



time, and was of no service; for the army might have proceeded from Cleopátris to Petra, and thence to the head of the Elanitic Gulph, through a friendly country, and in the ordinary track of the caravans¹⁰⁶. But fifteen days were required to extricate the fleet from the sea of Suez, and to reach the road of Leukè Komè; and here, when they arrived, many vessels had been lost, and the troops were so afflicted with a disorder in the mouth, and swelling in the legs, that the remainder of the year was lost, and the expedition delayed till the following spring.

Upon leaving Leukè Komè, Gallus advanced, first, through a desert¹⁰⁷ into the country of A'retas, who was related to O'bodas,

ticles were brought across the desert from Cairo on camels. In this manner a fleet of 76 vessels was constructed, which, from the time it weighed from Suez, was ten days before it reached Tor, and left it on the eleventh. This accounts for the fifteen days employed by Gallus in performing a passage of little more than 240 miles. See Ramusio, tom. i. p. 274. *Viaggio per un Comito Venetiano*.

¹⁰⁶ We have the route of the pilgrims in Mel. Thevenot, Pococke, and Shaw, from Cairo to Mecca; and reckoning from Ageroud, which is near Suez, the account in Thevenot stands thus, tom. i. p. 151:

	Hours.
From Ageroud to Navatir - -	6½
Raftagara - -	10
Kalaat el Nakel - -	15
Abiar Alaina - -	
(Aila?) - -	14
Sath al Acaba - -	15
Kalaat al Acaba - -	16
Dahr el Harmar - -	6½
Sharaffe Beni-gateic - -	14

Hours.

Magure Schouaib (Jethro) - -

14

Mollah - -

15

126 126

The rate of a caravan is from 3 to 7
2½ miles an hour - - - - - } 3 2½

378 252

63

315

This route measures, by the compasses, in a right line on De la Rochette's map, nearly 280 miles, which, with the allowance for road-distance of $\frac{1}{2}$, amounts to 320 miles; and this at 15 miles a day, a moderate march for a Roman army, requires 21 days: so that they proceeded faster by sea than they would have done by land; the time lost, therefore, was in the preparation of the fleet.

¹⁰⁷ This is the same desert which Mahomet passed in his march from Medina to Hagjr and Aila, where, Abulfeda says, *magnas illi perviam tolerabant molestias ab aestu et siti*, p. 52. Ed. Reiske, 1754.

and



and seems to have been the sovereign of the Thamudites ; but Syllêus had the same influence here as in Petrêa ; and though the country was not destitute, or the prince unfriendly, thirty days were employed before the army reached the country of the Nomades or Bedoweens, called Ararênè ¹⁰⁸, and subject to Sabus. This tract has a resemblance to the territory of Medina and Mecca ; and the space of fifty days employed in passing it, till they reached the city of the A'grani ¹⁰⁹, Négrani, or Anágrani, which was taken by assault, is some confirmation of the conjecture. The king had fled into the desert ; but the country was not hostile, nor altogether incapable of supplying the necessaries requisite for the army ¹¹⁰.

From hence, after a march of six days, they arrived on the bank of a river, where the natives were collected in a body, and opposed their passage : a battle was the consequence, in which, with the loss of only two Romans, ten thousand Arabians were slain. Strabo describes them equally deficient in spirit, as they were ignorant of the art of war ; and yet these very tribes were in a future age, under

¹⁰⁸ Ararênè is probably Sara-rene, as Apher is Saphar ; and Sara is Saharra, *the desert*.

¹⁰⁹ A'grani in the first mention is written Négrani in the MSS. ; and on the second, *τὰ Νάγραναι* : and Casaubon wishes to read *Αγραιοί*. See Strabo, pp. 781, 782. All these readings prove the uncertainty of the ground we stand on ; and any of them would justify d'Anville in assuming Najeran (a place fully described by Al Edrissi, and well known to Niebuhr), if the other circumstances of the expedition will accord. Najeran is a fortress dependant on Mecca : it lies 12 days south of that capital, and east of the mountains which bound the Tehama. See Al Edrissi, pp. 48, 50, 51. This is perfectly consistent, if Ararene is the

country of Medina and Mecca ; and Najeran must be, by comparing circumstances in Al Edrissi, on the borders of Yemen, nearly on a parallel with Sadam Rah. Consult. p. 48.

¹¹⁰ Ali passed through Najeran, and brought a tribute from it, when he was returning from Yemen, whither he had been sent to preach the Koran by Mahomet ; and if Nágrena be Najeran (as to all appearance it is), it directly contradicts Gossellin's hypothesis, that Elias Gallus terminated his expedition at Mecca. Abulfeda Reiske, p. 53. Abulfeda mentions the conversion of the kings of the Homerites, the people of Arabia Felix ; and adds, that Ali's preaching converted the whole tribe of Hamdan in one day.

the



the influence of Mahomedan enthusiasm, to subdue the world, from the Pillars of Hercules to the Indus.

The loss of this battle produced the surrender of Asca, a city in the neighbourhood; and, without learning what time was spent here, or what distance intervened, the next place we find them at is Athrulla. Athrulla was taken without difficulty, and garrisoned, and a supply of provisions was obtained, which enabled them to proceed to Marfyaba. This city is described as the capital of the Rhaminites, and the seat of Ilasar¹¹, the sovereign of the country. Here terminated the expedition; for, after lying before the place six days, Gallus was compelled, by want of water, to raise the siege, and retreat to Anágrana, where the battle had been fought¹², and which he did not reach till after a distressful march of nine days.

From this time, the preservation of his army was the more immediate object of the commander, than the hope of conquest: he had spent six months in reaching Marfyaba; he was now convinced of the perfidy of Sylléus; he imputed the whole failure to the direction of the march by the advice of that minister; and if the same delay should occur on the retreat, he saw that the destruction of the army was inevitable.

To prevent this, it is evident that the route was changed; and we are led to conjecture, that it was directed from the interior to the

¹¹ By consulting Ptolemy, the country of Elifárus, or the Elifá'i, is far too much to the south to allow of the supposition that Gallus went no farther than Mecca.

¹² The copies of Strabo are so incorrect in these names, that though there is evidently an intention of the editor to make A'grana

first mentioned, and Anágrana or *ἡ Νάγγρα* in this place, correspond, either the author or the text are at variance; for the battle was not fought at A'grana, but six days from it, and apparently at Asca, as that city surrendered immediately after the battle.



coast. In this case, the army must have crossed the mountains and descended into the Tehama; and yet in a march of sixty days, we have nothing to guide our inquiries but the mention of four places, without dates, and with one distance only specified: these are, *The Seven Wells*, eleven days from Anágrana; Chaalla, Málotha, and Nera. Nera¹³, we are informed, was in the territory of O'bodas, that is, in Petrêa, and in all probability at some distance to the southward of Leukè Komè.

At Nera the army embarked, and was eleven days in crossing the gulph to Myos Hormus. The route from this port to Koptus on the Nile has been already described; and from Koptus, Gallus proceeded to Alexandria with the shattered remains of his forces. Of these, seven only had perished by the sword; but a very great proportion was rendered unserviceable by disease¹⁴, famine, and a variety of distresses which they had experienced in the course of the campaign.

Thus ended an expedition, planned without policy and conducted without capacity. If it had succeeded, the Romans could not have established themselves in the country; and by its failure, it retarded

¹³ Nera, in the margin of Strabo, is written Hygra, and Negra in Casaubon's translation; and in such a fluctuation of the MSS. or printed copies, we have nothing to determine our doubts: but we may conclude, that the place, whatever is its name, must be considerably below Leukè Komè, as the passage from that port to Myos Hormus was only three days. This, however, was for a single ship, and Gallus had a fleet; but we must suppose he continued his course up the coast to the northward, and came by Ras Mahomed to the Egyptian shore. Much difficulty stands in

the way of calculation; and, after all, it is not quite clear whether Strabo's eleven days are to be reckoned from the time Gallus reached Nera, or from the day he left it: I conclude the latter to be intended. A Negra is mentioned by Cedrenus, p. 364. 500 years later, where a St. Arethas was put to death by Elefbaas, the Abyssinian conqueror of the Homerites. One should not have expected to find a Christian martyr, of the name or family of the Arethas's of the desert.

¹⁴ Dio says, they did not merely retreat, but were driven out.

their



their full intercourse with India for almost a century. But if it were possible to give the reader satisfaction on the extent of it, no apology would be requisite for the digression. This, from the scantiness of materials, cannot be done; but as my conjectures differ both from d'Anville and M. Gosselin, I shall barely state the grounds on which they are founded, and leave the determination to the judgment of the reader.

The first step towards fixing the termination of the expedition, would be to distinguish Marfyaba from all the cities with which it is confounded.

The Marfyaba of Strabo is in the country of the Rhamanitzæ, and under the government of Ilafârus. It is not the Mareb of Sabêa, where the great Tank¹³ is, for that he calls Meriaba of the Sabêans; and this sufficiently declares against d'Anville's system, which carries Gallus into Sabêa, and on which Gosselin justly observes, that if Gallus had besieged Mareb, he would not have been obliged to raise the siege for want of water, the reason assigned by Strabo.

Ptolemy has likewise a Máraba (written Báraba in the text) which he places in the country of the Minêans, and calls it a metropolis; and a Mariama, two degrees to the south-east; but he has no Mariaba either in Sabêa or the country of the Homerites. His Elisâri, the Ilafar of Strabo, are still farther south than the Minêans, and upon the coast.

Pliny has two Mariabas: one marked by the Tank, called Bara-malchum¹⁴, the Royal Sea or Lake; and another, in the country

¹³ Mareb is still the capital of a large province in Yemen called Dsjof, between Najeran and Hadramaut, where the ancient traditions concerning the Tank, the queen of Sheba, &c. are still current. See Nieb. t. ii. p. 119. Arabic.

¹⁴ Bahr-u-melk, Bahr-u-malk, Bahr-u-mal-kim; the Lake of the King, or the Kings; the Royal Lake.



of the Calingii; he adds, that Mariaba is a general name of a capital. It is apparently then the Mariaba ¹¹⁷ of the Calingii which he informs us, contrary to the assertion of Strabo, that Gallus took, and finished his invasion at Caripeta. But it is still more extraordinary, that the other cities he mentions as taken and destroyed by Gallus, do not, in any one instance, correspond with those of Strabo, except that his Negra is possibly Nera ¹¹⁸.

Dio ¹¹⁹ terminates the irruption at Athlula, evidently the Athrulla of Strabo: he mentions the army being afflicted with a disease in the head and legs; and adds, that Gallus did not merely retreat, but was driven out by the natives.

The whole of this goes to prove, that Gallus did not reach Mareb Baramalcum; and, in short, the fact is impossible; for *that* Mareb is above eleven ¹²⁰ hundred miles from Moilah, and the retreat of Gallus, in sixty days, would require a march of almost twenty miles a day, which, for such a continuance, is not to be performed.

But if the Mareb of d'Anville be too distant, the Mecca of Goffellin is too near; for the route of the caravan, from Moilah to Mecca, makes it only 731 miles, at 3 miles an hour.

547 — at $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour.

546 — d'Anville's Map.

560 — De la Rochette's Map.

Add for road-distance 80

640 — probable mean distance, from 620 to 640.

¹¹⁷ Supradictam Mariabam. The Mariaba of the Calingii is the last mentioned, and Hardouin supposes that to be meant.

¹¹⁹ Lib. liii. p. 350. Ed. Steph.

¹²⁰ It is 1085 in a right line, which, with the addition of a seventh, becomes 1240, and increases the difficulty.

¹¹⁸ May it not be Negrana, for Nagrana?

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If,



If, therefore, Gallus was advancing for six months, he must have marched little more than an hundred miles a month. And let us suppose, with Gossellin, all the fraud of Syllêus, and all the deviations of the march he pleases, this advance is far less than a Roman army can be supposed to make. The country Gallus was desirous of reaching, was the country of gold¹²¹, frankincense, myrrh, and spices, certainly either Hadramaut or Yemen; and when he was at Marfâba, he was told he was but two days distance from the province he wished to enter. He might be deceived in that, and most probably he was; but the deception could hardly amount to the difference between two days and thirty, and Mecca is little short of thirty days from Hadramaut.

Gossellin supposes Athrulla to be Yathreb or Medina, and Marfâba to be Macoraba or Mecca; but it is not easy to discover the resemblance of these names, or the other five he gives from Pliny. Strabo is surely a better guide, who was in habits of intimacy with Gallus, and who received the names most probably from his report. Pliny says, that Marfâba was taken, and that the expedition terminated at Carîpeta: Strabo asserts, that Marfâba was not taken, and does not notice Carîpeta at all. It is not safe to build on similarity of names; but Nagrana, which Gossellin supposes to be Al Nokra¹²², is certainly more nearly related to Najeran in sound. Najeran is assuredly as ancient as Mahomed's time: it is a conspicuous pro-

¹²¹ Strabo, 780.

¹²² Al Nokra is the place where the road from Basra to Medina joins that from Kufa to the same city. *A Basra ad Medinam stationes fere viginti, & hæc via coincidit cum extremitate Kufæ prope Maaden al Nokra.* Al Edrissi, p. 121. Even as d'Anville has placed

Al Nokra, I conceive it lies far too much to the east to be in the track of Gallus; and, from the expression of Al Edrissi, I conclude it lies farther east than d'Anville has placed it. But even if d'Anville is right, Al Nokra is upwards of 200 miles out of the road that Gallus appears to have taken.

vince



vince still, according to Niebuhr¹²³; and Al Edrissi¹²⁴ places it on the road from Mecca to Yemen. This appears to be the very route by which Gallus was advancing; and Najeran, by the Arabian accounts, was capable of affording the supplies of which the army stood in need. I am myself therefore persuaded, that Gallus entered the country of the Minêans, and that the city he assaulted, whether Mariaba, Marfyaba, or Carîpeta, was the capital of that province; for Mariaba implies a capital in general; and if Ilasar is the king of this tribe, whether Calingii, Rhamanîtæ, or Elefâri, I would comprehend all three under the title of Minêans. At least, to my conception it is clear, that Ptolemy, Pliny, and Strabo, all point to something farther south than Mecca.

Whether this opinion will meet with the approbation of others, is dubious; such as the obscurity and contradiction of my authorities will allow, I give it. If Najeran be a fixed point, and concluded, we have ground to stand on; if it can be disputed, I am ready to embrace any assumption that may be supported upon better proofs. What the Rhamanîtæ of Strabo, or Calingii of Pliny, may be, seems impossible to determine. Gosselin concludes, that the Rhamanîtæ of Strabo are the Manîtæ of Ptolemy: it is the strength of his argument; and in Mercator's Map, the Manîtæ are placed on the north of Mecca. But perhaps Mercator is misled, for we have no latitude of the Manîtæ; and the text says, below the Manîtæ¹²⁵ is the interior Myrrh country, and then the Minêans, a great nation. I have not yet met with any account of myrrh in Hejaz, and therefore, if the Rhamanîtæ and Manîtæ are the same, I conclude that they are

¹²³ Arabie, ii. 114.

¹²⁴ Pages 48, 49.

¹²⁵ Ὑπὸ τῆς Μανίτης ἡ ἐντὸς σμυρροφόρος, ἑστὶ Μανίται μέγα ἔθνος.

in Yemen. But the whole of this is conjectural; and, if names avail, I might with equal propriety contend, that Rhaman is Haman, or Hamdan, the tribe converted by Ali, the position of which answers; or assert, that Cari-Peta is Carni-Peta, correspondent to the Carna¹²⁶ or Carana of Strabo, which he says was the capital of the Minæans.

Is it not reasonable to suppose that the army moved in the track of the caravans¹²⁷? and as the line here assumed is direct between Hejaz and Hadramaut, and cuts the province of the Minæans, who were the regular carriers between both, does not this supposition solve more of the difficulties than any other? It is but a supposition at last; still, where our ignorance of the country renders every effort dubious, a rational hypothesis is all that can be expected.

Najeran¹²⁸ itself is in Hejaz, for it is one of the fortresses of Mecca, according to Al Edrissi; and the boundary of this province and Yemen, is fixed at the following station. If, therefore, Gallus

¹²⁶ I have a leaning towards the connection of these two names; but if the two places be the same, the difficulty is not removed; for the same city cannot be taken, and not taken; and the expedition cannot terminate at two different places. The following circumstances, however, may be curious, if not convincing:

The four great nations in Arabia Felix, or Yemen, were the Minæans, the Sabæans, the Katabananes (who are in the Maphartis of the Periplus), and the people of Hadramaut. As the power of the Sabæans declined, the tribe of Hamyar (the Homerites) prevailed, whose capital was Aphar, Saphar, or Dafar; but the capital of the Minæans was Karna, or Karana. *Μινναῖοι . . . πόλις αὐτῶν ἡ μεγάλη Κάρνα, ἢ Καράνα.* Strabo, 763. I ask curi-

ously, but without affixing any importance to it, may not the Karipeta of Ptolemy be Karni-Petra, the fortress of Karna? If this could be supposed, Mariaba, or the capital, is identified with Karni-Petra; for both are the principal city of the Minæans.

¹²⁷ Strabo has pointed this out, under the supposition that Gallus might have marched by the caravan-road through Petra. *Διὸς καὶ καμήλων ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ τοσούτοι πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν καὶ καμήλων ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ πετρεῖαι ἐκ πέτραις, ὥστε μὴ διαφέρει μὴδὲν στρατοπέδου.* The camels and men in the caravans find supplies from fortresses to fortresses, in the same manner as an army.

¹²⁸ El Edrissi, p. 49.



was nine days in returning hither after his repulse, we may suppose that he would not march less than fifteen miles a day on such an emergency: this requires that he should have advanced upwards of an hundred miles into Yemen. And if we date from Najeran the sixty days employed in his retreat to Nera, an estimate between twelve and fifteen miles a day would enable him to reach that port in the time assigned. This seems a great exertion for sixty¹²⁹ days continuance; but famine impended, and doubtless the Arabs hovered in the rear; add to this, that when the army arrived in Egypt it was completely ruined, as Strabo informs us, by famine, hardship, sickness, and the difficulties of the march.

Nera, as it is the termination of the expedition, I should have been glad to fix, but no representative offers; it must be within the limits of Petrêa, and it should be placed as far below Leukè Komè as the province will admit: it may perhaps be discovered by some future Niebuhr; or an enlarged knowledge of the language, and the country, may shew that we are all pilots at sea, without instruments, charts, or compass.

We are now to return to the coast, on which, as has been already noticed, the *Periplûs* mentions only the Canraites, Burnt Island, Moosa, and Okélis. The Canraites are the wild tribes on the broken shore of the Hejaz, terminating about Haffan Isle, in lat. 25°. And the passage from Leukè Komè to the Burnt Island was conducted with a view of avoiding the coast throughout. How this could be effected during a run of from ten to twelve degrees, or more, is not easily accounted for; but one of these distances it must

¹²⁹ But it agrees with a similar route from which required 65 days. Lib. xii. 32. Harthomna to Gaza, mentioned by Pliny, douin.



be, according as we assume Gebel Tar, or Gebel Zekir, for Katake-käumenè, or the Burnt Island; and as both preserve at present the signs of volcanoes in decay; one of them it must be, as may suit best with other circumstances mentioned. The extreme distance is from Moilah, in lat. $27^{\circ} 56' "$ ¹³⁰ to Gebel Zekir ¹³¹, in $13^{\circ} 50'$; the smallest, from Haffan Isle, in $25^{\circ} "$ ¹³² to Gebel Tar, in $15^{\circ} 10'$. If Mokha is assumed for the representative of Moofa, and Moofa be the only object of the ancients, Gebel Zekir must be preferred; or if we suppose that the ancients wished to approach the coast, as soon as they found the natives more civilized, we should rather be directed to Gebel Tar ¹³³: for in that latitude, and even to the north of it, we are to fix the Sabéans generally, in the same manner as Niebuhr extends the dominion or influence of the modern Sana. Sana in fact, under the government of its Imam ¹³⁴, as it comprehends nearly the same territory as the ancient Sabæa, so does it partake of the manners and habits attributed to that nation, where commercial intercourse had softened the Arabian character, and in-

¹³⁰ Making $14^{\circ} 6'$.

¹³¹ Notwithstanding the disagreement of M. d'Anville and M. Goffelin, no one can search this question thoroughly without reference to the dissertation of the former on the gulph of Arabia. I have collected materials from both; from P. Sicard, Irwin, Bruce, and De la Rochette's beautiful chart. If I prefer the latitudes of the last to all others, it is because they are founded more especially on observations made by English navigators, and the officers on board the sloops, packets, and trading vessels in that sea, are, for the most part, scientific men, and better qualified to determine nautical questions than any navigators who have preceded them.

¹³² Making $9^{\circ} 50'$.

¹³³ Jibbel Tier is the point from which all ships going to Jidda take their departure after sailing from Mocha. Bruce, i. p. 341. This, though the course is the direct contrary to that of the Periplus, still marks it as a point of departure and destination.

¹³⁴ This is evident, from Barteman in Ramusio, the French Voyages in 1721, by La Rocque, and Niebuhr. The government of the Imam is much more gentle than any Moorish government in Africa or Arabia; the people, too, are of gentle manners, the men, from early age, being accustomed to trade. Bruce, i. 307.



roduced that security of life and property, without which commerce itself cannot exist.

Mooza, according to the *Periplûs*, was the regular mart¹³⁵ of the country: it was not a harbour, but a road with a sandy bottom, which afforded good hold for the anchors¹³⁶, and where the ships lay in great security: it was inhabited wholly by Arabians; and was frequented on account of the Indian trade with Barugaza, as much as for its native produce.

The intercourse with the Sabêans had from the first been established, either here or at some mart in its vicinity; but the Sabêans were now no longer the prevailing tribe; the Homerites, who came from Mareb, were become the superior power, and Charibâel the sovereign of both nations. He had fixed the seat of his government at Aphar, supposed by Goffellin to be the same as Dabar or Safar; and Dabar is noticed by Niebuhr as a place near Mount Sumara, now in ruins. The distance, however, does not answer; for Aphar is placed by the *Periplûs* thirteen days inland from Savè, and Savè three days from Moofa. But if Savè is the same as Taas, or Mount Sabber, the distance from Sabber to Dabar is not much more than from Moofa to Sabber; and thirteen days from Sabber inland would carry us much nearer to Sana, the modern capital of the Imam, and the metropolis of Yemen.

It is possible, that in a country subject to perpetual revolutions, provinces may have obtained different names from the tribes that occupied different situations: this seems apparent in the district of Cataba, which is now inland sixty miles from the coast, notwith-

¹³⁵ ἑμπορίον νόμιμον, the port established by the native government.

¹³⁶ Bruce mentions the same circumstance

of the road of Mokha. The cables, he says, do not rub, because the bottom is sand, while it is coral in almost every other part.

standing



standing that Strabo places the Catabanians immediately at the straits. It may be, therefore, presumption to say, that Savè is Sabber¹³⁷, or Aphar, Dofar; notwithstanding that the territory of Maphartis¹³⁸ at Savè, or the capital of the Homerites thirteen days inland, may afford us general information sufficiently correct. Cholêbus, the sovereign of Maphartis, whose residence is at Savè, is styled a tyrant by the Periplus, that is, a prince whose legitimate title was not acknowledged; but Charibael is the genuine¹³⁹ sovereign of the Homerites and Sabêans. The power of Cholêbus extended over the south-west angle of Yemen, both within and without the straits, occupying the same tract as the Catabanians of Strabo in a former age. And Cholêbus had a joint power¹⁴⁰ with the subjects of Charibael at Moofa, over the settlement at Rhapta, on the coast of Africa.

The mart of Yemen, at the present day, is at Mokha, where coffee is the grand article of exportation, on which the Imam of Sana¹⁴¹ receives a duty of twenty-five per cent. equivalent to the custom exacted by the Romans at Leukê Komê seventeen hundred years ago. Twenty miles inland from Mocha, Niebuhr discovered a Moofa still existing, which he with great probability supposes to be the ancient mart, now carried inland to this distance by the accretion of the coast. And if the accretion is allowed, certainly

¹³⁷ Niebuhr has a conjecture also relating to Sabba and Zebid, tom. ii. p. 55.

¹³⁸ Periplus, p. 13.

¹³⁹ ἰνδουμὸς βασιλεὺς. Perip. p. 13.

¹⁴⁰ So I interpret a passage (p. 10. of the Periplus) εἰμὲν δὲ αὐτῶν (τῶν χάρων) κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀρχαίαν, ὑποτάσσονται τῷ βασιλεὶ τῆς πρώτης γυναικὸς; Ἀραβίας, ὁ Μοφάρτης τύραννος. Παρὰ δὲ τῷ βασιλεὶ ὑπόδορον αὐτῶν ἔχουσιν ἐν ἀπὸ Μόφα. I understand by this, that Τύραννος means Cholêbus, and βασιλεὺς Charibael; and that the

merchants of Moofa, who were subjects to Charibael, received a tribute from Rhapta, while Cholêbus had the civil administration of the settlement. Μοφάρτης τύραννος, is the Tyrant of Maphartis. Mophartis and Maphartis differ no more than Dofar and Dofar, in the pronunciation of which Niebuhr says he could perceive no difference.

¹⁴¹ Niebuhr, who cites Pliny, lib. xii. c. 35. for another instance: Regi Gebanitorum quas myrrhæ partes pendunt.



no situation can be assumed more correspondent to the ancient authorities.

At Moofa, the IMPORTS specified are these:

Πορφύρα ¹⁴² διάφορος καὶ χυδαία,	Purple Cloth, fine and ordinary.
Ἰματισμὸς Ἀραβικὸς χειριδωτὸς ὁ τε ἀπλῆς καὶ κοινὸς καὶ σκοτελάτος,	Cloaths made up in the Arabian fashion, with sleeves, plain and common, and (<i>scutulatus</i>) mixed or dappled.
Κρόκος, - - - -	Saffron.
Κύπερος, - - - -	Cyperus. Aromatic Rush.
Ὀθόνιον, - - - -	Muslins.
Ἀεόλλαι, - - - -	Cloaks.
Δώδικες ἔ πολλαὶ ἀπλοῖ τε καὶ ἐντόπιοι,	Quilts, a small assortment; some plain, and others adapted to the fashion of the country.
Ζῶναι σκιαταὶ, - - -	Sashes, embroidered, or of different shades.
Μύρον, - - - -	Perfumes.
Χρῆμα ἱκανόν, - - -	Specie for the market, or in considerable quantity.
Οἶνος τε καὶ σῖτος ἔ πολὺς	Wine and Corn, not much. The country produces some corn, and a good deal of wine.

EXPORTS:

Σμύρνα ἐκλεκτή, - - -	Myrrh, of the best quality.
Στακτὴ ἀχειρμιναία, ¹⁴³ - -	Stacte, or Gum.
Λύγδος, - - - -	White Stones. Alabaster.

¹⁴² The modern articles of import and export may be seen in Niebuhr, tom. ii. p. 52.

¹⁴³ A doubtful reading; but probably containing *Μινία*, i. e. from the country of the Minæi.



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Added to these were a variety of the articles enumerated at Adûli¹⁴⁴, which are brought over from Africa and sold here. But there were likewise several others imported as presents both to Charibâel¹⁴⁵ and Cholêbus; such as horses, mules, gold plate, and silver embossed, robes of great value, and brass ware of various kinds. Of these it may be presumed that Charibâel had the largest share; for to him embassies¹⁴⁶ were frequently addressed, and he was considered as the friend of the Roman emperors.

The importance of this commerce, as it appears in the Periplus, is manifestly far inferior to the representation of it in Agatharchides; and the trade of the Sabæans declining, after the fleets from Egypt found their way to India direct, was probably not only the cause of their impoverishment, but of their subjugation also by the Homerites. Still it is evident that the manners of the people in this quarter of Arabia were civilized; that the government was consistent, and that the merchant was protected. This character, as we learn from Niebuhr, Yemen still maintains, in preference to the Hejâs, and the whole interior of the peninsula. The same security is marked as strongly by the Periplus in Hadramaut; and the whole coast on the ocean being commercial, the interests of commerce have subdued the natural ferocity of the inhabitants.

It is a circumstance foreign to the object of the present work, but still curious to remark, that in the age previous to Mahomet, Yemen

¹⁴⁴ Coffee and frankincense are the chief of the native exports at present, with myrrh, ivory, and Abyssinian gold from Massua, answering to the ancient Adûli.

¹⁴⁵ Τῷ τε βασιλεὺς καὶ τῷ τυραννί.

¹⁴⁶ Συχνὰί περιστάσεις καὶ δόσεις φίλος τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων, may be rendered as expressing, that by frequent embassies and presents he had obtained

the title of *Friend of the Emperor*, an honour formerly conferred upon sovereigns in alliance with Rome, by a vote of the senate. Mafiniffa, Eumenes, and Ariovistus, were styled *Amici Populi Romani*. But I have preferred the rendering in the text, because the presents from Rome are specified.

WAS



was in the possession of the Abyssinians, whose power terminated with his birth; and that in the short period¹⁴⁷ which intervened between his assuming the prophetic office and the Caliphate of Abubecre and Omar, all this part of Arabia was, almost without an effort, subjected¹⁴⁸ to their power. In the sixteenth century the Turks were masters of the coast, and some places inland, but were driven out by the founder of the present dynasty, Khallem el Ebir, whose posterity assumed the title of Imam, and fixed their residence at Sana, the present capital of Yemen, which cannot be very distant from the ancient metropolis of Sabæa.

On this coast, the first fleets that sailed from Egypt met the commerce from India. Agatharchides seems to say, that the ships from Persia, Carmania, and the Indus, came no farther than the coast beyond the straits; and that the fleets from Egypt received their lading without passing them. Now the fleet from Carmania and the Indus could not reach Arabia without experiencing the effects of the monsoon, as Nearchus had done; and the knowledge of this once obtained, could not be lost. We cannot go farther back, historically, than the journal of Nearchus; but in that we find manifest traces of Arabian navigators on the coast of Mekran, previous to his expedition. And whether the Arabians sailed from Oman or Sabæa, it is still a proof that the monsoon must have been known to them before the time of Alexander; and a high probability that they had reached the coast of Malabar, or that vessels from that coast had reached Arabia, from the earliest ages.

¹⁴⁷ Niebuhr, tom. ii. p. 10.

¹⁴⁸ Yemen seems to have been converted before Mahomet's death, if we credit the account of Ali's mission and success. But the

accession of the strongest and richest provinces of the peninsula, of the more civilized to the more barbarous, is one of the obscurest facts in the early history of the Mahomedan power.



The distance from Moofa to Okêlis is short of forty¹⁴⁹ miles. Okêlis has a bay immediately within the straits; and at this station the fleets which sailed from Egypt in July, rendezvoused¹⁵⁰ till they took their departure the latter part of August, when the monsoon was still favourable to conduct them to Muziris, on the coast of India. For Okêlis we have Okîla¹⁵¹ in other ancient authors, and Ghella is the name it bears at present. D'Anville has marked it sufficiently in his Ancient Geography; and in Capt. Cook's¹⁵² chart, which is upon a large scale, the entrance of this bay is two miles¹⁵³ wide, and its depth little short of three. Added to this, if it is considered that the projection of the Bab-el-Mandeb point is a complete protection¹⁵⁴ against the contrary monsoon, we find here all the conveniences¹⁵⁵ that were requisite for a fleet constructed like those of the ancients.

¹⁴⁹ 300 stadia, Peripl. equal to $37\frac{1}{2}$ miles, or, at 10 stadia to the mile, 30 miles.

¹⁵⁰ See *supra*, pp. 37. & 75.

¹⁵¹ *Axîla*, text; *Qadla*, marg. Strabo. P. 769. he calls the promontory by this name.

¹⁵² It has been already noticed, that the Capt. Cook here mentioned commanded a sloop in the India Company's service, about the year 1774. His scale is very large, and consequently I have been enabled to view this bay more distinctly than in d'Anville's map, or De la Rochette's chart; and had I been possessed of Capt. Cook's chart when I described the Bay Avalites (p. 115.), I should not have been at a loss to assign its form and limits: it appears there in perfect conformity with the Periplus. Such is the advantage of a large scale, and such is the correspondence of mo-

dern intelligence with ancient authorities, when we can obtain it in detail.

¹⁵³ De la Rochette marks this bay, and adds, that it is still navigable by boats; a sufficient proof that it was practicable for an Egyptian fleet seventeen centuries ago.

¹⁵⁴ Between Cape St. Antony and Babel Mandeb the land is low along shore, forming a deep bay, which makes the Cape (Babel Mandeb) appear detached. *Oriental Navigator*, p. 152.

¹⁵⁵ Having passed the strait, it is necessary to anchor: you must shut up the straits, and anchor a little to the northward of Cape Babel-Mandeb, where the water is *always smooth*. *Oriental Navigator*, p. 152.—N. B. This is at the entrance of the Bay of Okêlis.



X. STRAITS OF BAB-EL-MANDEB, ANCIENT NAVIGATION
OF SESOSTRIS.

THE passage of the fraits, and entrance into the ocean, had been considered possibly as great an atchievement by the natives, on both sides of the Gulph of Arabia, as the voyage of Hercules through the Straits of Gades to the Garden of the Hesperides, by the Greeks. Fabulous accounts consequently attached to both; and the passing of Bab-el-Mandeb was as naturally attributed to Sesostris, as the voyage through the Straits of Gibraltar to Hercules. Diodôrus says, that Sesostris¹⁵⁶ sent a fleet of four hundred ships into the Erythræan Sea, and subdued the islands, and all the maritime countries as far as India. Herôdotus is much more moderate; and mentions only, that Sesostris commenced his expedition from the Gulph of Arabia, and subdued the nations bordering on the Erythræan Sea, till he met with shoals¹⁵⁷, which opposed the farther progress of his fleet.

But as we are now arrived at the fraits, I shall introduce a table comprizing the most material authorities of the ancients, compared with each other, and with the different conclusions of the moderns. A final decision on the points disputed, or actual precision in the present attempt, are not to be expected; but a probable adjustment of near twenty names to their respective positions, will afford the reader a general view, which will enable him to form a judgment for himself.

¹⁵⁶ Diod. lib. i. p. 64. ed. Wessél.

¹⁵⁷ Herod. lib. ii. p. 149. ed. Wessél.

TABLE



TABLE of PTOLEMY's Catalogue for the Eastern Side of the Gulph of Arabia, compared with other Geographers, ancient and modern.

The first Latitude of Ptolemy is according to the Latin Text; the second, according to the Greek.

* Denotes Positions supposed to be ascertained. R. Latitudes from De la Rochette.

PTOLEMY.	AGATHARCHIDES.	DIODORUS.	STRABO.	D'ANVILLE.	GOSSELLIN.	PERIPLUS.
I. Kufma Garrison 28° 50' 28° 10'		Lethyophagi, lib. 3. c. 40. p. 208. in whose country the sea retreated. Troglodytes.		Clyfma 29° 27' Philahiroth. Sicard.		* Clyfma 29° 40' R.
II. Arsinoë 29° 10' 29° 20'		Polidion. Under this name Diodorus comprehends the sea of Suez.		Arsinoë 29° 46' Cleopatra. Suez.	Clyfma. Suez. Colzum.	* Suez 29° 58' R.
III.	Phoenicôn.	Phoenicôn.	Phoenicôn.	Elim. of Exod. xxv. 27. el Tor. 28° 10'	Elim. Tor. Raithum.	* Tor 28° 11' R.
IV.	Néssa is not an Island in Agatharchides	Island of Phocæ, described with the properties of Néssa.	Island of Phocæ.	El Cab.	Sheduwan.	* Sheduwan Island 27° 24' R.
V. Pharan - 28° 30' 28° 10'	Promontory.	Promontory.	Promontory.	Ras Mahomed.	Ras Mahomed.	* Ras Mahomed 27° 47' 5" R.
VI. Elana - 29° 0' 28° 15' City - 26° 15' 29° 15'	Laianitick Gulph.	Laianitick Gulph.	Elanitick Gulph.	Aila. Elath. Hajla. 29° 30'	Aila Acaba Ila.	* Elath 29° 15' 5" R.
VII.				Acaba. Ezion Geber.	Acaba.	* Acaba 29° 10' R.
VIII. Onnè 28° 40' 28° 30'						
IX. Modiana 27° 45' 27° 45'	Batnizominëis.	Banizomenes.	Hunters.	Magar Schuab. Jethro the Midianite	Magar Schouab.	* Madian or Midian.
X. Hippos, Mount. 27° 20' Town 26° 40' 26° 10'					Bull's Horns. Irwin. But S. of Moilah.	Bull's Horns. Irwin, p. 143. vol. i. oct.
XI. Phenicôn 26° 20' 26° 20'				Çalaat el Moilah.	Moilah. Leukè Komè.	* Leukè Komè. White Village. 27° 56' R.
XII.	Three Islands: 1. Sacred to Isis. 2. Sookabua. 3. Salydo.	Three Islands. One sacred to Isis.	Three Islands.			* Three Islands. Irwin 28° 4' R. 1. Tiran. 2. Barkan. 3. Sanafer.
XIII. Rhaunathi Village 25° 40' 25° 40'	Dangerous coast, ends at Hassan, lat. 25° R.	Dangerous coast. Echinades.	Dangerous coast, 1000 stades.	Rouniè.	Dangerous coast.	* Dangerous coast. Kauraites.
XIV.				Hawr. White Vil- lage, 25° d'Anville.		Hawr, same lat. as Hassan Isl ^d 25° R.
XV. Cherfonefe Promontory 25° 20' 25° 20'	Coast with water.	Cherfonefus.	Cherfonefus.	Ras Edom 24° 5'	Ras Uaned 25° 40' possibly Ras Mahar 24° 32' R.	* Ras Reghab? lat. 24° 13' R. under which, Jeraboop harbour of Irwin
XVI. Lamba Village 24° 0' 23° 50'	Coast with water.	Charmoothas.	Charmothas.	Yambo 23° 50' 24° 1' R.	Yambo inland. Yambo on the coast.	* Al Giar 23° 4' or Yambo. R.



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XVII. Copar Village 23° 15'					El Cobi Kobbit. Dome. Cupola.	
23° 15'					Rabagh.	
XVIII. Arga Village 22° 40'					Gadirkom 22° 50'	
22° 20'						T'afra? 23° 30' R.
XIX. Zaaram Capital 22° 0'					Giddah.	
22° 0'						
XX. Kentos Village 21° 30'						
21° 30'						
XXI. Thebæ City - 21° 0'	Dedebæ.	Debæ.	Debæ, from יהב, Dahab, Gold.	Province of Mekka. Maco-raba of Ptol? 22° 0'	Mekkaus.	* Mekka 21° 32' R. Province of Mekka. Mecca, lat. 21° 40'.
21° 0'						
XXII. Bætius River 20° 40'				Bardilloi.	Sockia.	* River Charles. Ibhar Obhar 21° 39' R.
20° 20'						
XXIII.				Giddah 21° 34' Port of Mekka.		* Giddah. Port of Macoraba.
XXIV. Badeo Capital 20° 15'				Ras Bad. Avad 21° 25'	Serrain.	Giddah Head 21° 28' R.
20° 20'						
XXV. Ambæ City - 19° 10'						Gedan? Ziden?
19° 30'						
XXVI. Kaffanites	Alhæi. Kaffandrini.	Gafandeis. Alilæi.	Gold Coast.	Ghezan 16° 48' R.	Beni Halil.	Gedan, or Ziden, 20° 44' R.
XXVII. Mámala Village						Ras Hali? 18° 0' Limit of Hejaz and Yemen 18° 37' R.
18° 10' 18° 10'						
XXVII. Adédi Village						Callanites terminate perhaps at Ras Ghefan.
17° 10' 17° 10'						
XXIX. Elifari on the coast. Minæi inland.						Elifari commence from about Ras Ghezan, lat. 16° 30' to Mo za.
XXX. Puani City - 16° 30'						
16° 10'						
XXXI. Pudni City 16° 30'						
16° 10'						
XXXII. Æli Village 15° 30'				Ras Hali, lat. 19° 0'	Loheia 15° 30'	Bay below Loheia? Island Gebel Tar 15° 10' 15° 40' R.
15° 10'						
XXXIII. Napegus Village						Hodeida? resembles Adedi in sound, but not in position.
15° 0' 15° 0'						
XXXIV. Sacatia City 14° 30'						Al Sharga? Island Gebir Zekir 13° 50' 14° 0' R.
14° 30'						
XXXV. Moofa Mart 14° 0'	Sabæa.	Sabæa.	Sabæa.	Mooka.	Muza, from Niebuhr 6 leagues inland.	* Muza 13° 0' Mokha 13° 18' R.
14° 0'						
XXXVI. Sosippi Port 13° 0'						
13° 0'						
XXXVII. Pleud Okélis						
12° 30' 12° 30'						
XXXVIII. Okélis - 12° 0'				Ghella.	Ghella.	* Ghella Bay 12° 48' R.
12° 0'						
XXXIX. Palindromos Prom?				Bab-el-Mandeb.	Bab-el-Mandeb 12° 39' 20" Bruce.	* The Babs. Pilot's Inf. 12° 44' R.
11° 40' 11° 20'						



If the shoals of Heródotus have any foundation in fact, they are connected with the Bay Avalites¹⁵⁸, on the African shore, immediately beyond the straits, where mention is made both by Strabo and the Periplus, that the vessels employed in later ages put their lading into boats in order to trade with the natives; but this is hardly intended by Heródotus, though his description has confined him within narrower limits than those of Diodorus.

This, however, we obtain at least from the account before us, that in the age of Heródotus it was a prevailing opinion, that the passage had been made in the most remote ages; and if the Egyptians ever were navigators, there can be no objection to admit them into a participation of the commerce with Arabia, or extending that commerce as far as the Arabians did towards the east. Few other historical documents, however, of the fact appear, farther than may be collected from the circumstances here recorded, and these are both few and deficient.

To what extent the passage of the straits, and progressively, the voyage to India, were accomplished, has been already sufficiently shewn; but that it was always considered as a most extraordinary attempt by all those who had not personally made it, we want no other testimony than that of Arrian, the historian of Alexander. He asserts, that no one had gone round the whole coast, from the Arabian into the Persian¹⁵⁹ Gulph, though perhaps some few had passed from one to the other by striking out into the open sea¹⁶⁰.

¹⁵⁸ Perhaps the Safus of Cosmas, but dubious; for his Safus seems to be rather on the coast of Adel, or Barbaria. See Melch. Thevenot, p. 7. Cosmas.

for the western coast of the Gulph of Persia has been little visited. Capt. Hamilton's is the best account I have seen.

¹⁶⁰ Lib. viii. p. 352. ed. Gronov. See the note of Gronovius on this passage, p. 356.

Now



Now Arrian lived in the reign of Adrian; and Hippalus had laid open the track to India, at least fourscore years before Arrian wrote: so little was known in the northern part of the empire of what was going on in the south.

Okêlis was not a mart of commerce, but a bay with good anchorage, and well supplied with water: it was subject to Cholêbus¹⁶¹. The neighbouring headland of Bab-el-Mandeb, which forms the entrance of the straits, is placed in lat. $12^{\circ} 39' 20''$ by Bruce, and the straits themselves are said to be only sixty stadia, or seven miles and a half wide, or six miles, if we reckon ten stadia to the mile. This is very near the truth, if we measure from Bab-el-Mandeb to Pêrim, which the Periplus calls the Island of Diodôrus; while the whole breadth, from the Arabian to the African side, is nearly five-and-twenty¹⁶². Pêrim, or Mehun, was taken possession of by the British, when the French were in Egypt, and begun to be fortified; but it has no water. It is not the only island in the straits; for there is another called Pilot's Island, close to the Arabian shore; and on the African side eight more, bearing the name of Agesteen.

The wind in this passage is described as violent, from its confinement between the high lands on both sides; and the opening of the straits gradually towards Fartaque and Gardesfan, is strongly¹⁶³ marked in the Periplus.

The first place to which we are directed beyond the straits, is a village called Arabia Felix: its distance is estimated at an hundred and twenty miles from Okêlis; and it was formerly a city of im-

¹⁶¹ Κάμιν τῆς αὐτῆς τυραννίδος; of the Usurper's Country.

¹⁶² Bruce conjectures six leagues. Cook's Chart makes it near 25 miles. Bruce, i. 315.

¹⁶³ Ἀνοιγομένη πάλιν τῆς θαλάσσης εἰς ἀνατολὴν καὶ κατὰ ΜΙΚΡΟΝ εἰς πέρατος ἀποφανομένη opening by degrees from the straits to the two capes.



portance before¹⁵⁴ the fleets passed from India to Egypt, or from Egypt to the countries towards the East¹⁵⁵. Previous to that time, the fleets from Egypt and the East met in this harbour, which was the centre of the commerce, as Alexandria was afterwards for all that passed through Egypt into the Mediterranean. This harbour was more commodious than Okêlis, and afforded better anchorage, as well as better convenience for watering, than Okêlis. The town stands at the entrance of the bay, and the retiring of the land inwards affords protection to the shipping. Reduced as it was in the author's age, by the different channel into which the commerce had been directed, the village was subject to Charibâel, and had within a few years been taken and destroyed by the Romans.

XI. A D E N.

EVERY circumstance in this minute description directs us to Aden: the distance, the harbour, and the name¹⁵⁶, all correspond; and the peculiarity of its being under Charibâel, while Okêlis was possessed by Cholêbus, marks the extent of the Homerite dominions, surrounding Maphartis in the angle of the peninsula. The native sheiks, or heads of tribes, at the present day, are perfect representatives of Cholêbus. When Niebuhr was in Arabia, the sheik of

¹⁵⁴ *ἔως τῆς ἰσθμίου*.

¹⁵⁵ In the middle ages, the India trade had reverted into its original course: *Ex ipsa solvitur navigia Sindæ, Indiæ, et Sinarum, et ad ipsam deferuntur vasa Sinica*. Al Edrissi, p. 25.

The Arabs distinguish between Cheen and

Ma-Cheen: the first is Cochin China; and the other, China. The porcelain mentioned seems to imply, that *Sinarum* used here means the real Chinese, and that they traded so far west in that age. *Sindæ* and *Indiæ* express Scindi and Hindostan.

¹⁵⁶ Aden signifies *deliciae*. Huët.

Aden



Aden was no longer subject to the Imam of Sana, but had asserted his independence, and possessed a small territory in the neighbourhood of the city.

The capture also and destruction of this village by the Romans, a short time previous to the author's age, would be a natural consequence of the progress and extension of the Roman commerce from the Red Sea to India; and, as Claudius collected a tribute from the maritime towns of Arabia, it is natural to suppose that he was the Cesar mentioned in the *Periplus*, who ordered this place to be destroyed, for the purpose of suppressing every power that might interfere with the Roman commerce, or divert a share of it into its ancient channel. It is true this must have been an act of oppression upon Charibael, who was the ally and friend of the Roman emperors; but far greater sacrifices of their justice to their ambition occur in the history of those sovereigns of the world. Was it not the same policy which induced Soliman, emperor of the Turks, when he sent Soliman Pacha from the Red Sea to suppress the rising power of the Portuguese in India; when, under pretence of delivering the Mahomedan Powers from this new and unexpected intrusion of the Christians, he employed the forces which had been collected on the occasion in seizing on the maritime towns of Arabia? It was then that Soliman Pacha obtained possession of Aden by treachery, and hanged the sheik at the yard-arm of his ship¹⁶⁷.

I conjecture that it was Aden which Agatharchides describes without a name, when he places a city on his White Sea without

¹⁶⁷ *Viaggio di un comito Venetiano*. Ra- Soliman Pacha. He was present at the execution of the sheik, and describes the Indian
musio, tom. i. f. 276. anno 1538.

This Venetian captain was put in requisition trade at Aden as then consisting of only three
at Alexandria, and sent to Suez to serve under or four spice ships in a year.



the straits; from whence, he says, the Sabæans sent out colonies or factories into India, and where the fleets from Persia, Carmania, and the Indus, arrived. He specifies large ships employed for this purpose; and though his mention of islands may suggest an idea of Socotra, Curia Muria, and the coast of Oman, it seems far more probable that his intelligence was imperfect, and that these fleets, which he describes, must have been found in the same port which the Periplus assigns them, as long as the monopoly continued in the hands of the Sabæans.

The testimony of Agatharchides is, in one point, highly important; for it is the first historical evidence to prove the establishment of Arabian colonists, or rather resident factors and merchants, in the ports of India: it is a fact in harmony with all that we collect in later periods, from Pliny, and the Periplus, and Cosmas; and we may from analogy conclude, that it was equally true in ages antecedent to Agatharchides; that is, as early as we can suppose the Arabians to have reached India. The settlement of their own agents in the country was most convenient and profitable, while the manners and religion of India created no obstacle to the system.

In the middle ages, when the power of the Romans was extinguished, and the Mahomedans were possessed of Egypt, Aden resumed its rank as the centre of the trade between India and the Red Sea. The ships which came from the East were large, like those which Agatharchides describes: they did not pass the straits, but landed their cargoes at this port, where the *trankies*¹⁶⁸ or *germes* of the Arabs, which brought the produce of Europe, Syria, and Egypt,

¹⁶⁸ M. Polo uses the expression *Zerme*. The circumstance, that the ships from the East did not enter the Red Sea.

received



received the precious commodities of the East, and conveyed them either to Assab, Kofir, or Jidda; when all that passed into Europe, still came to Alexandria, and enriched the Soldan's dominions by the duties levied, and the profits of the transit. In this situation, Marco Polo found Aden¹⁶⁹ in the thirteenth century; and the account he gives of the wealth, power, and influence of Aden, is almost as magnificent as that which Agatharchides attributed to the Sabæans in the time of the Ptolemies, when the trade was carried on in the same manner.

So far as the identity of Aden and Arabia Felix, there is neither difficulty nor disagreement; but upon the remainder of this extensive coast, from Aden to the Gulph of Persia, there will be few positions in the following detail which will accord with d'Anville's arrangement, or with that of other commentators who have bestowed their attention upon the *Periplus*.

XII. ARRANGEMENT OF THE COAST OF ARABIA ON THE OCEAN.

THE circumstance upon which the whole depends, is the adjustment of Syágros. In common with others, I had supposed its representative to be the modern Ras-el-had; and there is so much to induce this opinion, that I abandoned it with great reluctance, and shall perhaps find great difficulty in persuading others that it is erroneous.

The *Periplus* notices Syágros as pointing to the East, and as the greatest promontory in the world. Omana likewise is men-

¹⁶⁹ M. Polo, lib. iii. c. 39. the soldan of Aden at the siege of Acre, in the year 1200. Such a sent 30,000 horse and 40,000 camels, to assist foldan as this might be the Imam of Sana.



tioned with it, answering to the present Oman; and Moscha, seemingly identified with Maskat, the principal port of that province. Under the influence of these resemblances and probabilities, if I had joined in the common suffrage, and called Syágros Ras-el-had in my former publications, wherever it occurred, it is conviction alone, and the abandonment of system for truth, which compels me to recall the error, and acknowledge that Syágros is not Ras-el-had, but Fartaque.

This is a concession not made for the purpose of particular accommodation, but grounded on a general analysis of all the positions on the coast, on a combination of all the circumstances relative to the division of the provinces; and upon a painful re-consideration of all that was to be undone, and unsettled, after I had fixed my opinions upon the authority of the best writers, who had preceded me on the subject.

The reader will expect proofs; and the proofs are, that the islands round the whole extent of the coast on the ocean will now fall naturally into their places, which cannot be effected by any other arrangement. The islands in Ptolemy will become relatively consistent with those of the Periplus; and the Bay Sachalites, which Ptolemy has been accused of transposing from the west to the east of Syágros, is reduced to the different application of a name, instead of a difference in point of situation.

Sachalites is universally allowed to be the Greek form of expressing the Arabick Sahar¹⁷⁰. Now there are two Sahars on the

¹⁷⁰ Sahar becomes Sachar by enforcing the sound of the aspirate, and the change of the final r is analogous in a variety of instances; thus, Degel formed into Deger, is the river Tigris of the Greeks; and Simus Sachal-ites is equivalent to Sachar-ites, the bay of Sachar or Sahar.



coast of Arabia: one that is almost central between Aden and Fartaque; and another that lies to the east of Fartaque, between that cape and Cape Morebat or Merbat¹⁷¹. In the first¹⁷² of these there is little variation of orthography; but the other is written Schæhr, Schahr¹⁷³, Shahar, Cheer¹⁷⁴, and Seger. They are both frequented as places of trade to this day. And if we suppose that the first Sahar is the Sachalites of the Periplûs, and the second Shahar, the Sachalites of Ptolemy, the Syágros of Ptolemy will answer to Fartaque as well as the Syágros of the Periplûs, and the two authors will be in harmony with each other.

Further proofs of this reconciliation will be given in our progress along the coast, and some difficulties that attend it will be acknowledged; but if it should be admissible or probable upon the whole, much indulgence is due in regard to inferior objections; as, upon the first view of the coast before us, no two accounts can seem more irreconcilable to each other than those of Ptolemy and the Periplûs.

¹⁷¹ Cape Merbat, called Morebat and Marabout in our charts, is a headland much noticed by our English navigators: it is one of the principal sources of frankincense; for Al Edrissi says, in montibus Merbat nascuntur arbores thuris quod deinde in omnes Orientis et Occidentis partes defertur. It is four days, or an hundred miles, from Hasec, and consequently in the very heart of the district, which is the Sachalites of Ptolemy. I observe in some authors a division of the coast into Thurifera Regio, Prior and Ulterior: if this is founded, the Prior would be previous to Fartaque, and the Ulterior to the eastward of it; the first would be the Sachalites of the Periplûs, and the latter the Sachalites of Ptolemy; and respectively, the Hadramaut and Seger of Al Edrissi. But I rather think the distinction

modern, at least I have not yet met with it in any ancient author. See Al Edrissi, p. 27.

¹⁷² The first Sahar is meant by Niebuhr, as he places it in the province of Jafa, which lies between Aden and Hadramaut; and he writes it Schähr, Arabie. Tom. ii. p. 125. French edition.—It is likewise the Efcier of Marco Polo, 40 miles from Aden. Lib. iii. c. 40.

¹⁷³ In the French Voyage, by La Roque 1716, which, with the French pronunciation, is our English Schæhr, pronounced Share.

¹⁷⁴ Renaudot's Arab calls it Sihar or Shihr, which is the English Sheer. The produce, he says, is frankincense. The ships of Siraf go to Jidda, but never farther in the Red Sea. Their cargoes are conveyed to Egypt in ships of Colsum, the Red Sea, p. 93.



XIII. KANÈ.

THE first port to which we are to proceed from Aden, is Kanè¹⁷⁵; the distance is stated at two thousand stadia or more, upon a length of coast inhabited by Bedouins and Ichthyophagi; and if we estimate the number of stadia at two hundred miles, the termination falls very nearly at the Cava Canim of d'Anville, or at Maculla Bay, which lies a very few miles to the eastward. Our charts take notice of both; and at Cava Canim, which is inserted principally upon the authority of d'Anville, there appear some islets, which may be Orneôn¹⁷⁶ and Troolla, described as desert isles by the Periplus; and which, if they exist, identify Cava Canim for Kanè, in preference to Maculla. In point of distance, either is sufficiently exact to answer the purpose; for Maculla is sixty¹⁷⁷ leagues from Aden, and Cava Canim eight or ten miles short of that bay.

Kanè is represented as a port of considerable trade, subject to Eleázus, king of the Incense country, who resided at Sabbathath, the principal city of the district, which lies at some distance inland. At Kanè is collected all the incense that is produced in the country, and which is conveyed hither both by land and sea, either by means

¹⁷⁵ I have not been without suspicion, that Kanè might be Keschin, which I have found written Cassin; that is, Kain in Oriental pronunciation. But I have the name only to guide me to this suspicion; for Keschin would not agree with the distance from Aden, or to C. Fartaque, or with the Bay Sachalites of the Periplus. Neither have I yet found, in any map or narrative, two islands off Keschin, to correspond with Orneôn and Troolla.

Islands, rivers, mountains, and promontories, are our surest guides.

¹⁷⁶ Orneôn is Bird Island, so called perhaps from the universal habit of sea fowls resorting to desert islets; and Troolla has no meaning in Greek. It is said to lie 120 stadia from Kanè, of which I can find no trace.

¹⁷⁷ Sixty leagues, or 180 geographical miles, are equal to 208 miles English. See Oriental Navigator, p. 162.



of caravans, or in the vessels of the country, which are floats supported upon inflated skins⁹⁸. Sabbathath is supposed by most of the commentators to be Schibam or Scebam, which Al Edrissi places in Hadramaut, at four stations, or an hundred miles, from Mareb: a certain proof that we have adopted the right Sahar for the Periplus; because Mareb cannot be within *three* hundred miles of the Eastern Sahar, or Seger; and Seger is not considered by Al Edrissi as a part⁹⁹ of Hadramaut, but as a separate district.

It is remarkable that the author of the Periplus, who notices Sabæa and Oman by name, makes no mention of Hadramaut, the third general division of the coast, but distinguishes it only by the title of the Incense country. To maintain that these are the three general divisions of Arabia on the Indian Ocean, is consonant to all the evidence we have, ancient and modern; neither do independent districts or sheiks, as those of Keschin, Seger, or Mahra, interfere with this distribution. And that we are equally correct in assigning the Western Sahar to Hadramaut, is capable of proof; for Al Edrissi says, from Aden to Hadramaut, which lies to the east of Aden, are five¹⁰⁰ stations. If therefore we observe, that at Kanè we are already two hundred miles east of Aden, we are advanced far enough to shew that we are in Hadramaut¹⁰¹, and that the Western Sahar is properly placed in that province.

⁹⁸ These floats are noticed by Agathangides, and are by some supposed to give name to a tract inhabited by Afcitæ, from *Afcitæ*, Uter.

⁹⁹ Terræ Hadramauti contermina est ab oriente terra Seger. P. 53.

¹⁰⁰ Ab Aden autem ad Hadramaut quæ jacet ab orientali latere ipsius Aden, stationes quinque. P. 26.

¹⁰¹ Ptolemy makes Kanè the emporium of Hadramaut.

At Kanè likewise, as there was an established intercourse with the countries eastward¹⁸²; that is, with Barugaza, Scindi, Oman, and Persis¹⁸³; so was there a considerable importation from Egypt, consisting of the following articles:

Πυρὸς ὀλίγος,	-	-	-	A small quantity of Wheat.
Οἶνος,	-	-	-	Wine.
Ἰματισμὸς ¹⁸⁴ Ἀραβικὸς,	-	-	-	Cloths for the Arabian market.
κοινὸς,	-	-	-	Common sort.
ἀπλῆς,	-	-	-	Plain.
νόθος περισσότερος,	-	-	-	Mixed or adulterated, in great quantities.
Χαλκὸς,	-	-	-	Brass.
Κασσίτερος,	-	-	-	Tin.
Κοράλιον,	-	-	-	Coral.
Στύραξ,	-	-	-	Storax, a resin.

And many other articles, the same as are usually imported at Mooza. Besides these also, there are brought

Ἀργυρώματα τετορευμένα,	-	-	-	Plate wrought, and
Χρήματα τῷ βασιλεῖ,	-	-	-	Specie for the king.
Ἴπποι,	-	-	-	Horses.
Ἀνδριάντες,	-	-	-	Carved Images.
Ἰματισμὸς διαφόρος ¹⁸⁵ ἀπλῆς,	-	-	-	Plain Cloth, of a superior quality.

¹⁸² Τῶν πέραν ἑμπορίαν, I had supposed to mean the marts only on the coast of Africa beyond the straits; but, from the usage here, the expression is evidently extended to all ports beyond the straits, not only in Africa, but in India and the Gulph of Persia.

¹⁸³ Τῆς παρὰκείμενης Περσίδος, is the coast of Persia opposite to Oman.

¹⁸⁴ Not cloth of Arabia, but for the Arabian market: so we say in the mercantile language of our own country, Cassimere cloth; that is, cloth for the market of Cassimere. And the word ἱματισμὸς seems to imply, that the cloth was made up into garments.

¹⁸⁵ Apparently in opposition to Κοινὸς.



The exports are the native produce of the country :

Λίβανος, - - - - - Frankincense.

Ἀλόη, - - - - - Aloes.

and various commodities, the same as are found in the other markets of the coast. The best season for the voyage is in Thoth, or September*.

After leaving Kanè, the land trends inward, and there is a very deep bay called Sachalites, that is, the Bay of Sachal or Sachar, and of a very great extent. The promontory (which is at the termination) of this is called Syágros, which fronts towards the east, and is the largest promontory in the world. Here there is a garrison for the protection of the place, and the harbour is the repository of all the Incense that is collected in the country.

XIV. BAY SACHALITES, HADRAMAUT.

THIS bay of Sachal has already been asserted to be Sahar; and this Sahar, or "Shahar"¹⁸⁶, appears to be a fine town at the present day, situated by the sea-side; and it may be seen five or six leagues off. The point of Shahar is twelve or thirteen leagues "from Maculla Bay;" while the coast, with various curves, but no indenture so great as the Periplus requires, stretches E.N.E. to Cape Fartaque¹⁸⁷; and that this Fartaque is Syágros, is the point now to be proved.

¹⁸⁶ Oriental-Navigator, p. 162.

¹⁸⁷ Written Fartak, Fartash, Fortnash.

* I request the Reader to correct an error on this subject, p. 288. *supra*, where it was said, that the season was the latter part of August, and connected with the voyage to Muziris. I now find, that the voyage to the southern coast of Arabia was a distinct navigation. They might make it earlier; but they sailed later in the season, that they might have left time to wait for the easterly monsoon in November.



And first, that it points to the east is true ; but it is not true that it is the largest promontory in the world ; for Ras-el-had, on the same coast, is larger. But it is more conspicuous, and was of more importance, probably, in the author's view, as forming the great entrance to the Gulph of Arabia, in conjunction with Cape Arômata on the coast of Africa ; and as such, it is still a point of most material consequence in the opinion of modern navigators, as well as in that of the ancients.

A second proof is, that Socotra is said to lie between this cape and Arômata ; which, in one respect, is true, and cannot be applied to Ras-el-had. And a third is, that the islands of Curia Muria, and Mazeira, are to the east of this cape, as they really lie ; while, if Syágros were fixed at Ras-el-had, the islands must lie on the west of the Cape, directly transposed from their real position to an erroneous one. But of this we shall treat in its place. We must now return to Sahar, which is considered in the Periplus as the heart of the Incense country, and the Incense country is Hadramaut.

Hadramaut is the Hatzar-maveth of Genesis, which signifies¹³¹ in Hebrew, the Court of Death ; and in Arabick, the Region of Death ; both names perfectly appropriate, according to the testimony of the Periplus, which informs us, “ that the incense is collected by
“ the king's slaves, or by malefactors condemned to this service as
“ a punishment. The country is unhealthy in the extreme ; pesti-
“ lential even to those who sail along the coast, and mortal to the
“ wretched sufferers employed in collecting the frankincense ; who
“ perish likewise as often by want [and neglect] as by the pernicious
“ influence of the climate. The country inland is mountainous, and difficult of access ; the air foggy, and loaded with

¹³¹ Bochart Phaleg. p. 101.

“ vapours



"vapours caused [as it is supposed] by the noxious exhalations
"from the trees that bear the incense; the tree itself is small and
"low, from the bark of which the incense¹⁸⁹ exudes, as gum does
"from several of *our*¹⁹⁰ trees in Egypt."

The conveyance of this drug by land, Pliny informs us, was through Thomna, the capital of the Gebanites, to Gaza on the coast of Palestine, by a caravan that was sixty-two days in its progress; and that the length of this journey, with the duties, frauds, and impositions on it, brought every camel's load to upwards of two-and-twenty pounds, English; and a pound of the best sort at Rome, to more than ten shillings. The course of this conveyance is not easy to comprehend¹⁹¹; for if the commodity passed by a caravan, the Minæans were central, and the usual carriers from Gerrha on the Gulph of Persia, from Hadramaut also, and from Sabæa, to Petra in Idumæa. But we must not understand this as excluding the conveyance of the incense to Alexandria by the Red Sea; for that city was the great repository of this, as well as

¹⁸⁹ It has been observed already from Niebuhr, that the best incense is now procured from India, by far more clear, white, and pure, than the Arabian; and it is a circumstance well worth inquiry, whether the collection of this gum is attended with the same fatal effects in that country as are here described; and whether the consequences are deducible from the drug itself, or from the nature of the country. Those who are desirous of learning more than is here remarked on this subject, may consult Pliny, lib. 12. c. 14. and Salmassius, 48^c, et seq.

¹⁹⁰ ὡς τῶν καὶ τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν ἐν Ἀφρικήν δένδρων. This is an expression so clearly marking the country of the writer, that it cannot be mis-

taken; and the whole description is not that of a man who merely wrote upon the subject, but of one who had visited the country, and painted what he saw.

¹⁹¹ Bochart places Thomna between Sabbathatha and Mariaba, and supposes the Katabéni and Gebanité to be the same people; which they are; for Pliny makes Ocila (Okélis) a port of the Gebanites, xii. 13.: but if so, it is the territory of Maphartis he must place them in; and they would not move by caravans, but by sea. Strabo, however, makes Tamna the capital of the Katabéni, p. 768.; and his Katabéni are not between Sabbathatha and Mariaba, but in the territory of Maphartis.



all the other produce of India and Arabia. Pliny¹³¹ mentions this particularly, and notices the precautions taken by the merchants of that city to prevent fraud and adulteration.

The Periplus does not advert to any particular spot in this bay, or specify any town of Sachal; but, after relating the circumstances as they are here stated, proceeds directly to Syágros. Syágros, or the Wild Boar, would naturally induce a persuasion that it was a nautical appellation, like the Ram Head¹³², Dun Nose, &c.; but it is far more probably to be, like Phenicon in the Red Sea, derived from the palm-trees observed there, of a particular species, called Syágros: they are of a superior sort¹³³, as Pliny informs us, with large fruit, hard, and rough in appearance, and with a high relish of the flavour of *wild boar*. What this flavour is, we may leave to the naturalists to determine; but the allusion to Syágros is manifest; and that the Cape takes its name from its produce, is a natural conclusion. That this promontory is actually Cape Fartaque, cannot be doubted, if we now advert to the particulars connected with it; for we are told, that the island of Dioskórída lies between this point and Cape Arômata, or Gardefan, on the coast of Africa; that it is at a considerable distance in the open sea, but nearer to Syágros than to the Cape opposite; and that it is a large island, far exceeding all the others that appertain to the coast of Arabia.

Now although this account is not strictly accurate, for Socotra is not actually between the two capes, but forms a terminating point

¹³¹ Lib. xii. 14.

¹³² So Καὶ μύρμιρον in Crete.

¹³³ De Palmis. In meridiano orbe præcipuam obtinent nobilitatem Syagri.
ipsum pomum grande, durum, horridum,
et a cæteris generibus diffans sapore ferio.

quem ferme in *apris* novimus. Plin. xiii. 4.

It is not the coco-nut palm; for, among his forty-nine species, Pliny afterwards mentions the Cycas (*Kekas*) pomum rotundo, majore quam mali amplitudine.



to Cape Gardafan, like our Scilly Islands to the Land's End, and is consequently nearer Africa than Arabia; still, speaking generally, the description in other respects is sufficiently correct. The most transient reference to the map will at least prove, that none of these circumstances can be applied to Ras-el-had; for that cape lies almost seven hundred miles farther to the north-east, and can hardly be said, in any sense, to be *opposite* to Gardafan, but by drawing a line of such extreme obliquity, as would never occur to the mind of a mariner under the idea of an *opposite* promontory.

XV. DIOSCÓRIDA, OR SOCOTRA.

DIOSCORIDA, Dioscorides, Dioscúrias, or Dióscora, may have a Greek origin, but it has so near a resemblance to Socotra or Zocotora, that it is much more likely to be a nautical corruption of an Arabick term, than the application of a Greek one.

This island is near an hundred miles long, and thirty at its greatest breadth: it was inhabited only on the northern¹⁹⁵ side in our author's age, and the population there was very scanty, consisting of a mixture of Arabians, Indians, and Greeks, who had resorted hither for

¹⁹⁵ In the French Voyage published by La Roque, 1716, Paris—Tamarin, the capital of the island, was still on the north side. He mentions also, that it was subject to the sheik of Fartaque, the same probably as the sheik of Kefin; though he calls Fartaque the capital, and Seger, or Schæhr, the port (p. 151). The French obtained here aloes, at eight p. astres the quintal of 95 pounds; besides frankincense, civet, and gum dragon. Tamarin

was a well-built town. There are two voyages contained in this work; and in the second, a party went up from Mokha to Sana, who speak well of the Arabs, and the Imam's government. It is a curious work, well digested and put together; and the more worthy of consideration, as I know of no other Europeans who have been at Sana, except Barthema and Niebuhr.

the



the purposes of commerce; while the remainder of the country was marshy and deserted. Marco Polo informs us, that in his time the inhabitants were Christians; and Al Edrissi confirms this, with the addition, that the Greeks were introduced there by Alexander¹⁹⁶, at the request of Aristotle¹⁹⁷, in hopes of obtaining aloes, the principal produce of the island, and of the best quality that is known. Now it is remarkable, that aloes is not mentioned by the author of the *Periplus*; but he notices particularly the drug called Indian¹⁹⁸ cinnabar, which exudes from a certain species of trees, and tortoise-shell, of the largest size and best sort; adding, that there is likewise the mountain or land-tortoise, which has the lower shell of a ruddy yellow, and too hard to be cut; and that from the solid part of this were formed cases¹⁹⁹, boxes, and writing-tablets [of great value].

¹⁹⁶ When he was returning, says Al Edrissi, from the Persian Gulph to the Gulph of Arabia: which, unfortunately, he never did; and equally unfortunate is he in the reason he assigns for the inhabitants being Christians, because Alexander planted Greeks there.

Cosmas Indicopleustes says, they were Greeks from Egypt; he was not at the island, but conversed with some of the natives in Ethiopia: they were Christians, and their priests were from Persia, that is, they were Nestorians. Bayer Hist. Bacl. p. 111. in Montfaucon's Edit. of Cosmas, p. 179.

Marco Polo says, in Mosul on the Tigris, hanno un patriarcha che chiamano Jacolit (catholicos) il qual ordina Arci Vescovi, Vescovi, & Abbati, mandandosi per tutti le partie dell India & Al Cairo, et in Baldach (Bagdat), & per tutte le bande dove habitano Christiani non pero secondo che commanda la

chiesa perche falla in molte cose, et sono Nestorini, Jacopiti et Armeni. Lib. i. c. 6.

¹⁹⁷ Dapper mentions aloes, ambergis, and gum dragon, &c. from a tree called Ber; and notices the Arabs from Caxem (Keschin), and Fartaque as ruling. They are not now Christians, he says; but have christian names, as the remains of that religion.

¹⁹⁸ The native cinnabar is a mineral; and what is meant by Indian cinnabar that distills from trees, is not easy to determine. But I find in Chambers's Dictionary, that there has been a strange confusion between cinnabar and dragon's blood; the dragon's blood therefore is meant, which is one of the natural productions of the island.

¹⁹⁹ Al Edrissi, speaking of the tortoise-shell at Curia Muria, says, dorso testudinum ex quibus conficiunt sibi incolae Isman paropides ad lavandum & pinendum. P. 24.

He



He informs us also, that there were several rivers²⁰⁰, and abundance of crocodiles, snakes, and large lizards; from the last of which they expressed the fat, which they used for oil, and the flesh for food: but they had neither corn nor vines. Some few merchants from Mooza visited this island; and some that frequented the coasts of India and Cambay touched here occasionally, who imported rice, corn, India cottons, and women²⁰¹ slaves, for which they received in exchange very large quantities of the native tortoise-shell.

In the author's age, this island was subject to Eleázus, the king of Sabbathath, who set the revenue to farm²⁰², but maintained a garrison for the purpose of securing his receipts and supporting his authority. This fact is similar to what we had occasion to notice on the coast of Africa, where several of the ports in Azania (or Ajan) were subject to Charibáel and Cholêbus, whose territories were in Yemen; and Niebuhr informs us, that Socotra is at this day subject to the sheik of Keschin, who has considerable possessions in Hadramaut; and Keschin, which lies a few leagues to the westward of Fartaque, cannot be very distant from the territory of Eleázus.

The consistency of these circumstances in the ancient and modern accounts, may induce a persuasion that we have traced out our way so far with certainty and precision; the next step we are to advance, is the only one on the whole coast which will raise a

²⁰⁰ The water here is very good; it runs from the mountains into a sandy valley among date trees. The natives are civil to strangers, but very poor; and the only commodity to trade with, is rice [an article in the *Periplus*], for which we had in exchange some cows, goats, fish, dates, good aloes, and gum dragon.

The prince, or viceroy, resides at Tamarida, on the north side of the island. Capt. Blake, *Oriental Navigator*, p. 149.

²⁰¹ Σύματα θήλυκα δια σπάνι επί προχωρήματα; carried there, because they had few women for the haram.

²⁰² Ἡ πρὸς ἐκμίσθωται.



doubt, and which has certainly been the source of the constant opinion embraced by modern ²⁰³ geographers, that Syágros is not Fartaque, but Ras-el-had.

XVI. MOSKHA AND ÓMANA.

I SHALL state this circumstance in the very words of the author; for he says, "Adjoining to Syágros there is a bay which runs ²⁰⁴ deep into the main land [of] O'mana, six hundred stadia in width; after this there are high mountainous rocks, steep to, and inhabited by a [wild] race, that live in caverns and hollows of the cliff. This appearance of the coast continues for five hundred stadia more, at the termination of which lies a harbour called Moskha, much frequented ²⁰⁵ on account of the Sachalitick incense which is imported there."

It ²⁰⁶ is the mention of Moskha and O'mana here that necessarily suggests the idea of Maskat, which is in Oman, and the principal port of trade in the province: the description of the mountainous coast is characteristic; and the distance, supposing Ras-el-had to be Syágros, not incongruous. I cannot account for this coincidence; but I do not think that Moskha is Maskat, because Maskat is beyond C. Ras-el-had; and I shall shew immediately, by the islands which succeed Moskha, that we are not yet arrived at Ras-el-had by four hundred miles. Neither will the Moskha of Ptolemy solve the diffi-

²⁰³ Bochart supposes Syágros to lie between Hadramaut and Sachalites; which is true in regard to the Sachalites of Ptolemy, and then it is Fartaque. Phaleg. 106.

²⁰⁴ *ἡ δὲ θάλασσα ἀπέχεται ὡς τὸν ἥμισυ, Οὐμὰν.*

²⁰⁵ *Ὁ ἵμος ἀποδεδυμένος*, the appointed, the regular port.

²⁰⁶ Consult d'Anville's *Memoire sur le Mer Erythrée*, Academie de Belles Lettres, tom. xxxv. p. 598.

culty;



culty; for he carries it farther back than the *Periplûs*, and has placed it to the westward of *Syágros*, which is *his* *Fartaque* likewise, as well as the *Fartaque* of our author.

The mention of *O'mana* here is still more unaccountable; but I was in hopes to have reconciled it by means of a river *O'rmanus*, or *Hórmanus*, which *Ptolemy* has in his *Bay Sachalîtes*, and which he brings down from a place called *O'mana*. This, however, is not to be depended upon; for his map is so distorted on this part of the coast, that it leaves the whole matter in uncertainty. One circumstance only can be deduced from it; which is, that his *Ormanus* and *O'mana* are both to the westward of *Ras-el-had*, as well as the *O'mana* and *Moskha* of the *Periplûs*: the proof of which is, that they both precede his *Koródamon*, and *Koródamon* must be the representative of *Ras-el-had*, as it is his extreme point east of the whole peninsula.

There are no data for placing the *Moskha* of the *Periplûs*, but the distance of eleven hundred stadia from *Syágros*; and this measure brings it nearer to *Seger*, the *Sachalîtes* of *Ptolemy*, the *Schœhr* of the moderns, than any other place it can be referred to. At *Moskha*, the mention of the *Bay Sachalîtes* is again introduced by the *Periplûs*; for the author informs us, that throughout the whole extent of that bay, in every port, the incense lies in piles without a guard¹⁰⁷ to protect it, as if it were indebted to some divine power for its security. Neither is it possible to obtain a cargo, either pub-

¹⁰⁷ There is nothing very extraordinary in this: plenty of a commodity, however valuable, and familiarity with the sight of it, take off from the edge of depredation. Bars of silver lie apparently without a guard in the streets of *Panama*; but in *Seger*, besides the protection of the gods, the *sheik* seems to keep good watch, if a single grain cannot be got off till the duty is paid.



licly or by connivance, without permission of the king. Nay, if a single grain were embarked clandestinely, good fortune indeed must the merchant have who could escape with his vessel from the harbour.

At Moskha there is a regular intercourse by sea with Kanè; and such vessels as come from Limúrikè²⁰⁸ and Barugaza, too late in the season, and are obliged to pass the adverse monsoon in this port, treat with the king's officers to obtain frankincense in exchange for their muslins, corn, and oil²⁰⁹.

If it should now be asked, whether I am myself satisfied with the account here given of O'mana and Moskha, I could not answer in the affirmative. These two names certainly throw a shade of obscurity and difficulty over the arrangement of the coast; and if this barren subject should be reviewed by a future commentator, much pleasure would it be to see those obstacles removed, which I have not been so fortunate as to surmount.

Still that, upon the whole, the assumption of Fartaque for Syágros is right, depends upon proofs now to be produced, which are incontrovertible; for we are now advancing to two groupes of islands, which are the most conspicuous of any that are attached to the coast of Arabia on the ocean; and as islands, rivers, and mountains, are features indelible, in these we cannot be mistaken.

XVII. ISLANDS OF ZENÓBIUS, OR CURIA MÛRIA.

At fifteen hundred stadia distance from Moskha, which I have supposed to be Seger; and at the termination of the district called

²⁰⁸ Coceau and Cambay.

²⁰⁹ Probably ghee, or liquid butter.



Asikho, there are seven islands, almost in a line, called the Islands of Zenóbius. Now the distance answers to make these the islands in the Bay of Curia Muria, the Chartan²¹⁰ Martan of Al Edriffi; and though he says they are only four, and four only they appear on our charts, it is conclusive in their favour, that he styles the bay Giun-al-Hafscif²¹¹; and Hasek (the Asikho of the Periplus) is the principal town in the bay at the present hour. Hasec²¹² Al Edriffi calls it himself in another place, where he mentions only two islands, as Chartan and Martan; and says, it is a small city, but populous, and the bay deep and dangerous. The four islands have now obtained the names of Halki, Sordi, Halabi, and Deriabi; and it is possible that some rocky or deserted islets attached to them may have caused them to have been reckoned seven; for seven they are in Ptolémý also, placed in the same relative situation between Fartaque and Ras-el-had, though not correct in their vicinity to the coast.

XVIII. SARÁPIS, OR MAZEIRA.

FROM Hasec, or Asikho, we have, first, a tract inhabited by a barbarous tribe²¹³, not subject to Arabia but Persis²¹⁴; and at the distance

²¹⁰ Bochart says, that by a change of the points, he reads Curian Murian for the Chartan Martan of Al Edriffi.

²¹¹ Sinus Herbarum, Al Edriffi, p. 22.—P. 27. he makes Hasec the city, and AlHafscif the bay; but are they not the same name?

²¹² Here Ptolémý places the Aseitæ, whose name he derives from *ασκός*, because they sail on floats supported on inflated skins; but this is giving a Greek derivation of an Arabick name. Bochart conjectures, with much more probability, that they are the inhabitants of

Hasek; and that Ptolémý's Mæphat is a corruption of Merbat, as it is written in Al Edriffi, the C. Morebat of our charts. Phaleg. 106.

²¹³ *Ἡ ἀφ' ὧν παραπλήσιον ὡς γαλίας διαχίλις ἀπὸ τῶν Ζηνοβίαι;* rendered by Hudson, Hanc ubi ex supernis locis prætervectus fueris: but *ἀφ' ὧν* means keeping off shore by a direct course, in opposition to *περικολύζοντι*, or following the bend of the coast.

²¹⁴ This is no more extraordinary than that the sovereigns of Arabia should have territories



distance of two thousand stadia from the Islands of Zenóbius, another island called Sarápis. Sarápis, it is added, is an hundred and twenty stadia from the coast, two hundred stadia in breadth, and contains three villages, inhabited by priests, or recluses, of the Ichthyóphagi, who speak the Arabick language, and wear girdles or aprons made of the fibres of the cocoa¹¹⁵. Plenty of tortoise-shell, and of a good quality, is found here, on which account it is regularly frequented by the small vessels and barks from Kanè.

If we should now consult the chart, and examine the size of this island, and its distance from the isles of Zenóbius, which we may estimate by the stadia at about two hundred miles, we identify it to a certainty with Mazeira; for there is no other island of this size, or at an hundred and twenty stadia from the coast, or perhaps capable of containing three villages, any where to the westward of Fartaque, or the eastward of Ras-el-had. It must therefore lie between these two points, and precisely ascertain, that we are past the one, and not yet arrived at the other; and likewise, that the isles of Zenóbius must, by their distance and relative situation, be the Curia Muria of the present day, notwithstanding their disagreement in point of number.

Mazeira is well known to modern navigators: its size and situation are sufficiently ascertained; and there is a channel¹¹⁶ between the island and the main, through which English ships have passed.

stories on the coast of Africa. In Niebuhr's time, the sheik of Abu Schahr, or Busheer, in Persia, was master of Bahrain on the western coast of the Gulph of Persia.

¹¹⁵ *Περὶ τῆς καρυίας* KOYKINON. We find the name of the Cocoa Palm-tree (as far as I can learn) first mentioned in this work. Pliny

had obtained it likewise. Cloth is still made of the fibres of the nut: whether the leaves afford a substance for weaving, or whether they were themselves the apron, may be doubted; the text is in favour of the leaves.

¹¹⁶ *Oriental Navigator*, pp. 167, 168.

D'Anville



D'Anville has supposed that Sarápis is the same as Mazeira, without considering that if it be so, it is to the west of Ras-el-had, and that therefore his Syágros, which is fixed at Ras-el-had, cannot be correct.

XIX. ISLANDS OF KALAIUS, OR SUADI.

UPON leaving Sarápis, we have another distance of two thousand stadia, and then another group, called the Islands of Kalaius. The distance is too short²¹⁷, but the islands are those of Suadi or Swardy, which lie between Maskat and Sohar, and which, according to M^cCluer²¹⁸, are formed into four ranges for the space of seven leagues, with a clear passage between them. In assuming these islands for those of Kalaius, there can be no error, for the language of our author is precise: he says, that as you are now approaching the Gulph of Persia, keeping close²¹⁹ round the coast, you change the

²¹⁷ I should read *τριχιλίας* for *διτριχιλίας*; but though I have suggested corrections, I have never ventured on an alteration of the text.

²¹⁸ *Oriental Navigator*, p. 181. & 175.

²¹⁹ Περικολίζοντες δὲ τὴν ἐχομένην ἡπείρου, ἕως αὐτὴν τὴν ΑΡΚΤΟΝ ἢ περὶ τὴν ἑσθλὴν τῆς Περσικῆς θαλάσσης, κίονται ἡσται πλείονες, [πλείονες, Stuckius.] Καλάϊς λεγόμεναι ἡσται, σχιδοὶ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης διτριχιλίας περιεσπόμεναι τῇ χερσὶ.

Thus rendered by Hudson:

In sinu autem vicinæ continentis, ad septentriones, prope ostium maris Persici insulæ jacent, ad quas navigatur, Calæi insulæ dictæ, quæ fere bis mille stadiorum intervallo a continente sunt disjunctæ.

But how islands that lie two hundred miles from the coast, can be said to lie in a bay of the continent, is not easy to comprehend. I propose *διαπλεόμεναι*, or *παρεπλεόμεναι*, *passed or sailed through*, for *πλείονες*, and to render the passage thus:

[Proceeding on your course from Sarápis] you wind round with the adjoining coast to the north; and as you approach towards the entrance of the Gulph of Persia, at the distance of two thousand stadia [from Sarápis] you pass a group of islands, which lie in a range along the coast, and are called the Islands of Kalaius.

I imagine that *παρεσπόμεναι τῇ χερσὶ* cannot be rendered better than by describing the islands



the direction of your course to the NORTH. This is literally true at Ras-el-had, and no where else on the coast; for Ras-el-had is the extreme point east of all Arabia; and as soon as you are past it, the coast falls back again to the north-west. If we could reckon the two thousand stadia from the point where this alteration of the course takes place, that is, from Ras-el-had, the distance also would correspond.

After arriving at these islands, if we should review the whole course from Fartaque to Ras-el-had, there is nothing to interfere with the general statement, except the mention of O'mana and Moskha; and no single point ought to stand in competition with the whole. At the distance of eighteen hundred years, it is difficult to say whether the obscurity lies with us, or the author; one should rather acquit the author, who is so correct in other respects, and look for a solution from some future lights, which may appear, either from a better knowledge of the coast, or from some better readings of the commentators, considering that the copy which we have is certainly defective, and that no manuscripts are to be expected.

islands as "*lying in a range*." Perhaps it should be read *παρὰ τὴν ἀκτὴν*; and this is the precise distinction of M'Cluer. *ἤδη* may be read either with *ἡ ἀκτὴν τὴν Ἀραβίαν*, or with *ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπερῶνα*, "*as you are just approaching the Gulf of Persia lie islands*;" and I place a comma at *δεξιῶν*, in order to make it express the distance from Sarapis: but if it be joined with the final clause, it must be rendered, "*the Islands of Kalaius, which lie in a range two thousand stadia along the coast*." This is not true; neither can we stretch the seven

leagues of M'Cluer, or one-and-twenty miles to two hundred. *Ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκτὴν*, signifies literally, to keep close to the shore, to follow the windings of the shore. But whatever doubt there may be concerning the contents of the whole passage, nothing can be more plain than this one circumstance, that the course of the voyage is changed here to the NORTH, and this particular can be true only at Ras-el-had. This is the truth we have been searching for, and I think the proof is conclusive.

The



The natives, on the main opposite to these islands, are said to be treacherous, and their vision to be defective during the light of the day: what the latter circumstance may allude to, it is not material to inquire, but their treachery is natural if they are Bedouin Arabs, as Lieut. Porter²²⁰ says they were in his time at Sohar, and not civilized in their behaviour to the people of his boat.

XX. ISLANDS OF PAPIAS.

WE have now the Islands of Papias, and the Fair Mountain, with the entrance of the Persian Gulph: for the first, we must look to two or three small islands on the coast, beyond Sohar, towards the north; and at the last of these the Journal places the Fair Mountain, which would answer sufficiently to Cape Fillam, if that be high land; and not far from Fillam are the Straits.

It is not improbable, however, that the Islands of Papias may be the Coins, which lie immediately off the entrance of the gulph; for, in a letter of Lieut. M'Cluer to Mr. Dalrymple, he writes, "the Great Coin . . . lies in lat. 26° 30' 0" north . . . and there are four other islands between this and Cape Muffeldom, all of them smaller than the Great Coin, and none of them inhabited . . . Besides these, there are seven others close in, which are not easily distinguished from the Arabian shore." But the determination of the question will depend upon the position in which we view the islands; for they seem to lie within Moçandon, while those of Papias precede it. We must likewise find a place for the Fair Mountain between them and the Cape, for which there seems hardly space sufficient.

²²⁰ Oriental Navigator, p. 177.



XXI. SABO, ASABO, OR MOÇANDON.

It is well known that Moçandon is represented in Ptolemy by the black mountains called Afabo, the promontory of the Afabi; and that Sabo signifies South, designating, as it should seem, in the mind of Arabian navigators, the extreme point south of the Gulph of Persia. A tribe is also noticed in the neighbourhood, which is called Macæ both by Ptolemy and Arrian; and in Macæ we obtain probably the rudiments of Moçandon which *we* have from the Portuguese. But the Orientalists give a different etymology, and inform us, that Mo-salem is the Cape of Congratulation.

Moçandon is of vast height, and frightful appearance; it forms, with Mount ²²¹ Ehowsr, or Elbours, on the opposite shore, the entrance to the gulph, which is near forty miles broad, estimated at sixty in the Periplus; and Elbours is called the Round Mountain of Semiramis: it is round in fact, and has its modern name of Elbours from its supposed resemblance to the Fire Towers of the Guebres or Parsees.

Moçandon is a sort of Lizard point to the gulph; for all the Arabian ships take their departure from it, with some ceremonies of superstition, imploring a blessing on their voyage, and setting afloat a toy, like a vessel rigged and decorated, which, if it is dashed to pieces by the rocks, is to be accepted by the Ocean as an offering for the escape of the vessel.

Whether the author himself passed this cape, and entered the gulph, is very dubious; from the manner of the narration, I should conclude he never entered the gulph; for he mentions only two particulars within the straits, and then introduces the passage across the open sea from Arabia to Karmania.

²²¹ These two mountains opposite, are the Owair and Kofair of Al Edrissi, p. 4.



XXII. TERÉDON, APÓLOGUS, or OBOLEH.

BUT the two particulars noticed are remarkable: the one is the Pearl Fishery, which extends on the bank great part of the way from Moçandon to Bahrain; and the other is the situation of a town called Apólogus, at the head of the gulph on the Euphrates, and opposite the Fort of Pafinus or Spafinus. There can be no hesitation in adopting the opinion of d'Anville, that Apólogus is Oboleh, upon the canal that leads from the Euphrates to Basra; for Oboleh is situated, according to Al Edriffi ²²², at the angle between the canal and the river; and he adds, that the canal covers it on the north, and the river on the east; consequently, this is as nearly opposite to the Fort of Pafinus, as the canal is to the Haffar River, which communicates with all the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates.

Apólogus is Greek in its external form, but much more properly deduced, as d'Anville observes, from Oboleh, which, with the strong oriental aspirate, becomes Obolehh or Obolegh. We may consequently assume this for a proof of its existence as a place of commerce at so early a period, when it had probably taken place of Terédon or Diridótis, as Basra took place of Oboleh under the second Caliphate ²²³ of the Mahometans; but that Oboleh continued a mart of consideration long after the building of Basra ²²⁴, we may

²²² P. 121.

²²³ Abulfeda Reiske, p. 113.

²²⁴ Al Edriffi mentions Basra sufficiently; but in his general description he says, Ab mari Sin derivatur mare Viride, estq; sinus Persæ et Obollæ, sinus pervenit usque ad Obollam prope Abadan, ibiq; terminatur; PP. 3, 4.

Mare Viride, - - the Persian Sea.

Mare Fulvum, - - the Caspian.

Mare Candidum, - the Propontis.

Mare Nigrum, - the Euxine.

Mare Venetum - the Blue Sea, or Mediterranean.

Why do we dispute so much about the mare Rubrum?



be assured by Al Edrisi's making it the termination of the gulph, as well as the Periplûs; and Oboleh, or a village that represents it, still exists between Basra and the Euphrates; the canal also is called the Canal of Oboleh.

Terêdon had been a city of great trade from very remote times; that is, from the age of Nebuchadnezzar to the Macedonian conquest. It seems to have continued so till the time of Augustus, for it is mentioned by Dionysius²³; deserted afterwards, perhaps, from the failure of water in the Khore Abdillah, or ancient mouth of the Euphrates, and replaced by Oboleh, probably during the dynasty of the Arsacides. The Babylonians, who commanded the river from the gulph to the capital, doubtless made use of it as the channel of Oriental commerce; and the traffick which had passed by Arabia, or by the Red Sea, through Idumêa, to Egypt, Tyre, and other places on the Mediterranean, was diverted by Nebuchadnezzar, after the destruction of Tyre, to the Persian Gulph; and through his territories in Mesopotamia, by Palmyra and Damascus, it passed through Syria to the West. After the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, the Persians, who were neither navigators to the East, nor attentive to their frontier on the west, suffered Babylon, Nineveh, and Opis, to sink into ruin; the course of trade, therefore, returned to Arabia on the south, to the Caspian²⁴ and Euxine on the north: Idumêa became again the resort of the caravans; and Tyre rose out of its ashes, till its power enabled it to maintain a siege of eight months against Alexander, in the career of his victories.

²³ Dionysius is said to be the verifier of Eratosthenes's Geography; if so, it is not quite a proof that it did exist in his time.

²⁴ See Strabo, p. 509. The trade passed by the Oxus into the Caspian Sea, and from the Caspian up the Cyrus and Araxes into

Albania; then down the Phasis, or Anthemus, into the Euxine; in Justinian's time, by Dubios, a country eight days from Theodosiopolis in Crimea, where the trade from India, Iberia, and Persia, meets the Roman merchants. Procopius de Bello Persico, p. 149.



XXIII. ORIENTAL COMMERCE BY THE GULPH OF PERSIA.

WHAT views this Conqueror had after his first victories, we can only conjecture; but after his return from India, we may be assured that his comprehensive mind had embraced all that vast system which was afterwards completed at Alexandria. His successors, the Ptolemies in Egypt, and the Seleucidæ in Syria, were rivals in this commerce; Palmyra, Damascus, and Antioch, all lie on the line of the caravans from the Persian Gulph; the Caspian and the Euxine were again frequented, and the commerce on this side enriched the kingdoms²²⁷ of Prusias, Attalus, and Mithridates; while the navigation on the Indian Ocean, built upon the same foundation, made Alexandria the first commercial city of the world. Egypt, maintaining its intercourse with the East, in the first instance by means of the Sabæans, and finally, by fleets fitted out from its own ports on the Red Sea.

²²⁷ It would be foreign to the present work to pursue the inquiry into this commerce, as carried on by land on the north. But it seems to have existed in the time of Herodotus, who mentions the trade on the Euxine conducted by interpreters of seven different languages: in the time of Mithridates*, 300 different nations met at Dioscûrias in Colchis; and, in the early time of the Roman power in that country, there were 130 interpreters of the languages used there; but now, says Pliny, the city is deserted; that is, in Pliny's age,

* Marcian Heracleota. Hudson, p. 64. says, that Timosthenes wrote a very imperfect work on Geography, and Eratosthenes copied him verbatim.

Timosthenes was a Rhodian. See an Account of his Work, *ibid.*

the Romans would not suffer the Parthians, or any of the northern nations, to traffic by the Euxine, but confined the whole trade to Alexandria, and the maritime intercourse with India. See Herodotus, lib. iv. and Pliny, lib. vi. 5.

Dioscûrias was on the Anthemus, one of the rivers that came out of Caucasus into the Euxine.

Dioscûrias was called Sebastopolis in Adrian's time, and the last fortification of the Roman empire. Arrian, who visited it, mentions nothing of its trade. Arriani Periplus Maris Euxini, p. 18. I find nothing of the Anthemus; but the Phasis was navigable for thirty-eight miles. Second Periplus Eux. Sea, Hudson.

In



In the following ages, the dynasty of the Arsacida divided these profits with the Romans; and in the decline of the Roman power, the revived Persian dynasty assumed such an ascendancy, that in the time of Justinian the Romans had recourse to the powers of Arabia²²⁸ and Abyssinia, to open that commerce from which the Persians had excluded them; and when the Persian dynasty sunk under the power of the Chaliphs, the Mahomedan²²⁹ accounts of the plunder found at Ctetiphon, prove the full possession of the Indian commerce by the Persians.

XXIV. CAIRO.

UPON the erection of two chaliphates, one at Bagdad, and the other at Cairo, the commerce of India was again divided; but the greatest part of the precious commodities which reached Europe, came through the hands of the Venetians from Alexandria, till the Genoese opened the northern communication again by means of the Euxine, the Caspian, and their settlement at Caffa in the Crimea.

²²⁸ Procopius, lib. i. c. 20. mentions Justinian's application to the king of Abyssinia to obtain the importation of silk; but the Abyssinians could not effect this, the Parthians [Persians] having seized on the emporia. Paolino, p. 96.

²²⁹ When Heraclius took Dastagherd, the palace of Chosroes, he found in it aloes, aloes wood, matraxa, silk thread, pepper, muslins, or mullin frocks without number, sugar, gin-

ger, silk robes, wove carpets, embroidered carpets, and bullion. Cedrenus, p. 418.—*Merāḡa* *Σπῆρ ἰνῆματα*. Olycas, p. 270. who gives the same history of procuring silk-worms as Procopius.

When Sad, the general of Omar, took Ctetiphon or Modain, the carpet is particularly mentioned. See Abulfeda Reiske, 70; but other particulars are omitted.



XXV. CRUSADES.

IN the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Crusades opened to the eyes of the Europeans the sources of this Oriental wealth. The loss of the kingdom of Jerusalem enabled them to discover, that the power of Saladin was founded on the revenue derived from the commerce which passed through Egypt; and the work of Marin Sanuto²³⁰ is a Memorial presented to the Pope, and the principal sovereigns of Europe, in order to instruct them, that if they would compel their merchants to trade only through the dominions of the chaliphs of Bagdat, they would be better supplied, and at a cheaper rate; and would have no longer to fear the power of the soldans in Egypt.

What those sovereigns did not, or could not do, was effected three centuries later by the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope: to this discovery Europe is certainly indebted for the decline of the Turkish power, which at that time threatened the whole Western

²³⁰ This curious work is inserted in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*: it is highly interesting, both upon account of the commercial intelligence it contains, and the clear-sighted speculations of the author. I owe the knowledge of it to Bergeron, who has cited it in his *Treatise on Commerce* annexed to his collection of *Voyages*, which is itself also a most valuable work. The editor of the *Gesta Dei*, &c. says, he had the Memorial of Sanuto, in two MSS. copies, from Scaliger and Petavius; that one of these was bound in velvet, and ornamented with clasps, &c. so as to assure him that it was one of the original copies, presented by Sanuto himself to some

one of the princes: if so, I imagine it contains the oldest map of the world at this day existing, except the *Peutingerian Tables*; for Marin Sanuto lived in 1314. His map, however, is wholly in the Arabic form; and, I conclude, built on one that he had procured when in Palestine. There is another *Livio Sanuto*, a geographer in the 16th century, whose work I have seen in the King's Library, but not examined; it seemed a valuable work for the age. In this Sanuto's time the India trade had settled again at Aden, where it was when the Romans destroyed that city 1300 years before. See lib. i. c. 1. The whole is worth consulting.

world;



world; and the various other important consequences which ensued, are too well known, and have been too well detailed in history, to require insertion in the present work.

Of the interior of Arabia we know little to this day; but that, notwithstanding the danger of robbery, caravans of great value traversed it in all ages, we have certain evidence to depend on. Previous to the *Periplus*, we have the testimony of Strabo and Agatharchides; in the middle ages, the account of Al Edrissi; and, in our own time, we want no other proof than the English importations at Jiddah, which reach Mecca at the time of the Pilgrimage, and from thence seem to be dispersed over the whole peninsula.

At Grane likewise, in the north-west angle of the Persian Gulph, there has been a considerable importation till within these few years; and at El Catif, near Bahrain, which is the Gerrha of the ancients, there is some commerce besides the returns for the Pearl Fishery; but with the progress of which, inland, we are unacquainted.

Somewhere in the neighbourhood of Grane was the feat of Abdul Wahab, who, with his army of deists and democrats, has plundered Mecca within these three years, upon the same principle as his brethren in Europe demolished the Church of their own country, and with much the same event to the plunderers; for Abdul Wahab is said to have fallen by the hands of an assassin, as the first democrats of France have mostly perished in the course of the revolution.



XXVI. GERRHA.

GERRHA is one of the few towns in Arabia that Pliny has enabled us to fix with certainty; for he comes down the western coast of the gulph, which, he says, was never explored till visited by Epíphanes; and which is little known to any now except the natives: but Pliny, after passing the island of Ichara, and one or two obscure places, mentions Gerrha as a city five miles round, and the walls or towers built of fossil ²³¹ salt. This is a circumstance true (I think) only at Ormus and El Katif, which, added to the size of the city, ascertains its identity. It is necessary to be particular in this respect, because the Gerrhéans are the first conductors of the caravans upon record; and it is highly probable, that long previous to history they enjoyed the profits of this traffic; for Agatharchides ²³², who first mentions them, compares their riches with those of the Sabéans; and adds, that they brought much wealth into Syria, which was at that time subject to Ptolemy; and furnished a variety of articles for the industry of the Phenicians. By this we understand, that they crossed the whole peninsula to Petra in Idumæa, from which city we know that the intercourse was open with Tyre, Phenicia, and Syria. Strabo ²³³ informs us, that they were the general carriers of all the produce of Arabia, and all the spices, or aromatics; but he adds likewise, that Aristobûlus contradicts this, and says, that they go up the

²³¹ Strabo also, lib. xvi. p. 766. Charræ had the same use of fossil salt, Plin. xxxi. 7.

²³² Hudson Geog. Min. Agatharchides, p. 64. ἐκτεταταμένῳ πᾶν τὸ πῆλτος ἕως διαφορᾶς λόγου ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Ἑυρώπης, the factors for all the precious commodities of Asia and Europe.

²³³ Περὶ ἐμπορῶν δ' εἰσὶν οἱ Γερρῆαιοι τὸ πλεόν τῶν Ἀραβίων φορτίων καὶ τῶν ἀρωματικῶν. Lib. xvi. p. 766. The Gerrhéans are the travelling merchants in caravans, and bring the produce of Arabia, and the spices of India.