



Euphrates in boats, to Babylonia and Thapsacus, and from thence disperse their commodities in all directions by land. Both these relations may be true, as applied to different periods, in consequence of the obstructions they might meet with in their course, from the different powers of the several countries through which they were to pass<sup>234</sup>.

The Gerrhæans, we may naturally suppose, from their situation in the Gulph of Persia, and from their proximity to the opposite coast of Persia and Karmania, would lie more convenient, and more directly in the route of communication with the East, than any other tribe. And, as Agatharchides says, that the Minæans and Gerrhæans both met at Petra as a common centre, we have two routes across the peninsula, correspondent to the two sorts of commerce, which ought naturally to pass in different directions: for from Gerrha, the produce of India; and, through the country of the Minæans, the frankincense of Hadramaut; would regularly be directed to Idumea.

## XXVII. MINÆANS.

THE site<sup>235</sup> of the Minæans is not easy to fix; but by a comparison of different accounts, they were south of Hedjaz, north<sup>236</sup> of Hadramaut, and to the eastward<sup>237</sup> of Sabæa; and they were the carriers to all these provinces: their caravans passed in seventy days

<sup>234</sup> See Al Edrissi, p. 121.

<sup>235</sup> Bochart Phaleg. p. 121. places them at Carno 'l Manazoli, supposing it to be the Carna or Carana of Pliny. Ptolemy places them much farther south. Carno 'l Manazoli is but

three stations south of Mecca. Al Edrissi.

<sup>236</sup> Atramiis in Mediterraneo junguntur Minæi. Pliny, vi. 28.

<sup>237</sup> Dionysius places them on the coast, but I think Dionysius alone.

from





from Hadramaut to Aila, as we learn from Strabo<sup>238</sup>; and Aila is but ten miles from Petra. The commodities brought by this caravan would be aloes, gold, myrrh, frankincense, and other precious gums or aromatics; while those from Gerrha would consist of cottons, spices, and the produce of the East.

As navigation encreased on the coast, this mode of intercourse, and its profits, would naturally diminish. When the Ptolemies sent their fleets to Sabæa; when the Greeks, Egyptians, or Romans, reached India by the monsoon, the greatest part of what had passed through Arabia would be diverted into a new channel; in the same manner as the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope ruined the commerce of Alexandria. But that some intercourse existed, and that some caravans traversed Arabia, both in the middle ages, and do traverse it even to this hour, is a fact that cannot be disputed.

After the conquest of Persia by the Mahomedans, a road was made across the whole of the peninsula, from Mecca<sup>239</sup> to Kufa: it is reported to have been seven hundred miles long, marked out by distances, and provided with caravan serais, and other accommodations for travellers. Into this road fell the route from Basra, and from El Katif or Gerrha. The province of which El Katif is the capital, is called Bahrain<sup>240</sup> by Al Edrissi, from the two islands of that name which are the principal seat of the Pearl<sup>241</sup> Fishery. He speaks of El Katif as a considerable city in his time; and he gives the routes

<sup>238</sup> Lib. xvi. p. 768. the time seems in excess; but as the distance is taken from Hadramaut to Aila, it may not exceed the proportion of 60 days from Minæa to Nera, attributed to Gallus.

<sup>239</sup> From Mecca to Bagdat, according to Abulfeda Reilke, p. 154. wells, lakes, mile-

posts, for 700 miles. See Gibbon, v. 409. the road was made by Ol Madi Khaliph, anno Hejre 169, the post goes in eleven days.

<sup>240</sup> Bahrain, in Arabick, signifies the two seas.

<sup>241</sup> Tylos margaritis celeberrima. Plin. vi. 28.





from it south to Sohar, north to Bafra, and west to Medina<sup>242</sup>; the country on the side towards Bafra is a desert seldom frequented by merchants, without villages, and inhabited only by Bedouins. But the route to Medina falls into the road that leads from Bafra; and both Bafra and El Katif are at equal distance, that is, twenty stations from that city, where is the sepulchre of Mahomet. The road from Bafra falls into that from Kufa at Maaden<sup>243</sup> Alnocra. I mention these circumstances, in order to shew the communications with El Katif, or Gerrha, in the middle ages; because they cannot be dissimilar from those which were open when Gerrha was a centre of Oriental commerce; and the route which led to Medina requires only a little tendency to the north, to make it the ancient line of intercourse between Gerrha and Aila, and from thence through Petra<sup>244</sup> to Egypt, Tyre, and the coasts of the Mediterranean.

## XXVIII. ANTIQUITY OF ORIENTAL COMMERCE.

So far as a private opinion is of weight, I am fully persuaded that this line of communication with the East is the oldest in the world; older than Moses or Abraham. I believe that the Idumæans, who were carrying spices into Egypt when they found Joseph in their

<sup>242</sup> There is another route supposed to be intimated in Strabo, from Gerrha to Hadramaut; but the reading, instead of *Γερραία*, is *Ραβδία*, which, Salmastius says, ought to be *Ραζαία*, from Gaza to Hadramaut forty days. If this were so, it contradicts another passage of Strabo, where he says, the Minæans were seventy days in going to Elana, which is a less distance. It seems highly probable that the

Gerrhæans are meant in this place; for, as they were general carriers, it is probable they went to Hadramaut as well as in other directions.

<sup>243</sup> A Bafra ad Medinam viginti stationes et hæc via coincidit cum extremitate Kufæ, prope Maaden Alnocra, p. 121.

<sup>244</sup> Petra was only ten miles from Aila. Bochart Phaleg. 686.

way,





way, obtained these spices by this very route. And if it is agreeable to analogy and to history that merchants travelled before they sailed, there is no course from India to the Mediterranean where so small a space of sea must be traversed as in this direction. Karmania is visible from Arabia at the straits of the Gulph of Persia; and in the infancy of navigation, the shortest passage would be preferred. The interior of Arabia, in all ages, contained Bedouins, whose profession was robbery; but the different tribes of robbers probably received a caphar instead of seizing the whole; as they do to this day of the caravans which pass between Basra and Aleppo. They are likewise not fond of fighting for the whole, when they can obtain a tribute for a part; and necessity would compel the merchants of those ages, as well as our own, to go in large bodies, and provided with arms for their defence. The manners of the Arabs have never changed; and it is reasonable to conclude, that merchants who have to treat with Arabs have changed as little in their precautions. Pliny<sup>245</sup> has preserved the memorial of these usages in the southern part of the peninsula; and there is every reason to conclude that they existed in all ages, before his time, as they do to the present hour.

It was to obviate these exactions that plans were formed to open a communication by sea. The Tyrians, as the principal merchants on the Mediterranean, and as the intermediate agents of Oriental

<sup>245</sup> *Ibi decimas Deo, . . . regi vectigal, . . . sacerdotibus portiones, scribisque regum . . . fed præter hos, et custodes, satellitesque & hostiarii [Ostiiarii] populantur. Jam quocunque iter est, aliubi pro aqua, aliubi pro pabulo, aut pro mansionibus, variisque portoriis pendunt . . . iterumque imperii nostri publi-*

*canis penditur.*—I appeal to every English traveller, who has ever passed between Basra and Aleppo, if this is not an exact picture of the extortions practised upon a caravan; and yet caravans still pass, and still make a profit on their merchandize—the consumer pays for all.





commerce, either first conceived the idea, or derived it possibly from the Egyptians, whom we must suppose to have had an intercourse with India whether history records it or not. The first historical account we have is, the trade of Ophir. The alliance between Hiram and Solomon was indispensable; for Solomon was master of Idumæa, and the Tyrians could establish themselves at Ezion Geber only by his permission and assistance. Solomon furnished the opportunity, and Hiram the ships; the profit accrued to the partnership; and if this voyage were made to Ophir in Arabia, where it is universally confessed there was an Ophir, even by those who search for Ophir in Africa and India; such a voyage would at least obviate all the exactions attendant upon a communication by land, and place Hiram and Solomon in the same situation as the Ptolemies stood, before a direct communication was opened between Berenikè and the coast of Malabar.

This rapid sketch of Oriental Commerce in all ages, as far as it can be traced upon historical evidence, is no digression, but an essential part of the work I have undertaken: my object has been, not merely to elucidate the Periplus by a commentary, but to trace the progress of discovery to its source; a subject curious and interesting at least, if neither useful or lucrative. But to know what has passed in remote ages is the purpose of all history; and to collect, from a variety of sources, such intelligence as may enable us to distinguish truth from falsehood, if it has not the dignity of history, has at least a claim to approbation from those who know how to appreciate the labour of research, and the fidelity of investigation. Much that has been said may be controverted in particulars, and yet be correct upon the whole. I am not conscious of any preconceived system





system in my own mind, but have raised a superstructure upon the foundation of historical facts: these I have not warped, in order to accommodate them to an individual opinion; but have followed them wherever they led. I claim little merit but in concentrating these to a point; and if the same evidence should not produce the same conviction on others, I should as readily give way to those who are possessed of superior information, as I should maintain my ground against those who are pretenders to the science.

## XXIX. CONCLUSION.

It is now necessary to bring this Book to a conclusion, in which the course of ancient navigation has been traced from the Gulph of Aila to the mouth of the Euphrates<sup>246</sup>, embracing the whole sea-coast of Arabia on its three sides. The author does not appear, from the internal evidence of his work, to have personally explored the eastern coast of the Red Sea, or the western shore of the Gulph of Persia: he seems to have come down the Red Sea from Myos Hormus to Okêlis; or perhaps from Leukè Komè, but to have touched little upon the coast till he came to the Burnt Island. On the southern coast of the peninsula we can trace him, at almost every step, to Fartaque, and to Ras-el-had; but from thence he seems, without entering the Gulph of Persia, to have stretched over with the monsoon, either to Karmania, or direct to Scindi, or to the Gulph of Cambay. At those points we find him again entering into those minute particulars, which bespeak the descriptions of an eye-witness; while, of the parts previous to these, he speaks in so

<sup>246</sup> Properly the Tigris.

transient





transient a manner, as to create a belief that he writes from the report of others; but on this question it is not necessary to decide, the reader must determine for himself. On the two coasts of Arabia which he has touched but slightly, I have endeavoured to fill up the outline which he has sketched; and on the third side, where he has entered into detail, I have endeavoured to follow him, step by step, as minutely as I have been able. But if the interior of Arabia is a desideratum in Geography, the coast likewise is far from being accurately defined: no ships from Europe now visit it for the purpose of trade; and those which come from India to Mokha or Jidda, seldom touch upon the coast towards the ocean, unless to obtain provisions when in distress. What information may be obtained from the English cruizers which have lately been in the Red Sea, and were at one time preparing to fortify Perim in the Straits, is expected with a great degree of curiosity. Commodore Blanket, who was upon this service, was an officer of much science and great experience: he may have ordered surveys upon this coast, or some examination of it, which may clear up several of the difficulties which remain. In the mean time, I have made use of such lights as are afforded by the papers and journals of the officers of the East India Company, and which are collected in the work called the *Oriental Navigator*. Those who know the abilities and science of those excellent officers, will think their observations might have been sufficient for such an examination as I had instituted; but ancient navigators kept much nearer the coast, and noticed objects which are of small importance in the present state of the science. A minute particular often forms a characteristic of a port, a bay, or a shore, which we cannot hope to find in the common observations of modern





modern officers, nor elsewhere, unless when an actual survey has taken place. In the voyage of Nearchus, as my own knowledge increased, I constantly found a greater correspondence in his Journal with the actual state of the coast: I have not been \* quite so fortunate in the present instance; nor do I think the author of the *Periplus* to be compared with the Macedonian commander, but still he is, as Vossius says, the only ancient author who has given a rational account of the countries or coasts he has described; and in this, if we

## ADDITIONS.

\* Sir Home Popham's Chart of the Red Sea, which I obtained after the printing of this sheet, induces me to recall this assertion in some degree; for in that chart a plan of the harbour, and a view of the town of Aden, is given, which identifies it to demonstration with the place called Arabia Felix in the *Periplus*. "It lies," says the author, "twelve hundred stadia from the straits: it has very convenient anchorage, and affords excellent water; and it is situated just at the entrance of the bay, so as to remain distinct, and in some measure separated from the country along the shore." [Τῇ τῆς χώρης ὑποφύκειν.] Now, a reference to Sir H. Popham's Chart presents us with a peninsula, joined to the main by a very narrow neck, and adjoining to a river, which may afford the supply of water alluded to; and if Arabia Felix was placed on the western, instead of the eastern point of the peninsula, where Aden now stands, it would lie at the very entrance of the bay, as is specified: the difficulty, likewise, of approach to it from the adjoining coast, is sufficiently ensured by the narrowness of the neck. The distance from the straits is also accurate, within five miles.

P. 311.

## CORRECTIONS.

P. 275. note 113. *Negra* is not *Nera*, but *Najeran*. See p. 277. note 118. And, according to the Roman Martyrology, St. Arethas was put to death at that place by Dunaan, a Jew, and king of the Homerites. His cruelty is noticed in the Koran, where he is called the Lord of the Fiery Pits. Elefbaas, the king of Abyssinia, revenged the death of Arethas, conquered the Homerites, and put Dunaan to death.

P. 293. The Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb are said to be six miles wide; but in Sir H. Popham's Chart they are only two miles.

P. 290. In the Table for the Coast of Arabia, I see with concern a considerable difference in the latitudes there given, compared with those of Sir H. Popham's Chart. I had followed the best authority I knew of; but they must now be considered as relative, and not real determinations.

P. 311.

X X





we are able to pursue his steps and elucidate his narrative, it is the performance of a service as gratifying to the curiosity of the Learned, as acceptable to the science of Geography.

## ADDITIONS.

P. 311. Korôdamon is supposed to be Ras-el-had, as it is the easternmost point of Arabia in Ptolemy; and its form would appear Greek, if we could find in that language *Kâupos*, or *Kâpos*, or *Kôpos*, equivalent to the Latin *Corus* or *Caurus*; for then it might be the point that terminates, or *subdues* the *westerly* monsoon, as Gardafan separates the two monsoons on the coast of Africa; but *Kôpos* is not the name of a wind in Greek; neither am I informed whether Ras-el-had separates the monsoons.

## CORRECTIONS.

P. 311. lin. 20. The Bay Sachalites, mentioned here, looks as if the author of the *Periplus* had two bays of the same name, prior and ulterior, as Al Edrissi has; but there is no collateral proof of this.





THE  
PERIPLUS  
OF THE  
ERYTHREAN SEA.

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INDIA.

BOOK IV.

I. *Introduction.*—II. *Course from Oman in Arabia up the Gulf of Persia, or to Karmania.*—III. *Omana in Karmania.*—IV. *Course to the Indus.*—V. *Scindi, Minnágara, Barbárikè.*—VI. *Cutch, Guzerat, Barugaza.*—VII. *Kingdom of Bactria, Tágara, Plithana, Ozénè, Dekan.*—VIII. *Ariakè or Concan, the Pirate Coast, Akabaroos, Oopara or Súpara, Kalliena or Bombay, Semulla, Mandágora, Palaiapatmai, Melizéigara, Tóparon, Turannos-boas, Sefekréienai, Aigidii, Kainéitai, Leukè.*—IX. *Limúrikè or Canara, Navora, Tundis, Nelkunda, Ela-Bákarè.*—X. *Kingdom of Pandion,* XI. *Hippalus, and the Monsoon.*—XII. *Balita, Cómarci, Kolkhi, Pearl Fishery.*—XIII. *Ceylon.*

I. **T**HE productions of India, and the Eastern World, are not fought after with greater avidity at the present hour, than they were by the inhabitants of Europe in the remotest ages, and all the nations which encircled the Mediterranean. Luxury this was called by the philosophers and patriots both of Greece and

X X 2

Rome.





Rome. But if every thing that is foreign is luxurious, there could be no commerce in the world; and if every thing which is not strictly necessary for the support of life be superfluous, thirst might be satisfied without wine, and food digested without the addition of a relish. In this view, the most ordinary accompaniments of the table should be discarded; and salt and pepper should be enumerated among the gratifications\* of a sensual appetite. But if both are stimulants, still they are no less salutary than grateful; and no reason can be given why salt should be considered as sacred at the table of the Greeks and Romans, while pepper was condemned as the indulgence of a voluptuary; unless that the one was a domestic produce, and the other an exotic. But barbarians were not to be enriched at the expence of Europe, and the Roman world was not to be impoverished for the attainment of Oriental luxuries;—certainly not, if the sword could retain as easily as it acquires; but the wealth acquired by rapine must of necessity revert again into the channels of commerce; and commerce, whether it tends to the East or to the West, will impoverish every nation which has no native industry to replace its demands. Rationally speaking, all commerce consists in the exchange of superfluities; and luxuries are as easily introduced by dealing with nations nearer home, as with those at a distance. There is as little reason for declaiming against the Alexandrians who purchased pepper in India with the gold of Egypt, as against the Athenians, who exchanged the silver of Laureum for the salt of Sicily or Crete.

\* Of pepper Pliny says, *Usum ejus adeo placuisse mihi est . . . . sola placere amaritudine et hanc in Indos peti; quis illa primus experiri cibus voluit, aut qui in appetenda avi-*

*ditate esurie non fuit satis . . . et tamen pondere emitur ut aurum vel argentum. Lib. xii. c. 14. Hard.*

Pliny





Pliny complains that the Roman world was exhausted by a drain of four hundred thousand pounds<sup>2</sup> a-year, required for the purchase of luxuries, equally expensive as superfluous: what would he have said of the expenditure of our single island, consisting of two millions, for the purchase of tea only in China, without comprehending any other of our investments in the East? And yet this, and all the other luxuries we import, do not impoverish us; because we export on the one hand as we receive on the other; and, so far as we are the principal carriers between the Eastern and the Western world, we stand in the same situation as those ancient nations held, which were the medium between India and the Roman empire, but with an hundred times more trade, more industry and capital.

As Providence has varied the temperature of different climates, so has it given to man a predilection for such things as are not the produce<sup>3</sup> of his native soil. The wildest tribes of America admit traders into their country, and allow them to pass through it with security; the Scythians<sup>4</sup> likewise, according to the earliest testimony of history, suffered the merchants of the Euxine to penetrate farther on the east and north, than we can trace their progress by the light of modern information.

In civilized countries, this appetite increases in proportion to our

<sup>2</sup> H. S. quingenties, near 403,645*l.* lib. vi. 23. quæ apud nos centuplicato veneunt, 40,364,500*l.*; and again, lib. xii. 18. the balance against Rome for the produce of India, Seres, and Arabia, millies centena millia festertium, 800,000*l.* tanto nobis deliciæ et fœminæ constant. The prime cost of cargoes in India and China is now 3,000,000*l.* Rennell's Mem. Introd. p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> Fanta mortalibus suarum rerum satietas

est, et alienarum aviditas. Plin. xii. 19.

<sup>4</sup> See the Introduction to the Third Book of Herodotus, as a proof of the courage, industry, and abilities, of the Greek merchants, as well as of the extent of ancient discovery towards the north, relative to the Danube, the Euxine, the Palus Mœotis, the Don, and the Wolga, illustrated by the commentary of Rennell, and displayed with much learning and accuracy of investigation.

knowledge,





knowledge, and the opportunity of procuring the variety which we covet. The indulgences of the palate are among the first stimulants of this emotion; and second to these is all that can delight the eye, or the mind, by novelty, beauty, variety, intrinsic or imaginary value. Excess of indulgence, avidity of possessing, profusion in acquiring, and wantonness in using, this variety of foreign articles, are both vicious and luxurious; but where to fix the limit between the use and the abuse, is a question more difficult to determine than we are aware of. Pliny condemns, above measure, the vanity of purchasing pearls and precious stones for the ornament of the Roman women; while he extols the works of art in sculpture, painting, and engraving, with all the enthusiasm of an admirer. But if every thing is luxurious that is not necessary to our existence, the ornamenting of a house is certainly not more useful or more rational than the decoration of a woman. And if the works of art are a specimen of human abilities, pearls, diamonds, and precious metals, are the gift of the Creator: the things themselves are indifferent; the temperate<sup>1</sup> use of them embellishes life, and it is only the abuse of them which becomes avarice, prodigality, or folly.

The activity produced by the interchange of superfluities, is the glory of commerce, and the happiness of man; but if its merits were to be fixed by the standard of utility alone, very narrow would be the limits within which the defence of it, by its warmest advocates, must be confined. Use we can discover none in the burning of tin foil before an idol in China; and yet this practice of a nation at one extremity of the world gives bread to thousands at the other,

<sup>1</sup> The poet understood this better than the philosopher, when he said, *Nullus argento color est, nisi temperato splendet usu.*





supports the mariner during a voyage of eleven thousand miles, and procures for Britain, by means of a native metal, what she must otherwise have purchased by an imported one.

Moral and philosophical reasoning, however, upon this question, has had little weight in determining the general practice and habits of mankind. The prevailing taste implanted in our nature has made the pepper of Malabar, and the cinnamon of Ceylon, articles of request, from the time of Moses to the present hour; the finer spices of the Moluccas grew equally into favour, in proportion as they became known; and the more modern demand for the tea of China, and the sugar of the East or West Indies, will never cease, but with the impossibility of procuring either of those articles, by the destruction of all intercourse between the several nations of the world.

It has been shewn in the preceding pages, how the precious commodities of the East were procured, from the earliest periods that history can reach; and no revolutions of empire, either in the ancient or modern world, have ever been able to stop all the means of communication at once: the channels obstructed in one direction, have been opened in another. Tyranny, avarice, and extortion, have defeated their own ends: the monopoly of one country, as it grew intolerable, was transferred to others that were less oppressive; fluctuating generally between the Red Sea, and the Gulph of Persia; and driven sometimes to the North, by the exactions common to both. Such was the fate also of the last monopoly between Egypt and Venice, which, by its enormity, drove the Portuguese to the discovery of the communication by sea; and this channel once opened, can never be closed; the whole world are partakers in the benefit;





benefit; and Britain has the pre-eminence, only because she has the greatest industry, the largest capital, and the superiority of naval power.

It is a political consideration, awful to contemplate, and difficult to discuss, but still necessary to keep constantly in view, when we reflect how deeply all the interests of our country are concerned in the continuance of the pre-eminence we at present enjoy. Our possessions in India are almost become a part of our existence as a nation: to abandon them is impossible; to maintain them—a perpetual struggle with the native powers, and the powers of Europe to support them. It requires all the vigilance of government, and all the vigour of the controuling power, to take care that the natives should not be discontented under our empire; and that the nations of Europe should not be outraged by our approach to monopoly. These considerations, however, are totally distinct from the commerce itself, and totally foreign to the object of the present work: I touch them only as they arise, and return with pleasure to the humbler office of a commentator on the Periplus.

## II. COURSE FROM OMAN, IN ARABIA, UP THE GULPH OF PERSIA, OR, TO KARMANIA.

WE have now our choice of two courses; one up the Gulph of Persia to Bahrein and Obolch, and the other across the open sea from Arabia to Karmania; where we arrive, after a passage of six days, at the port of Omana. This port manifestly takes its name from the province of Oman in Arabia, and was doubtless a colony of Arabs, established on the coast opposite to their own, for the purpose





purpose of approaching nearer to Scindi and India, or as an intermediate port on their voyage outward, and homeward bound. Whether the merchant, whose journal we are examining, ever went up the Gulph, or touched at the port of O'mana, is highly problematical. If he was there, he has left us but slender particulars of the place; but there are some circumstances which induce a persuasion, that he passed from Arabia, either to the Indus or Barugaza, at a single stretch; for, in the first place, he has fixed O'mana in Persis, which must of necessity be either in Karmania or Gadorfia; and, added to this, his account of Oraia, in the latter province, is too obscure to prove any intimate knowledge of the country.

### III. O'MANA IN GADORFIA.

O'MANA we recover a trace of in the Kombana<sup>6</sup>, or Nommana, of Ptolemy, in the province of Gadorfia<sup>7</sup>, and in the bay he calls Paragon, to the eastward of Karpella<sup>8</sup>, or Cape Bombareek. I have proved, in the Voyage of Nearchus, and in the former part of this work, that the Arabs had visited this coast previous to all the navigation of the Greeks; but this O'mana is not mentioned by Nearchus, and was therefore a colony established between his time and the date of the Periplus. Its immediate representative cannot be now ascertained; but its relative situation may be assigned from

<sup>6</sup> Kombana, in the Greek copies; Nommana, in the Latin.

<sup>7</sup> Pliny makes it a city of Karmania: *Oppidum O'manæ quod priores celebrem portum Carmanie fecere. Lib. vi. 28.* Ptolemy does the same; but Nearchus commences Karmania

only at Dagaîra.

<sup>8</sup> Ptolemy sometimes writes this Karpela, which, I think, signifies the Pierced Mountain, such as Bombareek is. The Latin text is Karpella.





Ptolemy, between the River<sup>9</sup> Ikim and Muckfa; so that it must be in Gadoria, and not many leagues east from Cape Jask.

There is a regular intercourse between Barugaza and this port, which extends also to Oboleh, at the head of the Persian Gulph. The imports consist of

Χαλκόν,	-	-	-	-	Brass.
Ξύλων Σαγαλίλων <sup>10</sup> ,	-	-	-	-	Sandal Wood.
Δοκῶν,	-	-	-	-	Wood squared; perhaps Δοκῶν Σανδαλίλων.
Κεράτων,	-	-	-	-	Horn.
Φαλάγγων <sup>11</sup> σησαμίων,	-	-	-	-	} Ebony in round sticks.
Φαλάγγων Ἐθενίνων,	-	-	-	-	

Except ebony and sandal wood, there is nothing appropriate in this cargo.

But it is added, that a particular species of vessels called Madarátē were built here for the Arabians, the planking of which was sewed together without nails, like those already described on the coast of Africa. Vessels of this kind, called Trankies, and Dows, are still in use; and they were formerly built in Africa or Gadoria, we may conclude, because Arabia furnishes few materials for the construction of ships.

The only import from Kanē was Frankincense; while both<sup>12</sup> from Oboleh and O'mana great quantities of Pearl were exported, but of an inferior sort, to Arabia and Barugaza; and besides this,

<sup>9</sup> That is, the Sarus and Dagarā.

<sup>10</sup> Σαγαλίλων, easily corrupted from Σανδαλίλων.

<sup>11</sup> Σησαμίων is evidently a corrupt reading. Wood of some sort is meant, but Sesamum is a herb. Salmastius tried to explain it, but left

it undetermined. Σησαμίου ξύλα are, however, mentioned by Cosmas.

<sup>12</sup> Ἀπὸ ἑκατέρου τῶν ἑμπορίων, from either port, which I apply to Oboleh and Omana, because they were before joined as ἀμφότερα ταῦτα ἑμπορία.





Πορφύρα,	-	-	-	Purple.
Ἰματισμὸς ἐντόπιος,	-	-	-	Cloth of native manufacture.
Οἶνος,	-	-	-	Wine.
Φοῖνιξ πολὺς,	-	-	-	Dates, in large quantity.
Χρυσὸς,	-	-	-	Gold.
Σώματα,	-	-	-	Slaves.

After leaving the district of O'mana, the country<sup>13</sup> which succeeds belongs to another government; and there is a bay which is called the Bay of the Terabdi, formed by the coast trending inwards, in the middle of their territory.

#### IV. COURSE TO THE INDUS.

THIS Bay of the Terabdi answers to the Paragôn of Ptolemy, although there is in reality no bay on the coast. No extent is given to that of the Periplus; but the Paragôn of Ptolemy extends from Karpella to Alambateir, or Guadel. Doubtless this is an error arising out of the form of the coast upon approaching the Gulph of Persia; and if we suppose the ancient course of the passage from Arabia to Karmania to have been made across, without approaching the Straits, the apprehension of such a bay is natural. This is the passage indicated by the Periplus, six days in extent; and may perhaps have misled the author, as well as others, who followed the same course.

In or near this bay, we are informed that there is a river which admits vessels, and a small port at the mouth of it called Oraia.

<sup>13</sup> Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ὀμαντικὴν χώραν ομοίως, ἢ παρὰ flood; and is, I believe, the nominative to ὅδον παρακίεται [χώρα] βασιλείας ἑτέρας, καὶ κόλπος παρακίεται: but there is some corruption of τὴν Τεράβδιαν λεγόμενος, ἢ κατὰ μίτον ἕς τὸν κόλπον the text, or something not easily understood. παρακίεται. Χώρα is either omitted or under-





The capital of the district is inland, at the distance of seven days journey, where the king resides. The country produces plenty of corn, wine, rice, and dates; but on the coast nothing except bdellium<sup>14</sup>.

These circumstances happen to coincide with an account given to Lieut. Porter, when he was at Chewabad<sup>15</sup>, on this coast; for a coast without produce he experienced, and the natives told him of a city seven days inland, large and walled: if therefore we knew where to fix the limits of our author's bay of Terabdi, we should have something to direct us to a position. The river seems like the Tanka Banca, or White River, of the charts; while Oraia bears a resemblance to the Oritæ of Nearchus; but to these it is hardly related, as the journal certainly intimates a great extent of the coast between Oraia and the Indus; while the Oritæ of Nearchus are within fifty leagues of that river. We find no Oraia in Ptolemy; and if we are still in Gadrosia, there is no place seven days inland which would answer to the Oraia of our author, but the Phoregh, or Poora, of Arrian. But on the whole of this, as we have so few data to guide us, it is safer to suspend our judgment than to decide.

On the coast which follows, and which may be supposed to be the tract between Guadel and the Indus, the description accords much better with the reality<sup>16</sup>; for we are told, that<sup>17</sup> there is a vast

<sup>14</sup> A gum. See Plin. xii. 9.

<sup>15</sup> Churbar. Lieut. Porter's Memoir, p. 8. in Mr. Dalrymple's Collection.

<sup>16</sup> This description answers much better than that of Ptolemy, who has one line of coast from Alambateir, or Guadel, to the head of the Bay of Kutch.

<sup>17</sup> Μεγάλη δὲ ταύτην τὴν χώραν, ἥντιν τῆς ἀνατολῆς διὰ

τὸ βάθος τῆς κόλπου ἐκ τῆς ἀνατολῆς, περιπελάουσι, ἰσχυρὰς παρατάσσονται πρὸς τὴν ἐκδοίαν, πρὸς ἀντὶν κίματα τὸν βορρᾶν. This passage, ill constructed as it is, I trust I have rendered faithfully: περιπελάουσι, I imagine, expresses *encircling to a vast extent*; applied to an army, it means, *out-flanking the whole*: and ἐκ τῆς ἀνατολῆς may be said of a bay, the head of which is to the east, and





vast sweep of the shore round the indenture of the bays, which have an inclination to the East; and, after passing these, a low tract of country towards the sea, called Scythia, lies on the north of the course, and which extends to the river Sinthus.

These bays are evidently meant for those that are formed by the Capes Possém, Arraba, and Monze; and the bay immediately preceding Monze has a large sweep, to which, with the assistance of imagination, we may give a direction to the East, as its inmost curve is somewhat to the east of Cape Monze. It is added, that during the course from Monze to the Indus, the land is low, and lies to the north of the vessel that is passing to the East. This tract is now called Scindi; and the Scythia of the Periplûs, wherever it occurs, is the actual Scindi<sup>18</sup> of the Oriental and modern geographers. Why the author writes Scythia, and why Ptolemy finds an Indo-Scythia in this country, has already been conjectured in the Voyage of Nearchus; where it was observed, on the authority of the Ayeen Acbari, that the country is divided between the Hendians and Sethians. I am myself persuaded that this distinction is

and the opening to the west. But if we read *ἡντις ὑπερμακρὴ ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ*, the sense will not be very different, but the range of the coast more difficult to comprehend.

<sup>18</sup> The distinction in Al Edrissi and the Oriental geographers, is Scind and Hind; that is, Scindi and Hindostan. Scindi comprehends the country on both sides the Indus; and the Indus itself is written Scind or Sind, with an S, which is preserved in the Sinthus of the Periplûs—in the Sindi and Sindocanda of Ptolemy. The Indus acquires another name while it continues a single stream; for between Moultan and Tatta, it is called Mehran

Mekran, and hence Kutch Mekran, the country on the coast west of the Mehran; and from Kutch Rennell derives Gadrofia. There is likewise another Oriental distinction, between Hind and Sin; in which Hind means Hindostan, and Sin, or Chin, Cochin China: Chin is also written Cheen; and Ma-Cheen, Great Cheen, means the country we now call China.—I ought not to dismiss this note without observing, that the Mehran of Ebn Haukel is the Chin-ab, or Akéfines: he is, in this, at variance with other Oriental writers; but his authority stands high.

original;





original; and that it is the cause of the error which has been adopted by Ptolemy, and other ancient geographers: but if this opinion is rejected, I should then say, that Scythia is a corruption of Scynthia, and that Scynthia is as precisely Scindi, as Sinthus is the Indus.

#### V. SCINDI, MINNÁGARA, BARBÁRIKĒ.

I SHALL collect the several particulars relating to Scindi, which lie dispersed in other parts of the Journal, to this point; for it is natural to conclude, that from the time of Alexander, and the publication of the Voyage of Nearchus, the Greeks had always considered Pátala as the Port to which they were to direct their views, in order to obtain the precious commodities of the East. I have every where allowed that, while the mass of the trade was confined between Egypt and Sabéa, single ships, or individual merchants, might have reached India from the ports of the Red Sea. It is natural also to suppose, that the subjects of the Seleucidæ were directed by the same inducements, while the Syrian Monarchy was in its vigour,—while it possessed Susiana, Persis, Karmania, and the whole eastern side of the Gulph of Persia, and before it was weakened by the revolt of Parthia, Bactria, and the country at the sources of the Indus. The celebrated embassies likewise of the Syrian monarchs to Sandrocottus and Alitróchades, the sovereigns of Hindostan, probably embraced objects of commerce as well as empire; for those who found their way to the Ganges, could not be unacquainted with the profits to be derived from the commerce of the Indus.

The





The first<sup>19</sup> ship that coasted round the peninsula of Arabia from the Red Sea, or that retraced the steps of Nearchus back again from the Gulph of Persia, would naturally direct its course to Pátala and the Indus. Here it was known from history that the productions of the East were to be obtained; and here the trade, which passed in the earliest ages between all the countries at the sources of the Indus and the coast of Malabar, must always have fixed its centre. As the Greeks and Romans increased their knowledge, and finally became acquainted with the monsoon, they made their passage to India direct; but the voyage to the Indus was not yet abandoned in the age of the Periplús, nor probably for several ages later. Pátala our merchant does not mention, but there were evidently two marts of importance still on this river: one, towards its issue, called Barbárikè; and another, somewhere in or near the Island of Behker, higher up, named Minnágara, which corresponded with the Sogdi, or Mufikanus, of the Macedonians, and which has been replaced by the Behker (Mansoura) or the Loheri of modern Scindi, or any one of the capitals occupied by different invaders in the various revolutions of this country.

Minnagar<sup>20</sup>, or Minnágara, perhaps the Binágara of Ptolemy, is described as the capital of the country, and the residence of a sovereign, whose<sup>21</sup> power extended in that age as far as Barugaza, or

<sup>19</sup> Large ships from the Indus, Pátala, Persis, and Karmania, came to Arabia as early as the time of Agatharchides, and most probably many ages prior, before there was any history to report the fact. I suppose these vessels to have been chiefly navigated by Arabians, because we can prove the settlement of that people on the coast of India from the time that history commences. See Periplús supra, p. 36.

<sup>20</sup> Minnagar is the fortress or city of Min, like Bifnagar, Tattanagar, &c.

<sup>21</sup> Maghmood the Ghaznevide, coming down the Indus, made his first inroads into Guzerat; and there seems to be a general connection between this province and Scindi, for the language is the same from Surat to Tatta, as we learn from Paelino, p. 262.

Guzerat.





Guzerat. The government was in the hands of a tribe of Parthians<sup>22</sup>, divided into two parties; each party<sup>23</sup>, as it prevailed, chose a king out of its own body, and drove out the king of the opposite faction. This sovereign, however, must have been of consequence, or the trade of his country very lucrative to the merchant, as appears by the presents necessary to ensure his protection. These were,

Βαρύτιμα ἀργυρώματα,	-	-	Plate of very great value.
Μασικά <sup>24</sup> ,	-	-	Musical Instruments.
Παρθέναι εὐειδέες πρὸς παλλακίαν,			Handsome Girls for the Haram.
Οἶνος διάφορος,	-	-	The best Wine.
Ἰματισμὸς ἀπλὺς πολυτελής,	-		Plain Cloth, of high price.
Μύρον ἑξόχον,	-	-	The finest Perfumes, or perfumed Unguents.

These articles are all expensive, and the best of their kind. The profits upon the trade must therefore have been great; but if Pliny's account be true, that every pound laid out in India produced an

<sup>22</sup> Βασίλευται δὲ ἐπὶ Παρθῶν, συντυχῶς ἀλλήλους ἐνδικαίοντες. I should have been glad to have interpreted this passage as relating to the Parthian empire, which was then in its vigour, and might have extended itself eastward to the Indus; and, by applying ἀλλήλους to Hindoos and Parthians, the expulsion of each, alternately, from Minnagar, would have resembled the fate of Candahar in these latter ages. But it would then have been written ἐπὶ τῶν Παρθῶν, *the Parthians, the Parthian empire*; and Παρθῶν ἀλλήλους ἐνδικαίοντες must be, *Parthians driving out Parthians*.

<sup>23</sup> If the governing power were Parthians, the distance is very great for them to arrive at the Indus; may we not, by the assistance of imagination, suppose them to have been

Aghwans, whose inroads into India have been frequent in all ages. That the government was not Hindoo is manifest; and any tribe from the West might be confounded with Parthians. If we suppose them to be Aghwans, this is a primary conquest of that nation, extending from the Indus to Guzerat, very similar to the invasions of Mahmood the Ghaznavide, and the present Abdolcees or Durranees. The Belootches, who have infested this country from the time of Alexander to the present hour, are a tribe of Aghwans; but the whole of this is suggested as a mere conjecture.

<sup>24</sup> Μασικά in Greece would have a different sense; but I follow Hudson; I think he is correct, considering the country.

hundred





hundred at Rome, greater exactions than these might easily be supported.

The precise situation of Minnágara it is not easy to determine; but if it be the Minhavareh of Al Biruni<sup>25</sup>, inserted in De la Rochette's Map, I conclude it is also the Manhaberè of Al Edrissi. Al Biruni was a native of the country, and consequently his authority is great; and it is to be presumed that De la Rochette follows him as a guide, in placing Minhavareh on the Indus, between the Island of the Behker and the Delta: Al Edrissi places his Manhaberè at two stations, or sixty miles, from Dabil; and Dabil, he adds, is three stations, or ninety miles, from the mouth of the Indus; that is, it is at the head of the Delta, and Manhaberè sixty miles higher. But he adds, that it is towards the west, which causes some confusion, unless he means by this that it is in the Island of Behker, which he extends likewise to the west. But if Al Biruni and Al Edrissi can be reconciled, a Minhavareh, sixty miles above the Delta, agrees perfectly with the Minnágara of the Periplus, and sufficiently with the Binnágara of Ptolemy; but not with *his* Minnágara, for that is in Guzerat, and he has another in the Bay of Bengal. D'Anville<sup>26</sup> supposes Minnágara to be the same as Mansoura, and Dabil to be at the mouth of the Indus, instead of being at the head of the Delta, where Al Edrissi places it; but we approach so near a conclusion by means of the two Oriental geographers; that I think it may be depended on. The journal says, that the ships lay at Barbarikè, which was a port on the middle branch of the Indus, near the sea, and facing a small island; that Minnagar was beyond it inland; and that the whole cargo was carried up to that

<sup>25</sup> So called from the place of his residence, Abulfeda in Melch. Thevenot, vol. i. p. 9. Al Birun, between Dubul and Mansura.—

<sup>26</sup> Antiq. de l'Inde, p. 34.





metropolis by the river. The representative to supply the place of such a capital would be the modern Loheri, at the southern termination of the Isle of Behker, which, a century ago, was a place of considerable commerce, and gave name to the two principal branches of the Indus, east and west, as they divide to embrace the Delta: the eastern is styled Bundar-Loheri, and the western, Loheri-Bundar<sup>27</sup>.

One circumstance most remarkable is, that the port of Barbarikè is placed on the middle channel of the seven; and the other six are said to be too shallow, or too marshy, to be navigable. This is contrary to the report of Nearchus, and to our modern accounts; for Alexander navigated the two extreme<sup>28</sup> channels, east and west; and they were both navigable within these fifty years. Whether the government of Minnagar cleared and opened the centre one, can only be conjectured; ships did not go up it, and what water was required for the boats that carried up their lading, depends on the nature of the vessels which were employed. The Ritchel River, and that which issues at Scindi Bar, may either of them have been navigable in former times, or in different ages, according to the interest or situation of the different governments which may have prevailed. Rennell<sup>29</sup> still speaks of the Ritchel River as the largest; and without calculating whether it is precisely the central issue of the seven, here Barbarikè might be placed, if other circumstances should be found

<sup>27</sup> Bundar Lori, the Eastern Channel, is called Nulla Sunkra in the treaty of Nadir Shah. See Nearchus, p. 529.

<sup>28</sup> The western channel, which conducted to Lori-Bundar and Tatta, was the only one frequented by the English. This is now either impracticable, or rendered unsafe for strangers

by the government; for Tippoo Sultan's ambassadors to the Abdollee Shah did not go up the Indus, but landed at Caranchy or Crotchey. See his Letters and Orders, in the Asiatick Ann. Register.

<sup>29</sup> Memoir, last ed. p. 180.





to correspond. It is some proof of the fact, that Ptolemy has placed his Barbari in the Delta, convenient for the third and fourth channel; but his Barbari does not answer to the Barbárikè of the Periplus; it is above his Patala, while the Barbárikè of the Periplus is at the mouth of the channel, and close to the sea. It ought likewise to be observed, that this term is not the native name of a port, but a Greek epithet<sup>30</sup>, implying, the Barbaric Port, the Barbaric Country, derived, if the conjecture may be allowed, from the merchants finding here those articles which they had formerly purchased at Mosyllon, on the original Berber coast of Africa, where there is a Barbora to this day, and from whence many of the Oriental articles<sup>31</sup> in the market of Alexandria were called Barbarine and Barbarick.

## The

<sup>30</sup> *Ἐμπορίον Βαρβαρικόν, Χώρα Βαρβαρική*. It is a most extraordinary circumstance, which I am informed of by Mr. A. Hamilton, that Barbara has precisely the same meaning in Sanskreet, as it has in Greek, Latin, and English; all manifestly deducible from Egypt. A term of reproach synonymous with *savage*.

<sup>31</sup> I submit the following conjecture to the natural historians, without any assertion of its truth, or sufficient means of ascertaining it:—Rhubarb is written *Rha Barbarum* and *Rha Ponticum*; and as the best rhubarb always came out of Eastern Tartary, the first course by which it would reach Greece would be by the Wolga, the Caspian, and the Euxine. Now *Rha* is the native name of the Wolga; and *Rha Ponticum* would be the drug that came by the *Rha*, and Pontus, into Greece. But another conveyance of this drug would be out of Tartary to Cabul, and from Cabul down the Indus to Scindi, and to this port of Barbari, or Barbárikè. If then the name of

the drug *Rha* was already received in Europe, would not the *Rha* procured in Scindi be called the *Rha Barbarum*?—I have not found this drug in Pliny, but suspect it to be his *Rhacoma*, xxvii. 105. very dubiously described; and I know that *Rha Ponticum*, and *Rha Barbarum*, convey now ideas not consonant to this explication; but still it may be the true one, originally; the ground for the adoption of this opinion is derived from Salmastius. Bayer observes, that *Rha* signifies a river in the language of the natives. *Hist. Baët.* p. 163. from Scaliger, *Doct. Temporum*. That *Rha* the plant, derived its name from *Rha* the river, we have certain information in Ammianus Marcellinus: *Huic, Rha vicinus est amnis in cujus superciliis ejusdem nominis, gignitur radix proficiens ad usum multiplices medelarum.* *Am. Mar.* p. 390; and, because this root was brought out of the Euxine, he confounds the *Rha* with the *Don*, and supposes it near the *Palus Mæotis*. The rhubarb brought into





The articles imported at Barbarikè are,

Ἰματισμὸς ἀπλῆς ἱκανός,	-	-	-	Clothing, plain, and in considerable quantity.
Ἰματισμὸς νόθος ἢ πολὺς,	-	-	-	Clothing, mixed.
Πολύμιτα <sup>32</sup> ,	-	-	-	Cloth, larger in the warp than the woof.
Χρυσόλιθον,	-	-	-	Topazes.
Κοράλλιον <sup>33</sup> ,	-	-	-	Coral.
Στύραξ,	-	-	-	Storax.
Λίβανος,	-	-	-	Frankincense.
Ῥαλὰ σκεύη,	-	-	-	Glass vessels.
Αργυρώματα,	-	-	-	Plate.
Χρῆμα,	-	-	-	Specie.
Οἶνος ἢ πολὺς,	-	-	-	Wine.

The Exports are,

Κόστος,	-	-	-	Costus. A spice.
Βδέλλα,	-	-	-	Bdellium. A gum.
Λύκιον,	-	-	-	Yellow dye.
Νάρδος,	-	-	-	Spikenard.
Λίθος καλλιπὴς,	-	-	-	Emeralds, or green stones.
Σάπφειρος,	-	-	-	Sapphires.
Σηρικὰ <sup>34</sup> δέρματα,	-	-	-	Hides from China.
Ὀθόνιον,	-	-	-	Cottons.

India in modern times, came by the caravan which passed between Cabul and Cashgar, three months journey from a mart called Yar Chau, but ultimately from China. See Finch in Purchas, vol. ii. p. 434.

<sup>32</sup> Vestis Polymitos. Vestis filis versicoloribus contexta. But dubious.

<sup>33</sup> At Calicut they took gold and silver alone, or else coral, when the Portuguese came there first. Cada Mosto, p. 58. Grynaeus.

<sup>34</sup> This is very dubious, and occurs nowhere else.

Νῆμα





Νῆμα Σηρικόν, - - - Silk Thread.

Ἰνδικόν μέλαν, - - - Indigo, or Indian ink?

Such are the different articles of export and import; and the author observes, that in order to reach this port in the proper season, the ships should leave the harbour of Berenikè in Epiphi, or July; adding, that the passage down the Red Sea is difficult at so early a period, but that a favourable wind (that is, the monsoon) is more easily obtained after you have passed the straits, and the voyage more expeditious<sup>35</sup>. This is in harmony with the account of Pliny, who informs us, that the passage down the gulph took up thirty days; a long time for a passage short of five hundred miles, and which proves, not only the difficulty of the navigation, but the unskilfulness of the navigators. Upon approaching the mouths of the Indus, the sea is white; and the sign of land before it is seen, is a multitude of snakes, called Graai, floating on the surface. This circumstance, which seemed fabulous to the ancients, and some of the moderns, is now known to be a fact that takes place down the whole coast of Malabar, as well as on the approach to the Indus: it is imputed to the rains of the monsoon washing down these animals<sup>36</sup> out of the rivers. I shall here also take occasion to do justice to Agatharchides, for condemning his report of a whiteness in the sea off the coast of Arabia. I am not apt to suppose every extraordinary report false, in authors ancient or modern; and I have pleasure in acknowledging the veracity of Agatharchides in this instance, on the authority of Corfali<sup>37</sup>, Thornton, and Terry; Corfali's account,

<sup>35</sup> Δυσσεπείλοτος μιν, ἐπιφορώτατος δὲ . . . . καὶ συντομώτερος ὁ πλῆς. Ἐπίφορος is particularly applied to winds: ventus fecundus. Ἐκείνων, in this passage, I have omitted, and cannot render.

<sup>36</sup> Paolino.

<sup>37</sup> "You have twenty leagues of white sea between Socotra and Arabia." Dalrymple's Collection, p. 57. "The sea near Socotra" is





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account, indeed, goes rather to confirm the *Periplus*; but the evidence of Thornton and Terry is direct, "that the sea near Socotra" is as white as milk." We are every day lessening the bulk of the marvellous imputed to the ancients; and as our knowledge of the East increases, it is possible that the imputation will be altogether removed.

From the whole of the particulars collected at the Indus, there is every reason to believe that the writer of the *Periplus* was here in person: the minute circumstances recorded form a strong contrast with the slight notice of the Gulph of Persia and the Coast of Cadrosia; and the more circumstantial detail respecting Guzerat and Cambay, which we are now approaching, is so very remarkable, that the description could hardly have occurred, unless it were derived from information on the spot.

## VI. CUTCH, GUZERAT, BARUGAZA.

THE first place we are directed to on leaving the Indus, is the Bay of Cutch or Kartsch, the Kanthi<sup>38</sup> of Ptolemy, the Eirion of the *Periplus*: it is said to be unexplored<sup>39</sup>; a circumstance appropriate to it at the present hour; and to have two divisions, the

<sup>38</sup> "is as white as milk." Terry in Purchas, vol. iii. p. 1467.

Vicino al India trecento miglia, l'acque del mare si mostran come di latte che mi pare esser caufato d' al fondo, per esservi l' arena bianca. Andrea Corfali. Ramusio, tom. i. p. 178.

See *Periplus*, p. 36. and Agatharchides in Hudson, p. 64.

<sup>39</sup> Cantha is one of the names of Crisna, as Husband or Lord. There are still great re-

mains of Hindoo superstition in this part of India: a pagoda in Kutsen, another at Jaigat, and a third at Sumnaut—all still conspicuous; and Sumnaut and Jaigat still visited in pilgrimage. Mr. A. Hamilton.

<sup>40</sup> *Adunptos*; but an English officer, taken prisoner by the pirates, was carried up it, according to Rennell. The pirates should be those of Goomtee, just to the east of Jaigat.

greater





greater and the less, both shoal, with violent and continual eddies extending far out from the shore; so that vessels are often aground before they see land, or are hurried away by the eddies and lost. The shore begins to curve as soon as you leave the Indus<sup>40</sup>; first towards the east, next in a southerly direction, and, finally, back again to the west; till it reaches the promontory Barâkes, which shuts in seven islands with its projection. This cape represents, with sufficient exactness, the Jaigat point of our charts, and its islands within, which are at this day the retreat of a piratical tribe, visited by the English within these few years<sup>41</sup>.

If a vessel approaches this point, her only chance to escape, is an immediate alteration of her course; for if she is once well within it, it is certain destruction. The sea rolls in here, a large and heavy swell, with great violence, forming eddies and whirlpools in every direction. The soundings likewise vary from deep to shoal, or rocky, without warning; so that if you attempt to anchor, the cables are cut or rubbed by the foulness of the bottom. But the sign of approaching this bay, is another species of serpents, floating on the water, larger, and of a black colour; while those that are met with at Barugaza, and lower down, are green, with a golden hue, and of a smaller size.

From Barâkes, and the Bay of Eîrinon, the next in succession is the Bay of Barugâza, which terminates [south-west] on the bound-

<sup>40</sup> Ἀπὸ τοῦ ὅπου, the last station is Barbarikê. The text seems to give the name of Barâkes to the coast as well as the cape. D'Anville finds here a tract called Barfeti, the Barafit of Al Biruni, p. 83.

<sup>41</sup> In 1799. See Indian Reg. 1800, Chronicle, p. 3. The district is called Goomtee:

the pirates are said to have been driven from Kutich, between the Indus and the head of the gulph, and to have settled on the opposite shore of Guzerat, since called Little Kutich. They are the Sanganians of our early navigators, the Sangadæ of Nearchus.





dary of Ariakè<sup>42</sup>, the territory of Mámbarus, who is sovereign also of all India<sup>43</sup>. Inland, on the north, the district of Barugáza joins to Scindi, and is subject to the Parthians of Minnagar; and the sea-coast, from Scindi towards Guzerat, is called Surastrênè. It produces abundance of corn, rice, oil of sesamum, ghee, and cotton for ordinary manufacture; and the cottons of Minnagar are carried to Barugáza for exportation. The natives are black, and men of large stature, and the herds of cattle in the country are numerous. Surastrênè<sup>44</sup> must therefore be the Kutch of our modern charts, the capital of which is Boogebooge; a tract wholly inhospitable, and now never visited; so that we have no opportunity of knowing<sup>45</sup> whether it answers to the account of the Periplus or not.

The passage from Barbarikè to Barugaza is [not made along shore by the Bay of Eirion and Barákes, but] strait across to the headland of Papíka<sup>46</sup>, which lies opposite to the harbour of Barugáza, and in the neighbourhood of Ástra Kampra and Trápera. This

<sup>42</sup> Ἡ πρὸς τῇς Ἀριακῆς χώρας τῆς Μαυροῦ βασιλεῖας ἄρχη, καὶ τῆς ὅλης Ἰνδοῦς ἡσυχ. The beginning of Ariakè, marks the distinction; for Barugaza was subject to Minnagar. Ἀριακῆς for Ἀριακῆς, is the undoubted correction of Stuckius. Surastrène; Mr. Hamilton interprets it Sri-rastra, the Lord of Prosperity. Jaggar, the World.

<sup>43</sup> All India is a large expression; but it cannot comprehend more than the northern part of the peninsula of India, in opposition to Scindi and Guzerat, in that age, under the Parthians. Such a king as the Balahara of Al Edrissi (p. 62.) would correspond sufficiently; for Balahara signifies King of Kings, according to his interpretation; but Mr. A. Hamilton says it implies, the Overthrower of Armies.

<sup>44</sup> Surastrênè is not so absolutely confined in the text to Kutch, that it may not extend to the coast of Guzerat also; but in allotting it to Kutch only, we unite the account in the Periplus with the geography of Ptolemy; and the text itself is so corrupt that we are utterly at a loss; for it says, the inland part of Scythia touches on Iberia. Iberia is certainly a false reading, but what ought to be substituted for it is dubious: Hudson, or Stuckius, read Σαούπια, from Ptolemy; and Ptolemy has Περσικὴν, καὶ ἡ ὑπερῶν αὐτῆς Σαούπια, p. 172.

<sup>45</sup> Orme says, it furnishes a good breed of horses, which implies pasture for other cattle also. Hist. Fragments, notes, p. 107.

<sup>46</sup> D'Anville finds here a Soto Papera, for Alto Papíka; but upon what authority he does not mention. Antiq. del Indé, p. 83.

cape





cape forms the western point of the Bay of Barugáza, at the extremity of which lies the Island of Baiônès<sup>47</sup>; and from this point the coast runs northerly till it reaches the head of the gulph; there it receives the river<sup>48</sup> Mais [and then returns again south to Barugáza itself, and proceeds, in the same direction, to the main coast of the peninsula.] It is added, that the passage from Scynthia to Baiônès is three thousand stadia, which agrees sufficiently with the actual distance of about three hundred miles.

Among all these particulars, there is not a single circumstance which does not accord<sup>49</sup> with the actual nature of the voyage at the present day, from Scindi Bar to Diu Head; for Baiônès<sup>50</sup> is Diu<sup>51</sup>; and from Diu, the coast runs N.E. to the head of the Gulph of Cambay, where we find the River Mahi, as the representative of Mais. From Mahi the direction of the shore is south to Baroache, the Barugáza<sup>52</sup> of the journal on the Nerbudda, which the Periplús calls the Lamnaius, and Ptolemy the Namádus<sup>53</sup>, still written Narmada in some of the Hindoo books. The other part of the account, which at first seems to intimate that the bay is thirty miles across,

<sup>47</sup> Baiônès is Diu; and, if I understand it rightly, this island, and the coast towards Jaigat, is the Chelmaerran of Marco Polo: in his time, all the trade here was in the hands of Arabs.

<sup>48</sup> *Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἰστανάτοις τόποις πλείστοις ποταμὸς ὁ λεγόμενος Μάις.*

<sup>49</sup> On peut dire ainsi, que ce qu'on acquiert de notions par le Périples, est satisfaisant et positif. D'Anville, *Antiq. de l'Inde*, p. 86.

<sup>50</sup> I conjecture that Diu is the Avi Caman of Al Edrissi, because he reckons one day and a half's sail from Cambay to Avi Caman, and two from Avi Caman to the Indus. They are courses far too long for an Indian ship,

but the central point seems relative. He speaks magnificently of the trade of Cambay in his time; and extensive it continued, till the greater proximity of Surat to the open sea attracted the trade to that port.

<sup>51</sup> Diu is *Dive*, the Isle. Diu Head is *Papika*, the cape immediately west of Diu.

<sup>52</sup> Barugáza signifies the *Water of Wealth*, from Bari, *water*, and Gaza, *wealth, riches, treasure, or treasury*; the same in Sanscrit as in Persian. Mr. A. Hamilton.

<sup>53</sup> *Asiatick Researches*. Is it not Nahr-Bhudda? or Nahr-Mahadeo? The Soane, its kindred stream, is called Soane-Budda;





will perhaps bear a more favourable construction, which I submit to the judgment of the reader: ["Upon arriving] at this" gulph, "those who are bound to Barugáza [keep clear of the land on "either side] and pass up the open channel for thirty miles, leaving "Baíônēs on the left, till it is scarcely visible in the horizon, [their "course is] then east to the very mouth of the river that leads "to Barugáza."

The passage into this gulph is narrow, and difficult of access when you approach it from the sea, lest you should be carried away to the right hand or the left. The left side is the best; for on the right there lies a stripe of shoal, rough and broken, called Herônē, near the village of Kammōni"; and this shoal of Herônē, notwithstanding the shifting to which sands are liable, is not undiscoverable at the present day, or at least a representative for it, which will sufficiently elucidate the account in the journal. The charts and maps are full of shoals; De la Rochette has one extending from Swally to below Daman, and others without it; and a particular one off Groapnought Point, which seems to be the Jamteir Shoal of Skinner, corresponding with the situation required: all of them are long, narrow stripes, like the Fillet [ταινία] of the Periplus, caused

"[Κατα] Τύτοι τὸν Κόλπον, τὸ πέρασος ὡς  
ἐὰν ἡ τρικλοῖαν οἱ πλείοντες ἐς Βαρυγάζαν διατε-  
ρῶνται" ἢ ἰσχυρῶς ἀκροφῶν καταστρόφους τῆς ἡσυχίας,  
καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν ἀνατολῆς, ἐπ' αὐτὸ τὸ εἶμα τὸ ποταμὸν  
Βαρυγάζαν. Κατὰ must be understood either  
with τὸν κόλπον, or τὸ πέρασος: I prefer the  
first, as usual in the journal. Τὸ πέρασος I  
render *clear channel*, as *open sea*, in comparison  
of a course along either shore; ἀκροφῶν is,  
scarcely appearing, scarcely visible; διατερῶνται  
need not be taken in the strict sense of *crossing*,

but may signify *passing through the sea*, for 30  
miles up the channel.

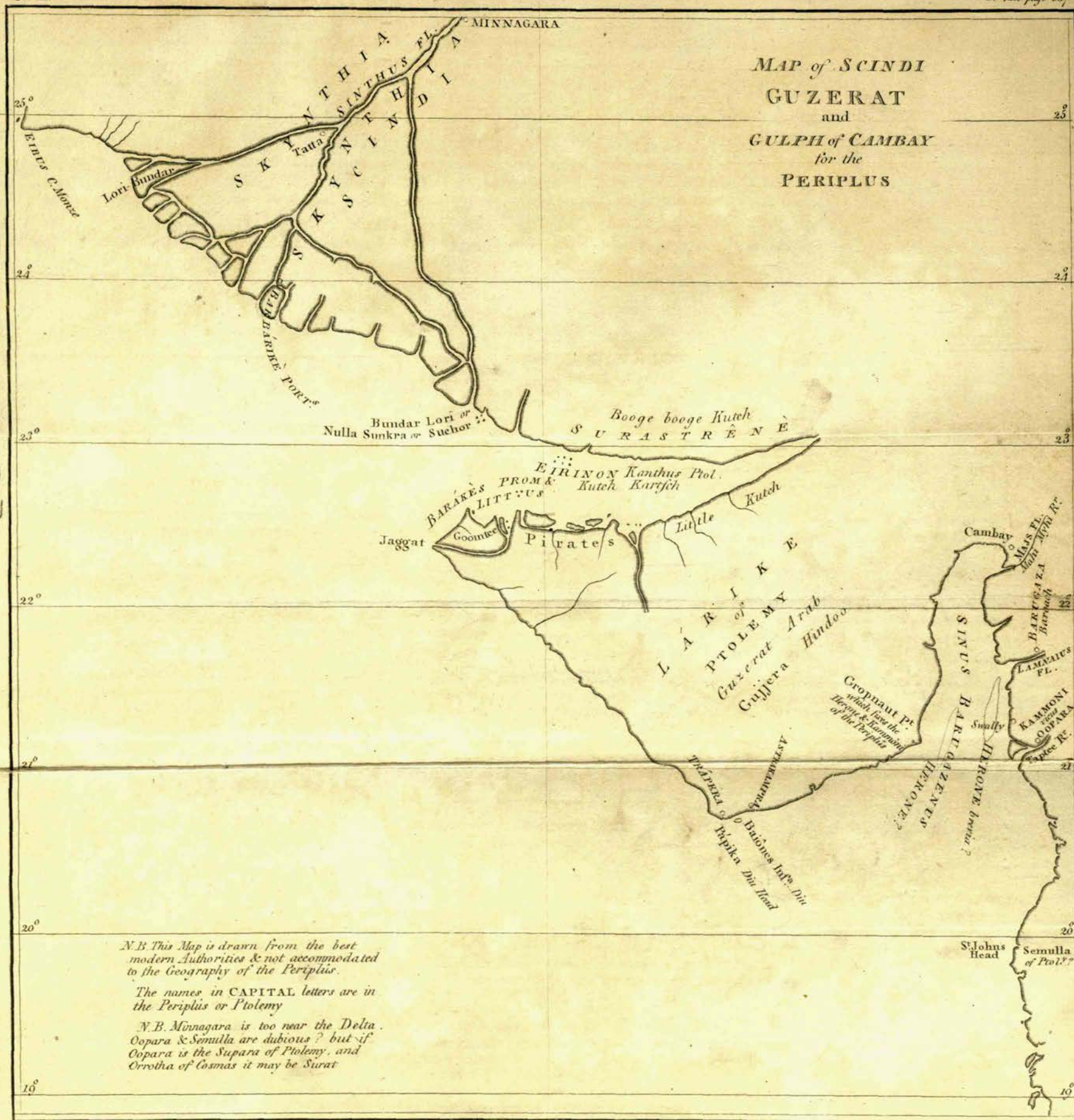
"Kammōni is sufficiently marked here on  
the side of the Gulph of Cambay, opposite to  
Diu, to shew that it cannot be far from the  
position of Surat, or at least must be south of  
Barugáza; and so Ptolemy places Kamanes  
in his most distorted map of this coast; and  
yet Major Rennell says, Cambay appears to be  
the Camanes of Ptolemy. Memoir, last edit.  
p. 210.

apparently





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*Published May 1<sup>st</sup> 1805, according to Act of Parliament by W. Vincent*

*J. Walker sculp*





apparently by the rapidity of the tide, which throws up the sand, but will not permit it to accumulate in breadth. On the left, opposite to Kammôni, near the promontory of Alta Kampra, lies the cape called Pápika<sup>56</sup>: here it is difficult to anchor, both on account of the current, and because the cables are cut by the foulness of the bottom. But even when the passage into the gulph is secured, the mouth of the Barugáza River is not easy to hit; for the coast is low, and there are no certain marks to be seen: neither, if it is discovered, is it easy to enter, from the shoals<sup>57</sup> which are at the mouth. For this reason pilots are appointed by government, with attendants in large boats, called Trappaga and Kotumba; these vessels advance as far as Surastrênè, or Kutsch, and wait there to pilot the trade up to Barugáza. Their first service, at the entrance of the gulph, is to bring round the ship's head, and keep her clear of the shoals: this they do by means of the many hands they have on board, and by taking the vessel in tow from station to station, which stations are all known and marked, they move with the beginning of the tide, and anchor as soon as it is spent at certain berths that are called Bafons<sup>58</sup>; and these bafons still retain water after the tide is out, all the way to Barugáza. The town itself lies thirty miles up the river; which fact directs us to Baroache, without a possibility of mistake.

The difficulty of navigating this bay affords a sufficient reason why Barugáza should be more flourishing than Cambay, and Surat

<sup>56</sup> Pápika, *criminal, guilty*, barbarous. Mr. A. Hamilton. it would explain many particulars here mentioned.

<sup>57</sup> It was very late that I saw Skinner's Chart, by favour of Mr. Arrowsmith. His Memoir I have not seen; but I am persuaded, <sup>58</sup> Κυβήτοι, literally, kettles; from κύβητος, obsoleto; χυτήριον, Halych. Salm. 83.





preferable to Barugāza or Baroache; and yet Cambay was a great place of trade when Tavernier was in India. Mr. Hamilton adds, that the people of Cambay were formerly heterodox, or Bhuddists; and that Ariakè, which corresponds with Kemkem, or Concan, is the Country of *Believers*, probably in contrast to the inhabitants of Cambay. How wonderfully does this accord with the rise and success of Sevagee, and the Mahrattas, the restorers of Braminism in India, and the conquerors of the Mahomedan powers? The native superstition would naturally survive in the mountainous regions of the peninsula, while the Mahomedans overran the plains of Hindostan; and if Ariakè does signify the Country of Believers, it is a proof that this part of the peninsula was, in the earliest ages, celebrated for its attachment to Braminism. The Mahratta chiefs are many of them Bramins; but when in power, we find nothing of that meek spirit of the Hindoos so much vaunted in Europe: they have dethroned their sovereigns; they are the most cruel ravagers and invaders; equally greedy of desolation as plunder; they have destroyed much, and restore nothing: in short, they have made it a question, whether the whole people were not happier under the government of the Mahomedans, than their own. The house of Timour was a mild dynasty; Aurengzebe, indeed, was a tyrant, a persecutor, and a hypocrite; but Acbar was the father of his country. But to return,

The circumstance of the tides is not peculiar to this place, though they are more violent here than elsewhere; for almost all the rivers of India are large, and have both the flux and reflux of extraordinary strength, conforming with the moon, new and full, as well as for three days after each, and falling off again in the intermediate space;





space; but at Barugáza this violence is more remarkable, so that without warning you see the bottom laid bare, and the sides next the coast, where vessels were sailing but just before, left dry as it were in an instant; again, upon the access of the flood-tide, the whole body of the sea is driven in with such violence, that the stream is impelled upwards for a great number of miles, with a force that is irresistible. This makes the navigation very unsafe for those that are unacquainted with the gulph, or enter it for the first time. No anchors are a security; for when the vehemence of the tide commences, there is no intermission, no retreat: large vessels caught in it are hurried away by the impetuosity<sup>59</sup> of the current, and thrown on their sides, or wrecked upon the shoals; while the smaller ones are completely overset<sup>60</sup>. Many also that have taken refuge in the creeks, unless they have fortunately changed<sup>61</sup> their place in due time, (which it is very difficult to do, on account of the instantaneous fall of the water,) upon the return of the tide are filled with the very first head of the flood, and sunk. But all these circumstances united concur more especially, if the new<sup>62</sup> moon falls in conjunction with the night tide; for then, if you have been prepared to enter upon the first of the flood, and when the sea appeared perfectly calm, you shall hear, in a moment, a rushing sound like the tumult of battle,

<sup>59</sup> Τῇ Ἰνδῳ is a corruption for which nothing occurs. Perhaps *περὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τῇ Βίβλῃ*?

<sup>60</sup> So the Oriental Navigator says, "Near Dagon the tide runs so rapidly, that if the vessel should take the ground she must overset immediately and in all probability every soul on board perish, which often happens through the neglect or obstinacy of the pilots. P. 207. Another part, near Gogo, is described as very dangerous, and environed with rocks and

shoals; and he notices that the tide runs six miles an hour. P. 206.

<sup>61</sup> Ὅτ' αἶψά μιν ἀνέπνευσε. Dodwell reads *ἀνέπνευσε*, rowed off, rowed through; which I follow.

<sup>62</sup> Συμμενίας, the moon in conjunction with the tide. But *συμμενίας* does not occur in the lexicons; may it not be *μεμνίας*? Hudson renders it interlunias, which has little to do with high tides.

and





and the water driving forward with the utmost impetuosity, covers the whole of the bare shoals in an instant.

It will immediately appear, that this description relates to that sort of tide which is called the Bore<sup>62</sup>, and is common to many places in Europe as well as India. On the coast of Egypt, or in the Red Sea, the author could have seen nothing that resembled it, and he dwells upon it, therefore, with more minuteness than a modern observer would employ; but from this very cause it is that we have a picture which cannot deceive us, and a conviction that the author relates what he had himself experienced.

We come next to the enumeration of the countries with which Barugáza is connected, and its relative situation with regard to the provinces that surround it. Among these, on the north-west, lie the Aratrii, Rachooi<sup>63</sup>, and Tantháragi, names with which we are totally unacquainted, as they do not occur in any other author; but that they lie towards the north-west, between Guzerat and Multan is manifest from the succeeding district of Proklaïs, which comprizes the city of Bookephalos, for that we know to be in the Panjeab. He then adds, that beyond Proklaïs, still farther to the north-west, lies the province of Bactria, governed by its own<sup>64</sup> kings. Here we may observe, that the country between Guzerat and the Indus is to this day less known than any other part of India: it is a sandy

<sup>62</sup> See the description of the Bore, called Macareo, in Pegu, by Casar Frederick. He mentions stations in that river like these; and adds, that the Macareo in Cambay is nothing equal to that of Pegu. Hacklüt, ii. p. 234.

<sup>63</sup> The Rachooi are the giants of India, as I learn from Mr. A. Hamilton, of Edinbro<sup>64</sup>.

<sup>64</sup> Bayer's catalogue of Bactrian kings ends 134 years before our era, and therefore he has

no king for the age of the Periplus. For *ὑπὸ βασιλέων Ἰσσαν ἴδιον τόπον*, he proposes to read *ὑπὸ βασιλευσιν Ἰσσαι ὄντων*. And some correction is wanting; for *Ἰσσαν* neither agrees with *Ἰσσαι* or *τόπον*. May not the merchant of Periplus have heard of a Bactrian dynasty, and assigned it to his own age after it was extinct? Bayer imputes the age of the Periplus to Aurelius Antoninus. Hist. Bact. p. 98.

desert,





desert, affording refuge to tribes of Rajpouts, Hendouans, and Ashambetis, called Jams, who are all without fixed habitations, and plunderers like the Arabs. These may correspond <sup>66</sup> with the hordes mentioned by the author; but from Minnagar upwards, to the Panjeab and to Bactria, we can follow him with more precision; for in these parts, he says, there still remain memorials <sup>67</sup> of Alexander and his conquests on the Indus; such as altars, the entrenchments of his camps, and very large wells. The last particular seems evidently to refer to the wells which Alexander opened in his three days march to the East from the eastern branch of the Indus: they were on the route to Guzerat; and the route between the Indus and that province is kept open, at this day, only by wells of this description in the desert. But we are told afterwards, that Alexander marched eastward from these countries to the Ganges <sup>68</sup>, neglecting Limúrikè, and the whole peninsula on the south. This only proves that our author was a much better merchant than an historian; but he redeems his error by the preservation of a circumstance which fell under his own observation; which is, that coins with the Greek inscriptions of Menander and Apollódotus, who reigned in this country after Alexander, were still current in Barugáza.

<sup>66</sup> Hudson wishes to convert Aratrii into Arii, and Rakhoofi into Arachosii. So far as Aria and Arachosia are connected with Bactria, there is reason in this; but if there is any order observed in arranging these tribes, they ascend with the Indus to Moultan and the Panje-ab, and thence with a north-westerly direction to Bactria.

<sup>67</sup> *ἑστὰ ἀρχαῖα*. Sacella, Hudson.

<sup>68</sup> It will be readily allowed, that an author who could fall into this error, might be mistaken in regard to the kings of Bactria.



VII. KINGDOM OF BACTRIA, TÁGARA, PLÍTHANA, OZÊNE,  
DEKAN.

THIS Apollódotus is hard to discover, even by the scrutinizing accuracy of the learned Bayer; but Menander he has introduced into the catalogue of his Bactrian kings, and with a most peculiar distinction, that he had extended his sovereignty down the Indus, and over the Delta of the Patalene<sup>69</sup>. This extraordinary influence of the Greeks, in these distant regions, is no more to be wondered at, than the erection of kingdoms by the descendants of officers of Gínghez Khan, Timour, or Nadir Shah: the heads of a conquering army are all as ready to divide an empire, as the successors of Alexander; and the officers of these successors, as eager to revolt from their principals, as the principals from the family of the conqueror; thus rose the kingdom of Bactria, by the revolt of Theódotus from the monarch of Syria, which maintained itself for near an hundred and twenty years, and consisted at one time of a thousand cities: similar to this, perhaps, was the sovereignty of Apollódotus, who seems to have had some provinces towards the sources of the Indus, which, in the obscurity of the Syrian history, cannot now be ascertained, and the memorial of which is preserved almost exclusively in the Periplus.

That the coins<sup>70</sup> of these princes should pass current at Barugáza,

<sup>69</sup> See Strabo, p. 471. Bayer, Hist. Bactrian, p. 80.

<sup>70</sup> Paolino informs us, that P. Pavoni, a missionary in Mysore, found a coin of Claudius in the river Caveri. P. 98.

Renaudot's Arab, p. 15. mentions a Thatarian drachm, which weighs half a dram more than the Arabian drachm. But this is not a foreign, but a domestic coin; it bears the die of the prince.





is no more uncommon<sup>71</sup> than that the Venetian sequin<sup>72</sup>, and Imperial dollar, should be at this day current in Arabia, or that the Spanish piaſtre ſhould paſs in every port of India and the Eaſt; that is, round the world from Mexico to Manila, and in ſome inſtances, perhaps, from Manila to Mexico again. A fact ſtill more worthy of notice is not to be omitted, as it is an obſervation appropriate to a merchant<sup>73</sup>; which is, that the denarius, either gold or ſilver, was exchanged with advantage againſt the ſpecie of the country. This is in correſpondence with the teſtimony of Coſmas, almoſt five hundred years later; who takes occaſion, at Céylon, to mention, that the Roman money was received, and trade carried on by means of it, to the utmoſt extremity of the world, no nation having a [ſtandard of] coin pure enough to compare with the Roman. And it is a truth (as I learn from Clark on Coins), that the Byzantine ſtandard was not only the pureſt, but moſt permanent, of any in the world.

Before we can proceed to the commerce of Barugáza, we have other relative ſituations to conſider, as Ozênè on the Eaſt, and Plithana, and Tágara, on the ſouth-eaſt. Theſe Lieut. Wilford has concluded to be Ougein, Pultanah, and Deoghir. There is every reaſon to adopt his concluſions; and if, after the ſeveral circum-

<sup>71</sup> Niebuhr ſays, vol. i. p. 137. that Greek, Perſian, and Roman coins are ſtill current in Curdiſtan; and Nicolas di Conti Ramuſio, tom. ii. p. 286. mentions the Venetian ducat as current in India in 1440, that is almoſt 60 years before the Portuguese reached India.

<sup>72</sup> On the coaſt of Malabar, women appear at this day ornamented with ſequins, coins of Portugal, and Engliſh guineas, by way of necklace. Moore's Narrative, p. 293.

<sup>73</sup> I do not wiſh to deprive either Bayer, or Robertſon, or Maurice, of the honour of theſe obſervations, previous to the preſent publication; but they could not be omitted here, as forming part of my plan; and I had obtained my information previous to conſulting any of their works. An author, in the legal phraſe, *takes nothing* by ſuch an aſſertion; he deſerves nothing but what the reader pleaſes to allow him. See Bayer, Hiſt. Baſt. p. 108.





stances already enumerated, we have cause to think highly of the information of our author, we shall be disposed, after tracing these several connections, to allow that there is no specimen of ancient geography so completely satisfactory, or so consonant to truth, as the portion now under contemplation.

Towards the east of Barugâza lies Ozênè, which was formerly the capital of the country. What are we to understand by this, but that the Parthians, who were now masters of Minnagar, and possessed of Guzerat, had driven the native Hindoos out of power, and seized upon the government of these provinces themselves? And what do we see in this, but the prototype of the Mahomedan usurpations, which have been too faithfully copied by European powers? and whose place we now occupy as masters of Surat, Baroache, and Cambay, at the present hour. When the Europeans first reached India, Surat was the principal seat of commerce on the north, as Calicut was on the south; and the merchants of Guzerat were the richest and most active traders in India. Surat is not more than forty or fifty miles from Baroache, and Baroache<sup>74</sup> is the Barugâza of the Periplus. In the age of that work, the merchants of this country were not less vigorously engaged in their pursuits: they traded to Arabia for gums and incense, to the coast of Africa for gold, and probably to Malabar and Ceylon for pepper and cinnamon. If I could find any thing in history to countenance the idea of the Hindoos<sup>75</sup> being seamen<sup>76</sup> in any age, I should place them

<sup>74</sup> Al Edrissi calls it Berug, and Beruts; the English now call it Broche. Strabo writes Bargosa. D'Anville, *Geo. Anc.* p. 88. But this is dubious; for the Bargosa of the Periplus are on the other side of the peninsula.

<sup>75</sup> Quello che bee vino non si receive per

testimonio, ne quelle che naviga per mare perche dicono che chi naviga per mare è desperato. Marco Polo, lib. iii. c. 20. p. 54.— This relates to the Hindoos of Coromandel.

<sup>76</sup> Sir William Jones has supposed, that, from Bottomry being mentioned in the laws of





them in this province. But as Barthema informs us, that in his time the Hindoos at Calicut<sup>77</sup> left all navigation to the Mahomedans, so it should seem that the prohibitions of their religion had been uniform from all ages. Pliny speaks as strongly of the Arabs on the coast of Ceylon; and Arabs<sup>78</sup> there must have been at Barugáza for the same purpose, unless it should be discovered that there was some cast, of a degraded fort, that supplied their place. Fishermen there are, but they can cook and eat their food on shore; and even fishermen are an abomination in Malabar. Merchants, however, may grow rich at home, while other nations are their carriers; and that the greatest trade of India was in that age fixed in Guzerat, is evident, not only from the enumeration of articles at this port, but from the general importance it bears in the mind of the author, and the circumstantial detail of all that is connected with it.

The connection with Ougein<sup>79</sup>, and the mention that this place was once the seat of government, is in perfect conformity with

of Menu, the Hindoos must have been navigators in the age of that work. Now, that ships of Hindoos went to sea, and that a proportionate interest for the hazard of the sea was to be paid on money borrowed, must be true; but it remains to be proved that the seamen were Hindoos. And his endeavour to prove that they used the sea in former ages, proves that it is contrary to their principles and practice in later times. It is only within these very few years that the English have been able to carry their sepoy by sea; and in doing this, there seems to have been employed money, discipline, and a variety of fictions to save their conscience.

<sup>77</sup> In urbe Calicut qui Idola colunt [Hindoos] non fulcant maria, id munus Mahometanis delegatur. Quorum numerus in ea civi-

tate sola excedunt quindecim millia. Barthema apud Grynæum, p. 112. And in Orme's account of the fleets near Bombay, one party were Siddees, or Abylinians, and the other Arabs chiefly. Angria was a Hindoo, as well as Sevagee; but his fleets were full of Arabs, and so were those of his predecessors. See the attack made on an India ship called the President, in 1683. Orme, p. 171.—The Arabs... the first navigators in the world for the Indian seas. Sir John Chardin, in Renaudot, p. 147.

<sup>78</sup> When the Portuguese came to India, the Arabians transacted all the trade of the East. Renaudot, p. 173.

<sup>79</sup> See Hunter's journey from Agra to Ougein. India Annual Register 1800, Miscel. p. 279.





modern information; for Ougein<sup>80</sup>, as it is at present subject to Scindia, and the capital of his jaghire, so was it, from the earliest ages, the properest situation for a metropolis, as being in the centre of those tribes of Hindoos which have been less<sup>81</sup> intermixed with foreigners, and less subject to invaders, than the other tribes of Hindostan. Its pre-eminence and importance are still farther proved by its having been, and still continuing, the first meridian<sup>82</sup> of the Hindoos, which appears from accurate English observations to be in long.  $75^{\circ} 51' 0''$ <sup>83</sup> from Greenwich, and its latitude  $23^{\circ} 11' 12''$ . The ruins of the ancient Ozênê are still discoverable, at a mile distance from Ougein; and coins and bricks are still dug up there, at the depth of fifteen feet or more. Pliny makes no direct mention of Ozênê, but incidentally only, as denoting a species of the spike-

<sup>80</sup> Written Ujjayini, Ujjein. D'Anville, *India*, p. 95. Ujjayini awinti, or avanti. Hunter.

<sup>81</sup> The revolt of Sevajee, the founder of the Marhatta power, was in the time of Aurungzebe, when the house of Timour was in its meridian splendor. These Hindoos of the Dekan had never been reduced; and though the Rana of Ougein, who was the principal of the Hindoos of Aginere, had been subdued by Acbar, the interior was so difficult of access, that there had always remained tribes in the mountains who were independent. Sevajee (or, as he is otherwise called, Bonsoola) first reduced the mountaineers of the Dekan into order, and formed them by discipline till he set the Mogul power at defiance: he plundered Surat repeatedly, spread his incursions on every side, and levied contributions to a vast amount. He died possessed of a sovereignty, which grew up during the decline of the empire under the successors of Aurung-

zebe, and has become the greatest Hindoo power since the first invasion of the Mahomedans.

<sup>82</sup> See *Asiat. Researches*, Lond. ed. v. p. 194. and *India Register* 1800, 292. Miscel. longitude determined by eleven observations of Jupiter's Satellites; latitude, by eight.—Another first meridian was at Lanca, or Ceylon. Paolino, p. 309.

<sup>83</sup> Jessing, or Jaya Sinha, soubadahr of Meliva, in 1693 constructed observatories at Ougein, Dehli, Benares, and Matra. Sir Rob. Barker describes the observatory at Ougein, and found the latitude to be  $23^{\circ} 10' 24''$ , which the native observers made  $23^{\circ} 10'$ , seconds they do not notice; but it appears likewise that they had instruments and books from Europe. Mr. Hunter doubts the antiquity of Hindoo astronomy, and informs us, that when he was at Ougein, Jessing's observatory was turned into a foundery for cannon. *Asiatic Researches*, v. p. 196. Lond. ed.





nard; but Ptolemy calls it the capital of Tiaftánus, and his royal residence: he places it on the Namádus, or Nerbudda, which is the river of <sup>84</sup> of Barugáza; which river is said to rise out of the same lake as the Saone, and which takes an eastern direction; so that the course of the two rivers into the sea, east and west, turn what is called the peninsula of India into an island.

D'Anville <sup>85</sup> considers Ougein as the residence of Porus, who sent an embassy to Augustus. The rajah is called Rhana, and pretends to be descended from Porus, who was defeated by Alexander. Fabulous accounts of Alexander are as current in the East, as in Europe; and for the sake of proving the antiquity of his family, a prince might have the vanity to think it an honour that his ancestor was defeated and conquered. But Porus signifies a chief or sovereign: it may have been an appellative, as well as a proper name; and the sovereign of Agimere, if his influence extended over Guzerat in the age of Augustus, might have had commercial <sup>86</sup> transactions to regulate with the Roman empire.

From Ozênè every sort of commodity is brought down to Barugáza, which can contribute to the supply <sup>87</sup> of the country, and many articles for foreign trade <sup>88</sup>, comprehending

Ὀνυχίνη λιθία,	-	-	-	Onyx stones.
Μυρρίνη,	-	-	-	Porcelane.
Σινδόνες Ινδικαί,	-	-	-	Fine muslins.
Μολόχιναι,	-	-	-	Muslins of the colour of mallows.

<sup>84</sup> Major Rennell, in his first map, placed it on a stream that ran into the Nerbudda; in his corrected map, it is on a branch of the Siparch, which joins the Chumbal, and falls into the Jumna.

<sup>85</sup> Antiq. de l'Inde, p. 95.

<sup>86</sup> This is upon the supposition, that the 120 ships which Strabo saw at Berenikè actually reached India.

<sup>87</sup> Ἐνδοσία.

<sup>88</sup> Πρὸς ἡμετέραν ἐμπορίαν, for our trade.





Ἰκανὸν χυδαῖον ὀθόνιον, - - A large quantity of ordinary  
cottons.

And many articles that only pass through Ozênè to the coast, from  
the country farther inland; as from the Panj-ab<sup>99</sup>,

Νάρδος,	-	-	-	} Spikenard, of different sorts.	
Καταβαρίνη <sup>99</sup> ,	-	-	-		
Πατροπαπίγη,	-	-	-		
Καβαλίτη,	-	-	-		
Κόστος,	-	-	-	-	Kostus.
Βδέλλα,	-	-	-	-	Bdellium. A gum.

The Imports at Barugáza are

Οἶνος,	-	-	-	-	Wine.
Ἰταλικὸς προηγεμένως,	-	-	-	-	Italian wine, in preference to all other.
Λαοδικηνὸς,	-	-	-	-	Laodicæan wine. Syrian.
Αραβικὸς,	-	-	-	-	Arabian. <i>Querc</i> , Palm, or Toddy?
Χαλκός,	-	-	-	-	Brafs.
Κασσίτερος,	-	-	-	-	Tin.
Μόλυβδος,	-	-	-	-	Lead.
Κοράλλιον,	-	-	-	-	Coral.
Χρυσόλιθον,	-	-	-	-	Topazes.
Ἰματισμὸς,	-	-	-	-	Cloth.
ἀπλῆς,	-	-	-	-	plain.
νόθος παντῶιος,	-	-	-	-	mixed, of all sorts.
Πολύμιται ζῶναι πηχυαῖται,	-	-	-	-	Variegated fashes, half a yard wide.

<sup>99</sup> Προκλαῖς.

<sup>99</sup> I imagine all these to be different species  
of Nard, taking their name from the places  
from which they come. And if a conjecture  
may be allowed, Καβαλίτη is from Kabul, a

mart through which it might regularly pass  
out of Tartary, or Thibet, its proper soil.  
Al Edrissi uses the term *Myrobalanos Kabulinos*,  
for the Myrobalans of Kabul, p. 66.





Στύραξ,	-	-	-	Storax.
Μελίλωτον,	-	-	-	Sweet lotus.
Ὑελος ὠργή,	-	-	-	White glass.
Σανδαράκη,	-	-	-	Ore of Cinnabar.
Στήμι,	-	-	-	Stibium for tinging the eyes.
Μύρον ἢ βαρύτιμον,	-	-	-	Ordinary perfumes, or unguents,
ἢ δὲ πολὺ	-	-	-	and in no great quantity.

Besides specie, upon which there was a profit, and the presents that went up to the king at Minnagar, as mentioned before. It is not evident why these presents were not rather landed at Barbárikè, which was the direct port for Minnagar, than at Barugáza; but our author says, that the king of Minnagar was sovereign of Barugáza also. Perhaps, by their being mentioned here, they went only to the viceroy or foubah of the province. The expression in the text is dubious<sup>91</sup>; but the context seems to imply, that from the country to which these presents went up, there came down in return, distinct from the exports of Barugáza,

Νάρδος,	-	-	-	Spikenard.
Κόστος,	-	-	-	Koftus.
Βδέλλα,	-	-	-	Bdellium.
Ἐλέφας,	-	-	-	Ivory.
Ὀνυχίνη λιθία,	-	-	-	Onyx stone.
Σμύρνα,	-	-	-	Myrrh.
Δύκιον,	-	-	-	Box thorn.
Ὀθόνιον παντοῖον,	-	-	-	Cotton of all sorts.
Σηρικόν,	-	-	-	Silk.

<sup>91</sup> Τῇ βασιλείᾳ κατ' ἐκείνης τῆς καιρῆς. Had Guzerat revolted, and set up a king of its own, at that time?





Μολόχινον, -	-	-	-	Mallow-coloured cotton.
Νῆμα, -	-	-	-	Silk thread.
Πέπερι μακρόν, -	-	-	-	Long pepper.

And other articles from the ports in the neighbourhood. Several of these are the same as those that were specified as procurable at Barugáza, and consequently we can see no reason for the recapitulation, except the different means of obtaining them from a different part of the country. Such, however, are the commodities in general derived from the North and from the East, and such was the importance of the commerce of this place in the time of Pliny. Zizeris and Muziris, farther to the south, seem to have been the more particular object of the voyage by the monsoon, across the sea from Arabia to India direct; but in our author's age, though he mentions Muziris, it is transiently, in comparison with Barugáza and Nelkunda: these seem to have been his grand marts. And for Barugáza, he says, the fleets left Egypt in the month of Epiphi, or July.

He still persists farther in the execution of the same design; for, after stating what was obtained from the Panj-ab and Ozènè, he proceeds next to the south, in order to shew what was the connection between Barugáza and the Dekan. This is, if the boast may be allowed, the peculiar pre-eminence of the work: it belongs to this author alone, as far as I have discovered, to give the true direction of this western coast of the peninsula, and to state, in direct terms, its tendency to the south, while Ptolemy stretches out the whole angle to a straight line, and places the Gulph of Cambay almost in the same latitude as Cape Comorin.

But the declaration of the Periplus is this:—From Barugaza, the coast immediately adjoining which ran up north [to the river Mais,

or





or Mabi], now stretches directly to the south; the country is therefore called Dakina-bades<sup>92</sup>, because DAKHAN, in the language of the natives, signifies SOUTH. Of this country [which is called DAKHAN] that part which lies inland, east of Barugáza, comprizes a great space of wild and desert country, and large mountains, in which are found leopards, tigers, elephants, vast serpents, hyenas, and baboons<sup>93</sup> of various sorts. [But in the inhabited parts] there are also a great variety of different nations, and exceedingly populous, quite across the peninsula to the Ganges<sup>94</sup>. Besides this, in the territory of Dakhinabad there are two emporia, or marts, of more particular importance; for at the distance of twenty days south from Barugáza lies<sup>95</sup> Plíthana, and ten days east of Plíthana is found Tágara, which is the largest city in the country. The commodities from these two cities are brought down, through roads of great difficulty, by land-carriage, to Barugáza; that is, from Plíthana, a great quantity of onyx stone; and from Tágara, ordinary cottons<sup>96</sup>

<sup>92</sup> Dakin-abad, city of the South. Dakhinabad, southern region. Bayer.—Daeshina. Paolino.

<sup>93</sup> Inter Simias, effervator Cynocephalis natura, sicut Satyris. Pliny, lib. viii. c. 54. c. 80. Hardouin. See the authors he cites. Aristot. lib. ii. de Natura Anim. c. 13. Palmerius, &c.

<sup>94</sup> Τα μέχρι τῶν συνέγγους, which is nonsense; and Hudson and Stuckias very properly read μέχρι τῶν Γάγγων.

<sup>95</sup> There is evidently an omission in the text; for two cities are in the context, and only one of these is named. It appears that a part of the sentence, and not the name only, is wanting.

<sup>96</sup> The cottons here called *moléxina*, Lieut. Wilford says, are those dyed of a whitish pur-

ple, like the mallow-flower. There is nothing more singular in this than in the *blue* Surats, which at this day have a constant sale on the opposite coast of Africa, in Abyssinia, and in the ports of the Red Sea. Paolino interprets *moléxina*, chintz: tele finissime dipinti et richamente. P. 95. Fine cottons are supposed to derive the name of muslins from Mosul, on the Tigris; a name which they had in common with gold tissue and silk, because these articles were either made or to be purchased there. See Marco Polo, lib. i. c. 6. tutti li panni d' oro & di seta che si chiamana Mossulini si lavorano in Moxul. Notwithstanding this high authority, I am sometimes inclined to think, that *Moléxina* is the origin of Mosselins, or muslins; though I have nothing to build on but the proximity of sound, and conjecture.





in abundance, and all sorts of mullins, with a variety of other native productions which are not specified.

It is manifest, that of these two cities, Deoghir is Tágara, and Plithana is Pultaneh; that the difficult roads are the Ghauts<sup>97</sup>; and the mountains, that chain which runs parallel with the coast the whole length of the peninsula, from Guzerat to Cape Comorin. The country also between Guzerat and the Ganges does contain the deserts specified, not only in the vast tract called Berar, but in many other parts of the extensive territories occupied by the Mahrattas. The animals likewise are appropriate, and the whole is such a picture as no ancient geographer supplies in so distant a quarter of the world; so accurate, that it is hardly surpassed by Strabo, in his description of the countries of Europe.

Deoghir<sup>98</sup> was the seat of a Hindoo government as late as 1293, when it was taken by Feroze II. and is now a ruin near Elore, within four cosles of Aurungabad, on the River Godavery. It was the capital of the province of Doulatabad; and the centrical situation of these three cities, afforded a convenient position to the Patan emperors, as well as Aurengzebe<sup>99</sup>, from whence they might propagate their conquests in the Dekhan. But the subterraneous excavations<sup>100</sup>

at

<sup>97</sup> The Ghauts are literally the passes from the low country, over the mountains, into the upper region; but are generally used for the mountains themselves.

<sup>98</sup> Rennell has another Deogur upon the Tapti, p. 237. and Ptolemy has a Tiagura, as well as a Tágara. His Tiagura, indeed, is on the Nerbudda; but it is doubtless Deogur, near Nagpoor. Rennell, Mem. p. 213.

<sup>99</sup> Aurungzebe was usually at Amednagar. Orme.

<sup>100</sup> See the wonders of these ruins displayed in the magnificent and highly-curious work of Daniel, from the drawings of Wales. There is an apparent stamp of antiquity upon these excavations, superior to those of Elephanta, Mahalipooram, &c. for there are fewer figures distorted with a multiplicity of arms and heads; there is a grace almost Grecian in several of the deities, and throughout, much less of the grotesque barbarism and obscenity than are found in the more recent structures of their superstition.





at Elore<sup>101</sup>, and the pagodas there, extending over a tract of two leagues at the present hour, imply an antiquity now inexplorable, and preserve the vestiges of a superstition coeval with the remotest era of Braminism. These remains qualify the spot for the site of Tágara<sup>102</sup>, as early as the account in the Periplûs; and it is manifest that the author speaks of it as a capital of a province, or a kingdom at that time existing, and the centre of the commerce from the interior.

Lieut. Wilford has a dissertation<sup>103</sup> on this city, inserted in the first<sup>104</sup> volume of the Asiatick Researches, in which he makes the distances from Baroach agree with those of the Periplûs, by reckoning eleven miles as a day's journey for a loaded cart in that country; but twenty days south to Pultanah<sup>105</sup>, and ten days east from Pultanah to Deoghir, is more than I can find by the scale of any map which has fallen under my inspection; neither do I find Pultanah mentioned in the maps of d'Anville, Rennell, or de la Rochette. Great allowances, however, are to be made for the winding of the roads, and the difficulties of the intervening ghauts; while the ruins of Elore, on the actual site of Deoghir<sup>106</sup>, with the point of the

superstition. The wealth, the power, and the labour, requisite to form these excavations, equal, if not surpass, all that must have been employed in the edifices of Egypt.

<sup>101</sup> Elore has been visited by Thevenot and Auquetil du Perron.

<sup>102</sup> Deo-Ghur, the Hill of the Gods. A. Hamilton.

<sup>103</sup> As a commentator on the Periplûs, many thanks are due from me to Lieut. Wilford; and with the whole of his historical deductions I perfectly agree. But his translation of *κατά-γεται περιστάς ἀνοδίας*, is refined, rather than correct: goods brought down to Baroach, or

carried up to Tágara, is a phrase as familiar in Greek as in English; and *περιστάς ἀνοδίας*, without being a translation of Bala Ghauts, fully identifies the difficulties of the roads through the mountains; *ἀνοδίας* never signifies ascent, as far as I can discover, but *ἀνοδος* only; and if it did, to bring carriages down an ascent must be a solecism.

<sup>104</sup> P. 369. Lond. ed.

<sup>105</sup> Lieut. Wilford reckons 217 miles from Baroach to Pultanah on the Godavery.

<sup>106</sup> D'Anville has placed Tágara at Satara, in the Mahratta country. Antiq. de l'Inde, p. 108.





compass south-east from Barugaza, give a probability to the whole which is irresistible.

It were to be wished that other Gentlemen, employed in the East, would apply their local knowledge to the removal of these obscurities, as effectually as this meritorious officer has done in the present instance. Observations on the spot, confirmed by evidences peculiar to the country, form the true ground of proof, on which alone those who collect and compare in the closet ought to depend. This evidence is appealed to by Lieut. Wilford; for the name of Tágara, written with the orthography of the *Periplus*, occurs in a grant<sup>102</sup> of land found, engraven upon copper, in the Isle of Salset, near Bombay; and the rajah of the inland capital, by this monument, seems to have been connected with the coast, as effectually as Tágara was connected with Baroach eighteen centuries ago.

If we should now describe the arc of a circle, from Minnagar on the Indus, through Ougein, to Dowlatabad on the Godavery, of which Baroach should be the centre, we might comprehend the extent of the intelligence acquired by the merchant of the *Periplus*. But allowing that this was the knowledge of the age, and not of the individual only, where is this knowledge preserved, except in this brief narrative? which, with all the corruptions of its text, is still an inestimable treasure to all those who wish to compare the first dawning of our knowledge in the East with the meridian light which we now enjoy, by the intercourse and conquests of the Europeans. An arc of this sort comprehends near three degrees

<sup>102</sup> The date of this grant answers to the year 1018 of our era: it was communicated to the Asiatick Society by General Carnack, and has every evidence of authenticity. If the reader should refer to it, he will find, that in the conveyance of land the lawyers of all countries are equally liberal of words. See *Asiat. Researches*, vol. i. p. 357. Lond. ed.





of a great circle ; and if upon such a space, and at such a distance from the coast, we find nothing but what is confirmed by the actual appearance of the country at the present moment, great allowance is to be made for those parts of the work which are less perspicuous ; for the author did certainly not visit every place which he mentions ; and there are manifestly omissions in the text, as well as errors and corruptions.

VIII. ARIAKÈ OR CONCAN, THE PIRATE COAST, AKABAROOS, OOPARA OR SÚPARA, KALÍENA OR BOMBAY, SEMULLA, MANDÁGORRA, PALAIPATMAI, MELIZÉIGARA, TÓPARAN, TURANNOS-BOAS, SESEKRÉIENAI, AIGIDII, KÁINEITAL, LEUKÈ.

THAT the author was at Barugáza, cannot well be doubted by any one that adverts to the variety and minuteness of his descriptions at that place. Whether he went farther down the coast to the south, or took his account from other voyagers, may not be so certain. D'Anville<sup>108</sup> supposes that he accompanies us to Cottonara, and then takes one bound to Comorin and Ceylon ; but I wish to make no assertion either way. My own doubts arise from the impossibility of discovering<sup>109</sup> those characteristic features, which are so easily traced in the narratives of those who have actually visited the country they describe. The coast we are now to follow, has few bold or prominent distinctions ; many rivers, but none large or majestic ; many ports, but fitted mostly for the reception of the

<sup>108</sup> Antiq. de l'Inde, p. 112.

<sup>109</sup> The district of Nelkunda is an exception to this.





vessels of the country alone; and only two capes worthy of notice, upon an extent of eight hundred and fifty miles.

Another method of inquiry is naturally suggested, by similarity of names; and of this I shall be as ready to avail myself as those who have preceded me in the attempt. Nothing, however, is more fallacious, if the situation be not as correspondent as the name; and names seem to have fluctuated more in India than in any other country that we know: a specimen we have just seen in Tágara, Elore, and Dowlatabad; all three appropriate to different ages, and all now concluded under Arungabad<sup>10</sup>. The names also of Al Edrissi, in the middle century, differ as much from the ancient names of Ptolemy, Pliny, and the Periplus, as they do from those of the cities and districts which are at present in existence. Mr. Orme, in the introduction to his illustrious history, has imputed this to the vanity of princes; and Tippoo Sultan confirmed this remark, by changing the name of almost every place in his dominions.

The great scope for conjecture, and the very few places which can be ascertained of all those which are enumerated upon the coast which we are now to investigate, is compensated, in some degree, by the appropriate description of the provinces or districts we are to visit. I agree perfectly with Major Rennell, in considering this as an object of much greater importance, than the placing of a town or a harbour on the map. And the fact is, that the different nature and properties of the districts are indelible; while the site of cities

<sup>10</sup> Aurungabad takes its name from Aurangzeb, and seated here or at Amednagar, in a central situation. He carried on his inroads into Golconda, Viliapour, and the states of Sevajee; trusting his armies to his sons and

his generals, and directing them all from this point. This bigot, hypocrite, and tyrant, is the primary cause of all the miseries that Hindostan has experienced for almost two centuries.

or