with India, and probably with the coast of Africa.

110 Bochart, tom. i. p. 109. from Dio-
dórus.
Preliminary Disquisitions.

an irruption into India; and the return of Semiramis’s through Gadrosia, by the route which Alexander afterwards pursued, is noticed by all the historians of the Macedonian. If, therefore, there is any truth concealed under this history of Semiramis, the field is open for conceiving a constant intercourse established between India and the Asyrian empire, and a ready communication between that empire and the countries bordering on the Mediterranean. This intercourse would account for the introduction of the gums, drugs, and spices of India into Egypt, as early as the 21st century before the Christian era’s, and 476 years antecedent to the age of Moses.

But this is not the leading character in the accounts left us by the Greek historians’s; they all tend to Phenicia and Arabia. The Arabians have a sea coast round three sides of their vast peninsula; they had no prejudices against navigation either from habit or religion. There is no history which treats of them, which does not notice them as pirates or merchants by sea, as robbers or traders by land. We scarcely touch upon them accidentally in any

When two fables of two different countries agree, there is always reason to suppose that they are founded on truth: the Mahabharat is perhaps as fabulous as the history of Semiramis; but this work (in Col. Dow’s account of it,) specifies, upon a variety of occasions, the great attention of the Indian sovereigns to pay their tribute to their western conquerors. I cannot trace this to its causes or consequences, but it always seems to justify the idea, that there had been some conquest of India, by the nations which inhabited those provinces which afterwards composed the Persian empire. It is this conquest in which the Grecian accounts of Semiramis and the Mahabharat agree.


Herodotus, lib. iii. p. 250. reckons up frankincense, myrrh, cassia, cinnamon, laudanum, (a gum,) and florax as the produce of Arabia: these commodities were brought into Greece by the Phenicians. See alfo p. 252.

author,
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...author, without finding that they were the carriers of the Indian ocean.

Sabēa, Hadramant, and Oman were the residence of navigators in all ages, from the time that history begins to speak of them; and there is every reason to imagine that they were equally so, before the historians acquired a knowledge of them, as they have since continued down to the present age.

It is surely not too much to admit that a nation with these dispositions, in the very earliest ages crossed the Gulph of Persia from Oman to Carmania: the transit in some places is not forty miles; the opposite coast is visible from their own shore; and if you once land them in Carmania, you open a passage to the Indus, and to the western coast of India, as a conclusion which follows of course.

I grant that this is wholly hypothetical; but where history stops, this is all that rational inquiry can demand. The first history to be depended on, is that of Agatharchides. He found Sabēa, or Yemen, in possession of all the splendour that a monopoly of the Indian trade must ever produce, and either here or at Hadramant or Oman it must ever have been: these provinces all lie within the region of the monsoons, and there is every reason to imagine that they had availed themselves of these in the earliest ages, as well as in the latest. I conclude that their knowledge in this respect is prior to the building of Thebes; and that if the monopoly on the

14 Hadramant is the Atromitis of the Greeks; it is nearly central between Sabēa and Oman on the ocean. Oman is the eastern part of Arabia, towards the Gulph of Persia. Sabēa is Yemen, on the Red Sea, but extends, or did ancietly extend, to the ports on the ocean, as Aden, &c.

eastern side of the Red Sea was in their hands; that on the western side was fixed at Thebes. The splendour of that city, still visible in its very ruins, is in no other way to be accounted for: it is exactly parallel to the case of Alexandria in a later period; for Alexandria did not trade to India, the monopoly was still in Sabèa when Agatharchides wrote, and the monopoly at Alexandria was as perfect in regard to the Mediterranean, as that of Sabèa was in regard to the Indian ocean. The wealth of the Ptolemies was as pre-eminent as that of the Thebaick Dynasties, and the power and conquests of a Philadelphus or Euergetes \^{116} less fabulous than those of Sesonchois.

That the Grecian Dynasty in Egypt tried every experiment to evade the monopoly at Sabèa, is manifest from history. The straits \^{117} of the Red Sea were passed, the ports of Arabia on the ocean were explored, the marts on the coasts of Africa were visited, Indian commodities were found in all of them. A proof direct, that the monsoon was at that time known to the Arabians \^{118}, though history knew nothing of it till the discovery of Hippalus; that is, till 200 years later: this is the more extraordinary, as the fact had been ascertained in part by the voyage of Nearchus, and as all its consequences would have been explored, if Alexander had lived another year. I always wish to be understood as never ascertaining

\^{116} Euergetes says, in the Adulitick Inscription, he had reduced the whole world to peace. Sesonchois could do no more.

\^{117} Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 773.

\^{118} I had expected to find an account of the monsoons in the Oriental writers; but as my acquaintance with them by translations only, must be very confined; I have met with only one instance, and that in a very different region. Ventus marinus sex integris mensibus regnat in illo, [mari tenebroso], et tum in alium ventum convertitur. Al. Ednissi, p. 34. the Mare Tenebrorum is at least east of Malacca, if not of China.
that the voyage between Egypt and India was utterly unpractised by the Greeks; the evidence is clear, that some few vessels performed it, but they coaxed the whole way "": the greatest number is that mentioned by Strabo of an hundred and twenty ships. The expense of such a navigation did not answer; it was found cheaper to purchase Indian goods in the old markets: the passage by the monsoon was never attempted; and the solitary fact of all history, which I can discover, previous to Hippalus, is that in the fabulous account of Iambulus. I believe that fact, not as performed by Iambulus, but as an evidence that some such passage had been heard of, that an obscure notion prevailed that it was made from the coast of Africa, and that, therefore, it was interwoven with the piece to give the fable an appearance of reality. I believe it to have had its rise from Arabia; and it is one proof among others, that the Arabians did reach India prior to history, and a sufficient reason why the Greeks found it cheaper to purchase their cargoes in the Arabian markets, rather than to go to India themselves. A truth certainly, if the Arabians failed with the monsoon, and the Greeks coaxed the whole voyage.

These considerations taken in the mass, induce a belief that in the very earliest ages, even prior to Moses, the communication with India was open, that the intercourse with that continent was in the hands of the Arabians, that Thebes had owed its splendour...
to that commerce, and that Memphis rose from the same cause: to the same pre-eminence. Cairo succeeded to both in wealth, grandeur, and magnificence; all which it must have maintained to the present hour, if the discoveries of the Portuguese had not changed the commerce of the world; and which it does in some proportion still maintain, as a centre between the east and the Mediterranean. The essential difference between these three capitals and Alexandria, proves past contradiction, the different spirit and superior system of the Greeks. These three capitals were inland for the sake of security: a proof that the natives never were navigators or sovereigns of the sea. The Greeks were both; and the capital of the Ptolemies was therefore Alexandria. Their fleets were superior to all that had ever appeared on the Mediterranean; and the power of their kingdom such, that nothing but a succession of weak and wicked princes could have destroyed it. While Egypt was under the power of its native sovereigns, Tyre, Sidon, Aradus, Cyprus, Greece, Sicily, and Carthage were all enriched by the trade carried on in its ports, and the articles of commerce which could be obtained there and there only; the Egyptians themselves were hardly known in the Mediterranean as the exporters of their own commodities; they were the Chinese of the ancient world, and the ships of all nations, except their own, laded in their harbours.

The system of the Ptolemies was exactly the reverse. Alexandria grew up to be the first mart of the world, and the Greeks of Egypt were the carriers of the Mediterranean, as well as the agents, factors, and importers of Oriental produce. The cities which had risen under the former system, sunk silently into insignificance; and
PRELIMINARY DISQUISITIONS.

So wise was the new policy, and so deep had it taken root, that the Romans, upon the subjection of Egypt, found it more expedient to leave Alexandria in possession of its privileges, than to alter the course of trade, or occupy it themselves. Egypt, in strict propriety, was never a Roman province, but a prefecture, governed, not by the senate but the emperor himself. No pretor or proconsul ever had the command; no man above the equestrian order was ever prefect; no Roman ever entered the country without the express licence of the emperor. These circumstances are particularized to shew the wisdom of the Greeks in their establishment of the system, and the wisdom of the Romans in contenting themselves with the revenue, rather than the property of the country. This revenue, amounting to more than three millions sterling, they enjoyed for more than six hundred years; and till the moment of the Arabian conquest, Alexandria continued the second city of the empire in rank, and the first, perhaps, in wealth, commerce, and prosperity.

These considerations are by no means foreign to our purpose: it is the design of this work to exhibit the trade with India under

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120 One charge brought against Germanicus by Tiberius, was his going into Egypt without permission.

121 It does not appear that any Roman in Egypt was allowed to engage in commerce. In the early part of their government at least, all the names we meet with in the trade of the Red Sea, Africa, and India, are Greek: Arrian, Dionysius; &c. &c.

122 It is the stableness of the Roman conquests which distinguishes them from those of other nations. If we place the meridian power of Rome in the age of Augustus, it was 700 years in rising, and 1400 years in falling. The sovereignty of Egypt, for 600 years, is of greater duration than that of any native or foreign dynasty; not mythological; and this sovereignty, notwithstanding particular intervals of tyranny, does seem upon the whole to have been exercised for the good of the people, which is the end of all government. When Egypt fell, its prosperity, though impaired, was probably superior to that of any other province of the empire. The revenue I take at a medium from the calculation of Strabo, who says, that under Auletes, the last of the Ptolemies, it was 2,421,875 l.; but he adds, that the Romans managed it to much greater advantage, and even doubled it. Strab. lib. xvii. p. 798.
every point of view in which it was regarded by the ancients, but if it were not my determination to close my researches with the voyage of Gama, I could now shew how a contrary policy has brought the richest country in the world to its present state of misery. Policy, I say, because, though the discovery of Gama must have injured Egypt, it could not have reduced it to desolation. It is the conquest of Selim, and a divided power between the Porte and the Mameluks, which has sunk a revenue of three millions to a cypher \(^{113}\); a policy, in fact, which has cut down the tree to come at the fruit, which is not content with the golden \(\alpha\)gg, but has killed the bird that laid it \(^{114}\).

\(^{113}\) There is a tribute paid by the Mameluks to the Pacha of Egypt, but it never reaches Constantinople, as there are always charges to set off against it.

\(^{114}\) Exception, perhaps, may be taken to, what has been said in regard to the Egyptians never appearing in the Mediterranean as a naval power. The expression is meant to apply to that country only while under its native fore-reigns. As subject to the Persians, Macedonians, and Romans it furnished large fleets. This restriction, omitted in its proper place, the vacancy of the present page allows me to infer.
The names of places will be distinguished by capitals in the margin; in which form the Greek found and Greek orthography will both be preserved. The Latin or modern orthography will be followed in the text, to avoid the appearance of singularity.

Marks of tones.

` The accent, as Azánia.
\ The note when e final is pronounced long or short, as Calpè.
^ The note of a long vowel or diphthong in the Greek, as Opônè, Nêßà, Niloptolemèon, Kuenión.
THE

PERIPLUS

OF THE

ERYTHREAN SEA.

BOOK II.

"Orientalem oram Africæ fulcavit Auëtor Peripli, cujus auctoritas majoris est
facienda quàm cæterorum omnium, utpote qui solus veritati consentanea

The object proposed for consideration in the second book is the navigation of the ancients from Myos Hormus in the Gulph of Arabia, to the Promontory of Rhaptum on the coast of Africa. Myos Hormus lies in the twenty-seventh degree of northern latitude, and Rhaptum will be fixed near ten degrees to the southward of the equator; consequently we have a space of above two thousand five hundred miles to examine, involved in such obscurity, that without recourse to modern discovery, the navigation of the ancients is inexplicable.

The Periplus, which has been assumed as the basis of our disquisition, has a claim to this preference, not only as the most ancient but the most specific account extant; for notwithstanding particular places may have been noticed in treatises of a prior date, the line of coast which it embraces is to be found nowhere previously in detail; and the circumstances which it particularizes bear such a stamp of veracity, as to assure us, that if the voyage was not performed by the writer, it is at least delineated from authentic documents.

* Ptolemy writes both Rhapta and Rhaptum, the Periplus always Rhapta, plural.

I. The
I. The survey commences from Myos Hormus, a port chosen by Ptolemy Philadelphus for the convenience of commerce, in preference to Arsinoë or Suez, on account of the difficulty of navigating the western extremity of the gulf.

The name of this port shews its origin to be Greek: it signifies the harbour of the Mouse; an appellation which it afterwards changed for the harbour of Venus. But the former is the more prevalent, and the latter is recorded by Agatharchides only and his copyists. Its situation is determined by three islands, which Agatharchides mentions; known to modern navigators by the name of the Jaffateens, and its latitude is fixed with little fluctuation in 27° 0' o", by d'Anville, Bruce, and de la Rochette. The presumption in favour of de la Rochette’s accuracy is natural, as he had the charts and journals of several English navigators before him, and the position of the islands with the indenture of the coast, is such as would sufficiently correspond with what the ancients called a port. Strabo describes the entrance as oblique*, which was perhaps effected by the site of the island at the entrance; and he notices that the ships which failed from Berenícè lay at this port till their cargoes were prepared.

II. The same reason which induced Philadelphus to form the port of Myos Hormus, led him afterwards to the establishment of Berenícè.

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* De la Rochette has made two ports of the Myos Hormus and Aphrodites Hormus of Strabo, but they are both the same, if Strabo is to be interpreted by Agatharchides, whom he copies; his translator indeed says, Muris itatio alaque Veneris, but the text does not require the distinction. See Hardouin, not. ad lib. vi. Plin. 257. The Myos Hormus of de la Rochette, I should prefer for the true position.

3 Ptol. 27° 15' o", 27° 8 o", by de la Rochette.

* Πρεσέως εν μετρ. 270. Strabo, xvi. 175.

The Jaffateens are more than three; but the smaller ones are perhaps little more than rocks above water.

5 Λιμήν μίγµα, τὸν ἱστιὰν ἱστοὶ σκολία. Strab. ibid.
with this additional motive; that being in a lower part of the gulf, it facilitated the communication with the ocean, or the coast of Africa, and lay more convenient for taking advantage of the regular winds within the straits, or the monsoons in the Indian ocean. The plans of Philadelphus, indeed, seem to have been larger than either he or his successors carried into execution; he had evidently sent travellers to penetrate into the interior by land, while his fleet was exploring the coast. Pliny mentions the names of Dálion, Aristócreon, Bion and Básilis⁶, as visitors of Ethiopia; and Simónides as residing five years at Meroè; while Timosthenes⁷ went down the coast as far, perhaps, as Madagascar, but certainly lower than the fleets of the Ptolemies traded⁸, or the Roman fleets in the age of the Periplus. The account of Agatharchides, who lived in the reign of Philométer, goes no lower on the western side of the gulf than Ptolemáis Thérôn; and in his time the commerce seems so generally to have settled at Myos Hormus, that no mention of Berenícè occurs in the whole work⁹. Under the successors of Philométer, this

⁶ Plin. lib. vi. c. 35.
⁷ There is some reason to hesitate in giving credit to Timosthenes, as he says the Red Sea is two days sail across and four days sail in length. Plin. lib. vi. Four days (if it be not an error of Pliny’s) cannot by any means suffice for a course of nine hundred miles. See Fragm. Artem. Hudson, vol. i. p. 88.
⁸ This is similar to what has happened relative to our own discoveries. Sir F. Drake explored the western coast of America, to the north of California, where no navigator followed him till almost 200 years after, when the English, Russians, and Spaniards have interfered with each other in Nootka Sound. In the same manner also the Carthaginian commerce on the coast of Africa settled at Cernè, though Hannó had gone much farther to the south.
⁹ Neither does Diodorus notice it, who wrote, perhaps, early in the reign of Augustus, and followed Agatharchides. But Strabo is diffuse; and he adds one particular which may account for the silence of Agatharchides, which is, as we have just noticed, that Berenícè, though a station, was no port. The harbour was at Myos Hormus; and the ships lay there till they came to Berenícè for their lading. The Periplus also seems almost to join the two together, at the commencement of the Arabian voyage.
trade languished rather than increased, nor was it reinvigorated till the conquest of Egypt by Augustus.

The connexion between Myos Hormus and Berenice, from which ports the navigation commenced, requires more consideration than has been bestowed upon it by those who have preceded me in the inquiry.

Berenice, according to the Periplus, was distant eighteen hundred stadia from Myos Hormus, which, if the author reckons ten stadia to the Roman mile, (as d'Anville supposes) amounts to one hundred and eighty; or if he reckons eight, we obtain two hundred and twenty-five miles, for the interval between the two ports; both estimates are too short, as the distance from the northern Jaffateen to Ras-el-anf is little less than two hundred and sixty miles Roman. Without insisting upon this, Ras-el-anf is the leading point to fix Berenice, for this is the Lepté Promontory of Ptolemy, on which Berenice depends. "The land here," says Bruce, "after running in a direction nearly N. W. and S. E. turns round in shape of a large promontory, and changes its direction to N. E. and S. W. and ends in a small bay or inlet." Now this agrees exactly with the position assigned to Berenice by Strabo, in the very inmost recess of his Sinus Impurus. It may seem extraordinary", that the name of Foul Bay should appear in our modern charts in this very spot,

10 Cape Nose.

"From the appearance of Foul Bay, on de la Rochette's chart, I conclude it to be a modern nautical name. Its correspondence with the ancient Sinus impurus is confirmed by d'Anville as well as de la Rochette. See his Golfe immonde. And if this is established, Strabo's expression, υπὸ τὸ τάφρον, in the inner recess of the bay, ought, in my opinion, to determine the question.

12 Αρχαγγελος is rendered improperly by impurus and immundus. It is literally both here and in the Periplus, p. 12, what we should call in English Foul Bay, from the soundness of the coast, shores, and breakers. Αρχαγγελος κόλπον...και αρχαγγελον ειτα γαλακτικος χαριθμων και μακρας ιστερικυσις, και πυρηνε και ακατοχας το τάφρον μετασηον οι ηγεμονια ειται ειται την χαλκαν. Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 769.

and
and marked with the shoals and breakers which entitled it to the same appellation in the time of Strabo. But such is the fact, and de la Rochette's chart gives us a small anchorage or inlet in the very bottom of the bay, which he styles Minè, or Belled-el-Habesih, the port of Abyssinia. These circumstances are farther corroborated by the chart which Mercator extracted from Ptolemy, and by Ptolemy's own distances in longitude and latitude from Lepté. Col. Capper has supposed that the site of Berenice cannot be determined, and d'Anville has placed it nearer to Lepté; but in this, it is probable he was determined by the latitude of Syène, for both are supposed to be tropical, and Col. Capper has possibly not applied his superior information to this object. I fix it at the port of Habesh, not from latitude, but local relation. For Syène is in latitude $24^\circ 0' 45''$, and this port is in $23^\circ 28' 0''$, according to de la Rochette. If then we were to be determined by the tropick, the port of Habesh is more tropical than Syène. But the ancients were by no means accurate in these coincidences. Meroë and Ptolemais are still less reconcileable than Berenice and Syène; and yet the respective correspondence of the four places was admitted. I am much more led by existing circumstances than these eminates: a coast falling in, as described by the original voyagers, and a port found at the termination where it ought to be, tend more to ascertain a position when ancient accounts are to be considered, than astronomical calculation. But I do not assert the identity, I know the difficulties, I know that the Topaz island of Strabo is

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1. D'Anville has the name, and Bruce the bay.
2. Minè and Belled both signify a fort or castle. The principal Mameluk at Cairo, is styled Sheik-el-Belled, the sheik of the castle.
3. Page 57.
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...dubious", but as a choice is necessary, I select the port of Habesh for Berenice, and I trust the solution of the problem to further inquiry.

Both from Myos Hormus and Berenice, the fleets failed for Africa and Arabia in the month of September; and for India in July; dates which agree admirably with the regular winds, as stated by Bruce. For, in the first instance, if they cleared the gulf before November, they in that month fell in with the wind, which carried them down the coast of Africa, and which served them to return in May. And in their voyage to India, failing in July, if they cleared the gulf before the 1st of September, they had the monsoon for nearly three months to perform the voyage to the coast of Malabar, which was generally completed in forty days.

III. But before we enter upon our navigation we must examine the previous preparations in Egypt, commencing our inquiries from Alexandria, the head and centre of all the commerce between India and Europe for seventeen centuries."

16 There was a Sapphire, an Emerald, and a Topaz island in the Red Sea; all three give rise to much fable and much uncertainty. Strabo’s Topaz island is the same as this Serpentine. Whether both names ought to relate to the island at Ras-el anf, I cannot say. That island is the Macouar of Bruce; the Emil or Emerald island of de la Rochette, the Infula Veneris of Ptolemy. Strabo’s Topaz island is lower than Berenice. It may be the modern Zemorget, the Negatonic land of Ptolemy, but the confusion is endless.

17 See Periplus, p. p. 5, 13, 29, 32. The author mentions the Egyptian as well as the Roman months Tybi, January; Thoth, September; Epiphi, July. A proof that he was a resident in Egypt if not a native, and that he wrote for the traders in that country.

18 This is fixed to a certainty by Pliny, who says, they sailed at the rising of the Dog Star, July 26, and reached Okelis in thirty days, from whence to Mazanis the voyage is usually performed in forty days. Lib. vi.

19 Eighteen, reckoning from the death of Alexander.
The principal merchants, who carried on this commerce both under the Ptolemies and the Romans, resided at Alexandria; and though the Ptolemies, for their own interest, might allow others to employ their capital in this trade, and the Romans certainly would not suffer themselves to be wholly excluded, still the standing law of the country was, that every merchant must employ an Alexandrian factor for the transaction of his business; and this privilege alone, with the profits of the transport, is sufficient to account for the immense wealth of the metropolis 20, exclusive of all other advantages.

In the latter end of July the annual or Eteolian wind commences, the influence of which extends from the Euxine Sea to Syène in Upper Egypt. Blowing from the north it is directly opposite to the course of the Nile, and prevailing for forty days while the river is at the height of its swell, it affords an opportunity of advancing against the stream, with more convenience than other rivers are navigated in their descent. With the assistance of this wind, the passage from Alexandria up to Coptus was performed in twelve days, which, as the distance is above four hundred miles 21, sufficiently proves the efficacy of the wind that carried them.

Two miles from Alexandria, says Pliny, is Juliopolis, where the navigation to Coptus commences; an expression not very intelligible without the assistance of Strabo. For why should he mark the departure from Juliopolis rather than Alexandria? Strabo informs us, that the vessels navigated a canal, which extended from Alex-

20 The revenue of Alexandria, in the worst of times, was 12,500 talents, equal to about 2,421,875l. sterling. Strab. xii. 798.

21 Three hundred and eighty; without allowance for the sinuosity of the river.
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*andria to the Canopic branch of the Nile, at the junction of which was Schédia; here all the duties were collected on goods which passed upwards into Egypt, or down the Nile to Alexandria. This canal in its course almost touches Nicopolis, (a city so called from the victory obtained here by Augustus over the forces of Antony,) and which, by its distance of thirty stadia, must be the Juliopolis of Pliny. It is probable, therefore, that before the time of Pliny, the Custom-house had been removed from Schédia to this place.

It is then by the Canopic branch, now almost neglected, that vessels passed up to Memphis, and thence to Coptus. Coptus was a city in the age of Strabo who visited it, common to the Arabs, as well as the Egyptians; it was not actually on the Nile, but connected with it by a canal, and was the centre of communication between Egypt and the Red Sea, by a N. E. route to Myos Hormus, and a S. E. to Berenícê. Upon reference to the map the reason of this is evident. The river bends here towards the east, and in proportion to its inclination shortens the distance of land carriage. Coptus is seated almost in the centre between Ghinné and Kous. Ghinné is the ancient Kancê, and is the modern point of

-- This canal has still water in it during the inundation, and boats pass.


--- The present government of Egypt is divided between the Turks, the Mammeluc and the Arabs. The Turks, though sovereigns, have the least share. The Mammeluc have twenty-four bey's, nominally dividing the whole country from the sea to Syéné, all-powerful at Cairo, but never complete as to their number in the country, and sharing their influence with the Arab flacks. 'Th Roman government was firm and imperious, but even under that, as appears from this passage of Strabo, the Arabs found means to infiltrate themselves into a share of the power at Coptus, and, as we may from this circumstance conclude, possibly in other places.

--- Kaoì τῶν, Neapolis, or the new city, by its name evidently of Greek extraction.

com-
communication with Coscr; the port on the Red Sea, where the little commerce which remains is carried on between Upper Egypt and Arabia. Kous arose in the middle ages from the same cause; and became the principal mart of the Said. These three places all lie on the same curvature of the river, and all grew into importance at different periods, from the same cause; the necessity of conducting land carriage by the shortest road.

It has been already noticed, that notwithstanding Berenice was built by Philadelphus, the route of the caravan thither, and the port itself were little frequented, as long as the Ptolemies reigned in Egypt. The first mention I can find of it is in Strabo, and he visited the country after it was under the power of the Romans. The Romans saw what Philadelphus had designed, and they had the penetration, from their first entrance into the country, to reap the advantages which his successors had neglected. In the course of six or seven years an hundred and twenty ships sailed from this port for India; these, indeed, were but a small part of the whole.

Irwin reckons one hundred and fifteen miles from Coscr to the Nile, vol i. p. 254. Brown rode it on horseback in three days.

D'Anville, Geog. Anc. vol. iii. p. 33.

It has everywhere been supposed, that single ships did sail both to India and Africa by coaling, previous to the discovery of Hippalus; it has everywhere been allowed that the Arabsians traded to India, and the Indians to Arabia, and probably with a knowledge of the monsoon. But this passage of Strabo's stands alone as an evidence, that a fleet sailed from Egypt directly to India. If it did sail, it must still have coaled the whole way. But might not Strabo, from knowing they brought home Indian commodities, have supposed that they failed to India, when in reality they went no farther than Hadramaut in Arabia, or Mofillon on the coast of Africa, where they found the produce of India?

I do not approve of contradicting the assertion of any intelligent author, such as Strabo; but I recommend it to the consideration of better judges, whether a circumstance of this magnitude ought to be established on a single passage. It is also to be noticed, that Arabia was sometimes called India by the ancients, not from error, but because it was on the other side of the Red Sea, and because the commodities of India were found there. So Indorum promontorium in Juha, the same as Lepté Acrē is Ras al-anf, whence the trade to India commenced. Indos Juba vocat Æthiopas. Troglodytes. Hardouin, not ad Plin. vi. 34, but Hardouin is mistaken, and probably Juha. It is the Indian Cape and Port, so called from the Indian trade at Berenice. In what sense the fleets failed from Egypt to India, will be considered at large in the fourth book.
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The bulk of the trade still passed by Coptos 30 to Myos Hormus, and continued in the same course till the period in which the Periplús was written; this is the principal reason which induces me to believe that the Periplús is prior to Pliny, and assigns it to the reign of Claudius, or Nero; for Pliny is the first that specifies the stages of the caravan, or gives us reason to believe that Berenice was the grand centre of commerce. That it was not so when the author of the Periplús wrote is evident, because he commences his route from Myos Hormus 31, a proof that he considered it as the first port of departure.

Pliny on the contrary never mentions Myos Hormus in the passage where he details the voyage to India 32, nor does he notice it at all, except once incidentally, where he is describing the western coast of the Red Sea 33. A proof that it was as subordinate in his time, as it had been pre-eminent before.

Every detail that is now extant, of the road from Coptos to Berenice, is Roman; as that of Pliny, the Itinerary of Antoninus, in the Peutingingerian tables, and the anonymous geographer of Ravenna 34. There is no Greek account of it extant but Strabo’s, and he visited the country after the Romans were in possession. His information, therefore, is Roman 35; it specifies particulars of which other Greeks were ignorant; but it falls short of what the Romans relate themselves. He mentions only that

30 Ἀλλὰ τὸν Κόπτον καὶ Ὀμονάρχαν Ῥαδοῦμαν καὶ Χείναν τοὺς τόπους ἐπειδή. Strab. lib. xvii. p. 815. See a very remarkable passage in Ptolemus, lib. i. c. 7.
31 Whether Myos Hormus and Berenice may have been comprehended in the mention of one as conjectured above, must remain a doubt, as there are no circumstances to ascertain it.
32 Lib. vi. c. 26.
33 Lib. vi. c. 33.
35 Lib. xvii. p. 815.

Philadelphus
Philadelphus opened this route with an army, and that as it was without water, he established posts, both for the convenience of those who travelled this way on business, and those who conveyed their goods on camels.

If it should be thought that this is said from any desire of amplying the industry or penetration of the Romans, let it be observed, that Augustus reduced Egypt into a province, in the year 30 before the Christian era, and that in less than six years Petronius had penetrated into Ethiopia, and reduced Candace queen of Meroë or Atbara; that Elius Gallus had been sent into Arabia with the same view of extending the knowledge and power of the Romans; and that the fleet failed from Berenice instead of Myos Hormus.

These transactions Strabo relates as an eye-witness, for he accompanied Elius Gallus to Syene. And in the interval between the conquest of Egypt and the reign of Claudius, a period of 71 years, there is every reason to suppose, that a province so productive, and a commerce so advantageous, had never been neglected. But it was not till the discovery of the monsoon, which we place in his reign, that all the advantages of Berenice would become obvious. This would by degrees draw the concourse from Myos Hormus; it had not operated essentially in the age of Strabo; the change was beginning to be felt when the Periplus was written; it was fully effected in the time of Pliny.

32 The road between Coptos and Myos Hormus he describes more particularly. A proof that it was better known. It was several eight days journey, formerly performed on camels in the night by observation of the stars, and carrying water with them. Latterly very deep wells had been sunk, and cisterns formed for holding water, as it sometimes, though rarely, rains in that tract. Lib. xvii. 815.

36 ξαφνίς or χαφνίς. Diverforia, Caravanserai.