



1805

THE
PERIPLUS
OF THE 22. 8 7
ERYTHREAN SEA.
PART THE SECOND.

CONTAINING,
AN ACCOUNT OF
THE NAVIGATION OF THE ANCIENTS,
FROM THE GULPH OF ELANA, IN THE RED SEA,
TO THE ISLAND OF CEYLON.
WITH DISSERTATIONS.

By WILLIAM VINCENT, D.D.

Γράφω δι ταῦτα, πολλοῖς μὲν ἐτυχῶν ΠΕΡΙΠΛΟΙΣ, πάλιν δὲ περὶ τὴν τούτων ἴδμεν
ἀναλώσας χρόνοι.

MARCIANUS HERACLEOTA, apud HUDSONUM, p. 62.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL AND W. DAVIES, IN THE STRAND.

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DEDICATION

TO

THE KING.

SIR,

WHEN I was honoured with permission to dedicate the former part of this Work to Your Majesty, I entertained little hope that the remainder would be brought to a conclusion. But the consequences of Your Majesty's condescension in my favour have been leisure, tranquillity, and health. In possession of these blessings, I returned naturally to those pursuits



fruits which have enabled me to fulfil my engagement to the Public. Impressed therefore, as I am, with a sense of the most devoted gratitude, nothing remains for me to solicit, but the continuance of the same protection to the completion, as I experienced at the commencement of the Work. And if it shall appear that the plan has been formed with judgment, and executed with fidelity, no farther qualification will be necessary to recommend it to the consideration and patronage of Your Majesty.

I have the honour to subscribe myself

YOUR MAJESTY'S

Most obedient,

most faithful,

humble Servant, and Subject,

JUNE, 1805.

WILLIAM VINCENT.



P R E F A C E.

W^{HETHER} the following Work will afford a degree of satisfaction proportionate to the labour of compiling it, is a question not for the Author, but for others to decide. By some it may be thought digressive, tedious, and minute; while others may conceive that there are various sources of information still unexplored, which it was my duty to investigate. To the first I reply, that I thought nothing superfluous which could contribute to the elucidation of the subject proposed; and in answer to the latter I may observe, that there must be some limits assigned to collection and research. It is the office of judgment to select only such materials as will bear upon the point to be discussed; and for the exercise of this judgment, I now stand amenable to the tribunal



tribunal of the Public. Friendly animadversions upon the errors which may occur, I shall consider, not as a cause of offence, but as the means of correction; and of remarks proceeding from a contrary spirit, I have hitherto had little reason to complain. But if the Work which I now submit to the inspection of the Public, should not obtain the same favourable reception as I have experienced upon former occasions, it shall be my last offence. In the sixty-sixth year of my age, it is time to withdraw from all my pursuits of curiosity, and confine myself to the duties of my profession.

ADVER-



ADVERTISEMENT.

THE account of Marco Polo's Map, given (Part I. p. 201.) from Ramusio, is not correct; for it has since appeared, that the Map in the church of St. Michael di Murano, is not Marco Polo's, but drawn up by Fra Mauro, a geographer at Venice; and is the Map copied for Prince Henry of Portugal.

A Fac Simile of this Map has been taken, and is expected in England every day; when it arrives, a short account of it will be given, and delivered gratis to the purchasers of this work.

The Map of Marco Polo's Travels is in the Doge's Palace at Venice, and was framed from that of Fra Mauro.

I AM to acknowledge my obligations to Mr. Dalrymple, in regard to the present publication, in the same manner as upon former occasions: I was, by his kindness, furnished with Surveys of the Harbours and Islands on the Coast of Malabar, which have been of great use.

And to Mr. A. Hamilton, of Edinburgh, editor of a Sanskreet Dictionary, I have been indebted for the Interpretation of Sanskreet Names on the same coast. This favour was the more acceptable, as I was known to that Gentleman only by my publications; and his offer of assistance was spontaneous.



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THE



THE
PERIPLUS
OF THE
ERYTHREAN SEA.

ARABIA.

BOOK III.

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1. **T**HE commerce of the Ancients between Egypt and the coast of Africa, with all that concerns their discoveries to the South, has been traced in the preceding pages; and we now return

H H

again



again to Egypt, in order to take a fresh departure, and prosecute our inquiries till we reach their final boundary on the East. The present Book will comprize all that concerns the commerce of Arabia, both in the interior, and on the coast.

The Periplus is still to form the basis of our investigation; but as the object proposed is to give a general account of the communication with the East, no apology is requisite for detaining the reader from the immediate contemplation of the work itself. A variety of scattered materials, all centring at the same point, are to be collected, before a comprehensive view can be presented, or an accurate judgment formed; and if this task can be executed with the fidelity and attention which the nature of the subject requires, the general result will be preferable to the detail of a single voyage, in the same proportion as a whole is superior to its parts.

The commencement, then, of this second Voyage is again from Berenikè, and from this port there were two routes practised in the age of the author; one, down the gulph to Mooza and Okêlis direct, and the other, first up to Myos Hormus, and then across the gulph by the promontory Pharan, or Cape Mahomed, to Leukè Komè in Arabia. This latter route is the immediate object of our consideration.

LEUKÈ KOMÈ.

II. LEUKÈ KOMÈ, or the White Village, I shall place nearly at the Mouth of the bay of Acaba, the Elanitick Gulph of the ancients'; and

¹ A comparative table, containing the different distribution of the ancient names, by M. d'Anville and M. Gosselin, will be given hereafter; and I must mention once for all, that when



and my reasons for assuming this position will be given at large in their proper place. But to this village we are immediately directed by the journal, after a passage of two or three days from Myos Hormus; for here, we are informed, "was the point of communication with Petra the capital of the country, the residence of Malichas the king of the Nabatæans. Leukè Komè itself had the rank of a mart in respect to the small vessels which obtained their cargoes in Arabia; for which reason there was a garrison placed in it under the command of a centurion, both for the purpose of protection, and in order to collect a duty of twenty-five in the hundred" [upon the exports and imports].

We obtain, in these few words, a variety of particulars highly important to the subject of our consideration; for we find a native king under the controul of the Romans, a duty levied upon the trade of the natives, and the nature of the communication between the port and the capital. And if we now reflect that the intercourse with the capital was rather fixed here, at the mouth of the Elanitic gulph, than either at Elana itself, or at Ezion Geber, we shall discover the same principle as operated on the Egyptian coast, where the communication was fixed at Myos Hormus rather than Arsinoè, or at Berenikè in preference to Myos Hormus.

when I make use of M. Goffellin's Researches without mentioning his name, it is not to deprive him of the honour of his discoveries, but because it must occur so frequently that the repetition would be offensive. I had traced this coast many years before the publication of M. Goffellin's *Recherches sur la Géographie des Anciens*, 2 tomes, Paris 1798; and though he precedes me in publication, I will not apply

to him the old complaint, *male sit illis qui ante nos nostra dixerunt*.

² *ἐξαρτιζόμενοι*; literally, fitted out.

³ In Albuquerque's time, the foldan of Egypt received custom upon spices, and other commodities, at Judda, in the same manner as the Romans had formerly received them at Leukè Komè. *Commentar. de A. d'Albuquerque*, p. iv. c. 7.



In the age of the *Periplus*, as this course was the less frequented of the two, so is it apparent that the commerce itself was of less importance; the vessels employed are Arabian, and the duty seems collected on them only: possibly the ships, which touched here after crossing from Myos Hormus, had paid the customs in that port, and made this harbour chiefly for the purpose of accommodation, or of ascertaining their route down the coast of Arabia.

Very different is the idea that I conceive of this trade while the communication with Egypt was in the hands of the Arabians themselves, previous to the appearance of Ptolemy's fleets upon the Red Sea, and their immediate communication with Sabæa; for the caravans, in all ages, from Minæa* in the interior of Arabia, and from Gerrha on the gulph of Persia, from Hadramaut on the ocean, and some even from Sabæa or Yemen, appear to have pointed to Petra, as a common centre; and from Petra the trade seems to have been again branched out in every direction to Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, through Arsinoë, Gaza, Tyre, Jerusalem, Damascus, and a variety of subordinate routes that all terminated on the Mediterranean.

It is not consonant to the design of this work to enter into any commerce antecedent to history; but from analogy, from the magnificence recorded of Ninevè and Babylon, from the ruins of Thebes still remaining, there is every reason to suppose that the wealth and power of these great cities arose from a participation in this commerce; and that the Arabians were the carriers common to them all.

* The position of the Minæi is dubious: from Mecca, tom. ii. p. 116.; Strabo places Bochart supposes them to be in the vicinity of Carana of the Minæans next to the Sabæans, Hadramaut; Gosselin places them two days p. 768.



This is a fact which will admit of proof as soon as history commences; but we may pause a moment to observe, that though the Chaldæans and Assyrians might have been navigators themselves, as the gulph of Persia opened a communication for them with the Indian Ocean, and their works at Babylon and Teredon intimate some attention to the advantages of a naval power; still the Indians⁵, Persians, and Egyptians, seem to have been restrained by prejudices, either political or religious, from distant navigation; and though Persia and Egypt manifestly reaped the profits of an Oriental commerce which passed through these countries to others more distant, either on the north or on the west, still the common centre was Arabia⁶: the Arabians had no obstructions either from manners, laws, habits, or religion; and as there is every proof that is requisite, to shew that the Tyrians and Sidonians were the first merchants who introduced the produce of India to all the nations which encircled the Mediterranean, so is there the strongest evidence to prove, that the Tyrians⁷ obtained all these commodities from Arabia.

⁵ The religion of India forbids the natives to pass the Attock: it is the *forbidden river*. And if their religion was the same formerly as it is now, they could not go to sea; for even those who navigate the rivers must always eat on land.—The Persians, if their religion was that of Zerdusht, could not go to sea; for the Guebres, who build the finest ships in the world at Bombay, must never navigate them. The Egyptians did not only abhor the sea themselves, but all those likewise that used it. Gosselin *Recherches*, tom. ii. p. 96. Diod. lib. i. p. 78. See also Marco Polo, lib. iii. c. 20. Ed. Ramusio: quello che bee vino

non si riceve per testimonio, ne quello che naviga per mare.

Linschoten in Purchas, vol. iii. p. 1765. writes, "the Abexians [Abyssinians] and Arabians, such as are free, do serve in all India for saylers or seafaring-men."

⁶ Plin. lib. vi. c. 28. Arabes in universum gentes ditissimæ, ut apud quas maxime opes Romanorum Parthorumque subsidant, vendentibus quæ a mari aut sylvis capiant, nihil invicem redimentibus.

⁷ See Herodotus, who says the name of Cinnamon is from the Phenicians.

PETRA. KINGDOM OF IDUMÆA. NABATHÆANS.

III. BUT if Arabia was the centre of this commerce, Petra⁸ was the point to which all the Arabians tended from the three sides of their vast peninsula⁹: here, upon opening the oldest history in the world, we find the Ishmaelites, from Gilead, conducting a caravan of camels loaded with the spices¹⁰ of India, the balsam and myrrh of Hadramaut; and in the regular course of their traffic, proceeding to Egypt¹¹ for a market. The date of this transaction is more than seventeen centuries prior to the Christian era; and, notwithstanding its antiquity, it has all the genuine features of a caravan crossing the Desert at the present hour.

It is this consideration, above all others, which makes the Petra we have arrived at with the Periplus, an object the most worthy of our curiosity; for Petra is the capital of Edom or Seir, the Idumæa or Arabia Petræa of the Greeks, the Nabatæa, considered both by geographers, historians, and poets, as the source of all the precious commodities of the east. And as Idumæa is derived from Edom, or

⁸ Agatharchides Hudf. p. 57. Πέτραν καὶ τὴν Παλαιστίνην . . . ἕως τῆς Γερμανίας καὶ Μινωίδας, καὶ πάντες τὰς πόλεις ἔχοντες τὰς ὁδοὺς Ἀραβίας, τὸν τε Λιβανόντα, ὡς λόγος, καὶ τὰ φορτία τὰ πρὸς Ἰνδίαν ἀνήκοντά, ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας τῆς αὐτῆς κατάγεισιν. And Pliny, lib. vi. c. 28.: huc convenit bivium eorum qui Syria Palmyram petiere et eorum qui ab Gaza veniunt. And again: in Pafitigris ripa, Forath, in quod a Petra conveniunt.

⁹ The sea-coast of Arabia is more than 3,500 miles.

¹⁰ In the thirteenth chapter of Exodus the spices of India, and the gums and odours of

Arabia, are mentioned by name; and it is not assuming too much to suppose, that the spices here mentioned are from India also: the term used is נֶעֹת, Necoth, which signifies any thing bruised or brayed in a mortar, as spices are reduced in order to use them with our food. תְּשֵׁרֵי, Tseri, is a gum or balsam; and לוֹט, Lot, is the same, evidently marking the produce of Arabia. See Parkhurst in voce. See also Gen. xxv. 18.; and Cumberland's Origin of Nations, p. 210.

¹¹ Genesis, xxxvii. 25.



Esau the son of Isaac, so is Nabatêa deduced from Nebaioth the son of Ishmael; and Esau married Basphemath¹², the sister of Nebaioth. Little respect as has been paid to the genealogies¹³ of the scripture by some writers of the present day, it is still to be considered that the Bible may be tried by the rule of history as well as inspiration, and that the traditions of the Arabians are in harmony with the writings of Moses; for they as universally acknowledge¹⁴ Joktan, the fourth from Shem, as the origin of those tribes which occupied Sabêa and Hadramaut, that is, Yemen and the incense country; and Ishmael the son of Abraham, as the father of the families that settled in Hejaz, which is Arabia Deserta; as they do Edom for the ancestor of the Idumêans, who occupied Arabia Petrêa. These form the three¹⁵ general divisions of this vast country and nation, as extraordinary for the preservation of its manners, as its liberty; and which is continuing at this day to fulfil one of those prophecies which assure us of the truth of that History in which these families are recorded.

The name of this capital, in all the various languages in which it occurs, implies a rock¹⁶, and as such it is described in the Scriptures, in Strabo, and Al Edrissi; but it is a rock supplied with an abundant

¹² Gen. xxxvi. 3.

¹³ See Gibbon, vol. v. p. 179. note 21. and p. 197.

¹⁴ Gen. x. 26, 27. the son of Joctan. Hazarmaveth is equivalent to Hadzrmauth, or Hadramaut.

¹⁵ The Arabians divide their country into five, taking in Oman and the eastern side, under the name of Aronda or Jemama, and making a distinct part of the Tehamaor country

below the mountains. See Reiske Ind. Geog. in Alfildam.

¹⁶ Thomud gives a name to the Thamydent of the Greeks in this neighbourhood, and is sufficiently acknowledged by the Oriental writers. The springs of Thomud might give rise to a river, which Pliny mentions, lib. vi. c. 18. and which d'Anville carries into the Lake Asphaltis.

spring

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spring of water, styled Thomud¹⁷ by the Nubian, which gives it a distinction from all the rocks in its vicinity, and constitutes it a fortress of importance in the Desert. Strabo did not visit it himself, but describes it from the account of his friend Athenodôrus the philosopher. Athenodôrus spoke with great admiration of the people, their civilized manners and quiet disposition. The government was regal; but it was the custom for the sovereign to name a minister¹⁸, who had the title of the king's brother, in whose hands the whole of the power¹⁹ seemed chiefly to reside: such a minister (or vizir, as we should now call him) was Syllêus in the reign of O'bodas and Aretas, who makes so conspicuous a figure in the history of Josephus, and who was tried and executed at Rome, according to Strabo, for his treachery to Elius Gallus.

¹⁷ The names are,

Rekam; Numbers, xxxi. 8. Joshua, xiii. 21.

Bochart, Canaan, lib. i. c. 44.

Rakim.

Rokom.

Rekemê.

A Rekemê; quæ Græcis vocatur Petra. Josephus.

Arkê. Josephus.

Sela; from יְסֵלָה, a rock. Heb.

Hagar, a rock. Arab²⁰. Herbelot in voce,

Ḥar. Heb.

Arak, Karak, Krak de Montreal. Crusaders.

Petra, a Rock. Greek.

The Rock, pre-eminently. Jerem. xlix. 16.

See Blaney in loco.

But see Schultens (Index Geog. ad vitam Saladini), where he informs us that Hagar and Krak are not Petra, though in the neigh-

bourhood. Petra, he says, is Errakym, the same as the Rekeme or Rakim of Josephus. See Voc. Caraccha, Errakimum, Sjaubech, ibid. The mistake of one for the other he imputes to Bernard. Thesaurarius de Acquisit. Terræ Sanctæ, xxii. 2. 5. It is in lat. 31° 30' 0" Abilfeda. Which, if true, makes it no more than 87 miles from Aila, which he places in 29° 8' 0"; but Schultens says, Petra is in 26° 30' 0" from Abilfeda; if so, it is only 25 Roman miles from Aila. Carak is mentioned as well as Hagjr, by Abilfeda, Reiske, p. 43, where the Moslems were defeated in their first conflict with the Romans.

In the route from Gaza to Karak there are still the ruins of thirty villages, and remains of buildings, pillars, &c. indicating the former wealth of the country. Volney Syria, p. 212.

¹⁸ ἑταίρος, as literally a vizir as it can be rendered.

¹⁹ Josephus Antiq. xvi. p. 734.



Moses was forbidden to molest the sons of Edom in his passage through the wilderness; but that there was then a considerable commerce in the country we have reason to conclude, from the conquest of Midian²⁰, in its neighbourhood, by Gideon²¹, not many years after; when gold is described as abundant among the Midianites, and their wealth in camels a proof of the traffic by which they subsisted. In the reign of David, Hadad²² the prince of Edom was driven out, and Hebrew garrisons were placed in Elath and Ezion Geber, where Prideaux supposes that David commenced the trade of Ophir²³, which was afterwards carried to its height by Solomon.

And here, perhaps, it will be expected that the trade to Ophir should be examined, which has so much divided the opinions of mankind, from the time of Jerom to the present moment; but as I have nothing decisive to offer upon the question, I shall only state my reasons for acceding to the opinion of Prideaux and Gossellin, who confine it to Sabæa.

For I neither carry Ophir to Peru with Arias Montanus, or to Malacca with Josephus, or to Ceylon with Bochart, because I consider all these suppositions as founded upon no better evidence than the finding of gold in those countries; but our choice must lie be-

²⁰ Midian is the country of Jethro, on the Elanitic Gulf, called Madien by the Arabs, and Jethro, Seioaib. Al Edrisi, p. 109.

²¹ Judges, viii. 24. the people are called Ishmaelites. Gideon for his reward demanded the ear-rings of the men, and the chains on the camels' necks; the decoration bespeaks the value of the animal.

²² Hadad fled into Egypt for protection, a proof of the connection between the two

countries; and his marriage with Pharaoh's daughter proves his rank and estimation. 1 Kings, xi. 19. He attempted to recover Edom in the latter end of Solomon's reign.

²³ David had treasured up three thousand talents of the gold of Ophir, 1 Chron. xxix. 4.; but this does not prove the voyage, for the gold of Ophir was a common expression. See Job, xxii. 24. xxvi. 16. Psalms, &c. &c. lxv. 9. See Prideaux's Connections, p. 4.



tween the coast of Africa and Sabæa. Montesquieu, Bruce, and d'Anville, have determined in favour of Africa, principally, I think, because gold has always been an export from that country, while the precious metals were usually carried to Sabæa, to purchase the commodities of the east. I allow great weight to this argument; and I admit the probability of d'Anville's supposition, that the Ophir of Arabia might naturally produce an Ophir on the coast of Africa, which should, by an easy etymology, pass into Sophir, Sophar, Sopharah el Zange, or Sophala: but I by no means subscribe to the system of Bruce, which he has displayed with so much learning and ingenuity; and which he thinks established by the discovery of an anomalous monsoon prevailing from Sofala to Melinda. A sensible²⁴ writer has denied the existence of any such irregularity, and appeals to Halley²⁵, Parkinson, and Forrest; and if the irregular monsoon is annihilated, nothing remains in favour of his hypothesis but the

²⁴ In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1793, p. 222.

²⁵ Halley's account is to be found in the *Philosophical Transactions*, 1686, p. 153; in which he says, that in the south west monsoon the winds are generally more southerly on the African side, and more westerly on the Indian. So far he is directly adverse to Bruce's system; but he adds, that near the African coast, between it and the Island of Madagascar, and thence to the northward as far as the line, from April to October there is found a constant fresh S.S.W. wind, which, as you go more northerly, becomes still more westerly. What winds blow in these seas during the other half year, from October to April, is not easy to learn, because navigators always return from India without Madagascar: the only ac-

count obtained, was, that the winds are much easterly hereabouts, and as often to the north of the true east, as to the southward of it.

The last sentence is all that Bruce has to build his anomalous monsoon on; and it does not prove an anomalous monsoon, but a fluctuation in the regular one.

"The west winds begin the first of April at Socotora; the eastern monsoon the 13th of October, continues till April, then fair weather till May. Neither have they more than two monsoons yearly: west monsoon blows at Socotora all south; east monsoon, all north. After the 25th of September, ships cannot depart from the Red Sea eastward." Purchas, vol. ii. 193. Keeling's Voyage.

duration.



duration²⁶ of the voyage. The duration it should seem easy to account for, upon a different principle; for the navigators were Phenicians, and we learn from Homer²⁷ their method of conducting business in a foreign port. They had no factors to whom they could consign a cargo in the gross, or who could furnish them, on the emergence, with a lading in return; but they anchored in a harbour, where they were their own brokers, and disposed of their cargoes by retail. This might detain them for a twelvemonth, as it did in the instance to which I allude; and if the Phenicians traded on the Eastern Ocean, as they did in the Mediterranean, we may from this cause assign any duration to the voyage which the history requires.

But my reasons for adhering to the opinions of Prideaux and Gossellin are, first, that Ophir is mentioned²⁸ with Havilah and Jobab, all three sons of Joktan; and all of them, as well as Joktan, have their residence in Arabia Felix, most probably beyond the Straits; and secondly, because the voyage to Ophir seems in consequence of the visit of the queen of Sheba to Jerusalem: it is immediately subjoined²⁹ to it in the same chapter; and Sheba is Sabêa³⁰, or Arabia Felix, as we learn with certainty from Ezekiel³¹. It is particularly added,

²⁶ Pliny, on a much shorter distance, that is, from Azania to Ocila or Okêlis, makes the voyage five years. Lib. xii. 19.

²⁷ Odyssey, v. 454.

²⁸ Genesis, x. 29.

²⁹ 1 Kings, x. 10, 11. See Gossellin Recherches, tom. ii. p. 121. and Volney, Syria, p. 170.

³⁰ Cosmas Indicopleustes supposes the queen of Sheba to be the queen of the Homerites; that is, in his age, the Homerites were mas-

ters of Sabêa. He gives a very rational account of the trade of these Homerites, or Sabêans rather, with Africa, for the spices which the queen of Sheba brought; their intercourse with the Red Sea, Persia and India, and Zingium or Zanguebar; with the gold obtained thence by the Abyssinians, and brought into Arabia, as it is to this day. See Cosmas in Melch. Thevenot, vol. i. p. 7.

³¹ Ezek. xxvii. 22. "The merchants of Sheba and Raamah, they were thy merchants;

"chants;



added, that the royal visitant brought a present of spices: "there were no such spices as the queen"³² of Sheba gave to Solomon."

I do not wish to conceal an objection to this supposition; which is, though they are taxed, that spices are never mentioned as an article of importation from Ophir. The produce of the voyage is gold, silver, ivory, almug-trees³³, apes, peacocks, and precious stones. But as on the one hand this failure in the invoice will argue much more forcibly against any of the more distant Ophirs which have been assumed; so on the other, it is no proof against Sabêa, that several of these articles are not native; for these, and many more than are enumerated, would certainly be found in Sabêa, if the Arabians were navigators in that age, as we have every reason to suppose they were.

The evidence that Solomon obtained gold from Arabia is express; and as our early authorities notice gold as a native produce among the Debæ³⁴ of Hejaz, so may we conclude that the gold of Africa always found its way into Yemen through Abyssinia, as it does at this day. The import of gold, therefore, we carry up as high as the reign of Solomon, and bring it down to the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt; for we learn, from the testimony of Ezekiel and Aristeas³⁵, that spices, precious stones,

and

"chants: they occupied in thy fairs [marts]
"with chief of all spices, and with all pre-
"cious stones and gold." In this passage the
introduction of gold from Arabia is specific,
and the three articles are the same as they
continued to be in the reign of Ptolemy Phi-
ladelphus. See Aristeas.

³² 2 Chron. ix. 9. from Gosselin.

³³ Almug and Algum are both read in
scripture; and Shaw, p. 42. cites the opi-
nion of Hiller, in his Hierophyticon, that

אגל גומי, Agal Gummim, is, liquidorum
guttæ. gum. But in scripture the wood does
not appear to be brought for its gum, but for
use; and musical instruments were made of it,
1 Kings, x. 12., as Shaw observes, who sup-
poses it to be cypress, still used by the Ita-
lians for that purpose. See 2 Chron. ix. 21.

³⁴ Deb is said to signify gold, in Arabick.
All the kings of Arabia brought gold and
silver to Solomon. 2 Chron. ix. 14.

³⁵ Πολύ δὲ πλῆθος καὶ τῶν ἀρωμάτων καὶ λίθων
πολυτέλειαν



and gold, were brought by the Arabians³⁶ into Judea. I do not wish to lay more stress upon this testimony than it will bear; but it is not unreasonable to suppose, that the circumstances of this commerce were similar, in an early age, to those of a later period. The removal of these difficulties will shew the inducement which persuades me to join in opinion with Prideaux and Gossellin, upon a question that has been more embarrassed by hypothesis, and distracted by erudition, than any other which concerns the commerce of the ancients.

The participation of Hiram in this concern is founded upon necessity as well as policy; for if Solomon was master of Idumæa; the Tyrians were cut off from Arabia, unless they united with the possessors; and whatever profit Solomon might derive from the import, the whole of the export on the Mediterranean would be to the exclusive emolument of Tyre. Here the Greeks found the commodities of the east, or received them in their own ports from the hands of the Phenicians; for they were not allowed to enter the harbours of Egypt till the reign of Psammetichus; and the very

πολυτελῶν καὶ ΧΡΥΣΟΥ παρακορίζεται διὰ τῶν Ἀράβων ἕως τὸν τόπον. Aristæas, p. 40. Ed. Wells, Oxon. 1692. If Aristæas is not good evidence for the Septuagint version, his testimony may be taken for the transactions of the age in which he lived. I imagine this to be the same commerce as is noticed by Strabo (lib. xvi. p. 81.), where we learn that the Tyrians traded through Rhinocolûra to Petra and Leukè Komè. Harris (vol i. p. 379.) supposes the Tyrians to be masters of Rhinocolûra; which knowledge he seems to draw from Prideaux (Con. part ii. p. 6. & part i. p. 7.); but if it depends on the passage of

Strabo, it does not follow that the Tyrians were masters of the place, however their trade passed through it. But Rhinocolûra, by its situation on the limits of Phenicia and Egypt, was certainly adapted in a peculiar manner for keeping open the communication. Prideaux's account of Idumæa and this trade (part i. p. 17.) is highly accurate and comprehensive; but we have no date of the fact recorded by Strabo.

³ διὰ τῶν Ἀράβων, perhaps, through the country of the Arabians. Agatharchides is also an evidence in favour of the exportation of gold from Arabia: ἔτοι πολυχρύστον τὴν Πτολεμαῖα Συρίαν πεποιθήκασι, p. 64.

names.

names of the articles they obtained were derived from the Phenicians, as we are informed by Heródotus³⁷.

The possession of Idumêa by the kings of Judah continued little more than an hundred years, to the reign of Jehoram, when the Idumêans revolted³⁸, and were not again subdued till after an interval of eighty years, in the reign of Uzziah³⁹. Seventy years after this, the Syrians⁴⁰ seized upon Elath; and here terminates the trade of Ophir, in regard to Israel; and probably in regard to Tyre, with the capture of that city, about an hundred and sixty years later, by Nebuchadnezzar.

Whether Nebuchadnezzar over-ran Idumêa, is a question that history⁴¹ has not resolved; or whether he besieged Tyre with any view of opening a communication with the Mediterranean, is equally unknown; but that he had some plan of commerce on the gulph of Persia in contemplation, we may judge from a curious fragment of Abydenus⁴², which informs us, that he raised a mound or wall to

confine

³⁷ Τὸ δὲ δὴ κιννάμωμον ἐστὶ τῶντων θαυμαστότερον συλλέγεσθαι ὅσα μὴ ἴσως γίνονται, καὶ ἥτις μιν γῆ ἢ τρέφουσα ἴσθι, εἰς ἔχουσι ἡπειρ. Ἐρυθρὰς δὲ λέγουσι μεγάλας φορεῖν ταῦτα τὰ κάρφια, τὰ ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ Φοινίκων μαζόντες κιννάμωμον καλεῖμεν, lib. iii. p. 253.

"The cinnamon is still more extraordinary; for where it grows, or what country produces it, they cannot say; only the report is, that birds bring the little rolls of the bark which we, from the Phenicians, call "cinnamon." Herodotus supposes it, indeed, to come from the country where Dionýsus, or Bacchus, was born, that is, India; though there is a fable that he was born in Sabêa: but its progress is clearly marked through

Arabia to Tyre, and thence into Greece with its Tyrian name.

³⁸ 2 Kings, viii. 22.

³⁹ 2 Kings, xiv. 22.

⁴⁰ 2 Kings, xvi. 6.

⁴¹ It is highly probable, from the woe of Edom in the 49th chapter of Jeremiah.

⁴² Scaliger Emend. Temp. Fragm. p. 13.

Ναβουχοδονόσορος τὸν τι Ἀρμακάλου ποταμὸν ἐξήγαγεν ὅντα κίρας Εὐφράτου ἐπατέλῃσι δὲ καὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσσῃ τῇ ἐπὶ ἄλυσιν. καὶ Τισφάδα πάλιν ἔκτοτε κατὰ τὰς Ἀραβίων ἡσθολάς.

There seems also to be another canal mentioned by the name of Akrakanus, and a bafon above the city of the Sipparerians; and that these were all formed with a commercial view, we

confine the waters at the mouth of the Tigris⁴³; that he built the city of Terédon, to stop the incursions of the Arabs; and opened the Naharmalca in Babylonia, which unites the Tigris with the Euphrates. These transactions may lead us to suppose that this conqueror would turn his attention to Idumêa, and the gulph of Arabia, as well as to the Persian Gulph and Tyre; and if he did, the conquest would have been easy, either when he was in Judêa, or during his march into Egypt.

From this time till the death of Alexander we have no account of Idumêa; but soon after that event, we meet with two expeditions of Antigonos directed against Petra; one under Athenêus⁴⁴, and another by his son Demétrius. Both had an unfortunate termination; but the country was still harassed by the rival sovereigns of Syria and Egypt, experiencing the same fate as Judêa, from its similar situation between both, sometimes subjected, and sometimes free; till there arose a dynasty at Petra, parallel to the Maccabees at Jerusalem; and, like them, partly independent and partly under the influence of the more powerful monarchies on either side.

we may judge by what Arrian says of Terédon: "that it was, when Nearchus arrived there, the mart to which the merchants brought their libanon, and other odoriferous drugs, from Arabia." Arrian, lib. viii. p. 357. *Διόδοτος, . . . ὅσα λιβανόν τε ἀπὸ τῆς ἑμπορίας γῆς ἡ ἑμπορία ἀργύρου, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα διαμνημάτα ἡ Ἀράβιος γῆ φέρει.* This (ἑμπορία γῆ) mercantile country may be supposed equivalent to Grane; and the whole corresponds with the traffic which now exists between Grane and Basra; so constant is the nature of this commerce, from the time of Nebuchadnezzar to the present hour. Have we not therefore a right to assume it in ages antecedent to the

Babylonian monarchy? The continuance of it in after-times we learn from Nearchus, Strabo, &c.; and when Trajan was here, in the Parthian war, he saw a vessel setting sail for India, which excited in his mind the remembrance of Alexander, and a desire of invading India, if he had not been so far advanced in years.—Xiphilinus in Trajano.

⁴³ It is called the inundation of the Erythrean Sea, and is in reality at Alphadana, in the mouth of the Shat el Arab; in which neighbourhood mounds of this sort are still preserved. See Voyage of Nearchus, p. 436.

⁴⁴ Diodorus, lib. xix. p. 391.

I give



I give the following catalogue of Sovereigns, as well as I have been able to collect it from Josephus, without vouching for the correctness of the extract, or supposing the list to be complete; but such as it is, it will elucidate the commerce which has been proved to exist in this country, and bring the history of it down to the period when the Romans obtained an influence in the government, and the command of the coast; in which state it was found by the Author of the Periplus:

Years before Christ.	
309. 308.	The two expeditions of Antigonus into Idumæa, as nearly as we can state them, were undertaken in the years before our era, 309 and 308.
	Malchus ⁴⁷ —is the first king of Idumæa at Petra, mentioned by Josephus (Antiq. p. 569. Hudson's ed ⁿ , and the 1 Maccabees, xi. 39.): he is styled Simalcue; and had protected Antiochus VI. restored to the throne of Syria, in 144, by Diódotus, called Tryphon.
144.	
	Aretas—assisted the city of Gaza besieged by Alexander
126.	Sebina, about the year 126. (Josephus Antiq. 595.)

⁴⁷ Mek, Melek, Malik (Arab^{ck}), are all from מלך, a king (Heb^w). In regard to Aretas, see Josephus, lib. xiv. cap. 2. 4. and lib. i. cap. 6. Bel. Jud. where he mentions the conduct of Aretas in regard to Hircanus and Aristobolus. See also the Universal Hist. vol. vii. fol. ed. Pliny, vi. 28. Strabo, Diodor. 111. 516. an. 730. Trajan in Arabia, Dio xviii. 777. And Severus. Dio in Trajano, 948.

Theophanes, p. 124. mentions an Arethas, anno 495. 556. 558, p. 207.

Perhaps every one of these princes was styled Malchus, or Malichus, the King: but Darius is a proper name, though Dara is said to signify King, Emperor, or Royal. Si Malcuc is some corruption or other of Malchus. Aretas is the Greek form of El Haretsch, as Antipater is of Antipas. El Haretsch occurs often. Mahomet married the daughter of an El Haretsch. Abulfeda. Reiske, p. 43.

Obodas



Years before
Christ.

125.

O'bodas⁴⁶—is either the same as A'retas, or his successor within the year: he defeated Alexander about the year 125. (Josephus Antiq. 596.)

63.

A'retas II.—is the king to whom Hyrcanus, of the family of the Maccabees, high priest and king of Judæa, fled, when driven out by Aristobólus. A'retas restored him with an army of 50,000 men, about the time that Pompey came to Damascus in the Mithridatic war, in the year 63. In this reign commenced the connection of the Maccabees with Antipas, or Antipater, the Idumæan, and the father of Herod, which terminated in the destruction of the whole family. (Josephus Antiq. 608, 609.) Pompey took Petra (Dio, Latin copy, p. 23.); and from that Period the kings of Idumæa were, like the other kings in alliance with Rome, dependant, obliged to furnish auxiliaries on demand, and not allowed to assume the sovereignty without permission of the senate, and afterwards of the emperors. The interval between O'bodas and this A'retas I have not been able to fill up.

47.

Malchus II.—must have commenced his reign before the year 47; because in that year Cesar was at Alexandria, and Malchus is mentioned by Hirtius as one of the allied kings to whom Cesar sent for succours. (De Bello Alexandrino, p. 1. Hudson.

⁴⁶ O'bodas is written Obéidas by Strabo, same name as Abudah, familiar to every ear and O'bedas by others. It seems to be the same as an Arabian name.



Years before
Christ.

39.

Periplus, p. 11.) This Malchus⁴⁷ was in Judæa when the Parthians took Jerusalem, and restored Antigonus; at which time Herod fled to Petra. (Josephus Antiq. 644.) The Parthians were defeated by Ventidius in the year 39 (Dion Cassius, Lat. p. 235.); and Malchus was still king in 30 (Josephus Antiq. 648. 677.); and he is styled Malichus by Josephus. (Bel. Jud. 990.)

24.

O'bodas II.—must have commenced his reign before the year 24; because in that year Elius Gallus invaded Arabia, attended by Syllæus, minister of O'bodas and Syllæus, was tried at Rome and executed for his treachery, according to Strabo (p. 783.); but Josephus says, on account of charges brought against him by Herod, whose cause was pleaded by Nicolaus of Damascus. This trial did not take place till the reign of the successor of O'bodas. (Jof. Antiq. 728, et seq.)

12.

A'retas III.—seized the throne on the death of O'bodas, about the year 12, without applying to Rome for the consent of the emperor (Jof. Antiq. 736.); and by that act incurred the displeasure of Augustus, which however he appeased. The trial of Syllæus took place in this reign, who was accused of poisoning O'bodas, and attempting the life of A'retas, among the other charges brought against him. This A'retas, or another of the same name, was on the

⁴⁷ He was fined by Ventidius. Dio, lib. xlviii. 234. Lat. ed.

throne



Years after
Christ.

36.

throne as late as the year 36 after Christ, which is the last year of Tiberius; for Vitellius, proconsul of Syria, was preparing to march into Idumæa, but was stopped by that event. (Jof. Antiq. 728. 736. 755.) It is in this reign we may place the visit of Strabo's friend, Athenodorus, to Petra, who found it, as described above, in a civilized and flourishing state.

A'retas IV.—whether another, or the same as the last, is dubious.

Much disappointment have I felt in not being able to discover any successor to A'retas, in Josephus or Dion Cassius; because I have great reason to believe, that in his immediate successor, or in the following reign, we should have found another Malchus, or Malichus, the same who is mentioned by the Periplus as the sovereign of Petræa, when the author frequented the port of Leukè Komè. We learn, however, from this brief account, the commencement of the Roman influence over this government under Pompey, and the continuance of it till the death of Tiberius; and it will hence appear very evident, how a Roman garrison was introduced into Leukè Komè, and the revenues of the port diverted from the possession of the native kings into the Roman treasury. The immediate date of that transaction I cannot fix; for Elius Gallus appears to have had little knowledge of Leukè Komè till he was conducted ⁴⁸ thither by Syllæus; and, as he returned from

⁴⁸ But he staid there all the latter part of so that he might well leave a garrison there the summer, and the winter, Strab. xvii. p. 781. at his departure.

another port, he had not the opportunity of leaving a garrison at this harbour before he embarked. This makes it highly probable that the introduction of this garrison was in the reign of Claudius, who evidently collected a revenue from the coast of Arabia, as we learn from the circumstances related by Plócamus, and might well commence his system from the head of the gulph.

It may be here observed, that the princes of this dynasty at Petra are almost universally called kings of the Nabatéans by the historians; and the prevalence of this tribe of Nebaioth over the Iduméans is placed by Prideaux⁴⁹, with his usual accuracy, during the Babylonish captivity, agreeing admirably with the existence of their sovereignty in the reign of Antigonus, and countenanced by Strabo⁵⁰, who mentions the expulsion of the Iduméans. If this, therefore, be the origin of the dynasty, its termination is in the reign of Trajan, when Petrêa was reduced into the form of a Roman province⁵¹ by Palma⁵², his lieutenant⁵³. Still, under the

⁴⁹ Prideaux, *Con.* vol. i. p. 9; vol. ii. p. 155.

⁵⁰ Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 760.

⁵¹ Under the name of *Palæstina Tertia*; there is a coin of Adrian's.

⁵² See Xiphilinus *Ed. Basil.* p. 553. in Trajano, who mentions likewise, p. 557. that Palma was afterwards put to death by Adrian.

⁵³ It is evident that the Roman power was never very firm in this province, at least under the latter empire; for Justinian was obliged to subdue it after a considerable lapse of independence; and Procopius, Cedréus, and Théophaues, constantly notice an *A'rethas*, either at Petra or in Idumêa, who was considered as an Arab sovereign in the Roman interest, in opposition to an *Al Mondar* under the protection of Persia. The seat of this *Al Mondar* was at Hira, on the Bahr Nedjeff, a

lake near the Euphrates [see d'Anville's Map of the Euphr. and Tigris]; and these Arabian powers seem usually to have been set in motion by the Romans and Persians, whenever a war was about to commence between the two empires. See Théophaues *Byz. Hist.* p. 496. *Univ. Hist.* p. 272. fol. ed. which says, *A'retas* is *Al Hareth*. O'bodas, Abd Wad. Théophaues expressly mentions the defeat of an *A'rethas*, and the restoration of the tribute, or custom, on India goods, anno 27, Anastasii, that is, the year 488. See also the year 556, p. 203. where an *A'rethas*, the sheik appointed by the Romans, complains of the Persian sheik Abar, son of *Al Mondar*; another *A'rethas*, was with Belisarius in Hauria. Procop. *Hist. Arcan.* p. 8.

latter



latter empire, we meet with an Aretas in Procópius; and possibly, according to the fluctuating power of the empire, it was at times subject, and again independent, according to the change of circumstances, till it was finally reduced by Mahomed in person. This is a fact so singular that, as I shall make it the termination of my inquiries, the reader will pardon a digression that is foreign to the subject. For Mahomed marched against this country with an army of thirty thousand men, of which one-third was cavalry: he took Hagjr⁵⁴, the capital of the Tfchamudites⁵⁵; and John, the prefect of Aila⁵⁶, submitted to pay a tribute of three hundred pieces of gold⁵⁷. Now if Hagjr be not the Hagar of the Hebrews, the Petra of the Greeks, it is at least a hill fort in the same country, and maintained the same rank as the seat of government. Aila is the Elath of the scriptures, still at that period under the power of Constantinople (if we may judge from the name of John the governor), so late as the reign of Heraclius. This expedition is the more remarkable, as it is the first successful attempt of the Mahomedans beyond the limits of the Hejaz⁵⁸, and the prelude to the conquest of Syria by

⁵⁴ See note 17.

⁵⁵ The Thamydeni of the Greeks.

⁵⁶ Abulfeda Reiske, p. 52.

⁵⁷ Trecentos nummos aureos. If it is the Roman aureus, the value varied, according to Arbutnot, from 17. 4s. 3½d. to 16s. 1½d., which admits a medium of twenty shillings. Aila was no longer the port of the trade of Ophir.

⁵⁸ See Gibbon, vol. v. p. 245. The superstition of a bigot never went to greater excess in defence of his faith, than the fanaticism of philosophy has carried Gibbon, in softening the vices, cruelty, hypocrisy, and imposture,

of Mahomet, or in amplifying his courage, his eloquence, and abilities as a statesman or a general; but at the same time, notwithstanding this defect (which is radical), and notwithstanding the detestable comparisons which he insinuates, the extent of his research, the use, selection, and arrangement of his materials, form one of the most brilliant specimens of his talents as an historian. In regard to this last transaction of Mahomet, I apprehend Gibbon is mistaken: he says, the prophet received the submission of the tribes from the Euphrates to the Red Sea; but according to Abulfeda, he subdued Hagjr and Aila only; and



by the immediate successor of the prophet. This expedition, therefore, it was, which opened the way to all their succeeding victories over the declining power of the Romans in the east.

This account of Arabia Petræa, from the time of the Patriarchs to the rise of the Mahomedan power, is essentially connected with the object of the present work; because the whole commerce of the east originally passed through this province to Phenicia, Tyre, and Egypt; for the Minæans, who were the conductors of the caravans from Sabæa to Hadramaut, and the Gerrhæans from the gulph of Persia, both pointed to this centre; and notwithstanding that the caravans decreased in proportion to the advance of navigation, still Petra was a capital of consideration in the age of the Periplus: there was still a proportion of the trade passed from Leukè Komè to this city, and its princes maintained a rank similar to that of Herod in Judæa. In all the subsequent fluctuations of power, some commercial transactions⁵⁹ are discoverable in this province; and if Egypt should ever be under a civilized government again, Petræa would be no longer a desert.

Whether the Idumæans had been navigators previous to the time of Solomon and Hiram; and whether those princes occupied the ports of Idumæa in order to turn this navigation to their own advantage, or were the first to venture on it themselves, must be a matter of conjecture; but that the Arabians of this province, or more probably of those farther to the south, were the first navigators whom history mentions, upon the Indian Ocean, is evident: first,

and if the tribute was no more than 300 aurei, the conquest was of importance only as it opened the road to Syria. See Abulfeda, Reiske, Lipsæ, 1754, p. 52.

⁵⁹ Γάζην πόλιν τῆς ἰσχυρῆς κατὰ τὸ Σιναι ὁδὸς πλεονάζον σφόδρα. Cedrenus, 429.

Gaza, the key of the desert of Sina, a country very rich.

from



from Nearchus⁶⁰, who found the traces of it on the coast of Gadorfia; and, secondly, from Agatharchides, who distinctly mentions the great ships in the ports of Sabêa which traded to India; and if the works of Eratosthenes⁶¹ were extant, we should learn how the Greeks obtained their knowledge to the east of Cape Comorin, before any fleets had sailed from Egypt beyond the Straits of Bab-el-mandeb.

But whatever previous sources of information we might trace, it is from the *Periplus* itself that we can discover no less than six different courses of the ancients in these seas, all prior to the age of the author, or practised by different navigators at the time he wrote.

IV. VOYAGES DISTINGUISHABLE IN THE PERIPLUS.

I. THE first is the voyage, described in the two previous books, down the coast of Africa to Rhaptum; shewing that the Arabians had settlements in that country, before it was visited by the Greeks from Egypt.

⁶⁰ He found Arabick names of places, a pilot to direct him, and vessels of the country, at Apollani, in the gulph of Persia. See *Voyage of Nearchus*, p. 351.

⁶¹ Marcian of Heraclea informs us, that Eratosthenes took the whole work of Timosthenes, preface and all, as it stood, and in the very same words: this confirms an opinion that I have already ventured to give, that Eratosthenes was more of a geometrician than a geographer. Marcian, indeed, does not speak very highly of Timosthenes, and yet, by this account, it should seem that Eratosthenes's knowledge of the Thinx was from

Timosthenes, who had commanded the fleet of Ptolemy Philadelphus on the Indian Ocean, and had gone farther down the coast of Africa than any other Greek of his age. See Marcian in Hudson, p. 64: he calls him Ἀρχιναυάρχης τῷ δευτέρῳ Πτολεμαίῳ. Strabo styles him Ναυάρχος. See Pliny, Hardouin, p. 132. Marcian mentions likewise Sofander, a pilot, who wrote on India. Still there is an obscure knowledge of the Thinx, and the Golden Chersonese, prior to all these geographers, as appears from the *Treatise de Mundo* in Aristotle, if that be a genuine work of the philosopher.

II. Secondly,



II. ⁶² Secondly, we are informed of the two distinct courses within the Gulph: one from Myos Hormus, across the head of the gulph to Leukè Komè, and thence down the Arabian coast to Mooza; and another, from Berenikè to the same port direct.

III. ⁶³ Next to this, we collect a voyage from the mouth of the Straits along the southern coast of Arabia into the gulph of Persia, extending afterwards to Bahrein, El Katif, and Oboleh, in the Shat-el-Arab.

IV. ⁶⁴ Then follows a passage from the Straits to India by three different routes: the first, by adhering to the coasts of Arabia, Karmània, Gadrófia, and Scindi, to the gulph of Cambay; the second, from Cape Fartaque, or from Ras-el-had, on the Arabian side; and the third, from Cape Gardafan, on the African side, both across the ocean by the monsoon to Muziris, on the coast of Malabar.

V. ⁶⁵ After this, we must allow of a similar voyage performed by the Indians to Arabia, or, by the Arabians to India, previous to the performance of it by the Greeks; because the Greeks, as late as the reign of Philométer, met this commerce in Sabæa.

VI. ⁶⁶ And lastly, we obtain an incidental knowledge of a voyage which confirms all that has been advanced concerning the early commerce of the Arabians, previous, in all appearance, to every account we receive from the Greeks, and conducted, certainly, by the monsoon, long before Hippalus introduced the knowledge of that wind to the Roman world.

⁶² Periplus, pp. 12. 14.

⁶³ Periplus, pp. 19, 20.

⁶⁴ Periplus, pp. 20, 21, 22, 32. 33.

⁶⁵ Agatharchides apud Hudson, pp. 64.

66.

⁶⁶ Periplus, pp. 8, 9.



It is the voyage between the opposite coasts of India and Africa, connected certainly with the commerce of Arabia, but still capable of being considered in the abstract, and proving, in my opinion at least, the possible existence of this intercourse in ages antecedent to all that history can reach. If it could be believed that the natives of India had been navigators in any age, we might more readily admit their claim in this instance than in any other; for the author mentions, that the imports into Africa are the production of the interior, from Barugáza and Ariakè; that is, from the coast of Cambay and Concan: and the articles specified confirm the truth of his assertion; for they are, rice⁶⁷, ghee, oil of sesamum, cotton, muslins, sashes, and sugar: these commodities, he adds, are brought sometimes in vessels destined expressly for the coast of Africa; at other times, they are only a part of the cargo out of vessels which are proceeding to another port. Thus we have manifestly two methods of conducting this commerce, perfectly distinct: one, to Africa direct; and another, by touching on this coast, with a final destination to Arabia. This is precisely the same trade as the Portuguese found at Melinda and Quiloa, and the same connection with Arabia; and this is the reason that the Greeks found cinnamon, and the produce of India, on this coast, when they first ventured to pass the Straits⁶⁸, in order to seek a cheaper market than

Sabæa.

⁶⁷ Periplus, p. 9.

ῥίτος, Wheat.

ῥυζα, Rice.

ἔστυρον, Butter, i. e. Ghee.

ἔλαιον σπάρμιον, Oil of Sesamum.

ὄθονον } ἡ μοναχὴ, Cotton Cloths, Muslin.

 } ἡ σαγματομήνη, Cotton in the Wool, for stuffing Beds, &c.

περιζώματα, Sashes.

μέλι τὸ καλαίμιον, } Sugar.
τὸ λεγόμενον σάκχαρι,

⁶⁸ The passing of these straits is ascribed to Sesostris by Herodotus and Diodorus, which, if the whole history of Sesostris be a fable, is still a proof that Herodotus knew some object was to be obtained by the attempt. He adds

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(lib.

Sabæa. Still it must be doubted, whether this commerce was conducted by natives of India, or Arabians; for Arabians there were on the coast of Malabar, and in such numbers at Ceylon, that Pliny⁶⁰ represents them as masters of the coast, like the Europeans

(lib. ii. p. 109.), that Sesostris advanced into the Erythræan Sea till he was stopped by shoals; a proof to me, that he entered the Bay Avalites, and went no farther. But Diodorus (lib. i. p. 64.) carries him by sea to India; and by land, to the eastern coast of China: so little trouble does it cost an historian to convey his hero to the world's end, when he is not embarrassed with circumstances. If any date could be affixed to the reign of Sesostris, if his conquests could be reconciled with the history of the nations he is said to have conquered, I should think it highly probable that he knew of an Indian commerce in Arabia, or Africa, and wished to partake of it; and even as the fact stands, it appears as if Herodotus was fully justified in supposing, that some attempts had been made by the Egyptians to enter the Erythræan Sea. But the Egyptians seem to have attributed all their wonders to Sesostris, as the Greeks did theirs to Hercules; and it is as difficult to reconcile the date of his reign to reason, as the chronology of the Egyptians to scripture. The truly learned and most excellent translator of Herodotus professes his belief in scripture, and deprecates all conclusions against the scriptures which may be drawn from his chronology: it is a protest of importance, because his first date makes the establishment of Egypt 13,566 years, and the building of Memphis 8,352 years prior to the creation, according to the Mosaic account; and it is not without a sense of the contradiction that we read the following words: "Il est donc constant

" que notre historien a été le fidèle interprète
 " des prêtres Egyptiens, & qu'il n'y avait pas
 " la plus légère incohérence dans leur récit." Chronol. Herod. p. 222. 1st edit. But M. Larcher will not now be averse to see these priests convicted of an incoherence, which is, an interval of near eleven thousand years between the building of the Temple of Ptha by Menes, and the adding a propylæum to it by Moeris. This is about a duplicate of the absurdity which would strike the mind of an Englishman, if he were told that the dome of St. Paul's was built by Adam, and the portico added by Q. Anne.

Since the time that these observations were made, we have another edition of Herodotus by the same excellent translator, who, in the 76th year of his age, repeats his belief in the scriptures, and recalls every thing in his works that may seem of a contrary tendency to the history they contain. I rejoice in the addition of such a name to the catalogue of believers; I admire the fortitude that inspired the profession, and I trust that the example will be efficacious in recalling others to the truth.

⁶⁰ Pliny, lib. vi. c. 22. Regi, cultum liberi patris, cæteris, Arabum; that is, the king retained the native worship of the Indian Bacchus, above the Ghauts; while the inhabitants on the coast were Arabians, or had embraced the superstition of the Arabians.

The Portuguese made a Christian king of Candy; but the Dutch and English have been less zealous for their faith than the Arabians, either when Idolators or Mahometans.

of



of the present day, who have confined the native sovereigns to the country above the Ghauts, and have possessed themselves of the level towards the sea; such also was their situation, though under the name of Moors, or Mahometans, when the modern Europeans met with them again upon their arrival at Calicut, where their influence over the native government long counteracted all the power of the Portuguese.

These are the reasons which induce a supposition, that the whole of this intercourse, on both sides, was in the hands of the Arabians⁷⁰; but it must be left to the determination of those who have been resident in India, how far the superstition of Braminism descends to the Parias, the lower cast, or those who have lost all cast, so as to permit or forbid their venturing on the ocean. That there was an ulterior commerce⁷¹ beyond Ceylon, is indubitable; for at Ceylon the trade from Malacca and the Golden Chersonese met the merchants from Arabia, Persia, and Egypt. This might possibly have been in the hands of the Malays, or even the Chinese⁷², who seem to have been navigators in all ages as universally as the Arabians, and both might profit by the prejudices which seem to have excluded the Hindoos from a participation in these advantages.

There appears no method of tracing this commerce through the darkness of the middle ages, but by the few scattered intimations to be collected from Cosmas, William⁷³ of Tyre, Sanuto⁷³, Renaudot's Arabian Voyagers, and Marco Polo; but their general testimony is

⁷⁰ I find this connection of Arabians with India supported by Pococke, Sir Wm. Jones, and Sir Wm. Ouseley. See Ebn. Haukal, p. 291.

⁷¹ Pliny, when he mentions the embassy from Ceylon.

⁷² Marco Polo, lib. iii. c. 1. speaks much of *Indian* ships, but they seem to be *Chinese*.

⁷³ See Bergeron *Traité sur la Navigation*.



in favour of the preceding suppositions, and which, as I have no system to maintain, I should abandon as readily as I have adopted, if ever the weight of evidence should preponderate against them. In the time of Marco Polo, the Arabians had not only increased on the coast of India, but made considerable progress in extending the doctrines of the Coran: he mentions the trade from China⁷⁴ which met the trade from the Red Sea, no longer in Ceylon, but on the coast of Malabar; and though he remarks that the Chinese vessels sometimes penetrated farther, even to Madagascar, yet the central mart is manifestly in Malabar, and apparently at Calicut, where the Portuguese found it upon their first arrival. Here, he says, the ships from Aden obtained their lading from the East, and carried it into the Red Sea for Alexandria, from whence it passed into Europe by means of the Venetians.

THE COMPASS.

V. How these voyages were performed in the seas of India or China, without the compass, is a circumstance so extraordinary, that many writers have rather assigned that instrument to the Chinese, than supposed it possible that such voyages should be performed without it. Highly extraordinary it certainly is, that the Chinese, who now never go beyond the limit of Japan on the east, Malacca on the west, or Java on the south, should have sailed to Madagascar in the thirteenth century; their knowledge must in that age have

⁷⁴ Lib. iii. c. 27. In the 9th century, the age of Renaudot's Arabs, the centre was at Coulam in Travancore. After the establishment of the kingdom of Calicut by Ceram-

perumal, the trade centred there. M. Polo was in India in the 13th century, 300 years later than Ceramperumal.

been



been proportioned to their adventures; and I would not wish to contest the point with those⁷⁵ who would furnish them with means or instruments to qualify them for the undertaking; but Ramusio⁷⁶ is clearly of opinion, that Marco Polo did not bring this instrument from China; and that he did not know it himself, because he never mentions it. This negative evidence in regard to China, becomes positive, according to Nicolo di Conti, in regard to India; for he sailed aboard a native vessel on the Indian seas, about the year 1420⁷⁷; and he says expressly they had no compass, but sailed by the stars of the southern pole, the elevation of which they had the art of measuring; and that they had also a method of keeping their reckoning by day or night, with their distance from place to place; that is, as we should speak in modern terms, they had a quarter-staff or astrolabe, and log, but no compass.

The date of this voyage, sixty or eighty years previous to the discovery of Gama, makes it highly interesting; and the information is unique, for Nicolo sailed on board an Indian⁷⁸ ship; and that the navigators made use of the south polar stars, is a most extraordinary agreement with the account of Ptolemy; who says, they navigated

⁷⁵ Lord Macartney is fully convinced that the Chinese compass is not derived from the Europeans: his reasons for this may be seen in a paper with which he has furnished me (Appendix, No. I.); and has obligingly permitted me to publish with his name.

⁷⁶ See Dichiarazione sopra M. Polo, Ramusio, vol. ii. p. 17.

⁷⁷ He was absolved by Pope Eugenius IV. in 1444 of apostacy, after having been in India 25 years; so that the date of his voyage, in this instance, may be from 1420 to 1430.

⁷⁸ Il naviganti dell' India si governano colle stelle del polo antartico . . . & non navigano

col Bussolo, ma si reggono secondo che trovano le dette stelle o alte, o basse; et questo fanno con certe lor misure che adoperano, et similmente misurano il cammino che fanno di giorno et di notte, & la distanza che e da un luogo all' altro, et così sempre fanno in che luogo si ritrovano essendo in mare. Ramusio, vol. i. p. 344.

If *similmente* refers to the preceding clause, it means that they kept their reckoning, not by the log, but by the stars, which is, in that case, a knowledge of finding their longitude as well as their latitude by astronomy.



the Indian Ocean in his age by means of the star Canopus, which they called the Horse. I should have been glad to find the mariners on board this ship had been Arabians; but the description of the vessel is characteristically like those which M. Polo failed in on the Chinese seas, separated into compartments, which the respective merchants on board hired each for himself and his property; and which were distinctly caulked, so as to prevent a leak in one part affecting any other: such vessels are still in use on those seas, but are more properly Chinese or Malay, than Indian.

The testimony of N. di Conti is direct against the use of the compass in the ships of India, but still it is not conclusive against the Chinese; for Vertoman, or Barthema, in his passage from Borneo to Java, in a *ciampan*, or small Chinese vessel, expressly mentions, that the pilot⁷⁹ had a compass. And this testimony is of greater importance, because the date of his voyage from Borneo must be in 1503 or 1504, as he returned to Calicut in 1506, when Almeyda was viceroy. Now 1504 is seven years previous⁸⁰ to the arrival of the Portuguese at Malacca: so that the Chinese could not have had it from the Portuguese; and if the ships of India had it not, they could not have received it through that medium of communication. There is something very strong, likewise, against their receiving it from the Arabs, whom they might have met at Calicut in the fifteenth century; because, if the Arabs then used it, it was in the form they derived it from Europe, and divided into thirty-

⁷⁹ Moderator navis pyxidem, magnetemque, nec non paginam marinam, compluribus lineis distinctam, qua ventorum rationem insinuant, secum, *mare nostrum* attulerat. Grynæus in Barthema, lib. vi. c. 27. Ramusio, vol. i. p. 168. *Mare nostrum* (I think) refers to the sea card;

but if to the whole, it does not quite prove whether Barthema had marked the difference between 32 and 48 points.

⁸⁰ The Portuguese reached Malacca in 1511. Dalrymple, p. 3. Collections.



two points; whereas the Chinese compass is divided into forty-eight, which seems almost conclusive that theirs was an original instrument, and not derived from Europe.

WEALTH OF ARABIA.

VI. AFTER the recital of these circumstances, it is still to be considered, that in the whole of what has been said, it is intended to speak only in general terms: it is not meant to assert, that no ships went to India from Egypt before the reign of Ptolemy Philomêtor, or that no Greeks, in a later age, passed beyond Ceylon to Bengal, or the Golden Chersonese; but that the ordinary course of Oriental commerce was conducted in the way that has been stated, there is every reason to believe, and every evidence that is extant to prove. The value of this commerce, in the hands of the Arabians, is equally evident: their wealth was proverbial, and the particulars of it are detailed by Agatharchides. But there is still one point in which the Arabians are essentially distinguished from all the surrounding nations, which, through their means, partook in the commerce of the east; which is, that however ostentatious their neighbours might be, the riches of the Arabians were all applied to their private luxury and indulgence. In Persia, and Chaldæa, those vast public works and edifices arose, which astonished the travellers of the ancient world; and in Egypt, the ruins of the Thebaid are an equal cause of amazement at the present hour. In a secondary rank, Tyre, Jerusalem, Baalbeck, and Palmyra, surprise us with their magnificence; while in Arabia, history speaks only of



PERIPLUS OF THE ERYTHREAN SEA.

of one public work, which was the Tank⁸¹ at Mariaba; and when the head of that once failed, there never was sufficient industry or public spirit in the country to restore it.

No adequate cause is assignable for this national distinction, but that spirit of independence which broke the body of the people into parts too minute for a combination of interests, and too diffuse for co-operation. This spirit was never counteracted but for a short time by enthusiasm; and no sooner was that exhausted by evaporation, than they returned again to the state in which they are described by the ancients. They are still a nation of merchants⁸² and marauders, incapable of subjection, not less from their temper and habits than from the nature of their country; rarely formidable in a body, from their mutual jealousy and distrust; indifferent soldiers, but dangerous partizans.

No other reason is discoverable, why a nation that at one time possessed almost exclusively the commerce of the East, never arrived at a character of dignity and respect; and no other cause can I trace, why Idumêa became so easy a conquest to the Hebrews, Tyrians, Babylonians, and Romans. It is the influence over their government, and the possession of their harbours on the Red Sea by the Romans, which is now to be investigated; and if the command of the commerce obtained by this power continued with little interruption till the time of Justinian, and was not annihilated till the

⁸¹ This Tank is placed at Mariaba; but in the time of Alexander; others say, after Pliny informs us, that Mariaba signifies a capital; still we have in Reiske, Maraba, the same as Saba; so that the Tank will mark Saba. See Reiske in Abulfedam, voc. Jemana. The Tank failed, according to some authors, Christ. Univ. Hist. fol. ed. vii. p. 276.

⁸² Strabo and Diodorus are in concert with Pliny, who says, lib. vi. p. 340. *Pars æqua in commerciis et latrocinis degit*: a fact equally true in all ages.

irruption



irruption of the Mahomedans, it is a duration of this commerce in one channel, longer than has fallen to the lot of any other people in whose hands it has been placed.

L E U K È K O M È.

OUR inquiry commences with Leukè Komè, or the White Village⁸¹; and the character of White is attributed to several towns or villages on this coast. Ptolemy has an Argè Komè below Yambo; Haûr is another place, about three hundred miles from the head of the gulph; and a third, Haûr or Havarra is discoverable in the Itinerary, but forty-five miles from the same point. All these terms imply whiteness; but d'Anville assumes the second for the Leukè Komè of the Periplûs. In this he is justly supposed by M. Gossellin to be mistaken; because this second Haûr, at more than three hundred and fifty miles from Petra, could not afford a ready communication with that capital, neither could it be within the limits of Petrèa, but must then have belonged to Hejaz; which, that it did not, we shall have sufficient proof in the expedition of Elius Gallus.

M. Gossellin fixes upon Moilah; to which he is, perhaps, more particularly directed, by finding a name of notoriety in a situation that is probable: but on this coast, as he has very properly observed himself, there is no certainty to be obtained; the ancients have left us few marks of distinction, because they avoided the coast, which was itself dangerous, and more dangerous still from the disposition of its inhabitants; while the few notices which they have

⁸¹ Almost every place inhabited by Arabians, is rather a village than a town or city.



left, are obliterated by the retreat of the sea, and the increasing advance of the shore. This arises from a cause which operates on the whole eastern side of the gulph; and in the lower part of it there are the remains of places twenty miles inland, which were formerly marts or harbours.

This must be accepted as a reason why so little satisfaction can be given in regard to individual positions. The general character of the coast, and the division of the provinces, will be distinct; but identical locality is by no means to be expected. This will be apparent in the immediate object of our inquiry, for the White Village itself is obscured by difficulties not easy to be surmounted.

	Lat.
The Haûr of d'Anville ⁸⁴ is in	25° 2' 0"
The Moilah of d'Anville, in	27° 30' 0"
The Moilah of Gossellin, in his Map of Ptolemy	27° 50' 0"
Arga Komè of Ptolemy, by the	{ Latin text - 22° 40' 0"
	{ Greek text - 22° 30' 0"

But that there is still another Haûara, Avara, or Havâra ⁸⁵, we

⁸⁴ The Haûr of d'Anville is ascertained by Al Edrisi to be lower than the island Naman, p. 109; a proof that it cannot be the Haûara of the Itinerary.

⁸⁵ But I am apprehensive that I read 20 twice instead of once; if so, it is only 45 miles from Haila to Hauarra, and 38 from Hauarra to Petra. The latter distance must, in that case, assuredly be erroneous; and the former too, unless the sea of Acaba be as short as it is represented in the ancient maps, instead of running up to the north so far as it does in the maps of d'Anville, Gossellin,

and De la Rochette. Still, whatever be the errors, it is curious to see both these routes detailed at the extremity of the empire, in the reign of Theodosius; and the shorter the distances are, the more incompatible they are with the Haûr of d'Anville. (See d'Anville's Egypt, p. 129. with his opinion of the Itineraries.) There is a similar diminution of distance from Phara, or Ras Mahomet, to Haila, which the Itinerary makes only 16 miles; and both deficiencies, if they are such, must be imputed to the supposed shortness of the sea of Acaba, i. e. the Eilatick Gulph.



are certain from the Itinerary; and Stephanus⁸⁶ informs us, that it was founded by A'retas son of O'bodas, and called Aúara (which signifies *white* in Arabick and Syriack), from some vision of a man in *white*. Pliny adds, that Arra⁸⁷ is in the country of the Thimanêi, the adjoining tribe to the Nabatêans, and that here is the centre of commerce. Upon these authorities I had wished to have placed this Havarra on the coast, and to have assumed it for the site of the White Village; more especially as the Itinerary of the Peutingerian Tables points to the entrance of the Elanitick Gulph, and has one route of sixty-one miles from Aila to Havarra, and another of thirty-eight⁸⁸, from Havarra through Zadagatta⁸⁹ to Petra.

⁸⁶ See Stephanus Byz. in voce.

⁸⁷ Arra oppidum in quo omnis negotiatio convenit. Plin. vi. c. 28. The Thimanêi are the Bythimanees, or Batmizomanees, of Agatharchides, and upon the coast.

⁸⁸ I am not certain that I read the distances right; but they appear thus:

	Miles.
From Clyfma to Medeia - -	40
to Phara - -	80
	— 120
to Haila - -	50
	— 50
to Ad Dianam - -	16
to Posidium - -	21
to Havarra - -	24
	— 61
to Zadagatta - -	20
to Petra - -	18
	— 38
	— 269

If by Clyfma we are to understand the head of the gulph, or Suez, the opening of the

compasses gives precisely 200 Roman miles from Suez to Ras Mahomed, by d'Anville's map; 180 m. En. by De la Rochette's; 225 by Capt. Cook's Chart. When we find therefore only 120 miles in the Itinerary, we must suppose that a distance is omitted between Arfinoë and Clyfma, for both are noticed; but there is no number between the two, and Clyfma is placed on the eastern side of the gulph, not on the western, as in d'Anville. But if the numbers we have, express the sense of the author, then we must add a third at least; and, by the same proportion, a third from Phara or Ras Mahomed to Haila, making that nearly 67 B. miles; a distance that agrees neither with d'Anville or De la Rochette, for both make it near 110. I have always supposed this distance much too large; and if Irwin's Chart might be depended on, my judgment must be right. Irwin is the only traveller I have met with who has entered the Elanitick Gulph; but though he speaks of the head,

he does not quite say that he saw it.

⁸⁹ The Zaanathia of Ptolemy.



But in opposition to this we have the express testimony of Ptolemy⁹⁰, that Avarra is inland, and more northerly than Aila. This reduces me to the necessity of concluding, that this Haûr, or Havarra, cannot be the White Village of the Periplus; so that neither the Haûr of d'Anville, the Argè Komè of Ptolemy, or this Havarra of the Itinerary, will answer our purpose. But there are some circumstances in Agatharchides, which will lead us to a situation where such a port seems to be pointed out, in preference to any other on the coast.

VII. THAMUDÉNI AND CANRAITES.

THIS author, at the entrance of the Elanitick Gulph, has three islands: one, sacred to Isis; and the two others called Sookabúa and Salydó. These islands, after having been lost for twenty centuries, have been restored to geography by M. Irwin. He is the only voyager, as far as I can discover, who has ever entered this bay; and if his chart may be depended upon, he went up it five-and-twenty miles: in consequence of this he saw these islands, and has named them Tirán, Sanafir, and Barkan. I have never seen⁹¹ them in any chart, previous to his, arranged in the same order; but they bear such testimony to the fidelity of Agatharchides, that he deserves credit when he adds, that "they" cover several harbours "on

⁹⁰ See Tab. Aliae, iv. and lib. v. c. 15.

Elana - - 26° 15' 0"

Avara - - 29° 40' 0"

Still there is a confusion; for the Greek text says,

Elana - - 29° 15'

Avara - - 29° 20'

But, after all, Avara is north of Elana.

⁹¹ The names are in Niebuhr, but the position is erroneous. One island is still called Jobua by De la Rochette.

⁹² Τὴν δ' ἐρημὴν χώραν ἥσται πρὶς ἐκδέχονται, Λιμένας ποιεῖσαι πλείους· μετὰ δὲ τὰς νήσους τὰς ἐκκειμένας ἰσὶν ἰδίῳ αἰγιαλὸν λιθάδι καὶ μακρὸν, ὃ δὲ χώρα Θαμυδινῶν Ἀράγων· ὃ δὲ πρὸς ταύτην παράπλωι ἐπὶ τοῦτος τῶν χιλίων πλείους πάντων χαλεπώτατος.

" on the Arabian shore" [as the Zaffateen Islands protect the port of Myos Hormus]; and one of these harbours, I conclude, must be the Leukè Komè of the Periplus; for he adds, " to these islands succeeds the rocky coast of the Thamudeni, where, for more than a thousand stadii, there is no harbour, no road where a vessel can anchor, no bay to afford protection, no scrap of a projecting point, to which the mariner can fly for refuge in a moment of distress."

However the colouring of this picture may be heightened, the general description is true, as may be seen by a reference to M. Irwin's Journal, from the 22d of June to the 9th of July; where we have every day islets, breakers, shoals, sands, and sunken rocks, with the mention of only one cove where the shore could be approached. The refuge his Arabian boat found, was generally under islets; but a navigator, who did not dare approach the shore, might well paint it in the same colours as Agatharchides has done. Irwin carries Moilah fifty miles more to the north than it appears in other charts⁹³, and within the Elanitick Gulph: if this be true, my conclusion is perfectly in correspondence with that of M. Gossellin; and if, by taking different methods, we both arrive at the same conclusion, it must be a strong confirmation that the point we have both fixed on is right; for a safe anchorage at Moilah, covered by the islands, and the unapproachable nature of the coast below, fix Moilah to a certainty for the Leukè Komè of the ancients.

τατος· ἡ γὰρ ἐστὶν . . . ἡ λιμὴν ἑνορμος, ἡ σάλος ἐπ' ἀγκύρας, ἡ κόλπος ἐπισκιπῆς, ἡ χηλὴς ἐντύπωμα, ἀναγκάσια καταφυγὴ, τὸν ναυτιλλόμενον δεχόμενον. Agatharch. apud Hudson, p. 59.

Χηλὴς ἐντύπωμα is a dubious expression; for though χηλὴ is the foot of a wall, or rather loose stones thrown into the sea to break the waves and protect the masonry of a pier, ἐντύ-

πωμα does not occur in the Lexicons: it may be the *form*, the *indenture* at the commencement of a projection. Unless the author aimed at a metaphor, by taking χηλὴ in its sense of a hoof, and so intended to mean the *impression of a hoof*; but in this sense the metaphor is not just.

⁹³ P. 143. oct. ed. vol. I.



VIII. BURNT ISLAND, MOOSA, COAST OF YEMEN.

FROM Leukè Komè to the mouth of the Straits, a course of more than a thousand miles, we have only two places mentioned—the Burnt Island, and Moosa: a proof, as it should seem, that this track was little frequented; and yet the author, by speaking in the first person, seems to have performed the voyage himself. The dangers he describes at large, much in the same manner as we have already reported them from Agatharchides; and the tribes, he says, which inhabit this tract, are numerous; some speaking a language perfectly distinct, and others a different dialect of the same. Those on the coast live in huts or cabins, like the Iethyophagi; and those who are inland, are a treacherous⁹⁴ race, living in hordes or villages, and speak two different tongues. If a vessel is driven to this shore, she is plundered; or if shipwrecked, the crew is reduced to slavery. The general name of these tribes is Canraites; and they are treated as enemies, and seized for slaves, by the other regular governments of Arabia. But it is not only the disposition of the natives which makes the navigation dangerous; for the coast itself is without harbours or roads, full of rocks, shoals, and breakers, and dangers of every sort; for which reason, in going down the gulph, we stand off from shore, and keep our course down the middle of the gulph, very desirous⁹⁵ of reaching [the more

⁹⁴ *πονηροὶ ἀνθρώποι, δεινότοι.*

Supposed by Bochart to be Caulanites.—Caulan, a province and mountain between Mecca and Dana. Phaleg, p. 143.

⁹⁵ The word is *προσέχοντες*. The sentence stands thus: διό καὶ προσέχοντες, μέσσην πλὴν κεντρίας

χομῆς, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀραβικὴν χώραν μάλλον ΠΑΡΟΕΤΝΟΜΕΝ, ἄχρι τῆς κατακεκαυμένης Νήσου. I had very much doubted of the construction of this passage, when I cited it in the voyage of Nearchus; but I am now persuaded, that by considering Ἀραβικὴν χώραν as the civilized part



more civilized part of] Arabia, which commences about the parallel of Burnt Island, and continues down the whole coast to Moofa. In this tract the inhabitants are under a regular government, leading a pastoral life, and raising vast herds of oxen, camels, and other stock. Moofa is an established mart of great trade, in a bay near the termination of the gulph, at the distance of twelve thousand stadia, or twelve hundred⁹⁶ miles from Berenikè; and the whole [of this part] of Arabia abounds in merchants and mariners, both masters of vessels and common sailors, and is commercial in the highest degree. The commodities of the country are rich and numerous; but besides these, there is a great traffic [in India articles] from Barugaza, or Cambay. Inland from Moofa, at three days distance, lies Savè or Sauè, which is the seat of Cholébus, the king of the district called Maphartis; and nine days farther inland is Aphar or Saphar, the residence of Charibael, paramount both of the Sabæans and Homerites. This is the sovereign to whom the Roman emperors address their embassies, and whose friendship they conciliate by presents⁹⁷ of various sorts, and considerable value.

We have here a general division of Arabia corresponding to the modern distinction of Hejaz and Yemen, as nearly as can be expected after an interval of eighteen centuries. The northern part, occupied by Bedoweens, robbers, and marauders, living under tents

part of Arabia, that is, Yemen or Sabæa, the whole difficulty is removed; and the usage of Ἀράβων in the same sense twelve lines lower, justifies the interpretation; for, τὸ μὲν ὅλον Ἀράβων ναυκληρικῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ναυτικῶν πλειονάζον, does not refer ὅλον to the *whole* of Arabia, but to the *whole* of Sabæa, as it is evident by the context.

⁹⁶ This is very accurate, reckoning the passage across the gulph, first to Leukè Komè, and then down the gulph to Moofa.

⁹⁷ Hudson renders this passage as importing presents made by Charibael to the Roman emperors; but in a following passage the presents from the Romans are specifically mentioned, without any notice of a return.

in



in hordes almost without towns, villages, or settled habitation of any sort; while the southern part is in a civilized state, highly cultivated, polished, and commercial, and under a regular form of government, such as Niebuhr found at Sana within these thirty years.

The limit of Hejaz, or Arabia Deserta, is fixed by d'Anville in lat. $17^{\circ} 12' 0''$ ²⁸, which gives it an extent of coast of near seven hundred and fifty miles, while there remain but little more than three hundred within the straits assignable to Yemen, or Arabia Felix. The northern part of the first division is that which answers more particularly to the dangerous coast described by the ancient authors, and explored by Irwin, terminating at Haffan Isle, in lat. 25° ; to which succeeds Yambo, the port of Yathrib or Medina, and Gidda or Judda, the port of Mecca, the Maco-rabba or Great Makka of Ptolemy. This appellation proves that it was a place of consequence in that early age; and history shews that there is hardly a place which deserves the name of city, except Mecca and Medina, in all that space which geographers allot to Arabia Deserta, across the vast peninsula, from the Red Sea to the Persian Gulph and the Euphrates. The numerous tribes which inhabit this desert are the Saraceni of the ancients, so called from Saharra²⁹ or Sarra, a desert, and corresponding exactly with the modern term of Bedowens. In what sense this country is a desert, was unknown to the ancients, and is almost equally unknown to us; but that it is not arid, so as to preclude the produce of the earth, is evident from the swarms which these tribes furnished in the early period of the Mahomedan

²⁸ $19^{\circ} 0' 0''$ Niebuhr; $18^{\circ} 0' 0''$ De la Rochette. Bedijah is Campania.

²⁹ Bedijah-Campania, Reiske in Abulfedam,

p. 5. Arabiffæ Baduwinæ solebant nempe nutrices ex al Bedijah (*i. e.* campania) Mee-
cam ire.

conquests,



conquests, and from the consideration that every Arab is a horseman. Little as will suffice to support an Arab and his horse, both must be supported; if little corn is sowed or consumed, still those who live on the product of their herd must find pasture for their oxen, sheep, camels, and horses; and though many expatriate for this purpose in the season, the majority still remains at home, both winter and summer. Neither can their predatory life supply all their wants; for a whole nation must have a national support. Robbers as they are, they do not rob every one; the caravans still distribute all the merchandize which comes annually to the ports of Yambo and Jidda, through this very country; and in the commerce which the ancients describe, there was a regular intercourse between Sabêa and Petra, from the South, and between the gulph of Persia and Petra, from the East. This trade has fluctuated in different ages, from external causes: it is at this moment, perhaps, at a lower ebb than ever, from the commercial superiority of the Europeans in the Eastern Ocean, and from a diminution in the spirit of pilgrimage. But Mecca and Medina are still to be considered as marts rather than sanctuaries; and the commodities brought by the English from India, and by the Turks from Suez, still centre at Jidda¹⁰⁰, as an emporium of considerable importance.

It is the Turkish trade from Suez which the Romans occupied by being masters of Berenikè, Myos Hormus, Petra, and Leukè Komè. It is the English trade from India, which the Greeks and Romans first found in the hands of the Sabêans, and afterwards assumed to

¹⁰⁰ At the time Bruce was there, nine ships from India were in the harbour, one of which was worth 200,000*l.*; and one Arab offered to purchase the nine cargoes. All these, he adds, are dispersed over the wildest part of Arabia by men with whom no traveller would trust his life. Bruce, vol. i. 278.



themselves, as soon as they had fleets on the Red Sea that neither feared the Nabathæan pirates at the head of the gulph, or the Sabæan merchants at the straits; and from the time they learned the nature of the monsoon from Hippalus, they made a voyage to India more advantageous, than the purchase of a cargo at Moofa or Okélis.

IX. EXPEDITION OF ELIUS GALLUS.

THE voyage from Suez or Arsinoë was first planned by Neco; it was afterwards meditated by Alexander, and it was executed by the Ptolemies previous to the establishment of Myos Hormus and Berenikè. It was not unknown to the Romans when they reduced Egypt, though then in disuse; but Elius Gallus set out on his expedition from this port, and Strabo imputes his failure to this circumstance as a leading cause.

Strabo laments that this expedition added little to the geographical knowledge of Arabia; and we have reason to complain that Strabo, who lived in habits of intimacy with Gallus, has recorded so little of the information which might have been obtained from that commander. The consequence is, that d'Anville, who follows Pliny, carries the Roman arms to Mariaba, the Mareb of the Arabians; and that M. Gosselin, by his interpretation of Strabo, supposes Mariaba, or Marisaba, to be the Maco-raba¹ of Ptolemy, the Mecca of Mahomet. The distance between these two places is little short of nine degrees; so that the difference between the two estimates is 675 Roman miles.

¹ Mecca is always written Macca by Reiske, in his version of Abulfeda.



If there were any data to determine this dispute, no labour should have deterred me from investigating it to the utmost; but as Pliny says, that the places which occurred in the expedition of Gallus are not found in authors previous to his time, the same may be said of subsequent writers; for there is not one of them, ancient or modern, who will do more than afford matter for conjecture. This is the reason that compels me to give a sketch only of an expedition so intimately connected with the commerce of the ancients in Arabia.

The commission of Gallus from Augustus was to explore Ethiopia, the country of the Troglodytes, and Arabia. The first part was executed by Petronius, his lieutenant, and terminated by the submission of Candacè, queen of Meroë. But Arabia, Gallus reserved for himself; and the country of the Troglodytes he crossed when he landed at Myos Hormus, on his return. This expedition commenced at Cleopátris¹⁰², in the neighbourhood of the modern Suez, where we find him at the head of an army consisting of ten thousand Romans, five hundred Jews, and a thousand Nabatêans from Petra, with a fleet of eighty¹⁰³ vessels of war, and an hundred and thirty transports. Syllêus¹⁰⁴, the minister of O'bodas king of Petra, was to conduct this force; but his interest was concerned in defeating the expedition, which he effected, and afterwards paid the forfeit for his treachery with his life. The first error into which he led Gallus, was the preparation of a fleet, which consumed¹⁰⁵ much time,

¹⁰² Cleopátris is considered as Arsinoë; but perhaps Arsinoë, Cleopátris, and Suez, have all followed the retreat of the sea at the head of the gulph.

¹⁰³ Biremes, triremes and phaseli.

¹⁰⁴ See *supra*, p. 246.

¹⁰⁵ We have the account of preparing a Turkish fleet in the same manner, anno 1537; by which we learn, that the country affording no materials for ship-building, the several ar-

ticles