



“ mali is a month’s²⁴² sail, *with the wind aft.*” Here then we have an evidence of the monsoon, and of the passage direct from one coast to the other, in harmony with the *Periplus*: we have a passage of thirty days from Mascat, proportionate to the forty days from Gardafan; and whatever Kaucam may be, we find in Mali a reference to Malè and Malabar, in which we cannot be mistaken. Al Edrissi, who copies this passage from the Arabs, writes the name²⁴³ Kulam-meli; so that between the two authorities we may possibly discover Kulam on the coast of Malabar; and on that coast, in the kingdom of Travancore, there is still the port of Coulan, about eighty miles below Cochin; and another Coulam²⁴⁴, or Coualam, to the eastward of Cape Comorin. Either of these may be the port intended by the Arabian Journal, as it informs us, that “ after watering here, you “ begin to enter the sea of Harkand,” that is, the ocean to the south of Comorin; and in another passage it is added, that “ Kaucam is “ almost upon the skirts of the sea of Harkand.”

I am not certain that I can follow my author farther; but if I understand him right, it is sufficiently evident, that though they failed by the monsoon to Cape Comorin, they did not cross the Bay of Bengal by the same wind; but after rounding Ceylon, or passing

²⁴² The Arabs had not much improved upon the Greeks in the art of Navigation.

²⁴³ The difference of Kaucam and Kulam may be reconciled by supposing the translators misled by the want of the diacritical points; a difficulty which occurs to all translators in rendering proper names. Compare the Arabian Journal, p. 9. with Al Edrissi, p. 61. and p. 37. where Culam-meli is characterized as the Island (that is, the country) which produces pepper. Half the islands of the Ara-

bian geographers are upon the continent.— Compare it also with Abulfeda, who calls it Caulam, the last port of India, where pepper is procured. Lat. 8. Melch. Thevenot, vol. i. p. 22.

²⁴⁴ This other Coulam, or Covalam, beyond Cape Comorin, is in the country of Tinevelli; but Paolino says, the first Coulan ought to be written Collam. P. 75.—The trade continued at Coulam in Marco Polo’s time. See lib. iii. c. 25.

the



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the straits of Manar, they stood on by Lajabalus²⁴⁵ and Calabar (which is the coast of Coromandel), and Betunia (the same as Beit Thuma), St. Thomè or Meliapor; and then by Kadrange and Senef to Sandarfulat, which ought to be the Straits of Malacca; and thence to China. There seems to be more coasting in this voyage than in that of Ptolemy; for he carries his fleets across from some point in the Carnatic to the Golden Chersonese, at once. But if his communication terminated there, the Arabs went farther east than his Sinus Magnus, and reached Canfu²⁴⁶ in China, which is the modern Canton, where they traded much under the same restrictions which Europeans experience at the present hour. After all, they confess that very few of their ships reached China; that the voyage was extremely dangerous²⁴⁷, and that water-spouts and ruffons were continually to be dreaded; added to which, at the date of their narrative in 867 of our era, the kingdom of China itself was distracted by internal commotions²⁴⁸, which made it no longer safe for merchants to venture into the country.

²⁴⁵ It is written Najabalus also, which d'Anville reads Nachabal for Nichobar. But the islands of Arabian writers are frequently not islands; and if the navigator went first to the Nicobars, and then back to the coast of Coromandel, he almost doubled the passage across the bay. Calabar, I suppose, stands in contrast to Malabar, commencing possibly at Calyære. Bet Thuma is the house or church of St. Thomas at Meliapor, near Madras: Kadrange and Senef, I cannot discover; but Senef I suppose to be the Sanf of Al Edrissi, which, he says, is ten days from Sandifalat; and Kadrange may be Arracan. Sandifalat can hardly be any thing else but the Straits of Malacca; but Renaudot reads it Saudar-Pulo, and converts it into Pulo-Condor,

which seems fanciful. It might be a subject of inquiry, whether Senef, Sanf, or Samf, may not be Siam. The sea opposite the coast of Coromandel is called *Mare Sansicum*, which may be the sea of Siam; but Siam extends across the peninsula, and the gulph of Siam *Proper* is on the eastern side. Al Edrissi, p. 34.

²⁴⁶ Canfu is the Chaneco of Al Edrissi. P. 37.

²⁴⁷ Between the sea of Harkand and Delarowî there are 1900 islands (Arabs of Renaudot), which include the Maldives, Sarandiv, and Ceylon, in the sea of Harkand. Arabs 2. Al Edrissi, p. 31. The danger of the voyage was increased by these, as much as by the obstacles farther east.

²⁴⁸ The wars which preceded the dynasty of Sunga. Arabs, p. 41. remarks, 47.

But



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But still it should be remembered, that the Arabians are the first navigators upon record, except the merchants of Cosmas, that penetrated to China; that they are antecedent to the Europeans in this voyage by more than six centuries; and that they had found their way to the northern²⁴⁹ frontier of this kingdom in the ninth century, while in the sixteenth, the Europeans were disputing whether Cathai and China were the same. We have no record of any European²⁵⁰ visiting this country by a northern route before Marco Polo, in the twelfth century; or of an European sailing in the sea of China between the time of that traveller and Nicola di Conti, in 1420. Barthema's voyage is between 1500 and 1504, immediately preceding the arrival of the Portuguese.

These circumstances will naturally suggest reflections in regard to the Arabs of the Desert, and the Arabs on the Coast. The sons of Esau were plunderers by prescription and profession; their hand was against every man, and every man's hand against them. The family of Jocktan²⁵¹, in Yemen, Hadramaut, and Oman, were as naturally commercial; and as they anticipated the Greeks and Romans in the navigation to India, and the modern Europeans in the discovery of China, it is no more than their due to ascribe to them a spirit of commerce, enterprize, or the thirst of gain, in ages which

²⁴⁹ Whether actually an Arab or not, I cannot discover; but the Arab says, he was acquainted with one, who had seen a man that had travelled on foot [by land] from Samarkand to Canfu, with a load of Musk; and had traversed all the cities of China one after another. This is a proof, at least, that the communication was open between Samarkand and China; and as Samarkand, at that time, was subject to the Moslems, this traveller was at

least a Mahometan, if not an Arab. Renaudot, p. 71.

²⁵⁰ Europeans had reached China, but from a different cause. M. Polo found a French goldsmith at Cambalu; but he had been carried off from Poland by the Tartars, who had made an irruption into that country.

²⁵¹ Cedrenus calls them, Interior Arabians. Aman and Jektan, p. 422. Yemen and Jocktan. Τετάρτη Ομοσπονδία ἐν καὶ ΕΜΠΟΡΟΙ.

DO



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436 PERIPLUS OF THE ERYTHREAN SEA.

no history can reach; and to conclude, that if the precious commodities of the East found their way to the Mediterranean, as undoubtedly they did, the first carriers on the ocean were as undoubtedly the Arabians.

Whether we are better able to understand the Greeks, or whether the Greeks are more intelligent and better informed than the Arabs, I cannot say; but Cosmas, who was never in India himself—who was a monk, and not the wisest either of his profession or his nation, is far more distinct and comprehensible in the sixth century, than the two Arabs in the ninth, or Al Edrissi in the twelfth. He gives a very rational account of the pepper trade in Malabar, and the meeting of the merchants from the East with those of Europe, from the Red Sea, and Gulph of Persia, in Ceylon, which in his age was the centre of this commerce; and he affords a variety of information, which the Arabians either did not know, or have not recorded. But we shall have recourse to him again when we arrive at Ceylon.

I have more than once noticed the Rajah, who, as Pliny informs us, attended the embassy from the king of Ceylon to Claudius, and who asserted, that his father had visited the Seres. I once thought that this Rajah went by sea; but upon a closer inspection of the passage, it is plain that he went by land from Bengal across the mountains called Emodi. Still we have, upon the whole, a proof, that through the intervention of different nations, a communication was open from the Red Sea to the country of the Seres. Whether the Seres are Chinese, has been much disputed; but that they were visited by sea, is true, if the evidence of Cosmas²³¹ is

²³¹ Cosmas calls them Tzinitæ, and Tziniæ. See Dissertation ii. infra.

sufficient;



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sufficient; and that they were approachable by land through Tartary on the north, is asserted likewise by Pliny and Ptolemy. This is a peculiarity that suits no nation but the Chinese; and if we find this fact recorded from the time that history commences, it is a strong presumption that the same intercourse took place many ages antecedent to the accounts which have come down to the present time.

Whether the author of the *Periplus* himself sailed with the monsoon, or by the coasts which his narrative takes in succession, he has not informed us; but if he was in India more than once, he might have tried both the different routes. His leaving this circumstance undetermined, may induce a suspicion that he was a geographer, rather than a voyager. But the same circumstance occurs in Capt. Hamilton's Account of the East Indies: he gives the ports in succession, from the Cape of Good Hope to China; yet he certainly did not visit them all in one voyage, but gives us the result of the knowledge he had acquired in all his different navigations.

For this account of the monsoons, and the effects produced by them relative to the commerce of the ancients, no apology is requisite: it is of the very essence of the design proposed from the commencement of this work, which was intended not merely as a comment on the *Periplus*, but from the opportunities afforded by that journal to investigate the commerce of the East in all its branches; to trace its progress or situation in different ages, and to examine its relations, causes, and consequences, till the new era of discovery commenced by the efforts of the Portuguese, under the auspices of Don Henry, and the great work was essentially completed by the achievements of Gama and Columbus.



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438 PERIPLUS OF THE ERYTHREAN SEA.

We return now to the narrative of the Journal, which was interrupted at Bárakè, for the purpose of introducing Hippalus to the acquaintance of the reader, and commences again with Ela-Bakarè, altered as to its orthography, in which it now corresponds with the Beccare of Pliny, and the Bárakè of Ptolemy. It is now likewise augmented with the addition of Ela; in which, as has been observed, we recover the Eli of Marco Polo, and the d'Eli or d'Illi of our charts. In this passage there is mention of the Ruddy Mountain²⁵³, and then an omission in the text, which requires examination before we can proceed. I have lately learnt that d'Illi itself is not red, but that there are red hills, or land, both to the north and south of it: the red hill to the south, lying near the sea, is that which we must prefer for the Ruddy Mountain of the Journal; and as the features of nature are indelible, it is much satisfaction to establish the consistency of the narrative upon ground so well ascertained. I consider this, therefore, as a point fixed; but I ought not to omit, that the Oriental Navigator²⁵⁴ notices red cliffs much lower down, both on the north and south of Anjenga; and as we are approaching very fast to Cape Comorin, if it should appear preferable to others to assume these for the Ruddy Mountain, there is confessedly some ground for the supposition.

²⁵³ I have received the following extracts from Capt. Henry Cornwall's Remarks on the Coast of India, 1720; the work itself I have not seen:

"Southward of Mount d'Illi, in fair weather, you may see the Dutch settlement of Cananoor, which will bear N.N. by N. 4½ leagues; you bring the flag-staff N.E. by E. about two miles off shore, and then you will bring that peak seen over Calicut E. by N. over a reddish hill by the sea side."
"Four leagues to the southward of For-

mosa there lies a reddish bill, by the sea-side." This must be a league north of d'Illi; for Formosa is five leagues from d'Illi, according to the Oriental Navigator, p. 223.

"When Mount d'Illi bore S.E. by E. about four leagues, Mount Formosa bore N.E. ¼ N. three leagues Two hills were in sight; one to the southward, and the other northward; the land hereabouts appearing reddish near the sea-side, especially towards sunset."

²⁵⁴ P. 227.

The



The omission ²⁵⁵ in the text may be supplied, by supposing that the country of Pandíon is intended; and the sentence would then express, that after leaving Ela-Bákarè, you arrive at the Red Cliffs, and beyond them the Parália ²⁵⁶, or coast of the territory subject to Pandíon, which fronts the south, and where you find the town of Kolkhi, and the Pearl Fishery. By this we are to understand, that he means the southern coast beyond Cape Comorin; and so he afterwards expresses himself; for he reverts to Comorin, and then proceeds again to Kolkhi and the fishing-ground.

Ptolemy makes no mention of the kingdom of Pandíon previous to Komar; but commences the province of the Aii with Melènda and Elanki ²⁵⁷, and makes it terminate at Comar. This would embrace the modern Calicut, Cochin, and Travaṅcore; and in this tract we have still an Aycotta near Cranganoor, that is, the fortrefs of Ai ²⁵⁸. In all other respects, the division of the provinces is nearly the same in Ptolemy and the Periplus, from Barugáza to Comar; and their want of correspondence here, is a circumstance in favour of both; for the kingdom of Pandíon is placed by both on the eastern side of the peninsula, and Módura, his capital, is the present metropolis of Mádura. If he had a territory on the Ma-

²⁵⁵ Ἀπ' Ἐλαβακαρῆ τὸ λεγόμενον Πυρρὸν ὄρος ἄλλη παρῆκε χώρα τῆ κης ἢ Παραλία λεγόμενη πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν νότον.

We may read, ἄλλη παρῆκε χώρα τῆς Πανδίωνικης, confirmed by the following clause: Ἐν ἢ καὶ Καλύμνησις ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τὸν βασιλεῖα Πανδίωναι πτωκῆ. But if by the text we are to understand that Elabakare itself is called the Ruddy Mountain, perhaps there is some further omission or corruption in the text. I wish to consider Ela as Mount d'Illa, and Bákarè, or

Ela-Bákarè, as Ram-d'Illi, near the mouth of the river where the vessels lay; and here might be the reddish hill one league N. of d'Illa.

²⁵⁶ We should naturally suppose that Paralia was a Greek term, and literally *the coast*; but Mr. Hamilton informs me, that Paralaya, in Sanskreet, signifies the *remotest region*; that is, the extreme part of the peninsula.

²⁵⁷ Nelkunda and Ela.

²⁵⁸ D'Anville, p. 116. Paolino, p. 86.



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labar²⁵⁹ side, it was by conquest; and Pliny is in harmony with both: when speaking of his possessions on this side, he says, Mόδusa, the capital of Pandion, was at a great distance inland.

XII. BALITA, COMAREI, KOLKHI, PEARL FISHERY.

BALITA is the first place mentioned by the Periplus after leaving the Ruddy Mountain: it is the Bam-bala²⁶⁰ of Ptolemy; but we have nothing to determine its position, except the mention of its having a fine road for shipping, and a village on the coast. No representative of Calicut appears, and probably it did not then exist, nor for several centuries afterwards. The Kolkhi of the ancients has been frequently mistaken for it; but as Kolkhi is beyond Comorin, and is the seat of the Pearl Fishery, the supposition is impossible. Calicut²⁶¹ was the grand centre, for many ages, of all the Eastern and Western commerce, from its origin in 805²⁶² till the arrival of the Portuguese; and though its splendour is now eclipsed, it is still a place of great trade for pepper²⁶³, cardamums, sandal-

²⁵⁹ The country of Malabar Proper could raise more than twelve hundred thousand men, according to Capt. Hamilton, i. 288.

²⁶⁰ There is a Tam-bala on this coast still; but whether it is ancient or modern I know not, nor whether its position would be suitable, if those points could be ascertained.

²⁶¹ We have a Mahomedan account of the settlement of the Moslems at Calicut, taken from Ferishta, and published in the India Ann. Register 1799, p. 148. Miscel. But as Ferishta was a Mahomedan himself, so does he say, he has it from a poetical account; and though it preserves the outline of Ceram

Perumal's retirement, and the division of Malabar, it still contains much that is problematical, and seems a Mahomedan fiction to give the Moslems a legal settlement in the country. Subjoined to this account, however, there is a valuable note, giving an account of the kingdom of Bijnagar—its rise, power, and dissolution; and proving, that the influence of the Ram Rajah extended over Malabar.

²⁶² There are two dates, 907 and 805. D'Anville, Antiq. de l'Inde, p. 114.

²⁶³ Tellicheri, an English fort and factory, was established on this coast for the purpose of procuring these articles, and Angenga.

wood,



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wood, and other commodities; much frequented by the vessels of Europe, and still more by the traders from the Red Sea, Maskhat, and the Gulph of Persia. These are circumstances too well known to be insisted on; and we must proceed to Comar, no less conspicuous in its situation at the apex of the peninsula, than in the preservation of its name through so many ages, and so many revolutions both of commerce and of empire.

At Komar there was an harbour and a fortress, with a garrison: there was likewise some religious establishment, in which those who dedicated themselves to the worship of the presiding deity first consecrated themselves by ablutions, and then entered into an engagement of celibacy. Women partook of this institution as well as men; and the legend of the place reports, that the goddesses to whom their services were dedicated, used formerly to practise the same ablutions monthly at this consecrated spot.

The name of the place, according to Paolino²⁶⁴, is derived from Cumari, a virgin deity, the Diana and Hecate of the Hindoo mythology. The convent²⁶⁵, he adds, still exists, and the same superstition is practised at a mountain three leagues inland, where they still preserve the tradition of Cumari's bathing in the sea. The Sanscreeet name, he adds, is Canyamuri, *Cape Virgin*, but contracted by the natives themselves into Comari, or Cumari. He mentions

²⁶⁴ Cumari, he informs us, signifies a virgin; but Comr is the moon, in Arabic; and Diana (as Phœbe) is the goddess of the moon, the sister of Phœbus. Whether Comr has such a meaning in Sanscreeet, or the goddess such an attribute in Hindoo mythology, may be enquired.

²⁶⁵ The religious of this sort, he says, are

called Jogi, *coenobites*, or Go-suami, *lords of the cow*, from their superstition relative to that animal; or Samana, *inoffensive*, because they deprive no creature of life. (These are the Germanai of Strabo.) They live in convents under a superior, sleep on the ground on mats of palm-leaf, and communicate little with the world.

also



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also a small port here, conformably to the account in the Periplus; and a church, founded by St. Xavier, on a mountain close to the sea, which, report says, is dedicated to the Virgin Mary; but on this head the good Carmelite is silent, and I know not whether the report is true.

Circumstances so correspondent, at the distance of two thousand years, could hardly be found in any country except India; and to the local knowledge of Paolino we are much indebted. He has reprobated, indeed, all literary men, who presume to determine questions in their closet relative to countries which they have never visited; but though I and others, who pursue our studies in retirement, owe him something in return, I shall revenge myself by no other method, but by citing a beautiful passage from his work, descriptive of the Paralia²⁶⁶, or Coast of Malabar. Paolino, on his return to Europe, had embarked in a French frigate called the Calypso; and while he is pursuing his course between Cochin and Cape Comorin, he bursts out into a rapturous description of the scenery presented to his view:

“ Nothing²⁶⁷ can be more enchanting to the eye, or delicious to the senses, than is experienced in a voyage near the extremity of the peninsula. At three or four leagues from the coast, the country of Malabar appears like a theatre of verdure: here a grove of cocoa-trees, and there a beautiful river pouring its tribute into the ocean, through a valley irrigated and fertilized by its waters. In one place a group of fishing-vessels, in another a

²⁶⁶ Paolino is mistaken in supposing Paralia in contradistinction to Paralia Soingorum, the Coast of Coromandel. to be confined to the Pearl Fishery; it extends the whole way from Elabakarè to the Fishery, and is literally the coast of Malabar, ²⁶⁷ P. 371.

“ white



CSL

“ white church ”²⁶⁸, peering through the verdure of the groves ;
 “ while the gentle land-breeze of the morning wafts the fragrance
 “ exhaled from the pepper, cardamum, betel, and other aromatics,
 “ to a great distance from the shore, and perfumes the vessel on her
 “ voyage with their odours ; towards noon succeeds the sea-breeze,
 “ of which we took advantage to speed the beautiful Calypso to-
 “ wards the port of her destination.”

Our Greek and Arabian conductors have no effusions of imagination, but a picture of the country where we are, drawn upon the spot with the enthusiasm and sensibility of an Italian, will make ample atonement for the digression. I need not add, that during the north-easterly monsoon, a voyage on the whole coast is effectually a party of pleasure.

We are now to proceed to Kolkhi and the Pearl Fishery, in regard to which Paolino is much displeas'd that none of the geographers have agreed²⁶⁹ in placing Kolkhi at Coléchè²⁷⁰. He will not allow any of us to know the least of the situation of places which we have never seen, and yet we shall build on his own premises to subvert his conclusion ; for he, in conjunction with all our charts, places

²⁶⁸ There were many churches in this country, both of the Mission, and of the Malabar Christians ; but the irruption of Tippoo destroyed every Hindoo pagoda, and every Christian church, as far as he penetrated. Af. Ref. vii. 379.

To these Christians of St. Thomas, Alfred sent Sighelm, bp. of Sherbourne, who brought home many jewels, aromatics, &c. some of which remained long at Sherbourne. Hackluit, ii. 5.

I wish we had more authority for this than

the tradition of Sherbourne, for Alfred deserves every honour which can be added to his name.

²⁶⁹ In Mr. Le Beck's Account of the Pearl Fishery it is said, that the best divers are from Collish, on the coast of Malabar. I conclude that this is Colechè. Af. Ref. v. 402.

²⁷⁰ Questa città fu sovente confusa con Colvalan, Colias, o Colis, degl' antichi, da quelli scrittori . . . che non avevano esaminato il sito locale delle due città tra se molto diverso. P. 74.

Coléchè



CSL

Colechê²⁷¹ previous to Comorin; and therefore, whether we find a representative for Kolkhi or not, his assumption must be false; for both Ptolemy and the Periplus²⁷² place it, not to the westward, but the eastward of Cape Comorin. The Pearl Fishery is not now, and never was, carried on to the westward or northward of Capé Comorin. The Pearl Fishery is likewise marked out by another characteristic still peculiar to it; which is, that pearl oysters are found only at one place—the island of Epiodôrus, which can be no other than the isle of Manar²⁷³, and there the fishery is at the present hour. By the name of Epiodôrus, we may conclude a Greek of that name from Egypt was the first of his countrymen that visited this island; and where would a Greek not have gone²⁷⁴, if he had heard that pearls were to be obtained? The great request in which they were at Rome and Alexandria, seems to have marked them out, not indeed as of greater value than diamonds, but as a more marketable and preferable commodity for the merchant.

The power which in different ages has presided over the Fishery, whether native, Portuguese, Dutch, or English, has regularly taken its station at Tutacorin: the Fishery itself is always on the Ceylon side, towards Manar, at Chilao²⁷⁵, Seewel²⁷⁶, Condutchey, &c. The number of persons who assemble, is from fifty to sixty thousand;

²⁷¹ Capt. Hamilton says, between the middle and west point of C. Comorin. i. 333.

²⁷² Από τῆς τῆς Κομορίν ἐπιπέσσα χώρα μέχρι Κόλχων, ἢ ἡ κολύμβησις τῶ πικρῶ ἕλαι.

²⁷³ Le perle nascono vicino a Mannar. Paolino, 374. But he says likewise, there are two fisheries: one to the westward of Ceylon, in the open sea; and another east of Cape Comorin, separated by the Straits of Manar.

Still both are to the eastward of Cape Comorin; and the island of Epiodorus removes all doubt. P. 373.

²⁷⁴ In Cælum.

²⁷⁵ See Stevens's Hist. of Persia, p. 402. He says Chilao signifies a Fishery in the native language.

²⁷⁶ Mr. Le Beck's Acc. Af. Ref. vol. v. p. 396.

consisting



consisting of divers, mariners, merchants, and tradesmen of every description. The Nayque of Madura, who was sovereign of the coast, and the representative of Pandion, had one day's fishery; the Governor of Manar's wife, when the Portuguese were masters, had another day, afterwards perverted to the use of Jesuits; and the owner of the vessel had one draught every fishing-day. After the fishery was concluded, the fair was kept at Tutacorin. The brokerage and the duty amounted to four per cent.—paid by the seller. The vessels were not fewer than four or five hundred, each carrying from sixty to ninety men, of which one-third were divers. Capt. Stevens supposes the pearl of Manar to be inferior to that of Bahrein.

This fishery is likewise described by Cesar Frederick, and a variety²⁷⁷ of authors. He informs us, that the divers were chiefly Christians of Malabar in his time; they are now a mixture of that description, of Roman Catholics, and Hindoos; but the superstitions practised to preserve the divers from the sharks, and other dangers of their profession, are all Hindoo. Several fanatics are well paid for their attendance during the fishery for that purpose; and the sharks are as obedient to the conjuration of a Bramin, as they could be to a Malabar priest; for the charm is not perfectly efficacious. Those who wish to enquire farther into the detail, will meet with a very excellent account in the Asiatic Researches (vol. v.) by Mr. Le Beck; in which he will find that this fishery, which used to produce 20,000*l.* to the Portuguese and Dutch²⁷⁸, produced, in the year 1797, 150,000*l.* under the management of the English²⁷⁹.

²⁷⁷ Purchas, vol. iii. p. 1708. By Marco Polo, lib. iii. c. 20. who mentions the Bramin; and Betala, as the seat of the fishery. The king had a tenth; the bramim, a twentieth.
²⁷⁸ Capt. Stevens.
²⁷⁹ 300,000 Porto Nova pagodas.



CSL

In the age of the Periplus, none but condemned criminals were employed in this service; a practice common to all the nations of the ancient world, in their mines, in their galleys, in the construction of their public buildings, and execution of all their public works. The mines of Potosi are still worked by slaves, where the same miseries are experienced as Agatharchides³⁰⁰ has depicted in the gold-mines of Egypt; while in Europe, or at least in England, we never want freemen to work in our collieries, in our mines of tin, lead, or copper, whose labour is procured, and whose dangers are compensated, by the higher price they obtain for the services they are to perform.

I ought now, in compliance with the nature of the undertaking in which I am engaged, to follow my author to the conclusion of his work; but as I am persuaded that he never went farther than Nelkunda himself, and that he has built upon report in all that is subsequent to that place; so does report grow so vague after quitting the Pearl Fishery and Ceylon, that though he mentions several circumstances in common with other authors, there is so much indeterminate, that I reserve it for a separate discussion. My reason for asserting this is, that he extends the Coast of Coromandel to the east; that he is no longer in particular, but general correspondence only with Ptolemy; and that he has extended Ceylon towards Africa, instead of assigning it a position where it actually exists.

³⁰⁰ Agatharchides had said a great deal more than his abbreviator has preserved:

Ἰταροβόλον δὲ εἶδεν τὸ πάθος δυστυχίῃματι καταλιπὼν ἐκτροχάζεσθαι. Apud Hudson, p. 23.

But what remains is sufficient:

Ὅτι δὲ ἀνδράων ἀπορία τῶν ἐλαδῶν, πτωμάτων

(ὅτι τοῖς ἰσθμοῖς γίνονται) ἐκ ἀλλοῦ ἐν τοῖς χάρσι καὶ ἐλακίδων ὑποπόμοις γινόμενον. P. 27.

The multitude of bones still found in these excavations is incredible, of wretches crushed by the falling in of the earth, as must naturally happen in a loose and crumbling soil.

Pliny



Pliny has said something of the passage between Ceylon and the continent, not very satisfactory indeed, but sufficient to shew his opinion, that the trade was carried on by this strait. The Periplus seems to confirm this idea, and Ptolemy has nothing to the contrary; but if the opening in Adam's Bridge, near Manar²⁸¹, was no deeper at that day than at present, no ship of burden²⁸² could have passed it. Pliny informs us, that throughout the whole of the straits the depth was not more than six feet; but that there were particular openings, so deep that no anchor could reach the ground. He is likewise so deceived in the position of the island, as to make the embassadors sent to Claudius astonished at seeing the shadows fall to the north; not reflecting that in their own country, if he had known its situation, they must have made the same observation annually, when the sun was to the south of the equator. These and many other errors of the ancients, induce me to enter more largely into the account of Ceylon than the nature of my work requires; and this I shall consider as the termination of my inquiry, leaving the remainder of the Periplus for a general discussion, by way of sequel to the whole.

²⁸¹ Pliny calls either this island, or Ramana Koil, the Island of the Sun.

Manar, in the Tamul language, signifies a sandy river; applied here to the shallowness of the strait. Al. Ref. v. 395.

The fishery is usually on the Ceylon side; as at the Seewel Bank, 20 miles west of Arripoo, Condatchey, &c. Ibid.

Hardouin allows that the Coliacum Pro-

montorium is not Comorin, but at the Straits of Manar.

²⁸² A passage in Pliny, omitted in the printed copies, is, Magnitudo alterna millia ad foram; which Vossius inserts and reads, Magnitudo ad terna millia amphorum. No ship of this size could now pass the straits.

Hardouin adopts this emendation, lib. vi. 24. without mention of Vossius.



XIII. CEYLON.

THE first account of Ceylon was brought to Europe by the Macedonians, who were with Alexander in the East. Onesicritus is recorded as the first author who mentions it, under the title of Tapróbana; and its variety of names in the East, as well as Europe, is one of the extraordinary circumstances that attend it.

Lanca²⁸³, or Langa, - is the true Sanskreet name, according to Paolino, p. 371. Voffius ad Melam, lib. iii. 7.

Ilam, - - - another Sanskreet name, seemingly joined with Lanca; Lanca-Ilam. Id. There is a fabulous island in Al Edriffi, Lanchialos, which he says is ten days sail from Sarandib. Is it not an error from Lanca-Ilam?

Salabham, - - - another Sanskreet name, signifying Sal, true; and labham, gain. Paolino.

Salabha-dipa, - - -

Salabha-dip, - - - Sanskreet. The Island of *true or real Profit*, from its rich productions of gems, spices, &c. Paolino.

Tapróbana²⁸⁴, - - - the first name brought to Europe. Bochart makes it טפ-פרון Taph Parvan, Littus

²⁸³ Lankoweh. Capt. Mahoney on Ceylon, Tap-raban. Mr. Hamilton does not disapprove of Tap-raban, but adds, that there is no allusion to such a name of the island in any

²⁸⁴ Supposed by Burrows to be Tapo-bon, the Wilderness of Prayer. Ayeen Acbari, ii. Sanskreet writing he has seen. p. 320. oct. ed. This is not so probable as

aureum,



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aureum, 2 Chron. iii. 6. and the Ophir of Solomon. But it is from Tape, an island, and Ravan, a king of Ceylon, conquered by Ram. According to the Af. Researches, v. p. 39. Tapravan, or Tapraban.

Salika - of Ptolemy, who says, it is the Taprobana of the ancients, afterwards called Simoondu, but now Sálíka or Sálíkè; the inhabitants, Salæ. Salíkè is therefore an adjective like Ariakè, Barbarikè, Limurikè, with γῆ or νῆσος understood. And the island of Salè approaches very nearly to Selen-dive²⁸⁵.

Seren-dip, - - Σαραντιπ. Chyfococcas in Voffius. Δίξες γ' ἔστιν αὐτοῖς νῆσος ἢ χώρα. Voff. ad Melam, 257. Var. ed. 569. Philostorgius.

Sielen-dip,
Selen-dib,
Selen-dive, - - the Seren-dib, or island Seren, Selen, of the Arabs; the Sarandib of Al Edrissi; the *Divis*²⁸⁶, and *Serendivis*, of Ammianus Marcellinus, who is the first author of the Latins or Greeks who uses this name. *Divis*, the Lackdives or Maldives, or islands in general. *Seledivis*,

²⁸⁵ There is a particular cast on the island at this day, called Salè or Challe, and Chalias: they are labourers, manufacturers of stuffs, and cinnamon-peelers; and if the antiquity of their establishment in the island (for they are not a native tribe) be established, the

name of the people, Salai, and of the island, Salikè, would be naturally derived from them. Af. Ref. vol. vii. p. 431. in a highly curious Treatise on Ceylon, by Capt. Ed. Moor.

²⁸⁶ *Divis* is used in the case in which it occurs. P. 306.

Selen-



PERIPLUS OF THE ERYTHREAN SEA.

Selen-dive, the island Selen. Am. Mar. lib. xxii. p. 306.

Palæfimoonda²⁵⁷ - of the Periplus. Pliny says there was a river and city of that name, with 250,000 inhabitants; the natives called Palæogoni, perhaps from Bali, the Indian Hercules. Paolino interprets it Parashri-mandala, the kingdom of Parashri, the youthful Bacchus of the Hindoo mythology. But it ought not to be omitted, that Mr. Hamilton considers Simoonto as expressing the utmost boundary or extremity; and Palifimoonto, as the limit of the expedition of Bali, the Indian Hercules.

Sindo Candæ, - - - fo Ptolemy calls a town and the natives, on the west; Galibi and Mudutti, in the north; Anurogrammi, Nagadibii, Emni, Oani, Tarachi, on the east; Bocani, Diorduli, Rhodagani, and Nagiri [Nayrs], on the south.

Sailatta, - - - the name in usage in Malabar. Paolino. Singala-dweepa, - is the true Sanskreet name, according to Sinhala-dviba. Paolino. Mr. Hamilton; the island of Singala²⁵⁸; for dwipa, or dweepa, is equivalent to the

²⁵⁷ Pulo Simoon. Vossius ad Mel. lib. iii. 7. p. 438. very much resembles the temples in Infula Siamesium, with the Persian addition of Diu Div, an Island. This is a fanciful etymology; and yet the temple in Ceylon, described by Capt. M'Kenzie, Af. Ref. vol. vi. Siam, Ava, &c.
²⁵⁸ Singha, a lion; Singhalais, lion-raced; from a fable of a king of Ceylon, born of a lion. Capt. Mahoney, Af. Ref. vii. 48.

diva



diva of the Arabs: hence Singala-diva became their Selendive and Serendive; literally, the island of the Singalas, the Chingalese, and Chingulays, of the Europeans; the Singoos or Hingoos, as the natives still call themselves. I cannot help thinking this the most easy and natural of all the etymologies that have occurred; and I return my best thanks to Mr. Hamilton for the suggestion.

Cala, - - - the name used by the Arabs of Renaudot, p. 61.; but perhaps Sala²⁸⁹.

If such is the fluctuation in the name of this island, the different reports of its size and situation are still more extraordinary.

Onesicritus estimates it at five thousand stadia; but, according to Strabo, mentions not whether it is in length, breadth, or circumference. I conclude that he means the latter; because, at eight stadia to the mile, this amounts to six hundred and twenty-five miles; which is not very distant from the truth, for in Rennell's last map

	Miles.
The length is - - - -	280
The breadth is - - - -	150
The circumference is - - -	660 ²⁹⁰

If therefore we interpret Onesicritus rightly, he is entitled to the merit of correctness, as well as discovery; an honour due to very

²⁸⁹ Other names in Harris, vol. i. 677. are, Tranate, Hibenaro, Tenarifim, i. e. Tena-ceram; but these have been little noticed, and Tena-ceram is evidently an error. ²⁹⁰ From Dondra Head to Tellipelli, 270 miles; from Colombo to Trincole, 160.— Hugh Boyd, in the India Ann. Reg.

few



CSL

few of the ancient geographers in distant regions; but to make amends, he adds, that it lies twenty days sail from the continent.

Eratosthenes reduces this distance to only seven days sail, which is still too much; for it is not more than thirty-five miles from Point Pedro to Calymere, and fifty from the point next Manar to the opposite coast at Ramana Coil, which is the point where Pliny measures, or about an hundred and seventy from Cape Comorin to Manar. But then Eratosthenes adds, that it extends eight²⁹¹ thousand stadia towards Africa; that is, according as we compute the stadium, either eight hundred, or a thousand miles, in a direction exactly the reverse of truth. In this I am forced to confess, that the Periplus has followed Eratosthenes, and added to his error; for it is stated in express terms, that it reaches almost to the coast of Azania²⁹², which lies opposite to it in Africa. In some account of this sort exists the cause of the error in the Arabian geographers; for Al Edrissi has confounded Cape Comorin, or Comari, with Comar²⁹³, that is, the island of Madagascar; and in his map he has actually placed Madagascar to the eastward of Ceylon. This arises from his extension of the coast of Africa to the East till it reaches

²⁹¹ Strabo. p. 72. 5000; p. 690. 8000.

²⁹² Καὶ ἄλλοι ἕως τοῦ κατ' αὐτῆς ἀντιπαράκλιον Ἀζανίας πρὸς αὐτήν.

²⁹³ It seems to admit of proof, that Al Edrissi has made two islands out of Ceylon, instead of one. Saranda, he says, (p. 28.) is 1200 miles in circumference; and Sarandib (p. 31.) is 80 miles long and 80 miles broad. And yet that Saranda is Ceylon, as well as Sarandib, appears manifest, by his placing the Pearl Fishery there, and making it a great resort of merchants for spices. He has a different mistake about Comar, or Comr; for Cape Comorin, and Comr the island of Mada-

gascar, are confounded. In p. 31. Comr is a very long island [or country], the king of which lives in Malai. This is evidently the peninsula terminated by Comorin, the king of which lived in Malabar; and the island Sarandib lies seven days sail from it, which is the distance given by the ancients. But p. 34. we have Comr again, one day's sail from Dagutta: now this is Madagascar; for Dagutta is in Sofala. Perhaps, if we ever obtain a scientific translation of Al Edrissi, we may find distinctions to obviate this confusion; for his translator, Gabriel, knew as little of Ceylon as of Russia.

the



the sea of China, and the necessity he was under of making Madagascar parallel to the coast of Zanguebar.

It is with concern that I mention these errors, in which the author of the Periplus is involved, and upon account of which I am constrained to allow his want of information in every thing beyond this point, and to confine myself within the boundary of his knowledge, which must be fixed at Ceylon.

Strabo supposes Ceylon not to be less than Britain, and Josephus²⁹⁴ conceives Britain not less than the rest of the habitable world: these, indeed, are expressions at random; but what shall be said of the amplification²⁹⁵ of Ptolemy, who makes its

					Miles.
Length	-	-	-	-	1,050
Breadth	-	-	-	-	700
Circumference	-	-	-	-	2,450

He does not, indeed, extend it towards Africa; but he carries the extreme southern point more than two degrees south of the equator, which in reality is little short of six degrees in northern latitude. His errors descended much later than could have been supposed; for Marco Polo²⁹⁶ mentions this island as two thousand four hundred miles in circuit; and adds, that it had formerly been three thousand six hundred, but part of it had been swallowed up by tempest and inundation. And even so late as sixty years before the discovery of Gama, Nicola di Conti supposes the circumference to be two

²⁹⁴ Strabo, p. 130. Camden's Britannia, pref. lxxviii. See Pytheas Polyb. iv. 629. 40,000 stadia.

²⁹⁵ D'Anville observes, that this amplification is as 14 to 1.

²⁹⁶ I am not certain that the amplification

of M. Polo descends from Ptolemy; for he says, this is the size, in the mariners' maps, of India. Had Ptolemy seen such a map? or had the Mahomedans introduced the maps of Ptolemy into India?

3 N thousand



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thousand miles. Now what is most extraordinary in this is, that both ²⁹⁷ these travellers must have seen the island itself, and must have sailed beyond it, if not round it.

My purpose in producing these facts is not to expose the errors of those who have preceded me on the subject, but to shew how uncertain all information is, when grounded upon report. And yet, in the midst of this darkness, Ptolemy's information was such as, in one instance, to confirm the rank which he so deservedly holds in preference to others; for he gives the names of places more correctly, and more conformably to modern intelligence, than appear in any other author, Greek, Latin, or Arabian. This is a merit peculiar to him, not only here, but in the remotest and least known regions of the world: it proves that his inquiries were made at Alexandria of merchants or mariners, who had actually visited the countries he describes; but that they had not the means of giving true positions, because they had neither instruments for observation, or the compass to mark their course. The North Polar Star was not visible; and if they sailed by the Canopus in the southern hemisphere, as Ptolemy asserts they did, that star is not within fifteen degrees of the Pole, and would give occasion to a variety of mistakes. Still, under all these disadvantages, it is something to have procured names that we can recognize; and these names at once put an end to the dispute formerly agitated among the learned, whether the Taprobana of the ancients were Ceylon or Sumatra. They prove likewise, that some merchants, or travellers, had reached the capital and interior of the island. By them the capital was found where Candy now is, and called Maa-gram-

²⁹⁷ Not Nicolas di Conti, unless upon his return.

mum,



CSL

num²⁹⁸, *the great city*, or metropolis, which was placed on the river Ganges, still called the Ganga, Gonga, or Ma-vali-gonga, *the great river of Bali*²⁹⁹, which flows to Trincomalee. The Hamallel mountains, among which is the Pike of Adam, are likewise laid down relatively in their proper position, and called Malè, the Sanscreeet term for mountains; and above all, Anuro-grammum³⁰⁰ is preserved in Anurod-borro, or Anurod-gurro, a ruin found by Knox, while he was escaping to the coast; which, he says, lies ninety miles north-west from Candy, and in a position correspondent with the account of Ptolemy. He found here three stone bridges; the remains of a pagoda or temple, such as no modern Ceylonese³⁰¹ could build; and many pillars, with stone-wharfs on the river Malwatouwa. Sindocandæ is another name expressing the mountains of the Hingoes, the name by which the natives call themselves; and Hingo-dagul is their name for Candy; for Candi is a hill or fortress on a mountain; and Hingo dagul, the city of the Hingoes, perverted by corruption into Chingoo-lees³⁰², by which name they are at present known to the Europeans settled on the coast³⁰³.

²⁹⁸ These facts are collected from Paolino, Knox, Ribeyro, Major Rennell, and particularly d'Anville. *Antiq. de l'Inde*, p. 150.

²⁹⁹ Bali occurs so repeatedly in Ceylon, that there is reason to think that Palæogoni in Pliny, is not a Greek compound, but expresses the descendants, or servants, of Bali.

³⁰⁰ Gramma signifies a city, in *Sanscreeet*. Paolino, p. 250. Knox, p. 6. Borro, boor, poor, and goor, have the same meaning.

³⁰¹ Knox, pp. 72. 80. The natives of Hindostan, the peninsula, or Ceylon, are not deficient in skill, art, or power, to execute such works as are found here, or at Elephanta, or at Elore. But the Hindoo governments are

not wealthy or powerful enough to support the expence; and perhaps the impulse of superstition has not energy enough to require it.

³⁰² For the whole of this, see Knox's *History of Ceylon*. He was seized after shipwreck, and detained 25 years a prisoner. He possessed the language; and though he may have his errors, is highly worthy of credit as an author of integrity, principles, and religion.

³⁰³ D'Anville likewise mentions the wild country on the south, where elephants are still found, with other resemblances; but these are sufficient to prove the fact for which they are adduced.



Bochart has many other names, in which he finds a resemblance; and those who know the country, by residing in it, might discover more; but I have confined myself to such as are incontrovertible; and these are sufficient to raise our astonishment, how a geographer could obtain so much knowledge of a country, without being able to ascertain its dimensions or position.

Ptolemy has still another particular which is very remarkable; for as he places the northern point of his Tapróbana, opposite to a promontory named Kôru, so has he an island Kôru between the two, and a Tala-Côri on Ceylon; and Kôry, he adds, is the same as Callicum. This is denied by d'Anville, who separates the two capes, and makes Kôry, the point of the continent, at Ramiseram; and supposes Kalligicum to be Kalymere, or Kallamedu. This may be true or not, but it carries us away from the intention of the author; for Ptolemy has nothing to correspond with the northern head of Ceylon, now called Point Pedro³⁰²; but he makes his Borêum, or northern cape, erroneously indeed, opposite to Kôry; and his three Kôrys on the continent, on the intermediate island and on Ceylon, are in perfect correspondence with circumstances actually existing.

The expedition of Ram to Ceylon, and his victory over Rhavan, or Rhaban, king of that island, is one of the wildest fables of Hindoo mythology; but he passed into the island at the strait, since called, by the Mahomedans, Adam's³⁰³ Bridge. The whole country round, in consequence of this, preserves the memorials of his conquest. There is a Ramanad-buram on the continent close to the bridge; a

³⁰² Tellipelli is more northerly than Point Pedro; but, lying out of the course of the voyage, is seldom noticed.

³⁰³ The existence of tigers, and other noxious animals, in Ceylon, almost proves an aboriginal

communication with the continent by means of this bridge. Elephants might have been imported, but a cargo of tigers is not probable.

Rami-



CSL

Rami-ceram, or country of Ram, the island close to the continent ; a Point Rama, on the continent. The bridge itself, formed by the shoals between Rami-ceram and Manar, is Rama's Bridge ; and in Rami-ceram is Raman-Koil, the temple of Ram. This Koil or temple is undoubtedly the origin of Kôru ; and the repetition of it three times in Ptolemy, is in perfect correspondence with the various allusions to Ram at the present day. Kôru is likewise written Kôlis³⁰⁶ by Dionysius, and the natives called Kôniaki, Koliiki, and Koliaki, by different authors. This fluctuation of orthography will naturally suggest a connection with the Kolkhi of Ptolemy and the Periplûs, which both of them make the seat of the Pearl Fishery ; and if Sofikoorè be Tuta-corin, as d'Anville supposes, the relation of Kolkhi to that place will lead us naturally to the vicinity of Ramana-Koil ; for Tuta-corin was the point where the Dutch presided over the fishery while it was in their hands, and maintains the same privilege now under the power of the English. But Koil, whether we consider it, with Ptolemy, as the point of the continent, or seek for it on the island of Ramiferam³⁰⁷, is so near, and so intimately connected with Manar, the principal seat of the fishery, that there can be little hesitation in assigning it to the Kolkhi of the ancients. Whether there be now a town of consequence either on the continent or the island, I am not informed ; but that

³⁰⁶ Paolino supposes Kolis to be Covalam ; but Dionysius evidently makes Kôlis the same as Kôru : *Νοτίης προπάραισι κολώνης . . . Κωλιάδος, μεγάλην ἐπὶ ἡσόν ἴκοιο . . . Ταπροσάνη.*

³⁰⁷ See the account of Ramifer and Manar, in Capt. Mackenzie's Narrative, Af. Researches, vol. vi. p. 425. ; a paper which gives

the best account of the two islands, the straits, and Adam's Bridge, that I have yet seen. There does not appear any town or any buildings on this island, except those about the pagoda. The conflux of pilgrims is immense. Koil, in the Tamul language, signifies a temple. P. 427.

Koil,



Koil, and Kolis, and Kolkhi, and Kalli-gieum³⁰⁸, are related, I have no doubt.

The Kolkhi of Ptolemy is on the coast, indeed, previous to a river called Solên; and such a river appears in Rennell's Map, with the name of Sholavanden applied to a town on its bank; or Solên³⁰⁹ may be the Greek term which signifies a shell-fish, alluding to the Pearl Fishery in the neighbourhood. If therefore we adhere to Ptolemy, the issue of this river would give the position of Kolkhi to a certainty; but the description of the Periplus would lead us directly to Koil, on the island Rami-ceram; for it is there said, that the Bay of Argalus succeeds immediately next to Kolkhi. Now the Argalus of the Periplus is the Orgalus of Ptolemy, which he places instantly subsequent to his promontory Koru; and if we suppose this promontory to be the extreme point of the continent north of Rami-ceram, which it is, we obtain the position of the Kolkhi of the Periplus, without a doubt. The island Kôru of Ptolemy is placed at a distance from the main, erroneously, as all his islands are; but as it is certainly the same as Rami-ceram, and Rami-ceram is separated from the continent only by a narrow channel, the

³⁰⁸ For Kalligieum, Salmasius reads Καλλι-
κόβη. Plin. Ex. p. 1113. And he adds, Præter alia
hac re moveor, Καλλιός vel Καλλιανός; veterum,
esse recentiorum Κόλλουε. And yet, strange!
he thinks the Kolkhi of the Periplus to be
Cochin.

³⁰⁹ Solên, in its original sense, is a pipe or
flute, which the oblong muscle may be sup-
posed to represent, but not the pearl oyster.
Perhaps this muscle was found in the river,
without relation to the fishery. I learn from
Capt. Mackenzie, that there is a fishery on

this side of the strait nearest the continent,
called Chanque, carried on along a range called
the Low or Flat Islands. The river, as d'An-
ville has observed, divides inland, and falls
into the sea by two mouths—one on each side
of Kôru. D'Anville, Antiq. de l'Inde, p. 123.
Af. Recherches, vol. vi. p. 426. Chanquo,
the native term for the pearl oyster, according
to Salmasius, is derived from Concha, and re-
ceived from the Greek and Roman traders.
1129.

island



CSL

island Kôru and the cape Kôru may therefore have been brought into one. I certainly think that Kôru, Kolis, Kolkhi, and Koil, are the same; but I am not so much led by the name, as by the position assigned to Kolkhi in the Periplûs, immediately preceding the Bay of Argalus.

My own deductions on this question, I must confess, are contrary to Ptolemy; and his authority has induced d'Anville, Rennell, and Robertson, to assume Kilkhare which is at the mouth of the river. It is but reasonable to conclude, that the concurrence of witnesses so eminent will prevail against the evidence of the Periplûs, and any thing I have to offer in its favour. Still, however, it is just to state the question fairly, and leave the determination to those who may chuse to scrutinize it more precisely. On one point all testimonies agree; which is, that Kolkhi cannot be Coleche, as Paolino with much confidence asserts; for it is impossible that it should be to the west of Cape Comorin.

From the fishery we may proceed to the island itself; and the most distinct knowledge we have of Ceylon from the ancients, is found in Cosmas Indicopleustes, whose narratives are as faithful as his philosophy is erroneous. He tells us honestly, that he was not at Ceylon himself, but had his account from Sôpatrus, a Greek, whom he met at Adooli, but who died five-and-thirty years previous to his publication³¹⁰. This affords us a date of some importance; for it proves that the trade, opened by the Romans from Egypt to India direct, continued upon the same footing from the reign of Claudius and the discovery of Hippalus, almost down to the year 500 of our era; by which means we come within three hundred and fifty years of the Arabian Voyage published by Re-

³¹⁰ Montfaucon fixes the last date of Cosmas's publication in 535.

naudot,



CSL

naudot, and have but a small interval between the limits of ancient geography and that of the moderns.

Sôpatrus, as his name testifies, was a Greek; and I have not yet met with the name of a single Roman engaged in this trade³¹¹. Perhaps the jealousy of the emperors, which did not allow Roman citizens to enter Egypt without permission, had likewise forbidden them to embark in these fleets. But the intelligence derived from Sôpatrus is so perfectly consistent with all that has hitherto been adduced, and so correspondent to the Arabian accounts, which commence only three hundred and fifty years later, that it carries with it every mark of veracity that can be required. For Cosmas reports, from the testimony of Sôpatrus:

I. That the Tapróbana of the Greeks is the Sieli-diba of the Hindoos; that it lies beyond the Pepper Coast, or Malabar; and that there is a great number of small islands [the Maldives] in its neighbourhood, which are supplied with fresh water, and produce the cocoa-nut in abundance. The cocoa-nuts he calls Argellia; and Argel, or Nargel, I am informed, is the Arabic name of the cocoa-palm tree. He adds, that it is nine hundred miles in length and breadth, which he deduces from a native measure of three hundred gaudia; but if gaudia are coffes, his estimation of them is in excess; for three hundred coffes are short of five hundred miles—a computation too large indeed for the island, but still more moderate than that of the geographers previous or subsequent.

II. He acquaints us next, that there were two kings on the island: one called the King of the Hyacinth³¹², that is, the country above-

³¹¹ The freedman of Plocamus, who reached Ceylon in the reign of Claudius, was not a Roman, and Plocamus is not a Roman name: he was himself probably a libertus of Claudius. ³¹² The ruby of Ceylon is proverbial. Paolino, dedication. Pliny, xxxvii. 41.

the



CSL

the Ghauts, where the ruby and other precious stones were found; and a second king, possessed of the remainder, in which was the harbour and the mart, that is, the low country on the coast, where, in different ages, the Arabians, the Portuguese, Dutch, and English, have been established. On the coast also, he says, there were Christians from Persia, with a regular Christian church, the priests and deacons of which were ordained in Persia; that is, they were Nestorians, whose catholicoes resided at Ctesiphon, and afterwards at Mosul: in fact, they were the same as the Malabar Christians of St. Thomas, and occupied nearly the whole of the low country on the coast, while the native sovereigns, above the Ghauts, were Hindoos.

III. Another particular we obtain is, that in the age of Sôpatrus, Ceylon was considered as the centre of commerce between China and the Gulph of Persia and the Red Sea. The Chinese he calls Tzinitzes³¹³; a most remarkable term, expressing the natives of the Cheen, or Ma-cheen, of the Arabs; that is, either the peninsula of Malacca, or China itself; most probably the latter, because he mentions the same particulars as Ptolemy and Pliny assign to the Seres; that they inhabit the country farthest to the east, and that there is nothing but sea beyond it.

IV. The commodities obtained from China, or other places east of Ceylon, or found³¹⁴ there, are, silk³¹⁵ thread, aloes³¹⁶, cloves,

³¹³ Τζινιτζαν.

³¹⁴ Όσα κατὰ χείρας ἵσθι.

³¹⁵ Μέραζον, read μέραζον.

³¹⁶ So Al Edrissi: Aromata vero quæ in eodem Climate [Ceylon] reperiuntur, sunt

caryophylla, sandalum, canfora, & lignum aloes, quorum omnium nihil invenitur in aliis climatibus. P. 38. But without any mention of cinnamon, though he notices the emerald and the ruby.



CSL

and sandal-wood²¹⁷. These articles are exchanged with Malè, or the Pepper Coast; or with Kalliana [Tana], which supplies in return brags, fefamum-wood²¹⁸, and cottons. Its commerce likewise extends to the Sindus, where the castor, musk, and spikenard, are found; and to the gulph of Persia, to the coast of Arabia, and to Adooli; while the several commodities of these countries are again exported from Ceylon to the East

V. We are next informed of the several ports of commerce, commencing from the Indus, in the following order: Sindus, O'rrotha²¹⁹, Kalliana, Sibor, and Malè; and if it might be permitted to interpret these Scindi, Surat, Bombay or Tana, Canara, and Malabar, the Periplus would be in perfect correspondence with Cosmas and Sôpatrus. In Malè, or Malabar, he adds, there are five ports where pepper may be procured—Parti, Mangarooth, Salo-patan, Nalo-patan, and Pooda-patan. Mangarooth is generally supposed to be Mangaloor; and the three Patans, or towns of Salo, Nalo, and Pooda, are so evidently Malabar names, that it is highly probable those who are conversant in the native language of the coast may still discover them, however they have been superseded by the more modern ports of Calicut, Cochin, or Coulan.

VI. After this follow some accounts, not equally correct or intelligible; for we are informed, that Sielidiba is five times twenty-four hours sail from the continent; and that on the continent is

²¹⁷ Ἰξιδάνας.

²¹⁸ Ἐνεσάμμη ξύλα. What this article means I cannot say; but it is mentioned in the Periplus also, and is possibly a corrupt reading in both.

²¹⁹ If we suppose O'rrotha related to the Oopara of the Periplus, it is most probably on the Tapti, and equivalent to Surat; but there is a part of Guzerat, near Din, called Soret. Orrot and Sorret are nearly allied.

Marallo,



Marallo, producing [pearl] oysters; with Kaber, that affords the alabandênon³²⁰. For Kaber and its produce, I have no interpretation. Marallo I should have supposed to be Manar; but if it is upon the continent, it is Marawar. The five days³²¹ sail may be softened, by supposing the departure from the last port visited in Malabar; but standing as it does, it is erroneous.

VII. It is then mentioned that the king of Ceylon fells elephants by their height; and an observation, that in India elephants are trained for war, while in Africa they are taken only for their ivory. This is true on the eastern coast; but the Ptolemies and Hannibal trained the African elephant for their armies. Another circumstance is noticed, which continues true to this day; which is, that the importation of horses from Persia pays no duty. Cesar Frederick mentions the same on the coast of Canara, in his time; and Hyder Alli had his agents dispersed from the Indus to Arabia, to obtain a constant supply for his numerous cavalry. The horse is said not even to breed on the whole western side of the peninsula; or if by accident a foal is dropped, it is worth nothing.

VIII. The last circumstance I shall notice is, a conference between the king of Ceylon and Sôpatrus, in presence of a Persian, who had boasted of the power of his sovereign: "Well! Roman," says the king, "what have you to say?" "Look," replied Sôpratus, "at

³²⁰ Voffius reads ἀλαίς αὐδισόν, which seems unintelligible; but he informs us it means nutmegs of Banda. We are, however, at present on the coast of Coromandel. Hoffman says, all merces barbaricæ are so called, as also toys and trifles.

³²¹ Onesicritus - - - 20 days.
Eratosthenes - - - 7

Pliny - - - 4 days.
Cosmas - - - 5

The real distance, where the island approaches nearest to the continent, is short of 50 miles; from Cape Comorin to Columbo, about 180: both too short for any of the ancient estimates.



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“ the coins of Rome and Persia : that of the Roman emperor is of gold, well wrought, splendid, and beautiful ; while that of Persia is an ordinary silver drachma.” The argument was conclusive ; the Persian was disgraced, and Sôpatrus was placed upon an elephant and paraded through the city in triumph. Vain as this circumstance may appear, two extraordinary particulars attend it ; for the king’s address to Sôpatrus is, ROOMI ³²², the term used in India to express any inhabitant of those countries which once formed the Roman empire ; and the second is, that the Persians of that day actually had no gold ³²³ coin, while the coins of Byzantium were the purest and finest in the world.

But in addition to these various particulars, Cosmas has left also some traces of natural history that do credit to his veracity ; for he describes the cocoa-nut, with its properties ; the pepper plant, the buffalo, the camelopard, the musk animal, &c. ; but the rhinoceros, he says, he only saw at a distance. The hippopotamus he never saw, but obtained only some of his teeth ; and the unicorn he never saw,

³²² *Roomi*. If Cosmas had not meant to give the very word of the Ceylonefe, he would have written *Papeasi*. In India the Turks are called Roomi, as possessing Constantinople, the seat of the Roman emperors.

³²³ I cannot help transcribing the passage as I found it by accident in Mascou’s History of the Germans :

Monetam quidam argenteam Perlarum Rex arbitrato suo eudere confuevit. Auream vero neque ipsi, neque alii cuiquam Barbarorum Regi, quamvis auri domino, vultu proprio signare licet. Quippe ejusmodi moneta commercio vel ipsorum Barbarorum excluditur. Mascou, vol. ii. p. 98. from Procopius, lib. iii. cap. 33. See Cosmas also, p. 148.

The *exclusion* of the Persian coin is the very circumstance that took place upon this occasion ; and it should seem, that as the Greek coins of Bactria, &c. had been current when the merchant of the Periplus was at Barugâza, the Roman coin had now the preference, as the Imperial dollars, Venetian sequins, and Spanish piastres, have had a superiority in later times. For the purity of the Roman mint at Constantinople, see Clark on Coins.

I have seen the coins of the second Persian dynasty in M. de Sacy’s account of them, and if I recollect rightly, they have the head of the kings ; but I do not remember whether they are all silver.

but



but as it was represented in brass in the palace of the king of Abyssinia. I mention these circumstances to prove the fidelity of the traveller; for truth is as conspicuous in what he did not, as in what he did see. And after this extract, selected out of his voluminous work, if nothing equally precise or satisfactory is to be collected out of the Arabian writers, or Oriental accounts of any sort, let it not be deemed prejudice or partiality, if we prefer Greek or Roman authorities to all that can be found in any other ancient history whatsoever.

One part of the question has, however, eluded all my inquiries; which is, that I have not found the mention of cinnamon, as a native³²⁴ of Ceylon, in any author whatsoever. Iambulus, Pliny, Dioscorides, Ptolemy³²⁵, the author of the *Periplus*, and Cosmas, are all equally silent on this head, and all derive their cinnamon and casia either from Arabia or Mofyllon, or more especially from the Cinnamon Country, as they term it, on the eastern coast of Africa. That the ancients obtained the best and purest cinnamon, we know from their description of it; and that best sort grows no where but in Ceylon. That they might be deceived in regard to its origin, while they went only to Tyre, Sabæa, or the coast of Africa, is natural; but that they should not recognize it in Ceylon, when some merchants went thither in the age of the *Periplus*, and in all

³²⁴ It is mentioned by Matthioli, and in the preface to Ribeyro's History of Ceylon (Fr. ed.), that Strabo notices cinnamon from Ceylon. I have not found the passage; but at p. 63. I find the regio Cinnamomifera and Taprobana joined under the same parallel, which perhaps may have led to such a supposition; and again, p. 72. but in the latter passage we have the produce of Taprobana—

ivory, tortoise-shell, and other articles; and here I should have expected to find cinnamon, if the author had noticed it as a native of the island.

³²⁵ The language of Ptolemy is precise: he says rice, honey, ginger, the beryl, the ruby, gold, silver, and all other metals, elephants and tigers, are found in Taprobana; but does not mention cinnamon. P. 179. Taprobana.



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succeeding ages down to the time of Sôpatrus and Cosmas, is unaccountable.

No voyagers, travellers, or writers, pretended to have visited Ceylon personally, except Iambûlus and Sôpatrus. I know not how to excuse even Sôpatrus, who was only once there casually; but against Iambûlus, who asserted that he had resided in Ceylon seven years, the charge of fiction is almost direct: no one could have been resident so long, without seeing cinnamon, the staple of the island; and that if he had seen it, he should not have recorded it among the other particulars he detailed, is incredible; for the curiosity of Greece and Egypt was as much alive to this inquiry, as to any one that regarded the produce of the East.

Dioscôrides³²⁶ and Galen knew it not. Dionysius, who lived under Augustus, preserves the fable of Herôdotus, that birds brought it from uninhabited islands. I do not pretend to have explored the whole range of antiquity on this subject; but the first mention of cinnamon, as the produce of Ceylon, that has occurred to me, is in the Scholiast³²⁷ of Dionysius on this very passage. Whether that circumstance

³²⁶ See Matthioli on Dioscorides, lib. i. capp. 12, 13, and p. 44. where the casia (our cinnamon) is said to come from Arabia, and the ancient cinnamon, or sprig of the tree, from Mofyllon. Casia is described by Theophrastus 370 years prior to Dioscorides; and by Herôdotus, in some degree. Strabo says, Arabia produces casia, cinnamon, and nard. P. 783. Matthioli adds, p. 46. that Strabo likewise says, cinnamon comes from the southern parts of India; but I have not yet met with the passage. Pliny follows Theophrastus. See also the curious account (p. 45.) that Galen gives of the cinnamon in possession of

Trajan, Adrian, Antoninus, Commodus, and Severus; in all which accounts not a word is found respecting its origin from Ceylon: those who would examine it, as now cultivated in that island, may consult Thunberg, vol. iv. 199.

³²⁷ Ὀρνίθες δ' ἐπέρωθεν ἀκακήταν ἀπὸ νήσων Ἑλλάνων φύλλας φέροντες ἀκακήστων κινναμώμων. Birds brought from uninhabited islands the leaves [rolls] of unadulterated cinnamon. Upon this the Scholiast writes . . . ἀκακήτων νήσων ἔστιν τὰν περὶ τὰς προδρόμων. I conclude from this passage, that the Scholia are not by Eustathius; for the expression here is precise. But Eustathius writes



circumstance will prove the early date of that knowledge, or the low date of the Scholiast, must be left for others to determine. Sir William Jones has taken ample notice of this obscurity, and remarks upon the Cinnamon Country of the ancients in Africa, the limit of their geography to the south, that it does not produce a single specimen of this article in the present age, or in any former age, which can be ascertained. Bastard cinnamon is found in Malabar, and true cinnamon, though of an inferior quality, in Sumatra; perhaps also in other islands farther to the east; but that the best growth has been constantly in Ceylon, from all the evidence before us, is undeniable.

The spice we now have, which is the *kasia* of the ancients, was certainly *procured* in Africa; and the testimony of the *Periplûs* is direct³²⁵, that it *grew* there. I state this with all its difficulties, which I cannot solve; but as there was a voyage constantly performed, from Barugáza to Africa, previous to the Greeks having any knowledge of such an intercourse, the only possible solution to be imagined is, that the merchants engaged in this commerce kept the secret to themselves: they imported it at Barugáza from Ceylon, and exported it to Sabêa, where it was first found by the traders from Egypt, by Solomon, and the Tyrians; and in a later age, to the ports of Africa, where they dealt immediately with the Greeks, without suffering by the monopoly of the Sabêans. How such a

writes, ἀπὸ νήσων . . . τῶν περὶ τὸ Ἐρυθραῖον τάχα πέλαγος; that is, the islands in the Erythrean Sea, which is general.

It is not unworthy of remark, that these birds of the poet attend Bacchus at his birth, in conformity with Heródotus; and their appearance seems likewise to be in Arabia, from the context. See Dionysii Perieg. lin. 944.

and the Commentary of Eustathius, p. 267. ed. Ox. 1697, where the Scholiast is described, Paraphrasis veteris Scholiastæ ex codice MS. nunc primum eruta.

³²⁵ *Periplûs*, p. 8. Ἐν αὐτῇ γενέσταις Κασσία. And again, γίνεται ἐν αὐτῇ Κασσία. And both verbs appear precise; for the imports from the East are specified separately.

secret



secret could be kept so long a time, or how the Greeks could be persuaded that kasia grew in Africa, is, with such lights as we have, inscrutable; but that it was not the produce of Africa, the general suffrage of all modern voyagers and merchants is sufficient to prove.

One circumstance worthy of remark is still to be considered; which is, that the merchant of the *Periplus* mentions kasia only, and never cinnamon. Cinnamon, as we have learnt from Galen, was a present for kings and emperors; but the kasia, the canna fistula, or pipe cinnamon, which we now have, was the only article of merchandize in that age, as it still continues. And now that Ceylon is in the hands of the English, it would be no difficult matter to obtain the tender spray of the four principal sorts noticed by Thunberg, and compare them with the accounts of Theophrastus, Dioscorides, and Galen. As the species which we have answer to their kasia, it is highly probable that the spray would answer to their cinnamon; for that both were from the same plant, or from different species of the same, there can be little doubt, as Galen acquaints us, that in the composition of medicines a double³²⁹ portion of kasia answered the same purpose as a single one of cinnamon; and that both entered into the theriac which he prepared for the emperor Severus.

Such is the account that has appeared necessary to be stated relative to the ancient situation of this celebrated island. The modern history of it may be obtained from Baldeus, Valentine, Knox, Ribeyro, Harris, Hugh Boyd³¹⁰, Le Beck; Captains Mahoney, Colin

³²⁹ Matthioli, p. 47.

³¹⁰ Mahony's, Le Beck's, and M'Kenzie's Narratives, are in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi. p. 425. vol. v. p. 393. and vol. vii.

p. 32.; H. Boyd's, in the *Ind. An. Register* 1799; they are all valuable, and worth consulting.

M'Kenzie,



M'Kenzie, and Percival. And I cannot conclude my commentary on the Periplus without pleasure from the reflection, that the valuable commerce of this island is now in the possession of Britain; or without expressing a most anxious wish, that the country deemed a terrestrial Paradise by the Oriental writers—the repository of cinnamon, cloves, betel, camphor, gold, silver, pearls, rubies, and the other most precious commodities of the world—may find protection, happiness, and security, under the British government. And may the expulsion of the Mahomedans, Portuguese, and Hollanders, be an admonition to us, that conquest obtained by arms can alone be rendered permanent by equity, justice, and moderation!



S E Q U E L
TO THE
PERIPLUS OF THE ERYTHREAN SEA.

THE first place that succeeds after leaving Kolkhi, is the Bay A'rgalus², connected with a district inland [of the same name]. Here, and here only, all the pearls obtained in the fishery at the island of Epiodorus³ are⁴ [allowed to be] perforated (a) [and prepared for market]. Here also are to be purchased the fine muslins called Ebageitides (b).

Proceeding

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(a) This would be in the modern district of Marawar, possibly the Marallo of Cosmas: Tutacorin, the place where the market is now kept, and the pearls taxed, is in Tinivelli, west of Rami-ceram. The earliest modern accounts agree in Tutacorin, while the power was in the native government; the Portuguese, Dutch, and English, have continued it there. Both Provinces, in the age of the Periplus, were in the kingdom of Pandion; and the Bay of A'rgalus was nearer Mádura, the capital, than Kolkhi, or Sofikoorè. This was a sufficient reason why the market should be rather on the east, than the west side of Rami-ceram.

(b) Salmasius reads Σίνδοις μαργαρίτιδες, muslins sprinkled with pearls. Hudson, & Plin. Ex. 1173. which, notwithstanding the pearls bored at Argalus, seems highly dubious.

NOTES.

- ² Πρώτερος ἀγιάλος ἐν κόλπῳ κείμενος.
- ³ Written in Ptolemy,
Sinus Orgalicus,
Sinus Agaricus,
Sinus Argaricus.
- ⁴ Manar.

⁴ Περωνίταις is the reading of Salmasius, which ought rather to be περιονίταις. The text stands περιονίταις, for which, perhaps, περιίταις might be substituted. But perforation is manifestly intended, be the reading what it may.



CSL

SEQUEL TO THE

Proceeding from hence, the most conspicuous of all the marts and anchorages on the coast are Kámara (c), Podooka, and Sôpatma. To these the traders from Limúrikè³, and the other provinces north⁶ of Limúrikè, resort; and in these marts are found the native vessels which

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dubious. If we were to examine a catalogue of muslins at an India sale, we should find many names more strange than Ebargetides, derived either from the manufactures, or the place where procured.

(c) Where to fix any of these three places is mere conjecture; our course is still east, according to the Periplus; but if Kamara be the Chaberis Emporium of Ptolemy, as Mercator supposes, his Podooka is still higher up the coast, and our course ought to be north-east; and if his Manarpha be Maliarpha, or Meliapoor, that place is the St. Thomè of Madras; in which case Podooka must be fixed somewhere on the coast between the Cavery and Madras, but where, it is impossible to determine. Sopatma is not noticed by Ptolemy. Soro-patma would be the town of the Sora, with some allusion to the Sora of Ptolemy and to Coromandel; but it is all conjecture; and yet, notwithstanding this obscurity, we have manifestly a trade here described, regularly carried on by native traders, between Malabar and Coromandel, without the least notice of Greeks being concerned in it. We have an account that the specie brought by the Greeks to Canara, finally settled on the other side of the peninsula; and as we know that in all ages the commerce of India cannot be carried on without specie, so we see here its regular progress to the eastward. We are informed also, that the exports of Egypt to Canara, and the produce of Canara itself, went by the same conveyance to Coromandel; and that the principal articles in return were the muslins, as they are at this day: the merchants from Guzerat and Concan partook in this trade, and possibly those from Scindi. In the whole of this, without being able to specify particular places, we have a general picture of Indian commerce, so conformable to the accounts of the Arabs, and of the Portuguese upon their first arrival on the coast, that we want no further evidence to persuade us, that the commerce of India was as vigorous antecedent to history, as it is stated at the moment that history commences. The different sorts of vessels constructed in these ports are likewise correspondent to modern accounts: the monoxyla are still in

NOTES.

³ Canara.

⁶ Barugaza of Guzerat, Ariakè or Concan.



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PERIPLUS OF THE ERYTHREAN SEA. 473

which make coasting voyages to Limúrikè—the monoxýla of the largest fort, called sangara, and others stýled colandiophônta, which are vessels of great bulk, and adapted to the voyages made to the Ganges and the Golden Chersonese.

To

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in use, not canoes, as they are sometimes improperly rendered; but with their foundation formed of a single timber, hollowed, and then raised with tiers of planking till they will contain 100 or 150 men. Vessels of this sort are employed in the intercourse between the two coasts; but the kolandiophônta, built for the trade to Malacca, perhaps to China, were exceedingly large and stout, resembling probably those described by Marco Polo and Nicola di Conti. Barthema likewise mentions vessels of this sort at Tarnafari (Masulipatam?), that were of 1000 tons (dolia?) burthen (lib. vi. c. 12. Grynæus), designed for this very trade to Malacca. This is the more remarkable, as d'Anville fixes the Masolia of Ptolemy at Masulipatam; and Ptolemy's point of departure for Khrusè, or Malacca, at the Godavery, twenty-six leagues only to the north. From these circumstances there is great reason to conclude that he is right; for Barthema had come from the Straits of Manar to Puleachat, north of Madras, and then proceeded to Tarnafari, where he embarked for Bengal, Pegu, and Malacca. How extraordinary, then, is the correspondence of the Periplus with the modern course of these navigators, from the Straits of Manar to the Carnatic! and from the Carnatic, passing the wild tribes of Orissa (still savage) between the Godavery and the Ganges; and then proceeding to Malacca, or the Golden Chersonese! Still however, with all this accuracy, he is in the same error with Ptolemy, carrying the whole course east till he reaches Dêfarênè or Orissa, and then giving it a northerly direction to the Ganges.

The other vessels employed on the coast of Malabar, as Trappaga and Kotumba, it is not necessary to describe: they have still in the Eastern Ocean germs, trankees, dows, grabs, galivats, praams, junks, champans, &c. names which have all been adopted by the Europeans, and which it is no more requisite to distinguish, than to explain our own brigs, snows, schooners, sloops, or cutters, to the Hindoos. But the mariners aboard the Indian vessels I have looked for in vain: neither Greeks or Arabs are mentioned; but as the manners and religion of the Hindoos exclude not foreigners from their country, it may be presumed that their seamen were always foreigners, possibly Malays, or even Chinese; for that the Hindoos themselves never used the sea, is almost indubitable. The whole voyage appears to have been made

6 by



CSL

To these marts likewise are brought all the articles prepared [in Egypt] for the market of Limúrikè; and almost all the specie, of which Egypt is continually drained by its trade with Limúrikè, finally centres in this coast⁸, as well as all the produce of Limúrikè itself.

From the coast⁹, as the course of the navigators tends to the east round the countries which succeed, the island, now called Palaifinoondus, but formerly Taprobana, lies out in the *open*¹⁰ sea to the west (*d*); the northern part of which is civilized, and frequented by vessels

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by coasting, and so it continued when we first meet with Arabs in these seas; which is the more remarkable, as the monsoon was known, and made use of between Africa and India; and the same monsoon prevails to the east, as well as to the west of Cape Comorin.

I do not find the Tarnafari of Barthema in the modern maps: it might lie between Puleachat and Bengal. But the peculiarity is, that there is an island Tanaferam on the coast of Siam, and the great river so called. Tana-feram is Regio Deliciarum. Vossius ad Melam, lib. iii. 7.

Mr. Marsden mentions the vessels that come regularly from Telingana, between the Godavery and Kistna, to Acheen, at this day. This tract answers sufficiently for the port assumed by Ptolemy, for the passage to Khrusè, and for the Tarnafari of Barthema; but does not determine the situation: it seems, however, to bespeak the same trade. Marsden's Sumatra, p. 312.

(*d*) The better knowledge of this passage which I have now obtained, obliges me to recall the argument which I had advanced on the meaning of *δύον*, in the dissertation on *Εσπερίοις μανδραγόροις*, p. 17. I now understand that the island lies to the *west* as you sail to the *east* from Ceylon.

NOTES.

⁷ *Ἐν τῇ Λιμυρικῇ ἰσχυρίζονται*, quæ in Limyrica elaborantur. Hudson. But then it should be *ἐν τῇ Λιμυρικῇ*.

⁸ *Χρημαί*. Res præterea omnis generis. Hudson. But *χρημαί* is used repeatedly in the *Periplus* for specie.

⁹ *Παραλία*, the coast of Coromandel, in con-

tract to the *Παραλία*, or coast of Malabar. In Ptolemy, *Paralia Sore-tanum*; and Sore is Core, Coro-mandel. Coro-mandalam of Paulino, the Millet Country. See d'Anville, *Antiq.* 127.

¹⁰ *Ἐν πύλαγος δακτύλι*.



vessels equipped with masts (e) and sails. The island itself [is so large, that it] extends almost to the opposite coast of Azania [in Africa]. Here pearls, precious " stones, fine muslins, and tortoise-shell, are to be obtained.

[But returning now to the coast, above Kámara, Podooka, and Sopatma, lies] Mafalia, a district which extends far inland. In this country a great quantity of the finest muslins are manufactured " . And from Mafalia the course lies eastward, across a bay, to Défa-rênè, where the ivory is procured of that species " called Bôsfarè.

Leaving

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(e) Ἰσσιοποιημένοις. I conclude that this means, they were vessels adapted to distant voyages, east or west, in contradistinction to the fangara and monoxyla, employed only on the coast; and the text of Strabo confirms this opinion: Ταυροβάσιν . . . διέρχων δὲ τῆς ἡπείρου πλὴν ἡμερῶν ἕικοσι, ἀλλὰ κακοπλοῖν τοὺς ναῦς, Φαύλως μὲν Ἰσσιοποιημένοις, κατεσκευασμένοις δὲ ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐγκοιλίων μητρῶν χωρὶς. The vessels here meant are the monoxyla, built from the bottom without ribs, ill equipped with sails, and heavy failers. In these vessels it was twenty days sail from the continent to Ceylon, but in others only seven: both distances are in excess, but they are palliated by Vossius, who supposes the distance to be measured from Covalam in Travancoor, to Pointe du Galle in Ceylon, as Pliny places the port of Ceylon on the south side of the island. Pliny has likewise a reference to Strabo, when he speaks of twenty days sail from the Prasii to Ceylon, in the paper-ships of Egypt, and seven in the Greek vessels. Prasii is evidently a corrupt reading; and how far paper-ships, or ships composed of the biblos, should venture on these voyages, is dubious. That they were used on the Nile is true: Radicibus papyri incolæ pro ligno utuntur. Ex ipso quidem papyro navigia contextunt. (Plin. lib. xiii. 2. & v. 22. See Salmf. 1410.) It is likewise to be noticed, that Ἰσσιοποιημένοις is a reading of Salmasius for πλιονακισίνοι, in the Basil edition; but Vossius reads it τὸ πλείον ἕικοσίνη, they perform it generally in twenty days. This correction accords with Pliny, and approaches nearer to the text, corrupted as it stands; in fact, Salmasius takes Ἰσσιοποιημένοις from Strabo, and Vossius ἡμερῶν ἕικοσι.

NOTES.

- " Transparent. rhinoceros, or karkandam, in the same country. P. 17.
- " Γίνονται.
- " The Arabs of Renaudot mention the



CSL

Leaving Dêfarênè the course is northerly, passing a variety of barbarous tribes; one of which is styled Kirrhádæ, a savage race, with noses flattened to the face. Another tribe are the Bargoofi; and others (*f*), distinguished by the projection of the face like that of the horse, or by its length⁴ from the forehead to the chin; both which tribes are said to be cannibals.

After passing these, the course turns again to the east, and sailing with the coast on the left, and the sea on the right, you arrive at the Ganges, and the extremity of the continent towards the east, called Khrusè [or the Golden Chersonese].

The Ganges is the largest river of India: it has an annual increase and decrease, like (*g*) the Nile; and there is a mart on it of the same name, through which passes a considerable traffic, consisting of the Gangetic (*h*) spikenard, the Gangetic muslins, which are the finest manufacture of the sort, pearls, and betel.

In this province also there is said to be a gold mine, and a gold coin called Kaltis (*i*).

Immediately

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(*f*) Whenever an author arrives at the Country of Monsters and Anthropophagi, I conclude he is at the end of his knowledge: anthropophagi, however, there are still said to be in the Andaman Islands, and the fact is certainly proved in New Zealand; but the varieties of the human species, with horses' heads, with tails, or with heads which grow beneath their shoulders, still remain to be discovered. Of the Kirrhádæ, or Dêfarênè, I have found nothing; but I place the latter in Orissa. The ivory called Bosare may be the horn of the rhinoceros, much coveted in the East, and the animal is sometimes called Βὸς μονόκερος, Bos unicornis.

(*g*) The solstitial rains produce the same effect on both rivers.

(*h*) See the catalogue. Νάρδος, the regular importation of this odour, is from the Ganges or Bengal, whither it is to this day brought from Thibet.

(*i*) We have no account of a gold mine; but a gold coin called Kalteen, or Karteen, is still known in Bengal. Af. Ref. vol. v. p. 269.

NOTE.

⁴ Ἀπιοπρόσωποι, μετροπρόσωποι.



CSL

Immediately after leaving the Ganges, there is an island in the ocean called Khrusè (*k*) or the Golden¹⁵ Isle, which lies directly under the rising sun, and at the extremity of the world towards the east. This island produces the finest tortoise-shell that is found throughout the whole of the Erythræan Sea.

But still beyond this, immediately under the north (*l*), at a certain point¹⁶ where the exterior sea terminates¹⁷, lies a city called Thina,

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(*k*) Khrusè is mentioned as an island by Mela, Dionysius, &c. as a Chersonese by Ptolemy. It may be Ava, Pegu, or Siam, for they were all ostentatious of gold; but, placed as it is here, next to the Ganges [*κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν*], its position must be erroneous. Ptolemy is more correct in fixing the Kirrhádæ in this situation, whom our author mentions previous to the Ganges; for Kirrhádæ bears some resemblance to the Hidrange or Kadrange of the Arabs, which seems to be Arracan; and if Arracan may be extended to comprehend the little district of Chitagong, it is contiguous to the Ganges, or rather to the Megna. Ptolemy adds, that the best betel is procurable in this province (see Dissertation); and it is from hence that the Sefatæ, or Bésfadæ, who are the Tartars of Lassa or Thibet, carry that article to the northern provinces of China.

(*l*) This strange passage I have rendered literally, but it is unintelligible without a comment. [*Under the north*] implies the same as is repeated afterwards, *under the Lesser Bear*. [*Where the sea terminates outwards*] intimates the existence of a circumambient ocean, like the Mare Tenebrosum of the Arabian geographers; to comprehend which, we must imagine the Golden Chersonese the last region east of the known world; but still that there is an ocean beyond it, surrounding the whole earth, and that Thina lies inland, in a country that is washed by this ocean. This notion, entangled as it is by an erroneous situation, and confused expression, still intimates, in accordance with Mela and Pliny, that Thina is the last country of the known world, and that there is nothing beyond it but the sea. If the author had an idea of a sphere, this sea would extend to Spain, which is Strabo's conception; if he thought the earth a flat surface, this sea is the ocean that surrounds it.

NOTES.

¹⁵ The Golden Continent and the Golden Island are evidently distinct here, as the Golden Province and Golden Chersonese are in Ptolemy.

¹⁶ Ἐπὶ Σινδὸν τινα τόπον. Σινδὸν is an insertion of Salmalius's.

¹⁷ The Mare Tenebrosum of the Arabs.



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Thina¹⁸, not on the coast, but inland; from which both the raw material¹⁹ and manufactured silk are brought by land, through Bactria, to Barugáza, or else down the Ganges [to Bengal], and thence by sea to Limúrikè, or the coast of Malabar (*m*).

To Thina itself the means of approach are very difficult; and from Thina some few [merchants] come, but very rarely; for it lies [very far remote] under the constellation of the Lesser Bear (*n*), and is said to join the confines of the Euxine Sea, the Caspian, and the Lake Mèôtis (*o*), which issues at the same mouth with the Caspian into the Northern²⁰ Ocean.

On the confines, however, of Thina, an annual fair or mart is established; for the Sêfatæ, who are a wild, uncivilized tribe, assemble there with their wives and children. They are described as a race (*p*) of men, squat and thick²¹ set, with their face broad, and their

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(*m*) See the Dissertation. All that went by land to Bactria, passed down the Indus to Guzerat; all that came through Thibet or Lassa, passed down the Ganges or Brama Putra to Bengal.

(*n*) See the Dissertation.

(*o*) For this inconsistency consult the Dissertation.

(*p*) If these Sêfatæ are the Bêfadæ of Ptolemy, which is generally allowed by the commentators from the attributes assigned to them by both, the Bêfadæ of Ptolemy are placed north of Kirrhádia or Arracan, and correspond very well with the Tartars of Lassa, who might naturally be the carriers between China and Bengal. But why the betel-leaf should be carried in this form from Arracan to China, in order to be made

NOTES.

¹⁸ . . . Τῶν Σινῶν ἰσθμὸν ἴδενος, καὶ ἡ πότιον Μιν-
απόλις, ἣτις Θείου προσαγορεύεται ὄριον τῆς ἠγνω-
στῆς γῆς καὶ ἀγνώστου τυγχάνουσα. Marcian Heracl.
Hudson, p. 14.

Theinæ, the capital of the Sinæ, is the bound-
dary between the known and unknown part of

the world.
In this Marcian is more perspicuous than
Ptolemy, whom he usually follows.

¹⁹ Τὸ ἴριον.

²⁰ Τοῖς ἀπειροτραμμένοις μέρεσι.

²¹ Κολοβοῖ.



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their nose greatly depressed. The articles they bring for trade are of great bulk, and enveloped in mats²² or sacks, which in their outward appearance resemble the early leaves of the vine. Their place of assembly is between their own borders and those of Thina; and here spreading out their mats [on which they exhibit their goods for sale], they hold a feast²³ [or fair] for several days, and at the conclusion of it, return to their own country in the interior.

Upon their retreat, the Thinae, who have continued on the watch, repair to the spot, and collect the mats which the strangers left behind at their departure: from these they pick out the haulm, which is called PETROS, and drawing out the fibres, spread the leaves double, and make them up into balls, and then pass the fibres through them. Of these balls there are three sorts—the²⁴ large, the middle-sized, and the small: in this form they take the name of Malá bathrum; and under this denomination, the three sorts of that

REMARKS.

made up with the Areka nut, and then returned to India by the Chinese under the denomination of Malá bathrum, is difficult to comprehend. The distinction between the leaf and the nut seems to be preserved in petros and malá bathrum; for that petros is the betel, or betre, cannot well be doubted, when it is described as resembling the young leaves of the vine; for the betel is a delicate species of the pepper-plant, and that plant is almost constantly described as similar to the vine.—The description of the Sefatae leaves little room to doubt that they are Tartars; and we have here, upon the whole, a description of that mode of traffic which has always been adopted by the Chinese, and by which they to this hour trade with Russia, Thibet, and Ava. See the Dissertation.

NOTES.

²² Ταπίνοις, sirpeis, literally mats made of rushes. These terms are applied by Pliny to the spikenard. Lib. xii. c. 26. The spikenard

²³ The word, in the original edition, was ἀργάζουσι; for which Salmasius reads ἀργάξουσι. I propose ἀγοράξουσι, they deal or traffic. was considered specifically as the leaf; how erroneously, may be seen in the catalogue. Hence it became confounded with the betel

²⁴ Ἀδρόσφαιρον, μέγασφαιρον, μικρόσφαιρον.— leaf, always used with the Areka nut.



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that masticatory are brought into India by those who prepare (g) them⁶⁶.

All the regions beyond this [towards the north] are unexplored, either on account of the severity of the winter, the continuance of the frost, or the difficulties of the country; perhaps also the will of the gods has fixed these limits to the curiosity of man.

REMARK.

(g) Ἰπὸ τῶν κατασκευαστῶν αὐτῶν. Those who manufacture them—who are these but the Sinae? If I had found that the Chinese brought them by sea, as they did to Ceylon in the time of Cosmas, my evidence for the performance of the voyage, either to or from China, would have been complete; but on this slender ground I dare not assert it, nor do I think it probable, for the betel might come down the Ganges as well as silk. The whole seems to be in irremediable confusion, with particulars founded on truth, and a total that is inconsistent.

NOTE.

⁶⁶ Ἰπὸ τῶν κατασκευαστῶν, rendered by Salmasius, Those who finish them, or make them up, for exportation.



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DISSERTATION I.

ON THE SINÆ, THE SÈRES, AND THE TERMINATION OF ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY ON THE EAST.

I. *The Name of China.*—II. *Sinæ of Ptolemy in Siam, Sinæ of other Authors, and Sères the same; Periplus, Eratosthenes, Mela, d'Anville.*—III. *Relative Situation of the Seres, with respect to Scythia, and India beyond the Ganges.*—IV. *Capital, Sera Metropolis.*—V. *Seres distinguished as Manufacturers of Silk.*—VI. *Intercourse between China, India, and Europe; Route from Ptolemy, Maes the Macedonian.*—VII. *Modern Route—Marco Polo, Rubruquis, Carpini, Goetz.*—VIII. *Route of the Séfatæ from Arracan to China—Dionysius Periegetes.*—IX. *Intercourse by Sea—Mela, Rajab of Pliny, Cosmas Indicopleustes.*—X. *Golden Chersonese, Voyage from Ceylon thither; Coast of Coromandel, Masulipatam, Ganges, Arracan, Ava, Siam, Cattigara.*—XI. *Longitudes and Latitudes of Ptolemy, however in Excess, still the Cause of modern Discovery; Navigation towards the West from Spain—Roger Bacon, Columbus, Map of Ptolemy; Eulogy of Ptolemy.*

I. **T**HINA, Sinæ, and Tzinistæ¹, so nearly resemble China and the Chinese, that upon the first view of these appellations, we are naturally led to conclude that they are the same. Serica
also,

¹ Tzina, and Tzinitæ, and Tzinistæ, are the orthography of Cosmas Indicopleustes, and approach as nearly to China and the Chinese, as Greek letters can; and of the country meant there can be no doubt; for he mentions the silk brought by land from that country



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also, the Country of the Seres, which produces the silk, and the only country which originally produced it, is so pre-eminently and characteristically the same country, that if Ptolemy had not assigned two different positions for the Sinæ and the Sères, there would probably have been no dispute upon the question at the present hour.

But it is said, the Chinese themselves know nothing of this name. This, however, is of little weight in the subject of our inquiry; for the same nation in Europe which we call Germans, are styled *Almains* by the French, and *Teutsch**, or *Teudesch*, by themselves. The Jesuits who were in China have, however, endeavoured to find an approach to this found in *Tan-djin*, *Han-djin*, the people of *Tan*† or *Han*, two of their early dynasties; and in *Chen-fi*, one of the principal provinces: but upon these similitudes there is little dependance; for it is generally allowed, that the principal native appellation is *Tchou-koue*‡, the Central Kingdom; and every nation in the world, from vanity, from relation to all the regions around, or from ignorance, is entitled to the same distinction.

But let us first inquire, how this name was brought westward? Manifestly not by the north, or by land, for the name obtained by that conveyance was *Kathay* and *Kitai*; but by sea it was first heard of—by the Macedonians, in the form of *Thina*; by *Cosmas*, in the form of *Tzinistæ*; by the Arabs§, as *Cheen*, or rather *Ma-cheen*,

country to Persia, 4500 miles; but he says, the passage by sea is much longer. And then adds, Περσικὴ δὲ Τζινιστὰς ἐστὶ πάλαι ἐστὶ ἀμικταί. Beyond the *Tzinistæ* there is no navigation, or habitable country. *Montfaucon*, *Nov. Col. Patrum*, tom. ii. p. 138. See *infra*, No. 8.
‡ And hence Dutch in our own language.

§ D'Anville, *Antiq. de l'Inde*, p. 179.
* Other names occur in *Ibrandt Ides*, the *Jesuits' Accounts*, &c. &c.
† *Primi Arabes Seras cum Sinis confuderunt quorum errorum postea fecuti sunt alii. Vossius ad Melam*, lib. i. c. 2. note 20.

Great



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Great Cheen, or Cheena; and by Marco Polo, as Cin, that is Cheen in the mouth of an Italian. The Portuguese likewise, who came from the West, acquired the same sound in their progress towards the East; and from them Cheena, or China, has descended to all the nations of Europe.

Cheen⁶ therefore, by all these several navigators, was obtained as they advanced towards the East; and the first country that bears the resemblance of the sound is Cochin-china, called by the natives, and by the Chinese, Kao-tchii-chin; by the Jesuits, Tchen-tchen; and by the Arabs, Cheen; the Sinia Sinarum of Al Edrissi. If then we reflect that all the kingdoms contained in the Great Chersonese, except Malacca⁷, partake of Chinese manners, habits, policy, and government, it was a natural consequence that the Arabs, when they first reached China, the superior and sometimes the sovereign of them all, should receive the name of Ma-cheen, or Great China, in comparison with these inferior kingdoms.

It is impossible to prove that these appellations are as ancient as the era of Alexander, because history is silent; but the acquisition of the same sound by all the nations which advanced by sea from the West towards the East, from the time of Alexander to the date of the Portuguese discoveries, is a strong presumption in its favour.

The first mention of Thina by the Greeks, is in the Treatise of Aristotle⁸ de Mundo (if that work be his); but the full notice of it is by Eratosthenes, and as Eratosthenes lived under the second

⁶ Marco Polo says, Mangi is called Chin in Zipanga, or Japan. This may be an error, for Marco never was in Japan; but it is a proof that Mangi was called Chin in his age. Lib. iii. c. 4.

⁷ The Malays are supposed to be originally Chinese by Barrow, but their language is alphabetical.

⁸ Aristotle died A. C. 322; Eratosthenes born 276.

Ptolemy,



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Ptolemy, his mention of Thina is early enough to suppose, that the Greeks had no knowledge of so distant a region before Alexander, and knew it then only in consequence of his expedition.

Though the Macedonians proceeded no farther east than the Indus, they certainly acquired a knowledge of the Ganges and Ceylon: this we learn from history; and if their inquiries went farther, they had Persians, Indians, and Arabians, in their army, from whose report they might gratify their curiosity. If Aristotle, therefore, had heard of Thina, this must be the source of his knowledge; or if the Treatise imputed to him be not his, the knowledge of Eratosthenes must have been acquired, either from the same source, or from those who sailed on board the fleets from Egypt, and met the Arabian, Indian, or Persian merchants in the ports of Sabæa.

Let us suppose, then, that the whole of this was report, and let us conjecture from analogy by what we know, in a later age, to be fact. It would amount to this—that there was a trade between Arabia and India, carried on every year; that the merchants from Arabia met others on the western coast of India, who came from the eastern coast; that those on the eastern coast traded to a country still further east, called the Golden Chersonese; and that from the Golden Chersonese there was another voyage still to the east, which terminated at Thina; and that beyond Thina there was no proceeding farther, for it was bounded^o by the ocean which had never been explored.

A report, coming through no less than five intermediate channels, like this, would doubtless be loaded with much error, fable, and

^o In this, Mela, Pliny, Dionysius, Cosmas, and the Periplus, are all agreed.



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PERIPLUS OF THE ERYTHREAN SEA. 485

inconsistency; but that by some method or other it did come, is undeniable; for the map of Eratosthenes is recorded by Strabo. It actually contained Thina at the extremity of the world east, bounded by the ocean: it was placed in the parallel of Rhodes, in lat. 36° north; and what is most extraordinary of all is, that this parallel passes through the present empire of China, within the great wall. I shall not build more on this than it will bear, but a reference to M. Goffellin's Map, delineated on this principle, will prove the fact; and this fact cannot be founded on imagination, or arise from fortuitous coincidence: there must have been some information on which it stands; and the wonder is, not that it should be attended with many difficulties and inconsistencies, but that, after passing through so many hands, it should retain so much truth.

II. SINÆ OF PTOLEMY IN SIAM, SINÆ OF OTHER AUTHORS, AND SERÈS THE SAME; PERIPLÙS, ERATOSTHENES, MELA, D'ANVILLE.

THE Thina of Eratosthenes, however, is not to be confounded with the Thina or Sinæ of Ptolemy; for these, whether we place them, with d'Anville, in Cochinchina, or with Voslius and Goffellin, in Siam, are in a very different latitude and position. Their country does not face¹⁰ to the east, but to the west; and their latitude is not 36° north, but 2° 20' south¹¹. But the Thina of Eratosthenes and Strabo, is the Thina and Sinæ of the Periplus, of which we have a certain proof; because the author says, that silk

¹⁰ D'Anville, by placing them in Cochinchina, makes them face to the east; but in this he opposes Mercator (who had no system to maintain), as well as Goffellin.
¹¹ This is very well argued by Goffellin. Geog. des Grecs, p. 143.



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is the produce of their country. This country, therefore, is the Sêrica of Ptolemy; and in this sense, the Sinæ and the Sêres are the same, that is, they are both Chinese.—We must now advert to the gross error of the Periplûs, which places Thina, the capital of the Sinæ, under the constellation¹² of the Lesser Bear; that is, in the age we refer it to, within twelve degrees of the Pole; a climate which, so far from producing the silk-worm, must be uninhabitable by man. How this error arose, must be explicable only by conjecture; but it appears to originate from one of two causes, which are perfectly different and distinct: for, first, we find the ancient geographers very observant¹³ of the disappearance of the Polar Star, as we advance to the south, and equally attentive to its re-appearance as we approach again to the north; it might happen, therefore, that the navigators who went to China, might have observed the loss of the Polar Star in the Straits of Malacca, and the recovery of it as they approached the coast of China; and this observation, conveyed through a multiplicity of reporters, may have caused the confusion between a latitude which lay under the Lesser Bear, and a latitude where the Polar Star became visible.

But if this cause should be thought too scientific to have given rise to so gross an error, there is a second, much more probable and natural; which is, that if we suppose a delineation of the habitable world, formed upon the principle of that which I obtained from

¹² Gosselin notices the approach of this star to the Pole. Ptolemy says, in his time it was 12 degrees from the Pole: *Μικρῆς Ἀρκτὸς ἔχει δὲ τῆς ἡμῶν Ἀρκτὸς ἀπέχει τὸ πόλις μῆτραν*. G. Lib. i. c. 7. And Gosselin, *Geog. des Grecs*, tom. ii. p. 127. in the time of So-

lomon, makes the distance 17½ degrees.

¹³ See Pomp. Mela, lib. iii. c. 7. In aliqua parte ejus [Indiæ] neuter septentrio appareat. See also Marco Polo, as he comes up from Ceylon along the coast of Malabar. Lib. iii. c. 23. Ramusio.



Al Edrissi¹⁴ in the former part of this work, or like the Borgian¹⁵ Table in Sir Joseph Banks's possession, the degrees of longitude diminish so hastily as we approach towards the north, that they do not leave room to display all the regions which such a geographer as our author, must find it requisite to crowd into the space that he has to cover. This seems to be a natural source of the error which we find in the Periplus; and this opinion is confirmed by what he immediately subjoins: "Thina lies," says he, "at the Lesser Bear itself; and it is said to join the limits of Pontus¹⁶, which are towards¹⁷ the north, and the Caspian Sea, with which the Palus Mœotis is connected, and issues into the ocean at the same mouth." Here, besides the error common to many of the ancients, that the Caspian Sea was open to the Northern Ocean, we have a variety of other mistakes; added to which, China, Tartary, the Caspian, the Euxine, and Palus Mœotis, are all huddled together in such confusion, that nothing but the construction of a map, on the principles here supposed, could produce.

Whether these excuses will avail in favour of an author, whose errors I wish not to extenuate, but explain, must be left to the judgment of others: beyond Ceylon, all he knew was from report; and on report only procured, first by the Macedonians, and afterwards by Megasthenes, Daimachus, Dionysius, and the merchants of Egypt, all the knowledge of the ancients must be founded. But whatever may be the error of position, there can be no mistake about the country intended. The silk fabric itself, and the mate-

¹⁴ The same circumstance occurs in Sanuto's Map, in the Gesta Dei per Francos. A little to the N.E. of the Caspian Sea a notice is inserted, Incipit Regnum Cathay.

¹⁵ In that map, Poland is almost as near China as it is to England.

¹⁶ Perhaps the Euxine.

¹⁷ Ἀπὸ τὰ βόρεια.