\$5

" the head of the river Marsyas, under the citadel. This river, " likewise, runs through the city and falls into the Mæander." (Lib. I. c. 5.)

Celana appears to have been the grand rendezvous of Cyrus's army; and here he staid no less than 30 days. Menon, the Thessalian, had joined him at Colossa, with 1500 men; and at this place, Clearchus and others arrived with a further aid of 3700. The whole body of Greeks was now said to amount to nearly 13,000; of which, 11,000 were heavy armed. But this account does not agree with the numbers reviewed before the battle (of Cunaxa): taking into the account the reinforcements at Issus.\*

• Here follows a detail of the numbers :

	T GEL	ained at	Sandi				Heavy Armed.	Light.	Total.
www	3	omed at	Sardis						
with Aenias	•	-	-	-	•		4000		1
Prozenus	-	-		•	•		1500	500	1
Sophznetus	(Sty	mphalia	n) -	-	•		1000	>	8200
Socrates			-	-			500		1
Pasion	• •	-	-		-	-	1	700]	1
		At Cold	SSæ :						
Menon	-		-	•			1000	500	1500
		At Cela	enz:				1		1
Clearchus	-			-	•		1000	700 ]	
Sosias	-	-		-			1000		3700
Sophænetus	s (Ar	cadian)	•	-		•	1000	]	
At Celene, accor	ding	to the de	tail		-	-	11.000	2400	13.400

Xenophon says there were 11,000 heavy armed, and about 2000 light armed, reviewed at Celana.

At Issus, there ca Cheirisophus	me with	h -	-	-	-	790	7	
From Abrocomas	•	-	-	•	-	400	}	1100
			C	12,100	2400	14,500		
At the review. 2	days bei	fore the l	oattle, tl	here wer	e only	10,400	2400	12,800

Here is a difference of 1700 men; and that difference lies amongst the heavy armed. And it will be observed, that the aggregate and the detail agree nearly at the review at From Celana, Cyrus marched to Pelta, in two marches of 5 parasangas each; answering to about 14 of our miles. This place appears to have lain to the northward from Celana: as well as the next station, the forum of the Kramians; situated 12 parasangas beyond Pelta; and which was also accomplished in two marches.

And here it becomes necessary, as well for the purpose of establishing the positions of the two last stations; as to remove the difficulties that occur, respecting the future ones; to step at once from *Peltæ* to *Iconium*, which is the first position that can with *absolute certainty* be recognised in this route, after *Celænæ*; although 17 or 18 marches distant. The detail of the marches from *Celænæ*, is given thus: (Lib. 1. c. 6, 7, and 8.)

Celænæ to Peltæ	2 marches	10	paras.
Thence to the Kramians	2	12	
To the plain of Caystrus	3 given: (more probably 5 or 6)	30	
To Thymbrium	2	10	
To Tyriæum	2	10	
To Iconium	3	20	

Here are 70 parasangas from the Kramians to Iconium; equal to about 150 G. miles, taken in direct distance: but a correction is first to be made, between Tyriæum and Iconium; founded on a fact that occurs in Strabo.

Tyriæum, in the above table, is given at 20 paras. short of Iconium, equal to 43 G. miles, direct. Since the time of

Celana. Who can decide? One is rather inclined to adopt the numbers at the review before the battle; as no losses of any consequence are stated to have happened, previously. Possibly, the error lies in the number brought by Xenias, in the first article.

Xenophon, Laodicea Combusta was founded, at 9 hours of traveling, to the N.W. of Iconium: and the Theodosian Tables furnish a line of distance, from Laodicea to Synnada, passing through Philomelium, (a city of some note) which is placed at 28 M. P. or 20 G. miles from Laodicea; 67 M. P. or  $47\frac{3}{4}$  G. miles from Synnada.\* And accordingly, if 20 G. miles be allowed for the 9 hours, between Iconium and Laodicea, Philomelium should be 40 such miles from Iconium; and to the north-west; which will fall into the line of Cyrus's march.

Now Strabo (p. 66g.) in describing a Route from Ephesus to the Euphrates, at Tomisa, brings us FIRST to Philomelium IN THE WAY to Tyriarium; (doubtless the Tyriaum above recorded). Consequently then, if Philomelium was no more than 40 G. miles short of Iconium, Tyriæum, which lay still nearer to Iconium, could not have been 20 parasangas, or 43 such miles from it ! The probability therefore is, that the three marches, instead of being of nearly 7 parasangas each, as given in the Anabasis, were only of the ordinary length, or about 5: and in consequence only 15 or 16 parasangas may be reckoned; which will place Tyrizeum about 6 miles to the eastward of Philomelium, instead of the opposite side; as the text of Xenophon would make it. It is out of all probability too, when there was no enemy within 200 miles, that the former four marches should be of 5 paras. each, and the three latter of nearly 7 each.

Having thus placed *Tyriæum*, it will be found that the corrected distance between the *Kramians* and *Iconium* will be  $141\frac{1}{2}$ 

<sup>•</sup> The space between Philomelium and Landicea, is a portion of the great Roman road from Nicomedia to Tarsus, through Dorylanm and Iconium.

G. miles direct, instead of the 150 given by the text: as also that  $141\frac{1}{2}$  being laid off, on the modern road from *Iconium* (Kuniyah) through Ilgoun, and Akshaher, will fall at about  $5\frac{1}{2}$  beyond Kutahiah; the present capital of a Sanjak of the same name: and known in Roman times under the name of *Cotyæum*. And moreover, that the 22 parasangas, equal to 47 G. miles, laid off from Sandukly, considered as *Celænæ*, for the distance from thence to the *Kramians*, will reach within 4 or 5 miles of Kutahiah; \* whence, of course, the distances agree generally, in placing the Forum of the Kramians at or near Kutahiah.+

There is another circumstance to be mentioned in favour of the argument. The Turkish Geography of Anadoli states, that "the province of Kutahiah" (which answers nearly to *Phrygia Pacatiana*) "was named *Kermian* from the name of "the family of its former (or first) masters." This indeed, *appears* to mean a Mahomedan Dynasty; but it may also be meant for a more ancient name. It is certain, however, that both of the names prevail; and that the root of *Cotyæum* still subsists in Kutahiah,

The general agreement of the distances, ancient and modern, between the supposed position of the Kramians and

• General Koehler reckoned 25 hours between Sandukly and Kutahiah; his general date was 2,05 G. miles per hour; whence the result would be 514 G. miles between Sandukly and Kutahiah.

 $\dagger$  It appeared on the geographical construction of this quarter, that the distance arising on the mean time, given between Kutahiah and Iconium, is 136 G. miles, or  $5\frac{1}{2}$ less than the above result. So that it falls short of Xenophon's report by 14 G. miles, or about  $6\frac{1}{2}$  of bis parasanges : 4 of which have been deducted from the 20, between *Tyrkeum* and *Iconium*. But there are still  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in excess : and which perhaps may be placed to the account of over-rating the distance. The final difference, therefore, is small.

Iconium, proves to a certainty the error in the number of marches given between the Kramians and the Plain of Caystrus. For, if the text was followed, the three marches must have been of 28 miles each! It may be proper also to remark, in this place, that the aggregate number of marches, summed up in the History, between Ephesus and the field of battle in Babylonia, exceeds the detail between Sardis and that field, by 7. Of these, between 3 and 4 may be deducted for the 63 M. P. between Ephesus and Sardis: and then three or four remain to be accounted for. Possibly then, it should have been 5 or 6, instead of 3 marches, between the Kramians and Caystrus. (See above page 26.)

Here it is proper to mention some circumstances respecting the position of *Peltæ*. It will be seen by the map No. II. that as the *Forum of the Kramians* falls at Kutahiah, Cyrus should have gone in a northerly direction, during the four marches to that place from *Celænæ*, (or Sandukly); whilst the general direction of his route was *easterly*. This might appear extraordinary, unless it was recollected that Cyrus was then making preparations for his expedition; and was probably taking away the provisions and stores that had been collected for him, at different stations, situated within his government: for he may be said to have commenced his undeviating route towards his brother's capital, only at the *Forum of the Kramians*.

Now Peltæ is not distinctly recognised in modern geography, but may probably be the same with the Peloti of Edrisi (page 267), described to be situated in the road from Tarsus to Abydus (meaning the Asian castle of the Dardanelles). This road passes through Belguessa, taken for the Belgers of Paul Lucas: and if the distance between this latter, and the Asian Castle, as given by Edrisi, be proportioned (for it falls short on the whole interval, on our construction, by about 11 miles), the position of *Peloti* falls in the place where we should have placed *Peltæ*: that is, at two marches from Sandukly, towards Kutahiah; considered respectively, as *Celænæ*, and the *Forum* of the *Kramians*.

Having thus adjusted the line of Cyrus's march between the *Kramians* and *Iconium*, in respect of the geographical construction, it will be proper to give certain particulars respecting the principal places on the road; and also concerning the physical geography of the countries, in which they are situated.

Kutahiah (or the forum of the Kramians), stands on the modern great road from Brusa (olim Prusa ad Olympum) to Cilicia, Syria, and Cyprus; through Iconium, &c.; and which, as well from the line of direction, as the nature of the country, was doubtless the general line of the ancient road, also. When therefore, Cyrus had arrived at Kutahiah, he would of course follow that road, which for upwards of 200 miles, leads through a succession of deep and extensive vallies, adjacent to the northern foot of the *Pisidian* and *Cilician* Taurus.\* On this supposition he would pass from the site of Kutahiah, to that of Karahissar (*Aufum*); and thence by those of Sakli, (or Ishakli),† Akshaher, Ilgoun, and Laodicea, to Iconium, or Kuniyah. (See the Maps No. I. and II.)

The first station mentioned, beyond the Kramians, is the Plain of Caystrus: said to be "a well peopled city." It is to be con-

• See Mr. Baldwin's Journal in Col. Capper's Book of Travels. The author has also been obligingly furnished with the Journals of Major Leake, and Professor Carlyle, over the same ground.

+ Not the Ishakli, taken by Dr. Pocock, for Celana.

cluded, of course, that it was a city in a plain, named Caystrus: and which plain, answers unequivocally to that, which extends between Aufium Karahissar, and Ladik (Laodicea Combusta); and which is a part of the above succession of flat vallies, or plains. It answers to the tract named by Strabo, Phrygia Parorias; extending along the northern range of Taurus.

The distance given from the Kramians to Caystrus, 30 parasangas, falls near Sakli, beforementioned; a town where the roads from Constantinople, Brusa, and Smyrna, pointing towards Syria, meet: and where, the country being fertile and well watered, a town is likely to have stood, in all civilized times. It may therefore, with some degree of probability, be supposed, that the city of Caystrus stood in this general position.\*

In order to understand the general nature of the tract, into which Cyrus had now entered, contiguous to the northern side of the region of Mount Taurus, it is proper to state, that there are several parallel ridges, and some of those very lofty, connected with the greater chain of Taurus, on the side towards *Phrygia* and *Cappadocia*. These, the ancients do not appear to have regarded as members of Taurus.

• Sakli, as we learn from Dr. Pocock, and others, is also called Seleukter. Probably, it was one of the many cities, that were named Seleucia. If Seleucus, the victor in the battle named from Ipsus, (which decided the fate of Empire in Lower Asia, after the death of Alexander.) founded any city in commemoration of that victory, this may possibly be the place. The position of Ipsus has never been determined; but was said to be near Synnada. Sakli, however, is 25 miles from Synnada, to the southward; and precisely at the point of separation of the two roads that led to Epbesus, and to Byzantium, respectively, in the way from Syria.

Now the contending armies approached each other, along the great road leading from Syria and Cilicia, through the centre of Asia Minor, towards Synnada : and it is not The spaces included between these secondary ridges and the principal one, may be considered as elevated vallies: an intermediate step, between the high level of Taurus, and the common level of the interior of Asia Minor. Some of them are of extent sufficient to form large provinces: and contain lakes, salt as well as fresh; formed of the waters from the adjacent heights; but pent up, by the inferior ridges.

Beginning from the westward, the first of these vallies included the original country of Isauria\*; noted for the extreme roughness and strength of its natural defences; situated in the recesses of its surrounding barrier of mountains. A second valley, but of a nature perfectly accessible, contains the just mentioned country of *Phrygia Parorias*. It is beautiful and well watered : in position, parallel to, and adjacent to *Isauria*, on the north; but a step lower, in point of level. Here too,

improbable that the army already in possession of Asia Minor, should post itself, so as to command both of the western roads abovementioned. The nature of the country, too, which consists of a well watered and fruitful valley, of no great breadth, but of vast length; formed by two parallel ridges, and having the great road leading through the centre of it, would make it an eligible post for an army, appointed to the defence of Asia Minor. This valley constituted the tract of *Pbrygia Parorias*, before-mentioned.

The low mountains that cover the plain of Sakli to the north, are named in that part *Kesbier*: but whether this has any connexion with *Caystrus*, must be left to the judgment of the reader.

• Here it may be proper to mention, that the name *Isauria* has been applied to different tracts of country, in different ages : or rather, has been extended from the country originally so named, (which lay to the northward of the great ridge of *Taurus*, and constituted a part of *Pisidia* at large), to the country of *Cilicia Trachea*, which lay (obliquely to the former), to the southward of *Taurus*. The subject has been confused; and it may be suspected, that Strabo himself did not clearly understand it. He appears to apply the name exclusively to *Cilicia Trachea*: but Pliny includes both, in his description.

the waters are all pent up, by a ridge, which is the second from the main ridge of Taurus; Isauria lying between.\*

A third valley, more extensive than either of the former, included the country of Lycaonia (now Kuniyah): more resembling Parorias Phrygia than Isauria: being composed generally of large plains, subject to inundations; although a part of its waters escape northward, and form the western branch of the Halys. The ridge which shuts up Lycaonia to the north, is, in effect, a continuation of Anti-Taurus, westward: although Strabo limits that ridge to Cataonia.<sup>+</sup> On the SW. and SE., Lycaonia borders on Pisidia and on Cilicia.

A fourth valley (still going eastward) is that of *Tyana*, bordering on the *Cilician Taurus*; and containing the famous pass denominated occasionally from *Tyana*; but more commonly named the Pass of Cilicia, from the circumstance of the great military road leading through it, into Cilicia.

These are the vallies, which form the series, through which the route of Cyrus lay: and immediately on the east of *Tyana*, but beyond the line of his route, commences the very famous, rich, and extensive valley of *Cataonia*; anciently celebrated for its containing the Temple of *Comana* of *Cappadocia*; whose site is now recognised in Bostan.

There is however, no doubt, but that in latter times, the name was appropriated to *Cilicia Trachea*: for Ammianus Marcellinus describes *Isauria* as a *Maritime* country, absolutely. And it may be conceived, that at that time, the original *Isauria* had merged into the larger country of *Pisidia*: and was no longer known as a part of *Isauria*.

• These parallel ridges, which thus confine the tract of *Pbrygia Parorias* (the modern valley of Akshahr) are respectively named *Sultan Dag* and *Emir Dag*: Sultan Dag being to the south, the other to the north. *Kesbeir-dag* just mentioned, is a portion of *Emir-dag*.

† The mountains which cover Lycaonia on the north, are called by the Turks Foodal Baba.

#### CONIUM.

Cyrus may be supposed to have entered the first of this series of vallies, near the present Karahissar (Aufium); and to have quitted the last, at the pass of *Tyana* or *Cilicia*.

From Caystrus, where we left Cyrus, he came in two marches, rated at 10 parasangas, to Thymbrium, a populous town;\* which was situated at a like distance, short of Tyriæum; before spoken of. Thymbrium ought therefore, to be at, or near the Karatapé of M. Niebuhr's map: nearly midway between Akshaher and Alguid (or Arkid) Khan of the same map: 8 miles short of Ilgoun, the supposed site of Philomelium.+ The route was still through the valley of Parorias Phrygia : but which appears to terminate there; being separated from Lycaonia, by a hilly tract; on the edge of which, stood the town of Laodicea Combusta now named Jorgan-Ladik.

It was in the plain of *Tyriæum* that Cyrus reviewed his whole army, in order to gratify the queen of *Cilicia*; who had joined him at *Caystrus*.<sup>‡</sup>

The three marches between Tyriæum and Iconium, have already been spoken of.

• This place was mistaken by M. D'Anville, for another of much the same name, where Cyrus the Great overcame Crœsus (Cyrop. lib. vii.) But that field was evidently, by what followed, very near to Sardis: and is to be looked for, in the great plain, which opens to the eastward of Sardis, between Mount *Tmolus*, and the river *Hermus*: and which appears to be the Cyrus Campus of Strabo, page 629. Many *Tumuli* are now seen there: the modern name of the plain is from *Darius*: meaning Royal.

+ The river Ilgoun is named Baliam, or Pallam, at this time."

<sup>†</sup> The Greeks were here drawn up four deep; whether it was the practice of that time, or to make the greatest display of the force; for in the Macedonian *Phalanx*, five ranks presented their pikes to the front, according to Polybius.

## [ 35 ]

## CHAPTER III.

# FROM ICONIUM TO MYRIANDRUS; SITUATED AT THE GULF OF ISSUS.

ROUTE of Cyrus, through Lycaonia towards Tyana, near the northern foot of the Cilician Taurus-The geographical position of Tyana, discussed-Passes of Taurus and Amanus, discriminated-Pass of Cilicia-gates of Syria, and Cilicia; or the Maritime pass—the two passes of Amanus—General Remarks -Cyrus, by a wide circuit, gains the Pass of Cilicia, at Tyana; whilst Menon goes by a more direct, but difficult Route-Description of the Pass of Cilicia, by Xenophon, and by Quintus Curtius-Transactions at Tyana or Dana-Plain of Cyrus-Cyrus descends through Cilicia Campestris, to Tarsus-Characteristic description of that Country, by Xenophon--Cyrus detained 20 days at Tarsus, through the unwillingness of the Auxiliaries, to proceed against the Great King-their scruples removed, by an Increase of Pay-March to Issus; with a comparison of the distance marched, with the Roman Itineraries, and with the modern Reports-Issus-Last reinforcement of Grecian Auxiliaries, arrives at Issus-Description of the Pass called the Gates of Syria and Cilicia; by Xenophon-His description differs totally from that by Arrian; as relating to a different Site : but both are perfectly clear and intelligible-F 2

## Progress through LYCAONIA.

Intended mode of attack, of the Pass by Cyrus; but rendered unnecessary, by the retreat of the Enemy—Port and City of Myriandrus; a Phoenician Establishment—its Port now filled up by Alluvions; and the site far inland—Cyrus finally leaves the Sea Coast, and advances into Syria.

FROM Iconium (at which place Cyrus made a halt of g days) his route led through the valley and country of Lycaonia, during five days march; which are given collectively, at 30 parasangas. This distance would bring him to a point nearly opposite to the site of the present Erekli: from whence the modern roads (and no doubt, the ancient ones, also) branch off to Tarsus circuitously by Tyana, on the NE.; and to Tarsus DIRECT, by the SE. It being the object of Cyrus, to gain the pass of Cilicia, by the former route, he would of course, leave the site of Erekli some miles to the southward; to prevent a needless detour.\* That place stands at a few miles from the northern foot of the principal ridge of Mount Taurus; and at the eastern extremity of the valley of Lycaonia; for Xenophon remarks, that the end of the five marches from Iconium, Lycaonia terminated, and Cappadocia began. And here he entered the valley of Tyana.+

In order to explain the advantages arising from the use of the route by Tyana to Tarsus, although nearly twice as long

· See the Map, No. II.

† It is not known what the ancient name of Brekli was; but it was probably one of the many places of the name of *Heraclea*. Many, including the author himself, have taken it for *Archelais Colonia*; but that place not only stood much nearer to *Ancyra*, but was situated in *Cappadocia*: whilst the site of Erekli was in the tract anciently named *Lycaenia*, now Kuniyah.

as the other; it must be understood, that the ridge of Taurus, opposite to the town of Tyana, is contracted into a narrow space, or neck; affording a short passage from the plain of *Tyana*, into the vales of *Cilicia*. But the direct route crosses a very wide mountainous belt; so as to detain ordinary travellers 25 hours within it: and in certain places, presents obstacles to the progress of an army.\* Cyrus, therefore, wisely determined to pursue the former route; but sent the Cilician queen, by the other, under the escort of Menon, the Thessalian. Cyrus himself, at the head of the grand army, reached *Tyana* in 4 marches from the station (opposite to Erekli) where Menon separated. These marches are given at 25 parasangas: and with the 30 from *Iconium*, make up an aggregate of about 152 British miles: giving nearly 17 for each of the nine marches. (See again the Map, No. II.)

Accordingly, these 9 marches are beyond the ordinary length, for so large a body of men: nor is there any mention made of any intervening halts. It is true, that the two intervals of 5, and 4 days, are well proportioned to the respective distances: but then, they are equal to 6 marches for the first; 5 for the latter. It may have been, however, that they were lengthened in order to accomplish some plan of co-operation, with the fleet and detachment, expected at Tarsus; concerning which more will be said, in the sequel: †

• The principal Roman road from Asia Minor to Syria and Egypt, led through the pass of *Tyana*: and most probably, the great military road had always crossed Taurus at that point; for the reasons just stated.

**†** The geographical position of *Tyana* depends on so many lines of distance, and circumstances, and those so much implicated, that the investigation took up several pages, in the Memoir respecting the Roman roads in Asia Minor, which will hereafter

From the circumstance of there being several passes leading into Cilicia, from the quarters of Cappadocia and Syria, much. confusion has arisen, as well in ancient, as in modern times; from the want of their being more clearly discriminated. It will therefore be necessary to give the reader a general idea of their situation and description, in order that those made use of by Cyrus and Xenophon, (as well as by Alexander), may be distinctly understood.

These passes are in number FOUR.\*

The FIRST is properly the CILICIAN pass; leading over Mount Taurus, from the province of Tyana in Cappadocia, into CILICIA. Through this pass, Cyrus, Alexander, and Cicero (in his war with the Amanenses) entered Cilicia, in their way towards Syria. Through this pass also, the Roman road led: it being, as we have stated, the great military road, not only in the time of the Romans, but apparently, in that of the ancient Persian empire, also. And although there may be a difference

accompany the work intended to illustrate the geography of that celebrated Peninsula. The documents for the position of Tyana are, almost exclusively, ancient.

In a general point of view, it is determined in parallel, by its distance of 75 MP. in the Jerusalem Itinerary from Tarsus, northward; and in easting, by the distance of 39 MP. from Baratha, in the Theodosian Tables: taken for the Bour, which arises in the road from Erekli to Kisariah: and which accords with 55 parasangas of Xenophon, from Iconium. Again, it receives a check from the side of Kisariah, by its distance from Anabil, considered as the Andabilis of the Itineraries. This latter place was 16 MP. from Tyana, towards Ancyra (Anguri); and Anabil is 13 hours from Kisariah, through Develi-Kara-Hissar; which is itself 7 from Kisariah. There is no cross line of distance from the eastward, to Tyana.

The author is indebted to M. Niebuhr for the information respecting Anabil; without which, it would have been impossible to have formed the above combination of positions.

\* See the detailed plan of the Gulf of Issus, and its environs, in Map, No. II.

of opinion, concerning the *exact position* of this pass, there can be no danger of confounding it, with any of the others.

The SECOND is that, formed by the near approach of the foot of mount Amanus to the Sinus Issicus: and it has therefore this characteristic distinction, that it is a maritime pass; whereas, all the others are situated inland. As it forms a prominent feature in the warfare both of Cyrus and of Alexander, it is consequently spoken of by their respective historians, Xenophon and Arrian: but it is proper to apprize the reader, that their descriptions refer to distinct sites; although very near to each other: that of Xenophon being in a narrow plain, contiguous to the sea; and that of Arrian, at the ascent of the hills that shut up the same plain, at a short distance towards the south: and also as near the sea, as such a situation would admit.\*

To this pass, different names have been applied; and different positions assigned. Arrian, in one place, names it the *Persian Gates*; and in another, the strait that divides *Cilicia* from *Assyria.*<sup>+</sup> Xenophon says, the gates of *Cilicia and Syria*; because, in his time, the narrow plain by the sea, (which then constituted the pass) was shut up, with a double wall and gates: one looking towards *Cilicia*; the other towards *Syria*.

Strabo does not seem to have been aware of the existence of any such pass, or passes. Neither of them, perhaps, appeared to him, at that day, to possess the character of a pass; which is undoubtedly that, of partaking of the nature of a *defile*. For as he lived at about 400 years after Xenophon, the plain in which the *lower* pass was situated, might in that course of time, have been widened by accretion (since it is now become,

- \* See again the same plan.
- + That is, Assyria at large; of which Syria made a part.

by that process, a wide plain) so as to have lost all resemblance to the description in Xenophon; and that, without exciting in the mind of Strabo, any idea of so great a change. And the *upper* pass was only such, as far as regarded the straitening of the front of the assailant, who might attack it.

But one is surprised to think how any reader of military history, (and such Strabo must surely have been), could possibly reconcile the history of the warfare of Alexander and Darius, in this place; any more than the movements of Cyrus; without conceiving the existence of a maritime pass, between *Issus* and *Myriandrus*. For, in the one case, ships were to be employed in the attack of the pass: in the other, a boat was sent from *Myriandrus* forg shore to reconnoitre the Persians at *Issus*; the pass lying between !

Nor would it appear that Strabo had a clear idea of the ground, around the *Gulph* of *Issus*: because his description is so very general, when it was required to be particular. But concerning the *lower* or inland pass of *Amanus*, he seems to have been very well informed.\*

To prevent confusion between the pass at the sea side, which is the subject of the present article; and those which lead over, or through, mount Amanus, it may be convenient to name this, the MARITIME pass.<sup>+</sup>

\* Strabo, page 676.

+ Ptolemy describes two passes. One of these is on the shore of the gulf of Issus, and at the place, where Mount Amanus closes on that shore. It occupies, in effect, the place of the maritime pass, in respect of Issus; but he names it the Gates of Amanus. One may surely suppose that he intended the maritime pass.

The other pass is inland; and occupies the place of Strabo's Gates of Amanus (our lower pass;) but it is named by Ptolemy, the Syrian Gates. And indeed the name, taken absolutely, is a very proper one: since it is the entrance into Syria, through

The THIRD pass is that named by Strabo the Amanides Pylæ, or "Gates of Amanus:" and is the pass, by which the ordinary road from the sea coast of the gulf of Issus, leads into the inland parts of Syria, through the mountains behind Alexandretta. It is situated at the southern termination of the chain of Amanus; and serves to connect it with that of Pieria, by a narrow neck, which itself constitutes the pass. This is named in modern times from the village of Bylan; and answers to the Pictanus of the Jerusalem Itinerary. 9 M. P. inland from Alexandria. (See again the gulf of Issus in No. II.)

This pass is in effect the LOWER, or southern pass of Amanus. Strabo, it has been said, was well informed, respecting it. For in page 676, he says, after mentioning Ægææ, "then "come the Amanides Pylæ, or Gates of Amanus, having a place "fit for a harbour. At these gates, M. Amanus terminates:\* "a mountain branching from Taurus, and overhanging the "eastern frontier of Cilicia."+

Also in page 751, he says, " contiguous to Gindarus, there " is, in the territory of Antioch, a place called Pagræ, strongly " fortified, and situate upon" the ascent of mount Amanus, lead-" ing from the gates of Amanus into Syria." †

Here then, is the same pass, described from the opposite quarters. First from the side of the gulf of Issus, where it

Amanus. But no other person seems to have applied the name of Amanus to the pass on the shore of the Gulf of *Issus*; although it be formed by the near approach of Amanus to the shore: for the passes of Amanus were more properly those which led across it.

• In page 751, Strabo says, "Near the sea is the city Seleucia, and Pieria, a mountain contiguous to Amanus." So that Pieria is included between the pass of Amanus and Seleucia. This fact also serves to shew that Strabo's gates of Amanus, answer to the pass of Bylan.

+ These passages were translated by Dr. Gillies.

is said, there is a place proper for a port: and which one naturally refers to the recess of the gulf, towards *Myriandrus*; which recess, before the filling up of the bay, by alluvions, may be supposed to have approached the foot of the ascent, leading up to the pass. And secondly, it is given with more detail, from the plain of *Antioch*; above which plain, *Pagræ*, or *Pagris* is recognised in Begras, a fort on the ascent of *Amanus*; and at the opening towards the plain, of the *Gap* which contains the pass in question: and which forms the separation between *Amanus* and *Pieria*.

The FOURTH, and last pass to be considered, here, is the upper or northern pass of Amanus. This leads partly over, and partly through the chain of Amanus, a little to the southward of Issus; and apparently, opens into the valley, through which the river Pinarus descends. This, and the foregoing pass, should be the two passes through Amanus, mentioned by Cicero: and the upper one is that, by which Darius came to Issus, whilst Alexander lay behind him, at Myriandrus. It appears to have been unknown to Strabo; although no clear conception of the movements of Alexander and Darius, could take place, without supposing the existence of such a pass; as well as a maritime pass.\*

• The author possesses no means of fixing the *precise* situation of this pass : but in point of parallel, it must lie between the *maritime* strait and *Issus*; because Darius, who passed through it in his way from *Syria* to Issus, avoided the maritime pass, and came into *Cilicia*, near *Issus*; and also appears to have fled through it, by way of the valley that opened into the field of battle. And moreover because Cicero, when he took a position for covering Cilicia from the threatened attack of the Parthians, from Syria, through botb of the passes of *Amanus*, formed his camp a *little* to the *northward* of Issus.

Dr. Patrick Russell had occasion to know, personally, that there was a direct com-

Cyrus's route led him through the *first three* of these passes; although the last of the three, the *lower* pass of *Amanus*, is not spoken of, by Xenophon. One can only account for this silence, by their having met with no opposition there: the enemy having fled, from the maritime pass, towards the Euphrates; and abandoned all idea of making a stand, short of *Babylonia*.\*

In order to prevent any doubt in the mind of the reader, on occasion of certain vague and inaccurate ideas, which occur in some of the books of modern Travels, respecting the pass of Cilicia; it will be proper, in this place, to contrast the ancient descriptions of the real pass, with the modern descriptions, of the assumed one.

The modern road between Constantinople and Syria, as well for the Turkish armies, as for ordinary travellers, crosses M. *Taurus* (called in that place, Ramadan Oglu) by the route, by which Cyrus sent Menon, with the Cilician queen; (see above, page 37); and which mountain is there of such a breadth, as to require 25 hours for ordinary travellers to cross it. Several difficult places, also, occur by the way: but the *pass* itself is situated at the *final descent* into Cilicia; and

munication between Killis and Ayasse, by a narrow and difficult passage, through Amanus: and Dr. Pocock says, "on the soutb side of Bayas, there is a mountain "torrent, which comes from the opening, by which there is an ascent to the gates of "Amanus." Here it is proper to remark, that Dr. Pocock took Bayas for Issus; and its river for the Pinarus. And indeed both of these accounts apply generally to the position, in which the pass, through which Darius came, and also retired, would naturally be looked for.

\* Nor does Arrian mention this pass : but then his history does not profess to give any details, between Issus and Tyre. within 24 or 25 Roman miles of *Tarsus*. It is named *Geulek*; from the name of a ruined castle, or tower, situated above the pass.

Now the Cilician Pass of Cyrus and of Alexander, was situated in the direct road from Cæsarea Mazaca, which lay due north from Tarsus: whilst, on the contrary, Geulek lies in the way from Iconium and Erekli, which are to the WNW. of Tarsus. But the grand points of discrimination are, the different aspects of the ascents; and the great diversity in the distances of the two passes, from Tarsus: for those who come from the side of Cappadocia (that is, from Cæsarea and Tyana) ASCEND the NORTHERN face of Taurus, by the CILICIAN pass, near Tyana, about 75 Roman miles to the northward of Tarsus; whilst, on the contrary, those who come from the side of Iconium, and Erekli, DESCEND the SOUTHERN face of Taurus, by the pass of GEULEK; at about 25 such miles only, from Tarsus. One more point of contrast, is, that after ascending by the Cilician pass, the ridge of Taurus is narrow, affording a short passage into the vallies of Cilicia: but previous to the descent at Geulek, the road leads through a mountainous belt; which requires 25 hours to cross. A wider difference in the description of the two passes can hardly be imagined.

The pass of *Cilicia*, to which we have now brought Cyrus, is situated at the distance of a few miles to the southward of the city of *Tyana*; from which the pass itself is often denominated. It is thus described by Xenophon: (Lib. I. c. 8.)

"The entrance was just broad enough for a chariot to pass; very steep, and inaccessible to an army, if there had been any opposition." Curtius (lib. III. 4.) calls it a *narrow* 

strait: and says that it is naturally so strong, as if fortified by the hand of man. He says also, that Alexander was sensible of his good fortune, in finding the pass abandoned by the enemy, before his approach: since his army might have been demolished by stones rolled down from the mountain. And that the road was so narrow, that four men could hardly pass, abreast; and the mountain hanging over it. Nor was it difficult only, on the score of its straitness, but also from being furrowed and broken, by the torrents that occasionally ran from the mountain.\* Arrian does not describe the pass: nor does Strabo. Cicero, also, is silent; although it must be clearly understood, that he entered Cilicia by this pass, from the quarter of Cybistra.+

Cyrus, on his arrival at the city of Tyana, t found the pass

• It may be truly remarked, that the description of the pass of Geulek, itself, is exceedingly like that of Cilicia; being a deep and narrow ravine, which has a rapid descent from the brow of the mountain. (See Mr. Baldwin's Journal, in Col. Capper's Book). But it must be considered, that both of them, (as well as many others, elsewhere), owe their origin to torrents which descend from the mountain; and have, in the course of ages, worn deep ravines, with sides too steep to be scaled. The characteristic difference between the two passes, arises from their different aspects; one facing the north, the other, the south.

† In the History of the Expedition of Cyrus, in Diodorus Siculus (Lib. XIV. c. 5.) there are the descriptions of two passes: the first intended for the Cilician pass; the other for the Maritime pass. The first description confounds the Cilician pass, "the narrow defile formed by bigb inaccessible mountains," with the "walls and "gates" of the Maritime pass. And the second confounds the Maritime pass, that is, one "baving walls and gates, and being near the Sea," with the inland and lower pass of Amanus "formed by the meeting of two mountains," the one of which is said to be "a continuation of M. Libanus: i.e., Pieria.

t Called by Xenophon, (or more probably corrupted, by copyists,) Dana. It was originally named *Theana*, from a king of the *Tauri*, as we learn from Arrian in his Periplus of the Euxine Sea. The  $\Theta$  had probably been converted into a  $\Delta$ .

## CILICIA.

in the power of the king of Cilicia, who had possessed himself of the eminences above it. He therefore encamped in the plain before it, since denominated from him, the Plain of Cyrus.\* But on the arrival of intelligence that Menon had already penetrated within the mountains; and that the fleet of Cyrus was on the way from Iönia, with a body of Greek auxiliaries on board, the pass was abandoned, and "he marched up the mountain, without opposition." As 8 days had elapsed since the time of Menon's separation, to Cyrus's taking possession of the pass (he having halted 3 days at Tyana, and one in the plain, at the foot of the pass), the king might easily have learnt the news of Menon's arrival at Tarsus. For 5 days brought him within the mountains; and less than 2 more, would convey the intelligence of it to the king.

Passing Mount Taurus, Cyrus descended into the beautiful province of Cilicia Campestris. It is implied that the breadth of the mountain was not great; for it appears that he soon descended, after gaining the summit of the pass.

Xenophon says, that after Cyrus left the mountains, he advanced through the plain, and having made 25 parasangas in four days march, arrived at *Tarsus*. But the Jerusalem Itinerary allows no more than 75 Roman miles between *Tyana* and *Tarsus*. Probably therefore, the 25 parasangas describe the

• Arrian (Lib. II.) rightly, it may be conceived, supposes, that this plain was first denominated from the younger Cyrus: but Curtius (Lib. III). says it was from Cyrus the great, when he marched against Croesus. A plain denominated from the latter was situated on the east of Sardis and *M. Tmolus*. There is a possibility however, of Curtius's being right: but he errs exceedingly respecting Lyrnessus and Tbebe, in the same chapter.

+ The words of Xenophon, Libr I. c. 8.

distance from Tyana; and the 4 marches, that from the brow of the mountain, towards Cilicia.

His description of this country appears to be no less beautiful, than just. From the mountains (*Taurus*), "Cyrus de-"scended into a large and beautiful plain, well watered, and "full of all sorts of trees and vines: it abounds in grain of "various kinds; and is surrounded with a strong and high "ridge of hills, from sea to sea." (Lib. I. c. 8.)

Tarsus he describes as a great and rich city, in which stood the palace of the king (Syennesis): the Cydnus flowing through the middle of the city. Menon had arrived 5 days before Cyrus: which is accounted for, above, in the disposition of the time. (See again No. II.)

It has been remarked (in page 37,) that the marches between *Iconium* and *Tyana* were very long: but that, if the numbers be truly reported, a reason might possibly be assigned for the expedition: which is, that as the pass was to be cleared, by the joint exertions of Cyrus, of Menon, and of the detachment on board the Fleet, (although operating in different places,) it was of importance that Cyrus should be at *his* station, as early as possible.

At Tarsus, Cyrus staid no less than 20 days. This great delay seems to have been occasioned, chiefly, by the unwillingness of his Grecian auxiliaries, to proceed, on so dangerous a service, as the attempt to dethrone the reigning king of Persia: for the secret of the expedition could no longer be concealed. But they were at length prevailed on, by an increase of pay:\* and an assurance that Cyrus only meant to march

• Their pay had been originally a Daric per month; and it was now increased to a Daric and a half. A Daric is reckoned to have been about 13 shillings; or strictly against Abrocomas, one of the Persian generals, whom he represented to be at the head of an army, at the Euphrates, 12 marches from Tarsus.\*

From Tarsus, Cyrus pursued his march eastward, through Cilicia; passing successively the rivers Sarus and Pyramus (the Seihan and Jeihan, of the present times). Two marches, of 5 parasangas each, brought him to the Sarus; $\dagger$  and a 3d of the same length, to 'the Pyramus. Over this ground and onwards to Myriandrus, his route has been compared, in detail, with the Roman Itineraries; and with the reports of modern travellers: and the agreement is found, on the whole, to be very close; the parasanga being equal to 3 Roman miles, reckoning 75 of these to a degree. (See the opposite Table.)

From the *Pyramus* he came in two marches to *Issus* (c. 17) said to be "the last town of *Cilicia*, situated near the sea; "a large city, rich, and well-inhabited." This place is with the greatest reason supposed to have stood on the site of the present village of *Oseler*, found in M. Niebuhr's map of the Gulph of Scanderoone, and its environs; in the second volume of his Travels in Persia, &c.

But the *two* marches are given at *fifteen* parasangas; which, if correct, would give about 21 B. miles for each march. The ground between the present town of Messis on the

12,92. The allowances of a British sepoy, in the field, are about equal to this increased pay.

• This number appears to be altogether vague; as no part of the Euphrates, in the line of Cyrus's march, was less than 16 or 17 marches from Tarsus. But he purposely under-rated the distance, of course.

+ The name is Pharus in the Anabasis; no doubt an error.

Jerusalem Itinerary.	Roman miles, of 75 to 1°	Modern Authorities.	British miles 69‡ to 1°	Equal to Roman miles.	Xenophon.	Paras. 25 to 19	Equal to Roman miles.
Tarsus to Adana -	27	Tarsus to Adana on the ] Seihan R }	26	28	Tarsus to the Sarus	10	30
Adana to Mopsuhestia	18	Adana to Messis on the }	184	191	Sarus to the Pyramus	5	15
Mopsuhestia to Catabolo	31	Messis to Demirkapi	26	28 ]		-	
	-	for Issus -	13	14	Pyramus to Issus	15	45
Catabolo to Baiæ -	17	Oseler to Bayas -	67	74 ]		-	-
	-	River, at the sup- posed Syrian strait	7 <sup>1</sup> 4	77	Issus to the Syrian strait	5	15
				1041	1		105
Baiæ to Alexandria	16	Mahersy to Alexandria.	7 <sup>1</sup>	8	From Syrian strait to Alexandria; assumed	-	8
Roman miles -	109			1123	1	_	113

H

The distance as given by Xenophon, by the Jerusalem Itinerary, and the modern authorities. between Tarsus and the Syrian strait; compared.

Issus.

## Issus.

38 B. miles, or 19 for each march: but the difference may probably be accounted for, in that Xenophon reckons from the river, which might have been crossed at a point farther distant from *Issus*, than Messis is from Oseler: so that the difference between the 38 (or  $38\frac{1}{4}$ ) and 42 British miles, which answer nearly to the 15 parasangas, may be chiefly occasioned by the above circumstance: for it is certain that the *whole* distance from Tarsus to Oseler, agrees very nearly.\*

The disproportionate length of these two marches, to the preceding and succeeding ones, of 14 miles each, may probably be accounted for, in that Cyrus wished to arrive at *Issus* before the expected reinforcement of Greeks, by sea, under Cheirisophus: and perhaps also to be nearer at hand for the attack of the Syrian pass (or strait); where he expected to meet with resistance. It appears that he intended to make use of the ships, if necessary, in the attack of the fortress at the pass, situated on the shore of the Gulph of Issus; although in the sequel the enemy retired, and left it open to him.

At Issus, accordingly, Cyrus received a reinforcement of 700 heavy-armed Greeks, under Cheirisophus; sent from *Ephesus* and *Peloponnesus*; as also his expected supplies. And here also 400 other heavy-armed Greeks came to him, having left the service of Abrocomas. His fleet now consisted of 60° ships.<sup>+</sup>

The pass called the Gates of Cilicia and Syria, and known

• It is conceived that no interval of distance, on this whole route, is better known than that between *Tarsus* and *Alexandria*; as well from modern accounts as from the ancient Itineraries; a specimen of which has been just given.

† In all the space between Tarsus and Myriandrus, Xenophon mentions no town save Issus: and in other places, as well as this, he prefers the mention of the rivers to the

also by the names of the Syrian Strait and Maritime Pass, from its being formed by the near approach of M. Amanus to the sea, (see above page 39) was situated at the distance of one ordinary march, or 5 parasangas, southward from Issus; and at a like distance from Myriandrus, northwards, and was itself at that day reckoned the common boundary of Cilicia and Syria.

Xenophon thus describes it: (lib. I. 18) "The Gates of "Cilicia and Syria were two fortresses; of which the inner, "next Cilicia, was possessed by Syennesis, with a guard of "Cilicians; and the outer, next to Syria, was said to be de-"fended by the king's troops: between these two fortresses "runs a river called Kersus, 100 feet in breadth. The interval "between them was three stadia, in the whole; through which "it was not possible to force a way; for the pass was nar-"row, the fortresses reaching down to the sea, and above "were inaccessible rocks. In both these fortresses stood the "Gates."

The space between the *two fortified lines*, facing the opposite quarters, (for such they must be considered) being no more than three stadia, or little more than 500 yards, in length, along the coast, and yet large enough to contain a considerable force, proves that there must have been a considerable space between the rocky face of the mountains and the sea: and that nothing like a *defile*, or very narrow space, was intended. For when Xenophon says, that the pass was *narrow*, he could only mean in reference to a front formed for an attack ; since

towns that stood near them. Of the two, the rivers (where the line of march is known) as being permanent objects, appear to be the best choice, of a *single* object; but the mention of *botb* would have been more for the benefit of Geography.

there was width enough for a fortress; and that fortress large enough to contain a considerable force.

The strait described by Xenophon, was therefore formed apparently, by a narrow border of low land, at the foot of high steep cliffs; and having a small river running through it to the sea. In a corresponding position, in respect of Oseler, (which was no doubt the site of Issus) a like river, named at present Mahersy, and issuing from a cleft in the high land; \* flows through a tract of very low swampy land,  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile in breadth, between the hills and the sea; and which has every appearance of having been formed from alluvions, produced by the joint operation of the river and the sea. And it may reasonably be concluded that the site of the fortresses in the time of Xenophon, owed its formation to the same cause : and which has been progressively adding other new land, in the sea, until the ground of the strait has been extended into an ample plain.+ It may be added that a castle, named Merkes, stands on a commanding eminence over the river: and has either communicated its name to the river, or derived its own from it. One may easily perceive the connection between it and the Kersus of Xenophon: and the h of Mahersy is probably guttural.

Thus the position of this pass seems to be clearly made out ;

. Dr. Pocock's Travels, Vol. II. Part 1st. p. 176.

+ The like circumstances have taken place at *Thermopylæ*, in Greece; where the land and sea alluvions collectively, but chiefly the latter, have filled up a portion of the *Malian* Gulf, and formed a wide stripe of low land, contiguous to what was the narrow strait. One is sorry for a change which has destroyed an important feature of a scene so interesting in its history, and so classical in its nature : however, there are landmarks enough remaining, to identify the scene, with the description of it in Herodotus.

although it has been overlooked hitherto, because it would appear that people expected something in the nature of a *defile* or *very narrow passage*; but certainly nothing of that kind is intended by the ancient descriptions of the *Syrian Strait*, either by Xenophon or Arrian. The former, it has appeared, describes it in a *low* situation; and the latter in an *elevated* one, refering to different positions, though very near each other.

It may be proper in this place to add a word respecting Arrian's description of the Strait, which Alexander passed through, about 70 years after Cyrus. His description is that of a narrow passage over hills; evidently not a defile, but that kind of ground which would compel an assailant to form a very straitened front for an attack. But the different sites alluded to by the two Historians, can hardly be a mile from each other; the ground being particularly described by Dr. Pocock, Mr. Drummond, and others. For within that distance, southward from the river Mahersy, the swampy plain is shut up by a narrow tract of hills, which has on the one hand an abrupt descent to the sea; and on the other, the steep mountain of Amanus, which leaves only a narrow space, in the nature of a shelf, between its foot and the sea. And this must be conceived to be the pass intended by Arrian; for he describes the advanced-guard of the army of Alexander, to have taken possession of the pass, on the evening before the battle of Issus : and who at day-break, " began to descend from the hills; being confined to a very narrow front, by reason of the straitness of the ground." (Lib. II.)

This Maritime pass (or rather *these passes*) could only have been situated between Bayas (*Baiæ*) and Scanderoone (site of *Alexandria*); because in that quarter the mountains approach very near to the shore of the Gulph of *Issus*: and that on the opposite (or north) side of Bayas, the mountain gradually recedes from the shore.\* In point of distance also, the accordance is very close. The river Mahersy, taken for the *Kersus* of Xenophon, is about  $7\frac{1}{4}$  British miles to the southward of Bayas; and this latter is  $6\frac{3}{4}$  south of Oseler, taken for *Issus*. So that here is an aggregate of 14 British miles, or as nearly as possible to 15 Roman; which (as is shown elsewhere) are equal to five parasangas of Xenophon's scale; and this is the distance assigned to the pass from Issus. The hill pass of Arrian may be about a mile farther to the south.

Arrian takes no notice of any fortress, wall, or other artificial impediment to Alexander's progress at the hill pass. But it would appear that at some time there has been a wall or fortress there: for the bases of two piers of a gateway are now seen there.<sup>+</sup> These are vulgarly named Jonas's pillars.

The mode in which Cyrus intended to attack the fortified pass in the plain, throws some light on the nature of the place. We have seen that it was formed of two parallel walls, at 500 yards or more assunder; and reaching down from the cliffs, or front of the mountains, to the sea; across a narrow slip of land, which although not designated as a plain, appears by circumstances to have been such; and also open to the sea. For it is said by Xenophon, that "Cyrus, in order to gain the " pass, sent for his ships, that, by landing his men both within

• Both the Ancients and Moderns, seem to have regarded all the narrow space between the mountains of *Amanus* and the sea, as a kind of strait : and indeed not improperly, where large armies were to act.

+ They have been described by Messrs. Pocock and Drummond, Dr. Patrick Russell, and others.

" and without the gates, they might force their way through " the Syrian gate,\* if defended by the enemy." (Lib. I. c. 18.) The pass however, was abandoned; but the plan of attack seems to show, that the shore must have been *flat*, or at least, not steep; in order to make such a plan feasible. For hills whose bases are beaten on by a wave, will be rendered steep by those bases being torn away by the surge, in rough weather. Cyrus would not have directed his troops to climb up a steep ascent; and that ascent a long one, (as may be gathered from the description in Arrian,) in the face of an enemy in great force.

It may be added, that all the streams in this Gulf pass through plains (probably of their own creation,) before they gain the sea.

Myriandrus was the next place of encampment of Cyrus, 5 parasangas beyond the pass, and situated at the south-east corner of the Sinus Issicus. According to Xenophon, (Lib. I. c. 19.) it was "a Phænician city; a mart-town; and many "merchant ships lay at anchor before it."<sup>+</sup>

• That is, of course, the gate towards Syria, or the southernmost.

+ Herodotus also speaks of Myriandrus as being situated on a bay of the same name, which seems to imply that it was the place of the most consequence on the Gulf of *Issus*, at that day; as Issus at a later period; and as *Ayasse* and *Scanderoone* have been successively, in modern times : each of which has, in turn, given its name to the gulf.

The common boundary of Cilicia and Syria is placed by Xenophon at the maritime pass, five parasangas to the southward of Issus; which leaves to Syria, (or rather to *Phanicia*, as then divided) the southern coast and eastern angle of the Gulf of Issus; and to Cilicia the narrow tract, on which the memorable acts of Alexander and Darius took place about 70 years afterwards. To make the matter still clearer, Xenophon says that they marched five parasangas through Syria, to Myriandrus.

But Strabo, p. 676, and 751, assigns the mountains of Amanus and its pass, for the common houndary; which they might have been in his time.

At that time, the port of *Myriandrus*, appears to have been much better sheltered than that of Issus; being, by its retired situation, much less exposed to the sea-winds; but now the bay and port are filled up by depositions.

Myriandrus, it has been said, stood at two marches to the southward of Issus : and both Xenophon and Arrian agree in this report. Moreover, the former states the distance, likewise; which was 10 parasangas, equal to 30 Roman miles. Of these, the first 15 terminating at the river Kersus or Mahersy, leaves of course 15 more for Myriandrus. But the present S. E. angle of the Gulf of Scanderoone, is not quite 7 such miles from the Mahersy ! It cannot be supposed, from the plan of the ground, taken by Mr. Drummond,\* that the Gulf could ever have extended southward 8 Roman miles beyond the present S.E. angle; but 6 or more it certainly might. At the same time being ignorant of the exact form of the gulf at that time, it cannot be known how much ground might have been lost in coasting that part of its shore. Yet it may fairly be concluded, that the distance is over-rated in some degree.

Thus, in either case, the site of Myriandrus must be looked for at a great distance inland. The coast in that part forms a kind of deep bay, the recess of which is filled up with the sand and mud washed down by the land-floods and rivers, from the adjacent mountains of *Amanus* and *Pieria*; and probably aided by the alluvions, which the current from the south has deposited in the recess: so that the site of Myriandrus is 4 or 5 miles inland.

· See the map in Mr. Drummond's Travels in Syria, at page 205,

Mr. Drummond says (Travels, p. 124), that this tract " cannot be approached by man or horse, until the summer " has dried up the bogs." Mr. Volney, (vol. 2, p. 27,) says, that " the plain on which Alexandretta is built, which is a " league in breadth, has been formed by the earth brought " down by the torrents :" and that it is so low and flat, that the rivulets, finding no declivity, can never reach the sea; and therefore form morasses. And this process continually going on, the new land is extended: and that already formed is in some degree raised, as both processes necessarily go on together.

Some ancient ruins were observed by Mr. Beawes (in 1745) near Jacob's Well, a spring situated at nearly  $4\frac{1}{4}$  Roman miles to the south of Alexandretta, in Mr. Drummond's map; and at the termination of the morass inland. This appears to be a very probable situation for Myriandrus; as well in point of general distance from the maritime pass, as from the nature of the place. And accordingly it may have stood 6 Roman miles (by the road) from the present S. E. angle of the Gulf, which being itself nearly 7 from the Mahersy river, 13 of the 15 reported by Xenophon, are made out. Not that we should venture to decide absolutely, that any deficiency existed; since two such respectable authorities report the distance to be equal to the length of a march. Myriandrus may have stood more to the west than is here supposed, and the shore of the Gulf may have lengthened the road. It is hoped, however, that this general arrangement will satisfy the reader, that the bay has been filled up; and that the site of the place, which was a maritime port, is now far within the present shore.

At this place Cyrus staid 7 days. As he was now to take

his final leave of the sea coast, he would of course unload the stores and provisions, from on board his fleet. And from what Xenophon says at the end of the first book; that, the European auxiliaries of Cyrus, received many indulgences and comforts that were of course denied to the bulk of the army; and which employed so great a number of carriages to transport the means of furnishing; it may be supposed that those necessaries formed a considerable part of the lading of the fleet.

## [ 59 ]

## CHAPTER IV.

## FROM MYRIANDRUS TO THE PYLÆ, AT THE ENTRANCE INTO BABYLONIA.

Detail of the March of Cyrus through Syria, to Thapsacus-Apparent transposition of particulars, in the Anabasis-Thapsacus, a ford, and an important pass over the Euphrates: the Tiphsah of Scripture-River Chalus or Chalcis-Source of the Daradax recognised in the remarkable fountain of Fay-Park and Palace of Belesis-the Araxes of Xenophon, the Chaboras, or Khabour-Site of Circesium, or Carchamis-Desert of Mesopotamia-Distressing March of 18 days through it, to the Pylæ, and Plains of Babylonia-Difficulty of arranging the suite of positions between the Pylæ and Sitace-Mode adopted-Digression explanatory of the nature and positions of the Canals of Communication between the Euphrates and Tigris-Sources of those rivers in Armenia-Changes in the lower parts of their Courses-Euphrates runs on a higher level, and discharges into the Tigris, by the Canals of Communication-Periodical Swellings, and comparative Bulk of the two Rivers-the positions of the Canals assist in tracing the route of Cyrus and Xenophon in Babylonia.

**F**ROM Myriandrus,\* Cyrus is said to have made 12 marches to Thapsacus, on the Euphrates; that is 4 to the river Chalus; In the account of the progress of Cyrus's army, nothing is said respecting the nature 5 from thence to the source of the river Daradax; and finally, 3 to Thapsacus. Here he crossed the Euphrates, at a ford, into Mesopotamia; and at 9 marches farther, according to the history, came to the river Araxes, which falls into the Euphrates; in all 21 marches from Myriandrus, to the conflux of the Araxes with the Euphrates. The distance in parasangas, is given at 115; equal to about  $15\frac{1}{4}$  B. miles for each march, taken at a mean. (Lib. I. c. 21, 23.)

On the construction, the most direct line that can be drawn from *Myriandrus*, through the supposed fountain of *Daradax*, and thence to the Euphrates, and along it, in the course that an army may be supposed to march, is 220 G. miles; falling short of 21 mean marches by 2 or 3 miles only. So that in a general point of view, the history may be said to agree remarkably well with the construction; reckoning by marches; but by the distance given, the excess is nearly 10 parasangas more than the ground allows.

Thus much for the agreement of the general distance, by the marches, but there appears to be a great error in the arrangement of the particulars.

For if 12 mean marches, equal to  $127\frac{1}{4}$  G. miles direct, be laid off from Myriandrus, through Fay Fountain, (the supposed *Daradax*) to the side of the Euphrates, according to the history, they will fall between 6 and 7 marches short of the supposed position of Thapsacus; which is doubtless that of the present El Dar.

Xenophon describes Thapsacus as "a large and flourishing " city :" as indeed it continued to be in Roman times; but as

of the countries through which they passed, until they arrived at the Desert beyond the Arazes.

no city is known to have stood in the situation pointed out in the Anabasis, one must suppose with M. D'Anville, (Euphrates and Tigris, p. 23,) that Xenophon has *transposed* the two lines of distance; and that it ought to stand thus:

> From the Daradax to Thapsacus 9 Days. Thapsacus to the Araxes 3

And if 18 marches, equal to  $190\frac{3}{4}$  G. miles in direct distance, be laid off from *Myriandrus*, (that is 9 to the *Daradax*, and 9 more to *Thapsacus*,) they will fall at a point only 4 or 5 miles short of El Dar; which place, by this calculation, would therefore be about  $18\frac{1}{2}$  marches from *Myriandrus*. It is true that El Dar is no more than about two marches and a half from the Khabour river (*Araxes*); but it is to be recollected, that Xenophon neglects the *fractions* of marches and parasangas; and that the whole distance, reckoned by mean marches, accords within 2 or 3 miles on a line of 220; so that the general agreement is satisfactory.\*

This position of Thapsacus, agrees with what Diodorus

* On the Geographical constructio	n, the	distanc	es are	as follo	w :	
From Myriandrus to the nearest p	oart of	the Ko	ik rive	r (Cba	lus) 47 (	J. miles.
To the Fountain of Fay, (Darada	x)	-		-	45	
To Dar ( Thapsacus )	•	1	•	-	103	
					195	
From Dar to the conflux of the K	25					
				Total	220	
Twenty-one marches would require	• •	٠		-	222 <del>1</del>	

By the Geographical construction, as well here as elsewhere, is meant the new system of Geography of Asia minor and western Asia in general, formed by the author; and on which the whole geography of the tract, which includes the scene of the Expedition and Retreat, is founded: relates (Lib. xiv. c. 5); which is, that Cyrus made 20 marches between the Gates of Syria and Thapsacus. Dar, as we have seen, is about  $18\frac{1}{2}$  marches from Myriandrus; to which if one be added, for the distance of the latter from the Syrian strait, there will be a total of  $19\frac{1}{2}$ , which comes so near to the idea of Diodorus, that we must believe that Xenophon has transposed the two distances; as he has done the places of the rivers Thermodon and Halys, in the 6th book.

Had the circumstances of the case rested on the bare fact of crossing the Euphrates at three marches below the Daradax, one might certainly have believed that Xenophon crossed the Euphrates at that *point*, and *not* at Thapsacus (meaning Dar): for at the end of the three marches, and near a town or village named Alalis, is the ordinary passage from Syria into Mesopotamia, opposite to the castle of Jiabar: and there the Euphrates is very shallow, according to Signior Balbi, who, from that circumstance, found great difficulty in navigating it. And hence it may certainly be inferred that there are fords in this quarter, in the season when the river is very low. This navigation of Balbi's was performed at the end of January or beginning of February: and it appears improbable that the river would fall much lower before the time of its beginning to swell periodically, in the month of April.

Leaving however the subject of *Thapsacus* (so far as Xenophon is concerned) to the determination of the reader, it may be remarked, that wheresoever he crossed the Euphrates, it does not affect the intermediate positions of the river *Chalus*, and the fountain of the *Daradax*.\*

\* It may, however, from the description of the course of his route, he concluded for

#### THAPSACUS.

Thapsacus was a noted pass over the Euphrates, between Palestine, Phænicia, and Damascus, on the one hand; and Nineveh, Assyria in general, Media, and Eastern Armenia, on the other; and perhaps might owe its importance to the circumstance of its being the lowest point at which the Euphrates was

certain, that Alexander crossed the Euphrates in this neighbourhood, in his way from Tyre to Arbela.

Both Pliny and Isodore of Charax, say, that Alexander founded the city of Nicepborium, which is universally supposed to have stood on the site of the present Racca; and which intermediately took the name of Callinicum.

Pliny says, (Lib vi. c. 26.) that "the city of Nicepborium is situated near the Eu-"phrates; and was founded by Alexander the Great, because of the advantages (or "commodiousness) of the situation." Here then is a reason given for its foundation : and it does not appear that Alexander ever founded a city in a place which he had not himself explored. And one can only account for his being bere, when on his way from Tyre to Arbela. And that Pliny intended no other place than the one in question, is shown by his having previously (in Lib. v. c. 24.) connected Nicepborium with Antbemusa; which he describes as two cities of Mesopotamia. Antbemusa is recognised in a route given by Isidore, of Charax, between Zeugma and Callinicum; which latter, as we have shown, is the same with Nicepborium.

Arrian (Lib. iii.) says that Alexander "marched into Mesopotamia, having the Eu-"pbrates ind the mountains of Armenia (i e. Mount Masius, the southernmost ridge "of l urus), on his left hand :" and it is known from the same history, that he forded the Tigris, at least 50 miles above Mosul. One can only understand, therefore, that he must have crossed the Euphrates at a point much higher up than Tbapsacus : that he must have crossed the Euphrates at a point much higher up than Tbapsacus : that he musched thence to the N. and N. E. : and finally, by Ras-al-Ain, and Nisibis; coasting the southern foot of Masius, to the before-mentioned ford of the Tigris; which may be taken for that passage described by Hajy Kalifa, at 23 hours travelling above Mosul; and at no great distance below the Zaco Hills; of which much more will be said in the sequel.

Hence the reader may perhaps believe, that there is some reason to suppose that Alexander crossed the Euphrates at a point far above Dar or Thapsacus.

It was indeed the opinion of more than one ancient author, that Alexander crossed at Zeugma; by which however, some may have intended the bridge opposite to Hierapolis; Pliny seems to have believed, that it was Zeugma of Cemagena. But the quarter of Racca appears to the author a more likely place.

#### THAPSACUS.

fordable. For the addition of so considerable a stream as the Khabour, must greatly increase its bulk and depth: and we hear of no ford below the *embouchure* of that river. Therefore Thapsacus was the most convenient pass for those who came from the south, and were compelled at any rate to cross the Syrian desert; but those who came from the westward, and whose route skirted the bank of the Euphrates, would doubtless avoid the desert, if they found a convenient passage into *Mesopotamia*, higher up.

Forster (in his Geographical Dissertation, at the end of Spelman's translation of the Anabasis, page 308,) says, that "Thapsacus is derived from Thapsakh; signifying in the He-"brew, a pass, or passing over; or perhaps in that place, more "properly, a ford." He also observes, that, "in I. Kings, "ch. iv. v. 24, Thapsakh is rendered Tiphsah, and Gaza, Azzah." Pliny (Lib. v. c. 24.) says, that it afterwards took the name of Amphipolis. Its modern name, Dar, expresses in Turkish, much the same as is said of the Hebrew; that is, a passage.

Xenophon makes no mention of any bridge, or any remains of one, at *Thapsacus*.\* The inhabitants reported to Cyrus, that the river had never been fordable before, at that place; or passable, but in boats; and these had been destroyed by Abrocomas, in his retreat. But it may be collected from the ancients, generally, that there was always a ford at Thapsacus,

Arrian says that Alexander found the *remains* of a bridge at *Thapsacus*: but as we have seen, it may be a question whether Alexander did really cross at *Thapsacus?* As there does not appear to be any authority for the existence of a bridge at that place at any time, the fact of Alexander's finding a broken bridge at the place where he crossed, ought to be presumptive evidence against his having crossed the *Eupbrates* at *Thapsacus*. Xenophon leaves us to understand that it was usual to cross it in boats : and these Abrocomas had burnt, in order to impede the progress of Cyrus. (Lib.i.g. 22.)

at the season when the river was low. Xenophon estimates its breadth at 4 stadia, or nearly 700 yards: and by Balbi's account, it is spread out, over a very wide but shallow bed at Dar.

It will now be proper to say a word concerning the two streams, spoken of by Xenophon, between Myriandrus and Thapsacus.

The first of these was the Chalus, at 4 marches, or 20 parasangas from Myriandrus. This can be no other than the Koik, or river of Aleppo, which terminates in a small lake near the site of ancient Chalcis; since named Kinneserin. The nearest part of its course to Myriandrus, is 47 G. miles, in direct distance, which exceeds by 4 or 5 miles only, the given distance, whether taken in marches or in parasangas. But it is not of course to be supposed otherwise, than that the marches varied in length according to the nature of the roads, or to the facility of obtaining water and forage:-it is the mean that is to be attended to.

It may be observed, that Xenophon speaks of no rivers between the sea coast, and the river *Chalus*; although he must of necessity have crossed one, if not three: as by the distance marched, he must have gone by the *upper* or shortest route, from Bylan towards the site of Aleppo. The lake of Antioch, with its contiguous marshes and bogs, did not then, in all probability, exist; but must have been formed since the date of ancient history. For one can hardly reconcile it to probability, that Strabo, (page 751,) should have described the plain of Antioch, or rather the plain situated below *Pagris*, (Begras) with the three rivers of *Labotas*, *CEnoporas*, and *Arceuthus*, besides the *Orontes*, as flowing through it, without mentioning at the same time, had it existed, a lake of more than 10 miles in length, by 7 in breadth; which occupied the centre of the plain, and served as a receptacle to the three first of these rivers, whose waters it afterwards discharged by a single stream into the Orontes: for such is the state of things at this day. Ptolemy is equally silent.

It appears the most probable, therefore, that some obstruction formed in the bed of the *Orontes*, has caused this inundation, with its extensive marshes and bogs; which altogether occupy so large a proportion of the beautiful plain of Antioch. The upper road has only been rendered passable by its bridges and causeways, made by the Turkish government, in latter times: although one may conclude, that previous to the formation of the lake, the ground was solid and firm. Peter Texeira, in 1605, came this way, and describes the nature of the road. (Travels, Engl. Edit. p. 76.)\*

Here we regret that we cannot agree entirely with Forster, in his Remarks, (p. 307 and 308 of his Geog. Diss.) where he says that "Xenophon's silence concerning the Ifrin river, "that lay between Myriandrus and the Chalus, together

• This plain is remarkable for containing within it, the fields of several battles, recorded in ancient history. Strabo, p. 751, mentions three; two of which were between the Romans and Parthians: the third between Ptolemy Philometer and Alexander Bala. To these may be added, that between Aurelian and Zenobia queen of Palmyra, which was fought on that side of the plain towards, and near the Orontes; and was called the battle of Immæ; perhaps from Imk, which is the present name of the district. Here also, in the opposite quarter, towards Derbesak, may be supposed to have been the grand camp of Darius, at *Sochus*: although one cannot readily conceive that the plain obtained the name of " the field of Tribes" from this circumstance (Hajy Kalifa's Syria). Its extent cannot be less than 30 miles in length by 20 in breadth : and the view of it from the pass of Amanus, is magnificent : according to Texeira.

" with other circumstances in the history, seems to show " that he wrote the Anabasis from recollection." That he did write most of it from recollection, there can be no doubt: for how could he have written it on the spot? It is only to be supposed that he committed to writing, in the form of notes, the places and distances, together with such short memoranda, as would serve to recal the memory of particular transactions, but he does not profess to be a geographer, and to note every river or other object that presented itself in his way; but carries us to certain points or resting places, for the imagination, so as to keep up the chain of positions and distances: and occasionally, during a dearth of incident, gratifies his reader with short descriptions of places and things. He has omitted the lesser Zab, (the Caprus) a river of considerable bulk ; together with other rivers of Kourdistan; each of them more considerable than the Ifrin. But the greater Zab, or Zabatus, is spoken of, because it is connected with important points in the history. Nor does he notice the pass of Bylan (or Pictanus, the lower strait of Amanus), through which he must of necessity have passed in his way into Syria; th ugh he describes so particularly the maritime pass. The reason appears evident; the latter presented itself as an object of military speculation and enterprise; but the former as an indifferent object, as there was no enemy in the way; nor any difficulty to overcome.

The source of the Daradax is found to agree with the remarkable fountain and river of Fay; brought to notice by the party of gentlemen who visited Palmyra, from Aleppo, in 1691.\* The Daradax is given at 9 marches, or 50

\* Recorded in the Phil. Trans. of 1695.

parasangas from Myriandrus; 5 marches, 30 parasangas from the last station, at the Chalus river. The fountain of Fay is 92 G. miles direct, from Myriandrus; which is about 4 miles only, by the road, short of the 9 mean marches; but the distance given in the history, is out of all proportion too great; being a full day's march more than the ground allows.\*

The source of this fountain and rivulet is said to be at the distance of an hour's journey, or 3 or 4 miles from the Euphrates, into which it discharges itself: and in respect of Baulus, a place on the same river, it is taken to be about 12 or 13 miles to the N. W.-ward. Baulus is recognised as the Barbalissus of the Theodosian Tables and of Ptolemy; being in the former, 16 M.P. or nearly 12 G. miles from Eraciha ; which is also 25 M.P. or 18 G. miles to the southward of Hierapolis or Bambouch. In Ptolemy, we have Eragiza, in much the same relative position; and the present town of Rajik, which is probably the Eragiza and Eraciha of those ancient documents, agrees in respect of Baulus, and of Hierapolis; and appears to be within 3 or 4 miles of Fay Fountain. It has moreover a small river falling into the Euphrates, near it. Hence it may be concluded, that the river of Rajik is the Daradax of Xenophon.

He couples with this fountain the palace and park of *Belesis*, a former governor of Syria; who appears to have shown a good taste in the choice of a situation. M. D'Anville refers this park to Baulus, at the Euphrates: and it is very possible that the ancient name of the town, *Barbalissus*, may have

• Hence appears the use of recurring to the numbers of the marches, as a check to the distances given.

been derived from the Governor, as being the original founder or patron of the place. But Xenophon is silent respecting the Euphrates till he comes to Thapsacus; and the description of Fay Fountain is sufficiently pointed to be referred to the Daradax, independent of the distance: not to mention how seldom such an object occurs in this quarter.\* It appears that the Arab chief had his encampment along the borders of this stream, in 1691; which stream may be conceived to have been included in the park of the chief of ancient times. Cyrus, in destroying such an establishment, appears in the light of a wanton barbarian, rather than the polished prince represented by Xenophon.+

At Thapsacus Cyrus was detained five days; for now Abrocomas having retired to join the king of Persia, Cyrus could no longer pretend to seek him as an enemy, without confessing his intended hostility to the king. Accordingly this was avowed: and the Greeks, on the promise of a considerable reward on their entering Babylon, consented to accompany him. Cyrus had thus identified their interests with his own: and in the case of *failure*, had not *committed* himself with them.<sup>‡</sup>

• Xenophon describes the stream to be a pletbrum, or 100 feet in breadth. This appears large for a stream supplied by a single fountain. The travellers give no description of it; only that it furnished a stream, along which the Arab encampment extended to a very great length. One might conclude that it was a plentiful stream.

+ " Cyrus cut down the trees and burnt the palace." (Anab. Lib. I. c. 21.)

One is sorry to be obliged to remark, that it was the practice of the *polished* Greeks themselves, to cut down the fruit trees when they invaded each other's provinces.

1 That is, he had promised, the reward only on condition of his obtaining the object of his wishes-the possession of his brother's capital city. Had the promise

## Progress through MESOPOTAMIA.

70

No particulars are given concerning the Araxes river, the present Khabour, and the Chaboras of the Romans. Julian passed it just above its conflux with the Euphrates, over a bridge of boats : and we conceive it to be at all times too deep to be forded at this place. Julian may be supposed to have crossed it in April, Cyrus in August; in both of which seasons it must have been low, but lowest in April.

It was at the angle formed by the meeting of these rivers, that Dioclesian afterwards built *Circesium*, as a *frontier* post towards Parthia; and which was known by the name of Karkisia in later times. It is the *Carchamis* of the scripture. Here Cyrus halted three days to collect provisions, the country on the hither or northern side, being fertile, and affording plenty; but a sterile desert beyond it. And hence the Geographers of Xenophon's time, included the fertile part of *Mesopotamia* in the division of SYRIA; the desert part in that of ARABIA.

This desert extended the length of 18 marches of Cyrus; and to the plains of *Babylonia*. It is now named from Sinjar, and is celebrated on occasion of an arch of the meridian being measured there, by order of the Caliph Almamoun, in the 9th century; in order to ascertain the length of a degree, in Arabic miles.

Through the whole course of these 18 marches, the army of Cyrus kept the Euphrates on their right hand; and it would appear, near enough to arrange their encampments, so as always to command water from it: for although the cattle died for want of *fodder*, there is no complaint of any want of

related to the country of Babylon, merely, the Greeks would have had a claim on him previous to the battle of Cunaza, which is not even hinted.

water. It is besides strongly implied that their track lay near the river. The first five marches were through the *level* part of the desert; "even as the sea, and full of wormwood;"\* the latter 13 through a hilly tract, which, although only *implied*, in the history, is known to be such from modern travellers.<sup>+</sup> And indeed, the latter part, towards Hit, is exceedingly rough, and sometimes mountainous.

The distance given for the 18 marches, is obviously too great, and therefore must be abandoned: more especially as the ground appears to agree with the assigned number of *mean* marches. No less than 125 parasangas are given; which would require, for the mean march, no less than  $19\frac{1}{4}$  British miles *per* day; with a halt of only 3 days: and as 90 paras. are given for the last 13 marches, without any intermediate halt, through the *hilly* desert, which is a rate equal to that in the *level* desert; and moreover as it exceeds by several miles each day the rate through Syria and the plains of Babylonia, it cannot be maintained.<sup>‡</sup> It must be

· Ammianus speaks much in the same terms when he accompanied Julian.

+ The passage alluded to, is where some persons " ran down a steep bill." (Lib. I. c. 24.)

This hilly desert extends along both sides of the Euphrates, from the quarter of *Erzi*, to about 20 miles below Hit; a breadth of about 100 miles. It appears to be destitute of water, that of the Euphrates excepted.

t The ancients supposed the distance betweed *Tbapsacus* and *Babylon* to be 4800 stadia; implied to mean by the ordinary route along the Euphrates. As the information comes from Eratosthenes (Strabo, p. 77), it may be supposed that his knowledge was derived from the reports of the followers of Alexander, and not collected from the *Anabasis*. However, the measure of the route along the Euphrates, between *Tbapsacus* and *Babylan*, with allowance for inflexions (as above, page 10) gives no more than about 4230 stades, of 700 to a degree; the scale of Eratosthenes. The scale of Xenophon (750) would give about 4530. So that the 4800 is apparently

## Progress through MESOPOTAMIA.

72

recollected, that we are tracing the steps of an army of 110,000 men, in a body; attended by a vast number of carriages and beasts of burthen. It is true that our knowledge of the particular windings of the Euphrates is too much confined, to enable us to *decide positively* on the length of the *road distance*, through this extensive line of march; but the general outline of its course, as well as the general distance, is supposed to be sufficiently known.

But if the distance marched, be calculated on the number of marches; allowing a reasonable length to each, according to the before-mentioned Canon; then the history and the actual geography, as known at present, will not disagree.\*

It is true also that the Pylæ of Xenophon, considered as the term of this line of march, now under discussion, has not been recognised in modern times; and that the position of the Pylæ can only be referred to the commencement of the

an error, either of the original system, or of copyists. Now the Anabasis has nearly 4900, between Tbapsacus (El Dar) and Cunaxa, alone; which is more than the bigbest calculation reckoned bome to Babylon; although that place was still several hundred stadia farther on. And this circumstance seems to prove the great excess of distance given in the Anabasis; or rather, it may be supposed, corrupted. Here it may be remarked, that in the same work, on many occasions, when a considerable number of marches are thrown together, the aggregate number of parasangas is greatly in excess.

But if the marches through the desert he taken at the reasonable standard of the mean march, the distance will be about 3840 to Cunaxa; or with the addition of the 500 of Plutarch, to Babylon, 4340; which is nearly a mean between the two scales of Xenophon and of Eratosthenes.

• It may reasonably be supposed, that in order to avail themselves of the use of the river water, at each encampment, the road distance on the whole must be considerably increased : since the course of this river, as well as all others, must often have been devious from the general line of its course. mountainous tract, from the plains of Babylonia, which first shuts up the passage along the bank of the Euphrates. Concerning this boundary, there is (as will be shewn in its place) very good general information ; but this alone is not sufficient ; and it will therefore be proper to extend the inquiry to some known point : for, extraordinary as it may appear, the Zabatus, or Greater Zab, is the first point in this march that can be absolutely recognised, in the geography, after passing the Araxes; although some intermediate points may be clearly inferred from circumstances.\* Therefore it becomes necessary, in the first place, to trace the position of Sitace, on the Tigris, back from the Zabatus, by means of Xenophon's marches; and afterwards to compare and arrange the marches between the Araxes, the Pyla, the field of Cunaxa, and Sitace, respectively : as also the position of the canals of communication (and more especially the uppermost one), between the Euphrates and Tigris; which from natural causes, was probably much the same in the flourishing state of the Persian empire, under the dynasty of the Achæmenidæ, as in that of the Abassides; concerning which latter, we receive information from the oriental geographers.

If, therefore, most or all of these intervals are found to agree generally; it may be allowed to reckon the several positions as determined; at least so far as, from the nature of the *data*, could be expected. And, in effect, it can be no otherwise accomplished than by a careful examination of the particulars

• As the Pylæ and the commencement of the plain of Babylonia constituted in effect one point in the Geography, a knowledge of the position of either may suffice; the place of commencement of the plain, being that of the termination of the mountains. 74

of the march from the Araxes to the Zabatus: attending to such circumstances and descriptions, as may afford the greatest aid towards a comparison of the ancient, with the modern Geography.

But having now conducted Cyrus to the entrance into the plains of *Babylonia*, through which the artificial canals of communication between the Euphrates and Tigris lead; and as the geographical positions of some of these canals, will be employed in checking certain points in the proposed inquiry into the route through Babylonia; it may be proper to digress from the main subject, in order to prepare the reader for a more particular reference to the canals; by putting him in possession of some curious facts, relating to their nature and arrangement; together with the general courses, levels, and periodical swellings of the two rivers, and the variations of their courses at different periods.

These observations (which are here given only in the abstract) arose in the course of an enquiry made for the purpose of correcting the geography of *Mesopotamia*; ancient as well as modern.

The two rivers Euphrates and Tigris, so famous both in ancient and modern history, are well known to derive their sources from the country of *Armenia*: the Euphrates from its northern parts; the Tigris from its southern: the *region* of *Taurus* separating generally the branches of the one, from those of the other. So that it may be truly said, that the Euphrates has its sources from the northern side of Taurus; the Tigris from the southern.\*

<sup>•</sup> The place of the eastern, or remote source of the Euphrates, named Murad (the Euphrates of Xenophon) was not known until Mr. James Morier ascertained it, on his

Hence it happens that the length of course of the Euphrates is not far short of double that of the Tigris: although this latter contains by far the largest volume of water.\*

They issue from the Tauric region, at the distance of 200 miles from each other : and immediately begin to inclose the celebrated country of MESOPOTAMIA; now called Jezirah.<sup>+</sup> But their courses gradually approaching each other, they leave an isthmus of less than 20 miles in breadth, in the neighbourhood of Baghdad. Soon after they again diverge, to form the lower peninsula of Mesopotamia, or ancient Babylonia; and finally join their streams at Korna, about 120 miles from the Persian Gulf: thence forming one large trunk stream, under the name of Shat al Arab, or the river of the Arabs.<sup>†</sup>

Great have been the changes in the courses of both these rivers, at different periods : and even within the reach of history. But as these changes do not appear to have taken place within the tract which contains the canals of communication between the two rivers, it will only be necessary to state, that in the time of Nearchus they kept distinct courses to the sea; and that enough appears to satisfy belief, that the Tigris once

way home from Persia, in 1809. The sources of the northern Euphrates, or Frat, are known from the Travels of M. Tournefort, and from the Arabian and Turkish Geographers.

• The Tigris, besides the almost innumerable streams which form its principal head, in the valley of Diyarbekir, receives three very considerable rivers from Kourdistan; that is, the two Zabs and the Deällah. The greater Zab alone (the Zabatus of Xenophon), is reckoned equal to half the bulk of the Tigris.

+ That is, the island; or, as applied here, the peninsula. The orientals employ the same term for both.

t The whole extent of this tract, from the foot of Taurus to the conflux, is about 680 British miles : and from Taurus to the sea, about 800. held its course through the tract which afterwards formed the borders of Susiana.

It is in the approximating parts of the two rivers, in the quarter of Baghdad, that the artificial canals of communication are found: and indeed it appears probable that the rivers have, at some period beyond the reach of history, joined their main streams between the sites of *Babylon* and Baghdad; and that some of the canals in that quarter, are even made in the line of the hollow tract left by the Euphrates when it separated from the Tigris.\*

On their entry into the plains of Babylonia, the Euphrates runs on a higher level than the Tigris: for the waters of the former, are known to have at all times discharged themselves into the latter, in that quarter. But lower down, the Euphrates loses that superiority of level (descending into the tract anciently called the *Paludes*, below Babylon), and receives, in its turn, some copious branches from the Tigris.<sup>+</sup>

• This requires some explanation. It is not meant that the hollow is confined merely to the dimensions of the river bed; but that the river by varying its course in that general direction, had left many hollows.

The same kind of approximation, and consequent divergence, may be observed of the Ganges and Megna rivers, in the quarter of Serampour.

+ This is also shown by the greater distance to which the tide ascends in the Euphrates. In this latter river it is noticed at Ardsja; but in the Tigris, no higher than Uzzeer. The difference may be 80 miles by the course of the river.

Although some of the lakes of Babylonia are known to have been filled up in modern times, by the depositions made by the floods of the rivers; and converted into level plains, which still bear their former denomination of Babr, or lake; yet very considerable hollows still remain; and which are either marshes or lakes according to the seasons. They are named by the Arabs Bataib, which has been translated Marsbes.

As far as the progress of Alexander through this tract, can be traced in modern geography, the hollows which he traversed in his skiff appear to remain; although no doubt

The periodical swellings of these rivers differ in point of time; the Tigris appearing to be at its highest point about the middle of April;\* but the Euphrates late in June. This may be owing partly to the earlier melting of the snows, on the southern slope of Taurus; partly to the shorter distance which the water has to run.

The measure of swelling of the Tigris is well ascertained to be about 16 feet English.<sup>+</sup> That of the Euphrates is said to be less; but there is no good authority for the statement of it.

It may be seen by the Map No. III. that the canals are not carried by the shortest line, from one river to the other; but, on the contrary, in very oblique directions. Those\*of the Isa, and Nahr Malka, in particular, which are the best known, are one third longer than the distance between the two rivers. This is to be accounted for, first from the necessity of finding a declivity for the water to run on; and secondly, that as the Tigris 1s high, whilst the Euphrates is low, it was necessary to guard against mischief, from the refluent motion of the waters of the Tigris through them.

Although there are at least four canals of communication recorded in the flourishing times of the caliphate, yet at present (and for some centuries back) no more than one has remained open: and even *that* one, runs only during the floods

become shallower, by depositions; and one may form a tolerable guess concerning the place of his *Rallacopa*.

Arrian had heard of the superior level of the Euphrates, but erroneously applied it to its whole course. (Lib. vii.)

<sup>\*</sup> Mr. Eyles Irwin's Travels.

<sup>+</sup> The same.

of the Euphrates. That canal is the *Isa*; which emanates from the Euphrates at Feluja, and enters the Tigris at the head of Old Baghdad.\* From there being an ancient ruin of Assyrian fabric, (Aggar-Kuf<sup>+</sup>) near this canal, it may perhaps be inferred that a canal passed in this line, from very early times. The Nahr Malka too, another principal canal, whose bed is still traceable,<sup>‡</sup> must have occupied much the same position in Macedonian and Roman times, as in those of the caliphate. And finally there appears an evident coincidence in general position, between the *upper* canals of Xenophon, and in that one whose outlet is noticed by Balbi, in 1579; and which was partly traced by Texeira in 1606.§

The alluvial ground between the two rivers, appears to extend upwards, 20 or 30 miles beyond the Isthmus, on the side towards the Euphrates; but much more on that towards the Tigris.

The Euphrates is said by M. Niebuhr to be 400 feet in breadth at the bridge of Hillah : and the Tigris, at that of Baghdad, 600. If Rhinland feet are intended, the former

• The Old Baghdad here intended is the *first* Baghdad, which stood higher up the Tigris; but so near to the other, that the present city adjoins to the site of the old one. The old city stood chiefly on the *Mesopotamian* side; the modern on the *Median* side.

+ Possibly the Agrani of the Ancients.

<sup>‡</sup> Besides the authority of Sir Harford Jones, which is unquestionable, others have remarked a hollow space, which agrees in situation with the Nabr Malka.

§ The outlet seen by Signior Balbi, was at 8 hours of slow navigation downwards, short of Feluja, and for which  $14\frac{1}{4}$  G. miles in direct distance are allowed. And it being about  $33\frac{1}{4}$  below the point of commencement of the plains of Babylonia, it agrees with the  $15\frac{1}{4}$  parasangas of Xenophon, below the Pyla. It was in the same position that Texeira traced the bed of a canal, which he represents as being in a great measure filled up.

would be about 411 British, the latter 617.\* There are other Reports; but we prefer the statement of M. Niebuhr, from his known accuracy.+ At Hillah, which stands on a part of the site of the ancient Babylon, the stream of the Euphrates is entire, during the tranquil scasons; no part of it being diverted by lateral branches. Strabo says that the bridge of Babylon was a stadium in length; so that the river may perhaps be reckoned by his account much short of 500 feet in breadth; but even admitting 500, it cannot be believed that it supplied many navigable canals, at one and the same time: especially of the dimensions reported by Xenophon (Anab. Lib. I. c. 32.) of a plethrum, or 100 feet wide, and very deep: and of which there were said to be four, within the space of as many leagues! He says, indeed, that they were " derived from the Tigris, and fell into the Euphrates;" which is contrary to every thing known on the subject; and might arise from his want of recollection when he put his book together. That one of them communicated with the Tigris appears likely; but why four of such dimensions, within a league of each other, from whichsoever of the two rivers they might have been derived ? The account is improbable on the face of it. Possibly, one of them might have been the canal of communication between the two rivers : and the rest might serve the useful purpose of distributing water for agriculture, and for watering the date groves, which were said to abound there ; ‡ and the cause

<sup>•</sup> The Rhinland or Leyden foot is said to be in general use amongst the northern nations of Europe. It is 12<sup>1</sup>/<sub>3</sub> inches of British measure.

<sup>†</sup> Texeira says that the Tigris is 500 feet in breadth, when very low; and he also reckoned the Euphrates at Masseib (near Hillah) 200 paces wide.

<sup>1</sup> Xenophon, Anab. Lib. ii. 10; and Ammianus Lib. xxiv.

why so many originated so nearly in the same place, might be, that it was the properest place in point of level for a common outlet; and that they afterwards diverged towards different quarters; affording at the same time a navigation as far as they went. But four canals of 100 feet wide each, and very deep; drawn from a river of less than 500 feet in breadth, and all within 9 miles, is doubtless a mistake.

Indeed it appears improbable that more than one large canal of communication, and that in a navigable state the whole year, should at any time have been kept up. Nor is there any rational mode of accounting for so many having been in existence at one and the same time (as the four recorded by Abulfeda), than that when a new capital city was founded at the Tigris, a new canal of communication might have been made, or an old one cleared out, to accommodate it; as the *Nahr Malka* for *Seleucia* and *Ctesiphon*; or the *Isa* for Baghdad. After which the old canal, by being neglected, would gradually fill up; so that water would be found in it, during the season of floods only. For experience shows, in other places, how much care is necessary, to keep canals open at all, for any great length of time; where nature herself does not favour the operation.\*

\* Since the above was written, the author has seen Mr. Rich's very interesting Memoir, on the Ruins of Ancient Babylon. He measured the breadth of the Euphrates at the bridge of Hillah, and found it to be 450 feet.

## [ 81 ]

## CHAPTER V.

FROM THE PYLÆ, TO SITACE.

Discussion of the principal Positions between the Rivers Araxes and Zabatus (Khabour and Zab); with a view to determine the position of Sitace on the Tigris; and the intermediate places. Progress of Cyrus through Babylonia, to the field of battle at Cunaxa—Death of Cyrus—Marches of the Greeks to effect their escape—Truce and Treaty—Long and insidious detention of the Greeks by the Persians—Conducted at length across the Tigris at Sitace—Calculation of the distance between Cunaxa and Sitace—Site of Cunaxa, as deduced from the marches of Xenophon, and from the reports of its distance from Babylon— Canals crossed by the Greeks in Babylonia—Wall of Media— Sitace and its Bridge of pontoons.

A FTER this long, but necessary digression, concerning the rivers and their canals, we proceed to trace the interval of distance (as stated above in page 73), from the Zabatus back to Sitace, on the one hand: and on the other, the interval between the Araxes and Sitace, through the Pylæ and Cunaxa.

The city of Sitace was 15 marches of the Greeks (accompanied by Tissaphernes,) short of the Zabatus: and for these 70 parasangas are allowed by Xenophon, (Lib. II. c. 18, et seq.)

In this instance the distance reported, falls short of the calculation, on the mean marches, by about 14 British miles by the road; and the latter is preferred, for reasons that will presently be set forth.

If 15 mean marches, equal to 159 G. miles in direct distance, be laid off from the place of conflux of the Zab with the Tigris, towards Baghdad and Modain, that distance will reach to a point about 11 such miles below Baghdad ; whilst the 70 parasangas, equal to 150 G. miles, reach about 2 miles only beyond Baghdad. Thus the account by marches, and that by positive distance, differ only 9 G. miles, on the construction, on 15 marches; which is satisfactory in a matter of this kind : but as Xenophon reckons 4 marches of 4 paras. each, or 16 paras, between Cana and the Zabatus; whilst Senn, which answers to the former, is given, by more than one authority, at 36 Arabian miles, or 38 G. miles, direct, from the above conflux; the distance comes to 18 rather than 16 parasangas: so that it may be presumed that the distance on this line is generally under-rated, and therefore the account by the marches is preferred. Accordingly Sitace, by this arrangement, will fall at 11 G. miles below Baghdad; and nearly opposite to the embouchure of the Deälla river. It appears almost conclusive, that the Greeks did not cross the Tigris below it, because the Dealla being a deep river, passable only in boats or over a bridge, Xenophon would doubtless have mentioned it, under the circumstances in which they were then placed; as Ammianus does, who really crossed the Tigris below the junction.

In the next place, we shall enquire into the particulars of the march, between the Pyla and Sitace; a more complicated matter than the last.

From a long and attentive examination of the subject of the canals, both ancient and modern, it appears to the author that there is reason to suppose, that the general courses of the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, in that part of *Mesopotamia*, where they approach so near to each other, are much the same now, as in the times when they were the subject of ancient history. And hence, the ancient notices, as far as they go, may be applied to the present geography.\*

The authorities from whence we have derived our ideas respecting the line of boundary between the hilly or mountainous tract, and the level country of *Babylonia*, are here given in detail. And as, from the expression of Xenophon, it would clearly appear that, immediately after passing the *straits* or Pyla, they entered the plains of *Babylonia*; it may be supposed that the straits were situated at the place where the mountains *terminate*, on the banks of the river; and that they are formed by the near approach of the base of the mountains to the river bank. However, no notices respecting a strait in that quarter

• For the fact is that Strabo, (p. 80) allows 200 stadia for the breadth of the land between the two rivers; which is at present about 17 G. miles, or 20 British. It appears also that the space between *Seleucia*, at the Tigris, and the pass of the Euphrates, in the line towards Hit, was 9 *Schoenes*, or about 26 G. miles, *direct*, in the Itinerary of Isidore of *Charax*: and finally, that the Tigris still washes the remains of *Ctesiphon*; and that the Euphrates passes through the site of *Babylon*, as in ancient times: so that it may be justly inferred that no considerable change has taken place in this quarter, since the date of Roman times at least.

The site of Seleucia is recognized by the remains of Ciesiphon, which lay adjacent to it. The Arabian conquerors named the two cities, collectively, Modain, or the two Cities. appear in any modern document: and it may still be a question, whether the place denominated the Pyla, by Xenophon, may not refer to the shutting up of the river itself, between the mountains? For the mountains terminate at the same place on both sides of the river.\*

An English officer, Capt. Evers, who travelled from Baghdad to Aleppo, in 1779, remarks that he halted with the caravan, at the distance of 5 hours travelling to the castward (or E.S.E.) of Hit; and at 5 miles to the northward of the Euphrates ; in a valley surrounded by high mountains. And, as on his way he had ascended a hill on the morning of the same day, it may be concluded, knowing his rate of travelling, that the hilly tract extends at least 9 or 10 hours journey (caravan rate) below Hit: that is 20 G. miles in direct distance. And that it does not extend much farther, if at all, another of his remarks proves; for at 12 hours (24 or 25 G. miles) below Hit, he describes the country to be " a pleasant plain, agreeably " interspersed with young southernwood, bushes, and wild-" flowers." The journal of Texeira, (1604) fixes the termination of the plain and commencement of the " uneven, craggy " stony country," somewhat farther from Hit; but more inland from the Euphrates; so as to correspond in point of distance with the former line of boundary, at the river side.

Signor Balbi, who sailed down the Euphrates in 1579, re-

• The strait of Nazerya, described by Texeira, will, on no account, answer to the *Pylæ* of Xenophon, as M. D'Anville supposed. For its position is nearly 50 G. miles above the commencement of the *Babylonian* plains; whereas Cyrus entered those plains immediately after passing the *Pylæ*. Again, the canals commenced at 15 parasangas or 32 G. miles below the *Pylæ*; but Nazerya is 79 G. miles above the uppermost canal. M. D'Anville was not perhaps aware, how low down the hilly tract extended.

M. Larcher had an idea that a city, not a strait, is intended.