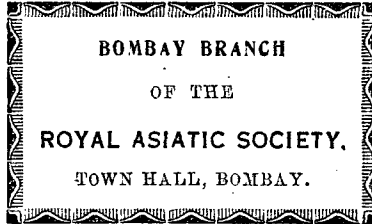


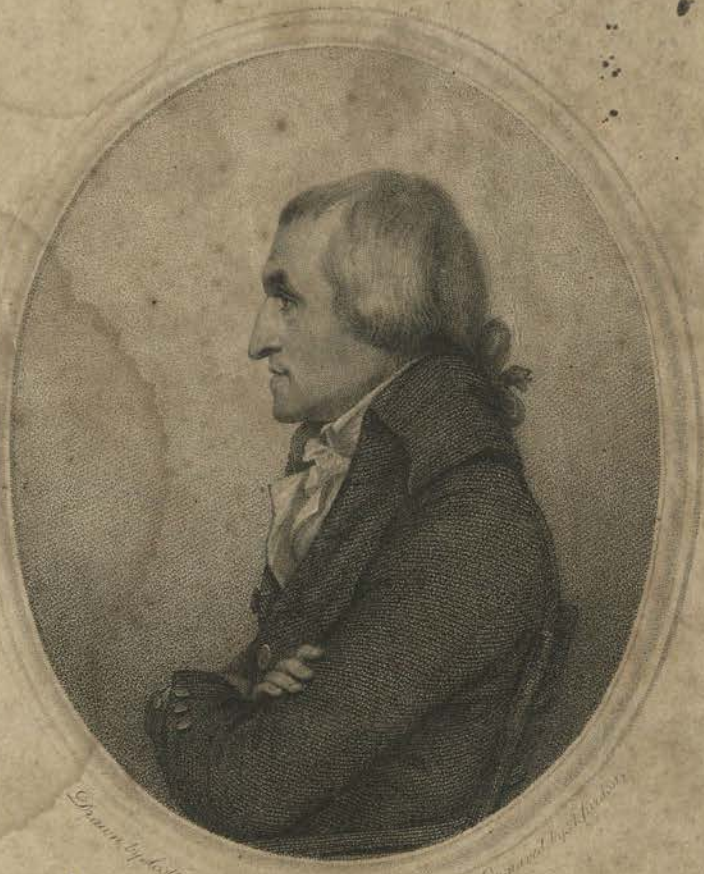


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*Major James Rennell, F.R.S.*

*London. Published as the Act directs February 1799.*

THE  
GEOGRAPHICAL SYSTEM OF HERODOTUS,  
EXAMINED; AND EXPLAINED,

BY A  
COMPARISON WITH THOSE OF OTHER ANCIENT AUTHORS,  
AND  
WITH MODERN GEOGRAPHY.

IN THE COURSE OF THE WORK ARE INTRODUCED,

DISSERTATIONS ON THE ITINERARY STADE OF THE GREEKS, THE  
EXPEDITION OF DARIUS HYSTASPES TO SCYTHIA, THE POSITION  
AND REMAINS OF ANCIENT BABYLON, THE ALLUVIONS OF THE  
NILE, AND CANALS OF SUEZ; THE OASIS AND TEMPLE OF JUPITER  
AMMON, THE ANCIENT CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF AFRICA,

AND

104558<sup>ac</sup>

OTHER SUBJECTS OF HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY.

---

THE WHOLE EXPLAINED BY ELEVEN MAPS,  
Adapted to the different Subjects; and accompanied with  
A COMPLETE INDEX.

---


By JAMES RENNELL,

FELLOW OF THE ROYAL SOCIETIES OF LONDON AND EDINBURGH; AND LATE  
MAJOR OF ENGINEERS, AND SURVEYOR GENERAL IN BENGAL.

LONDON:

*G. G. c. 17.*

PRINTED BY W. BULMER AND CO. RUSSEL-COURT, CLEVELAND-ROW, ST. JAMES'S,  
FOR THE AUTHOR; AND SOLD BY G. AND W. NICOL, BOOKSELLERS  
TO HIS MAJESTY, BALL-MALL.



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TO  
GEORGE JOHN EARL SPENCER,  
VISCOUNT SPENCER, VISCOUNT ALTHORP,  
AND  
BARON SPENCER, OF ALTHORP,  
IN THE COUNTY OF NORTHAMPTON;  
KNIGHT OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER,  
ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL,  
FIRST LORD COMMISSIONER OF THE ADMIRALTY,  
ONE OF THE ELDER BRETHERN OF THE TRINITY HOUSE,  
*&c. &c. &c.*

---

MY LORD,

IN soliciting the honour of inscribing this book with your Lordship's name, the Author has no wish to intrude on the intervals of leisure, which the important duties of your high office occasionally admit; although he flatters himself that some parts of the work may afford occasional recreation, when your mind, oppressed by political labour, is compelled to seek relief in employments of a less fatiguing nature.

Perhaps they may recal to your Lordship's mind, ideas respecting the history and policy of those nations of antiquity, whose learning and arts we are ambitious of imitating: and whose liberty is a perpetual theme of praise, even amongst us, who have employed ages in perfecting a practical system of our own; which, although subject to decay, like all other human institutions, promises to be of much longer duration than any other on record.

To preserve this wonderful fabric entire, in all its parts, your Lordship joined your councils and exertions at a MOMENTOUS CRISIS. History will relate the acts of YOUR DEPARTMENT—That from the GANGES to the NILE, and from the NILE to the shores of THE SISTER ISLAND, the desperate projects of the inveterate enemy of mankind, against the safety and the interests of THIS EMPIRE, were totally frustrated. Such is the sentiment of a GREAT, an INDEPENDENT, and a GRATEFUL People: and a conviction of its truth, constitutes, in a mind like yours, the proper and envied reward of great national services.

May your Lordship's exertions be still crowned with success; and the period speedily arrive, when those unprincipled men who have shaken the moral and social world to its centre; who keep their own country in chains, and the rest of Europe in alarm, in order to perpetuate their own atrocious system of arbitrary power; shall be dispersed or destroyed. Happily, the effects of the intoxicating draught, administered to a credulous world, by this enemy to social order, have abated; the treachery concealed in the cup, is become



manifest; and mankind are fast recovering that temper of mind, which is suited to their state of being, and to the unalterable laws of nature.

I am, with the greatest respect,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's obliged,

And faithful humble servant;

J. RENNELL.

*London, January 1st, 1800.*



## PREFACE.

---

IT is possible that the act of presenting a bulky volume, as a part only, of a larger work (although this part be complete in itself, in respect of its proper subject), may startle the Public to whom it is offered. This, however, is the fact: The Author, several years since, undertook the task of correcting the geography, ancient and modern, throughout that part of Asia, situated between India and Europe: in effect, the great theatre of ancient history in Asia, as well as of European commerce, and communication, in modern times. His first object was, to adapt the system so formed, to the use of statesmen and travellers: the next, to apply it to the illustration of such parts of ancient military history, as were, in his idea, deficient, from a want of the necessary aids of geography; and which have been, in a degree, supplied, in latter times.

This task he has some time since performed, to the best of his ability, and as far as his stock of materials admitted: but the work had grown to such a size, that it would have been an act of imprudence in an individual, to venture on so great an expence as the execution of the work, in all its parts, required. In the mean time, however, he has adventured so far, as to prepare the first division of it, consisting of the GEOGRAPHY of HERODOTUS; and which, as preparing

the ground for the remainder of the ancient geography, he now, with great deference, offers to the Public; accompanied with maps necessary to its explanation.

The remaining parts will consist of the ancient geography, as it was improved by the Grecian conquests and establishments; together with such portions of military history, as appear to want explanation. Maps of ancient geography, on scales adapted to the purpose, will accompany it: whilst the modern geography, (in which the most prominent features of the ancient, will also appear) will be contained in a large map, similar in size and scale, to the Four-Sheet Map of India, already in the hands of the Public. It may be proper to remark, that, as the present Volume forms a complete Work of itself, so will each of the succeeding ones; they being no otherwise connected with each other, than as being in the same series. The same is to be understood of some large maps that are to accompany the volumes, but will be too large to be folded into them.

A Map of POSITIONS, intended to explain, and to preserve, the ground-work of the whole geographical construction, will be added. One principal use of this, is, to preserve, in their original and unmixed state, the authorities collected from a great variety of sources; and which may aid the construction of future systems of geography, although a part of the materials may be superseded by those of a better kind: in which case, the geographer, discarding such portions as he finds necessary, may be enabled to make his own use of the rest,

in their original state. Were they to be found only in a *mixed* state, as in the geographical maps, without discrimination of quality; and most probably divested of their originality, by having been formed into a general mass with others, they must either be employed in future, to a disadvantage, or again *sought out*; and if *found at all*, with great and unnecessary loss of time, to the community of science. This portion of the work then, will form, in the least possible room, and at the least expence, a great *depot* of the materials of geography, for future times.

After the above explanation, it will of course, be understood, that the progress of the work, at large, must necessarily depend on the reception given to the present part: and the Author flatters himself, that, in forming the decision, which is finally to determine the fate of the succeeding parts, a due regard will be had, as well to the extent and labour of the *search* after, as of the *compilation* of the materials, that compose this portion of the work, (thus offered as a specimen of the work at large): as amongst such a mass of matter, error, no doubt, must sometimes have lurked, unnoticed; or even have assumed the garb of truth, to deceive.

It is proper that the reader should know, that the Author, being ignorant of the Greek language, could only obtain the knowledge of the TEXT of Herodotus, through the medium of translations. The magnitude of this defect will perhaps be differently estimated, by different persons. It may doubtless be said, with truth, that no *ordinary* reader of Greek, is likely to be so perfect a master of the

subject of Herodotus, by a perusal of the original work, as by translations made by *professed scholars*, who have devoted a great portion of their time, to the study of it: although it must at the same time be allowed, that such scholars, if also skilled in the science of geography, would be by far, the fittest persons to undertake a task of this kind. Such a one, however, has not yet undertaken it: and therefore the Author flatters himself, that, in the existing state of things, his work may be allowed to pass, until the desired coincidence may take place. M. D'Anville was perhaps the fittest person to have executed it: but it may possibly be said, that he was better employed.

On this occasion the Author has followed, almost universally, the English translation by Mr. Beloe; to whom he acknowledges his obligations; and who is consequently entitled to a share of whatsoever credit the Public may allow to the present work.


Sir William Jones, in speaking of the imperfect state of the geography of Asia, has a remark to the following effect: that "until some geographer, equally skilled in the eastern languages, and in the science which he professes," will correct the geography of Asia, the reader of its history, must be content with the present imperfect system. It appears (in the same place\*) that Sir William himself meditated this task, but wanted leisure. This is much to be regretted; as well as that the materials which he had collected for that purpose, should have been lost, or destroyed. However, it

\* Preface to the History of Nadir Shah.

appears that he did not recollect that very much might be done, by faithful translations of the works of the Oriental geographers, for the use of European ones. It may also be said, that we must be content to receive things in such a way as they may be conveniently, or indeed, at all, executed: and finally, that the most perfect work, is nothing more than the nearest approximation to the truth.

The aids that have been furnished to the Author, in various ways, have been, as on other occasions of this kind, very extensive. Generally speaking, where this could be done, these favours have been acknowledged in the course of the work; but the Author has a pleasure in repeating the names of his friends in this more conspicuous place, although he may hazard the imputation of vanity, in so ostentatiously displaying his resources. He acknowledges his obligations to Sir Joseph Banks, and Sir Charles Blagden; to Mr. Dalrymple, Mr. Marsden, Mr. Wilkins, M. Correa de Serra, and the Doctors Gillies, Gray, and Dryander: to Mr. Browne and Mr. Park, (the African travellers) and to Mr. John Sullivan; to Colonel Kirkpatrick, of the Bengal Establishment, and Captain Cuninghame, of that of Madras, (now Brigade Major to the three regiments of Royal East India Volunteers), the Rev. Mr. Tooke, and Mr. George Nicol. And as an act of justice should not be forborne, through fear of imputed vanity, or presumption, he ventures to add to list, his two sons, the one of Trinity College, Cambridge, the other of the Bengal Civil Establishment.

It remains that something should be said respecting the Maps, that are meant to explain and to illustrate the different subjects of the book. *Some* of the general maps, may possibly be complained of, for the smallness of their scales; but as they must of necessity be folded into the book, they could not conveniently be made larger. Besides, it was deemed sufficient to give correct *outlines* alone, of a system of geography, the *particulars* of which might be found, generally, in the existing systems; although framed for an age posterior to that of Herodotus. The general maps relating to Western Scythia, to the Satrapies, and to Lybia, are given here, with more detail than the others, because they will be found less perfect, in the existing systems: and it is hoped, that, on the whole, the reader will not often find himself at a loss, in the explanation of the geography. Whensoever it may happen, great aid will be derived from the ancient geography of M. D'Anville (the only system of the kind, that can be deemed at all perfect; and unquestionably, as far as he was in any degree master of the actual geography, a work incomparable in its kind). His maps of the ancient World, of the Roman Empire, Asia Minor, and ancient Egypt, will probably satisfy the reader in every case where he is at a loss, in respect of particular situations, in the maps contained in this work.

 To prevent misconceptions, regarding the ancient Map of Egypt, (Pl. VII.) the reader is informed, that, as no copy is known to exist, from whence the form of the ancient coast of the Delta could be delineated, the Author could do no other than describe it under



its present form. It is almost certain that no considerable change can have taken place either at Canopus or Pelusium: nor can it be supposed that the additions to the intermediate part, can have been such, as to occasion any sensible difference, in a general map: since Herodotus has remarked, that Busiris stood in the middle of the Delta, in which position its supposed remains are now found. It is remarked, in the course of the work, that, as the coast of the Delta advances into deeper water, its progress, in point of extent, must necessarily be slower.

In some of the general maps, a great proportion of modern geography will be found; which it was impossible to separate from the ancient, without much injury to the main subject; as by a comparison of the two, on the spot, the mutual relation to each other, will be best understood. The ancient names have a *dash* under them; if not otherwise distinguished, on the spot.

The bulk of the Volume is unquestionably a fault: and is owing to the Author's having made a wrong calculation of the quantity of matter, at the outset. Had a correct estimate been made, as much of the matter would have been withheld, as to reduce the book to a more moderate size and price. Such, however, as it is, the Author ventures to offer it to an IMPARTIAL PUBLIC; conscious indeed, of defects; but conscious also, that they do not arise from a remission of labour or attention.

*London, January 1st, 1800.*



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the ideas of the Russian and Chinese geographers, with those of Sherefeddin and Strahlenberg. It explains the whole of the VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, and XIIth Sections, respecting Asia, the Eastern Scythians, and the Satrapies; as also what relates to the tract *between* the two Scythias,  
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The WORLD, according to the Idea of HERODOTUS: as far as can be collected from his History.

Explanation The Names mentioned by Herodotus have a conventional line under them: and those of the ancient Nations a broken line. The modern ones have a solid line. The dotted outlines denote generally those Parts, concerning which Herodotus appears to have been in doubt.



Scale of the mean Scale of Herodotus 720 to a Degree

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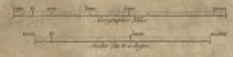
42.000 Fathoms



35

32

**Explication.**  
 The Roman numeral in Strabo's name  
 is intended to show that the name of  
 the African Desert is taken from  
 the Roman name and not from the  
 Greek.



*The*  
**WORLD,**  
*as known to*  
**HERODOTUS,**  
*and with its*  
**A Spherical Projection,**  
*and with its*  
**Parts in their just relative Positions,**  
*and Proportions.*



THE  
GEOGRAPHY OF HERODOTUS  
EXAMINED, &c.

---

SECTION I.

*Preliminary Observations—The Geography of HERODOTUS not intended for a System, but to explain a History—he regarded the whole habitable Earth, as one Continent—his Character for Veracity, on the Increase—has suffered most, through his Reader's Neglect of distinguishing what the Author saw, from what he only heard—was ignorant of abstract Science; and did not believe that the Earth was globular:—but is respectable as a Historian, Geographer, and Moralist—a great Traveller—his Geography consists more in relative Positions, than actual Distances, and Dimensions.—Scope of his geographical Knowledge.*

As the writings of Herodotus furnish the earliest record of history, among the heathen authors whose works have reached us, so they also furnish the *earliest known* system of geography, as far as it goes.\* It may therefore be worth while to examine this system,

\* The late PROFESSOR ROBERTSON, whose memory the Author venerates, as he esteemed him living, has the following remark, at the opening of his last work, the *Disquisition concerning ancient India*. What he there says respecting history, is equally applicable to geography.

“Whoever attempts to trace the operations of men in remote times, and to mark the various steps of their progress in any line of exertion, will soon have the mortifi-

in order to compare it with the actual geography; as well as in certain cases, with the systems of Eratosthenes, Strabo, Ptolemy, and Pliny.\* We have said, *as far as it goes*, because the geography of Herodotus is confined more to ASIA and AFRICA, than to EUROPE: and is by no means intended to form an abstract system, but to explain with more effect, the transactions recorded in a history, the theatre of which includes little more in Europe, than the provinces bordering on the *Ægean sea*, the *Propontis*, *Euxine*, and *Palus Mæotis*; and in Africa, the kingdom of *Egypt* and its dependencies; but almost the whole of the known parts of Asia. Limited, however, as the theatre of war in Europe might be, the brilliancy of the transactions on it, surpassed those throughout all the rest of the space.

If it be supposed (as in reason it may) that our Author was master of all the geographical, as well as historical knowledge, of his own times, it may be inferred that the Greeks knew but little concerning the western parts of Europe, besides the mere sea coast; and although our Author seems to entertain no doubt of the exis-

cation to find, that the period of authentic history is extremely limited. It is little more than 3000 years since the books of Moses, the most ancient and only genuine record of what passed in the early ages of the world, were composed. Herodotus, the most ancient heathen historian whose works have reached us, flourished 1000 years later. If we push our inquiries concerning any point beyond the æra where written history commences, we enter upon the region of conjecture, of fable, and of uncertainty. Upon that ground, I will neither venture myself, nor endeavour to conduct my readers."

The materials of our author's geography may be reckoned of a date of 450 to 500 years before our æra. Dr. Usher fixes his birth at 484 before Christ. He also says that he read his books before the council at Athens, in 445; of course, when he was about 39 years of age. This was about 44 years before the expedition of Cyrus, and the retreat of the ten thousand; 111 before Alexander crossed the Hellespont.

\* In order to form an idea in detail of the systems of the three first of these great geographers, the reader is referred to the work of M. GOSSELIN, entitled *Geographie des Grecs analysée*, 1780.

tence of a Northern ocean, he confesses his ignorance, whether, or not, *Europe* was bounded on the *north* and *east* by the ocean.

• It is proper to remark, that Herodotus considered, and perhaps rightly, the whole of the earth then known, as ONE SINGLE CONTINENT: regarding Europe, Asia, and Africa, as nothing more than *divisions* of that continent. In effect, he does not attach any degree of importance to the question concerning the boundaries of these divisions; and therefore speaks of the line of separation between Europe and Asia, Asia and Africa, in a vague way. “I am far,” says he, *Melpom.* 45, “from satisfied why to *one continent*, three different names, taken from women, have been assigned. To one of these divisions (meaning Asia) some have given as a boundary the Egyptian *Nile* and the Colchian *Phasis*; others, the *Tanais*, the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, and the *Palus Mæotis*.”

• It appears that he adopted for the boundary of Asia, the river Phasis, and not the Tanais: and for that of Africa, the Isthmus of Suez, in preference to the Nile; for, speaking of Africa, he says that it is “bounded by the sea, except in that particular part, which is contiguous to Asia.” Something, however, like contradiction appears in respect of this subject: for it will be seen hereafter, that he excludes Egypt from *Africa*, as well as from *Asia*; which appears very extraordinary, and can only be accounted for, on the ground that he does not, like others, distribute the habitable world into *continents*, but into *regions*: and that Egypt might be considered as a region of itself.

The shore of the Baltic sea, from whence *amber* was brought (*Prussia*), seems to have been the extent of his knowledge, that way. The British Islands he knew in *part*, as being the place from whence the Phœnicians, and from them the Greeks, had their *tin*; an indispensable article, it would appear, as without it they could not harden their copper, so as to make it answer the purposes of iron, in weapons. He accordingly speaks of the *Cassiterides*, as the *islands* from whence the tin was said to be brought. It has

been very much the custom to refer the Cassiterides to the Scilly Islands alone; but the idea ought to be extended to Cornwall at least: and, it is possible that very great changes have taken place in the state of Scilly and Cornwall since the date of that traffic.\*

The fact of the insular nature of Britain must of course have been ascertained by the Phœnicians, who sailed between it and the continent, in their way to the amber country: but whether they knew much concerning the *extent* of Britain northward, or of the *existence* of Ireland, is a fact that appears not to have reached us. It is however, very probable, that in the *idea* of Herodotus, the Cassiterides were a cluster of small islands, insignificant in any other point of view, than as containing tin mines.

Of ASIA, by *much the greater part* was unknown; and yet, notwithstanding this deficiency, the proportion of space on the globe, known to Ptolemy, about 600 years after Herodotus, did not *greatly* exceed that, which was known, in a general way, to Herodotus himself; although during that interval all the knowledge acquired by the Macedonian and Roman expeditions, had been brought forward to public view. This is easily explained. The track of Alexander was confined generally within the limits already known to our Author; so that it brought no accession of *space*. And although the discoveries and inquiries made by the Romans, had added to the space known to Herodotus, the north and north-eastern parts of Europe, together with the British Islands at large; as well as *Serica*, the borders of China, the Peninsula *beyond* the Ganges, the *eastern* part of *India*, and *Taprobana*; yet the ground lost by geographers in Africa, nearly, if not entirely, overbalanced, all the latter acquisitions. So that in Africa, Herodotus knew *more* than Ptolemy, *vastly more* than *Strabo*. For, it is certain, that

\* There are some curious particulars in Diodorus Siculus respecting an island near the British coast, to which carriages laden with tin, came at low water, in order to its being embarked on vessels for the continent. See the course of this merchandize in lib. v. c. 2.



Herodotus had a very positive, and in some degree, circumstantial, knowledge, of the course of the river *Niger*; now, by the discoveries recently made by Mr. Park, shewn to be the same with the *Joliba*, or great inland river of Africa: so that we must extend his knowledge of the inland part of Africa, to the same point, known to Ptolemy, and to the Romans. Again, *Ethiopia*, and the general course of the Nile, to a certain point, were alike known to Herodotus and to Ptolemy, by report; although the place of the distant fountains of the Nile was involved in obscurity. But the striking difference in the quantity of space known, in Africa, to these authors, respectively, arose from Herodotus's knowing that Africa extended a vast way to the south of the Nile, and Niger, and that it had been sailed round; whilst Ptolemy was either ignorant of the circumstance, or disbelieved it.

In point of discrimination also, as well as of extent, geography, in some particulars, lost ground between the times of Herodotus and Strabo: for Herodotus knew that the Caspian sea was a lake, and describes it as such; but this was afterwards either forgotten, or the opinion was over-ruled: and from the date of Alexander's expedition, to Ptolemy, the Caspian passed for a *gulf* of the Northern ocean; to which it was supposed to be joined, by an exceeding *long* and *narrow* strait. So that an actual visit to the spot, by Alexander and his followers, had the singular effect of *falsifying*, instead of *improving*, the systems of geography.

It is a common and just remark, that the authority of our Author's work has been rising in the opinion of the world, in latter times; which may be referred to the number of discoveries that have been lately made, and which are continually making, in the countries which he describes. It was ignorance and inattention therefore, that determined the opinions of his judges; a charge in which several of the ancients are implicated as well as the moderns. The same want of attention has confounded together, the descriptions

of what he *saw*, with what he had only *heard*; and which he might think himself bound to relate. Mr. Wood speaks much to the purpose respecting this matter. He says, "were I to give my opinion of him, having followed him through most of the countries which he visited, I would say, that he is a writer of VERACITY in his description of what he SAW, but of CREDULITY in his relations of what he had HEARD." We may add, that superstition made him credulous in *believing* many improbable stories; but love of truth prevented him from *asserting* falsehoods. The instances of gross superstition manifested by him are too numerous to be recounted; but superstition was also common to many other great characters.

But his ignorance in certain points is infinitely more displeasing than his superstition: for it may be observed, that however distinguished our Author may have been as an HISTORIAN, GEOGRAPHER, and MORALIST, yet that as a man of science, and a natural philosopher, he ranks very low indeed; as is too conspicuous in several parts of his work. Such is his ignorance of the existence of *snow* in elevated situations in warm climates; Euterpe, 22; his belief that the sun was vertical in India, before mid-day; Thalia, 104; and his very unphilosophical way of accounting for the swelling of the Nile; in which he talks of the sun's being driven out of his course, &c. Euterpe, 24.

It appears also, that he did not believe that the earth was of a globular form; which alone was sufficient to lead him into great errors. Says he, Melpom. 36. "I cannot but think it exceedingly ridiculous to hear some men talk of the circumference of the earth, pretending, without the smallest reason or probability, that the ocean encompasses the earth; that the earth is *round*, as if mechanically formed so; and that Asia is equal to Europe." Again, Melpom. 42, although he believed that the ships of *Nebao* had circumnavigated Africa, yet it appeared incredible to him, that during the voyage they should have had the sun on their *right hand*. All

which arose from his ignorance in matters of science. But where-soever he speaks of history, or of morals, he fails not to give information and satisfaction : these being his proper walks.

We could with pleasure dwell on this subject, if the scope of our work permitted it ; for the justice and propriety of his remarks on matters of common life, prove his observation to be very acute, and his judgment no less clear. But we cannot resist the temptation of inserting the following remarks, at this time, as they shew the strong contrast between a virtuous republican of Greece, and a modern republican, formed on a Gallic model. And yet no one can doubt that the permanent comfort and happiness of the human species, were to the full, as much the object of the former, as of the latter.

Speaking of the atrocious conduct of Cambyses in Egypt, he says, " For my own part, I am satisfied that Cambyses was deprived of his reason ; he would not otherwise have disturbed the sanctity of temples, or of established customs. Whoever had the opportunity of choosing for their observance, from all the nations of the world, such laws and customs as to them seemed best, would, I am of opinion, after the most careful examination, adhere to their own. Each nation believes that their own laws are by far the most excellent ; no one therefore, but a madman, would treat such prejudices with contempt." *Thalia*, 38.

These are the sentiments of a republican, who, in order to enjoy a greater degree of civil liberty, quitted his native city Halicarnassus, when its system of laws was violated by the tyrant Lygdamis.\*

\* He has also the following remark, in his description of Egypt.

" It seems to be an established prejudice, even amongst nations *the least refined*, to consider mechanics and their descendants in the lowest rank of citizens ; and to esteem those as the most noble, who were of no profession ; annexing the highest degrees of honour to the exercise of arms. This idea prevails *throughout Greece*, but more particularly at Lacedæmon ; the Corinthians, however, do not hold mechanics in disesteem." *Euterpe*, 167.

The most extraordinary of his errors, as being so directly contrary to what appears to the most common observer, is the story of the *vertical* sun in the *morning*: but it is possible that the story may be accounted for, satisfactorily; though not altogether to the credit of our Author's knowledge. He says,

“ In distinction from all other nations, the heat with these people (the Indians) is greatest, not at *mid-day*, but in the *morning*. They have a *vertical* sun, *when with us, people withdraw from the Forum*; during which period the warmth is more excessive than the *mid-day* sun in Greece.” *Thalia*, 104.

The time when the *Forum* was *full*, is fixed by the best authorities, at nine in the morning; and although we have no idea of the hour when the people retired from it, yet, the context considered, it must be supposed to be at a considerable distance short of noon; it being in some degree *contrasted* with it, by our Author.

Is not this very extraordinary misapprehension, occasioned by the neglect of reducing the *time* to the *meridian* of the place? For, by the difference of longitude between Greece (or perhaps Ionia might be meant) and hither India, it would certainly happen, that when it was nine o'clock in Greece, it would be about noon on the banks of the Indus.

If Herodotus could have been made to believe that the earth was *round*, it is probable that he would not have fallen into this error, occasioned perhaps, by a story, literally true, but maliciously told him by one who believed that the earth was globular, but could not persuade Herodotus that it was so. And we have already remarked that he says, “ I cannot but think it exceedingly ridiculous to hear some men talk,” &c.

His geographical notices are scattered throughout his work; and would, according to Mr. Beloe's observation, fill a volume. They are ever placed where they may best serve to elucidate the parts of the history, to which they respectively belong; and not with a view to an abstract system of geography. It is not there-

fore to be inferred that he was ignorant of any particular subject of geography, because he omits to descant on it; history, and not geography, being his principal object. We have endeavoured to collect all the scattered notices, into one point of view, in order to make them bear on, and illustrate each other, in a kind of system; it being only by a reference to these notices collectively, that any kind of system can be made out. As a geographer, he had an advantage over the generality of his brethren, in that he had *seen* the countries which he *most* particularly describes; that is, *Egypt, Scythia, Thrace, Persia, Assyria, Lydia, Palestine, Syria, &c.* That he visited these, we learn from his own authority, in different parts of his work; as in *Euterpe throughout*, but particularly in chapters 3, 29, 44, 104, 106, and 167: *Clio*, 194; and *Melpom.* 86.

It has appeared, that Herodotus doubts whether the ocean completely encompasses the earth; but he admits that it surrounds it on *three* sides. For, speaking of the Caspian sea, as being unconnected with all others, (in effect a lake) he says, that the *Erythrean* sea, and the one *frequented* by the *Greeks*, as well as the *Atlantic*, are parts of the *same ocean*; *Clio*, 203: and as he also says, *Melpom.* 13, 36, that the Hyperboreans, whom he places to the northward of the Scythians and Issedones, EXTENDED TO THE SEA; this is saying, in other words, that the sea bordered on, and confined *Europe and Asia* on the *north*. We have here then, in express terms, a *north*, a *south*, and a *west* sea; but no *eastern* sea; so that he considered the eastern part of the world, as composed of *land* only: for he says, that "the Indians are the *last* nation towards the *east*; and that beyond them is a *vast desert*, unknown and unexplored." *Melpom.* 40. Again he says, *Melpom.* 8, "They affirm, without proving it, that the *ocean*, commencing at the *east*, flows round the *earth*."

The geography of Herodotus consists almost entirely of a series of relative positions of countries, to each other; but without distances or dimensions, except in certain instances. Hence, we can

only refer to those ideas of *juxtaposition*, the measures given by succeeding geographers; particularly Eratosthenes and Strabo, whose ideas of relative position seem to have differed but little from those of our Author: for we clearly discover his principal errors perpetuated in the systems of those geographers. Wherefore, reasoning from analogy, it may be inferred, that the dimensions of countries, and regions, given generally by *them*, were those extant in the days of Herodotus; save only such as were corrected by the materials furnished by the expedition of Alexander; which expedition, besides the *eclat* of the military history belonging to it, furnished in Greece and Egypt, an *epoch* of geographical improvement and correction, which may not unaptly be compared with that of the discoveries of the Portugueze, along the coasts of Africa and India; or of that of the present time, in which geography has been improved in every quarter of the globe.

But, in effect, the expeditions of Alexander and of Xenophon, how fruitful soever in geographical notices, in *detail*, did not afford materials for correcting the former errors of the Greeks, respecting some of the most important relative positions, in the *gross*: as for instance, the Caspian sea was supposed by Herodotus to be *opposite* to the coast of the Persian *Ichthyophagi*; and the sea of Colchis to that of Persia: and these errors existed not only in the days of Herodotus, but continued to those of Eratosthenes and Strabo, also. The cause of their perpetuation will be shewn in the sequel.

His ideas of the proportional extent of the known parts of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, were very defective: for he reckoned the two latter much too small, in respect of Europe. But it is again to be remarked, that succeeding geographers, down to Pliny inclusive, ran into the same kind of error, and even to a greater degree: for instance, the *Europe* of Eratosthenes and Strabo, exceeded in their ideas, the parts of *Asia* known to *Herodotus*: and those of *Africa*, in a yet greater degree. Pliny erred yet more in his proportions. Ptolemy was the first who approached the truth, in giving the

*relative proportions* of the known regions of the globe, although the *absolute* measures in longitude given by him, were in excess to a degree perfectly unaccountable: whilst the errors of his predecessors, although in excess likewise, appear to be so, only in the proportion which the distance by the *road*, or by the coasting voyage of a ship, exceeds that by the *direct* line. And this seems indeed, to point out the source of many of their errors.

Another error of Herodotus was, his taking the *Isthmus* of Asia Minor, much too narrow. A like error, but in a greater degree, appears to have arisen in his estimation of the *breadth* of Arabia; which is inferable from his statements of the respective positions of Egypt and Cilicia; Colchis, and the Persian gulf; an error also perpetuated by succeeding geographers: for Pliny, lib. vi. c. 28, compares the Peninsula of Arabia, to that of Italy, not only in *form*, and *position*, but in point of *size* also! Thus the most *prominent features* of this geography, as far as we can collect from the records of the times, did not *greatly* vary, from the days of Herodotus, to those of Pliny.

In so ancient a book, one must not be surprised at finding corruptions in the numerals, or even in the proper names. With respect to the first, we sometimes find them false, in places where a knowledge of the ground, affords the means of detecting them: and hence, the same may be inferred in other places, where, through want of the requisite information, they escape detection. As to names, it appears that they are more correct, than one had a right to expect. It is however, certain, that in the account of the Persian Satrapies, certain names occur, that cannot be referred to any particular position. Some of these may have been lost, altogether, in subsequent times; as there is an instance in that of the *Caspian's* country, whose name was grown obsolete before the time of Strabo. Others may have been corrupted; and others again were probably no more than names of the principal cities of the several countries, applied to the countries themselves; a custom very prevalent in the East, to the great confusion of history, and of geography. But, on

the whole, during the interval of five or six centuries, between Herodotus and Ptolemy, the names do not appear to have undergone much change.

The scope of the geographical knowledge of our Author may be briefly comprized in the following description :

Of EUROPE and ASIA, collectively, the northern boundary was the ocean, whose shore was supposed to continue from the south of the Baltic, eastward; and perhaps touching the parallel of 60°. On the north-east, the mountains of *Altai*, at the head of the Irtish river, and the country of the Oigurs or Yugures, which is far advanced within Great Tartary, seem to have terminated his knowledge; and on the east, the great sandy deserts of Tartary, and the country of India; but of this last, his ideas appear to have been the most indistinct possible, both in respect of its extent, and of its history. The Peninsula of India is darkly pointed out by the tract which extends very far to the south of Persia, and whose inhabitants are black; but it is given under too confined limits.

The eastern extremity of Herodotus's world, was a vast Desert, *unknown* and *unexplored*, and consequently in extent, *indefinite*. The remainder he *knew* to be surrounded by the ocean; including AFRICA, which he confined within limits which were very much narrower than the truth, both in respect of its length and breadth; although much wider than appear in the systems of other geographers.

In the discussion of this subject, we shall treat the three divisions of EUROPE, ASIA, and AFRICA, according to our Author's distribution of their space, in the order here mentioned: adding thereto a particular description of the 20 Satrapies of Persia, according to the arrangement of DARIUS HYSTASPES. These last, comprized a great proportion of the known part of the world, at that day. But before we enter finally on the discussion of the geography, it may be proper to ascertain what portion of distance was intended by the *itinerary* stade of the Greeks, since their geography appears to have been regulated by this scale.



## SECTION II.

CONCERNING THE ITINERARY STADE OF THE GREEKS, FROM THE  
DATE OF HERODOTUS.

*The Grecian Stade often confounded with the Roman—appears to have varied, only with the Judgment of the Individuals who computed the Distances—Examples cited from Herodotus, Pausanias, Xenophon, Eratosthenes, Strabo, Polybius, Pliny, and Arrian—receives Confirmation from a Comparison with the mean Marches of Armies—Paces, the elementary Part of Itinerary Measures; and the Stade probably formed originally; of a Hundred of these.*

THOSE who have entered into the question concerning the length of the Grecian Stade, have expressed the difficulties they have experienced in attempting to reconcile the different standards that present themselves, under one and the same denomination of STADE. In common acceptation we find a stade commensurate to a furlong; which idea is applied to all the stades of antiquity, whether Grecian or Roman, without considering whether the same standard, as well as denomination, was indifferently used by both nations.

This error may probably be traced to the Roman authors, who, in all cases where they have made use of Grecian materials in geography, have reckoned 8 stades to a Roman mile; an error, however, natural enough, as it appears that they had a stade of their own, of that standard, and might suppose that the Grecian itinerary stade was of the same kind: for it has not been found an easy task to appreciate the standards of foreign itinerary measures at any rate; and the authors in question, who wrote from books, and not from actual observation of the standards themselves, were the least likely of any to appreciate them rightly.

It is foreign to our purpose to enter into an inquiry concerning

any other stade, than the one applied to *itinerary* purposes by the Greeks: and we conceive that this measure, did not, in effect, vary in its *standard*, but that the different results arising from the comparison of the numbers of stades, with the ground on which they were computed, are to be ascribed to the difference of judgment amongst the individuals who made the computations; (we say *computations*, because it may be supposed that the distances were, in very few instances, measured:) for the *greatest* difference that arises amongst the several authors, taking the mean of the examples furnished by each respectively, is about a *fourteenth* part, and that in one instance alone; but the more *common* difference is only a *twenty-fourth* part.

Some have endeavoured to account for these differences, from the different ages in which the measures were employed: but this does not hold, for some of the measures reported by Herodotus, agree with those reported by Strabo, several centuries afterwards; whilst those of the same age frequently differ.\* Many of the

\* It must however be admitted, that in the Periplus of Scylax, which was written before the time of our Author, the numbers appear greater, than in later authors; but whether this arose from ignorance of the true distances, or from an alteration of standard, may perhaps be disputed. We should rather believe the former cause, otherwise an alteration of  $\frac{1}{3}$  must have taken place, between the time of Scylax, and that of Strabo. For instance, the Island of *Crete*, is said by Scylax,† to be 2500 stades in length; but by Sosicrates, 2300;‡ and by Strabo, 2000.§ It is somewhat less than 150 geographical miles, (or those of 60 to a degree) or about 1800 of Strabo's scale, (700 to a degree.) Possibly the indentations of the coast, may make up the 2000. Sicily is also said by Scylax to be 2500 stadia on *each* side.|| Its length is indeed only about 10 miles greater than Crete, which appears at first sight to countenance the idea of a shorter stade; but when it is recollected that the east side of Sicily is  $\frac{1}{3}$  shorter than the other two, although the three sides are said by Scylax to be equal; it must be allowed that no dependance can be placed on the statement of numbers. At all events, it is to be recollected that our inquiry has no reference to any date anterior to Herodotus.

† Scylax, in Hudson's Min. Geog. Vol. i. page 18, and 56.

‡ Strabo, p. 474.

§ Ib. p. 106.

|| Scylax, p. 4.

numbers are, indeed, out of reason; and others absurd: but, in such cases, one ought rather to suppose a corruption of the text, than look for a diversity of standards, in the same denomination of itinerary measure; and in so small a state as Greece.

It is certain that Herodotus *describes* the stade as a measure of 600 Grecian feet,\* which require about 600 to make a degree; but this appears to be the Olympic stade, which is valued by M. D'Anville at  $94\frac{1}{2}$  toises.† There is, however, no testimony concerning the application of this stade to itinerary purposes: on the contrary, every portion of distance, as well throughout Herodotus's history, as of the writings of other Greeks, appears, on a reference to the ground itself, to be measured by a stade of a much shorter standard; most of them rising *above* that of Xenophon, which is of 750 to a degree, but falling *below* that of Strabo, which is of 700. But although the Olympic stade was not used by Herodotus, it appears very clearly that he made use of *more than one* standard of itinerary stade; for the result of his numbers gives a much longer standard in *Greece, Asia Minor, and Persia*, than in *Egypt* and the *Euxine sea*. Whether this difference was the effect of design, or of misconception, cannot with certainty be known; but it was probably from the latter; as his silence might lead us to suppose that he had no more than one kind of stade in contemplation. It is important to observe, that the former agrees nearest with those of Xenophon, Eratosthenes, and Strabo, and in particular with that resulting from the calculation on the *mean* marches of armies; than which, perhaps, nothing can be more to the purpose, in the matter of approximation; since the *mean motion* of armies forms a kind of *natural and universal scale*, in all places, and at all times; of which more in the sequel.

\* Dr. Arbuthnot reckons the Grecian foot at 12,0875 of our inches.

† Mes. Itin. page 70. In Euterpe, c. 149, Herodotus says that a Stade is composed of 100 *orgyia*, each of 6 feet. Again, in Melpomene, c. 41, 100,000 *orgyia* are said to be equal to 1000 stades.

One must surely conclude that Herodotus was well informed respecting the itinerary measures of his country ; and therefore an example of it, given on one of the most celebrated communications in Greece, namely, that between Athens and Pisa (Olympia) ought, if the numbers are not corrupted, to be taken as decisive.\* This gives a ratio of 755 stades to a degree.\* But, on the other hand, *Pausanias*,† gives the measure of the road between *Sparta* and *Pisa*, on which there arises a ratio of 707. It will be found in the sequel, that the former result agrees very nearly with the stade of Xenophon, the latter with that of Strabo.

In a second example furnished by Herodotus, and that on an exceeding long line of distance, being the whole extent between *Sardis* and *Susa*, 13,500 stadia, the result, when due allowances are made for the inflections of the road (as in other cases), is 694 and a fraction.‡ But this may be liable to exception, as it appears

\* Herodotus says, *Euterpe*, c. 7, "The distance betwixt *Heliopolis* (in Egypt) and the sea, is nearly the same, as from the altar of the 12 Deities, at Athens, to the shrine of Jupiter Olympus at Pisa. The distance from Pisa to Athens wants precisely 15 stadia of 1500, which is the exact number of stadia, between Heliopolis and the sea."

The direct distance on D'Anville's Map of Greece is 105 G. miles. If  $\frac{1}{2}$  be added for winding, the road distance will be 118, which gives 755 to a degree.

N. B. It is worthy of remark, that notwithstanding this positive statement, and comparison, the distance betwixt Heliopolis and the sea is no more than 80 G. miles direct ; as will appear in the sequel.

† D'Anville *Mes. Itin.* p. 76, quotes Pausanias, *Eliac. II.* who says, that the distance betwixt a certain column in Olympia, and another in Sparta, is 660 stades. On the map, this distance is 50 G. miles, or 56 by the road, giving a rate of 707 to a degree. The Theodosian table has 61 MP. only ; equal to about 49 G. miles by the road.

‡ This occurs in *Terpsichore*, c. 52. It is said that the road between *Sardis* and *Susa* is of the extent of 450 parasangas, each of 30 stades: that is, an aggregate of 13,500 stades. The distance on the map, taken through the points of *Issus* and *Mosul*, to *Sus*, (supposed to be *Susa*) is 1120 G. miles, from which results a proportion of 723 $\frac{1}{2}$  to a degree. But as this is calculated on *exceeding long* lines of distance, it requires that some addition should yet be made to the 1120 miles, in order to

to be founded on the *relative proportions* of the Persian parasanga and the Grecian stade; the former of which is valued by Herodotus, Erato; c. 42, as well as by Xenophon, Anabasis, lib. 2, at 30 stades. It may justly be doubted whether any parasanga was of so short a standard as the one reported by Xenophon; and it is certain that the modern *farsang*, which represents it, is universally of a longer standard, and bears a much nearer proportion to the parasanga of Herodotus, than to that of Xenophon, if compared with the ground itself.\* At the same time, Xenophon travelled over the ground which he describes; and Herodotus, no doubt, took his account from hearsay: and from a view of the whole matter, one would certainly be led to conclude that Herodotus deduced his number of stades from the number of parasangas reported to him; and that the Grecian general (Clearchus) kept the account of his marches in stades, which Xenophon turned into parasangas, at the rate of 30 to each. It may be remarked on this occasion, that comparisons between Itinerary measures of different countries, have commonly been made inaccurately, even by persons,

arrive at the measure of the road distance; although that road may be supposed to have been made straighter than ordinary ones in that country; since it not only formed the grand communication between *Asia Minor, Cilicia, and Persia*, but was styled the *Royal Road*, and was divided into *stathmi* of about the length of the ordinary march of an army, terminated by inns or caravanserais of great magnificence, for the use of the king. Probably  $\frac{1}{3}$  may be required, in addition to the inflections already allowed, on occasion of its passing through Issus and Mosul; and then the proportion will be 694 or 695 to a degree; falling short of that between Athens and Pisa, by about  $\frac{1}{3}$  part.

\* It appears that Taverniere reckoned 282 farsangs between Kandahar and Ispahan, on a line of 683 G. miles; giving a result of

|   |       |        |   |  |
|---|-------|--------|---|--|
| Forster on 229 farsangs to 571 miles, in Korasan          | -     | 2,339  | } | to each farsang<br>in direct distance. |
| Chardin and Olearius, on 82 farsangs to 252 miles between | -     | 2,496  |   |  |
| Casbin and Ispahan  | -     | 3,055  |   |  |
|   | Mean. | 2,630  |   |  |
| Herodotus   | -     | 2,489  |   | on 450.                                |
| But Xenophon only   | -     | 2,143. |   |  |

from whom accuracy might have been expected. Fractions occur, and these are neglected; or an even number of elementary parts is taken, when an odd number approaches nearer to the truth. Thus the Indian coss is compared by Thevenot to half a French league, although it be little less than two of our miles. We could adduce many other instances. It appears that no less than  $33\frac{1}{2}$  stades of those of 718 to a degree (which is the result of our inquiries into the length of the *mean* stade) are required to make up a parasanga of the scale arising on the 450 stated by Herodotus between Sardis and Susa, when reduced to road distance: for these being in direct distance nearly  $2\frac{1}{2}$  G. miles each,\* cannot well be less than 2,8 by the road, when an eighth is allowed for inflections. And it is highly probable that instead of 13,500 stades between Sardis and Susa, it should have been 15,000, or thereabouts: that is, 450 multiplied by  $33\frac{1}{2}$  instead of 30.

In Egypt, and in the Euxine sea, the stade of Herodotus falls so low, that it is evidently meant for something different from the Greek stade: since no less than 1001 to a degree, are required in the first instance; 1032 in the latter.† To us it appears that in respect of Egypt, the cause arises from his having taken the *schæne* one third *above* its real standard; that is, at 60 stades, instead of 40, as it really appears to be. For, in describing the dimensions of Egypt, he gives them in *schænes*, and then reduces them to stades, at the rate of 60, to a schoene, Euterpe 6, and 9. We have

\* Critically 2,489.

† Examples in Egypt.

- |   |        |      |      |   |      |
|---|--------|------|------|---|------|
| 1. Between Heliopolis and the sea, 80 G. miles direct, or about 90 by the road, is given at 1500 stadia, Euterpe 7. | Result | -    | -    | - | 1000 |
| 2. Coast of Egypt, 3600 stadia, Euterpe 6, distance 195 G. miles.   | Result | 1108 |      |   |      |
| 3. Heliopolis to Thebes, 4860 stadia, Eut. 9, distance by the road 312  |        | 935  |      |   |      |
| General mean on 9960 stades to 597 G. miles   |        | -    | 1001 |   |      |

Example in the Euxine sea.

From the *entrance* to the river *Phasis*, 11,100 stades, distance by coasting navigation 645 G. miles, Melpom. c. 85. Result - - - 1032.

given a number of examples in the notes: and there appears not the shadow of a doubt that a schoene consisted of 40 stades, or about 4 Roman miles.\*

There is another circumstance in proof of the like error, in his allowing more than 6000 stades between *Thebes* and the *sea*, whilst Eratosthenes allowed 5000 only for the difference of parallels, between *Syene* and *Alexandria*. And again, in assigning 2400 stades to the breadth of the Delta, (40 schoenes) whilst Eratosthenes, Pliny, and Strabo, severally allow no more than 1300, 1360, and 1500.†

\* In the Antonine Itin. p. 152, a station named *Pentascænon*, occurs between Mount *Casius* and *Pelusium*, and is of 20 MP. agreeing to about 7 stades to a schoene. In Isidore of Charax, Hudson's *Minor Geog.* Vol. ii. the schoene turns out equal to about 4 MP. also. Pliny says, lib. 12, c. 14, that Eratosthenes reckons it 40 stadia, equal to 5 MP. but that some allow 32 only. Doubtless the authority of Eratosthenes may be followed.

There is also an example in Herodotus himself, between *Heliopolis* and the *sea*. The distance he says, *Euterpe* 7, is 1500 stadia (probably deduced from 25 schoenes of 60 stades each.) The distance is 80 G. miles direct, equal to 100 Roman miles: so that the schoenes should be 4 Roman miles each, or about 40 stades, instead of 60; and the whole distance 1000 stades of those of 750 to a degree. Add for the probable windings of the road, and we have 1125 stades of the same standard. Now, according to the proportion of the road from *Athens* to *Pisa*, the 80 G. miles give about 1130 stades of 755 to a degree. Is not this conclusive, respecting his error of reckoning 60 stades instead of 40, to a schoene: and does not this account for the scale of his stade in Egypt?

† In *Euterpe*, c. 9, Herodotus reckons about 9 days for the voyage from *Heliopolis* to *Thebes*, which gives 540 stades, or 50½ of our miles per day, had the stades been of the Grecian standard. This rate is, however, out of all rule: and it is probable that 19 days, or thereabouts, were originally written. Norden was about 19 days, in ascending the Nile from *Cairo* to *Thebes*, in December, a very favourable season, which may reduce the rate to 22 or 24 British miles by the course of the river; and agrees to the ordinary rate of progress in other great rivers. But it is to be understood, that the voyage was made in a boat of a considerable size.

It is certain that the use of a similar standard in the Euxine sea, cannot be accounted for, in the same manner, unless it be supposed that Herodotus visited that sea in an Egyptian ship, in which the reckoning would naturally have been kept in schoenes. But perhaps there may be more colour for this supposition, than appears at first sight, for as Herodotus says, *Melpom.* 86, speaking of his own voyage in the Euxine, that in a long day, a ship will sail through the space of 700 stadia; which, at the rate of 718 to a degree (the result of our inquiries) are equal to  $58\frac{1}{2}$  miles; whilst his own statements, in the other parts of his history, as well as the uniform testimony of the ancients, limit the mean rate of sailing of their ships, to about 37 G. miles per day (say 450 stadia);\* it is clear that a measure very different from the ordinary stade must be meant, when 700 are given: and as the mean rate of sailing, bears nearly the same proportion to the rate described in the Euxine, as the true measure of the schoene, to that calculated on by Herodotus, it is very probable that the schoene furnished the ground of calculation *here*, as well as in Egypt. Certain it is, that the measure of the stade, in Egypt and the Euxine, differs from his statement of it elsewhere; as well as from the statements of others; and that in so great a degree, that if the stade is really meant in all places, we shall be obliged to charge Herodotus with inconsistency; a charge that can by no means be ordinarily imputed to him.

In our estimation of the stade of Herodotus, we shall therefore lay out of the question what regards Egypt and the Euxine, as being apparently involved in error, and confine the question to the examples given in every other part; that is, in Greece; on the road from Sardis to Susa; on the interval between the mouth of the Danube and that of the Borysthenes; and finally to the number of

\* See article "*Sailing of ancient ships*," in the Index.



stades said to compose an ordinary march of an army. These, then, give a ratio of 732, to a degree of a great circle.\*

The stade resulting from the marches of Xenophon, furnishes much satisfaction in respect of itself, as it may be checked, not only by the scale of the mean march, but also by the Jerusalem Itinerary, over part of the ground; and no less by the computations of the same distance by modern travellers. The ordinary march of Xenophon, was 150 stades, (the same length as is allowed by Herodotus,) and which, according to the practice of the Greeks, (whether right or wrong,) they both supposed to be equal to 5 Persian parasangas.

The Jerusalem Itinerary has 45 MP. between *Tarsus* and *Mansista*, on the river *Pyramus* † (the *Mopsuestia* of more ancient times, and the *Messis* of our own.) Within this space, Xenophon, with the younger Cyrus, made 3 marches, which he reckons equal to 15 parasangas, and these equal to 450 stades. ‡ So that here are just 150 stades in each march, and these equal to 15 Roman miles; consequently there are 10 stades to each mile, or 750 to a degree; since M. D'Anville has shewn that 75 such miles are equivalent to that portion of the meridian. §.

Again, between *Dana* (which is no doubt the *Tyana* of the Itinerary) and *Tarsus*, Xenophon reckons 25 parasangas, || and the Itinerary 75 MP.; \*\* consequently, 750 stades to a degree.

\* Summary of the examples given by Herodotus, in Greece, Asia, &c.

|  |   |   |   |   |      |     |
|--|---|---|---|---|------|-----|
| 1. Between Athens and Pisa   | - | - | - | - | -    | 755 |
| 2. ——— Sardis and Susa   | - | - | - | - | -    | 695 |
| 3. ——— Danube and Borysthenes  | - | - | - | - | -    | 727 |
| 4. The scale of the ordinary march, which is about 14 B. miles, or 15 MP. whilst 150 stadia are stated to be an ordinary march, by Herodotus, Terpsichore, ch. 53, and 54. (Xenophon has the same) | - | - | - | - | -    | 750 |
|  |   |   |   |   | Mean | 732 |

† Itinerary, page 580.

‡ Anabasis, lib. 1.

§ Mes. Itin. P. 44, et seq.

|| Anab. lib. 1.

\*\* Itinerary, P. 577, et seq.

The result of our inquiries into the length of the *mean* marches of armies, gives rather above 14 B. miles,\* which may be reckoned 15 Roman miles. So that the ordinary march of Xenophon, agrees with the calculation of the ordinary march, at large. And having thus ascertained the distance marched through in a day, by Xenophon, we of course ascertain the length of his stade, which was the 150th part of 15 MP. or the 750th part of a degree. It has appeared that the result of the calculation, on the road from *Athens* to *Pisa*, comes very near to the present one; being 755.

It is proper to add, that modern travellers calculate at a medium the distance between Tarsus and the river Pyramus, at  $48\frac{1}{2}$  B. miles; whilst about  $41\frac{3}{4}$  are equivalent to the 45 MP. of the Itinerary. And also that, by the assumption of one point for the *Syrian gates*, and another for *Issus*, which is doubtless the *Öseler* (to be pronounced *Usseler*) of Niebuhr, the comparison of Xenophon's route with the Itineraries,† and with the computations of the distance, may be extended in the gross, 20 parasangas beyond the Pyramus; making in all, 105 MP.; with the same success as in the former interval. And we may add, that in every part of Asia, where we can trace the footsteps of this IMMORTAL General, we find the same proportional scale of 750 to a degree.

The stade of Aristotle, valued at 1111 to a degree, we regard purely as an imaginary measure, and conceive that it was founded

\* This march, reduced to horizontal, or direct, distance, for geographical purposes, is about 10,6 G. miles. The stathmus mentioned by Herodotus (see above, p. 17, notes) between Sardis and Susa, comes out 10,5; no doubt intended for an ordinary march.

The mean march of Xenophon from Natolia to Trebizonde is about 15 B. miles, but then the marches during his retreat were often much longer than on occasions of ordinary warfare. Five parasangas, or 15 MP. is his ordinary march; and which occurs in almost every page. The mean of 95 *measured* marches of *Indian* armies (no Europeans with them) was 14,6: or say  $14\frac{1}{2}$  B. miles.

† Meaning both the *Antonine* and *Jerusalem* Itineraries. See in the first, page 145, *et seq.*; the latter, p. 580, 581.

on certain supposed dimensions of the globe; which dimensions, having been found erroneous, in excess, the moderns have diminished the *standard* of the stade, instead of lessening the *number* of stades in a degree. We are therefore surprised to find it employed, in the application to actual geography, in very late times.

Eratosthenes and Strabo allow 700 stades to a degree, in their calculations of distance; but it appears that, (in Asia particularly) they often substituted the *road distance*, perhaps the marches of Alexander, for *direct* distance. This appears clearly by comparing the actual distances, as they appear in modern geography, with the numbers of stades given; for, in most cases, across the continent of Asia, the deficiency of distance amounts to the difference between the measure of the *direct* line, between any two places, and that of the *road* distance, between them. Nothing can speak more strongly to this point, than the circumstance of Strabo's giving the number of stades in Nearchus's coasting navigation, for the *length* of the coasts of Persia and Caramania.

Eratosthenes, as a Grecian, should have known the true value of a stade; a Grecian Itinerary measure: and, as a geographer, he ought to have known that it was necessary to make a distinction between *road* distance and *horizontal* distance. The same may be said of Strabo; but as we find no indication of any such distinction having been made; but, on the contrary, that the road distance agrees nearest to the number of stades (of the scale of 700 to a degree) used to express the extent of the countries, through which the roads lead, we may suspect that neither of them had ever been in the habit of constructing tabular geography; without which, no accurate idea of extent and juxtaposition can well be conceived, or expressed.

One might conclude, that, as 700 was the number fixed on, originally, by Eratosthenes, as the measure of a degree of a great circle, that this was the established standard at that day, in Greece, or Macedonia: for this principle was actually adopted, in the

determination of that portion of the meridian, between the parallels of *Syene* and *Rhodes*, about  $12\frac{1}{3}$  degrees; in which the 8750 stades of Eratosthenes, and the 8600 of Strabo, afford a mean *ratio* of  $703\frac{1}{4}$  to a degree of the meridian.\* But nothing is more certain than that Strabo, if his text be not corrupted in this place, supposed that a Roman mile contained no more than 8, or at the utmost  $8\frac{1}{3}$  stadia; for in page 322, he reduces a large number of MP. into stades; first at the rate of 8, seemingly on his own judgment; and afterwards says, that if the opinion of Polybius is to be followed,  $\frac{1}{3}$  of a stade must be added, as he has allowed  $8\frac{1}{3}$  to a MP. It is certain that  $8\frac{1}{3}$  of the Olympic stades of 600 feet are equal to 5000 feet, or 1000 paces, the Roman mile: but it is as certain, that, the standard of Strabo, which, as we have seen, is invariably of 700 to a degree, required  $9\frac{1}{3}$  to make a Roman mile. How then can we reconcile such a difference, in a matter so plain and simple? Is it not more probable that in the copies of Strabo, 8 has been substituted for 9, than that he should himself have been guilty of so palpable an error? But it will even appear, that, whatsoever the *opinion* of Polybius may have been (and, by the bye, the passage referred to, by Strabo, must have occurred in a part of the works of Polybius which is now lost) his own examples of distance will be found to give about  $9\frac{1}{3}$  stades to a Roman mile, agreeing with the standard of Strabo.†

\* Eratosthenes and Strabo allow 5000 stades between the parallels of *Syene* and *Alexandria*: and between those of *Alexandria* and *Rhodes*, Eratosthenes has 3750, Strabo, 3600; Strabo, p. 114, 115, 116. *Syene* appears to be in about  $24^\circ$  lat. *Alexandria* in  $31^\circ 11'$ , *Rhodes* in  $36^\circ 20'$ . If the two intervals are taken separately, the first of 5000 stades, on  $7^\circ\frac{1}{2}$ , the ratio is 696: and the second of 3750, and 3600, on  $5^\circ\frac{1}{2}$ , the ratios are respectively  $728\frac{1}{3}$ , and 699. Thus the intervals are not ill proportioned; especially, if Strabo be followed, throughout. Strabo's mean is  $697\frac{1}{4}$ , Eratosthenes,  $709\frac{1}{2}$ ; mean of both  $703\frac{1}{4}$ .

† May it not have been, that the prevalent idea of the proportion of 8 stades to a MP. induced the schoolmen to *supply* a deficiency in the text; and to place an 8, where a 9 had originally stood?

On a review of the lines of distance which form the basis of the geography of Eratosthenes and Strabo, along the Mediterranean, it appears that a greater number than 700, perhaps 710, or even more, are required to make a degree. This seems to shew, that the Greeks had originally fixed on a lower standard than 700; for these lines could only be made up from computations which had existed long before the times of those geographers; and which may be found in part, in the *Periplus of Scylax*. But it clearly appears, from the result of the lines across Asia, and which were obtained from notices collected by Alexander's officers, at a later period, that the stade of 700 was in use with them. And, in effect, the examples adduced from Eratosthenes and Strabo may be said to agree to their established canon of 700; taken at a mean of the whole.

M. D'Anville, in his *Traité des Mesures Itinéraires*, p. 71, and 74, cites two examples in Gaul and Italy, in which the stade of Strabo produces 750; the first on a line of 160, the other of 2800. However, it appears pretty certain, from the great extent of the distances above given, as well as from the stated number set forth by Eratosthenes and Strabo, that not only the standard intended by them, was of 700 to a degree of the meridian, but that the examples collected from them agree to it.\*

\* Examples from ERATOSTHENES and STRABO.

I. Distances in the Mediterranean reckoned chiefly along the coasts.

1. Between the Promontory of *Sacrum* (Cape St. Vincent) and *Canopus* (Abukeir,) through the Strait of Gibraltar, Carthage, &c. ERATOSTHENES reckons 24,500 stadia; see Strabo, lib. i. p. 64. The distance is about 2008 G. miles. Hence arises a ratio of - - - - - 732.

2. Between the *Sacrum* Promontory and *Issus*, through Calpe, Sicily, Crete, and Rhodes, STRABO reckons 27,500 stadia. (See Gosselin, who has collected the particulars, p. 63). The distance is about 2267 G. miles, and gives a ratio of - 728.

3. Between Rhodes and *Issus*, being a portion of the last line, STRABO allows 5000 stadia: p. 106, 125. The distance is 407 G. miles *direct*. Hence arises a ratio of - - - - - 737.

It has been said that Strabo has quoted a *lost* passage in Polybius, to shew that according to his idea,  $8\frac{1}{3}$  stades formed a Roman mile; but that  $9\frac{1}{3}$  is the result of the examples of distance. He says, however, lib. iii. c. 4, that the Romans, having measured cer-

As these very long lines of distance must necessarily be made up of several shorter ones, each of which may have some degree of inflection from the other, it must happen (as in the case of Herodotus's road to Susa) that the number of stades represent much longer lines of distance; in other words, that the ratio must be made up of a smaller number of stades, to any given distance. Perhaps 710 may be fully equal to the proportion; as the 4 next lines drawn across the open sea give  $706\frac{1}{2}$  - 710.

### II. Distances across open seas.

4. Between *Phycus* Promontory in *Cyrenaica*, and that of *Tenarus* in Greece, 2800 stadia. Strabo, p. 837. (Pliny, lib. v. c. 5, has 350 MP. = 2800 stadia also.) The distance is 224 G. miles across; whence a ratio of - - - 750.

5. Between the port of *Cyrene* and *Criu Metopon* in *Crete*, 2000 stadia; Strabo, p. 838; distance 175 G. miles direct: ratio - - - 686.

6. Between the Promontory *Pachynum* in *Sicily*, and *Criu Metopon* in *Crete*, 4500, to 4600 stades, Strabo, p. 106 and 363. The distance 400 G. miles: whence 675 to 690: mean - - - 682½.

7. Between the Promontory of *Samonium* in *Crete*, and *Rhodes*, 1000 stadia; Strabo, p. 106. The distance is 80 G. miles, whence - - - 750.

The mean of the four last, taken collectively at 10,350 stades, to 879 G. miles, is - - - 706½.

### III. (Land Routes.)

8. Between *Issus* and the *Caspian Strait*, see Gosselin, p. 64, is 10,000 stadia. We measure on the map, 760 G. miles direct, which at 700 to a degree, produce only 8860 stades. Hence there is a deficiency of 1140: and it appears that the road distance must have been intended, as  $\frac{1}{8}$  part added, comes within 32 stades, or about 3 miles. If we add to 760, one-eighth, or 95, the sum is 855 G. miles; whence the result will be to a degree - - - 702.

9. Between the Pass of Mount *Zagrus*, and the *Caspian Strait*, Strabo, p. 525, allows 4100 stades. The direct distance is 308 G. miles, equal to 3593 stades of 700 to 1°. If we add to 308, one-eighth, or  $38\frac{1}{2}$  G. miles, the sum is 346 G. miles; and the deficiency will be 58 stades, or about 5 miles. The result - 710.

10. Between the *Caspian Strait* and *Aria* (*Herat*), Strabo, p. 513, allows 6400 stadia. It appears, however, that there is an error, and that the sum should be 5594: for Strabo, p. 514, allows only 4530 between *Aria* and *Hecatompyles*, through which

tain roads in Spain, set up marks at the distance of every eight stadia. No one can well doubt, that these intervals were *Roman miles*: but this is quite contrary to the quotation of Strabo; and one is puzzled what to think of the matter. It would seem, however, that if Polybius' is right, (and in this, Pliny will be found to agree,) the Romans had a stadium of their own, equal to the eighth part of their mile, or 625 Roman feet.

But by a comparison of the numbers of stades, in Polybius, with the ground, a result of 696 appears: by which we can only conclude, that although he describes a stade as the 8th part of a mile, yet that he uses a different standard in giving the extent of countries and roads; and that, apparently, of the ancient Greek *Itinerary* stade; since it approaches so near it: for about 600 of the Roman stades are equal to a degree; whilst his result is 696, or nearly that of Strabo, and Eratosthenes. Here follows the detail:

latter, the road lay, from the Strait; and although he allows 1960, p. 514, between the Strait and Hecatompylos, yet Pliny, lib. vi. c. 15, shortens it to 1064, which indeed agrees to the distance, taking *Damgan* for *Hecatompylos*. The distance is 443 G. miles, to which add  $\frac{1}{3}$  or 55, the sum is 498 G. miles; and the result 675.

11. *Hecatompylos* to *Aria*: (*Damgan* to *Herat*) a portion of the former route. Given at 4530 stadia: distance direct, 365 G. miles. Add  $\frac{1}{3}$ , or 45; total 410. Result 663.

12. Between *Babylon* and the *Sea*. Strabo, p. 80, allows 3000 stadia; but both Pliny and Arrian make it 3300. The direct distance is 259 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; add  $\frac{1}{3}$ , or 32 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; total 292; result 678.

The mean of these five last, collectively, 27,524 stades, to 2401 G. miles, is 688.

|                             |                   |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|
| Sea routes <i>generally</i> | 710               |
| ————— across seas           | 706 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Land routes                 | 688               |
|                             | —————             |
| Mean of all                 | 701 $\frac{1}{2}$ |

It may be added, that a line from the *Troade* to *Chalcedon*, and thence coasting the Euxine, through *Heraclea*, *Carambis*, *Sinope*, *Amisus*, *Trapezus*, and the mouth of the *Phasis*, to *Dioscurias*, producing 864 G. miles, is given by Strabo (collected by Gosselin, in pages 86 and 98) at 10,100 stadia; consequently the rate 701 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

The distances are taken on D'Anville's map.

1. Between the Strait of Gibraltar and the *Phylenian* Altars near *Cyrene*, on more than 16,000 stades; the distance through *Carthage* and the Island of the *Lotophagi* being 1407 G. miles, the result will be - - - - - 682 stades to a degree.

2. Between the aforesaid Strait and the extremity of the *Pyranees*, 8000 stadia; the distance, allowing inflections of the road,  $\frac{1}{8}$  part, 630 G. miles - - - - - 762

3. Between the strait and *Carthagera*, 3000 stades, 259 G. miles - - - - - 695

4. Between *Carthagera* and the river *Ebro*, 2600 stades, 219 G. miles - - - - - 712

5. Between the *Ebro* and *Emporium*, 1600 stades, 152 G. miles - - - - - 632

Mean of all, on 24,000 stadia - - - - - 696

Pliny, as appears by a comparison of his statements with those of the Greeks, invariably reduces *their* stades to Roman miles, at the rate of 8 to a mile. The instances are very many, in which he recounts the measures of roads and countries that occur in the Greek authors. He says, lib. ii. c. 23, that a stade consists of 125 paces, equal to 625 Roman feet. Now as the Grecian stade mentioned by Herodotus (and often called the *Olympic* by succeeding authors) consisted not of 625, but of 600 feet, one must naturally suppose that Pliny meant a *Roman* stade, admitting that such a measure actually existed; (and Dr. Arbuthnot inserts it in his Tables of Roman measures;)\* since it differs so considerably, both from the aforesaid stade described by Herodotus, and from the Itinerary stade.

This supposition will at least give some degree of consistency to Pliny's calculations; since he may have known of no other stade

\* It has also appeared in the foregoing page, that Polybius actually described such a stade on the Roman roads.



than that of 625 feet; 8 of which were really equal to a Roman mile, as he has calculated. And if he had no other knowledge of the Greek stadium (whether *Olympic*, or *Itinerary*) than from books, the mistake might easily enough be made.

The examples that occur in Pliny's statement of distances, give the same results with those of Eratosthenes and Nearchus, respectively; which must of course happen, as he copies their numbers. But following his own standard of 8 to a mile, he made too great a number of miles, out of these stades. However, furnished with the above information, we are enabled to turn them back again into stades, by multiplying by *eight*.

There is one line of distance in Pliny, which occurs no where else, and which is well worth remarking. In lib. vi. c. 24, he says, that "the distance sailed by Nearchus, between the mouth of the Indus and Babylon, was 2500 Roman miles," and these we must suppose, were calculated as usual, at the rate of 8 stades to a mile; so that the original number of stades would have been, of course, 20,000. Now as he also says, that the distance between Babylon and the sea (at the mouth of the Euphrates) was 412 MP. equal to 3296 stades, there remain of course, 16,704 for the distance between the mouths of the two rivers, Indus and Euphrates.

We measure, on the charts of Captains M'Cluer, and Robinson, 1330 G. miles, on the line that Nearchus may have been supposed to trace, in his navigation along the coasts of India, Karmania, and Persia, &c. from the mouth of the Indus to that of the Euphrates;\* and as the number of stades was about 16,700, the number to a degree will be  $753\frac{1}{2}$ . But as the numbers of stades copied from Eratosthenes, were at the rate of 700 to a degree, Pliny's result should be a mean, between that, and  $753\frac{1}{2}$ ; and of course,  $726\frac{3}{4}$ ; say 727.

The stade of Nearchus, collected from the abstract of his journal in Arrian (that is, in the *parts* where we have been able to follow

\* That is, the *ancient* mouth, now named *Chor Abdilla*.

him) is of a standard *somewhat longer* than that arising from Pliny's report of the *whole* distance: for it is at the rate of 729 to a degree. It is certain that a great part of the numbers are corrupted, but there occur, nevertheless, certain portions of distance, amounting in the aggregate, to about 7000 stades (or  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the whole distance sailed), in which the report of Arrian, coincides with that of Strabo, and no less with the actual geography. Within these spaces, then, the mean result is  $729\frac{1}{3}$ , although different portions of it vary from 723, to 778.\* In effect then, the difference between Arrian and Pliny, is far from considerable; and it is rather wonderful, that a ship's reckoning should agree so nearly with the mean ratio of the land routes.†

It appears unnecessary to bring together any more examples, to prove, what was the generally received opinion amongst the Greeks, concerning the length of the stade, in use, as an Itinerary measure: it evidently came between the 700th and 750th part of a degree of a great circle.

If Herodotus is founded, in respect of the number of stades on the road to Susa, it appears, when the distances collected from Strabo and Eratosthenes are added, that the distance across Asia, from *Ephesus* to *Aria*, more than 20,000 stades, was taken at the scale of 700 to a degree, nearly. At the same time, the whole length of the Mediterranean, more than 27,000 stadia, as well as the track of Nearchus, 17,000, together with the march of Xeno-

|   | G. M.             | Arrian's stades. | Result.           |
|---|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| * 1. Between the rivers Indus and Arabius - -   | 65 $\frac{1}{2}$  | 850              | 778               |
| 2. From NE point of <i>Kismish</i> I. to the river <i>Endian</i><br>( <i>Arosis</i> ) - - - - - | 514 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 6200             | 723 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Mean of the aggregate sums -  | 580               | 7050             | 729 $\frac{1}{3}$ |

† The reader will perceive also the near proportions between this stade of Nearchus, and that arising on the routes *through the Mediterranean*, taken at large: Nearchus's being 729, the others from 728 to 737.

phon, and divers portions of roads, in Greece, Spain, Italy, and Gaul, were calculated on a scale between 710 and 750. It is true, that the length and breadth of the Mediterranean, and the trace of Nearchus's voyage, may be regarded as founded on the calculations of seamen; but those seamen must have referred to some particular standard, and commonly sailed too near the land, to be much deceived in their distance. They even knew how to calculate distances in the open sea; for the mean of 4 lines of distance, collectively amounting to 10,350 stades, comes very near to the other proportion.

As the distances along the Mediterranean, must, in the nature of things, have been determined long before those on the continent of Asia, the inference naturally is, that a stade of a *shorter* standard than that of 700, existed in *very early* times: and that, by the recurrence of it, so often, it was deeply imprinted on the minds of the people, although philosophers or princes may have sought to adopt a standard somewhat different.\*

We shall now recapitulate the different results, on examples from the date of Herodotus, inclusive.

|                        |   |   |   |   |                             |  |
|------------------------|---|---|---|---|-----------------------------|--|
| Herodotus              | - | - | - | - | 732                         | } Greatest difference 54, or about $\frac{1}{14}$ th part. |
| Pausanias              | - | - | - | - | 707                         |  |
| Xenophon               | - | - | - | - | 750                         |  |
| Eratosthenes           | - | - | - | - | 700                         |  |
| Strabo                 | - | - | - | - | 700                         |  |
| Polybius               | - | - | - | - | 696                         |  |
| Pliny                  | - | - | - | - | 727                         |  |
| Arrian (from Nearchus) | - | - | - | - | 729                         |  |
| Mean of all            | - | - | - | - | $717\frac{5}{8}$ , or 718.† |  |

\* Such changes have often been attempted, and sometimes effected, by sovereigns. In India, both Acbar, and Shah Jehan, changed the standard of the *coss*, in their regulations, but could never alter the popular opinion respecting it. The old *coss* had been too long established, to allow of a change. See Memoir of Map of Hindoostan.

† Had the proportion been 720, there would have been 12 stades to a geographic mile, 10,36 to a British mile.

This mean stade, in English feet, would be equal to  $505\frac{1}{2}$ . The proportion on the stade of Strabo, of 700 to a degree, would be 524 feet; and on that of Xenophon, of 750, 489 feet; whilst that calculated on the 150th part of a mean march of our scale, would be 493. Thus our mean march agrees to Xenophon's, as 493 to 489: and our mean stade of 718 to that of Xenophon, as  $505\frac{1}{2}$  to 489. The differences are certainly very small.\*

The above examples prove at least, that the stade of 600 Grecian feet, spoken of by Herodotus, and that of 625 Roman feet, by Pliny, *i. e.* of about 600 to a degree, could never have been applied by the *Greeks* to the measurement of roads. For the *longest* of the *Itinerary* stades is  $\frac{1}{7}$  shorter than that of 600 feet: the *shortest* of those measures  $\frac{1}{5}$  less; and the *mean* of all,  $\frac{1}{6}$  less. Had a stade of 600 feet been the standard, the examples would not, surely, have *uniformly* fallen short of it, as we find it does. Nor, on the other hand, would it have risen so far *above* the stade, applied by M. D'Anville and others to the track of Nearchus, and to the measure of ancient Babylon; that is, of 1100 to a degree, had there been any foundation for such a standard.†

With respect to the different lengths of the *Itinerary* stade furnished by these examples, all difficulty concerning their appearance vanishes, when one reflects that the distances in general must have been computed, by land as well as by sea. The *greatest* difference, as we have seen, is about  $\frac{1}{14}$  part: and generally speaking, no more than  $\frac{1}{24}$ th. Such variations ever did, and ever will arise, on computed distances; instances of which, existed on our own public roads, previous to their improvement; and which do yet exist on many of the cross roads. It is probable that Herodotus, Xenophon, Nearchus, Strabo, &c. all intended the same stade, but may have given occasion to different results, by reporting the numbers on the judgment of different persons.

\* 150 stades (the number assigned by Xenophon and Herodotus to a *march*) of  $505\frac{1}{2}$  feet each, are equal to 14,36 B. miles.

† See *Mém. Acad. Insc.* Vol. xxx. and his *Memoir on Babylonia*, in Vol. xxvi.

We should lay more stress on that result, which arises from the ordinary march of the Greeks, as reported by Herodotus, and proved by the journal of Xenophon, to be 150 stades, than on any other *single* authority: more particularly as the scale of *that* march coincides so nearly with the result of our inquiries into the length of the *mean* march, which has been shewn to be rather above 14 road miles of British measure; the 150th part of which, 498, is no more than  $\frac{1}{4}$  feet longer than the stade of Xenophon;  $12\frac{1}{2}$  short of that, arising on the *general mean* of all the authorities. At the same time, the stade of 600 Grecian feet would give the length of a march at no less than 17 miles, which is out of all proportion.\*

It has been observed that the mean stade of 718 to a degree, is somewhat above 500 English feet (that is  $505\frac{1}{2}$ ); and 500 Grecian feet are equal to about  $503\frac{1}{2}$  English.† A pace was no doubt the elementary part of Itinerary measures, amongst the Greeks, as well as other nations; and the natural pace‡ is nearly about 5 feet. Is it not probable that the integral measure, the stade, was made up of 100 of these? and that hence arose the stade of about 500 feet, in ordinary use? Some, we know not on what authority, have fixed the Grecian pace at more than 6 of our feet. But it would appear that they took the *orgyia* for a *pace*, although it seems to have been a *fathom*. D'Anville's *Mes. Itin.* p. 43. It is not probable that any natural pace ever extended to the length of 6 feet, or perhaps to more than five. The Roman pace was 5 of their feet; answering to  $\frac{1}{4}$  feet 10 inches of our measure.

\* See notes to page 22.

† A Grecian foot being equal to 12,0875 English inches. (Arbuthnot.)

‡ Meaning the *double step*, or *return* of the *same* foot.

## SECTION III.

OF EUROPE, ACCORDING TO HERODOTUS.

*The Europe of Herodotus extended far into North Asia — the southern and eastern Parts best known to him — Proof that he knew much more than he describes. — Pointed Description of Thesaly — knew more than Polybius, respecting the North-east Part of Europe; but was ignorant of the North-west Part — Cassiterides, meant for Britain — Celtæ, and Cynæta — Italy, under the Name of Ænotria — Rome, of no Importance in the Politics of Greece, at that Day — Iberia — Course of the Danube — Great Extent of Thrace. — Getæ, one of its Tribes, believe themselves immortal. — Thracian Widows, like those of India, sacrifice themselves. — Distinction of Eastern and Western Scythia.*

IT was the idea of HERODOTUS, that EUROPE very much exceeded in *length*, the other divisions of ASIA and AFRICA; but that it was far inferior in *breadth* to either; and, on the whole, that *Europe* was larger than *Asia*; Melpom. 36, 42, and 45. But he also observes, that the boundaries of Europe had not, to that time, been carefully examined; and that it was by no means certain, whether, on the *east* and *north*, it was limited, or surrounded, by the ocean; Melp. 45. It follows, of course, that whatsoever tracts are described by him to extend towards *those quarters*, from the great body of Europe, taken according to the common acceptation; and which are not classed as belonging to Asia; must necessarily have been reckoned by him a part of Europe.

He adds, that he had endeavoured, but without success, to meet with some one, who, from ocular observation, might describe to him, the sea which washes the western part of Europe; concerning which part, any more than the islands called Cassiterides,

from whence they were said to have their tin, he was unable to speak with decision: \* but that it was nevertheless certain, that both their tin and amber *were* brought from those extreme regions; and the amber in particular, from the river *Eridanus*, which discharged itself into the North sea. On this name *Eridanus*, our Author observes, *Thalia*, 115, that it is certainly of Greek derivation, and not barbarous; and was, as he conceives, introduced by one of their poets. †

Our Author differs from all others, *Procopius* excepted, respecting the eastern boundary of Europe. Others have assigned the *Tanais*, (or *Don*): ‡ but *Herodotus* extends Europe eastward to the utmost bounds of his knowledge; placing Asia rather to the *south*, than to the *east*, of Europe. Accordingly, the Colchian *Phasis* is reckoned by him the common boundary of Europe and Asia, § from the point at which the *Euxine* ceases to form it. Beyond this, the boundary remains indefinite; but may be conceived to pass by the north of the Caspian sea, towards the mountains that give rise to the river *Irtish*; of which more in the sequel, when we enter into the detail of the regions properly belonging to Asia, but which he assigns to Europe.

Of this division of the earth, the parts most familiarly known to him, and to the Greeks of his time, were those situated along the Mediterranean and *Euxine* seas; for the extent of the former, and

\* *Thalia*, 115. His want of information, in this matter, can only be referred to the jealousy of the Phœnicians.

† *Larcher*, quoted by *Mr. Beloe*, observes that “the *Eridanus* here alluded to, could not possibly be any other than the *Rho-daune*, which empties itself into the *Vistula*, near *Dantzic*; and on the banks of which, amber is now found in large quantities.” Such a modification of the name appears very probable.

‡ The *Tanais* divides Asia from Europe, says *Strabo*, p. 310; *Pliny*, lib. iv. c. 12; and *Diodorus*, lib. i. c. 4. Africa is contained between the Nile and the Pillars of Hercules; Asia between the Nile and *Tanais*, says *Polybius*, lib. iii. c. 4.

§ In his specification of the regions of Asia, *Melp. 37, et seq.* the *Phasis* is evidently taken for the boundary of Asia. *Procopius* speaks positively; *Bell. Goth.* lib. iv.

that of Europe along its borders, were very well known, by the frequent voyages made by the Greeks; and from the notices collected from the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, and Egyptians. Herodotus calls it, “*the sea frequented by the Greeks.*” The extent of the western coasts of Europe, must have been known in like manner, by the voyages to and from Tartessus, Gades, the Cassiterides, and the Baltic. Such particulars could hardly have been concealed; nor would a *general* idea of *distance* and *juxtaposition* have enabled a rival to derive much advantage. But there are, however, no notices concerning either the extent of the Mediterranean sea, or of the western coasts of Europe, to be found in our Author: nor indeed, could they be looked for, since such were foreign to the scope of his history. Much less could it be expected that he should enter into a description of the geography of *Greece*, and the surrounding countries; although the *scene* of the glorious events which it is the ultimate purpose of his book to record. The reason clearly is, that he considered himself as speaking to men who were perfectly well informed on the subject: so that, instead of describing the geography of Greece, he even alludes to certain parts of it, as well as of Italy, in order to explain his descriptions of other countries. For instance, in the description of the *Taurian Chersonese*, in Melpom. 99, he refers to certain parts of the coasts of *Attica* and *Magna Græcia*. His descriptions of the country of Thessaly, the Strait of Thermopylæ, and other places, prove how well he had considered the scenes of particular actions: and we shall select, in a note, that of *Thessaly*, as one of the most pointed, clear, and concise imaginable.\*

\* Polymnia, 129. “Thessaly is said to have been formerly a *marsh*, on all sides surrounded by lofty mountains; to the east by *Pelion* and *Ossa*, whose bases meet each other; to the north by *Olympus*, to the west by *Pindus*; to the south by *Othrys*. The space betwixt these is *THESSALY*, into which depressed region many rivers pour their waters, but more particularly these five, the *Peneus*, the *Apidanus*, the *Onochonous*, the *Enipeus*, and the *Pamisus*: all these, flowing from the mountains.



Had he written a system of geography, it would have been unquestionably, his province to describe Greece, &c. : but as a historian, he *refers* to the *known* parts of geography, to illustrate his history; and when the geography was supposed to be unknown to his readers, or not sufficiently generalized, he very properly enters into a description of it.

Since our Author has given no idea of the *extent* of Europe, westward, it is not possible to know what his opinions were, on that subject; that is, *critically*; for it will appear hereafter, in discussing the subject of Africa, that he *seems* to allow an extent of space between *Egypt* and *Mount Atlas*, that agrees generally with the actual geography: but the notices are very far from being positive, and the chain of distance is so often interrupted, that, although much internal evidence arises out of the whole *data*, yet the question by no means admits of direct proof.

There can, however, be no doubt that Herodotus knew, and that critically, the extent of the Mediterranean, and of Europe along its coasts; since it is known from the Periplus of Scylax, written as it may be concluded, long before the days of our Author, that the distances had been estimated generally, throughout the Mediterranean; and along the western coast of Africa, as far as Arguin at least.\* From *this* work then, or from such kind of notices, existing among the maritime powers, on the borders of that sea, it may be conceived that Herodotus formed his ideas of the

which surround Thessaly, into the plain, are till then distinguished by specific names. They afterwards unite in one narrow channel, and are poured into the sea. After their union, they take the name of *Peneus* only. It is said, that formerly, before this aperture to the sea existed, all these rivers, and also the lake Bæbeis, had not, as now, any specific name, but that their body of water was as large as at present, and the whole of Thessaly a sea." The remarks of Xerxes on Thessaly in the succeeding chapter, are worth attention; as is the description of *Thermopylae* in chapter 176.

\* The Periplus of Scylax is supposed to have been written subsequent to the expedition of Hanno, and before the time of Xerxes.

extent of the Mediterranean; of Europe; and of Africa. It may reasonably be concluded that succeeding geographers adopted the same system; gradually correcting it in particular parts, as discovery or improvement furnished new lights towards it. This may be traced in the different statements of the length of the Island of Crete; which, from 2500 stadia in the time of Scylax, was reduced first to 2300 by Sosicrates, and then to 2000, by Strabo. And this latter computation, as may be seen in page 14, comes very near the truth; allowing somewhat for the indentings of the coast. But errors with respect to some grand points of relative position, having remained on the continent of Asia, in the system of Eratosthenes, notwithstanding the notices furnished by the expedition of Alexander, it may be supposed that errors also continued to exist in the Mediterranean. The great source of these errors seems to have been, the difficulty of adjusting any two positions, in respect of a particular meridian, when widely removed in point of parallel; without the aid of celestial observations, or of the magnetic needle.

If Eratosthenes appreciated the extent of the Mediterranean, by the computations which existed in the time of Herodotus, this latter must have reckoned it too long by about a 15th part; for such it appears to be, on a comparison of the number of stades given by Eratosthenes (30,000), between Cape St. Vincent and Issus; allowing a reasonable degree of inflection to the line of distance on which he reckoned.

But Strabo, who allowed no more than 27,500, fell short by a small proportion, *i. e.*  $\frac{1}{64}$  only. We have here calculated on the *mean* stade, arising on the examples before cited; that is, 718 to a degree. It is obvious, that if 700, the proportion assumed by Eratosthenes and Strabo, had been adopted, the error in excess would have been very great indeed: but, it is probable that this standard was assumed, long after the calculations adopted by them, had been formed on a shorter standard. And on the whole, it appears to us,

that Strabo approached nearer to the just measure of the length of the Mediterranean, than any other of the ancient geographers. Ptolemy, strange to tell, was nearly  $\frac{1}{3}$  in excess!

It has been suggested that it was foreign to the plan of our Author's history, to say much concerning the geography of *Western Europe*, had he been well informed concerning it: but, we conceive that he had a very limited knowledge even of its coasts; for Polybius, at a much later period, observes, lib. iii. c. 4, that the part of Europe beyond Spain, bordered by the exterior sea (or Atlantic), "had been but lately discovered, and was possessed by a race of barbarous people. That those parts of Europe lying between *Narbonne* and the *Tanais*, are also unknown; and that the reports concerning them, ought to pass for fable or invention." Now, taking *Narbonne* for that part of France which borders on the Mediterranean, it appears that Polybius, who wrote at about three centuries after Herodotus, was ignorant of *all* the northern and eastern part of Europe: and probably of some parts of it, that were known to Herodotus; for instance, *Scythia* and *Sarmatia*: but it may be inferred that the knowledge of the latter, with respect to the western parts, was not more extensive than that of Polybius. Even to the time of Strabo (admitting that he possessed all the geographical knowledge of his time), the form of the coasts of France and Spain was so little known, that he had no suspicion of the existence of that wide and deep gulf called the Bay of Biscay, and Gulf of Gascony. The ancients appear to have had no name for this singular bay, although every division and almost every corner of the Mediterranean had appropriate names, and in some instances more than one. And so vague were the ideas entertained by Diodorus respecting positions in the Atlantic, that he says, lib. v. c. 2, that the *Cassiterides*, or the Tin Islands, are situated opposite to *Iberia*; or Spain.

After our Author's frank confession of his ignorance respecting the detail of the western coasts of Europe, and of the *Cassiterides*,

it will not be expected that he should have had any idea commensurate to the extent and importance of the British Islands : or that they contained an area equal to Greece and Italy collectively.

It is curious to trace the progress of knowledge respecting this matter, as far as it can be collected from books. Eratosthenes first gave a rude idea of the form of Britain ; but was ignorant of the existence of Ireland. It may indeed be suspected, that Ireland was never known to the Greeks, during the period of their independency ; for no notices concerning it appear, even in Polybius. Strabo knew of the existence of both, ~~but the~~ true form of neither : and in the position of Ireland, he erred so much, as to place it on the *north* of Britain, and at such a distance from it, as to occupy the situation of the Islands of Faro, nearly ; pages 72, 115. He supposed it to be very large : but by placing it so wide of its true position, it may justly be doubted whether the Romans had ever visited it, to that time.\*

Pliny was better informed respecting its situation, for he places

\* Strabo describes its inhabitants to be *completely barbarous* ; pages 115, and 201 ; and its climate to be such, as to be almost uninhabitable, through extremity of *cold*. This fact, perhaps, was *assumed* by those, who assigned it so northerly a position ; since Ireland is known to have a more temperate atmosphere than Germany.

It is to be observed, that the inhabitants of OUR Island are also spoken of by some of the Roman writers, as being not a little barbarous ; Cæsar, in particular, mentions certain customs which are almost too indelicate for belief. In the following passage in Diodorus, lib. v. c. 2, it is not altogether certain, though highly probable, that the *country* intended, is Ireland. The *people* however, are unquestionably *British* ; and therefore a British colony settled in Ireland, should be meant : and indeed Ptolemy places *Brigantes* in Ireland, as well as in England. Diodorus then, speaking of the *Celtæ*, or *Gauls*, and their northern neighbours, says, that they are so fierce and cruel, that it is reported that they *eat men, like the Britons of IRIS* (OR IRIN.)

But the same author, and in the same chapter, gives a very handsome character of the British ; such indeed, as we ought to be proud of, and which we are accustomed to value ourselves on : that of being UPRIGHT and SINCERE. And since he applies this character so pointedly to the people of this Island, it may with more probability be supposed, that in the former case, he spoke of some other country.

it at no greater distance than 30 MP. from the *Silures*; (South Wales;) that is 24 G. miles; and although it may be about 16 or 17 more, yet this must be reckoned a near approximation for those times. In the same place, however, lib. iv. c. 16, he allows 50 MP. or 40 G. miles, between Boulogne and the nearest part of the opposite coast, which space ought to have been better known.\*

Ptolemy's delineation comes the nearest of any, to the shape of South Britain and Ireland; and, of the two, much the nearest to Ireland, whose dimensions are also very near the truth, whilst those of England are very faulty; it being represented too long and too narrow; which latter is an error of a contrary nature from what commonly happens. Scotland is unaccountably made to lie east and west, instead of north and south; but Scotland was much less known than England. Ireland, in respect of position, is placed too far to the north; for although Pliny knew that its south-east angle lay opposite to South Wales, yet Ptolemy places it opposite to North Wales; and twice as far off as it ought to be. We solicit the indulgence of the reader, for this digression, on an occasion where our Author is silent, and where we feel ourselves so deeply interested. To a philosopher, the changes in the comparative state of nations in different ages of the world, are very striking, and lead one to reflect what may be the future state of some *now* obscure corner of New Holland, or of North America; since our own Island was known only for its tin mines, by the most celebrated of ancient nations; whose descendants, in turn, rank no higher with us, than as dealers in figs and currants.

Our Author had heard of the *CELTÆ*, who lived beyond the columns of Hercules, and bordered on the *CYNESÆ* or *CYNETÆ*, the most remote of all the nations, who inhabited the western part

\* Pliny allows the dimensions of Ireland, (following Agrippa,) to be 600 MP. by 300; which breadth, and no more, he allows also to Britain; whose length was supposed to be 800. Both were, of course, over-rated; and particularly Ireland, whose length hardly exceeds the given breadth.

of Europe; Euterpe, 33, and Melpom. 49. Who the latter were intended for, we know not. The Danube is said to spring from amongst the CELTÆ;\* so that, if he knew the true position of its source, he must have meant to include the inhabitants of Western Europe, generally, under one denomination of CELTÆ; and which might probably have been correct, at that day.†

Italy, or part of it, he designs under the name of *Ænotria*, on occasion of the retreat, and settlement of the Phocæans of Ionia, there.‡ *Umbria*§ and *Liguria*, in the north of Italy, as well as *Tarentum*, *Crotona*, *Sybaris*, &c. in the south, (or *Magna Græcia*,) are mentioned by him. He moreover resided a considerable time at *Tburium*, a Grecian colony, situated near to, or on the site of *Sybaris*.

He mentions occasionally most of the larger islands of the Mediterranean; as Sicily, Crete, Sardinia, Cyprus, Corsica;|| but is silent concerning Rome: and considering that at the probable date of his history, the Romans were confined to the centre of Italy; had hardly taken *Veii*; and had not appeared in fleets on the Mediterranean; what was there for a Grecian to remark concerning

\* The place of its source is said to be named *Pyrene*; Euterpe, 33.

† It seems as if Diodorus regarded as *Scythians* all those situated to the eastward of the *Celts*; lib. v. c. 2. We shall have to remark the same of Pliny.

‡ Clio, 167. They first settled in the *Ænussæan* Islands adjacent to *Chios*; thence they proceeded to *Cyrnus* (Corsica), where they had previously founded a city named *Alalia*; and finally to *Ænotria*, where they built the city of *Hyela*, in the tract between *Pæstum* and *Cape Palinurus*.

§ *Umbria* was the seat of the *Tyrrhenians*, from whence the adjacent sea was sometimes denominated. The *Tyrrhenians* were a colony from *Lydia*, who migrated on occasion of a famine. They settled in *Umbria*, called also *Etruria*, (now *Tuscany*,) and changed their ancient appellation of *Lydians*, for that of *Tyrrhenians*, after *Tyrrhenus*, the son of their former sovereign, who conducted them; Clio, 94. In c. 166, the *Tyrrhenian* fleet, in conjunction with that of Carthage, attack the *Phocæan* fleet of *Cyrnus*.

|| That is, *Sicily* under the name of *Sicania*; Polym. 170: *Corsica* under that of *Cyrnus*; Clio, 165.

them? \* Spain, under the name of *Iberia*, is mentioned, as well as *Tartessus*, near Cadiz : but his acknowledging that he had not been able to meet with 'people who could give him any description of the European seas, appears decisive of his want of knowledge of the western side of Europe.

He remarks that the Danube passes through the *centre* of Europe; and afterwards by an *oblique* course, enters Scythia; Melpom. 49. This description is just; for its general course does really divide the central parts of Europe, in the midst; and having arrived in the neighbourhood of the Euxine, it takes a sudden turn to the north-east, towards Scythia.

He appears to have had a very indistinct idea of the tract between the Adriatic sea, and the Danube. The Eneti, (*Heneti* or *Veneti*) Terp. 9, are said to border on the Adriatic; and the *Sigynæ*, to have extended to their neighbourhood. † But the context, as it stands, appears contradictory : for the *Sigynæ* are said to lie *beyond* the Danube, and yet to extend almost to the *Eneti* on the *Adriatic*. The passage alluded to, is as follows :

“ With respect to the more northern parts of this region (Thrace) and its inhabitants, nothing has been yet decisively ascertained. *What lies beyond the Ister, is a vast and almost endless space.* The whole of this, as far as I am able to learn, is inhabited by the *Sigynæ*, a people who in dress resemble the Medes ; their horses are low in stature, and of a feeble make, but their hair grows to the length of 5 digits : they are not able to carry a man, but, yoked to a carriage, are remarkable for their swiftness ; for which reason, car-

\* Arrian, in his History of the Expedition of Alexander, lib. vii. c. 1, speaking of the future plans of that conqueror, after his return from India, says, that a report prevailed, amongst others, that he intended “ to sail round Sicily, by the Promontory of *Japygium* : for then it was that the Roman name began to spread far and wide, and gave him much umbrage.” This was much more than a century after the date of our Author's history.

† The *Eneti*, in Clio, 196, are said to be of *Illyrian* origin.

riages are here very common. The confines of this people extend almost to the *Eneti* on the *Adriatic*. They call themselves a colony of Medes."—Terp. 9. Now, he had been speaking of Thrace, and of its northern part, concerning which nothing decisive had been ascertained; and after this, he introduces the country, *north* of the Danube, as a *vast*, and almost endless space; and says that it is inhabited by the *Sigynæ*, who extend almost to the *Adriatic*. May it not be suspected, that the sentence respecting the country beyond the Danube, is misplaced altogether; and that the Author intended to say that "the *Sigynæ* inhabited the northern part of Thrace," which lay, however, on the south, or Grecian side, of the Danube?

Thrace included a considerable tract of Europe in early times, but not to the extent that the expression of Herodotus, would lead us to expect. "THRACE," says he, "next to INDIA, is the most considerable;" Terp. 3. But as this country is confined on the east and south by the sea, and on the north by the Danube; and as Macedonia and Pæonia are mentioned by our Author, as distinct countries, the extent of Thrace, even allowing it to extend into Dardania and Moesia, must be much more circumscribed than the idea of our Author allows. It has, however, more extended limits in his geography, than in that of succeeding authors: and perhaps might have included most of the space along the south of the Danube, between the *Euxine* and *Istria*; meeting the borders of Macedonia, Pæonia, &c. on the south: and the *Sigynæ* above-mentioned, might have occupied the NW quarter; the modern *Servia*, *Bosnia*, and *Croatia*.\*

The inhabitants of the NE angle of Thrace formed by the Euxine and the oblique course of the Danube, are the *Getæ* of our Author. They were reduced by Darius Hystaspes in his way to Scythia, and are classed as Thracians; Melpom. 93.† Herodotus

\* *Signia* is a position, in ancient geography, on the Adriatic towards the ancient seats of the *Veneti*. Query, has it any connection with the *Sigynæ* of our Author?

† Subsequent authors place the *Getæ*, on the *north* of the Danube, and in *Moldavia*.



observes generally of the Thracians, that "if they were either under the government of an individual, or united amongst themselves, their strength would render them invincible: but this is a thing impossible, and they are of course but feeble. Each different district has a different appellation; but except the *Getæ*, the *Trausi*, and those *beyond Crestona*,\* they are marked by a general similitude of manners;" Terp. 3.

The *Getæ*, says Herodotus, "are a people who *pretend to immortality*: whenever any one dies, they believe that he is removed to the presence of their god *Zamolxis*: they are of all the Thracians the *bravest*, and the most *upright*;" Melp. 93, 94.

The Thracians *beyond Crestona* are remarkable for having amongst them the same horrible custom which prevails in India; that of their widows sacrificing themselves at the funerals of their husbands; but the bodies are buried, and not burnt, as in India.† It appears that Herodotus did not know that this custom prevailed in India: and indeed his knowledge of that country was very much confined.

\* *Crestona*, or *Crestonia*, lay between *Mygdonia* and *Sintica*, and may be reckoned the eastern frontier of *Macedonia*, towards *Thrace*. The river *Chidorus*, which discharges itself into the *Axius*, near *Pella*, rises in *Crestona*, and flows through *Mygdonia*; Polymnia, c. 124, 127.

In *Clio*, 57, the *Crestonians* are said to be a remnant of *Pelasgians*, situated beyond the *Tyrrhenians*, but who formerly dwelt in the country afterwards named *Thessaly*, and were neighbours to the *Dorians*.

It may be suspected that *Tyrrhenian* is a mistake, and that *Thermæan* should be substituted for it; as *Therma*, afterwards *Thessalonia*, agrees to the situation. *Therma* and its gulf are mentioned in *Polym.* 121, 123, 124. We have heard of no *Tyrrhenians*, but those of Italy.

† "Each person has several wives. If the husband dies, a great contest arises amongst his wives, in which the friends of the deceased interest themselves exceedingly, to determine which of them had been most beloved. She to whom this honour is ascribed is gaudily decked out by her friends, and then sacrificed by her nearest relation, on the tomb of her husband, with whom she is afterwards buried. His other wives esteem this an affliction; and it is imputed to them as a great disgrace." Terp-sichore, c. 5.

We cannot help remarking (having ourselves witnessed a sacrifice of this kind in

No mention is made concerning the belief of the immortality of the soul, amongst these Thracians, as amongst the Getaë; but it surely is proved by this very circumstance: for what else could induce this voluntary sacrifice?

It appears almost a matter of certainty that Herodotus knew no particulars of the geography of Western Europe, between Scythia (on the Euxine), and the Bay of Biscay, on the east and west; and between the Alps and Carpathian mountains on the south, and the shores of the Baltic on the north. Concerning the position of this northern sea, and the countries beyond Scythia, more will be said under the head of Scythia, and its concerns; as, in order to explain the subject with effect, much preliminary matter must be gone into.

The country of SCYTHIA, he places next in order to Thrace, going north-eastward, along the shores of the Euxine and Mæotis. "Where Thrace ends, Scythia begins," says he, Melp. 99. It will appear, however, that the Scythians of Herodotus were the *Sarmatiæ* and *Getaë* of the Romans; and his *Massagetæ*, the *Scythians* of the same people; as well as of the Greeks in general, from the date of Alexander's expedition. But as the subject is intricate and extensive, and requires much discussion and elucidation, it may be proper at the outset to take a comprehensive view of it: and afterwards to arrange it under the distinct heads of *Western* and *Eastern* Scythia; the former of which belongs to the division of Europe, the latter to that of Asia; following the rule that we have prescribed to ourselves in the division of the work.

The ancients distinguished two countries by the name of SCYTHIA, the one extending along the north of the Euxine, the other beyond the Caspian and Jaxartes. The latter was again subdivided into two parts, by the chain of *Imaus*, a branch projecting

India), how many points of resemblance there are between what we saw, and the mode described by Herodotus. It may be added, that there occurs in Diodorus, a description of the burning alive of an Indian widow, which agrees exactly with the present practice; of which more in the sequel.

northward from the *Indian Caucasus* : and which subdivisions were, from that circumstance, distinguished by the names of Scythia *intra, et extra*, ΙΜΑΘΜ.

The Western, or Euxine Scythia, was the one invaded by Darius Hystaspes : on which occasion, the Ionians, by preserving the bridge of boats over the Danube, secured his retreat ; and the Eastern Scythia, called also the country of the Massagetæ, was the one invaded by Cyrus ; in which, according to our Author, as well as Justin and Diodorus, he lost his life.

Herodotus describes the Western Scythia to extend from the lower part of the Danube, and the country now called Hungary, on the west, to the Tanais on the east ; a tract which was afterwards better known by the name of the *European Sarmatia*. The *Asiatic Sarmatia*, and other tracts, filled up the space between the Eastern and Western Scythias ; which space may be understood to extend to the river *Daix*, (the present *Jaik*, or more properly *Daek*,) where the Eastern Scythia began, and extended eastward to the country of the *Yugures*, or *Oigurs*.

It would appear that Herodotus was not decided in his opinion, whether or not, the Massagetæ were to be regarded as a *Scythian* nation ; but subsequent writers have almost universally reckoned them so. So that the *proper* Scythians of Herodotus, were those at the Euxine ; and those of succeeding writers, at the Caspian (or rather Aral) and Jaxartes. For our Author, who calls the Massagetæ, a great and powerful nation, says, “ they are by *some* esteemed a *Scythian* nation :” and that, “ in their clothes and food, they *resemble* the Scythians ;” implying that they were not confessedly a Scythian nation. He says moreover, “ what the Greeks assert in *general* of the *Scythians*, is true only of the Massagetæ ;” Clio, 201, 215, 216.

The Greeks appear to have first used the term SCYTHIA, in its application to their neighbours, the Scythians of the *Euxine* ; who were also called *Getæ* and *Gothi* : and were those who afterwards

subdued the Roman empire: and from which original stock, the present race of people in Europe seem to be derived.\* Some modern writers of great authority have supposed that the word *Scythiæ*, *Skutæ*, or *Kutbæ*, was only another reading of *Getæ*: as also that *these* are of the same nation with the *Massagetæ*; which is, indeed, very probable; although there is no *necessity* for supposing it. Probably the early Greeks, hearing of a nation of *Getæ* beyond the Caspian and Jaxartes (for the remains of the *Getæ* existed in the same tract, and under the same name, so late as the time of Tamerlane) gave them the name of *Massa-Getæ*, to distinguish them from the *Getæ* in the west; † but might be in doubt whether to regard them *absolutely* as Scythians. Subsequent information, particularly that derived from the expedition of Alexander, led the same Greeks to class them as Scythians: so that at last, the term *Scythian* seems to have designed *Nomadic* tribes in general; and SCYTHIA at large, a vast extent of country, including several distinct nations and tribes, between the Danube, and the extreme point of their knowledge, eastward. It was perhaps applied, much in the way, in which we apply TARTARY; that is, *indefinitely* to a space *beyond a certain known* boundary. Not that it is to be understood that Tartary expresses the same idea, as to extent, as Scythia did: for Scythia contained but a small proportion of what we intend by Tartary.

In our geographical details, we shall endeavour to trace the boundaries of *both* the SCYTHIAS: which, collectively, included a vast space from west to east, though apparently of no very great breadth, considered proportionally.

\* Pliny seems to consider the *Scythians* and *Germans*, as one and the same people: lib. iv. c. 12: as Diodorus does the people to the east of the *Celtæ*, generally; lib. v. c. 2. And Procopius, who wrote later than either, says, that the *Goths* were anciently named *Scythians*; Gothic War, lib. iv.

† There seem to have been several distinct tribes of *Getæ*, as those of the *Danube*, the *Thyssa-Getæ* on the *Wolga*, the *Tyri-Getæ* on the *Tyres*; the *Massagetæ* on the *Jaxartes*, &c.

The Western Scythia, then, is a member of Europe, as well under the *proper* boundaries of that continent, as of those *assumed* by Herodotus; for no part of *his Scythia* extended beyond the Tanais, although between the Jaik and the Aral, we must look for a nation of Scythians, whom he represents as having *seceded* from the former nation. But it may well be suspected that those who are marked as *seceders*, approached in their geographical position so near to that of the Massagetæ, that they may have been a part of the same people; and the mistake may have arisen from an error in the supposed relative positions. This will be made more apparent, in the sequel, when it is shewn that our Author supposed a vast difference in parallel, on the globe, between the Massagetæ, the Scythians of Asia, and the Euxine or Western Scythians.

The Eastern Scythians, as belonging to the division of ASIA, will form no part of the following discussion, which is confined entirely to those of the Euxine.\*

\* Both Arrian and Curtius speak of *European* and *Asiatic* Scythians, as a term of distinction. This seems much the same idea, as our *Eastern* and *Western* Scythians; only it will be shewn in the sequel, that they, like Herodotus, extended Europe very far to the east; and seemingly to the neighbourhood of the Caspian sea, and the river Jaxartes; by the error of supposing a much less extent of space than the truth, between the *Tanais* and *Jaxartes*.

## SECTION IV.

OF THE WESTERN, OR EUXINE SCYTHIA; WHICH IS THE PROPER SCYTHIA OF HERODOTUS, BUT THE SARMATIA OF LATER AUTHORS.

*Position and Face of Western Scythia—mistaken Ideas of Herodotus, respecting its Form and Extent—Cause of his Errors, and their Effects on the general Geography.—True Form and Extent of Scythia, considered generally; and afterwards proved by Deductions from our Author's Facts and Observations—Rivers of Scythia, with some of their principal Adjuncts—vast Inland Navigations—Subdivision of Scythia—Difficulties concerning some of the River Boundaries—Idea that the Borysthenes formerly ran into the Palus Mæotis; and that the Krimea was an Island.—Royal Scythians—reported Origin of the Scythian Nation—The Targitaus of Herodotus, appears to be the Turk of the Orientals.—Cimmerians dispossessed by the Scythians—Cimmerian Antiquities.—The Euxine Scythians, and those at the Jaxartes, from the same Stock—Customs common to both—Euxine Scythia suited to Pastoral Life—The Scythians favoured by Herodotus, in Point of Character—his general Accuracy and Candour.*

THE SCYTHIA of Herodotus answers generally to the *Ukraine*, the country of the *Nogaian Tartars*, the *Don Cossacks*, &c.; its first river on the *west*, being the *Danube*, and its last on the *east*, the *Tanais*, or *Don*; *Melpomene*, 48, *et seq.*\* It wears, for the most part, the same face now, as in the time of our Author; (who by his own account had visited the *Black sea*, and we may suppose, of

\* The reader is requested to consult the Map of Scythia, No. III. opposite. In this, Scythia is drawn according to its just proportions, but the matter is arranged according to the ideas of Herodotus. His ideas of its *form* and *extent* will be found in No. I.

WESTERN, or EUXINE  
SCYTHIA:

With the  
Surrounding Countries, and the  
March of DARIUS HYSTASPES.







course, the *Greek* settlements in Scythia also :) that is, it is composed of vast naked plains, and in a great part occupied by *Nomades*, or wandering tribes. No country whatsoever, was better watered: it having no less than eight large rivers, which were navigable to the sea; and amongst these, the Danube, Tanais, and Borysthenes; Melpom. 47. The pastures watered by some of these rivers are highly celebrated by our Author; and gave occasion to the application of the name of GRASS STEPPE to the tract itself, in contradistinction to the comparative barrenness of the others.\*

Although the area and extent of Scythia were greatly underrated by Herodotus, yet, by a misconception of the relative posi-

\* Baron Tott's description of that part of the site of ancient Scythia, which he traversed between the *Dneister* and *Krimea*, presents a lively picture of the face of the country. We shall collect the scattered notices that occur in different parts of his narrative; Part II. on the Turks and Tartars.

After crossing the *Dneister* (the *Tyres* of Herodotus) in the line between *Jassi* and *Otchakow*, he says:

“The plains which we crossed (those of *Yedassan*) were so level and open, that the horizon appeared only a hundred paces from us, on every side. No rising ground, not even the smallest shrub to make a variety in this picture; and we perceived nothing during the whole journey, but a few *Nogais* on horseback, whose heads were discovered by the piercing eyes of my Tartars, whilst the convexity of the earth still hid the remainder of their bodies. Each of these *Nogais* was riding alone on horseback.—I was curious to know, what could be the object of these men, and was informed that these people, (thought to be *Nomades*, because they live in a sort of tents,) were settled in tribes, in *vallies* of 50 or 60 feet deep, which intersect the plain from north to south, and are more than 30 leagues in length, by  $\frac{1}{3}$  of a league, (say 600 to 700 yards,) in breadth, the middle of which are occupied by *muddy rivulets*, which terminate towards the south in *small lakes* that communicate with the Black sea. The tents of the *Nogais* are on the banks of these rivulets, as well as the hovels which shelter their numerous flocks during winter. In spring, these are driven to the plains, and abandoned till winter, when they are brought back again to shelter. This was the employment of the *Nogais* we had met with.”

He afterwards says, that the extent of plain between the vallies is 10 to 12 leagues; perhaps 30 or more miles. These vallies must be regarded as the *ancient beds* of

tions of the coasts of the Euxine and Palus Mæotis, he has over-rated the extent of the *coast* of Scythia bordering on those ~~seas~~. For, by the context it appears, that he supposed the coasts of the Euxine and Mæotis to form a right angle at their point of junction, at the Peninsula of Taurica (Krimæa); ~~presenting~~ *two* sides which respectively faced the SE and SW; or perhaps more strictly the ESE and SSW. Such was the idea of its *position*: and of its *form* and *extent*, that it was a *square* of 4000 stadia, each way. This is collected from the following notices:

“ Scythia (says Herodotus,) appears to be of a *quadrangular* form, having ~~two of its sides terminated by the sea, to which its other two,~~ towards the land, are perfectly equal. Ascending from the sea, inland, as far as the country of the *Melanclæni*, beyond Scythia, is a journey of 20 days. According to my computation, a day's journey is equal to 200 stadia: thus the extent of Scythia, along its sides, is 4000 stadia; and through the midst of it, inland, is 4000 more; Melpom. 101.\*

Its position in respect of the heavens, is collected from the following circumstances: that Darius Hystaspes, in his memorable invasion of Scythia, “ advanced *eastward* towards the *Tanais*,” after

rivers; of which more in the sequel. He passed two of them between Bender and Otchakow; and on the way to the second, he says, “ we saw the sun appear on the horizon of these plains, as mariners do on the ocean.”

In his way from Otchakow to the Krimæa, he makes much the same kind of remark: “ the noise of the waves (for he went near the sea coast) afforded a more interesting object than the naked plains.”

This may suffice for the face of the country: and we have also the testimony of M. Pallas, respecting the flatness and very low level of the country, between the Borysthenes and the Mæotis, in the *Tableau de Physique et Topographique de la Tauride*.

It may be remarked, that Herodotus does not speak of any Nomadic tribes of Scythians on the west of the Borysthenes, where they are now found.

\* It may be conceived that when our Author reckons by journies, of a specific length, he means to express the *road* distance: so that a proper allowance is to be made for inflections, in order to reduce it to *direct* distance. We have adopted this idea in the construction of the Map.

passing the *Danube*; Melpom. 122. Again, in chapter 100, the sea (that is the Mæotis) is described to wash the country of the Scythians, above *Tauris* "on the east;" and again, in ch. 18 and 20, the *Androphagi* and *Melanclæni*, two nations who bordered on Scythia, inland, are said to lie to the north; and the Peninsula of *Taurica* to the south.

But, it will be found, that our Author erred very much in his idea of the form of Scythia; for the truth is, that the coasts of the Euxine and Mæotis do not conjointly present any such form, as he supposes; but, on the contrary, the maritime part of Scythia extends generally in an ENE direction, from the mouth of the Danube, to that of the Tanais; forming, not two sides of a square, but in effect, one side only, of a parallelogram of much greater dimensions: although that side be very crooked and indented.\* The length of Scythia along the coast, may be about 430 geographic miles, or 5140 stadia of those of 718 to a degree, whilst he regarded the whole length, as equal to 4000 stadia; say, 330 G. miles. And, as Scythia extended very far beyond the mouths of the above rivers, to the east and west, its length is even much more than double the extent he supposed; as will appear in the sequel. It is true that Herodotus had in idea, a stade of a somewhat shorter standard than 718 to a degree, but the difference is too inconsiderable to merit attention in this place.†

Some of the causes that led to the above errors of Herodotus, are the following:

1. He supposed that the greatest length of the Euxine, 11,100 stadia, (which, however, was 3000 too much,) lay in the line of direction between the Bosphorus and the river Phasis;

\* The form and position of the *Krimea*, terminating in a point to the SW, was probably the cause of the error of making two sides out of one.

† It has been remarked in page 21, that the stade of our Author is of 732 to a degree, on a mean of all the examples collected from his work: that the 2000 between the Danube and Borysthenes are of 727; whilst those in Greece are much shorter.

2. That the Isthmus of Natolia was little more than half of its actual breadth ;

3. That the mouth of the Danube was situated opposite to Sinope ;

4. That the Palus Mæotis was nearly as large as the Euxine ; consequently in order to get room for it, he must have extended it a vast way to the *north*, and *east*, beyond the truth ; \*

And lastly, that it lay as much N and S, as E and W : and that the Tanais entered it with a *southerly*, instead of a *westerly*, course. † He calls the *Mæotis*, the MOTHER of the EUXINE ; Melp. 86. ‡

It is certain, however, that he says, Melp. 17, that “ the port of the *Borysthenitæ*, (where, as we learn in 78, stood a Grecian city of *Milesians*) § is unquestionably the centre of *all* the *maritime* parts of Scythia.” This seems to do away his former assertion concerning the two sides of 4000 stadia each, washed by the sea ; since this port is said by him to be no more than 2000 stadia from the Danube ; that is, 10 days’ journey of 200 each ; Melpom. 101. Here it seems to be the sense of the Author, that by the maritime parts of Scythia, those alone were meant, which bordered on the *Euxine* ; which certainly contradicts his former statement. Possibly he might mean, what was true in effect, that the port in question was situated nearly in the centre of the *south side* of Scythia, taken at large.

\* It appears in Clio, 104, that Herodotus supposed the distance between the Mæotis (understood to mean, at the mouth of the Tanais) and the river Phasis, to be 30 journies of quick travelling. It may be about 20.

† Strabo thought the same : and both he and Ptolemy that the Mæotis extended N and S.

‡ The ideas of Polybius, lib. iv. c. 5, on this subject, are worthy of attention, as well from the matter of them, as that they serve to explain the ideas of Herodotus, in this place.

There is little doubt but that our Author, as well as Polybius, knew that the Palus Mæotis received more water than it evaporated, and which it gave to the Euxine ; the Euxine to the Mediterranean.

§ There were *Milesian* colonies also, at the mouth of the *Danube*, (called *Istrians*) and at the entrance of the *Euxine*.

Be it as it will, the form of Western Scythia, will be found to be nearly a *parallelogram*, whose greatest length, extending along the Danube, Euxine, Mæotis, and Tanais, is at least 9000 stadia; and its depth inland, about 4000, as Herodotus himself allows.

One general effect of the error of our Author in thus shortening, by about one half, the length of Scythia, would necessarily be, to cause all the positions that were adjusted by him, on the *east* of the Tanais, and Mæotis, to recede *westward*, more than they ought, in respect of the sea of Colchis, and the Caspian. To this erroneous calculation amongst other causes, we must therefore attribute the mistake of placing the Issedones (or Yugures,) so far to the west, as to bring them opposite to, or in the same meridian with, the Massagetæ, on the river Jaxartes.

We shall now proceed to the *detail* of the *data*, on which the extent and arrangement of the Scythian provinces, rest.

Herodotus enumerates 8 rivers of (Western) Scythia, of which the Danube is the most western, and the Tanais the most eastern.

The Danube was, excepting the Nile, the largest stream known to Herodotus; \* being formed of a great number of others; and he conceived that it underwent no variation in bulk, in summer or in winter; † *Melp.* 48, 50.

Next to this was the *Tyres*, or *Tyras*, which rising in the north, from an immense *marsh*, divided *Scythia* from *Neuris*. The *Tyritæ*, or *Tyrigetæ*, Greek colonists, were seated near the lower parts of it; *Melp.* 51.

The 3d river; was the *Hypanis*, ‡ springing from an immense lake in Scythia; 52. In the district of the *Alaxones*, the streams

\* He had never heard of the *Ganges*, or other great rivers of India, and China.

† The description of the Danube and its alluvions, in Polybius, lib. iv. c. 5, is worth attention.

‡ There were other rivers of the name of *Hypanis*. The river of *Kuban* bore that name, which is scarcely altered in its present *sound*.

of the Tyres and Hypanis have an inclination towards each other: but soon separate again to a considerable distance; (ibid.)

As the Hypanis is the 3d in order, of those rivers, and placed next to the Borysthenes, both here, and in Melp. 17, (where it is said to lie to the *west* of the Borysthenes, and to form a junction with it, near the sea,) it can answer to no other river than the Bog; as the Tyres, which immediately preceded it, can be no other than the Dneister.\* The circumstance of the near approach of the two, shews how well our Author was informed: for those rivers do really approach very near to each other at Braclaw and Mohilow, in the early part of their courses; and afterwards diverge very considerably, in their way to the Euxine.

The 4th river, and the largest next the Danube, is the *Borysthenes*; Melp. 53. Herodotus was of opinion that this river "was more productive, not only than all the rivers of Scythia, but than every other in the world, the Egyptian Nile excepted. It contained great abundance of the more delicate kinds of fish, and afforded the most agreeable and excellent pastures. Its course may be traced as far as the country of *Gerrbus*, † through a voyage of 40 days, and flows from the north: ‡ but its sources, like those of the Nile, are unknown to me, as I believe they are to every other Greek;" Melp. 53.

There is some reason to suspect, that our Author was not apprized of the famous cataracts of this river, which occur at about the height of 200 miles above its *embouchure*, and are said to be 13 in number: for he seems to consider the navigation as being uninterrupted, during 40 days upward from the sea.

\* The *Dneister* is also called *Turla*, in D'Anville: perhaps the same *root* with the Greek name *Tyres*, or *Tures*.

† Said in Melp. 71, to be the *remote* part of *Scythia*.

‡ Its general course, *throughout*, is nearly south: but its deviations from that line are very great, for it forms a prodigious bend to the east in the Ukraine.

The port of Cherson, (near the embouchure of this grand river,) rendered famous by the marine arsenals, and docks, established by the immortal Catharine of Russia, must be nearly in the same situation with the port of the *Borysthenitæ*, mentioned by Herodotus. These are also named *Ochiopolitæ*.\* See Melpom. 17, 18, and 78.

The descriptions of the courses and confluences of the 5th, 6th, and 7th rivers, namely, the *Panticapes*, *Hypacyris*, and *Gerrbus*, Melp. 54, 55, 56, cannot be reconciled to modern geography; and, as far as we can understand, cannot have been of any great bulk. The *Gerrbus* is expressly said to be a *branch* of the *Borysthenes*, 56; and it is obvious, that, as the other two are described to be situated *between* the *Borysthenes* and the *Gerrbus*, they must either have been very unimportant in point of bulk, or branches, of the *Borysthenes*, or the *Gerrbus*. As they are said to be “*navigable to the sea*,” and “*amongst the most celebrated of the Scythian rivers*,” Melpom. 47, it is the most probable that they were branches of the *greater* river *Borysthenes*, which, like many others, discharged itself by several mouths. Some little light will be thrown on these particulars, when we speak of the subdivision of Scythia.

The 8th river is the *Tanais*; in modern European geography, the *Don*; and cannot be misunderstood. † “*Rising (says our Author) from one immense lake, it empties itself into another still greater, named the Mæotis; and is increased by the waters of another river, called the Hirgis*,” Melpom. 58. It may however admit of doubt, whether the lower part of the river *Donetz*, which joins the *Don*, may not have been confounded by the early geographers with the *Don* itself; since this latter takes so remarkable a turn to the east: and

\* Pliny says that the *Hypanis* joins the *Borysthenes* at *Olbia*; lib. iv. c. 12.

† The modern name *Don*, seems to be a corruption of *Tana*, the proper name of the river, as well as of a city, which stood on, or near, the site of *Azoph*; and not far from its *embouchure* in the *Palus Mæotis*. *Tana*, is obviously the same name with *Tanais*.

as the former is a very large stream, and also occurs in a position, where the Don itself, considering its general course, would be looked for, by those who came from the west.\*

The Tanais does indeed spring from a lake, but it appears to be a very small one; and is not even marked in the Russian maps. Le Brun, who visited it, says, "the small lake *Ivan* is not far distant from the village of *Ivanosra*. The river *Don*, or *Tanais*, has its source in this lake, and from thence flows in a long canal, the water whereof is exceedingly clear."—He afterwards says that it is more properly a *pool* than a *lake*; Vol. i. ch. 12.

Le Brun also says, that an inland navigation from the Mæotis and Euxine, to the Baltic sea, by the medium of the rivers *Don*, *Wolga*, *Twersa*, &c. was not only projected, but begun, by the Czar PETER the GREAT, in 1702: and which, had it been finished, would also have joined the Euxine to the Caspian; since the Caspian and Baltic are known to be so completely united, that boats proceed uninterruptedly from Petersburg to Astrakan; said to be a voyage of nearly 2300 British miles.

The Don and Wolga were to have been joined by means of a canal *through* the lake *Ivan*; the waters of which were made to flow into the little river *Sobata*, which flows into the *Upa*; this latter into the *Okka*; and the *Okka* into the *Wolga*. So that the waters of the lake *Ivan*, ran two different ways; and in this state of progress, it appears, Le Brun saw the work, in 1702: but it does not seem ever to have been completed.

The inland navigations of RUSSIA, as well as of CHINA, are on a scale that is commensurate to the extent of those vast empires. Not that they are so much the effect of *political* geography, which has subjected to one dominion, the courses of so many large and nearly contiguous streams, and thereby removed the obstacles which commonly arise, from the contending interests of adjoining states; great as these advantages are; as of the *physical* geography,



which has thrown the fewest obstacles possible, in the way. But it may well be, that the absence of such obstacles, may have gone towards forming the present system of political geography.

To return to the geography.—The eight streams abovementioned, are declaredly exclusive of the *branches* of the Danube and Tanais: for Herodotus enumerates several of the former, which have their sources in the western quarter of Scythia; as well as of the latter, amongst the Thyssagetæ, on the north-east. These notices afford so much assistance towards fixing the western limits of Scythia; and of the position of the Thyssagetæ on the east, that it will be proper to examine them in detail.

“The *Porata*, (so called by the Scythians, by the Greeks *Pyretton*) the *Tiarantus*, *Ararus*, *Naparis*, and the *Ordessus*, are five streams which particularly contribute to increase the size of the *Danube*; and all have their rise in Scythia;” Melp. 48. M. D’Anville recognizes the *Porata* in the *Pruth*; the *Ararus* in the *Siret*: the *Naparis* in the *Proava*,\* and the *Ordessus* in the *Argis*: but the *Tiarantus* he has not made out.† However, as our Author says, Melpom. 48, that it has an *inclination* to the *west*, and is smaller than the *Porata*; as also that the three others take their courses *between* these two, it appears that the *Olt* or *Alut* should be meant for the *Tiarantus*. The *Olt*, however, has its source in *Transylvania*, which the context evidently allots to the *Agathyrssi*; but it is certain, notwithstanding, that its source is on the *borders* of Scythia: and, as it is probable that our Author had not a critical knowledge of the geography, the expression ought not to be taken too literally, when he says that ALL these rivers have their rise IN Scythia.

\* Called also *Jalomnitza*.

† It cannot be meant for the *Tibiscus*, or *Teisse*, for in the succeeding chapter (49,) it is enumerated amongst other adjuncts of the Danube, under the name of *Tibisis*; although by mistake, it is made to descend from Mount *Hemus*, instead of the *Bastarnian Alps*, in the opposite quarter.

From hence then, may be collected, that Scythia extended *westward* to the upper part of the course of the river *Argis*, in *Walakia*; and also along the course of the Danube, upwards, to the *great bend* near *Dristra* (*Durosterus*); for the commencement of its oblique course, by which it enters Scythia, (according to our Author, *Melp.* 49,) is about that place; and the *embouchure* of the *Ordessus* but a little higher up. Consequently, Scythia must have included the eastern part of the province of *Walakia*: and as it extended 20 journies (of 200 stadia each) inland, the entire province of *Moldavia* also, to the sources of the *Porata* or *Pruth*.

The *Tyres*, which, from more than one circumstance, has been proved to answer to the *Dneister*, is said to have divided *Scythia* from *Neuris*, *Melp.* 51. And it will be found, that, allowing to Scythia a breadth of 20 journies, or 4000 stadia (according to the text) inland from the coast of the Euxine, this particular respecting the *Tyres* agrees very well: and hence the *Neuri*, who are also said, *Melp.* 17, to dwell near the *Hypanis* (*Bog*), must have possessed that part of *Poland*, heretofore called the *Palatinate* of *Russia*; and part of that of *Lusuc*; now composing the eastern part of *GALLICIA*. Of this, more in the sequel, when we speak of the nations, or tribes, that are situated along the borders of Scythia.

By this arrangement it will appear also, that *Podolia*, or the principal part of it, must also have constituted a part of Scythia.

Proceeding farther to the east, it will be found, that the distance of 20 of the like journies, inland from the Euxine, at the part near the mouth of the *Borysthenes*, will extend the limits of Scythia upwards, beyond the *forks* of that river. By the *forks*, are meant the places of confluence of the *eastern* and *western* branches, the *Dnesna* and *Prypetz* (and more particularly the latter) with the northern, or *proper Borysthenes*; which collective waters form the main trunk of that magnificent stream, which divided Scythia in the midst. For the above distance of 20 journies, or 4000 stadia, is given, in *Melp.* 101, between the sea and the borders of the

Melanchlæni, a tribe which adjoined on the *north*, to those Royal Scythians, who touched on Taurica, the Mæotis, and Tanais; Melp. 20, and 57. Consequently, Scythia may be supposed to have extended northward to the river *Enesna* and its eastern branch, the *Sem*, on the *east* of the Borysthenes; and to *Polish Russia*, on the *west* of that river: wherefore WOLYŃIA; the proper UKRAYNE; the country of BIELGOROD, &c. must have formed the northern frontier of Scythia; on which side, it was bounded by the tribe of ANDROPHAGI, on the side of Poland, and by the MELANCHLÆNI on that of Russia: as on the NW by the NEURI, and on the west by the AGATHYRSI.

On the north-east, the Tanais separated the Scythians from the BUDINI, and GELONI. The SAUROMATÆ, or SARMATIANS, lay to the east; but whether they occupied both banks of the Tanais, above the conflux of the Donetz, or whether the Scythians possessed that Peninsula formed by the Don and Donetz, is a matter of doubt; and must be left for the reader to determine for himself. We, however, regard the former as the most probable.

Thus the Scythia of Herodotus appears to have extended in length from Hungary, Transylvania, and Walakia, on the west, to the river Don on the east; a space of full 750 G. miles, or more than 860 B. miles: but if the Donetz is to be taken for the eastern boundary, then 612 G. miles, or 710 B. miles only. Its breadth is taken on the statement of Herodotus, at 4000 stadia, equal to 300 or 330 G. miles, which extends it, as we have seen, to the heads of the rivers Pruth and Dneister, to the forks of the Borysthenes, and the course of the Dnesna, at large. But the length allowed to Scythia by him, is little more than  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the space between the *mouths* of the *Danube* and *Tanais*, alone; beyond which, Scythia extended very far, because those rivers formed its boundaries, and their courses were very oblique. And, on the whole, he appears to have allowed to Scythia, considerably less than half the true quantity of the area, taking his own statement of the

boundaries. For the 750 G. miles produce about 9000 stadia of our mean scale; whilst our Author allowed the length and breadth of Scythia, to be 4000 stadia only; and as we have already admitted the breadth to be as he describes, the form and dimensions of that country will be a parallelogram of 9000 stadia by 4000, instead of a square of 4000.

### *Subdivision of Scythia.*

It is by no means an easy task to place the different tribes of Scythians, described by our Author: but we shall endeavour to place the principal ones. It may be proper, first of all, to observe, that the *Tauri*, who inhabited the *Cimmerian Chersonesus*, or *Krimea*, one of the most prominent features of the geography of this tract, were not reckoned to belong to Scythia. See *Melpom.* 102.

\* Baron Tott allows the following extent to the tract, which he names *LITTLE TARTARY*; and which may be regarded as the ancient *MARITIME SCYTHIA*.†

It includes the Peninsula of the *Krimea*, the *Kuban*, a part of *Circassia*, and all that territory which separates the *Russian empire* from the Black sea. (This was written previous to the cession of the *Krimea*, &c. to Russia.) This zone, extending from *Moldavia* to the neighbourhood of *Taganrok*, is 30 or 40 leagues broad, by 200 in length, or about 530 G. miles. It contains from E to W, the *Yetitche-Koule*, the *Jamboylouk*, the *Yedessan*, and *Bessarabia*. The latter province, called also *Boudziak*, or *Boudjack*, is inhabited by Tartars settled in villages, as well as those in the *Peninsula*; but the inhabitants of the three other provinces have only tents made of felt, which they remove at pleasure. He afterwards excepts those *Nogais*, who are settled in the long vallies of the *Yedessan*, between the *Dneister* and *Borysthenes*, beforementioned: in page 51.

Mr. Tooke (*Russia*, Vol. ii. p. 71) allots to the *Nogayan* Tartars, the tract between the *Danube* on the west, and the lower part of the *Wolga* on the east; and bordering southward on the *Euxine*, *Mæotis*, *Mount Caucasus*, and the *Caspian*. This, of course, allows them a much wider range, than the limits assigned them by the Baron, who perhaps took only a partial view of the subject.

† It may be proper to mention that, as all the references made to Baron Tott's book, are contained in his 2d Part, on the subject of the *Turks and Tartars*, it will be unnecessary to refer to it, in the sequel.

I. HYLÆA was the name of the Peninsula adjacent to *Taurica*, on the NW; formed by the lower part of the Borysthenes, the Euxine, the gulf of Carcinitis, and the river Hypacyris, which flowed into it. It is now named *Jamboylouk*.

This tract, unlike the rest of *maritime* Scythia, had trees in it; Melpom. 19. This circumstance is not only confirmed by Pliny, lib. iv. c. 12, who calls it a *woody* country, but by the testimony of Baron Tott in modern times, which is very satisfactory.

The Baron, having crossed the mouth of the Borysthenes, from *Otchakow* to the point of *Kilburn*, traversed the great plain of *Jamboylouk* (inhabited also by the *Nogais*,) to *Orkapi* or *Perekop*, the fortress which shuts up the Isthmus of the Krimea; which plain is precisely the HYLÆA of Herodotus; and is nearly 100 English miles long, in this direction. The Baron thus describes it:

“The road which we took, brought us near the Black sea; and in following the beach from time to time, the very noise of the waves afforded us a more interesting object, than we could find in the *naked plains* over which we had been passing. Those we still had to pass, were likewise entirely bare, *although I have been assured that they were formerly covered with forests*,” &c.

The province of *Hylæa* was also remarkable for its containing a flat tract of a very singular form, which projected into the sea, called the *Course of Achilles*; and moreover for being the scene of the story of Hercules and the monster Queen of Scythia, when he had driven away the oxen of Geryon. The river Panticapes passed *through* Hylæa, in its way to the Borysthenes; and the Hypacyris bounded both this territory, and the just-mentioned tract, called the *Course of Achilles*. This is the substance of our Author's descriptions, in Melpom. chapters 8, 9, 10, 18, 19, 54, and 56. And hence the Hypacyris appears clearly to be the river *Kalauczac*, which passes by the modern town of *Kammemoimost*, which is perhaps, nearly in the position of *Carcinus*. We shall find the same river recognized by Pliny and Ptolemy, in the sequel.

The geography of this whole tract is very strongly marked, as will appear by a reference to the Map No. III. and more particularly to Dezauche's Map of the Krimea. In this, the Course of Achilles is also recognized, in two long and exceeding narrow slips of land, named *Tentra*, which extend in opposite directions into the sea, forming together the shape of a sword, or scymetar, agreeing to the description of Pliny, lib. iv. c. 12, who says that the *Dromos Achilleos* was a Peninsula extending into the sea, in the form of a sword, and was 80 MP. in length. It is 62 G. miles, equal to 77 MP. on the map. Ptolemy describes it much the same, *Europæ*, Tab. VIII.

Strabo is very pointed and particular in his description of it, pages 307, 308. He reckons it 1000 stadia in length, which is much too long: but he seems very exact in representing it to be only 2 stadia in breadth, at the widest part; and to extend from east to west. How this remarkable tract came to be named from Achilles, is not told.\*

Baron Tott passed near, if not *through*, a part of it, in his way from Otchakow to Perekop, at the time when he describes the naked plains, little elevated above the margin of the sea. By appearances, it has been in part, formed of alluvions of the Borysthenes and its branches; of which the Hypacyris, which bounded it on the east, was probably one.

II. The Scythian HUSBANDMEN, OR PLOUGHING Scythians; (called also *Borysthenitæ*, and *Olbiopolitæ*;) were situated adjacent to the Borysthenes; Melpom. 18, 53, 54. They extended from 11 to 12 journies up the river, from Hylæa; particularly on the east side: and to the distance of three journies eastward from the river;

\* From these descriptions one may collect, that they had seen a delineation of the ground: and indeed many ancient notices plainly shew that the ancients were in the habit of making maps and plans; although these have not, like their books, generally reached us; which may be owing in part, to there having been fewer copies made, and that they were, perhaps, more subject to accident, than books.

where they were bounded by the Panticapes. This last river, however, cannot be recognized in modern geography, since no river is known to pass through the site of Hylæa, in its way to the Borysthenes, as described in Melpom. 54. We have already hazarded a conjecture, that this, as well as the other rivers of this quarter, were branches of the Borysthenes: some of which, probably, have been since filled up by the depositions of its waters.

It would appear from Melpom. 53, that the Borysthenitæ dwelt also on the *west* side of the Borysthenes, near its mouth, as far as the influx of the Hypanis (Bog).

III. The SCYTHIAN NOMADES; Melp. 19, 55, 56. These lived to the eastward of the Husbandmen, and beyond the river Panticapes, said above to pass at the distance of 3 journies to the eastward of the Borysthenes.\* These Nomades *are said* to inhabit a district of 14 journies towards the east, and as far as the river *Gerrhus*: but the number 14 is an error, at all events: first, because the Royal Scythians, who are divided from the former, by the river *Gerrhus*, join southward to the district of Taurica (Krimæa); Melpom. 20; which begins at the Gulf of Carcinitis, Pliny, lib. iv. c. 12; and therefore cannot be *many* journies removed from the Borysthenes. Secondly, because the *Hypacyris*, which bounds Hylæa on the east, passed through the midst of the Nomades, in its way to Carcinitis; Melpom. 55. Neither of these circumstances could have taken place, had the Nomades extended 14 journies to the eastward of the Husbandmen; that is, 17 to the east of the Borysthenes. Moreover, it would not have left room for the Royal

\* Pliny, lib. iv. c. 12, agrees with Herodotus, that the *Panticapes* divides the Nomades, from the Husbandmen, Scythians. Ptolemy's *Hypanis*, *Europæ*, viii. on the *east* of the Borysthenes, appears to occupy the place of this Panticapes.

It is difficult to judge what the course of the Panticapes was, and where it joined the Borysthenes, but there can be little doubt, as has been said, that it was one of its branches.

*Scythians*, who are said to be the *most numerous* tribe of Scythians ;  
Melp. 20.

Whether it be, that Herodotus was not correctly informed, or that the rivers have undergone a change in their courses, during the long interval of near 23 centuries, it is certain that the modern geography of the country, set forth by its present possessors, the Russians, does not present any such series of rivers as the Panticapes, the Hypacyris, and the Gerrhus, in the *like positions*, and under the *like circumstances*. But, it is very true, that the maps which enter most into the detail of this country, represent the tract in which we should look for these rivers, to be full of stagnant lakes and pools, in which the courses of creeks terminate from the north ; so that it may be suspected that the Borysthenes, and its branches, have *wandered* through this space in different ages of the world ; and, in consequence, may have at times, gained the sea by different mouths ; and occasionally by more than one, at the same period of time. There is a very strong circumstance mentioned by Pliny, lib. iv. c. 12, where, after saying that the *Taurican Chersonesus* begins at *Carcinus*, he proceeds to say, that “ it was anciently *environed by the sea*, in the part where the ground is

\* Pliny has a river *Pacyris*, which must be taken for the *Hypacyris*, as he conducts it into the gulf of *Carcinitis* ; lib. iv. c. 12. Ptolemy, Europ. viii. names the river, as well as the gulf which receives it, *Carcinitis* : but places the town *Pasiris*, on its banks.

Pliny, moreover, speaks (in the same place) of a river *Hypanis*, which passes between *Hylæa* and the Nomadic Scythians ; and afterwards discharges itself into *Coretus*, a gulf of the Palus Mæotis : probably intended for the NW bay of it, as the lake of *Buges* is said to join it : for this lake appears in Ptolemy to answer to the Muddy lake, or Siwasch, which shuts up the Krimea towards the north. We conceive there is an error in Pliny respecting *this Hypanis*, and its connection with the *Coretus* : and that, as it passes between the *Hylæans* and *Nomades*, that the *Hypacyris* is really intended. So that he had probably confounded *Hypanis*, *Hypacyris*, and *Pacyris*, together, as well as *Carcinitis*, and *Coretus*.



flat;" which flat country seems evidently to be the tract above-mentioned, on the north of, and adjacent to, the Krimea. And indeed, reasoning from analogy, nothing is more likely than that a great change should have taken place, in the course of so vast, and so rapid a river as the Borysthenes; and which also flows through a deep alluvial country. It may be observed on the Map, what a vast *elbow* it makes to the east, in the lower part of its course. Hence, considering other circumstances, it is probable that at some former period, it ran *straight* from the Cataracts into the western part of the Mæotis; and that, having in a course of ages, raised the ground too high, to make its way through, it sought a lower bed in the west, but left a *branch* in the former one (which it might do, although its bed would not contain the whole river); and *this* branch may have been the *Gerrbus*, which, Herodotus says, was really an emanation of the Borysthenes. Melpom. 56. Instances of such changes, are by no means unfrequent in other places: and, it is pretty certain that the *Deltas* of all rivers are formed in this way.\*

It may be added, that, the reports of those who have visited that country in latter times, confirm in the strongest manner, the idea, not only of a change of course of the Borysthenes, and Dneister, but of a still greater change in the face of the country between the

\* Much light is thrown on these subjects in a series of Maps of the Rhine, by M. Wiebeking of Darmstadt; a part of which were published in 1796, and seem to be the most useful of the kind that have appeared. In these, the changes in the course of the river, are traced with precision, and the dates marked: and the works erected in certain parts, to prevent the destructive effects of the stream, are described. They cannot but be highly useful to those whose business requires that they should be well versed in the nature of river currents and alluvions.

In the Appendix to the Memoir of the Map of Hindoostan, 1793, there will also be found, under article Ganges, many remarks of the above kind; all tending to prove the vast and rapid changes that take place in the beds of rivers, as well as the rapid increase of *alluvions*.

Borysthenes and the sea; in effect, giving strength to an opinion that the Peninsula of the Krimea from the original state of an island, has been joined to the main land, either by a general subsidence of the level of the Euxine, or by the depositions of the Borysthenes; or possibly, by both these causes combined.\*

The reports alluded to, are particularly those of M. Pallas, and of the Baron Tott. The former says, in the work above quoted, page 1, "That the Peninsula of *Taurica*, which rises with an abrupt ascent to the height of 1200 feet, on the south side towards the Euxine, sinks by degrees towards the continent, and at last with so easy a slope, as to lose itself insensibly in the great plain, of which the adjacent country on the north, is chiefly formed; and which plain is but little elevated above the level of the sea." In page 19, he says that the same plain seems as if it had once been covered by the sea; as well as the desert between the Borysthènes and the *Berda*, which last is a river that flows into the *Mæotis* about midway between the Krimea and Azoph. He also supposes that the salt lakes, with which the plain is strewed, were once bays of the sea, whose mouths being first shut up by bars of sand, thrown across them by the surge of the sea, were finally separated by the subsidence of its level, when, by the rupture of the ground at the Bosphorus, and Hellespont, the Euxine discharged its upper level of water into the *Ægean* sea.

He accounts (p. 20) for the formation of the lake of *Sirwasch* (or the *muddy* lake,) much in the same manner, by the matter

\* It has so often happened that islands have been joined to the sea by alluvions, as well of the *sea*, as of *rivers*, that the former cause alone is sufficient to produce the effect. Herodotus himself gives one instance in the junction of one half of the *Echinades* with the continent, by the alluvions formed by the river *Achelous* in *Acarmania*. Euterpe, 10. Others, near Ephesus, have been joined by the *Cayster*; the island of *Pharos* also with the main land of Egypt; so that the *modern Alexandria* stands on the alluvion itself. The instances are very numerous.

thrown up by the waves of the Mæotis, occasioned by the prevalent strong winds at east and north-east.\*

Thus the opinion of M. Pallas, is at least, in favour of a *great change* having taken place, in the tract between the Borysthenes and Krimea: which opinion, as we have seen, agrees exactly with the report of Pliny, more than 17 centuries ago. But we are of opinion, that more appearances are yet to be accounted for; and that the courses of the creeks from N to S, across the same plain, and which terminate in lakes; together with the vast surface of mud, and muddy lakes, spread over the eastern part of the Isthmus; can only be accounted for, by the presence of a large fresh-water river: and that river can hardly be supposed to be any other than the Borysthenes, which in our idea, formerly gained the sea at the western part of the Mæotis; and having gradually raised the level too high, for it to run on, retired westward in search of a lower level. This progress of things must of course have been posterior to the subsidence of the Euxine.

The notices furnished by Baron Tott are by no means unworthy of attention, although arising from a more confined view of things. He mentions the remarkable lowness and flatness of the ground, in front of the Isthmus of the Krimea, and indeed all the way from the Borysthenes; though without hinting any idea of any change

\* Appearances seem to prove, that the limits of the Mæotis have been much circumscribed; and its bed, of course, in part filled up, by the depositions of the Tanais, Borysthenes, and other rivers. The large chart of that sea (drawn since 1773,) points out many banks and tongues of land, that have evidently been formed, as well from the currents, generated in the sea, by the discharge of the Tanais, (and which run along the north coast, and thence to the S and SE to the Strait of *Jenicale*,) as by the river currents themselves. It was the idea of Polybius (lib. iv. c. 5.) that the filling up of the Mæotis, was no very remote event, in his time. The operation, however, is so slow, that it may reasonably be deemed a very remote event, at present, although nearly 2000 years have elapsed, since the date of his prediction. He had an idea that it was not much more than 15 to 20 feet deep, generally: but it is at present more than 30; and in the deepest parts 40 to 48.

having taken place. He says, that the Isthmus itself, across which the *lines* of Perekop are drawn, (and which extend about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a league,) is a plain; but overtops the plain *without*, by about 40 feet; however, that it joins with so gentle a slope, as if formed artificially. Hence the alluvion must be supposed to terminate with the lower plain.

It has been before remarked, that he describes the Plain of *Yeddessan*, between the Dneister and Borysthenes, as a perfect level, save only the ravines or vallies which contain the muddy rivulets, terminating in lakes; and which may probably be the ancient channels of rivers; perhaps of the Dneister, or the Bog. And as he describes such a country likewise, between the Borysthenes and the Tanais, in which the detailed maps describe the same kind of creeks and lakes; it is very possible, not to say probable, that other rivers have wandered *there* also.

After this very long dissertation, we return again to the subject that gave rise to it, the course of the *Gerrhus*, and the other rivers of this part of Scythia.

It is proper to note a circumstance in which our Author differs from all others; and in which, the reason of the thing seems to shew that he was wrong. He says, *Melpom.* 56, that the *Gerrhus* finally *joins* with the *Hypacyris*. Now, this *latter*, is allowed on all hands to pass through the country of the Nomades, and to discharge itself into the *Carcine* gulf, which washes the *west* side of Taurica; whilst the *Gerrhus* *separates* the *Nomades* from the *Royal Scythians*, and is described by Pliny and Ptolemy\* to enter the *Palus Mæotis*, which shuts up Taurica on the *east*. It is difficult to comprehend, how the *Gerrhus*, which forms the boundary between the Nomades and Royal Scythians; which Nomades also lay to the east of *Hylæa*, and the Husbandmen; could fall into the gulf of *Carcinitis*, with the *Hypacyris*!

A river, or rather several beds of rivers, whose courses fall in

• \* *Lib. iv. c. 12*: and *Europæ, Tab. viii.*

nearly together, are found in the position, where the Gerrhus may be looked for; but they have at present, no communication with the Borysthenes, and only one of their branches, with the Mæotis: for they terminate in a long and narrow lake, named *Molocznoe*, very near the western part of the Mæotis, and opposite to a wide gulf, which enters deeply into the land, and appears in ancient times to have joined to the lake; when both together may have formed an *estuarium*, pointing to the north. Either of the above-mentioned branches may have been the *Gerrhus*: but the one that may, from its direction, be more particularly taken for it, is named *Tasczenac*.

The termination of these branches, at the Mæotis, is at 150 G. miles to the east of the mouth of the Borysthenes; though less than 80, from the nearest part of its course. Perhaps then, *four* journies should be read, instead of *fourteen*, for the extent of the *Nomades*, eastward from the *Husbandmen* (see page 65); which will allow 7 journies, at a medium, for the breadth of the tracts occupied by the two, collectively.\*

IV. The ROYAL SCYTHIANS; *Nomades also*, but of a higher order.

These, as we have seen, bordered on the *Nomades*, properly so called, westward; and on the *Tauri* southward: and they are said, *Melp.* 20, to have spread eastward as far as the *Tanais*, northward to the *Melanchlæni*, 20 days' journies, inland. These were the most numerous, as well as the most noble, of the *Scythian* nation;

\* The course of the *Gerrhus* appears clear enough in *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*. *Pliny* agrees with *Herodotus*, in making it the boundary between the *Nomades* and *Royal Scythians*; and with *Ptolemy* in conducting it finally, into the *Mæotis*; the difference only is, that *Pliny* leads it into the lake *Buges*, which communicates with the gulf *Coretus* and the *Mæotis*; whilst *Ptolemy* leads it wide to the east of the lake *Buges*, or *Byces*. Both of them have also a river of *Buges*, but they differ in the place of its *embouchure*, exactly as they do concerning that of the *Gerrhus*.

They have also a 3d river, which is named *Acesinus* by *Pliny*, *Axiacus*, by *Ptolemy*; but which is not found in our Author.

and they regarded all the rest of their countrymen as their slaves; Melp. 20. According to these notices, the Royal Scythians, who may be considered as the great body of *freemen* of the nation, occupied the tract generally, between the *Mæotis* on the south; the *Tanais* on the east; the river *Gerrhus*, and the *Nomades* on the west; and the river *Desna*, and its eastern branch, on the north. They had the *Mclanchlæni*, for their northern neighbours; the *Budini* and *Geloni*, on the NE; and the *Sauromatæ* on the east. We shall now turn to the *west* of the *Borysthenes*.

V. The *CALLIPIDÆ*, Melp. 17, *Callipodes* of *Solinus*, appear to have occupied the lower course of the *Hypanis*; and are called *Greek Scythians*. Beyond these, between the *Hypanis* and *Tyres*, were,

VI. The *HALIZONES*.\* Both of them were agricultural people. In Melp. 52, it is said that in the district of the *latter*, the courses of the *Tyres* and *Hypanis* incline towards each other, but soon separate again to a considerable distance. From this circumstance, the *Halizones* must be placed in part of *Padolia* and *Braclaw*. See above, page 55.

VII. Beyond the *Halizones*, was another agricultural tribe, not named, Melp. 17; and who must have inhabited the frontier of *Scythia*, to the NW; as the *Neuri* are said to lie next beyond them, towards the north.

VIII. The *TYRITÆ* (perhaps *Tyrigetæ*)† were reckoned a *Greek* colony, and inhabited the tract at the lower part of the river *Tyres*; (*Dneiper*.) Melp. 51.

The inhabitants of the countries on the west of this river, although classed in a general way, as *Scythians*, are not particularized by *Herodotus*.‡ Some authors reckon these to be *Gætæ*;

\* *Alazones*, in 52.

† See *Pliny*, lib. iv. c. 12.

‡ *Baron Tott*, as we have shewn, found the country on the west of the *Borysthenes*, possessed by a pastoral people; and it is highly probable, from the nature of the country, that the same habits prevailed there anciently. Nor is this any impeachment of

but Hérodoteus appears to confine the *Getae* to the south of the Danube. However, as the term *Getae* may perhaps with propriety be applied to Scythians in general, there might be no great error in the application of it.

*On the reported Origin of the Scythian Nation.*

Thus, having enumerated the different tribes of Scythians, we shall next give a few particulars respecting these remarkable people, from our Author, and others.

As to the fabulous accounts of the origin of the Scythians, they merit little attention as matters of history; but there are certain accordances, in respect of names, with the modern traditions amongst the inhabitants of Western Tartary, that appear remarkable.

The Scythians, according to Herodotus, Melp. 5, 6, 7, say, that the first patriarch and king of their country, was *Targitaus*, 1000 years before the invasion of Darius Hystaspes; (or about 1500 before Christ). That he had three sons, from whom the four tribes of *Anchatae*, *Catiæri*, *Traspies*, and *Paralatae* are descended. The *Paralatae* were the descendants of the *youngest* son,\* who became king of Scythia; but these people were named more commonly *Scoloti*, from a *surname* of the king. The Greeks called them SCYTHIANS; Melp. 6.

Now, it is well known that amongst the Orientals, TURK, the reputed son of JAPHET, is reckoned the patriarch of the tribes of Turkestan and Tartary; as also that his original settlement was in TURKESTAN, that is, the country situated *along*, and *beyond*, the river Jaxartes.

The Targitaus of Herodotus, has, in its root, some affinity to our Author's accuracy; for the agricultural tribes above recorded, were situated very high up the country. The *Yedessan* tribe (of Tott) appear to occupy the place of the *Calipidae* and *Tyrítæ*, of Herodotus.

\* Diodorus, lib. ii. c. 3, calls the ancestor of the *Palians*, who seem to answer to the *Paralatae*, *Palus*; and reckons him the son of Jupiter. With Herodotus he is the grandson.

the name Turk; as that of the Paralatæ, the tribe descended from the youngest son of Targitaus, has to Perlas or Berlas, which designed the tribe last in rank, of those descended from Turk. Targitaus was said to be the son of Jupiter; Turk of Japhet. See D'Herbelot, article *Turk*.

Herodotus gives two different accounts of the original settlement of the Scythians, at the Euxine; and which, whether in their circumstances, true or otherwise, serves to shew that the Greeks regarded them as new settlers in that tract.

The first story is, that “the *Scythian Nomades of Asia*, having “been harassed by the *Massagetæ*, in war, passed the *Araxes*, and “settled in *Cimmeria*; for it is to be observed, that the country “now possessed by the Scythians, belonged formerly to the Cimmerians.—There are still to be found in Scythia, *walls, &c.* “which are termed *Cimmerian*; the same name is also given to a “whole district, as well as to a *narrow sea.*” \* Melpom. 11 and 12.

\* The district in question, may be supposed to have been the *Chersonesus of Taurica (Krimæa)*; and the narrow sea, the *Bosphorus of the Cimmerians*, which is mentioned by name, in Melpom. 100.

How much of Western Scythia, the Cimmerians might have occupied, is unknown; but it may be inferred from a circumstance mentioned in Melpom. 11, that their possessions extended westward, at least to the river *Tyres, or Dnieister*.

Respecting the *walls, &c.* still found in the time of Herodotus, under the name of *Cimmerian*, he does not say that they were in the *Peninsula*, but the context implies it: and it is not improbable that he had seen them. Baron Tott saw in the mountainous part of the *Krimæa*, ancient castles, and other buildings, a part of which were *excavated from the live rock*; together with subterraneous passages from one to the other. These were, he says, always on mountains difficult of access. He refers them to the *Genoese*, with what justice we know not; it is possible *they* might have made use of them: but it is more than probable that these are the works alluded to by our Author: for, it may be remarked, that works of this kind, are commonly of very ancient date.

It appears, that the nature of *part* of the remains, mentioned by Herodotus, cannot, from a corruption of the text, be understood. Some have supposed that *bridges* were intended; others *gates*: may they have been the *subterraneous passages* above-mentioned? or, can it allude to a fortified line, and bridge across the Isthmus, as the former of these existed in very early times?



The second story is from Aristeas, the poet, a native of Proconnesus, who relates, that “under the influence of Apollo, he came to the Issedones; that beyond this people he found the Arimaspi, a nation who have but one eye; farther on, the Gryphins, the guardians of the gold; and beyond these the Hyperboreans, who possess the whole country quite to the *sea*: and that all these nations, *except* the Hyperboreans, are continually engaged in war with their neighbours. Of these hostilities, the Arimaspians were the first authors, for that they drove out the Issedones, the Issedones the Scythians: and the Scythians compelled the Cimmerians, who possessed the country towards the south, to abandon their native land.” Melp. 13.

Of these accounts, Herodotus says, that he is more inclined to believe the first, than the story of Hercules and the monster Queen of Scythia, above alluded to; and of the second, that “*it had obtained credit*, both with the Greeks and Barbarians.” He then proceeds to give a short history of Aristeas, and his Arimaspians verses, in which it appears, he confessed that “he had not penetrated beyond the *Issedones*; and that what he related of the countries more remote, he learnt of the Issedones themselves.” Melp. 14, 16.

It may be observed, that the first account makes the Massagetæ to be the people who drove out the Scythian Nomades of Asia, to seek a new country, in the *west*: by the other, the Arimaspians drove out the Issedones, who were situated next to them; and who in turn, impelled the Scythians westward to the Euxine; where they dispossessed the Cimmerians.

In either case, the question is, who were the Scythians thus dispossessed, and in what country was their original settlement?

Whether the cause of migration might have been dread of conquest, want of room, or of pasturage, or any other matter, the events of more recent times may convince us, that such migrations have frequently happened: and we may quote in particular, the famous migration of the *Kalmucs* in 1770, 1771, when they re-

moved, (or rather took flight) from the west of the river *Wolga* to the *Balchatz* lake; (called also *Palkati Nor*,\* and lake of the *Kalmucs*,) a march of even greater length than from the *Jaxartes* to the *Mæotis*.†

But besides this instance, there is every reasonable testimony of the migrations of the Turks and *Taftars* westward, in all ages; so as even to change the population of the southern countries of Europe and Asia. Indeed, in the present instance, as well as in some few others, in recent times, the western countries appear to be too fully stocked, for the purposes of *Nomadic* life; so that the tribes of this description, begin to recoil *eastward* again.

To return to the Scythians of Herodotus.—It will appear, when the countries on the east of the *Mæotis* and *Tanais* are described, that he speaks of a nation of Scythians, who, according to the circumstances of the description, should have occupied the *Desbt Kipzak*, at the head of the *Caspian* sea, together with a large proportion of the *Steppe*, now in the possession of the *Kirgees* tribes; and these he styles the SCYTHIANS who had SECEDED from the ROYAL SCYTHIANS, at the *Mæotis*; *Melp.* 22.

It is obvious, however, that if this statement was true, the country assigned by our Author to the *Massagetæ*, on the borders of the *Jaxartes*, (and *Aral*, taken by him and others for part of the *Caspian*,) would be confounded with the space assigned by him to the *seceding* Royal Scythians; and which error, from his incorrect ideas of relative position, he might not be able to detect. Either then, he erred in extending the lands of these Royal Scythians, too far to the east, or he has confounded them with the *Massagetæ*. And as he wrote from the information of others; and perhaps also, from very vague notices; it is not altogether improbable that the Royal Scythians might be a tribe of the same nation with the

\* *Nor* signifies lake, or sea.

† The numbers were said to be 55 to 60 thousand families; perhaps 350,000 persons. (Mr. *Tooke*.)

Massagetæ at the Jaxartes: in which case, the story of Aristeas which makes the Issedones to drive the Scythians westward, would be more probable than the other story, of the Massagetæ driving out the Scythians; since the Massagetæ and Scythians would be tribes of the same nation.

At all events, the Royal Scythians at the Euxine, and those, who from the description of Herodotus, are placed in the Desht Kipzak and Steppe, are confessedly of the same nation: the doubt remaining is, whether they occupied likewise the seats of the Massagetæ? The Desht Kipzak indeed may have been their *original seat*, in which either a *part* of the nation remained at the first migration; or to which a colony might *return*, after the nation was settled at the Mæotis. The Kalmucs in their late migration, did no more than *return* to their former seats, near the Palkati Nor.

If is a question, which perhaps can never be *determined*, whether the Massagetæ, or Scythians of the Jaxartes, and those of the Euxine, were of the same stock; but it appears highly probable that they were: and the seeming doubt of our Author, whether he should class the Massagetæ with the Scythians, Clio, 201, 215, 216, furnishes, in our idea, some proof of it. The similitude in point of manners and customs between them, gave occasion to the ancients (though at a somewhat later date than the time of Herodotus,) to apply the name of Scythians to the Massagetæ, with whom they became later acquainted. We confess, that we cannot help regarding these notices on the whole, as tending to a proof that the Massagetan Scythians were the most ancient of the two, and probably the ancestors of those at the Euxine. The story of Targitaus seems to respect *Turkestan*, rather than *Euxine Scythia*; and Targitaus, if meant for Turk, should have been the common ancestor of all the Scythians.\*

\* Diodorus, lib. ii. c. 3, derives the *Massagæ*, *Sacæ*, and *Arimaspi*, from the same *Scythian* stock; which Scythians were first settled at the *Araxes* (no doubt

It is unquestionable that there is a great similarity in many of their customs; and which can only be referred to *imitation*. We shall enumerate a few of them.

Not to mention the Nomadic life common to both, since it might also have been followed by others in North Asia, we shall only observe,

1. That the *clothes* and *food* of the *Massagetae* resemble those of the *Scythians*; Clio, 215.

2. That both nations lived in *waggon*s, or *carriages*; Clio, 216; Melp. 46; 121.\*

3. That they fought chiefly on horseback; Clio, 215; Melp. 46, 136; and,

4. That they sacrificed *horses* to their deities; the *Massagetae* in particular, to the sun. "They sacrifice horses to the sun, their *only* deity, thinking it right to offer the swiftest of mortal animals, to the swiftest of immortal beings." Clio, at the end. See also Melp. 61.

It however happens, unfortunately, that Herodotus is much too brief in his account of the customs of the *Massagetae*, to allow any great scope of comparison; otherwise it is probable that more points of resemblance would have been found. †

*Jaxartes* is meant, as well as by Herodotus), from whence they extended themselves *westward*, to the Euxine and Mæotis, and finally beyond the Tanais: and *eastward* to the ocean. This account appears probable.

Justin remarks it also. He describes the Scythians generally, as a pastoral people, living in *waggon*s covered with skins, lib. ii. c. 2. He adds, that "the ignorance of vice has been of more advantage to *them*, than the knowledge of virtue has to *others*."

The circumstance of their living in *waggon*s was so familiarly known, that Lucian speaks of it, in his *Toxaris*.

† Herodotus relates of the *Massagetae*, who had their wives in *common*, that the signal of retirement and privacy was the hanging up of the *quiver* of the individual before his *waggon*; Clio, 216. Among the *Nasamones*, in Africa, whose habits were nearly the same, a *staff* was fixed in the ground before the *tent*; Melpom. 172.

The Persians of the time of Xenophon, and the Parthians of later times, both of whom, but particularly the latter, being to be regarded as descendants of Massagetæ; whatsoever particulars we discover in the Persians and Parthians that are akin to Scythians, serves to shew a common origin between Massagetæ and Scythians.

Herodotus says, Melp. 7c, "whenever the *Scythians* (of the "Euxine) form alliances, they observe these ceremonies: a large "earthen vessel is filled with wine, into this is poured some of the "blood of the *contracting parties*, obtained by a slight incision of a "knife or sword: in this vessel they dip a *scymetar*, some *arrows*, "a *hatchet*, and a *spear*. After this, they perform solemn prayers," &c.

Xenophon, Anab. lib. ii. says, that the commanders of the Greeks, and Ariæus (the Persian) took an oath not to betray one another, and to *become allies*, &c.; which oath "was preceded by "the sacrifice of a *boar*, a *bull*, a *wolf*, and a *ram*, whose blood "being all mixed together in the hollow of a shield, the Greeks "dipped a *sword* into it, and the Barbarians a *spear*." As the Scythians refined, by becoming stationary in Persia, one may suppose that the blood of brute animals, was substituted for human blood.\*

Strabo absolutely calls the Parthians, *Scythians*, in his account of the origin of the city of Ctesiphon, page 743; and, in fact, most of the ancient historians regard the Parthians as descendants of Scythians; that is, of *Massagetæ*. And there is no doubt but that

Dowe says, in his dissertation prefixed to his Indian History, p. xxxvii. that the *Facquirs* of some part of India, leave one of their *slippers* at the door, when engaged in certain visits, in which they are supposed to be privileged, by the *sanctity* of their order. Some of our ancestors are accused of the same want of delicacy as the *Massagetæ* and the *Nasamones*; but we have no particular record of their domestic customs. Herodotus acquits the Western Scythians of this practice, so contrary to decency and sentiment.

\* The above modes are represented as *permanent* customs, in the above countries. But we find it practised *occasionally*, and in a more horrible manner, in Egypt, Thalia, II: and by Catiline, as is told by Sallust.

the resemblance of character between the Massagetan race, and the Scythians of the Euxine, led them to regard both as being of the same stock.\*

Justin, who seems to have known no other Scythians than those at the Euxine, to whom he refers whatsoever regards the Scythians at large, assigns to them a high degree of antiquity: for he makes them more ancient than even the Egyptians. His argument to prove it, is very curious. He says, that the Scythians inhabited an elevated tract, which was therefore fit for the reception of men, at an earlier period than Egypt, which had been covered with water; lib. i. c. 1. But although much the same idea of the early state of Egypt was entertained by Herodotus,† yet he supposes, with much reason, Euterpe, 15, that this circumstance does not make any alteration in the case, as the Egyptians would have migrated lower and lower down, as the newly formed land became habitable; wherefore the inhabitants of Lower Egypt would have been drawn from Upper Egypt, (or Thebes,) and Ethiopia. And according to him, the Scythians themselves did not pretend to antiquity; since they affirmed that their country was of all others, the last peopled. Melpom. 5.

Few tracts could be better suited to a pastoral life, than the seats of the *Euxine* Scythians, (the *Ukraine* and its neighbourhood;) in which particular, they had greatly the advantage of the *Eastern* Scythians. The soil was rich, and abundantly watered; and the grass, as Herodotus observes, Melp. 58, “ is of all that we know, the fullest of moisture, which evidently appears from the dissection

\* In Melpom. 65, it appears that the Western Scythians (our ancestors probably,) decided certain of their differences by combat, in presence of the king. This agrees exactly with one of our ancient customs: but we are daily getting rid of our *Scythian habits*.

† His idea, Euterpe, 4, *et seq.* being, that all the tract below the lake of *Mæris*, which is at the distance of 7 days' journey from the sea, had been formed by the mud of the Nile; and was no better than a marsh in the reign of Menes. See also his reasoning, in chapters 10 to 13.

of their cattle." \* They possessed the greatest abundance of provisions, 59, and were of course very populous, 81; but were generally destitute of wood, 61. They held in abhorrence foreign customs, 76; and like most of the eastern nations, kept no swine; 63. Like other Nomadic nations, they were impatient of dependance, and possessed a great share of courage. Having no towns, and few cultivated fields, they could never be conquered. Our Author regarded Scythia, as a country exempt from the character of *absolute barbarism*, although surrounded by nations the *most barbarous*; and says, "Even of the Scythians I cannot in general speak with extraordinary commendation." Melpom. 46. He has recorded their barbarous sacrifices to their deities, and at their funerals; their practice of scalping, (which more than any other circumstance, has fixed the character of barbarism on the American Indians;) their horrid custom of drinking the blood of enemies, and making drinking vessels of their skulls. † If these are not the acts of Barbarians, what are to be deemed such? ‡

Notwithstanding some ambiguities, and apparent contradictions, in the geography of Scythia, Herodotus had certainly paid uncommon attention to the subject; and by the solemnity of his declaration, at setting out, we may suppose that he meant to be very

\* Bell speaks of the *fertility* of the soil, and *rich pasturage* of the Ukraine. He also says that there are good horses; and large black cattle, which afford as good beef as any in the world. (Journey from Moscow to Constantinople.)

Mr. Bell has (in the same journey,) a curious remark respecting the nature of the river banks, in the line between Moscow, and Ismael, on the Danube. "By what I could observe, (says he) all the great rivers, from the Wolga to this place, have for the most part *high lands* for their western banks, and *low flat* ones to the eastward." It should be remarked that his track lay very far inland, and consequently very wide of Baron Tott's.

† See Melpomene, 60, 64, 65, and 72.

‡ Our Author says, Melp. 46, that amongst the Scythians and the bordering nations, there has been found no individual of superior learning and accomplishments, *save Anacharsis* the Scythian. See more of him in Melpom. 76, and 77.

impressive: for after saying, Melp. 16, that Aristéas had gone no farther than to the country of the Issedones, he adds, "for my own part, all the intelligence which the most assiduous researches, and the greatest attention to authenticity, have been able to procure, shall be faithfully related." And perhaps, it has seldom happened, that a traveller who collected his information concerning the geography of so extensive a tract, in so casual a way, has produced a description in which so many circumstances have been found to agree.\*

\* *Scythia*, together with the nations bordering on it, and which are included in our Author's description, comprized about half of the length of Europe, in the line between the *Tanais* and the *Bay of Biscay*.



## SECTION V.

## OF THE COUNTRIES BORDERING ON WESTERN SCYTHIA.

*Relative Positions of the Nations bordering on the West, and North of Scythia — The Melanchlæni, Androphagi, Neuri, and Agathyrsi — their general Character. — Positions of the Tribes on the North-east, and East of Scythia — Sauromatæ, or Sarmatians — Amazons — Budini, Geloni, and Thyssagetæ. — The River Oarus taken for the Rha, or Wolga. — Particulars relating to the Eastern Tribes — Forests of the Budini, answer to those of Woronz — the CZAR PETER builds Fleets there, and in the Tanais. — Taurica, or Krimea — its Isthmus shut up, from the earliest Times. — The ancient Tauri highly barbarous; and subsisted chiefly on the Plunder of Wrecks.*

HAVING, by the above statement, shewn the general form, position, and extent of WESTERN SCYTHIA, both as it was in reality, and as our Author supposed it to be, we shall next proceed to state, from his descriptions, the positions of the countries said to border on it; which process, by determining the limits of Scythia itself, will also prove our former statement of them.

“As you advance from the Danube, inland,” says Herodotus, *Melp.* 100, “Scythia is terminated first by the AGATHYRSI, then by the NEURI, thirdly by the ANDROPHAGI, and *last of all*, by the MELANCHLÆNI:” none of which, as he observes in other places, are Scythians.\* These nations shut up Scythia, on the west and

\* It would appear that some at least, of these names, were purely *Grecian*: and are therefore the *nick-names* given by that people, rather than the *proper* names of the nations. Or, the Grecians may have given *significant* Greek names, which in *sound* resembled the *proper* ones.

north; the Melanchlæni closing the boundary to the Tanais. The SAUROMATÆ, BUDINI, and GELONI, in like manner shut it up on the east; Melpom. 21, 22, 58, 108. On the south, it was chiefly bordered by the sea; so that the Scythians had only for neighbours, on that side, the TAURI, inhabitants of the Peninsula of Crimea; and the Getæ in the remote corner of Thrace.\*

The position of the country of the Melanchlæni, which forms a leading point in the determination of the adjoining country of the Androphagi, on the west; as well as in some measure, of the whole line of the northern frontier; has been already fixed, by the act of determining the limits of Scythia, in pages 60, 61. For the Melanchlæni were situated at 20 journies of 200 stadia each, to the northward of the Palus Mæotis, Melp. 20, and 101: and it having appeared, that, in coming from the *west*, the Melanchlæni were the *last* people who bordered on the Scythians, inland; consequently, as the Tanais formed the eastern boundary of Scythia, the Melanchlæni must have closed up the space, to the west bank of that river.

Here it may be proper to mention, that the Melanchlæni are spoken of by Procopius,† as the same with the Sarmatians; who are known to have been seated at, and beyond, the Tanais. But M. D'Anville was of opinion that the tribes in general, that bordered on Scythia, occupied a more westerly position than we have assigned them: for instance, he places the Budini, who lay to the east of the Melanchlæni, on both sides of the Borysthenes, where we place the Melanchlæni and Androphagi.

The Androphagi bordered on the *west* of this tribe: because, first, they lay beyond, or to the *north* of the Borysthenitæ, who occupied the banks of the river from whence they were denominated, to the extent of 11 days' voyage above Hylæa; beyond which, a vast desert commenced, which extended to the Andro-

\* The reader is requested to refer to the Map of Scythia, No. III. at page 50.

† Vandal War, lib. i.

phagi; Melpom. 18. And secondly, because Darius Hystaspes, on his return westward, passed out of the territory of the Melanchlæni; into that of the Androphagi; Melp. 125. It is probable then, that the Borysthenes might form the common boundary of these nations; and according to the given breadth of Scythia, 4000 stadia, the general course of the river Desna and Sem, may be taken for the line of separation between the Scythians and the Melanchlæni, at the height of the parallel of 51°

The southern border of the Androphagi, according to the given distance of the frontier of Scythia from the Euxine, must have advanced to the conflux of the rivers Borysthenes and Prypetz; and their extent westward, or rather south-westward, may be gathered from the position of their adjoining neighbours on that side, the Neuri. These then, dwelt near the river Hypanis (or Bog), Melp. 17; and, in 51, they are said to be *separated* from *Scythia*, by the river *Tyres*, (or Dneister). Now, although we cannot exactly understand in what particular part of its course, the Tyres formed the common boundary of the two countries, yet we have at least a proof that the Neuri *bordered* on the Tyres, and that they were not *far* from the Hypanis: for, as in order to preserve the given dimensions of Scythia, inland, we must extend it to the forks of the Borysthenes, on the one hand; and to the borders of Poland, and to the source of the river Pruth, on the other; the Neuri must of course have been situated towards the heads of the Tyres and Hypanis (Dneister and Bog).† Again, as the Neuri joined on the south-west, to the Agathyrsi, who appear to have occupied Transylvania and the north-east part of Hungary, they must have touched on the *Bastarnian Alps*, which would separate them from the Agathyrsi. For *this* tribe, as we have seen, is the *first* that

\* Herodotus supposed that the tracts to the north of the *Melanchlæni*, and *Androphagi*, that is, *Grand Russia* and *Lithuania*, were uninhabited.

† Yet Pliny says, lib. iv. c. 12, that the *Neuri* were situated at the source of the *Borysthenes*.

borders on Scythia, in advancing from the Danube, eastward, Melp. 100; and Scythia, as we have also seen, contained a part of Walachia, (see page 60.) It is also said, Melp. 49, that the river *Maris*, which joins the Danube, rises *amongst* the Agathyrsi; and as this answers clearly to the *Maros* of modern geography, this tribe should have occupied the province of Transylvania generally; together with the NE part of Hungary, which bordered on the Neuri.

It is said, Melpom. 104, that "the Agathyrsi, in most respects resembled the Thracians." This adds to the probability of their having possessed Transylvania; which is in the *neighbourhood* of Thrace, taken at large, according to the ideas of Herodotus; and therefore the account agrees in the principal points.\*

Since then, the Agathyrsi possessed the NE part of Hungary (in addition to Transylvania), and had the Neuri adjacent to them on the NE, beyond the heads of the Pruth,† (which rises within Scythia;) and that the same Neuri were also in the neighbourhood of the rivers Hypanis and Tyres,‡ we must, of course, place the Neuri in the eastern part of the province of Gallicia, and in part of the adjoining country of Lutzk, or Lusuc; whilst the Androphagi, who lay between the Neuri and the Melanchlæni, must have occupied Polish Russia, and both banks of the river Prypetz, the western head of the Borysthenes. And finally, the Melanchlæni themselves should have possessed the present Russian governments, (either entirely, or in part,) of Nougorud, Orel, Mohilew, and Kursk; together with some lesser tracts, towards the Tanais, and the city of Moscow. Thus we arrange the nations bordering on the *west* and *north*, of SCYTHIA.

\* In M. D'Anville's ancient geography, the *Agathyrsi* are found on the *Rubo*, or river of *Riga*. To us, this does not appear to agree, either with the arrangement of *Herodotus*, or with the circumstances of the march of *Darius*. In like manner the *Budini*, are placed by him at the *forks* of the *Borysthenes*!

† Melpom. 48.

‡ Melpom. 17 and 51.

Our Author appears to have known no particulars concerning the countries situated *beyond* the Androphagi, and Melanchlæni, northward. In Melp. 18, 20, and 125, he supposes the whole tract to be desert, or marshy; and entirely uninhabited.

He characterizes these different nations in the following manner :

The AGATHYRSI are represented to be a people of effeminate manners, and abounding in gold; and excepting the strange custom of having their women in common, resemble the Thracians. The character of effeminacy did not, however, apply to them, on occasion of the invasion of the Persians; as will be seen in its place; and in Melp. 104, 125.

The NEURI observe Scythian customs, Melp. 105. There was a ridiculous idea amongst the Scythians, and the Greeks living in Scythia, that once a year, the Neuri were *changed* into *wolves*; and in the space of a few days returned to their former shapes. "But this," says our Author, "I do not believe, although they swear that it is true." This is also reported in Pomponius Mela, lib. ii. c. 1. As they are said to have once taken refuge amongst the Budini, (beyond the Tanais,) they ought to have been but a small nation, Melp. 105.

The ANDROPHAGI, or *men-eaters*, are a separate nation, and by no means Scythian; Melpom. 18. Again, they are perhaps of all mankind, the rudest: they have no forms of law or justice, their employment is *feeding of cattle*: and though their dress is Scythian, they have a dialect appropriate to themselves. Melp. 106.

The MELANCHLÆNI are not Scythians, 20; but their manners are Scythian, 107. They are clothed in *black*, from whence they derive their name.\* He adds, that "they are the only people known to feed on human flesh:" but there can hardly be a doubt

\* Tamerlane found in the mountains of *Kawuck*, (a part of the Indian *Caucasus*) a tribe who are named by his historian Sherefeddin, *Sia-poshians*, or *black clothed*. The *Getes* beyond the *Jaxartes*, had *black* ensigns. Sherefeddin's *Timur*, book iii. c. 6.

that this should be applied to the *Androphagi* in the *preceding* sentence; as the *occupation* of the *Androphagi* should probably be applied to the *Melanclæni*. All is then consistent.

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We shall next inquire into the positions and circumstances of the nations bordering on the east and north-east of Scythia.

The Tanais is said to separate the Royal Scythians from the SAUROMATÆ,\* on the east; Melp. 20, and 57. These commenced at the *remote* parts of the Palus Mæotis, (speaking in respect of the Danube and Scythia;) and inhabited a space extending northward, equal to 15 days' journey; Melp. 21.

Beyond the Sauromatæ, (implied of course to be to the north, or north-east,) were the BUDINI, or BUDIANS, who inhabited a country *abounding with wood*: whereas, that of the Sauromatæ was quite destitute of trees, and may therefore be taken for part of the Desert of Astrakan, and of the country of the Don Cossacks: as that of the Budini, said to be exceedingly woody, Melpom. 21, for the country of *Woronez*; which is not only woody, but abounds with forests of fine ship timber; of which more, in the sequel.†

Amongst the Budini, was a Grecian colony named GELONI; who possessed a large city, built of wood, apparently the only city in all that quarter. It was named Gelonus. Melp. 108.

Beyond the Budini, lay a desert of 7 or 8 days' journey in extent; to the *east* of which, were the THYSSAGETÆ, "a singular but populous nation, who supported themselves by hunting;" Melp. 22, 123. We shall say nothing at present, concerning the nations

\* They were named *Sauromatæ* by the Greeks; *Sarmatæ* by the Romans: Pliny, lib. iv. c. 12.

† Rubruquis, in A. D. 1253, crossed the countries between the Krimea, and Saratow, on the Wolga. He reports that the country between the Tanais and the Wolga, (at a point very high up, as he was about 15 days in travelling across from it to the Wolga,) was very fine, full of rivers, and interspersed with vast forests.

situated further to the east, and extending towards the *Issedones* and *Massagetæ*; because they have no immediate reference to, and would only serve to embarrass, the present subject; which is exclusively WESTERN SCYTHIA, and the nations *immediately* bordering on it.

The Sauromatiæ intended by Herodotus, (for his Scythia is the Sauromatia, or Sarmatia of later authors,) may be supposed to have extended along the eastern side of the Mæotis, and thence up the Tanais, to about the part, where that river and the Wolga approach each other, to form the Isthmus at Zaritzyn; and on the probable supposition that the *lower part* of the *Donetz* was taken for the *Don*, they must have occupied *both* banks of that river to the same extent; that is, 15 journies, or 3000 stadia.

This being admitted, the Budini must necessarily be placed *above* that Isthmus. To what extent, we are not told; but as they were "a great and numerous people," Melp. 108, a great space is required for them; and they may, with probability, be extended up the Tanais, beyond Woronez.

The position of the Geloni does not appear; otherwise than that they were *included* in the country of the Budini.

The Thyssagetæ, as has been said, lay to the east of the Budini, separated by a desert of 7 or 8 journies. They also, were a populous nation; and moreover, subsisted by hunting: consequently, *they* required a great extent of country *also*. It is said, in Melp. 123, that from the country of the Thyssagetæ, "four *great* rivers, after watering the intermediate plains, empty themselves into the Mæotis:" and that their names are "the *Lycus, Oarus, Tanais*, and the *Syrgis*." (This last seems to be the same that is intended by the name *Hyrgis*, in Melp. 57; where it is said to be an adjunct of the Tanais.)

Since the Budini are placed to the *east* of the Tanais, and the Thyssagetæ, or at least a part of their country, to the *east* of that of the Budini; and that the country of the Thyssagetæ itself is very extensive; it may readily be conceived to extend along the

*north* and *north-east* of the Budini, between the upper part of the Tanais, and the Wolga about Saratow. Nor is that extent of space greater, than is allowed by our Author to the Sauromatæ.

It is unlikely that the geographers of those days were critically informed, concerning the positions and courses of these rivers; especially as the Tanais is composed of many branches, and one of those (the *Medweditza*) springing from the very neighbourhood of the *Wolga*: so that it may well be, that although the Thyssagetæ had amongst them *certain* fountains of the Tanais, yet that the *Wolga* itself might have been one of the rivers intended; as by its course above Zaritzyn, it must have appeared to a casual observer, to run towards the Mæotis: more especially, when the two great errors respecting the Mæotis and Caspian, are considered: the Mæotis being supposed to extend a vast way to the east of its actual position, and the Caspian to be much more remote than it really is. Accordingly the *Wolga* may well be taken for the *Oarus*;\* and perhaps the *Medweditza* and *Choper*, for the *Lycus* and *Syrgis*; or *Hyrgis*.†

We are told that Darius returned from the banks of the Oarus directly into Scythia; re-crossing, as it appears, the country of the Budini, and without entering into that of the Thyssagetæ; Melp. 124: and that from thence, he followed the Scythians into the country of the Melanchlæni, situated as we have seen, between the *upper Borysthenes* and *Tanais*. This movement accords with the opinion just delivered, concerning the respective positions of the several nations adjoining to Scythia; and hence it will appear, that the

\* The Roman name of the *Wolga* was *Rha*.

If the river of *Woronez* be taken for the *Oarus*, this difficulty arises, that the *Thyssagetæ* could not then take the relative position assigned them by our Author, to the *east* of the *Budini*; which latter, as well from the position, as the description, of their country, should have occupied the *woody* tract about *Woronez*, &c.

† There are two or more rivers of the name of *Irgis*, in modern geography, but they are to the *east* of the *Wolga*, and in the *Steppe*.



Scythians, together with the bordering nations above described, must have occupied the whole of that vast tract, situated between the heads of the river Teisse (Tibiscus) on the west, and the Wolga on the east; northwards to the borders of Kazan and Moscow; NW to the heads of the Vistula; and southwards to the Danube, Euxine, Tanais, and the Desert of Astrakan.

It may be proper in this place, to speak a word concerning the just-mentioned tribes bordering on the east of Scythia.

The SAUROMATÆ, according to our Author, were a mixed breed of Scythians, and of Amazons, from the banks of the river *Thermodon*, in Asia Minor; Melp. 110. The story throughout, has doubtless, too much the air of fable. It appears that the language of the Sauromatæ was a *dialect* of the Scythian; 117; and that, on occasion of the Persian invasion, they considered the cause as common to both nations, and joined their arms to those of the Scythians accordingly; 119. And as they afterwards formed a separate body, whose department was to watch the Persian army at the Tanais, and to pursue and harass them, on occasion of their retreat; they ought to have been a numerous people; 120.

The Sauromatæ were then, in effect, Scythians; who had their language and customs somewhat changed, by intermarrying with women of another nation.

Since the story of the Amazons, in the way it is commonly told, is so justly exploded in these times, one is surprised how it came to be so universally believed, as that most of the writers of antiquity should speak of it as a fact. Nay, even our Author has gone so far, in *Calliope* 27, as to make the Athenians say, that the Amazons had advanced from the river *Thermodon* to attack *Attica*! That a community of women existed for a short time, is not improbable, since accidents may have deprived them of their husbands; but were there not in that, as in every community, males growing up towards maturity?

Justin, lib. ii. c. 4, describes the origin of the Amazons to be

this: a colony of *exiled* Scythians established themselves on the coast of the Euxine sea, in Cappadocia, near the river *Thermodon*; and being exceedingly troublesome to their neighbours, the men were all massacred. This accounts very rationally for the existence of a community of women; but who can believe that it continued? Human nature was, no doubt, the same on the banks of the *Thermodon*, as elsewhere; and a different state of things could only exist in the descriptions of poets, or of those who followed their authority.

It may be remarked, that every authority places the Amazons at the river *Thermodon*, and in the plains of *Themiscyra*, which it waters. And from hence, Herodotus transports a part of them by sea, to the opposite shore, near *Cremnis*, a port in the *Mæotis*, amongst the Royal Scythians; from whence their new husbands carry them beyond the *Tanais*, into *Sauromata*.

The *BUDINI* were a great and numerous people: they painted their bodies *blue* and *red*; *Melp.* 108; and had the character of being *magicians*; 105. They are said in one place, 21, to be husbandmen, but in another, 109, to be feeders of cattle; in contradistinction to the *GELONI*, who were an agricultural people.

Their country abounds with timber; which gave occasion to the building of a large city with that material, by the *Geloni*; who were Greeks, expelled from their commercial towns, (we must suppose, on the coast of the Euxine,) and took refuge amongst the *Budini*. They had temples built in the Grecian manner, to Grecian deities; with the statues, altars, and shrines, all of wood; 108. The Greeks were apt to confound both nations under the name of *Geloni*, although they differed widely in appearance, complexion, and habits. Within their country, amidst the thickest woods, there is a large lake, in which (says our Author) are found otters, beavers, and other wild animals who have square snouts: and whose skins were used to border garments; and their testicles were esteemed useful in hysteric diseases; 109.

It is said, 105, that the Neuri, on a particular occasion, took refuge with the Budini: so that there are *two* instances, in which they afforded an asylum to distressed strangers. This is a most favourable *trait* of their character. They had the reputation of being *magicians*: they were probably an ingenious people, and excelled their neighbours, in arts, as well as in hospitality. To add to their character, *they*, together with the Geloni, generously joined their arms with the Scythians, and Sauromatæ, in repelling the Persian invader; 119.

The country of the Budini, has been taken for that of Woronez, and its neighbourhood (page 89); as well from description, as position; it being, like the other, full of forests. These, in modern times, have been converted to purposes, very different from those, to which the Geloni applied them: for, in 1703, the CZAR PETER built a large fleet of ships, almost a navy, at Woronez, and in its neighbourhood; and which were floated down by the river Don, to Azoph, and the Euxine. The account of it may be seen in Le Brun, who visited Woronez in the train of the Czar.\* He relates, that he saw at *Stepena*, 10 ships; 47 others at *Woronez*; and 11 others in the river Don, not far below Woronez; which is itself situated on a river of the same name, near its conflux with the Don; in about the parallel of 52°. It is understood that almost all the above 68 ships, were ships of war of different rates; and of which, 16 are *specified* to be from 86 to 54 guns; and many others are implied to be of considerable force. There were besides, 200 brigantines; mostly built at Woronez. And he adds, that there were at the same time, 400 very substantial ones on the Borys-thenes, in the neighbourhood of Krim Tartary; 300 flat boats in the Wolga; and at Azoph, 18 men of war, and some smaller vessels. Some of these were built after the English mode; others, after the Dutch, Venetian, and Italian; but whether this variety was a necessary consequence of employing shipwrights of different

\* See Le Brun's Travels, Vol. i.

nations, or was meant for the purpose of experiment, we are not told. Le Brun, however, who had probably no partiality for the English, says, that the ship of 86 guns, built at Woronez under the direction of the CZAR himself, and named after him, was built in the English style. Another, under the same inspection, was built in the Don; but neither the rate, nor the fashion of it, are mentioned. It has been understood that the CZAR thought the English the best shipwrights.

When we reflect on the various personal labours of this TRULY GREAT Prince, all tending to produce either an immediate, or a remote, advantage to his country; now enforcing duty by example, now operating the direct means of national strength, or improvement; considering also, the unusual means pursued by him, to obtain the requisite degree of knowledge; we are struck with admiration; and cannot help exclaiming with Addison, "WHO BEFORE HIM, EVER LEFT A THRONE, TO LEARN TO SIT IN IT, WITH A BETTER GRACE?" The effect has been, not only to humanize, to protect, to enrich, his country; but to raise it to that summit of power, as to flatter the friends of ORDER, (and of VIRTUE, of which it is the PARENT,) that its interference in the present AWFUL contest, may produce the happy consequences of restoring the lost balance of power in Europe; by humbling *that government*, whose views, like those of Lucifer, seem to be no other, than to render mankind wicked, in order to increase the number of its subjects.

Concerning the THYSSAGETÆ, neighbours to the Budini, and Geloni, our Author appears to have known but little. This was probably owing to the circumstance of Darius Hystaspes' having stopt short on the borders of their country; a presumptive proof that the information concerning these countries, was derived from the Persian expedition. Herodotus says nothing more concerning the Thyssagetæ than that they were "a *singular* but *populous* nation, who support themselves by *bunting*."\*

Pliny mentions the *Thyssageta*, as well as most of the other nations spoken of

We shall close this section with some few observations on the TAURI, or inhabitants of the *Krimea*; and on the antiquity of the practice of shutting up this remarkable Peninsula, by a wall, or fortified line, or ditch, across the narrow Isthmus that joins it to the Continent.

Herodotus speaks of a *trench*, which the slaves of the Scythians, who usurped the places of their masters, during their absence in the Median war, had dug, with a view to fortify themselves against those masters, on their return. It is said, in Melpom. 3, that they “intersected the country, by a large and deep trench, which extended from the *mountains* of *Tauris* to the *Palus Mæotis*, and encamped on the opposite side to dispute the passage.” He speaks again of the same trench, in Melpom. 20, as the eastern boundary of the Royal Scythians. No mountains, however, are marked in any position, corresponding to the above idea; and we have never heard of any mountains of *Tauris*, save those *within* the *Krimea* itself, and which, by their position, seem to be out of the question, here.\* Nor does our Author speak of any other *Tauris*, or *Taurica*, than what is unequivocally intended for the *Krimea*. It is probable therefore, that the trench intended, was that, which shut up the just-mentioned Peninsula: and more especially, as such trenches or walls, or both, are clearly pointed out by other historians. In this case therefore, some other word than *mountains*, should be read: and the trench (which in fortification, always implies a rampart also,) would have been drawn from the *Palus Mæotis* to

in this chapter; as the *Agathyrsi*, *Budini*, *Geloni*, *Neuri*, *Sauromatæ*, &c. but without any discrimination as to position; see lib. iv. c. 12. He says that the *Thyssa-getæ* have *blue* hair: this may have been amongst the singularities, alluded to by Herodotus.

\* Rubruquis, who travelled from the *Krimea* to the *Wolga*, in the line towards *Saratow*, describes a vast plain, 20 journies in extent, without mountain, tree, or stone; and with excellent pasturage. He went the first 10 days without seeing an inhabitant. The tract in question, was that inhabited by the *Royal Scythians* of our Author.

the opposite shore of Tauris. Nothing appears more probable, than that the slaves should have availed themselves of the natural advantages of the situation, to improve their plan of defence.

Strabo describes a fortified line; p. 311, 312; and Pliny, although he does not mention any work of this kind, says, lib. iv. c. 12, that *Taphra*, a town, stands on the neck of land, which joins the Peninsula to the Continent; which name so strongly implies a *trench*, and this last, a rampart also, that it cannot be doubted that the town was named from the fortification; as *Or-kapi*, or *Perekop*, is at present. Pomponius Mela says the same. Ptolemy places *Tapros* in the same situation: and it is probable that the same is alluded to, in the *Toxaris* of Lucian, where the *Bosphoritæ* are enjoined by the Scythians to keep *within* the *Tracbon*; perhaps corrupted from *Tapros*. The Krimea was denominated by the Romans, the kingdom of *Bosphorus*.

Thus, it may be conceived, that the Krimea has ever been shut up, since it was first firmly united to the Continent, by the alluvions, either of the sea, or of the Borysthenes; or both. The nature of the defences, have, no doubt, varied with the ability of the possessor; and the works now existing, appear to be as much beyond the ability of a community, whose possessions were limited to that Peninsula alone, as the pyramids of Egypt were beyond a mere sovereign of that kingdom. The inference, it is conceived, should be, that they were constructed by the Genoese, whilst they continued masters of the Krimea, and of the vast commerce that centered in it, as an *emporium*; the profits of which were fully adequate to such an expence. Masters of the shores of the Euxine, and of both the *Bosphori*, the Krimea, thus shut up with a rampart, was invulnerable. That the Genoese, then, were the authors of that famous rampart now in existence, we think highly probable: and the following circumstances, appear to be in proof of it.

Rubruquis, who visited the Krimea, in his way to the court of Mangoukan, in 1253, mentions the narrow Isthmus, but says

nothing concerning any fortification on it. He compares the Isthmus to a *great ditch*, or hollow, between the two seas. This might be meant either to express the *remains of a former ditch*, or of a *hollow* occasioned by the *meeting of the slope*, described by Baron Tott, with a plain below. See page 70.

This visit of Rubruquis, was made during the reign of BATOU KAN, grandson of JINGHIS,\* and King of Kipzak, &c.; whose residence was at *Serai* on the Wolga, and whose empire included the Krimea, as well as the adjoining country. Had there been a wall, originally, it is probable that it would have gone to decay, when the country on both sides, belonged to the same sovereign; as the Picts' wall in our Island, on the change of circumstances that has taken place.

It must surely be inferred from the words of Rubruquis, that no rampart existed there, in 1253; and the emperors of Constantinople do not appear to have been in a state to execute such a work, posterior to the middle of the 13th century. But it is well known that the Genoese possessed the Krimea, in full power, during the succeeding century, and even to a later period. The passages selected in the note,† from the elegant historian of

\* It is believed, that the descendants of Jinghis Kan, have continued to be sovereigns, either real, or nominal, of the Krimea, down to the present age.

† “The Genoese, who after the recovery of Constantinople, were seated in the suburb of Pera or Galata, received that honourable fief from the bounty of the emperor.

“From this colony they engaged with superior advantage in the lucrative trade of the Black sea; and their industry supplied the Greeks with fish and corn; two articles of food almost equally important to a superstitious people. The spontaneous bounty of nature appears to have bestowed the harvests of the Ukraine, the produce of a rude and savage husbandry; and the endless exportation of salt-fish and caviare, is annually renewed by the enormous sturgeons that are caught at the mouth of the Don or Tanais, in their last station of the rich mud and shallow water of the Mæotis. The waters of the Oxus, the Caspian, the Wolga, and the Don, opened a rare and laborious passage for the gems and spices of India; and after three months' march, the caravans of Carizme met the Italian vessels in the harbours of Krimea. These

declining Rome, will clearly shew the ability of the Genoese, to perform, not only the work in question, but even greater ones.

Baron Tott speaks as follows, concerning these famous lines. He had previously said that they extended three quarters of a French league, or about two British miles.

“ No picture of this kind can be more respectable. Excepting that the works are rather gigantic, I know of none where nature is better seconded by art. The solidity of the intrenchment is likewise to be depended on: and will long continue to resist that ignorance, which neglects every thing. Nothing points out the *æra* of its construction; but every thing conspires to prove it of a date anterior to the Tartars; or if not, that these people were at least, better informed in ancient times than at present.”

The Baron adds, that these works, were they properly palisadoed and armed, would protect the *Krimea* against an army of 100,000 men; but that the tongue of land between the lake *Sivascb* and the *Mæotis*, having been neglected, the Russians had twice entered it, that way.\*

The TAURI, or inhabitants of the *Krimea*, one would naturally have expected, to have found ranked amongst the Scythians; but

various branches of trade were monopolized by the diligence and power of the Genoese. Their rivals of Venice and Pisa were forcibly expelled: the natives were awed by the castles and cities, which arose on the foundations of their humble factories; and their principal establishment of Caffa was besieged without effect by the Tartar powers. Destitute of a navy, the Greeks were oppressed by these haughty merchants, who fed, or famished, Constantinople, according to their interest. They proceeded to usurp the customs, the fishery, and even the toll, of the Bosphorus; and while they derived from these objects a revenue of 200,000 pieces of gold, a remnant of 30,000 was reluctantly allowed to the emperor.”—(Gibbon’s *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Vol. xi. pages 390, 392, *et seq.* octavo edition.)

\* It may not perhaps be going too far, if we were to advance an opinion, that, to RUSSIA, the *future* value of the *Krimea*, and province of *Taurida* (including the *embouchure* of the *Borysthenes*), will exceed that of her Asiatic possessions, collectively.



the matter was otherwise; for in the consultation held by the Scythians, with their *neighbours*, on occasion of the Persian invasion, the Tauri are classed amongst the *latter*, and are distinguished by some very peculiar, as well as abominable customs.

“All strangers shipwrecked on their coasts, and particularly every Greek who falls into their hands, they sacrifice to a *virgin*. The sacred personage to whom this sacrifice is offered, the Taurians *themselves* assert to be IPHIGENIA, the daughter of Agamemnon;” Melpom. 103. Here it appears, that Iphigenia is put in the place of Diana; to whom she is, by others, represented as the priestess.\* Our Author allows that Diana was worshipped by the Thracians; Terpsichore, c. 7.

The whole subsistence of the Tauri, according to our Author, was procured by acts of plunder and hostility. One custom alone, marks their savage character: they placed the head of a prisoner, on a stake at the top of their chimnies, to operate as a charm for the protection of their families: as the superstitious amongst us, nail a horse shoe on the threshold, or against the mast of a ship. Our practice, though equally absurd, is at least harmless in itself; and does not blunt the feelings of the rising generation. From this, and other barbarous tribes, along its coasts, we may suppose the Black sea acquired amongst the ancients, the title of *inhospitable*.†

It has pretty generally happened, that the inhabitants of coasts,

\* “On that inhospitable shore, EURIPIDES, embellishing with exquisite art the tales of antiquity, has placed the scene of one of his most affecting tragedies. The bloody sacrifices of Diana, the arrival of Orestes and Pylades, and the triumph of virtue and religion over savage fierceness, serve to represent an historical truth, that the TAURI, the original inhabitants of the Peninsula, were, in some degree, reclaimed from their brutal manners, by a gradual intercourse with the Grecian colonies, which settled along the maritime coast.” (Gibbon, Vol. i. p. 421.)

† Its ancient name was *Axenus*: afterwards changed to *Euxinus*: Pliny, iv. c. 12.; and vi. c. 1.

particularly dangerous to navigation, are exceedingly unfeeling and ferocious; a habit doubtless acquired by plundering wrecks; which includes also, occasionally, the stripping and maltreating of those who escape from them; and, by an easy transition, to murder. We shall say nothing concerning certain of our own countrymen, in this respect, as they are growing better: but it is worth remarking, that as the *Nasamones* at the *Greater Syrtis* were infamous in ancient times for these practices, so, according to Mr. Bruce, who was shipwrecked there, they are not mended in the present times. (See his Introduction, Vol. i.) Many other instances could be adduced; and they absolutely appear to be an effect of geographical situation, combined with adventitious circumstances, on the human mind.

## SECTION VI.

## EXPEDITION OF DARIUS HYSTASPES, TO WESTERN SCYTHIA.

*The March of DARIUS into Scythia, may be traced in a general Way—passes the Danube, and leaves the floating Bridge in Charge of the Iōnians.—Marches eastward to the Tanais, which he crosses, into Sarmatia; the Scythians retreating before him—advances to the Oarus, where he erects a Chain of Fortresses—the Oarus, (taken for the Wolga,) the Term of his Expedition, Eastward.—Scythians lead him to the Northward, and Westward, into the Territories of the Seceders, the Melanchlæni, Androphagi, and Neuri, in order to save their own Lands.—The Agathyrsi, on whom the same is attempted, resist both Scythians, and Persians.—Losses and Distresses of the Persian Army—recover their Bridge on the Danube; which the Scythians could not prevail on the Iōnians to destroy.—Sepulchres of the Kings of Scythia.—Barbarous Funerals—Gold buried with the Bodies.—Expedition of Darius, compared with that of Cyrus, against the Eastern Scythians—The former Invasion of Media, by the Scythians, gave Rise to the Expedition of Darius.—The Scythians, the Gog and Magog of the Scriptures.—Idea of the Time consumed in the Expedition.—Iōnian and Æolian Fleet attend Darius.—Conjecture about the Supply of Provisions for the Persian Army.—Bridges of Darius and Xerxes, over the Bosphorus, and Hellespont—more of Vain-glory than Use, in these Works.—Idea of the Breadth of the two Straits.—Difficulties in the Description of Xerxes' Bridge, attempted to be solved.*

THE march of DARIUS HYSTASPES through Scythia, cannot, for want of circumstantial detail, be accurately followed on the map. But it may, however, be done in a general way; and we shall

endeavour to trace it by the aid of those circumstances which present themselves. The trace itself will be found on the Map, No. III. at page 50.

He crossed the Danube over a bridge of boats, at the place where it first begins to branch off, to form the several channels, through which it enters the Euxine; \* Melp. 89. The place therefore, may be supposed to have been not far above the site of *Ismail*, and between that and the conflux of the *Pruth* with the *Danube*. The Æonian fleet, which was dispatched from the Bosphorus to perform the service of laying the bridge, sailed two days up from the sea, in order to arrive at the place; Melp. 89.

Having left the Æonians in charge of the bridge, he marched *through* Scythia, *eastward* to the Tanais; the Scythian army, which was divided into two bodies, retiring regularly before him, at the distance of a day's march; filling up the wells, and destroying the produce of the fields; 120, 121, 122. Their families, together with such of their cattle, as were not necessary to their immediate subsistence, were previously sent off to the northern frontier; 121.

Darius, crossing the Tanais, came into the territories of the Sauromatæ; and from thence into those of the Budini, 122; which having also crossed, he finally came to the desert of 7 or 8 journies in breadth, which, as we have seen, page 88, separated the country of the Budini from that of the Thyssagetæ; Melp. 22, 123: and here he halted on the banks of the river *Oarus*, where he constructed 8 fortresses or *redoubts*, at the distance of about 6 miles from each other; the ruins of which, says our Author, "have been visible to my time;" 124. And this was the most distant point of the expedition of Darius, *eastward*.

It has been shewn, that the Thyssagetæ lived beyond this desert; and that the river Tanais, as well as the Oarus, and two others, passed *through*, or *by*, their country; which, by circum-

\* Mr. Bell says that it enters the Euxine, by a single channel only: but this is contrary to every other report, ancient and modern.

stances, must have been very extensive. And on this ground we have supposed it to lie between the Tanais and the Wolga, concluding also this latter to be intended, by the Oarus; as by its course above Zaritzyn, it might be supposed, by an ordinary observer, to run towards the Mæotis, rather than towards the Caspian.

The Oarus then, was the utmost term of the march of Darius; and that Oarus we have taken for the Wolga. The desert, on the border of which he halted, we have supposed to begin below Saratow; as the territories of the Thyssagetæ were supposed to commence near that place; page 89; and hence we fix the term of Darius's expedition, about the great bend of the Wolga, near *Saratow*.\*

A more than ordinary cause, must have determined the measure of erecting the chain of fortresses, extending a length of 420 stadia; that is, 40 or more English miles: but that object, whatsoever it was, cannot now be ascertained. Could one suppose that Herodotus was inaccurate, in his statement of the particulars of the march, or of the relative positions of the countries, hereabouts, one might suspect that the chain of redoubts extended between the Wolga and Don, at the Isthmus of Zaritzyn; but by the text, we must look towards Saratow. It is probable, that at whatsoever point it was, the depth and rapidity of the Wolga, opposed the farther progress both of the Persians and Scythians: and the retrograde movement of the Scythians, circuitously, by the *higher parts of the country, into Scythia* (we must suppose, by traversing the northern part of the Budian's territory,) seems to have determined the future line of march of the Persians; which was now towards the *west*, pursuing *another* division of the Scythians, who regulated their position, at the distance of one day's march *before* the Persians; Melpom. 124. It appears that they were

\* There actually appears in Delisle's Map of Russia (see his Atlas, 2d sheet Russia,) a desert, said to be of 10 days' extent, near that part of the Wolga just mentioned.

enabled to do this, because their army consisted chiefly of horse; the Persian army, chiefly of infantry; 136.

In our discussion of the positions of the nations bordering on Scythia, it appeared, pages 88 and 89, that the Sauromatæ extended 15 journies to the *north*, *up* the course of the Tanais. That the country of the Budini and Geloni began at that point; and these being each of them a great and numerous people, must have extended a great way to the north, as well as to the east; and moreover, living in a country full of vast forests, must probably have extended far within the country of Woronez: and finally, that the Thyssagetæ lay beyond them, to the *east*, and also to the *north*; as having within their territory, the *fountains* of the Tanais.

From all this it is clear, that the Persians were led very far to the north: and that it had been the intent of the Scythians to entangle them in the desert lying between the Budini and Thyssagetæ; from whence they might not have been able easily to escape. But finding this scheme impracticable, they made the circuit before described, to the *north* and *west*, leaving the Persians at fault: in consequence of which, the latter turned *westward*, on a supposition that the detachment which they had pursued, had retired that way: but arriving in Scythia, they found, instead of *that* detachment, *two other* bodies of Scythians, which retreated before them, in the manner before described; and soon after led them amongst the Melanchlæni, who have been described to lie on the northern frontier of the Royal Scythians. See pages 60, 61, 84.

Considering the intricate course of the Tanais, and the circumstance of its having many large adjuncts, it is probable that the Persians might not be correct in their report of its course; and therefore it would be vain to attempt to follow them, in detail. It appears probable, however, that they crossed it at a point, much *above* its *embouchure* in the Palus Mæotis; as the Scythians evidently led them up to the northward, in order to draw them with

more ease into the territories of the bordering nations, who had refused to co-operate with them, in the common defence of the country; a system formed from the beginning; Melp. 120. For, on occasion of the consultation between the Scythians and their neighbours, the *Sauromatae*, *Budini*, *Geloni*, *Melanchlæni*, *Androphagi*, *Neuri*, *Agathyrsi*, and *Tauri*; the THREE former alone, engaged to join in the general defence; Melpom. 119, 120. Darius then, having been drawn up to the *north*, nearly to the height of the *Thyssagetæ*, and from whence he must have returned *westward*, through the *Budians'* country, would finally have but a *corner* of Scythia to cross, before he was led by the Scythians, amongst the *Melanchlæni*; and from thence, successively amongst the *Androphagi*, and *Neuri*; Melpom. 124, 125; all of whom "were harassed by *both* parties, and fled in alarm to the deserts of the north;" Melp. 125; by which means, the Scythians saved their own lands, and effectually punished their inactive or treacherous neighbours.

The same conduct was also intended towards the *Agathyrsi*, had they not possessed too much wisdom and courage to allow it; \* 125: perhaps also a strong country, which enabled them to use those advantages; and which the others might not possess: for the *Agathyrsi* appear to have held the country of *Transylvania*, and the *NE* part of *Hungary*; and consequently had a strong frontier towards the east, in the vast ridges, named by the ancients, the *Bastarnian Alps*, and *Carpathian Mountains*.

The Scythians, turning aside from the *Agathyrsi*, retreated once more into their own country, still followed by the *Persians*; who now finding that the nature of the country, and warfare of the Scythians was such, as that no impression could be made on them; and being themselves reduced to distress for provisions, directed

\* Herodotus styles them effeminate, in Melpom. 104; but this does not accord with their conduct in this case.

their march towards their bridge on the Danube, being now returned to that neighbourhood; *Melp.* 125, *et seq.*

Meanwhile the Scythians, having accomplished their principal purpose of creating delay, by compelling the enemy to take so wide a circuit, tried their last project of inducing the Iönians to break the bridge, whilst their armies watched opportunities of attacking the Persians with advantage. The time chosen, was during the Persian meals, and at night; and the Scythians, who were chiefly cavalry, and superior to those of the Persians, were generally successful in the outset; but were always beaten back, when the infantry came to act; *Melp.* 128. All which appears probable; for the infantry of civilized nations, is ever superior to that of barbarians, whatsoever the comparative state of their cavalry may be. But the Persian as well as the Indian camps, are very liable to surprise, through the remissness and indolence of their guards and centinels. It is related by Xenophon, that the Persian army which followed the Greeks, during their memorable retreat, notwithstanding their vast superiority in cavalry, always retired at the close of the day, to the distance of about 60 stadia, for fear of a surprise from the Greeks during the night.\*

It was not without great loss and disgrace, that the Persians recovered their bridge, which the Iönians had preserved for them, in despite of the remonstrances and intreaties of the Scythians; but the motives which induced this conduct, were neither generosity, nor pity towards men in distress; they were nothing else than the unwarrantable plans of ambition, of some of the petty princes of Iönia; *Melp.* 137, 138.

\* " They (the Persians) never encamped at a less distance from the Greeks, than 60 stadia, for fear these should fall upon them in the night. A Persian army being then subject to great inconveniences: for their horses are tied, and generally shackled, to prevent them from running away," &c. &c. He has besides to equip himself, and his horse; *Anab. lib. iii.* Exactly the same state of things exists in the East, at present.



The above march and retreat of Darius Hystaspes, agrees so well with our Author's geography of Scythia, and the bordering nations, making some allowances for his misconceptions, that it may be suspected that he drew his materials for the *inland* part of the geography, scanty as they may be, from the history of this expedition. He might have collected them immediately from the Greeks, who were settled on the coast of the Euxine, and even of Scythia, when he visited it: which might have been within a century after the events happened.

It was during the *return* of the Persians, but not, according to the order of the events, till they were arrived at the borders of the Agathyrsi, that the king of Scythia bid them beware of doing any injury to the sepulchres of his ancestors; Melpom. 127. But as these sepulchres are described, in 71, to be situated in the extreme northern quarter of Scythia, and at the side of the Borysthenes, there should have intervened, between the Persian army and the sepulchres, at the time of this threat, a space nearly equal to the length of the territories of the Androphagi and Neuri, collectively.

“The sepulchres of the kings of SCYTHIA (says our Author, Melpom. 71.) are in the district of the *Gerrbi*—near the place where the Borysthenes *begins* to be navigable—and in the *remotest* part of Scythia.” Again, in 53, “The course of this river may be pursued as far as the country called *Gerrbus*, through a voyage of 40 days: and is known to flow from the north.”

The barbarous customs of Scythia, condemned to the same grave with their deceased prince, one of his favourite women, and several of his domestics; all of whom were previously strangled. They likewise buried with him, his horses, the choicest of his effects, and finally some *golden goblets*; for, says the Historian, “they possess neither *silver* nor *brass*.” The common grave of these, was “a large quadrangular excavation, which they filled up with earth, and seemed to be emulous in their endeavours to raise as high a mound, as possible.” Melp. 71.

Modern discoveries abundantly prove the general truth of our Author's report, concerning the sepulchres of the ancient Scythians; if it be allowed that a part of the *tumuli*, found in the plains towards the upper branches of the *Irtish*, *Oby*, &c. are of so ancient a date: or, on the other hand, if the sepulchres in question are not so ancient, it at least proves, that the same custom prevailed amongst their descendants. It appears, that *tumuli* are scattered over the whole tract, from the borders of the *Wolga* and its western branches, to the lake *Baikal*.\* Those amongst them, which have attracted the greatest notice, on the score of the gold and silver (but principally the former) contained in them, lie between the *Wolga* and the *Oby*: for those which are farther to the east, and more particularly, at the upper part of the *Jenisei*, have the utensils contained in them, of copper.†

It has not come to our knowledge, that any of these monuments have been found in the *Ukraine*; where the sepulchres described by Herodotus, should have been: however, it may be conceived, that it is a sufficient testimony of the general truth of his description, that they are found so far to the west, as the southern parts of *Russia*, and on the banks of the *Okka*, ‡ *Wolga*, and *Tanais*: since much the same sort of customs, may have been supposed to exist, amongst the Scythians and Sarmatians generally: and it is certain that the *Sarmatians* and *seceding Scythians* occupied the tracts just mentioned.

It is true that Mr. Tooke (from whose writings, our knowledge

\* These sepulchres are discovered only in plain and extensive deserts, formerly the abode of a nation which seems to have subsisted by pasturage and the produce of the chase. (Mr. Tooke; *Archæologia*, Vol. vii. p. 223.)

† The *gold*, and *copper*, found in the different sepulchres, gave occasion to a conjecture, that mines of those metals, existed in their respective neighbourhoods; which conjecture was verified by the discovery of the copper mines of *Sayane*; and of the gold mines of *Kolyvan*, in the tract adjoining to the *Altaian* mountains.

‡ The *Okka* is the south-west branch of the *Wolga*, and had its source amongst the *Melanchlæni*.

in this matter, as well as other more important ones, is more particularly derived,\* and who is therefore entitled to our sincerest thanks,) supposes these monuments to be of a much more modern date: for he refers them to the Tartars of Jinghis Kan and their first successors: and thus much appears certain, that the *Kalmucs* are still in the habit of burying horses, arms, &c. with their chiefs. But as the Russians and Tartars themselves, appear to regard the articles found in some of the tombs, as being very ancient, and unlike what are now found amongst them; we should at least be led to conclude, that the monuments are of very different ages; and that, of course, there may be amongst them, those of the *ancient Scythians*, as well as of the *modern Tartars*, who succeeded them. The bodies wrapt in, or placed between, thin *sheets* of gold, may perhaps be referred to the latter class: but Mr. Tooke speaks also of *gold* and *silver utensils*, of *skeletons* of horses, as well as the *bones* of men; of *many bodies* deposited in the *same* grave; together with *weapons* and implements of war, and *domestic utensils*: so that, of whatsoever age these may have been, they prove the general statement of Herodotus, as to the custom of the people of that country. In some of the *tumuli*, were found *images* and *idols*.†

Many *tumuli* are found, in, and about, the banks of the Tanais, in the quarter towards the Mæotis. One of these, of considerable magnitude, and said to be the sepulchre of *Gulbedin*, is described in the *voyage to Tana*, by Barbaro, early in the 15th century. It stood about 60 miles above Tana, (which stood at or near Azoph,) at the side of the Tanais, and consequently on the border of the *Sarmatian* territory; according to the distribution of the space, by Herodotus. It was 80 paces in diameter, by 50 in height. This was dug into, in the expectation of finding a treasure; for it is related that one of the *tumuli* towards the *Altaian* mountains afforded no less than forty pounds weight of gold:‡ but although much cost and labour were bestowed on the work, Barbaro says,

\* *Archæologia*, Vol. vii.; and *Russia*. † *Archæol.* Vol. vii. ‡ *Ibid.* Vol. ii.

that they only went to the depth of 10 paces; having intersected the tumulus by a trench of 8 paces in breadth, to that depth. Of course it could not be expected that they should have reached the tomb itself.

The substances found, were nothing more than the burnt bones of fishes, the remains of burnt wood, and canes; and of *grain*, of the *millet* kind; save only, half the handle of a small silver vessel, wrought into the form of the head of a snake. There were no bones of men, or of quadrupedes, found.

Mr. Tooke says generally, that some of the Russian and Siberian sepulchres, are *perfect tumuli*, raised to an enormous height; whilst others are almost level with the ground. Some are encompassed with a square wall of large quarry stones, &c. In some, the earth is excavated several fathoms deep; whilst others are only dug to a sufficient depth for covering the body. After this long digression, we return once more to the narrative.

It appears, that on the invasion of the Persians, the Scythians sent away their families, in the carriages in which *they usually dwelt*, together with such a portion of their cattle, as was not necessary to their immediate subsistence, or conveniency; to the *northward*; Melp. 121. Perhaps they were sent into the neighbourhood of the sepulchres, as a place that was meant to be defended to the last.

The expedition of Darius Hystaspes, although it terminated more fortunately for himself (personally,) than that of his predecessor Cyrus, against the Eastern Scythians (Massagetæ), yet, in respect of the wisdom that dictated the two expeditions, as well as in respect of their ultimate success, they seem to be nearly on a par. The Persians had nothing to boast of, in either case; any more than in their attack on the *Carduchians*, as related by Xenophon in the *Anabasis*, lib. iii. at the end.

Our Author assigns as the cause of the invasion of Scythia, by Darius Hystaspes, that " he was desirous of avenging on the Scy-

thians, the injuries they had formerly committed, by entering Media, and defeating those who opposed them. For during a period of 28 years they retained the sovereignty of Upper Asia, by expelling the Medes, *its ancient possessors* ;” Melpomene, c. 1. A reason is never wanting for doing that, which our inclinations prompt us to.

The unsuccessful expedition of Darius, only provoked other attacks and menaces, from the Scythians ; such as the attack of the Chersonesus of Thrace, and their alliance with the Spartans, by which it was agreed that the Scythians should invade *Media* (that is, the *empire* of *Persia*) by the way of the Phasis of Colchis, and the Spartans by way of Ephesus, until the two armies should form a junction ; Erato, 40, and 84. This negotiation happened during the reign of Cleomenes.

The GOG and MAGOG of Ezekiel, must be understood to be meant for the SCYTHIANS, who made the above irruption into Media ; and even carried their devastations into Palestine, and to the borders of Egypt. (See Herodotus, Melp. c. 1 ; and Clio, 103, *et seq.*) We are aware that the chronology as it stands, does not exactly bear us out ; but as the prophecies of Ezekiel are allowed to have begun, at about 595 years before Christ, and the Scythians to have continued in Western Asia till about 605, it may be conceived that a small error in chronology, (and let it be remembered, that Sir Isaac Newton has made it appear probable, that an error of about 120 years, existed in the date of the foundation of Rome), may *change the order* of the two events.

The *description* of the host of GOG, designed also under the name of TOGARMAH of the *North*, is precisely Scythian, or Tartarian : “ Coming like a *storm*, and covering the land, like a *cloud* ;” Ezekiel, ch. xxxviii. verses 9, and 16. “ Coming out of the *north* ; all of them *riding* on *horses* ;” ver. 15. “ Bows and arrows,” a part of their weapons, chap. xxxix. ver. 3. “ I will smite thy *bow* out of thy left hand, and will cause thine *arrows* to fall out of thy right hand.”

In Genesis, x. 2, MAGOG is the son of Japhet: as is GOMER,\* who is mentioned by Ezekiel; "Gomer and all his bands." With the Tartars likewise, Gomari, is reckoned one of the sons of Japhet, and is also called KAIMAK, and held to be the ancestor of the *Kaimakians*; that is the *Kalmucs*.†

The Orientals have JAJUJE and MAJUJE, for our Gog and Magog: and there can be no doubt, but that the *g's* should be sounded soft, in those words. The Arabian geographers place these descendants of JAPHET, in the remotest known parts of Asia, *northward*: and beyond the Turks and Kalmucs.‡ There existed, in the north-west part of Asia, and no doubt still exists, a *rampart* or *mound*, with gates and towers, named by the Eastern writers, from Jajuje and Majuje; and referred, though erroneously, to Alexander.§ Some may perhaps conclude, that the famous wall of China, is intended, but this idea is completely done away by the authorities for its position; as will be made appear, during the inquiry concerning the nations, situated to the east of Scythia, in the next Section. It will only be necessary to state, in this place, that the country denominated from Jajuje and Majuje, by the Arabians, lay to the north, beyond those of the Turks and Kalmucs; and that it appears to have been bounded on the SW, by the great ridge of mountains, the continuation of *Altai*, which runs to the NW and north, through the Great Steppe; separating the northern and southern waters of Asia; and of which ridge, the mountains of

\* Some derive the *Cimmerians*, or rather *Kimmerians*, from GOMER.

† So called by Ib Al Wardi, and Edrisi, and explained by D'Herbelot.

‡ Ib Al Wardi; Edrisi, D'Herbelot.

§ This error may have arisen from the report of Alexander's having fortified the pass of Derbend, at the Caspian; and which, perhaps was done by his lieutenants in Media, who might find such a barrier necessary, to keep out the northern hordes. Not that we suppose the Macedonians were the first who fortified it: they probably did no more than render complete, by a well constructed line, what others before them, had done imperfectly. All the works of Alexander bore the stamp of *grandeur*, combined with *utility*.

*Ural* are a branch, projecting to the west. So that the country of Jajuje and Majuje, contained, in the ideas of the people of Arabia and Persia, in the early times of Mahomedanism, the *northern* part of the Great Steppe, and the course of the river *Irtish*. There are also notices, (collected from the person sent by the Caliph Wathek in the 9th century, to view the rampart),\* which serve to shew, that the people in question, possessed at an *earlier* period, that part of the Steppe also, towards the Caspian and Aral: and it may thence be inferred, that, in *more* early times, they were extended over other parts of the Steppe; that the Arabs applied to the Nomades, generally, the name of Jajuje and Majuje (or Gog and Magog); and that Ezekiel was adapting his language to those ideas.

The rampart abovementioned, seems to have been about midway, between Samarkand and Tobolsk; and may have been either the inclosure of a deserted city, for it had gates; or was made for the purpose of defending the passes of the mountains.†

Herodotus informs us, Melpom. 98, that Darius expected to return to the bridge on the Danube, in 60 days: ‡ and, it is possible he might have supposed, that the Scythians would have been brought to terms, and the expedition completed, within that time: but taking Scythia under the *limits* assigned by Herodotus himself; that is between the Danube and Tanais; the extent is such, as to require 60 days, even for an army to *march through it*: and reckoning to the *embouchure* of the Tanais only, no less than 50. Indeed, had Scythia been confined within the supposed dimensions, that is, 4000 stadia; 53 days of *constant marching*, would have sufficed, both for the way out and home. But our Author does not say that it was the *intention* of the Persian to traverse the *whole*

\* Edrisi, Climate VI. Part 9th: and Herbelot, article Jagiougé.

† M. D'Anville in the Mém. Acad. Inscip. Vol. xxxi. places it much more to the east, and near the lake of the Kalmucks. But his *general* idea agrees with ours.

‡ Darius delivered to the Iönians, a cord with 60 knots on it, one of which they were to untie every day, and had liberty to depart when the knots were all loosened. Melp. 98, 99.

country of Scythia; and it might have been a fact current amongst the Ionians, that a cord with 60 knots on it, had been delivered to them, by Darius: and equally a fact that he expected to return within that time.

The circuit taken by Darius, cannot well be estimated at less than a march of 150 days, or five months: and had he barely gone to the mouth of the Tanais, and back again, we have seen that 100 days were required, although no *balts* are allowed for; and which could not be dispensed with. Therefore, when it is stated that the 60 days were *not expired*, after the Persians had passed the borders of the Agathyrsi, on their *return*; Melp. 132; and had *not long expired* when Darius came to the bridge, 136, this must surely be an error; although he might have *expected* to return about that time.

It is said, Melp. 87, that, "in this expedition he was accompanied by all the nations which acknowledged his authority, amounting, cavalry included, to 70,000 men,\* independent of his fleet, which consisted of 600 ships. The Ionians and Æolians, as a part of his new subjects, together with the inhabitants of the Hellespont, had assembled a fleet to assist in this expedition; 89; and a bridge had previously been ordered to be thrown across the *Tbracian Bosphorus*; 83.†

The difficulty of supplying such an army with provisions, in an enemy's country, and that country not generally an agricultural one, is but too obvious to practical people; although the numbers were so small, in comparison with those with which Xerxes invaded Greece. We must therefore conceive that the principal intention of collecting so large a fleet, was to secure a supply of provisions, whilst the army might remain in the neighbourhood of the Euxine and Mæotis; and which, no doubt, might have been accomplished,

\* We are aware that some copies have 700,000: and Justin says the same, lib. ii. c. 5. The first number is certainly moderate for a regal Persian army, but the nature of the country in which the war was made, must be considered.

† The fleet of Xerxes employed in the invasion of Greece consisted of 3000 ships.



so long as the army could preserve a communication with the coast. The Greek colonists along the Euxine were probably compelled to assist in this department; to which it may be supposed, their habits of life rendered them more competent, than the Persians themselves.

Another use of the fleet, was obviously to waft the army and its equipage across the wide rivers of Thrace and Scythia; which may even be collected from the history of the bridge over the Danube. And although this latter was left standing, as has been before related, by which the Persians, must of course have lost the immediate use of the vessels that composed it, yet these unquestionably were of the smaller kind; as may be inferred from the number used on a subsequent occasion, by Xerxes. Nor could they have been *very* numerous, either. Perhaps  $\frac{1}{8}$  of the whole number might have sufficed.

It seems to be clear, by Melpom. 89, that only a *detachment* of the fleet was sent to the Danube: and that it was sent, whilst the bridge over the Bosphorus yet remained. In effect, no other intention can well be supposed, in assembling *so large* a fleet, but the supply of the army in the enemy's country; nor would the purpose have been defeated, by the proportion of vessels left in the Danube.

As the bridges thrown across the *Bosphorus* and *Hellespont*, by DARIUS HYSTASPES and his son and successor XERXES, have been very much the subject of history and conversation, we shall mention some circumstances relating to them, in this place.

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*Concerning the Bridges, thrown across the Bosphorus and Hellespont, by Darius Hystaspes, and Xerxes.*

These bridges, as being intended to serve the purposes of different expeditions, were placed in situations, widely distant from

each other: that of Darius, which was for the purpose of transporting his army into Scythia, through Thrace, by the *right*, was laid across the *Bosphorus*, now called the *Canal of Constantinople*; whilst that of Xerxes, which was to pass his army into Greece, through the same country of Thrace, by the *left*, was thrown across the *Hellespont*; now the passage of the *Dardanelles*.\* The bridges therefore were about 150 miles asunder, and the sea of Marmora (or the Propontis), lay between them: but notwithstanding the positions of the bridges, the roads taken by these different princes through Thrace, must have approached within about half that distance of each other: and had it been a matter of indifference to Xerxes, whether he took the right, or the left hand, road, through Asia Minor, it would have been a measure of greater security, as well as of facility, to have laid his bridge over the Bosphorus, the *narrowest* and *least exposed* of the two straits, than over the Hellespont; since he was determined, at all events, to pass into Europe, over a bridge. See the Map No. IV. opposite.

But these works appear to partake infinitely more of vain-glory than of use: like that of cutting through the Isthmus of Mount Athos, instead of drawing the vessels across (if they were dubious of being able to sail round it); which is remarked by our Author, in Polym. 24.

Alexander was by no means emulous of the fame of Darius, or of Xerxes, in this point: being content with transporting his army across the Hellespont, in vessels, navigated in the usual way. And it must appear to every person, that, in a strait, narrow enough to admit of a bridge, vessels might be drawn across with ropes, so as to land an army in a mode almost equally effectual, with that afforded by a bridge: and, considered in respect of delay, and expence, on much easier terms, than would be required to place the vessels in a permanent form.

\* This name was derived from the neighbouring city of *Dardanus*, which Herodotus says was very near to Abydos. Polym. 43.



Sketch to explain  
Edrisi's Idea of the  
position of Gog & Magog, as  
the p. 106 & 107



Relative Positions  
of the two Bridges  
with the Lines of March of  
Darius and Xerxes, into  
Europe.





- If there could be found a reason to justify the project of a bridge, it would have been that of *expected resistance*; which might make it necessary to pour great numbers at once, on the opposite shore: but circumstances were so totally different, that, whilst Xerxes transported, over a bridge, an army, whose numbers are reported too great to admit of belief, into a country where there were none on the spot to oppose it; Alexander, on the contrary, transported a comparatively small army, in vessels, into a hostile country, where incredible numbers were prepared to oppose him. In every point of view, then, these magnificent plans occasioned a waste of labour; and of wealth, the means of war; only to accomplish an ordinary purpose, in such a way, as to strike the vulgar in all ages, with astonishment. For ALEXANDER, and after him the OTTOMANS, crossed these straits with less parade, but with infinitely more effect, than the Persians.

Herodotus, after describing the Bosphorus of Thrace, (as well as the Propontis, Hellespont, and Euxine; Melpom. 85, *et seq.*) says, that it is about 120 stadia in length, and 4 wide at the entrance (into the Euxine).\* He also says, 87, "I conjecture that the bridge was placed nearly midway between Byzantium and the temple at the entrance of the Euxine." And although he seems to speak, in 85, as if the bridge had been at Chalcedon, yet it must only be taken for a loose and general way of speaking; Chalcedon being the nearest town of note to the bridge. "Darius (says he) marched from Susa to where the bridge had been thrown over the Bosphorus at Chalcedon." Here he spoke *generally*; in the other case *critically*. Besides, Chalcedon is situated *beyond* the opening of the Bosphorus, into the Propontis; and has an expanse of water of more than double the breadth of the Bosphorus, between it and Constantinople.†

\* Polybius, lib. iv. c. 5, says that the narrow part is 5 stadia in breadth: Pliny, iv. c. 12, says 4 stadia.

† For the particular geography of the two straits, and the positions of the bridges, the reader is referred to the opposite Map.

M. Tournefort thought the narrowest part of the canal, was at the *old* castles; which appear to be about  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the way from Constantinople towards the Euxine: but, he adds, that the canal is *very nearly* as narrow, at a place within a mile and half of the seraglio. Now, he guessed the narrowest part to be 800 paces in breadth: but whether he means *double* steps, that is, the return of the same foot, or *single* steps, is not told: it is certain that the latter alone, can be inferred, from the circumstances of the case.\*

Mr. Gibbon, who may be supposed to have consulted many modern authorities, says 500 paces; which, being probably meant for those of 5 feet, according to his usual mode of reckoning, give 2500 feet.† And as we take the 4 stades of Herodotus at about 500 feet each, giving an aggregate of about 2000, the difference between these two accounts is not very great. Many persons may be surprised at finding such differences amongst well informed men; but the truth is, that *guesses* concerning the breadth of rivers and straits are so exceedingly vague, that it is difficult to determine what authority to adopt. In the present case it seems that we may adopt the 4 stades of our Author, and fix the place of the bridge at the old castles.

By the descriptions of the *Bosphorus*, it would appear, on the whole, laying out of the question the magnificent scenery on the side towards Constantinople, that it is not ill represented by our *Menai*, the beautiful arm of the sea that separates Anglesea from the main Island.‡

Concerning the mode of constructing the bridge over this canal, there are no particulars: but as our Historian has given a very particular account of that thrown over the Hellespont, not many years

\* Vol. ii. letter 8. It is obvious that 800 paces of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet, will agree generally with the reports of Pliny and Herodotus.

† Vol. iii. p. 6.

‡ This strait appeared to the Author's judgment, from crossing it, as well as from viewing it from both sides, to be about  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a mile broad, at *Bangor* ferry; the narrowest part that he saw.

afterwards, the reader may easily form an idea, how the other was made; having regard only to this circumstance, that the Hellespont was so much wider and more exposed, particularly to the wind termed Hellespontian,\* than the other, that greater precautions were necessary to its preservation: and it may be, that the vessels were placed much nearer to each other.

There seems to be no question, that the *bridge* of Xerxes, or rather *bridges* (for there were *two*), over the Hellespont, were placed at the narrowest part of the strait, 14 or 15 miles above the entrance, from the Egean sea; and at no great distance to the northward of the *old* castles of the *Dardanelles*; (as they are called, in contradistinction to the *new* castles, at the entrance).† At this part of the strait stood the city of *Sestos*, on the European side; *Abydos* on that of Asia: but not opposite to each other, because the distance between them was 30 stadia, Strabo, p. 591; and the strait itself not above a mile wide, at the utmost.

It seems to be allowed, that the site of *Sestos* is marked by the ruins of *Zemenic*, the first town taken by the Turks when they passed over into Europe, under Orkhan, about 1356. (D'Anville Geog. Ancienne, Vol. i. 289; and Tournefort, Vol. ii. letter 4.)‡ *Abydos* is also marked by other ruins, not far from the point of *Nagara*; Geog. Anc. ii. 13. Again, *Maita*, situated on the European side, at a few miles from *Zemenic*, towards the entrance of the *Dardanelles*, and beyond *Abydos*, appears to be the *Madytis* of Herodotus; Polym. 33; where he says that the coast of the Thracian Chersonesus, is rough and woody, in that part.

The narrowest part of the passage, appears to be nearest to,

\* That is, a strong *easterly* wind (Polym. 188), or what seamen call in modern times, a *Levanter*.

† The new castles at the entrance from the Archipelago, are more than four miles asunder. Tournefort.

‡ *Zemenic*, in a very useful Map of the Propontis, and the two straits, published by Mr. Faden, in 1786, is placed about 5 miles above *Sestos*, and at the wide part of the Hellespont. We know not the authority for its position.



though by no means *at*, the ruins taken for those of Abydos: but our Author speaks as if one end of the bridge or bridges, had actually been placed there; for he says, Polym. 34, that the strait is seven stadia in breadth, at Abydos; and in Melpom. 85, he assigns this breadth to the narrowest part of the strait. Strabo places the bridges where they no doubt stood, *between* the two cities of Sestos and Abydos; but not adjoining to either; page 591. And we conclude that they extended from different parts of the point, or rather *promontory*, of Nagara, to the nearest part of the opposite shore. This part is spoken of, by the ancient authors (Polybius in particular), as the ordinary pass over the Hellespont: and it seems to have been equally in use, in modern times, by what is said above, concerning the invasion of Europe by the Ottomans.

The ancients agree, almost universally, in representing the breadth of this strait to be 7 stadia, at the narrowest part. Herodotus says so, in Melp. 85, and repeats it, Polym. 34. Strabo also, in p. 591: Pliny, in lib. iv. c. 12; and in vi. 1, he gives 875 paces, which are equal to 7 *Roman* stades, or  $\frac{7}{8}$  of a mile. Polybius, lib. xvi. c. 7, allows only *two* stadia; but it may be suspected that the text is corrupted. Procopius, who had a good opportunity of viewing it, is silent.

Of the modern authorities, M. Tournefort, Vol. ii. letter 4, without giving any positive notices, appears to allow it the breadth of a mile. Dr. Pococke only gives it on the authority of the ancients, at 7 stadia; which, however, implies that he *admitted* it: and as he seems to consider a stade, at all times, as the eighth part of a mile, this differs but little from the other authorities. (He reckons the Hellespont 26 miles in length.)

But Mr. Gibbon allows no more than 500 paces; that is, the same as he allows to the Bosphorus. The ancients evidently meant to describe a *broader* strait, *here*, than at the Bosphorus of Thrace.\*

\* If the term *Bosphorus* has been properly applied to the canal of Constantinople, as the measure of distance which an ox may with facility swim, it cannot have

It is remarkable that the above celebrated author, should have adopted this idea of the breadth of the strait, against the statements of the most celebrated of the ancient geographers, and which are not contradicted by the moderns in general; and it is also remarkable that he should censure M. D'Anville (perhaps in some instances, justly), for being "too fond of *imaginary* measures, for the purpose of rendering ancient writers *as accurate as himself*," (Vol. iii. page 9,) whilst at the same time, he has in fact, adopted the scale of M. D'Anville's stade, on this very occasion. This great geographer had an idea that the ancients had a stade of 51 toises, or about 330 English feet, (Mes. Itin. p. 69, *et seq.*) and which he has applied to the dimensions of Babylon, &c. It is obvious that 7 such stadia are equal to about 500 paces, or half a Roman mile; which is the breadth allowed by Mr. Gibbon.

If the number of vessels used in the construction of the bridges, could be depended on, one must suppose the narrow part of the strait to be about an English mile in breadth, which goes but little beyond Pococke's idea, and agrees with that of Tournefort: but goes beyond that of Herodotus, even if he intended a stade of 600 Grecian feet, by more than 1000 feet.

It is not likely that ever we shall have a true statement of the breadth of this strait, since any attempt to ascertain it by measurement, would subject the operator (who must necessarily be an European) to great hazard: and the guesses of people, as we have said before, are too vague to be depended on; especially as no opportunity offers (that we know of), of traversing it from side to side.\*

been well applied to the *Cimmerian* strait, which is not only wider than the Dardanelles, but is even 3 English miles broad, at the place where the lands approach nearest to each other, at *Jenikale*; and about  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , where straitened by the chain of islands, opposite to the battery near *Kertsch*.

\* One of the best opportunities that has ever occurred, seems to have been neglected. Baron Tott, himself an engineer, and entrusted by the Turks with the exa-

The description of the famous bridge of Xerxes, is given in a note from our Author; but how circumstantially soever given, it is by no means clear.\* *Two distinct bridges*, each consisting of a line of ships, are intended by the description: for one is said to be towards the Euxine, the other towards the Hellespont, or Ægæan sea. They were, moreover, applied to different uses; the first being for the army in general, the other for the followers, and beasts of burthen; Polym. 55. Thus far is clear; as well as the mode of completing the *ways*, over the vessels on which they rested; but the *disposition* of the vessels in *one* of the lines, is ambiguous, because an idea is given that the vessels in it were placed

mination of the defences of the Dardanelles, by which he ought to have been possessed of the certain means of determining the question, says, that the narrow part of the strait is 300, or 400 toises broad. How inaccurate, for an engineer! The highest evaluation of this distance, is less than half a mile.

Since the above was written, a RUSSIAN squadron has passed the Dardanelles!

\* “ They connected together ships of different kinds, some *long* vessels of 50 oars, others three-banked gallies, to the number of 360 on the side towards the Euxine sea, and 313 on that of the Hellespont. The former of these were placed transversely, but the latter, to diminish the strain upon the cables, in the direction of the current. —When these vessels were firmly connected to each other, they were secured on each side by anchors of great length; on the upper side, because of the winds which set in from the Euxine; on the lower towards the Ægean sea, on account of the south and south-east winds. They left however, openings in three places, sufficient to afford a passage for light vessels, which might have occasion to sail into the Euxine, or from it: having performed this, they extended cables from the shore, stretching them upon large capstans of wood; for this purpose they did not employ a number of separate cables, but united two of white flax with four of biblos. These were alike in thickness, and apparently so in goodness, but those of flax were in proportion much the more solid, weighing not less than a talent to every cubit. When the pass was thus secured, they sawed out rafters of wood, making their length equal to the space required for the bridge; these they laid in order across upon the extended cables, and then bound them fast together. They next brought unwrought wood, which they placed very regularly upon the rafters; over all they threw earth, which they raised to a proper height, and finished all by a fence on each side, that the horses and other beasts of burthen might not be terrified by looking down on the sea. Polym. 36.

*lengthwise*, across the strait; whilst those in the *other* line, were placed *side by side*, or with their length *parallel* to the strait. The latter appears perfectly rational; the other highly improbable; because a strong current prevails for the most part, the water flowing out of the Euxine into the *Propontis*, and *Mediterranean*; and more particularly when northerly winds prevail; so that it would be difficult to keep ships in their stations, when presenting their broadsides to the wind and current.\* Besides, it requires little argument to prove, that this arrangement would have been the most inconvenient possible, for a bridge; could it have been rendered permanent.

Some other meaning therefore, must be sought for, not only from the improbability of so flagrant a departure from the dictates of common sense and experience, but because that the numbers in the two lines differ no more than a 7th or 8th part. Now, it is well known, that even the ships of this time, are about *four* times as long as they are broad, in their upper works: and there is reason to believe, from the dimensions of some ancient ships, left on record, that these were at least *five*, if not *five and a half*, times as long as they were broad. We shall here detain the reader a moment, in order to explain our ideas respecting certain properties of the ancient ships, which apply more particularly to the present argument.

It has been said that the ancient ships (of the Greeks, &c.) were

\* This current, as we have seen, Polymnia, c. 36, is spoken of, in very general terms by Herodotus. It is also mentioned by travellers; and its effect, in preventing ships from entering the Dardanelles from the south, when a contrary wind prevails, is familiarly known to seamen. M. Tournefort thus speaks of it:

“The waters that pass through this canal, from out of the *Propontis*, are as rapid as if they flowed beneath a bridge: when the north wind blows, no ship can enter; but when it is from the south, you hardly perceive any current.” Vol. ii. lett. 4.

The current in the canal of Constantinople (*Bosphorus*), is still stronger, as the stream formed of the surplus waters of the Euxine, is more confined there, than in the Hellespont. Ib. letter 8.

very much *longer* in proportion to their breadth, than the modern ones. We would here be understood to mean the *ships of war*, which from their proportions were styled LONG ships, in contradistinction to the merchant ships, whose swelling forms, which were better adapted to stowage, gave occasion to their being called ROUND ships. It may be conceived that these were of much the same proportional dimensions with ours, in respect of length and breadth, but had bottoms nearly flat.

But the fighting ships required a degree of velocity at the moment of attack: and, as the mode of warfare, might require it to be exerted in any line of direction, perhaps opposite to that of the wind, nothing could accomplish this velocity, but the application of oars. It therefore became necessary to increase the length of the ship, to the utmost bounds of safety, in order to gain room for such a number of oars, as were required to put so great a body in motion. And hence, doubtless, the origin of the *long* ship, whose dimensions appeared so singular, as to call for the term, which was with so much propriety applied to it. The proportional dimensions would also have the effect of enabling them to divide the fluid, with greater ease, in proportion to the impulse of the oars; or of the sails, when sailing before the wind: but it may be observed, by the representations of ancient ships (and which appear to be generally ships of war), that they spread an exceeding small proportion of sail; which was doubtless owing to their want of breadth. This defect, together with the flatness of the bottom, rendered them unfit to ply to windward: so that when they wanted to proceed in that line of direction, the oars were the only means of accomplishing it. When sailing before the wind, the flatness had its advantages.

It may be conceived that no ships, at any period of the world's age, were *able* to spread so much canvas,\* in proportion to their

\* It may justly be suspected that our ships are very much over-masted: as a proof of it, ships with *jury* masts sail as well, under ordinary circumstances, as with what

*length*, as at present: a proof that the ancients were very far behind, in naval science. The invention of artillery, has certainly increased the *dimensions* of ships of war; but the progress of *improvement* has even far outstripped the increase of bulk.

It would be unnecessary to insist any farther on the flatness of those vessels. But it may be remarked, that the *long* ships of Nearchus, built by Alexander in the Panjab, descended the Indus, and its adjacent rivers, in which there must have been a great many shallow places. They also entered *tide* harbours on the coast of Persia, in which there is no great depth of water. And moreover, both these, and the ships of Xerxes were frequently *drawn ashore*; which circumstance, proves at once the flatness of their bottoms, and their confined dimensions.

There is a passage in Polybius (lib. iv. c. 5.) which implies that the large ships of his time (some of which carried 420 men), drew about 15 feet of water, only. We now return to our proper subject.

Since the Hellespont, in the neighbourhood of Abydos, has a very considerable bend in its course, first running northward from Abydos towards Sestos, and then taking a pretty sharp turn to the *eastward*; may it not have been, that the two lines of ships were disposed on different sides of the *angle* just mentioned, by which it might truly be said, that the ships in one line presented their *heads* to the Euxine, the other their *sides*, although the heads of both were presented to the current? The different numbers in the

are termed *proper* masts. In light winds, it is certain that too much canvas cannot be spread: but, in this age of improvement, cannot temporary sails be invented, so as, in *some measure*, to compensate the defect? The savings, in point of stores, would be immense; in the wear of ships, incalculable!

It is well known, that on *emergencies*, when the wind is light, boats may be used for towing: and the velocity communicated by the oars of the boats of a ship of war, will *far* overbalance the loss occasioned by sails of reduced dimensions.

Vitruvius has said that it is better to have a house too *small* for a *day* than too *big* for a *year*: is not this saying, in some measure applicable to the present subject?

two lines certainly indicate *different breadths* of the strait, and which can only be accounted for, by their being at some distance from each other: for it cannot be supposed that the line was placed obliquely across the strait.

The cables extended from each shore, appear to have been for the sole purpose of supporting the *bridge-ways*. The ships were kept in their places, by anchors ahead and astern; by the lateral pressure of each other, and by side fastenings.

It remains that something should be said, concerning the space occupied by the ships, according to the numbers given in the text; and its supposed proportion to the breadth of the strait.

The numbers given are 360 in one line, 313, or 314 in the other. Let it be admitted that the difference arises *chiefly* from the different breadths of the strait, which might be many hundred feet wider at one bridge, than at the other. But if it was no wider at the narrowest part than 7 stadia, say 3500 feet, the vessels ought not to have been broader than 11 feet; in other words, the dimensions of a barge: and it appears that the bridge was evidently composed of vessels of a larger class than that, although it may be difficult to fix the determinate size of them.

In Polym. 21, it is said that "long ships were *prepared* to serve as *bridges*;" which implies that they were of a different kind from the *other* ships, mentioned in the same article; which were, *ships of war*, (implied to be *very large*, and of which there were a great number in the fleet); *transports* for cavalry, and troops; and *provision* vessels. Now, in Polym. 184, there is a class of vessels of 50 oars, manned with 80 men only; and which were the smallest class of *fighting* ships; the largest having crews of 230.\* These

\* Perhaps, to bring the matter nearer to our own ideas, the ships, with crews of 230 may be regarded as *line of battle*; those of 80, as *frigates* and *sloops of war*. But the Romans and Carthaginians in the great contest for naval dominion, had crews of 420, of which, 120 were soldiers, or *marines*.

It appears from Polym. 97, that a great proportion of the fleet of Xerxes, which

then, we must suppose to have been chiefly used in the construction of the bridges: for it is expressly said, Polym. 36, that those of 50 oars were made use of: and it is evident, that, if the crews consisted of no more than 80, the oars in general must have been managed single-handed. And it may be inferred, that a vessel moved by this power, could not have been of very great dimensions. Moreover, the ancients crowded their crews into a very small space; as is shewn by the small depth of water required to float the ships of Nearchus; so that, taking all circumstances into consideration, it may be concluded, that these vessels were of no greater dimensions than 80 to 100 tons: that they were very *narrow*, in proportion to their length; and might not be more than 15 to 16 feet broad.

We are aware that *three-banked* gallies were also used in the bridge: but as the *others* are expressly said to be intended for the purpose of bridges, it may be supposed that only a few large ships were used; and that, to accomplish a purpose, which cannot, at this distance of time, be understood: for it appears evident, that, the former size of vessels was fully equal to the superincumbent weight of the bridge-ways, and as many men, horses, or carriages, as could stand on them, at a time; exclusive of the necessary quantity of ballast to keep them steady: and therefore a larger kind was not required.\* The Hellespont has not an expanse of

consisted altogether of 3000 vessels, were of 30 and 50 oars: and that the fighting ships of this fleet were in number about 1200. Polym. 184.

\* When boats or pontoons are placed close together, as happened *here*, those of a very moderate size will suffice, in respect of any weight that could be required to be laid on them. Witness the ordinary *pontoons* used in war, and in bridges of communication. Coal barges are equal to any purpose of this kind, where there is no great agitation of the water, although placed at some distance apart. It may be urged, that, in the present case, the situation required close, or decked vessels; and it is certain that something must be allowed on this score, where the breadth was a mile, or thereabouts, and, at times, a current; but we are of opinion notwithstanding, that vessels of the size of the smallest *coasting craft*, were adequate to such a purpose.



water sufficient to admit of any very great agitation from the winds; and in particular from the southern quarter, where alone, from its blowing in opposition to the current, a dangerous wave might have been raised, had the conformation of the strait been different.\*

It is certain that 313 vessels of 15 to 16 feet in breadth would occupy a space, equal to about 4850 feet, or about 400 feet short of an English mile. And if there was any proportion of *large* vessels amongst them, the required space would probably be increased to a full mile. Therefore, at all events, it must be allowed, that there is no great difference between the *calculation* of the space occupied by the vessels, taken on a reasonable footing, and the *allowed* breadth of the strait, by those who have *seen* it; which appears to be from  $\frac{7}{8}$  of a mile, to a mile: for whatsoever the length of the stadium of Herodotus may have been, Dr. Pococke certainly meant by his stade, the eighth of a mile. And thus we close our speculations on this project, which may be classed with many other of the follies, wrought by those, who having at their disposal, the labour of myriads, employed it to a useless purpose.

It may well be supposed that the success of Darius Hystaspes, in making his bridge over the Bosphorus, encouraged his son Xerxes, to try a like experiment on the Hellespont; where, the greater breadth of the sea, and the exposure of the situation, rendered it a more difficult task.

Of the bridge of Darius across the Danube no description is given. It is probable that it could not have been of less extent than that at the Bosphorus; but from the regular and constant stream of the river, the vessels could with more ease be kept in their stations, than in a place where the current would often be so slack, as to allow the force of the wind to preponderate.

\* If the direction of the wind had been mentioned, one might have guessed the position of Xerxes's first bridge, which was destroyed by a tempest.

## SECTION VII.

OF THE COUNTRIES SITUATED BEYOND THE EUXINE SCYTHIA, TO THE EASTWARD, AND NORTH-EASTWARD.

*Nations, or Tribes, situated beyond Scythia.* — Iyrçæ, or Turçæ — Seceding Royal Scythians — Argippæi — Issedones, Arimaspians, and Gryphins. — *The Issedones answer to the Oigurs, Yugures, or Eluths.* — *Error of Herodotus, in placing the Issedones opposite to the Massagetæ.* — *Aral Lake mistaken for a Part of the Caspian Sea.* — *Argippæi and Arimaspi placed: the former at the Mountains of the Great Steppe; the latter at the Altaian, or Golden Mountains.* — *The Gold of the Arimaspi derived from the Province of Kolyvan, bordering on Altai.* — *Seceding Scythians supposed to have inhabited the Desht Kipzak, and Part of the Great Steppe* — Turçæ, or Iyrçæ, taken for the Torgauti — Riphæan Mountains. — *Altaian Mountains, the extreme Boundary of the Knowledge of Herodotus, Eastward.* — *Particulars respecting the Argippæi and Issedones: the former celebrated for their Probitiy; the latter a polished People.* — *Arimaspian Verses.* — *Herodotus in doubt, concerning the Northern and Eastern Boundary of Europe; and silent concerning the Southern Boundary.* — *Northern Ocean* — Hyperboreans — *Country and Rampart of Gog and Magog.* — *An imputed Error of Herodotus, done away.* — *Hyperboreans send Offerings to Delos* — *Melancholy Fate of Travellers, who perish in a foreign Land, whilst in Pursuit of Knowledge* — *Communication between Individuals of distant Nations, to be encouraged.* — *Apology for harmless Superstition, in uninformed Minds.* — *General Observations.*

WE shall next endeavour to collect the ideas of Herodotus, respecting the countries situated beyond the Western, or Euxine Scythia; as also concerning the north part of Europe, generally;

and the tract, which from its relative situation, was named the country of the HYPERBOREANS. - It must be recollected that, according to *his* system, *all* of the above tracts were included in EUROPE; since the Colchian Phasis, and the country of the Masagetæ, were by him, regarded as the northern frontiers of ASIA.

It has been suggested, that Herodotus derived his knowledge of Scythia, in a great measure, from the history of the Expedition of Darius, which must then have been fresh in the memories of the Greeks, settled on the borders of the Euxine. And when it is farther remarked, that the *Thyssagetæ* are the last people, whose country is particularly described, and placed; that opinion receives additional strength: for the Thyssagetæ were situated at the extreme boundary of his expedition, eastward.

Beyond the Thyssagetæ (EASTWARD; for so it must be understood by the context: for immediately afterwards, our Author, speaking of the *Royal Scythians* who had *seceded* from the others, says, “advancing from *this* people *still nearer* to the east”), were the IYRCÆ, who, like the Thyssagetæ, lived by the chase. Melpom. 22.\*

The Royal Scythians who had *seceded* from those at the Euxine, established themselves, as we have just seen, on the *east* of the *Iyrca*; but no particulars concerning them are given.

“Thus far,” continues our Author, Melp. 23, “the whole country is *flat*, and the soil *excellent*; but beyond *these* Scythians, it becomes *barren* and *stony*. After travelling over a considerable space, a people are found living at the foot of some *lofty mountains*—these are called ARGIPPÆI.” He farther observes, Melp. 24, that, “as far as the Argippæi, the knowledge of the country is clear and satisfactory; and may be obtained from the Scythians, who have frequent communication with them: from the Greeks

\* The reader is referred to the Maps No. II. and V. for an explanation of the actual geography of this quarter: and to No. I. for our Author's ideas of the relative positions.

of the port on the Borysthenes; and from many other places of trade on the Euxine. As these nations have seven different languages, the Scythians who communicate with them, have occasion for as many interpreters."

"Beyond the Argippæi, no certain intelligence is to be had; a chain of *lofty* and *inaccessible* mountains precluding all discovery.—To the *east* of the *Argippæi*, it is beyond all doubt that the country is possessed by the ISSEDONES; but beyond them, to the *north*, neither the Issedones nor the Argippæi know any thing more, than I have already related;" Melpom. 25. "The Issedones themselves affirm, that the country *beyond* them, (we conclude that to the *eastward* is meant) is inhabited by a race of men who have but *one* eye; and by GRYPHINS, who are guardians of the gold.—Such is the information which the Scythians have from the Issedones, and we from the Scythians: in the Scythian tongue they are called ARIMASPIANS, from *Arima* the Scythian word for *one*; and *spu*, an *eye*." Melpom. 27.

Thus we collect the extent of the knowledge of Herodotus, eastward, in the parallel of Western Scythia; but as we have no scale of distance, by which to regulate either the positions of the several intermediate nations, or of the most remote one, all is left to conjecture, in our Author. Others, however, throw some light on the position of the country of the Issedones; and Ptolemy, in particular. His knowledge of the detail of the eastern geography, was extensive, in this quarter. By him, the Issedones are so placed, as to answer to the OIGURS, or YUGURES, who inhabit the proper seat of the Kalmucs; bordering immediately on the north-east of *Casia*, which latter is easily recognized in the country of *Kashgur*. (See *Memoir of the Map of Hindoostan*, section III.) The *Æchardæ* of this author, which name designs a nation or people in the region of SERICA,\* and between the Issedones of Scythia, and

\* The country from whence the Romans had their *silk*; and the *silk*, its name. See Ptolemy's *Asia*, Tab. vii. and viii.

those of *Serica*, has a near affinity in sound to *Oigur*, and strengthens the supposition.

It is certain, that the space between the seats of the *Thyssagetæ*, and of the *Issedones*, appears on the Map to be much too large to have been occupied by the *three* nations alone, described by *Herodotus*; it being about 1200 G. miles. But accuracy is not to be expected, in this case; and it may be, that some tribes are omitted. It must not, however, be forgotten, that they were pastoral tribes, and required a great deal of room.

*Herodotus* himself supposed, that the *Issedones* were situated *opposite* to the *Massagetæ*, who were at the east of the *Caspian sea*, or rather *Aral*;\* but the *Issedones* were, as will appear, very much farther to the east. Again, *Pliny* supposed both *them*, and the *Arimaspians* to be at no great distance from the *Mæotis* and *Tanais*, lib. iv. c. 12: but probably neither of these authors had any rule for placing them: and it is to be remarked of *Pliny*, that his geography carries every thing too far to the *west* in this quarter.†

*Herodotus*, thus expresses himself, respecting the *Issedones* and *Massagetæ*; *Clio*, 201.

“The *Massagetæ*, a great and powerful nation, whose territories extend beyond the river *Araxes* (meaning the *Jaxartes*), to the extreme parts of the east,—are OPPOSITE to the *Issedones*; and are by some esteemed a *Scythian* nation.” And, in 204, he says that “the *Massagetæ* inhabit a considerable part of a vast plain, which bounds the *Caspian* (or rather *Aral*), on the east.” So that we fix the *Massagetæ*, in the great plain occupied by the *Middle Horde* of the *KIRGEES*, adjacent to the river *Sirr*, or rather *Sirt*, which is the

\* In all the works of the *European* geographers, as well ancient as modern, to the present century, the *ARAL* sea must be understood to be *included* in the *CASPIAN*: since they knew but of *one* expanse of water, in that quarter; for the *Cyrus* and *Araxes*, the *Oxus* and *Jaxartes*, were all supposed to fall into the same sea. The *Arabian* and *Persian* geographers, on the contrary, discriminated them, from the earliest times.

† More will be said on this subject, in the sequel.

Jaxartes. Our Author, as has been said, supposed the Issedones to be situated OPPOSITE to the Massagetæ, which by the context can only be understood, to the NORTH, or under the same meridian: for, in tracing the chain of tribes, or nations, from the Tanais, to the Issedones, he evidently proceeds *eastward*, and speaks of the plain of the Massagetæ, as a position, *opposite* to some point in that chain. Moreover, in tracing this chain, he keeps wide to the north of the Caspian; and concludes with saying, that nothing is *certainly known, beyond* the Issedones. Now, having said that the Massagetæ extended *eastward, indefinitely*, from the borders of the Caspian, and the banks of the Jaxartes, they could not be situated to the *east* of the Issedones, beyond whom, he had just said, *nothing certain* was known. The inference clearly is, that, by *opposite*, was meant in the same meridian: and that, in his idea, the Massagetæ lay to the SOUTH, along the Aral and Jaxartes; the Issedones to the NORTH, and about the parallel of the Thyssagetæ: and by the obvious result of the statement of his geography of Scythia (page 53, *et seq.*) the mouth of the Tanais, must, in the idea of Herodotus, have been as high as the parallel of  $50^{\circ}$ , and the Thyssagetæ, in  $53^{\circ}$ , at least.

His chain of positions, therefore, may be regarded as extending in an east direction, from the Thyssagetæ to the Issedones; so that these latter, could not (in his idea) be lower than  $53^{\circ}$ . But the Massagetæ, who are said to occupy the same parallel with the Caspian, must have been several degrees to the south of the Issedones. For the Caspian is described in Clio, 203, to have Mount *Caucasus* on the *west*: and therefore the parallel passing through the centre of that sea, may be taken for the same as that of Colchis: that is,  $42$  to  $43^{\circ}$ . Again, according to the dimensions of the same sea, in 203, it ought not to extend northward, beyond  $47^{\circ}$ : and the Massagetæ, who are stated to be on the *east side*, must consequently have been *below*  $47^{\circ}$ . Such was the idea of our Author; to explain which, is the object in view: but the *truth* is, that the

Issedones lay almost directly *east* from the Massagetæ; and, at a still greater distance from them, than was supposed to intervene.

Thus we ascertain a geographical position in the *supposed* extension of Europe eastwards, by Herodotus, in that of the ISSEDONES; who may be regarded as the ancestors of the people now denominated OIGURS or YUGURES, by the *Tartars*; ELUTS, or ELUTHS, by the *Chinese*. (They have also a variety of other names; see Mr. Tooke's *Russia*, Vol. iv.) Much more will be said of them in the sequel. They are a tribe of KALMUCS; we believe the principal one amongst them: and possess the original and proper seat of the Kalmucs; subject however to the Emperor of China. And thus the error in distance made by Herodotus, may be appreciated; and may be reckoned at about 500 G. miles: the Issedones being so much farther to the east, than he supposed.

According to this arrangement, the *Arimaspians*, the most remote nation, eastward, known to Herodotus, may be supposed to be situated in the same meridian with the source of the Indus. We shall now inquire, how far any of the nations above recited, besides the Issedones, are known in history; and also how far they can be placed in a geographical arrangement.

The ARGIPPÆI of our Author, whose position is *short* of the Issedones; and the *Arimaspi*, who are situated next *beyond* them, shall first be considered.

The Argippæi, then, are said, Melpom. 23, and 25, to be situated at the foot of certain *lofty* mountains, which preclude all discovery; (*northward*: for the Issedones are known to lie *beyond* them, to the *east*;) and the country is said to be *flat*, and the soil *good*, to *this point*, in coming from the westward; but now becomes *barren* and *stony*: moreover, as we have seen, the Issedones begin on the *east* of the Argippæi.

We regard the Argippæi, then, as the people who inhabited the eastern part of the *Great Steppe*; bordering *northward* on the great chain of mountains, that divides the Steppe from SE to NW,

and which separates the northern from the southern waters, in that quarter. It is a marked feature in the geography; and is described by the Arabian geographers to be remarkably lofty, steep, and difficult of access; agreeing to the description in our Author.\*

The Argippæi would also border, eastward, on the mountains that separate the Oigur country from the Steppe: or which perhaps, with more propriety, may be regarded as the western *declivity* of the elevated region inhabited by the Kalmuc Eluths. A part of these mountains are named *Arga*, and *Argia*, in Strahlenberg, and the Map of Russia.

According to these suppositions, the Argippæi must have occupied the northern part of the tract, now in the possession of the *Greater* or *Eastern* Horde of the KIRGÈES; who are dependant on China, as the Middle and Western Hordes are on Russia.

It is certain that in the above adjustment of the situation of the Argippæi, one striking circumstance in the description of our Author, is wanting; namely, the continuation of *flat* country, from the Thyssagetæ, to the situation in question. But, it should be recollected, that no particular accuracy can, in this case, be expected: and that the very great extent of the level Steppe, may be allowed to justify him in the supposition, that the face of the country was the same, throughout.

The ARIMASPIANS, who are fabled to have had but *one eye* (Melpom. 13 and 27; and Thalia, 116), are said to take the gold violently from the GRYPHINS, who guarded it; and with which the country was said to abound. These Arimaspians, who are placed by our Author, *beyond*, that is, to the *eastward* of, the Issedones, seem to have inhabited Mount *Altai* (which is to be regarded rather as a *region*, than a mere *ridge* of mountains), from whence the rivers

\* These mountains will be hereafter spoken of, as the southern (or SW) boundary of the country of *Fajuje* and *Majuje* (*Gog* and *Mazog*), according to the Arabian geographers. They appear to be also the continuation, eastward, of the *Riphaean* mountains of Ptolemy.



of Irtysh and Oby, flow; and which mountains are at no great distance beyond the *Oigurs*, whom we have just taken for the *Issedones*. It is possible, that the names of the tribes, in, and about, Mount Altai, may have been such, as to approach nearly to *Arimaspia* and *Gryphin*; and the Greeks or Scythians may have given them the significations above related. Herodotus has given reason to suppose, *Melp.* 26, that the Issedones, as well as the Arimaspians, had plenty of gold amongst them: and the modern discoveries of the Russians, prove, that the ancient people of this part of Tartary, possessed much gold.

It has been shewn, page 109, that the ancient sepulchres towards the head of the Irtysh, contained much gold; as also that the gold mines of Kolyvan, and the *Altaian* mountains, are situated in that quarter. The latter are so named from *Alta*, a word which signifies *gold* in the Mongul and Kalmuc languages:\* and there can be no doubt, but that the name has been given, from the quantity of gold found in the neighbourhood. The mountains of *Altai* appear both in the Map of Strahlenberg, and in the modern Map of Russia. In the former they are named *Altai*; in the latter *Chaltai*, as well as *Altai*: and they either occupy a great extent of space, or different ranges of mountains are so named; a seeming proof, that the precious metal is diffused over a considerable extent of country, in this quarter: and from the courses of the waters around it, the region of Altai seems to contain some of the highest ground in the centre of Asia. Now, from all these circumstances, it appears probable, that the country of the Gryphins or Gryphons, which *abounded* with gold, was that of *Kolyvan*: and that the Arimaspians were the people of the region of Altai; and who had the Oigurs or Issedones for neighbours, on the south. And thus we have endeavoured to reconcile this part of our Author's chain of positions, eastward.

There remain then, to be considered, in the space between the

\* Mr. Tooke in the *Archæologia*, Vol. vii. p. 227.

Thyssagetæ, who are supposed by us, to have been seated on the west side of the Wolga; and the Argippæi, who are supposed to have occupied the eastern part of the Great *Steppe*, or seat of the *Eastern Kirgees*; the tribes of *Iyrca*, and the *Seceding Royal Scythians*. The space in reality, seems too vast for two tribes only: and the circumstance of there being only two tribes to be placed in his geography, may have led Herodotus, and after him Pliny, to place the Issedones as they have done, much too far to the west. But we cannot well doubt the position of the Thyssagetæ, any more than that of the Issedones; and therefore may suspect that the information of Herodotus was imperfect; and that *other* tribes, not enumerated, were there, also. Certain it is, however, that the *Kirgees* tribes, *do* possess at present, the whole space between the *Jaik*,\* and the former seats of the Issedones; that is, two parts in THREE, of the space between the Thyssagetæ and the Issedones. But whether matters were in this respect, the same *then*, as *now*, we know not.

If the *Seceding Royal Scythians*, who lay to the east of the *Iyrca*, and between them and the *Argippæi*, can be supposed (as Herodotus says), to possess the *whole extent* of the plain country, eastward, their possessions would answer as nearly as possible to those of the *middle*, and *lesser* (or *western*) horde of KIRGEES; that is to say, the Desht Kipzak, and the western and greater part, of the *Steppe*; but as no idea of the space, any more than of the power, possessed by these Scythians, is given, it would be useless to reason on the subject; especially as we have already spoken fully on the

\* The proper name of this river is *Diaek*, although it be more commonly called *Jaik*, or *Jaek*. In the geography of Ptolemy, the *Daix* is the second river from the *Rha* (the Wolga) towards the *Jaxartes*; (Sirr or Sirt) the *Rhymnicus* being next to the Wolga. But doubtless the *Daix* and *Rhymnicus* should change places; for it cannot be supposed otherwise than that the *Daix* is intended for the *Diaek*. The *Rhymnicus* will then answer to the *Yemba*: and the mountains of that name to those of *Ural*.

supposed connection between *these* and the Scythians of the *Mæotis*, in page 76, *et seq.*

It is probable that our Author might have had no idea of the extent of space that he had left, in the actual geography, to the three tribes of *Iyrcaë*, the *Seceding Scythians*, and *Argippæi*: and hence, doubtless, arose his error in supposing the Issedones to lie opposite to the *Massagetæ*; for he might perhaps have allowed to those three tribes, much the same space as to the three tribes on the west of them, between the *Oarus* (taken for the *Wolga*) and the *Danube*; and might have calculated that the space would reach as far eastward as the meridian of the *Jaxartes*: and on this ground, declare that the Issedones were *opposite* to, or in the same *meridian* with, the *Massagetæ*. If we are right, the cause of his error seems to be satisfactorily explained.

Since *Pliny* differs so widely from our Author, in his statement of certain of these positions, whilst he agrees so well in others, we shall offer a word on this part of the subject.

After speaking of a number of tribes, who inhabited the tract beyond the *Mæotis* and *Tanais*, lib. vi. c. 7, he comes to the *Thyssagetæ* and *Turcæ*;\* apparently the *Thyssagetæ* and *Iyrcaë* of our Author; which tribes he places next to the *deserts* and *bunting places*: and beyond them all, the *Arimphæi*, said to border on the *Riphæan* mountains. Now, the ancients appear to have applied the name *Riphæan*, to different mountains, and perhaps to forests, also. *Ptolemy*, *Pliny*, and *Mela*, placed a part of them at the head of the *Tanais*, where there seem to be no mountains, but vast forests, only. The two latter, place another part of the same chain, at the head of the *Jaik*, admitting the *Arimphæi* to be there. But in fact, they do not seem to have had any clear ideas concerning them. The *Hyperborean* mountains of *Ptolemy*, beyond the *Wolga*, agree better to our idea of the *Riphæan*: for as the *Arimphæi* of *Pliny* and of *Mela* are said to border on these mountains,

\* *Pomponius Mela* also, has the *Turcæ* near the *Thyssagetæ*; lib. i. c. 21.

eastward; and on the *Turcæ* westward; and *these* again, westward on the *Thyssagetæ*; it should be, that the mountains at the head of the Jaik (now named *Ural*), are the *Riphæan*; since Orenburgh answers to the country of the *Arimphæi*. And this part of the chain must necessarily be very much elevated, and conspicuous; since, from its neighbourhood, the *Tobol* flows into the North sea; the *Jaik* and *Yemba* into the Caspian. We conceive that from this point, the mountains intended by *Riphæan*, passed to the north, between the waters of the *Oby*, *Kama*, *Dwina*, and *Peczora*: and to the ESE, through the *Steppe*, to a junction with the mountains of *Arga*, on the one hand; and those of *Altai* on the other. How much of their course the ancients might know, or to what ramifications of them, the name *Riphæan* might be applied, is a doubt. It may however be suspected, that the three different names *Riphæan*, *Arimphæan*, and *Rhymnican*, applied to mountains in this quarter, were all intended, either in whole, or in part, for the same, or branches of the same, mountains.\*

Taking therefore the *Riphæan* mountains (as far as they were known), for those which, in the first instance, *separate* on the north-east, the waters of Asia, from those of Europe; and afterwards the northern, from the southern, waters of Asia; and which extend through the Great Steppe to *Oigur*; in effect, the mountains of the *Argippæi*, beforementioned: we shall find the *TURCÆ*, in the *TORGAUTI*, or *TORGOTS*, a Kalmuc tribe situated between the *Wolga* and *Jaik*, in the government of *Saratow*: and the *ARIMPHÆI*, adjoining to, and beyond them, in the province of *Orenburgh*, and government of *Ufa*.

Pliny is right in saying that the *Turcæ* bordered on the Desert (*Steppe*). Herodotus says that the country of the *Iyrçæ* is woody; *Melpom.* 22: and *Mela* says the same of that of the *Turcæ*. The

\* Can *Riphæan* have any relation to *Ripbath*, or *Riphah*, who is the son of *Gomer*, and brother of *Togarmah* "of the north;" (in *Genesis*, x. ver. 3.) since we find *Magog* in the same quarter?

knowledge of Pliny, as to detail, appears to end at the Riphæan mountains.

The Torgots are spoken of, largely, by Mr. Tooke, Vol. i.; as a tribe of Kalmucs, seated *between* the abovementioned rivers: and there, Strahlenberg also places the Torgauti.

We are aware that exceptions may be taken to this supposition: as the Kalmucs are said to have migrated westward, in modern times: so that it may be reckoned idle, to place the *Torgot* tribe of Kalmucs, at the Wolga, in the time of Herodotus. But it is possible that the *tract itself* may have given name to the tribes that have successively occupied it: and the reader may perhaps regard it as an example in point, that the *Begdelly* tribe actually inhabit that part of Mesopotamia which is called the Plain of *Bectileth*, in the book of Judith; ch. ii. ver. 21. The natural inference, to be drawn, is, that in both cases, the tribes have taken their names from the tracts themselves. And may not *Torgot* itself, be one reading of *Turk*, or *Tourk*?

In support of the above opinion we may also quote Mr. Tooke (Vol. ii. p. 72.), who says of the tribes of the Nogayan Tartars, that “several of them have frequently changed their station in the vast deserts they inhabit, and *as often changed their name; one while taking that of the river of the place they stop at, at another that of the leader who heads them*, and again at other times, according to other circumstances.”

With respect to the positions occupied by the Issedones, Arimaspians, &c. no opinions can be more at variance, than those of Herodotus and Pliny. It has been already remarked that the latter confines his geography of this quarter, within *very narrow* limits: for that he supposed even the Issedones and Arimaspians, the most remote of the nations spoken of by Herodotus, to be situated near the *Mæotis* and *Tanais*; lib. iv. c. 12: in which Mela, lib. ii. c. 1, agrees. But if Herodotus is to be regarded as faulty in excess, an error however, that we do not admit, these authors have surely

gone into the opposite extreme; and we cannot help suspecting that Mela, in particular, was led into this error by his ignorance of the distinction that ought to have been made, between the Scythians of the *Euxine*, and those of the *Caspian*; referring what concerned the neighbourhood of the *latter*, to that of the *former*: and it is probable that Pliny may have made some mistakes of the same kind. If this opinion be founded, it will account for their ideas respecting the Issedones, &c.

Herodotus, as we have seen, extended them to the meridian of the Jaxartes, 25 degrees to the east of the Mæotis: and was still very far short of the truth: for their relative position is very clearly pointed out, by Ptolemy, and is easily referred to modern geography. And hence, whatsoever errors there may be, in the intermediate positions, given by our Author, (if such there are) we ought to receive that of the Issedones as just; and to lay out of the question the systems of Pliny and Mela.

One particular is, however, very remarkable. The *Argippæi* of Herodotus, situated next the Issedones, answer in point of *description* to the *Arimphæi* of Pliny and of Mela, situated at Mount *Ripbæas*, near the head of the Jaik. The description is remarkably pointed, and cannot be mistaken, as will appear presently.

Having shewn (as we trust) that the extreme boundary of the knowledge of our Author, eastward, was the mountainous region of Altai, at the head of the river Irtish, we shall conclude this head of inquiry; and proceed to select some particulars respecting certain of the principal nations abovementioned; such as the *Argippæi*, *Issedones*, and *Arimaspians*.

1. The ARGIPPÆI, whom we have supposed to be the people near Mount *Arga*, and the mountains of the Steppe, are oddly spoken of by Herodotus. Melp. 23. "They are (says he) *bald* from their birth, having large chins and nostrils like the *ape* species. They have a language of their own, but their dress is Scythian; they live chiefly on the produce of a tree which is called

*Ponticus*; it is as large as a fig, and has a kernel not unlike a bean: when it is ripe, they press it through a cloth; it produces a thick black liquor which they call *ascby*; this they drink, mixing it with milk; the grosser parts which remain, they form into balls, and eat.—They live unmolested, being considered as sacred, and having amongst them no offensive weapon. Their neighbours apply to them in matters of private controversy, and whoever seeks an asylum amongst them, is secure from injury.”

The Argippæi agree in description to the *Arimphæi* of Pliny, and of Mela, just spoken of.

“ They are (says Pliny,) not much unlike the *Hyperboreans* in their manner of life, (these are said to have lived, immediately beyond them.) They live in forests, and feed on berries. Neither men or women leave any hair on their heads. They are courteous in their behaviour, and are held inviolable by their neighbours, who leave them undisturbed: and moreover, do the same by those who take refuge amongst them;” lib. vi. c. 13. They are described to live at the foot of the *Ripbæan* mountains; as the Argippæi at others, which are not named. Mela speaks much the same of the *Arimphæi*, lib. i. c. 21.

2. Concerning the *ISSEDONES*, the Greeks seem to have known but few particulars. These we have already spoken of, as the *Oigurs* or *Eluths* of the present times, and the *Æbardæ* of the Romans. Some of their customs are represented as the most abominable, whilst others shew them to be a refined people.

“ They venerate (says our Author) the principles of justice; and allow their females to enjoy equal authority with the men;” Melp. 26. By this, we should naturally understand that the women were in possession of those privileges, which nature seems to have intended; and which they so deservedly hold, in civilized societies; namely, those of superintending the domestic departments, and of participating the comforts of society, without restraint. This marked a degree of refinement so much above the

standard of Scythian nations, that it was given to Herodotus as a characteristic feature of their national manners. But as we learn that the *Oigurs* were a lettered nation, and that they alone furnished the conqueror JINGHIS KAN with secretaries, we are the less surprised at the refinements of their ancestors; as the physical geography of their country is such (being one of the most elevated tracts in the centre of Asia) as is likely to preserve national manners through a long course of ages.

After this, how can we give credit to the following description, which belong to the Issedones?

“As often as any one loses his father, his relations severally provide some cattle; these they kill, and having cut them in pieces, they dismember also the body of the deceased, and, mixing the whole together, feast upon it. The head alone is preserved; from this they carefully remove the hair, and cleansing it thoroughly, set it in gold: it is afterwards esteemed sacred, and produced in their solemn annual sacrifices.” *Melp.* 26.

As to the feast, we apprehend there is some mistake: but it is certain that Herodotus relates much the same of their neighbours the *Massagetae*, in *Clio*, 216; but with the addition of *parricide*; for they are said to eat those only, whom they *kill*.\* “As soon as any one becomes infirm through age, his assembled relations put him to death, boiling along with the body, the flesh of sheep, and other animals, upon which they feast; esteeming universally this mode of death the happiest. Of those who die from any disease, they never eat; they bury them in the earth, and esteem their fate a matter to be lamented, because they have not lived to be sacrificed. They sow no grain,” &c.

We feel the same difficulty in believing this story of the *Massagetae*; or indeed, of any other people. But that people have killed, or at least *accelerated* the death of, their aged and infirm parents, or friends, we believe, because we have *seen* something

\* Strabo relates much the same of the *Massagetae*, in page 513.



very much like it in Bengal: but *eating* them, is a quite different matter!\*

It appears that the *Issedones* do the same by the skulls of their *friends*, as the *Scythians* and others, with those of their *inveterate enemies*. The Author has seen, brought from *Bootan*, nearly in the same region with *Oigur*, (or the country of the *Issedones*) skulls that were taken out of temples or places of worship; but it is not known, whether the motive to their preservation, was friendship, or enmity. It might, very probably, be the former. They were formed into drinking bowls, in the manner described by our Author; *Melp.* 65, by “cutting them off *below the eyebrows* ;” and they were neatly varnished all over. Herodotus says, the *Scythians*, if poor, covered them with leather; if rich, in addition to that, they decorated them with gold.

It would be satisfactory to know some more particulars respecting the *ISSEDONES*. Concerning their supposed descendants, the *OIGURS*, or *ELUTHS*, much more is known: and the subject cannot but be interesting to the reader.

The conquest of the *Eluths*, as they are called by the Chinese, forms a prominent feature in the military history of the Chinese, during the late emperor's reign; when they subjugated the whole tract, westward, to the ridge of *Imaus*, which separated the two eastern *Scythias*.†

The *Eluths*, previous to this conquest, possessed a kingdom of considerable extent; formed of the two great provinces of *Terfan* and *Hami*, (or *Kamil*), which are situated in the *very centre* of

\* Our Author says that one tribe of the *East Indians*, also killed and eat their parents. *Thalia*, 99. Of this, more under the head of *Asia*.

† The narrative of the conquests of the *Eluths*, occurs in *Vol. i.* of the *Mémoires sur les Chinois*: and is said to be translated from an inscription, in *Chinese verse*, written by the emperor *KIEN-LONG*, and engraven on an obelisk, or monument, in one of the public places, in *Pekin*. The conquest was made about the year 1757; and the monument erected four years afterwards.

Asia. They are said to have been masters of the country as far northward, as the springs of the Irtysh, and the mountains of Altai, beforementioned: and on the south-west, they bordered on Kashgur.\*

At the commencement of the power of Jinghis, early in the 13th century, the prince of this country was tributary to the king of Turkestan, who resided at Kashgur; and being oppressed, solicited the protection of Jinghis; which led to the conquest of Turkestan, by the latter.†

It seems to be understood in Asia, that the Oigurs furnished the Moguls, not only with their learning and science, but even with their alphabet; although some difference of opinion, has arisen, whether the Moguls might not have had one of their own, and might only adopt that of the Oigurs, as being the more useful.

It is the remark of *M. Souciet*,‡ that no Tartar nation besides the Oigurs, had the use of letters, in the time of Jinghis Kan: and he also says, that the characters used by the Eluths, were the same with those in use in Thibet; where they are denominated *Tangusian*. Jinghis is said to have been the first of the Moguls, who made use of the Oigurs, as secretaries; a custom which was followed by many of his successors.

Abulgazi Kan, in his history of the Turks and Tartars, bears testimony to the fact of Jinghis and his descendants, having employed the Eluths as secretaries. So does *M. Petis de la Croix*; § who says, “the Moguls were indebted to the *Yugures* for the art

\* See the above *Mémoires*. According to the tables of latitude and longitude of the places in the kingdom of the Eluths, given in the same *Mémoires*, the kingdom should be about  $5\frac{1}{2}$  degrees of latitude in breadth, and 16 of longitude in length, in the parallel of  $40^{\circ}$ . The *Eluth* of the Chinese is pronounced *Oirat*, by the western people.

† History of Jinghis Kan, by *M. Petis de la Croix*, lib. ii. c. 7.

‡ In his *Observations Mathématiques, Astronomiques, &c.* p. 146, quoted in *Astley's Coll.* iv. p. 416. The work itself we have not been able to meet with.

§ *Hist. Jinghis K.* lib. ii. cap. 7.

of writing they now use, which was wanting, before their union with this people. Whether they found the manner of the Yugure's writing more convenient than *their own*, we know not; but they adopted it, and have used it ever since."

A note in the same book from Rubruquis, says, that the letter written by Mangou Kan, son of Jinghis, to St. Louis of France (A. D. 1254.), was in the Mogul language, but in the Yugurian character: and that the lines were written from top to bottom, like the Chinese. This, we apprehend, contradicts the former statement of the Thibetian characters being in use amongst these people. Rubruquis who visited the court of Mangou Kan, in 1254, ought to have known what the Yugure character and manner of writing was. He says that they write from top to bottom, and he also describes alphabetical characters.

Thus the fact of the Yugures being the *only* people in Tartary, who had written characters, does not appear to be clearly made out: and M. Petis de la Croix, who knew enough of Tartarian history, to be enabled to compile a history of Jinghis Kan, did not believe it.

3. The ARIMASPIANS should have been a considerable people, since they are represented as the aggressors in the war, by which the *Issedones* were driven westward on the *Scythians*; and if they were, as has been conjectured above, the inhabitants of the elevated region of Mount Altai, they would probably have been a very hardy people. But so much of fable enters into the very description of their persons, that little truth could be expected, had more particulars been given; Melp. 13. Aristeas had only *heard* of them, 17. We must suppose that the poem written by him, and called by the Greeks the *Arimaspian Verses*, related not only to this people, but to his travels generally.\* (14, 16.)

\* Mr. Beloe has the following note on *Aristeas*. Melpom. 13:

“ This person is mentioned also by Pliny and Aulus Gellius: it is probable that

We shall now return again to the geography, and conclude our inquiry concerning the general ideas of Herodotus respecting the extent and boundaries of Europe, by a recapitulation of the principal points that have been determined; and by adding a few remarks on their bearing on each other.

It has been shewn, that Herodotus does not assign an *eastern*, any more than a *northern* boundary, to Europe; although, in the opinion of the succeeding Greek geographers, such an eastern boundary is implied, in that of Scythia; namely, the course of the river *Tanais*. But, it is clear, that he not only overleaps *this* boundary, but extends Europe to the utmost verge of his geographical knowledge, *north-eastward*; and still says that “it is uncertain whether it be bounded on the north and east by the ocean.” The *Arimaspi*, the most remote nation known to him (for it is a doubt whether the *Grypbins* lay to the north or east of them) are certainly meant to be included in EUROPE; because he says, Thalia, 116, “It is certain, that in the *north of Europe*, there is a prodigious quantity of *gold*—and it is affirmed that the *Arimaspi* take *this* gold away by violence from the *Grypbins*, &c.”\* Certainly then, as the place in which the gold was found, and which was contiguous to, or beyond the *Arimaspi*, was situated in Europe, these people also must be situated, either *in* Europe, or on the immediate borders of it: and, at all events, the *Issedones* are here classed

he lived in the time of Cyrus and Croesus. Longinus has preserved six of his verses: see chap. x.; of which he remarks, that they are rather florid, than sublime. Tzetzes has preserved six more. The account given of him by Herodotus, is far from satisfactory.” We may add, that Herodotus attributes the verses to Aristeas, in Melpom. 14.

\* Our Author, although he retails the improbable stories told him, often takes care to shew that he disbelieves them; as on the present occasion. Says he, “I can never persuade myself, that there are any men, who, having but one eye, enjoy in all other respects, the nature and qualities of other human beings. Thus much seems unquestionable, that these extreme parts of the world, contain within themselves things the most beautiful, as well as rare.” Thalia, c. 116.

as belonging to Europe; and of course, all the nations between them and the *Tanais*. No other interpretation can well be given to the passages above quoted, than that Europe extended eastward, beyond the limits of our Author's knowledge; that its limits were in effect, *indefinite*; and that it remained to be determined, whether it was bounded by the sea, on the north, and east. That *he* believed this to be the case, to the *northward*, appears certain; because he says, in *Melpom.* 13, that "the *Hyperboreans* lie beyond the *Issedones*, &c. and possess the whole country, quite to the *sea*." This is given on the report of *Aristeas*, who is said to have penetrated as far as to the *Issedones*; \* *Melpom.* 16. In 32, the *Hyperboreans* are represented to be *neighbours* to the *Issedones* and *Arimaspians*. But *Herodotus* seems to have believed that there was no sea, on the *east*, either of Europe, or of the earth at large. For he scouts such opinions, altogether, in *Melp.* 8, where he says, "the ocean, they say, commencing at the *east*, flows all round the earth: this, however, they affirm, without proving it." And again, (36.) "they pretend without the smallest reason, or probability, that the ocean encompasses the earth." Now, as he has admitted that the ocean does really bound the habitable earth, on the *west*, the *south*, and the *north*, it is clear that it could be only on the *east*, that he disputed its existence.

It has appeared (page 133) that our Author placed the *Issedones* and *Arimaspians* very far to the north, perhaps in  $53^{\circ}$ , whilst the *Massagetæ*, and other nations at the *Caspian sea*, were many degrees farther to the south. These latter also were assigned to the division of *ASIA*, whilst the former, were in that of *EUROPE*.

But he nevertheless omits to say, where the southern boundary of Europe, or the opposite one of Asia, passes, in the quarter beyond the *Euxine* and *Mæotis*. Now, as the river *Phasis*, is by him reckoned the common boundary of the two *divisions*, one must

\* See above, pages 75, and 146.

conceive that, in his idea, it passed thence to the eastward, by *Caucasus*, and the *north* of the Caspian: and that afterwards it remained *indefinite*: for although he places the Issedones and Massagetæ, OPPOSITE to each other, he does not appear to have estimated the distance between them. It is probable however, that he thought it to be very great.

The idea of a NORTHERN OCEAN occupied the minds of all the ancient geographers, but none of them seem to have had any just ideas concerning its position. Since it appears, that our Author must have supposed, that the northern tribes described by him, such as the Thyssagetæ, Issedones, Arimaspi, &c. extended as far north as  $53^{\circ}$  at least, and the Hyperboreans far beyond these, one cannot imagine his northern ocean to be lower than  $60^{\circ}$ : that is, several degrees *above* the country of *Amber*, on the Baltic. It is probable, by his saying that the Danube ran through the *centre* of Europe, that he had estimated the parallel of the Amber country (Prussia), by supposing it to be situated as far to the north of the Danube, as this last was from the southern shores of Europe, that lay opposite to Prussia: and then, reasoning from analogy, he might suppose the shore of the northern ocean to continue eastward, much in the same line of bearing, as it does on the whole, from the north coast of *Gaul*, to Prussia; that is, a few points to the northward of east. For, it must be recollected, that, all the tract to the north-west of the Baltic sea, is not supposed to have existed, in his imagination, otherwise than as *Islands*: perhaps like the *Cassiterides*, or *Britain*.\* We need only to look

\* Eratosthenes and Ptolemy believed that the countries beyond the Baltic sea (Sweden, Norway, &c.), were insulated from the main land of Europe: and that the Baltic was a strait. This Island is named *Baltia* by the former, *Scandia* by the latter. Some moderns have indeed believed, that such a state of things existed, in early times: and that the lakes *Ladoga* and *Onega* were a continuation of the strait, between the gulf of Finland and the White sea. We have no doubt but it might have been so, but doubtless it was long before the time of Eratosthenes; and the idea of the Baltic being a strait, is more likely to have arisen from appearances, and from their ignorance of the geography of the northern part of it. Ptolemy's knowledge

back, to our own ideas of the northern ocean, beyond AMERICA, when only certain points in the line of its coast, were marked, by the early discoverers. Such kind of analogies the mind ever has recourse to, when necessitated to create a sensible object to reason on. It appears then, that Herodotus placed the shore of the northern ocean, much the same as Eratosthenes; but more distant than Strabo (see Gosselin); only, that being free from one capital error of theirs, that of supposing the Caspian sea to be a gulf of the ocean in question, he felt no necessity for bringing the ocean nearer to it, in order to shorten the *supposed strait*; so as to bring it within the bounds of probability. Pliny seems to have thought it more to the south, than any one of his predecessors; and Ptolemy, by omitting to place it at all, has left the matter at large.

The HYPERBOREANS may be regarded as the *Incognitæ* of Herodotus: for he says, Melp. 32, that “of the Hyperboreans, neither the Scythians, nor any of the neighbouring people, the Issedones alone excepted, have any knowledge; and indeed *what they say*, merits but little attention.” But he observes that the *Delians* knew more of the subject. It appears that the Hyperboreans had transmitted *sacred offerings to Delos*, progressively through the hands of the Scythians, and other intermediate nations, Melpom. 33; and the route of these offerings is traced, to the borders of the Adriatic, and thence to Delos, in the following order:

First through Scythia, and thence “regularly through every contiguous nation, till they arrived at the *Adriatic*. From thence, transported towards the *south*, they were first of all received by the *Dodonæans* of Greece”—thence to the gulf of *Melis*, through *Eubœa* to *Tenos* (passing *Andros*), and finally to *Delos*. From the context, it may be supposed, that, as no part of Scythia lay to the west of

appears not to have extended to the gulf of Finland. Strabo's ended at the mouth of the Elbe: and he disbelieved the fact of the existence of *Baltia*, altogether; as well as of *Thule*. Thus, geography lost ground in this quarter also, between the times of Eratosthenes and Strabo.

Transylvania; and the route from *Scythia* to *Dodona* lay considerably to the west of south; that the country of the *Hyperboreans* must at least be situated to the north-eastward of the *Borysthenes*: and to speak more critically, it is probable that no part of it extended, in the idea of Herodotus, further to the west than the source of the *Tanais*; since he says, Melp. 18 and 20, that beyond the *Androphagi* and the *Melanchlæni*, the country was *uninhabited*: and the latter of these people, adjoined, as we have seen, to the *west* of the *Tanais*.

It may be concluded then, that, in the idea of Herodotus, the country of the *Hyperboreans* began about the meridian of the *Tanais*, and extended indefinitely, eastward. In Melp. 32, the *Issedones* as well as the *Scythians*, are said to be *neighbours* to the *Hyperboreans*: and as in 13, these last are said to lie *beyond* (*i. e.* to the *north*, we conclude, of) the *Issedones*, it is clear that they extended eastward as far as the *Issedones*, at least. Whence it should follow, of course, that the *RUSSIANS* and *SIBERIANS*, and particularly such of the latter, as are situated on the upper parts of the rivers *Oby* and *Irish*, represent the *Hyperboreans* of *Herodotus*. They occupied the country, quite to the sea, in the extreme part of the north; Melp. 13, and 36; and if we may credit Herodotus, were the only nation who were not continually engaged in war with their neighbours. This might possibly be, from their having no nation *beyond* them; and their own country might be too cold to tempt the people of the south, to invade them, in an age of the world, when there was not so much want of room. We may add, that according to our Author's extended dimensions of Europe, he certainly meant to include the *HYPERBOREANS* in it.

There is reason conclude, that the term *Hyperborean*, amongst the Greeks, had different applications, in different ages, according to the progress of geographical knowledge; as *Thule* had, at a later time. Both meant the remotest tracts that they had any knowledge of: and of which, the knowledge was too limited, to admit of any clear, or determinate application. Britain, according to *Diodorus*, was the *Hyperborean* country of more ancient times: and after that,



the remote parts of Europe and Asia, which the Greeks knew only by report.

Pliny, lib. iv. c. 12, is more particular in his description of the Hyperboreans, than any other author. He places them beyond the Riphæan mountains; and these, according to his descriptions, are to be looked for, at the heads of the *Tanais* and *Jaik*. (See above, p. 138). But, he remarks that some have placed them in ASIA, at the shore of the ocean; whilst he includes them in Europe. Here it is proper to observe, that, although the western part of the country in question, was in Europe, yet it extended very far into Asia, also. Pliny was probably ignorant of the true course of the *Tanais*, and believed it to come from the N, or NE, instead of the NW, as it really does. And this belief would have occasioned him to misplace both the Riphæan mountains, and the country in question.

He speaks of the country, as being woody; and of the climate, as very severe; in fact, much in the same terms with Herodotus. The people he describes to be peaceful, pious, happy, and long lived.

Ptolemy places the Hyperboreans beyond the borders of Europe. Diodorus (lib. ii. c. 3.) speaks of them, from some ancient traditions, but which he regarded as fabulous. Some circumstances of this report, point evidently to our Island; others to the country described by Herodotus, beyond Scythia. In the first place, an island is described to lie opposite to *Gaul*, and to be of equal extent to *Sicily*. (They might only have known a part of it.) In this island stood a famous temple, of a *circular* form, with a stately grove belonging to it: and there were priests who played on *barps*. But it is also said that the Hyperboreans and Grecians communicated with each other, and that the former had a particular kindness for the *Delians*. Thus far Diodorus.

Strabo, p. 62, and in other places, appears to consider the term Hyperborean, as merely *relative*.

The *Gog* and *Magog*, or rather *Jajuje* and *Majuje*, of the Orientals, seem to occupy nearly the place of the Hyperboreans of *Ptolemy*

and the *Romans*. Of the eastern geographers, Edrisi is the most particular, in the description of this tract. Ibn Al Wardi is more general; and Abulfeda much too general, to be clearly understood.

Edrisi places the country of *Jagog* and *Magog* (as his Maronite translator writes it), *beyond* those of the *Turks* and *Kalmucs*; and extends it to the northern ocean; which, it appears, he supposed to be situated at no great distance, northward, beyond the bounds of his VIIth climate. This climate included Great Britain, Sweden, the northern parts of Russia, and the corresponding parts of the country of *Jagog* and *Magog*; which last, was supposed to be bounded on the *east*, by the continuation of the same ocean. This climate, moreover, like the rest, is divided into 10 parts; of which the 9th, reckoning progressively from the west, is occupied by the country in question; and the 10th is supposed to be a part of the ocean itself. From this position of the northern ocean, given by Edrisi, it must of course be inferred, that he supposed its nearest shore to lie in the same parallel with Sweden, and the northern part of Russia; so that he was under a very great error, as to the position of those countries, on the globe; which may be regarded as being in the parallel of  $60^{\circ}$ , whilst the VIIth climate of ALFRAGANIUS reaches no farther to the north, than  $50^{\circ}\frac{1}{2}$ . (See his *Elements of Astronomy*, chap. viii. p. 34.)

It is certain that Edrisi, in common with the ancient, as well as the Arabian, geographers, supposed this ocean to be much more to the south, than it really is. And, it is also pretty certain, that the Arabian geographers supposed the Continent of Asia to terminate on the north-east, at a line drawn from the northern part of the Yellow sea, to the mouth of the Oby; whose principal branch, the Irish, seems to be designed by the river *Almasbar*, said to pass through the interior part of the tract, assigned by Edrisi to *Jagog* and *Magog*. Whence, it appears, that the great body of Siberia, and Eastern Tartary, were unknown to Edrisi and Abulfeda, as well

as to the Greek geographers: for the ideas of Eratosthenes and Strabo, are, in effect, the same with theirs.

Thus, the northern extremity of the country of Jagog and Magog, which Edrisi places in the VIIth climate, or below  $50\frac{1}{2}$  degrees, should, by his own arrangement of the other regions, placed in the same climate, be in about 60 degrees. Much the same kind of error, though less in quantity, appears in the arrangement of the countries, in the IVth and Vth climates; the Kalmucs (*Kaimakiens*) being placed between the parallels of  $33\frac{2}{3}$  and  $43\frac{1}{2}$ , although they are really between  $40^{\circ}$  and  $47^{\circ}$ ; (see again Alfraganus.) Again, the country of Samarkand, with part of Kowarezm, and the course of the river SIRR (*Jaxartes*), are placed in the IVth, although they occupy, rather, the parallels assigned to the Vth climate.

We therefore place the country in question, in reference to the absolute geography, and not to the climates assigned; since they prove to be so erroneously conceived. A reference to the sketch in No. IV. page 116, will save much discussion: for, the reader will there perceive, the relative positions of the several divisions of the climates, that contain the country of Jagog and Magog, together with those bordering on it; collected from Edrisi. There it will be seen, that it borders *southward*, and *south-westward*, on the *Eluth Kalmucs*, on *Turkestan*, the *Desbt Kipzak*, and the country of the *Baskirians*: and consequently, that it contained the tract, situated to the north of the mountains, so often mentioned, which divide the Great Steppe, now possessed by the Kirgees tribes: so that the Steppe of *Issim*, and the course of the Irtysh in particular, belonged to the people of Gog and Magog; but what other tracts beyond these, are not particularized. Thus, as has been said before, it may be regarded as the Hyperborean country, of Ptolemy.

Ibn Al Wardi (as well as Edrisi), says, that the people of Jagog and Magog occupied the remote northern part of Asia, beyond the Kalmucs, &c. (Herbelot.)

Abulfeda mentions the rampart only, and that, without any dis-

crimination of position, otherwise than that it lies to the *north*, and also to the *west*, of China. His words are these: "The ocean bends *northward*, and in its progress, shuts up the *eastern* quarter of China, till it *faces* the mound or rampart of JAJUJE and MAJUJE. Thence it bends *westward*," &c. (Prolegomena). It is obvious, that this may relate to the wall of China, as much as to the other; and it is possible that Abulfeda may have confounded both together.

The Caliph WATHEK, about A. D. 842, sent a person from Sermenrai, on the Tigris, to examine the rampart, and report on it. He travelled by way of Derbend, and thence *northward* (perhaps *north-eastward* also, after he passed the Wolga); and having travelled 36 days, came to some ruined towns, in the Steppe; and at the end of about two months' journey came to the rampart itself. It is said, that he was also two months in going from the rampart to Samarkand; by which route he returned to Sermenrai, after being absent 28 months.

It is certain that if any reliance can be placed on the number of journies given, this rampart ought to be at the north part of the Steppe, near the fortified line drawn by the Russians from the *Tobol* to the *Irtish*, to keep out the Kirgees from the lands of Tobolsk. But we do not expect any accuracy in the report of the numbers; especially as Edrisi himself places the rampart in the 9th division of the VIth climate, and on the borders of Turkestan: so that it should rather be about 40 journies to the north, somewhat east of Samarkand; in the parallel of 50°; and nearly south from Tobolsk. The great *chain* passes the Steppe, *there*: and as the travellers are said to have passed a great extent of desert, in the way to it; in which were the ruins of towns formerly occupied by Jajuje, &c.; and this being actually the state of the desert now occupied by the Kirgees, in the quarter, between the Aral and the mountains just mentioned; it must be allowed to corroborate the above statement.\*

\* Mr. Tooke says, *Russia*, Vol. ii. p. 14, that "the desert of *Kirguis*, abounds in the relics of opulent cities."

Some have supposed the rampart in question to mean a wall between the Euxine and Caspian; but if the statements of the Arabian authors, are not to be regarded as mere fables, it must be looked for, *very far* to the *north*, and even to the *east* also, of the Caspian sea: since the person sent by the caliph, set off from *Derbend*, in quest of it, and travelled northward 26 or 27 days; a part of which journey lay through the country of the *Baskirians* (*Besegert* of Edrisi), which by the position assigned, should be to the N, somewhat east, of the Caspian:\* and by every modern account, the Baskirians are seated to the east of the Wolga. Moreover, he was at this time, advanced but half way to the rampart. Again, he *returned* by way of *Lokman*, a city pointed out by Edrisi, whose position appears to be in the Great Steppe, on the banks of a river that falls into the lake of *Turgai*, or *Aksokal*; and may be supposed to be situated 8 or 10 degrees to the northward of Samarkand.†

From the description of the rampart and its gates, one is led to suppose that they either belonged to some ancient city, or were part of the fortifications of the passes of the mountains, before spoken of. It is related, that the whole Steppe, although now devoid of habitations, and peopled only with the Nomadic tribes of the Kirgees, was, even during the Tartar government, in certain parts, thickly sown with towns and cities; of which the remains, now visible, furnish the most ample proof.‡

It may be remarked, that remains composed of large masses, such as the gates of the above rampart, continue longer in their collective state, in the East, than in Europe; because the materials are not convertible to ordinary purposes, as with us. The vast palace of

\* Edrisi, climate VI. part 9.

† *Ib.* clim. VI. part 8.

‡ Mr. Tooke, Vol. ii. page 11, *et seq.* says, that “the countries which formed the TARTARIAN EMPIRE, abound in monuments of former power. The remains of ditches and ramparts are frequently met with.—The ramparts of *Sibir*, the ancient capital of Tartary, are still seen about *Tobolsk* on the *Irtish*. The lofty walls of *Tontoura* appear yet in the *Baraba*—not to mention the sepulchres and ruins in the deserts of the *Kirguis*, which abounds in the relics of opulent cities ”

Chosroes remains on the banks of the Tigris, because a great collective strength, is required to demolish it: and also the stately gates of the citadel of Gour; both for this reason, and because they are in part formed of large component parts. In Europe, means would readily be found to reduce them to smaller parts, if there was no demand for them, in their original state. The whole East abounds with ruins of ancient structures, which are so much unlike any, in use, at the present day, that the vulgar often refer their origin, as well as their uses, to superior beings. The miserable clay huts attached to the walls of the temples and palaces, at Athens, Palmyra, or Thebes, do certainly exhibit the strongest contrast, between the wants and dispositions of men in different ages, in the same spot: but as we regard public monuments, as faithful indexes of the state of industry, and taste; as well as of the ease and plenty that must necessarily have reigned, previous to their execution, we do not, with M. Volney's philosopher,\* feel a secret pleasure in contemplating MAN in that state of debasement, which leads him to destroy, rather than to admire, an exquisite work of art. After this long digression, we return to the geography of our Author.†

Much is said concerning the severity of the winters, not only amongst the Hyperboreans (where it might naturally be looked for), but even amongst the Cimmerians on the Euxine, situated in the 45th degree, only. The winters, our Author says, "continue eight months, and are intolerably severe and cold, and the remaining four, *sufficiently* cold. The sea itself (meaning, it may be supposed, the

\* Volney's Travels, Vol. i. chapter 19.

† The reader will find in the Mém. Acad. Inscip. Vol. xxxi. a memoir on the position of the rampart of Gog and Magog. The result of M. D'Anville's investigation, is, in a general view, much the same with ours, since it places the rampart near the mountains of the Steppe: but, critically speaking, we have assumed a position 8 or 9 degrees of longitude more to the west,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  of latitude more to the north, having obtained from the new Russian charts, some notices that were unknown to M. D'Anville. Moreover, we regard some of the positions given by Edrisi in a somewhat different view from M. D'Anville.

*Mæotis*), and the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, are congealed; and the *Scythians* make hostile incursions on the ice, and penetrate with their waggons, as far as *India*." Melpom. 28.

Here, by an error, no doubt of the copyists, our Author is made to advance a very extraordinary fact, if not an absurdity; since India is not only removed to a vast distance from the *Mæotis*, but the greatest part of the intervening space is *land*. In effect he meant *Sindica*; which is, by his own statement, somewhere near the *Mæotis*; for in Melpom. 86, he says, that the broadest part of the Euxine is between the river *Thermodon* and *Sindica*: which latter must therefore of course, be looked for, opposite to the river *Thermodon*.

Pliny says, lib. iv. c. 12, that in winter, the *Cimmerian Bosphorus* is frozen, and may be crossed by foot passengers. But he is vague in his application of *Sindica*. *Strabo* and *Ptolemy* are very pointed. The former, p. 492, 495, places *Sindica* beyond the river *Hypanis* (*Kuban*), in respect of *Taurica*: and *Ptolemy* has *Sinda* in that position, together with the port of *Sindica*, answering precisely to the present *Sindjik*, in the Russian and other maps; at no great distance to the eastward of the mouth of the river *Kuban*.

Our Author moreover says, Melpom. 7, and 31, speaking of *Scythia*, that the snow falls so thick, as to obstruct the view; and it was also his opinion that the regions remotely situated to the north, were uninhabitable from the unremitting severity of the climate; 31.\* Concerning the people of whom he says, in 25, that they sleep away six months of the year, it may mean, that by the severity of the climate, they are compelled to stay mostly within doors during that period; which actually happens to those who winter in very remote northern latitudes. Or, had he heard of the long absence of the sun, in winter, within the polar circle?

\* Can the phrase *Cimmerian darkness*, arise from the darkness of the air occasioned by the thick and frequent falls of snow, and by the general state of the atmosphere in winter, in the region beyond the Euxine; as *Scythia* itself was originally *Cimmerian*?

It appears that the HYPERBOREANS above spoken of, had been in the habit of sending their offerings to DELOS, by the hands of two virgins. On one occasion of this kind, these died at Delos; and the men who accompanied them as a guard, never returned. The Hyperboreans to prevent a repetition of this evil, adopted the method of sending their offerings, in the manner above related, through the hands of the intermediate nations;\* Melpom. 33. In honour of these virgins, the Delian youth of both sexes celebrated certain rites; particularly cutting off their hair, and offering it on the tomb.† (34).

There is something more than ordinarily melancholy, in the fate of those, who, visiting a distant country on some specific errand, and with a view to an immediate return, perish untimely in a strange land. How often this has happened in our own times! In particular, the fate of TUPIA, and LEE BOO, interests us, from their amiable dispositions, and the grief of their friends who awaited their return. How adventurous soever the spirit that leads men to brave dangers on distant shores, may be, yet, during intervals of leisure, the mind is strongly called back to the place it left; and for which, a passion is implanted by nature, in every mind that is rightly formed.

Whatsoever has a tendency to link mankind together, in peaceful society, is pleasing to liberal minds; and therefore we feel a degree of sorrow for such accidents. For whether the object of the visit be rational curiosity, or harmless superstition, or both, the effect produced on the mind, may be good; and the benefits that *whole communities* may derive from the inquiries of such travellers, are in some cases, incalculable. However trifling therefore, such matters may appear to some minds, we are by no means inclined to

\* Pliny also mentions this circumstance, lib. iv. c. 12; and speaks as if the Hyperboreans suspected some unfair proceedings. He says that the offerings were of the first fruits of their grain: and Herodotus, that they were carefully folded in *straw*. Melp. 33.

† Lucian remarks that the same kind of offerings were made at the temple of the Syrian goddess, at Hierapolis.



blame, much less to ridicule, the opinions of those, at whose instance the above offerings were sent. The human mind, softened by present distress, or terrified at dangers, which it feels that it cannot avert, becomes conscious of its own imbecility; and looks for support to a SUPERIOR POWER, a belief of whose existence, is strongly impressed on every mind (which is either not *sottish*, or not *conceited*), by seeing around it, an order of things, which appears to be upheld by superior wisdom and power. Homage and supplication are accordingly offered, but the ignorance or weakness of human nature, often refers them to mistaken objects. But if it happens that certain communities in the world, are blessed with more enlarged, and rational ideas of the DEITY, they ought to pity, but not to deride, the conduct of those, who do no more than act naturally, according to the state of their knowledge.

If in minds prepared for it, superstition can give composure, when nothing else could effect it, it must be allowed to be a real good. And to take this away, without making an adequate return for it, would be like endeavouring to persuade a person that he was unhappy, when he felt himself otherwise. The physician, either of the mind or body, who can cheat us into ease, has rendered us a certain good. Whilst fears or doubts invade the minds of the ignorant, they will ever have recourse to the operations of superstition; and people of education have no right to blame them, until they have prepared a remedy for such doubts and fears. But the truth is, that the labouring part of the community (that is, the bulk of it), could not, if they wished it, get rid of their prejudices and superstitions, for want of leisure to reason on them; nor might they be *happier*, by the change. We appeal to the history of mankind.

With regard to travelling, on the score of rational curiosity and improvement, it ought at least to command the respect, and approbation of mankind. To what is the rapid advancement in those arts, which administer to the comforts of common life, in Europe, under

an increased, and increasing population, to be ascribed, but to the importation of useful inventions, and products, from other countries; adopting from amongst them, that which is useful and applicable, either as a new discovery, or, as a modification of a former practice? Thus the communities of the earth have insensibly improved, even from a period so remote, that the names of their early benefactors have been lost; or perhaps, in some instances, they have only lost their mortal distinctions, to become gods, or demi-gods. The world has seen a PYTHAGORAS, an ANACHARSIS, an HERODOTUS, a PETER ALEXIOWITZ, a BANKS, forego, either the exercise of unlimited power, the blandishments of elegant society, or at least, the comforts of ease and security; to brave the dangers of the deep, or those greater dangers, which often arise from an intercourse with man, in his savage state; in quest of knowledge, or of useful productions. Nor that kind of knowledge, alone, which merely administers to the pleasure of the traveller; but that, which is derived from inquiries, concerning what useful customs or institutions amongst men, and what products of the earth, or sea, might be imported into their own countries, or their colonies.

The *interchange* of useful vegetable productions, between the different countries of the earth, with a view to cultivation, is alone an object which commands the gratitude of the world; and happy the man whose fame rests on this solid foundation: a foundation that opinion cannot shake, since ALL feel, and participate in the benefits; whilst systems of politics, and the fame of their authors, vanish; and are, in comparison with the other, like unsubstantial clouds, that vary their form and colour, with every change of position, or circumstance.\*

To return to the proper subject of the work.—In the above geo-

\* “And he gave it for his opinion, that whoever would make two ears of corn, or two blades of grass, to grow upon a spot of ground, where only ONE grew before, would deserve better of mankind, and do more essential service to his country, than the whole race of politicians put together.” (SWIFT’S Gulliver’s Travels.)

graphical discussion, we have attempted to give a sketch of the extent of Europe, and the distribution of its parts, according to the ideas of Herodotus. The Greek writers of succeeding times limited it generally to the Tanais and Mæotis, and thereby reduced its length to about  $\frac{2}{3}$  of that, allowed by our Author. But whatsoever he might add to it in length, was more than overbalanced by the quantity of actual space unknown to him, and consequently omitted, in Scandinavia, the northern part of Russia, and the British islands.

It is certain that the ideas, either of Arrian, or of the Journalists of Alexander's expedition, from whom he collected his information, were not perfectly clear, concerning the extent of Europe eastward. For Arrian says (lib. iv. c. 1.) that *very soon* after the arrival of Alexander, at the Jaxartes, he received ambassadors from the EUROPEAN Scythians. Now, when it is considered that it is two months journey from the Tanais to Alexander's post on the Jaxartes, the sudden appearance of the ambassadors there, proves, either that they could not have come from so distant a quarter, or that they were already in the neighbourhood, on some other errand. It is therefore probable, that Alexander, following the ideas of Herodotus, and other Greeks, extended Europe very far to the east of the Mæotis, and to the *supposed strait* that led from the northern ocean to the Caspian; which latter, it appears, he believed to be a gulf of that ocean; as Eratosthenes, Strabo, and others did, after him. And thus he might class some of the Asiatic Scythians, as belonging to Europe. We are told, that Alexander sent back some confidential persons, with these Scythians (denominated *European*: and Arrian himself allows that there was a *great nation* of Scythians in Europe), who returned again to him afterwards, whilst in his winter quarters in Bactria, and previous to his *second* visit to Sogdia. Arrian, lib. iv. c. 15.

If we are to credit the report of Arrian, respecting the opinion of Alexander, on this matter, he was in doubt whether the Euxine and Caspian seas, did not communicate with each other; for, he is said

to have projected the equipment of a fleet, for the purpose of deciding the question; lib. vii. c. 1, and 16. He remarks also, that at this time, the limits of the Caspian sea, were unknown. Be it as it will, Alexander told the king of *Chorasmia*, who affirmed that his territories bordered on the Euxine, that, after he had made himself master of Asia, and was returned to Greece, he would pass through the Hellespont and Propontis, into the Euxine sea. Lib. iv. c. 15. And in lib. vii. c. 1, it is said that this expedition was intended against the Scythians of the Mæotis.

Should the reader be inclined to censure either our decisions, or our prolixity, it may be stated in apology, that it is a very difficult task to follow the geography of persons who describe the relative positions of countries, without putting the description *to the test*, by reducing it to geometrical construction. The same may be said equally of Strabo and Eratosthenes, as of Herodotus.

[END OF THE GEOGRAPHY OF EUROPE.]

## SECTION VIII.

## OF ASIA, ACCORDING TO HERODOTUS.

*Extent and Boundaries of Asia, according to Herodotus.*—Arabia, the last inhabited Country towards the South, India to the East—the Space beyond India, supposed to be a Desert.—Asia of less Extent than Europe, in our Author's Idea.—China, not known to the ancient Persians: and India, a recent Discovery.—The Visit of Alexander to India, had the Effect of contracting the Limits of the Earth, in the ancient Systems of Geography; as well as of falsifying certain Particulars of it.—India supposed by him, to be shut up by the Eastern Ocean.—Longitudinal Extent of Asia, and of the Earth, according to the Ideas of Eratosthenes, Strabo, and Pliny.—Scope of the geographical Knowledge of Herodotus, in Asia—deficient, in respect of his Description of the physical Geography.—Idea of the Chain of Taurus, amongst the Greeks—their System failed to express the Levels of the different Regions.—Caspian Strait, and Mount Argæus—the Mediterranean and Euxine Seas, both seen from the Summit of the latter.—General Idea of the Levels, and of the Courses of the Waters; through Western Asia.—Hollow Tract which contains Assyria, Babylonia, Arabia, &c.—Of Imaus, and Emodus, the elevated Region of Eastern Asia; and the Courses of its Waters.—The whole of Eastern Asia on a higher Level than the Western.

ON the subject of ASIA, Herodotus has said a great deal; for this division of the globe, next to Greece and Egypt, formed the chief theatre of his history. His knowledge of Asia extended from the shores of the Arabian gulf, and of the Mediterranean and Euxine seas, its acknowledged boundaries on the west and south-west; to the country of the Oigurs (or Eluths), the sandy desert of Kobi,

and India, inclusive, on the east. Southward, it extended to the *Erythraean* sea, the proper boundary of Asia, on the side of Arabia and Persia: but there is reason to believe, that he, in idea, allowed to the Peninsula of India, far less extent than the truth. Northwards, he seems to have known (as has already been proved) the whole extent of the Great Steppe, or territory of the Kirgees; the Desht Kipzak; and other tracts, as far as the mountains of Altai, and the heads of the Irtysh.

This space, however, is hardly equal to *one third* of Asia; but it is all that is *described* by him. He had *heard* of the *Hyperboreans*, as well as of the *vast deserts* that extended to the east, beyond India; and also of the *Issedones*; however, we cannot fix any limits to his ideas of the extent of space, in these two directions; although we may pretty confidently believe that they went but little beyond India, on the one hand; or beyond the tribes specified in his description of Europe, on the other. Here it is necessary to remind the reader, that, in order to adjust the extent of Asia, to the ideas of Herodotus, one must deduct, as belonging to Europe, all the tract lying to the north of Caucasus, the Caspian sea, and the Massagetæ. And, in effect, *his* Asia, with the exception of Arabia, the Massagetæ, and a part of India, was little more than that part of it, which was subject to Darius Hystaspes. The Asia of Herodotus, was in his own idea even *less* than Europe; Melpomene, 36.

The Hellespont, Propontis, and Bosphorus of Thrace, are particularized, as portions of its western boundary; Melpom. 85, 86, 87. That the Isthmus of Suez, or border of Egypt, was intended for a part of the boundary, likewise, is certain; but it is not so clear whether in his idea, Egypt was reckoned a *part* of Africa; and consequently whether *Asia joined* to *Africa*. When he says, Melpom. 42, that "Africa is surrounded by the sea, except in that particular part, which is contiguous to Asia," we ought to understand that they certainly *joined*. Nor is this opinion weakened by what he previously says, in 41, after speaking of the breadth of the Isthmus of Suez:

“ Here, the country *expands*, and takes the name of *Lybia*.” But it appears from Euterpe, 16, 17, that an opinion prevailed in Greece and Ionia, that Egypt was distinct from the two continents: and our Author himself says, “ I myself am of opinion that the *land* of *Egypt* alone, constitutes the natural and proper limits of *Asia* and *Africa*.” This will be farther considered, under the head of Africa: but, at all events, there is no question that either the Isthmus of Suez, itself, or the eastern boundary of Egypt, constituted the western boundary of Asia; and not the course of the Nile.

ARABIA is said to be “ the last inhabited country towards the south;” Thalia, 107: but this is explained, in 115, where it is said that Arabia and Ethiopia “ are the two extremes of Asia and Africa:” and in 114, where “ Ethiopia, which is the extremity of the habitable world, is contiguous to Arabia, on the south-west:” thus marking his idea of the relative positions of the two countries to each other, and to the earth in general. The *extent* of Arabia southward, is marked by the length of the Red sea, which is said to be 40 days of navigation; Euterpe, 11: and it being about 1230 G. miles in direct distance, this is no mean approximation to the truth; respect being had to the rate of sailing of ancient ships; of which, more in its place. But it will be found, that he makes it too narrow, and its line of direction, according to the result from the general *data*, too near the meridian.

Concerning the Erythræan sea, the southern boundary of Asia, he seems to have known few particulars: for he evidently did not know that the sea which bordered on *Persia proper*, was a *gulf*, like that which separates *Arabia* from *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*. All appears to be described as one continuous open sea, from the Indus to the Euphrates.

Towards the north, no idea of any positive boundary of Asia is given, beyond the *Colcbian Phasis*:\* but the boundary is implied to pass between the territories of the Massagetæ and the Issedones;

\* Herodotus and Procopius are the only persons who assign this boundary to Asia. See page 35.

the latter of which people were, erroneously, supposed to lie to the *north* of the former. This has been already exploded in the dissertation on the boundaries of Europe; (page 133). This part of Herodotus's geography is therefore remarkably deficient; perhaps from the difficulty which he found in arranging the relative positions, after having assumed such false principles.

India was reckoned "the *last inhabited* country towards the east;" Thalia, 107. And, in 98, "the Indians are the people of Asia who are *nearest the east*, and the place of the *rising sun*." But his ideas of India, whether respecting its geography, or the state of society, were very limited indeed, and no less erroneous. Nor is it extraordinary that it should be so; since he informs us that, as to particulars, India was a recent discovery, even to the Persians, in the time of Darius Hystaspes, who caused the Indus to be navigated throughout, and the coasts of the ocean, and of the Arabian gulf, to be explored; after which he subdued the Indians, and made himself master of the sea that borders on their coast. Melpom. 44.

Beyond India, Herodotus confesses that he knew nothing. "As far as *India* (says he, Melp. 40), *Asia* is well inhabited; but from India, *eastward*, the whole country is *one vast desert, unknown, and unexplored*." That the tract was unknown, and unexplored, by those who held converse with the Persians and Greeks, appears likely: but that it was one vast desert, is now known to be an error; since the vast empire of China, and its dependencies, together with the Peninsula beyond the Ganges, &c. &c. lie to the east of India. It is certain, however, that a vast barrier of mountainous country, shuts up on the East, the quarter of India, possessed by Darius (his 20th Satrapy); the part to which the Persians may be supposed to have pointed their inquiries; and which appears to be the part here intended. And moreover, that to this mountainous tract, there succeeds the extensive *sandy desert* of *Kobi* (or *Sbamo*), and other Tartarian deserts, of almost immeasurable extent.

It may therefore perhaps be inferred, that the desert of Kobi, was



the *remotest* part of the *East*, that Herodotus had heard of; and that when he spoke of the deserts *beyond* India, it was of *this desert*: and although to us, to whom the form, the quality, and relative positions of the different tracts are known, it may appear a great error, to place a desert adjoining to India, eastward; yet we must regard Herodotus, as a person who was ignorant of the true state of the matter, as to particulars; and that, hearing of a desert, *beyond India*, he thought himself justified in shutting up that country entirely, on that side, with a desert.

Those to whom the geography of North America and New Holland, has been gradually unfolded, during the latter half of the present century, may recollect how crude their ideas were, respecting the form and extent of the unexplored parts of those continents; and that every discovery, was a refutation of some former error. With a recollection of these ideas in the mind (if they can be retraced), we ought to follow Herodotus, in his descriptions of the remote parts of the earth.

According to the above ideas, therefore, *Asia*, as known to Herodotus, was more contracted in point of length, than Europe; or rather what is designed by him under that name; for from *Cape St. Vincent* to the supposed seat of the *Issedones* (that is, *opposite* to the *Massagetæ*), is much more than equal to the length of *Asia*, from the *Ægean sea* to the *Tartarian deserts*.

And hence it must also be inferred, that the Persians of those days, had no commercial intercourse either with *China* or *Cathai*, as in latter times; otherwise, either Herodotus, Alexander, or the Seleucidæ, would at least have *heard* of *China*, and Eratosthenes would have noticed it. But it has appeared that *India* itself was *new ground* to the Persians (we mean those, who formed the original empire of Cyrus), and much more the countries beyond it: and indeed, judging by later events, it must have been the particular policy of the Indians to keep their people at *home*; which has at least some effect towards *shutting* out strangers: and whatsoever

applies in this way to *India*, applies perhaps in a yet greater degree to *China*.

It may appear very extraordinary, but was nevertheless true, that the visit of Alexander to *India*, was the means of contracting, in some degree, the limits that had been assigned by the geographers of preceding times, to ASIA; and, of course, to the earth itself: for the system of Alexander admitted of *no tract* of land whatsoever, *beyond* India; making India the most eastern country of Asia, although Herodotus had extended a vast desert beyond it. How is this change to be accounted for? It could not well be, that the Indians had not *heard* of any country beyond *them*, and that they believed *theirs* to be shut up by the sea, on the east; or that Alexander should have neglected to make the proper inquiries: but it might have been owing to bad interpreters; or Alexander may have misconceived the scope of their information. It is possible, too, that *vanity* may have had some share in it, by its causing a wish that there should be no other country beyond the one he had explored: in other words, that he had gone to the end of the earth. It is certain that something of this kind appears, also, in the conduct of Polybius, with respect to Africa, as will appear in its place: and we suspect that this conduct is on the whole, natural.\*

There is however, a very striking fact that we shall mention, and which might have had a considerable share in determining the opinion of Alexander: and who but is ready to believe the thing he wishes? He would have learnt from the Indians, of course, that the Ganges had an easterly course towards the sea; and this, doubtless,

\* Strabo, who wrote in the 5th century after Herodotus, believed that there was no country beyond India: so that China, although at that time perhaps, one of the most populous and interesting countries in the world, had escaped the knowledge both of the Greeks and Romans, to that time. It is uncertain when the tables called *Theodosian* were formed, but it is generally supposed about the second century. The state of knowledge appears to have been much the same, at that time. Nor was China *distinctly* known in Europe, till the 13th century.

fixed in his mind the idea of an EASTERN OCEAN, which in its nature, must have shut up the Continent on that side; and also joined to the NORTHERN ocean, which Herodotus and others believed to terminate the habitable earth, at the *embouchure* of the Ganges. This deduction was certainly very plausible; and might well have deceived those, who were unable, from want of language, either to make themselves understood, or to understand others, critically: for few would have conceived that the mouth of the Ganges, which river itself had a general *easterly* course, was situated in a gulf of the *southern* ocean. The opinions of Eratosthenes, Strabo, Pliny, and Arrian, were all to the former effect: so that, no doubt, it was the commonly received opinion, from the date of Alexander's expedition.\*

Herodotus gives no intimation concerning the measure of the extent of Asia, beyond Susa, eastward: nor was it, probably known to him. Eratosthenes, Strabo, and Pliny, each have given it: nor are their reports so far different from the truth, as might have been expected; all circumstances taken into the account. For, in the first place, the distance must be supposed to be calculated on the measure of the road: the mode by which it was, in all probability, obtained. It must also have been reckoned on many different lines of bearing, the inflexions of which, could not well be ascertained: and lastly, the distance between the Indus and the mouth of the Ganges, was, in a great measure, taken on report.

As then the actual distance, in a direct line from Cape St. Vincent to Issus, and thence to the mouth of the Ganges, is about 4970 G. miles; † we shall, by adding  $\frac{1}{8}$  for inflexions (621 miles), be

\* Pliny, lib. ii. c. 108, after setting forth, that the Ganges discharged itself into the *Eastern ocean*; marks this position as the eastern extremity of the world, by opposing it to the gulf of *Issus*, and the Promontory of *Sacrum* (Cape St. Vincent) on the west; and then goes into a curious calculation of the measure of the habitable earth.

† That is, 2150 between the Promontory of *Sacrum* (Cape St. Vincent) and *Issus*; 2820 between *Issus* and the mouth of the Ganges, or supposed eastern extremity of Asia.

enabled to assume 5591 for the road distance. Now, Eratosthenes allows 70,000 stades; Strabo, 67,500; and Pliny, about 70,100; and as Pliny, no doubt, copied the Greek numbers, the *ratio* may be taken at 700 to a degree, throughout.\* Hence the distances will be severally, 6000, 5786, and 6008 G. miles; and the greatest difference between the calculations and the actual distance, 417 miles; the least, that is, the calculation of Strabo, 195 only. And, it is probable, that a greater proportion of inflexion ought to be allowed; which might bring the two accounts very near together.†

\* The reports of the distances by Eratosthenes and Strabo, lib. i. and ii. are collected by M. Gosselin, pages 12 and 13.

The numbers in Pliny (lib. ii. c. 108.) are from *Artemidorus*, who calculates the distance from *Cadiz* through *Cyprus*, *Rhodes*, *Sicily*, and *Sardinia*, to *Issus*, and thence to the mouth of the *Ganges*, at 8578 MP.; and on a second line, through *Cappadocia*, *Ephesus*, *Rome*, and *Spain*, &c. at 8685.

The 8578 multiplied by 8, give 68,624 stades: and adding 1458 for the distance between *Cadiz* and *Cape St. Vincent*, the total is 70,082.

† The 67,500 stades of Strabo, agree to the ratio of  $724\frac{1}{2}$  to a degree, reckoned on the road distance of 5591 G. miles.

This furnishes another example of the fact, advanced in page 23, *et seq.* that the ancients gave the distances across *Asia*, in road measure; and not in direct distance.

The record of distance in Pliny (lib. ii. 108.), between the supposed extremities of the earth, *Cape St. Vincent*, and the point at the mouth of the *Ganges*, is well worth remarking, even from the accordance of the two intervals of space, between *Cadiz* and *Issus*, *Issus* and the *Ganges*, in the calculation; with those on the actual geography. He reckons 5215 MP. between *Myriandrus*, at the gulf of *Issus*, and the *Ganges*; and the whole distance from the *Ganges* to *Cadiz*, being 8578, leaves 3363 between *Issus* and *Cadiz*. Hence the proportions will be as follows: the distance between *Cadiz* and *Issus*, will be to that between the latter, and the mouth of the *Ganges*, as 27 to 42; and on the actual geography it is as 27 to 38: a near approximation for those times. It must be recollected, that the Promontory of *Cape St. Vincent* is about 125 G. miles to the westward of *Cadiz*.

Pliny, in the same book, c. 109, gives, although in a whimsical way, the idea of *Dionysidorus*, a mathematician of *Melis*, on the semidiameter of the earth. He supposed it to be 42,000 stadia; giving a circumference of 263,894: consequently a degree should have consisted of 733 stades; whilst our mean result is 718: that of Strabo, given above,  $724\frac{1}{2}$ .

To return to Alexander—it appears that his expedition had the effect of falsifying the geography of Asia, in *more than one* capital point, although it *added* so much to it, in others. It would have afforded some triumph to Herodotus, could he have known, that persons of so much acuteness, and whose errand was almost as much discovery, as conquest, should, after visiting India, have left the geography of the East, as to *outline*, nearly-as they found it; and should besides, have falsified it in point of *detail*; that is in respect of the Caspian sea, which Herodotus rightly described as a lake; but the followers of Alexander, as a gulf of the Northern ocean!

In assigning the limits of the knowledge of Herodotus, in ASIA, we must therefore, leave out, on the chart of modern geography, all *China*, the *Chinese* and *Western Tartary*, *Thibet*, and the *Peninsula beyond the Ganges*; together with the *greater* part of *Siberia*, and its appendages: that is to say, by far the largest part of that vast continent. Such are the outlines of the Asia of our Author, as described in his work, as it now stands: and before we proceed to quote his *brief* description of the several regions of it (known to him), it will be proper to give a sketch of the natural division of the country, as to its *levels*, and the courses of its principal waters, between the Hellespont and India, the extreme limit of our Author's knowledge: for, it may be remarked, that (through whatsoever cause it may have been), he is singularly deficient, in respect of his description of the physical geography of Western Asia; in that he has totally omitted the chains of mountains from which it derives its chief character.

It may have been, that too little was known of the physical geography, to enable Herodotus, to furnish out a description of it; and it must be acknowledged, that, if a judgment may be formed from what passed between Aristagoras and the King of Sparta, respecting the countries between Sardis and Susa, there is much ground for the above supposition: but then, Herodotus himself had travelled across a considerable part of Western Asia; and therefore the surface of it ought in some degree to have been known *to him*.

It is pretty generally known, that the Greeks, after that the expeditions of Alexander and Xenophon, had furnished so great a number of routes across Asia; conceived an idea that the chain of TAURUS, which originated at the shore of the Ægean sea, in Asia Minor, extended in a narrow, straight, belt, keeping nearly in the same parallel, throughout the whole continent of Asia; and that it terminated on the shore of a *supposed* Eastern ocean, which washed the extreme border of India.\*

TAURUS, amongst the *latter* Greeks, and the Romans, was famous both as a *natural*, and as a *political* boundary. It was a line of separation, as it were, between two worlds; and was to the Roman empire, in latter times, what the ALPS were at an earlier period. Properly speaking, it was the collective term for that great ridge, which was supposed to divide Asia into *two climates*; and which, although broken, at times, into two, or more distinct chains, and occasionally varying in its general direction, yet, either through the want of a clear knowledge of particulars, or for the sake of expressing a collective idea, the *whole* was called Taurus; at the same time that different portions of it, had distinct names. Its separation, and divergence, however, often rendered the application of these names, difficult: and, upon the whole, it can only be supposed that the ancients originally formed their ideas of the nature and direction of Taurus at large, from that part of it which lies within *Asia Minor*; where it indeed preserves a greater degree of unity than elsewhere. This was the part most familiarly known to them: and they might (as is not unusual) extend the idea to the parts which they had *not* seen.

The Taurus of the ancients, then, under the particular names of *Taurus, Niphates, Caspius, Paropamisus, Caucasus, Emodus, &c.* originated in the SW extremity of Asia Minor, through which tract

\* See Strabo, lib. xi. xii. and xvi.: but more particularly the latter end of the xith and beginning of the xiith.

it passed at no great distance from the shores of the *Levant*: and thence, in its course eastward, separated *Armenia* from *Mesopotamia*; the *two Medias* from each other: and the *Greater Media* from the narrow tract, along the southern border of the Caspian sea.

Opposite to the south end of the Caspian, it was partly divided by a vast *chasm*, denominated the *Caspian Strait*; through which lay the best passage from *Media*, *Mesopotamia*, and the *western* kingdoms in general, to *Parthia*, *Hyrkania*, *Aria*, and the remainder of those in the East;\* as by it, the great deserts to the south, were avoided.

Passing the south-east corner of the Caspian sea, *Taurus* was *understood* to separate in its eastern course, the countries of *Parthia*, *Margiana*, and *Bactria*, from those of *Aria*, † *Drangiana*, and the western provinces of *India*, watered by the *heads* of the *Indus*. Here their knowledge of the detail, ended; and beyond this point, it was supposed to divide *Scythia* from *India*; taking both these coun-

\* The Caspian strait, was with the ancients a geographical point of importance, and was supposed to be in the same parallel with *Issus* and *Rhodes*.

This remarkable chasm is now called the Strait or Passage of *Khovar* (*Choara* of the ancients), from a town or district in the neighbourhood. It is situated at the termination of the great Salt Desert, almost due north from *Ispahan*, and about 50 miles to the eastward of the ruins of *Rey* (or *Rages*.) Alexander passed through it in his way from *Rages* towards *Aria* and *Bactria*.

*Della Valle* and *Herbert* amongst the moderns, *Pliny* amongst the ancients, have described it particularly. It is eight miles through, and generally forty yards in breadth. *Pliny* says, lib. vi. c. 14, that it is only wide enough for a carriage; and *Della Valle*, Vol. iii. that in places where it is narrowest, and winds withal, a *litter* can scarce pass. The mountains are very high on each side. The bottom is generally flat; and at certain seasons, a considerable stream of salt water flows towards the desert on the south. It must be remarked, that the chasm does not intersect the great body of the Caspian mountains, but only the inferior ridges.

† *Eratosthenes* and *Strabo* supposed that *Aria* lay to the south, of the continuation of *Taurus*. This appears to be a mistake, as far as our information goes. *Ptolemy* had the same idea: but then he includes in *Aria*, the lake of *Zurrah*, which is really in *Drangiana*; a country separated from *Aria*, by the mountains in question.

tries at large, and as occupying the remainder of the space, in the habitable world, eastward.

We have here endeavoured to express the general ideas of Eratosthenes, Strabo, and Ptolemy; and they were so far right, as that certain high ridges of mountains (though differing exceedingly in the scale of height), are found in these positions; but neither do the highest chains of summits follow the direction supposed, nor is the termination of the high region in the same parallel with its commencement, but much more to the north. As a proof of the first assertion, the Euphrates (the principal drain of Armenia), springs from the neighbourhood of the Euxine sea, and after a considerable length of course southward, *penetrates Taurus*,\* which must therefore of course be *lower* than the region towards the Euxine. And, in fact, it seems to be proved, by the course of the river *Melas*, that the superiority of level at the source of the Euphrates, near Trebizonde, is continued obliquely across the Isthmus of Natolia from Caucasus to Taurus, passing above the heads of the Phasis, Cyrus, Araxes, Euphrates, &c. by *Cæsaria (Mazaca)*; and of which, mount *Argæus* was a part.† And hence it may be concluded, that in the application of the name, to the continuation of Taurus, the ancients were influenced more by the *apparent*, than the *actual* elevation: for there is no question that the highest level lies to the north, yet Taurus rises from the plains of Mesopotamia, with more *apparent* altitude, than the mountains of Armenia, from the plain of Erzeroum.

Such was the system of the ancients, respecting Taurus: but it conveys no idea of the *general levels* of the countries, since the ridges alone, had they been ever so correctly described, are no more than the *higher* parts of elevated *regions*; which *regions*

\* This is particularly described by Pliny; lib. v. c. 24. He says that the base of Taurus is 12 miles in breadth.

† The ancients had an idea that from the summit of mount *Argæus* both of the seas could be seen, Strabo, page 538.



*themselves*, and not merely their *summits*, are the marked features of the continent.

To begin with the *Peninsula of Asia*, or Asia Minor, inclosed between the Mediterranean, Ægean, and Euxine seas, on three sides, and on the fourth, by an imaginary line, drawn across the Isthmus from *Amisus* to *Issus*—this is an elevated tract, of which the southern part, towards the Mediterranean, is by far the highest, being the *proper* Taurus itself, which rises abruptly from the neighbourhood of the sea coast, turning the courses of the principal waters, towards the Euxine and Ægean seas, and leaving a succession of narrow tracts between it and the sea: that is, Cilicia, Pamphylia, &c.

The next portion of space, is yet more elevated; and is properly an extension of the former, to the Caspian sea, and to the space between it, and the Euxine, generally; it being bounded on the south, by an imaginary line, drawn from the north-east corner of the Mediterranean, to the south part of the Caspian.

On the north, it terminates in the region of Caucasus, which overlooks the *Sarmatian* plains; in other words, the desert of Astrakan, and the country of the Don Cossacks. And hence it happens, that the northern parts, both of the Euxine and Caspian, are situated in a low tract of country.\* Southward, the region in question overlooks the vast *bollow* space, in which are contained, the countries of *Syria*, *Mesopotamia*, *Assyria*, and *Babylonia* (in

\* It may be remarked, that this low tract, is, in effect, a part of a *zone* of low land, that extends generally through Europe and *Western* Asia. That, in like manner, a zone of elevated ground, corresponding with that, now under discussion, runs parallel to the above; and that moreover, it is bordered on the south, by another zone of a lower level, if we admit the Mediterranean and Persian seas to form a part of it.

These different levels must necessarily have a considerable effect on the winds, and weather. Can it be supposed, that the hollow zone, to the north of *Caucasus*, the *Bastarnian Alps*, the *Carpathian*, and *Hercynian* mountains, has any share in conducting the east wind of the *Steppe*, to the west of Europe?

effect the ASSYRIA of our Author, and of Strabo); and finally, the *Great Arabian Desert*.

The political divisions of this region, are, the eastern part of Cappadocia, Armenia, Pontus, Colchis, Iberia, Albania, the country of the Carduchians, and *Media Atropatia*.\* It appears to be the *highest level of Western Asia*; giving rise to the Euphrates, Tigris, Cyrus, Araxes, Hypanis (or Kuban), Phasis, &c. which flow in different directions, and discharge themselves into the Euxine, Palus Mæotis, Caspian, and Persian gulf: and the Euphrates itself, flows towards the Mediterranean till it is turned aside by Amanus, within 100 B. miles of the gulf of Issus.† On the higher parts of this region, are the two great *salt lakes of Arsissa and Spauta* (Van and Maraga.)

Pursuing the course of the high level, from the quarter in which we left it, that is, *Media Atropatia*, it is found to extend eastward, till it joins with mount *Imaus*, which is situated beyond the fountains of the Oxus and Jaxartes; and which forms the western border of a *yet higher and more extensive* region, than either of the former.

This THIRD portion of the elevated region of Asia, is very unequal in point of breadth. In the western quarter, it is necessarily limited by the approach of the Caspian and Persian seas, towards each other; but expands to a much greater breadth, beyond the

\* Now *Aderbigian*. It is probable that the name *Atropatia*, which Strabo (page 522) says, was derived from *Atropatus*, a Macedonian general, was rather a corruption, or an imitation of the other; which is said to be derived from the word *fire*; there having been a celebrated temple of the followers of *Zoroaster*, or the worshippers of fire, in the province.

† Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. iii. c. 9, says, that if Taurus (*Amanus*, it should be), did not prevent it, the Euphrates would have ran into the Mediterranean. But, as it afterwards runs about 800 miles before it reaches the Persian gulf, and in its way descends a vast number of rapids, which prevent the navigation upwards, it must needs be on an exceeding high level above the Mediterranean, at the place where it approaches nearest, to that sea.

Caspian, till again narrowed into a kind of *Isthmus*, by the vallies through which the Oxus and Indus flow; and whose fountains are separated only by the high ridge of *Caucasus*, or *Hindoo-Kbo*.

Media (the present *Al Jebal* or *Irak Ajami*) is contained within that part, situated between the Caspian sea, and the Persian gulf; and is bordered on each side, towards the sea coasts, and towards *Assyria* (taken at large, according to our Author) by lower tracts of land; those towards the west and south-west, comprizing *Babylonia* and *Susiana*; and on the north, the provinces of the *Cadusi*, *Tapuri*, and *Hyr cani*, along the winding shores of the Caspian. But, of the part between the *two* seas, the low country forms only an inconsiderable proportion.

The highest ground in this tract lies towards the Caspian sea, as is shewn by the course of the waters of Media, which generally flow southward, into the Persian gulf, through *Susiana*.\*

From Media, and the Caspian and Persian seas, eastward, the high level, as we have said, expands, with the country in general; but we are not in possession of the knowledge, requisite to mark its borders, with the same precision as on the west. It appears, however, to be very irregular in its form; and has many deep cavities in it: in particular, that which contains the course of the *Heermund* river, and the lake of *Zurrah*, in which it terminates; the beautiful valley of *Soghd* (the *Sogdiana* of the ancients, and one of the earthly paradises of the Orientals); and the plain of *Rey* (*Rages*) which terminates eastward in the great salt desert situated between *Media* and *Aria*.

The particulars known for certain, respecting the extent and boundaries of this portion of the high level, are the following:

That the northern part, between the Caspian sea, and mount *Imaus*, contains the ancient *Parthia*, *Margiana*, and *Sogdiana*;

\* It must necessarily be much elevated, for *Della Valle* says, that at *Hamadan*, the ancient *Ecbatana*, the ink froze in the room in which he was sitting.

which, collectively, overlook towards the north, the low countries of *Cborasmia*, and the seats of the *Massagetæ*, at the Jaxartes.

That the middle part contains *Aria*, and *Bactriana*: the latter of which has within it, the heads of the river Oxus; and adjoins on the east, to *Imaus*. And lastly, that the southern part contains *Persia proper*, *Carmania*, *Arachosia*, &c.; which are bordered towards the Persian gulf, and the *Erythræan* sea, by the low tract of Maritime Persia (now *Gurramseer*), and by that of *Gedrosia*, or *Makran*.

The highest *continuous* ridge of this part, appears to be that, which passes by the south-east of the Caspian sea, and Hyrcania, between *Aria* on the north, and *Drangiana* on the south:\* and from thence between *Bactriana* and the *Indian* provinces; where, as it approaches towards *Imaus*, which (as has been said) forms a part of a *yet more* elevated region, it swells to a great bulk and height, and is covered with snow till the month of August. This is properly the *Indian Caucasus* of the Greeks: in modern language *Hindoo-Kbo*.

Thus, we have extended our view of the levels, eastward, to the extent of the space within the knowledge of Herodotus: and before we complete our view of the subject, by extending it to the shores of the Eastern ocean, we shall say a word concerning the lateral ridges, which project *southward*, from the great *Eastern* chain, so as to form a kind of vast *bason*, or *hollow*, inclosing *Assyria*† and *Arabia*, the *Persian gulf*, and the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, which it receives: for the inequalities within this space, are trifling in height, in respect of the mountains that surround it: particularly on the north.

From the body of Taurus, near the place where the Euphrates forces itself *through* it, at the northern extremity of Syria, a great ridge strikes to the south, inclining to the west, and first falling in

\* See the note in page 174.

† That is, according to the ideas of Herodotus and Strabo, above quoted.

with the Mediterranean, at the gulf of Issus, it continues to skirt the eastern shore of that sea (like a mound or dam), under the names of Amanus, Lebanon, &c. to the southern border of Palestine. There, quitting the Mediterranean, it strikes towards the eastern coast of the Red sea, which it also shuts up, though at a greater distance than that, at which it skirted the former, and with a less elevation: and finally terminates in *Arabia Felix*.

Again, from another part of Taurus, in the north-east quarter of Assyria, a second ridge projects to the south, forming the eastern side of the great *bason* (as Amanus and Lebanon the western, and Taurus itself, the northern). This was named by the Greeks *Zagros*: it has been before described (in page 178) as the western descent of the elevated region of Media; and as shutting up Assyria, Babylonia, and Susiana, on the east and north-east. At the eastern border of Susiana, it approaches near the Persian gulf, which it shuts up on the side towards Persia; leaving only a narrow tract of lower land between; (that is *Gurruuseer*: see the last page); and also occasionally detaching lateral branches to the sea coast.

It finally terminates at the *neck*, or entrance of the Persian gulf; which entrance, between the ancient *Harmoza* (Ormus) and the Promontory of *Maceta* (Mussendom) seems to be nothing more than a *breach* in this wall of mountains; which is known to continue its course southward, through *Omman*, to a considerable distance: but which we have no authority for describing. It may possibly join to the mountains of Arabia Felix.

Thus the Persian gulf, and the courses of the Mesopotamian rivers, occupy the NE part of this bason: and independently of the irrefragable proofs of the declining of the level, eastward, from the Mediterranean to the Persian gulf, in the position of the latter sea, and in the courses of the waters; the travellers across the desert from Aleppo to Bussorah, remark the sinking of the levels, eastward; and that, not by a gradual slope (which might escape

their observation), but by distinct steps, or degrees; of which one remarkable one is at *Taiba*, and another opposite to *Hit*. They remark also, a tract of deep sand, in the quarter towards Bussorah; together with what appears to be the ancient line of the sea coast, at the termination of this sandy tract, in the Chaldean desert. It is not improbable that the same kind of slope extends all the way, across the Arabian desert, between the upper part of the Red sea, and the Persian gulf. We shall now pursue in a general way, the trace of the high level, from the place where we left it, to the Eastern ocean; in order that the subject may not be concluded too abruptly.

The ridge of IMAUS abovementioned (page 177) is properly the *crest* of the mountains that form the western declivity of a prodigious high level, which may be regarded as the firm body of Eastern Asia. It occupies a vast space in the central part of Asia, between *Persia*, *India*, *China*, and *Tartary*; and from the borders of which, the great rivers of that continent descend, in every direction; from the *Oxus* and *Jaxartes* on the west, to the *Amur* on the east; and from the *Ganges* and *Burrampooter* on the south, to the *Oby* and *Jenisea* on the north. This vast upland tract (the highest region perhaps, of the old hemisphere), contains generally, the country of the *Kalmucs*, of the *Monguls*, *Thibet*, and Eastern *Turkestan*. The countries that surround this tract, taken in a very general view, may be regarded as placed on a kind of *banging levels*, or descents, along the skirts of it; since the waters flow so uninterruptedly from every side, to the surrounding seas or lakes. Those amongst them, which flow through the parallels subject to the periodical rainy season, have, by their *alluvions*, added vast plains, equal themselves to kingdoms, near the sea coasts; but the operation of alluvion proceeds but slowly, by such rivers as do not undergo very great alterations in their bulk, at different seasons; and such are those to the north. The greatest alluvions in Asia, therefore, are formed by those streams which descend from the southern part of the elevated region in question; that is, between *Persia* and *China*; which are

so situated, as to receive the supplies of rain brought by the southerly monsoons.\*

To conclude the subject of the high level—there are several ramifications of it, that extend eastward, and north-eastward, to the Eastern ocean; in particular one, at the gulf of Korea, above Pekin: and another at the gulf, or sea of Ochotz, opposite Kamschátka: one of these may be taken for the final termination of *Taurus*, eastward. That point, however, in the idea of the ancients, occupied the same parallel with Rhodes, and the Caspian strait; and nearly the same meridian with the mouth of the Ganges; the continent of Asia being supposed to terminate there.

The reader will naturally conclude, that, in the above description, a very general idea, only, is intended; and that many tracts of *high* land, as well as *plains*, are purposely omitted; as being of little importance to the general result, whilst they might render it less intelligible. Such is the tract of high land in the south of India, separated from the high region, by the great valley of the Ganges; that also, which divides *India* from *Cbina*; and others in China, and Siberia. Our aim, was chiefly to explain the circumstances of Western Asia; and particularly that part, which was the most relevant to the subject of our Author. It may not, however, be useless to account for the *opposite* courses of the great waters of Siberia, and those of Russia, between the parallels of  $45^{\circ}$  and  $60^{\circ}$ : that is, the Siberian waters run to the north, the Russian to the south. In effect, the Siberian waters not only originate from a higher level than the others, but continue their courses along a descent, which is in every part higher, until it approaches the frozen sea. So that the whole of Siberia occupies a higher level than *Russia*, and the *Southern Steppe*; whilst the declivities of the two levels are in opposite directions, and would, if *produced*, *intersect* each other's plane: the Siberian level

\* This ought not to excite surprize, when it is known that the quantity of rain which falls within the tract of the monsoons, is in most instances *double*, and in some *triple*, the quantity that falls in England.

declining to the north, the Russian to the south (from the parallel of  $60^{\circ}$ ); so that the former is exposed throughout its whole extent, to the northern blasts; the latter is in *part*, sheltered.

Another circumstance respecting this level, appears worthy of consideration. It has already appeared, in this, and other parts of the work, that the whole body of *Eastern Asia*, from the southern front of mount *Emodus*, which overlooks India, to the neighbourhood of the frozen sea, stands on a *higher* level than the *western* part; and that the *western border* of this high level, is mount *Imaus*, which is continued under various names, through the Great Steppe;\* and thence *northward* to the coast opposite *Nova-Zembla* (which may itself, be regarded as a continuation of the *chain*). So that the border of this level, lies in a direction not very far from the meridian, for the space of 40 degrees at least, from the heads of the Ganges, to Waygat's straits.

There is also reason to suspect, that China is on a higher level, than the lands on the west. It is well known, from the improvements in modern geography, that the high region of Thibet, &c. adjoins to China, on the west; and that from it, a mountainous ridge, or region, extends south or south-eastwards, separating the Peninsula of India, *beyond* the Ganges, from China. The great waters of China all run to the east; those of the Peninsula to the south; a strong indication of different levels, and it cannot well be supposed that China is the *lowest* of the two, when the astonishing length of course of the *Kian Keu*, is considered; and moreover that China is a colder region than India, in corresponding parallels.

\* The rampart of Gog and Magog was near the foot of these mountains.



## SECTION IX.

## THE SUBJECT OF ASIA, CONTINUED.

*Brief Description of the four Regions of Asia, by Herodotus.—Observations on his Arrangement—His Error in the relative Positions of the four Seas, the Mediterranean, Euxine, Caspian, and Persian, to each other—continued to the Time of Strabo—Source of it.—This Error, one principal Cause of the Wanderings of the Ten Thousand.—Error of Herodotus, in appreciating the Breadth of the Isthmus of Natolia.—His Ideas respecting the Positions of Persia, Media, Assyria, and Arabia.—The latter given under too confined Limits, by most of the Ancients.—Aria, Bactriana, Parthia—Caspian Sea, properly described as a Lake—its Hydrography corrected.—Great Plain, in Asia, described.—Aria Palus, the Lake of Zurrah.—Sarangæans, or People of Sigistan.—Erythræan, or Indian Sea—Arabian and Persian Gulfs, Members of it.—Arabian Gulf first took the Name of Erythræan, or Red; and the last that has preserved it.—Erythræans, the same as Tyrians.—Euxine Sea—Errors of Herodotus, respecting its Dimensions—compared in Form to a Scythian Bow.—Its Hydrography corrected.—Principal Rivers in Western Asia.—Gyndes divided by Cyrus.—The Araxes of Herodotus, meant for the Jaxartes.*

AFTER the long digression from the immediate matter of our Author's work, at the conclusion of the last section, we proceed to give his short description of the several regions of Asia, known to him: reserving however, the detail of the TWENTY SATRAPIES of DARIUS HYSTASPES, for a separate investigation.

Herodotus sets out with describing FOUR REGIONS in Asia; Mel-poin. 37, *et seq.*

I. The FIRST region included the space between the *two seas*, the gulf of Persia and the eastern part of the Euxine; and contained “the region occupied by the *Persians*, which extends southward to the *Red sea*: (*i. e.* the Erythræan or Indian sea.) Beyond these, to the north, are the *Medes*: and next to them the *Sapirians*. Contiguous to the latter, and where the *Pbasis* empties itself into the *northern sea* (Euxine), are the *Colcbians*. These four nations occupy the space between the two seas.”\*

II. “From *hence* to the *west*, two tracts of land stretch themselves towards the sea: the one on the north side, commences at the *Pbasis*,† and extends to the sea, along the *Euxine* and the *Hellespont*, as far as the *Sigeum* of *Troy*. On the south side, it begins at the *Marandynian bay*,‡ contiguous to *Pbœnicia*; and is continued to the sea, as far as the *Triopian Promontory*.§ This space of country is inhabited by 30 different nations.” Melpom. 38.

III. “The *other* district (of the *two* abovementioned) commences in *Persia*, and is continued to the *Red sea*.|| Besides *Persia*, it contains *Assyria* and *Arabia*, naturally terminating in the *Arabian gulf*, into which *Darius* introduced a channel of the Nile. The interval from *Persia* to *Pbœnicia* is very extensive. From *Phœnicia* it again continues beyond *Syria* of *Palestine*, as far as *Egypt*, where it ter-

\* It may be proper to advertise the reader, in this place, that Herodotus supposes the *Pbasis* to be nearly under the same meridian as the head of the gulf of Persia.

† Here we have a proof that the Asia of Herodotus did not extend to the northward of the river *Pbasis*. The proof is rendered more strong by the whole context of the chapters 37, 38, 39.

‡ This ought to be the *Myriandrian bay*, or bay of *Myriandrus*: in other words, the gulf of *Issus*. *Marandynia* was a part of *Bitthynia*, and extended along the Euxine.

§ This was the Promontory of Asia Minor, opposite to the Island of *Coos*. The territory of *Cnidus* was named *Triopium*: *Clio*, 174. There was a temple consecrated to *Apollo*, on the Promontory of *Triope*, where games were celebrated; *Clio*, 144.

|| That is, the *Erythræan sea* at large, or the sea between *India* and *Arabia*: not the *Arabian gulf*.

minates. The whole of this region is occupied by three nations, only. Such is the division of *Asia*, from *Persia*, westward." Melpom. 39.

IV. "To the *east*, beyond *Persia*, *Media*, the *Sapinians*,\* and *Colchians*, the country is bounded by the *Red sea*; † to the *north* by the *Caspian* and the river *Araxes*, which directs its course towards the *east*. ‡ As far as *India*, *Asia* is well inhabited: but from *India*, eastward, the whole country is one vast desert, unknown and unexplored." Melp. 40.

Thus we have the *subdivisions* of *Asia*, as known to Herodotus. The first remark that arises, on a view of this statement, is, that the Author had not a just idea of the relative positions of the Euxine and Caspian seas, to the Mediterranean sea, and Persian *gulf* (or rather *sea*, as he did not know that it formed a *gulf*, there). For, he supposes the Caspian sea to be situated to the *east* of the meridian of *Persia*; in Melpom. 40; whence, the position of *Colchis*, in respect of *Persia* and *Media*, is inferred to be *opposite* to, or in the *same* meridian with *them*: for such a position, the description evidently intends. (The reader is requested to turn to the Maps No. I. and II.) Not that the space between *Ionia* and *Susa* (a route well known to our Author, as will appear in a future discussion), was *contracted* by this arrangement; for, the prolongation of the Euxine, westward, beyond the truth, made up in space, for the false adjustment of the *east end* of that sea. But, on the other hand, the breadth

\* These are called *Sapinians*, *Sapirians*, and *Saspires* (or *Saspirians*), in different places; but all have a reference to the same people, who were situated between *Media* and *Colchis*.

† He can hardly mean, that the sea in question *bounded* this tract on the *east*, because it contradicts the rest of the statement; which implies, that *India* lies to the *east* of this tract. He must have meant "the country on the east of *Persia*," &c.

‡ We must read *west*; because by implication, in *Clio*, 202, 204, the *Araxes*, on which the *Massagetæ* are situated, runs into the *east* side of the *Caspian*. It will appear, in the sequel, that he confounds the Eastern *Araxes* (meaning the *Jaxartes*) with the *Araxes* of *Armenia*.

of Arabia, and Assyria, were contracted very far within their proper bounds, by the error of supposing the mouth of the Nile, and Cilicia, to stand opposite to each other; Euterpe, 34; but more particularly by the deficiency of distance between Egypt and Babylon; as will appear presently. The consequences of these errors, were, that a more northerly direction was given, both to the Arabian gulf, and the eastern side of the Mediterranean.

Several of these errors remained to the days of Strabo; for even the materials collected during Alexander's expedition, did not enable geographers to correct the *whole* error in the relative positions of the Caspian, Euxine, and Persian, seas, to each other, and to the Mediterranean. The true cause appears to have been, that no direct line of distance, from *Canopus* to *Babylon*, could be obtained; because the nature of the intervening ground (the Arabian desert) prevented it: and although the meridians of *Canopus* and the *Sacrum Promontory* (of *Lycia*) were pretty well adjusted, in respect of each other,\* yet, as the line to *Babylon*, from the former, passed circuitously through *Thaspacus* and *Arbela*, a vast error in the direct distance (almost unavoidably) arose; through the default of means, to ascertain the various inflexions of the line of distance. Hence, *Eratosthenes* allowed no more than 5600 stadia, of 700 to a degree, between *Heroopolis* and *Babylon*: which is short of the truth by about *one fourth*. So that, although *Babylon* was really more than 3° of longitude to the *eastward* of the mouth of the *Phasis*, in *Colchis*, yet the just mentioned error, which amounted to 3° 3' (it being 156 G. miles), threw it somewhat to the *west* of the *Phasis*, on the Map.†

\* It was understood that these places were situated under the same meridian.

† But it is, perhaps, yet more remarkable that an error in the relative positions of the Caspian and Persian seas, should have existed to the present times. *M. D'Anville* placed the NW part of the Caspian *two degrees* of longitude too far to the east, in respect of the Persian gulf; by means of an error in the reported longitude of *Astrakan*. And yet the Arabian and Persian Tables have it right. The above error

An error of the like kind, or perhaps, a continuation, or extension, of the former one, by Eratosthenes and Strabo, was, the act of placing the Caspian strait (the pass through the *continuation* of mount Taurus: see above, page 174.) in about the same meridian with the *entrance* of the Persian gulf; although it is really 4 or 5 degrees to the *west* of it. We have no doubt but that the 8000 stadia, allowed by Strabo, page 727, between that strait and the southern extremity of Persia, was meant for *difference of latitude*; in like manner as those lines between *Canopus* and the *Sacrum Promontory* (of Lycia); *Issus* and *Amisus*.

An additional proof of the supposed easterly position of the Caspian sea, even to the time of Strabo, is, the distance given by him, between *Seleucia* (at the Tigris) and *Hyrkania*, through *Artemita* (in Babylonia), which is 8500 stadia (compare Strabo, page 529, and 744); although 6000 appear more than sufficient.

We have given these instances of the errors of the Greeks, which were continued to the period of the writings of Eratosthenes and Strabo; and although they do not *absolutely prove*, that Herodotus lay under the same error, yet the context of his geography, has the *same kind* of derangement; and apparently to an equal *extent*; but as he gives no measures in this place, the quantity of his error cannot be ascertained, although it may be inferred.

The source of these errors, was, the difficulty of adjusting the meridians of different places, previous to the discovery of the polarity of the magnet; and of the improved and facile mode of taking observations of longitude. To these causes, the rapid improvements in modern geography, have been owing; and to the absence of them, that ancient geography has at all times been more deficient in the adjustment of the *meridians*, than of the *parallels*.

It is not at all improbable, that the error in the meridional distance, between the Persian gulf and the Euxine, was the cause of had the effect of distorting the space, generally, between the Caspian sea and Constantinople.

Xenophon's keeping too far to the *east*, in his way through Armenia, towards *Trebizonde*. He, no doubt, adhered to the geographical system then in vogue in Greece (such as is given by Herodotus); and expected to find *Trebizonde* nearly in the same meridian with *Babylon* and *Nineveh*, although it bore about N 30° W from the latter. Alexander, by the same rule, must have supposed himself *nearer* to the *Euxine*, than he really was, when at the *Jaxartes*; which some of the Greeks actually took for the *Tanais*.\*

The next error of magnitude in Herodotus, but which, however, had no material effect on the general system, was his supposing the *Isthmus* of *Natolia* (between the gulfs of *Issus* and *Amisus*) to be narrower than it really is, by near one half. He says, *Clio*, 72, that "an active man could not travel in less than five days, over this space:" and, in *Euterpe*, 34, that "a good traveller may pass from the mountains of *Cilicia* (*Taurus*) to *Sinope*, in five days." Now, it appears from the late observations of M. *Beauchamp*, who found the latitude of *Sinope* to be 42° 2', instead of 41° 4', as M. *D'Anville* places it,† that the *Isthmus* is not less than 4° of latitude across; or 240 G. miles. This would require a rate of 55½ British miles, in direct distance, and certainly more than 60 by the road, for each day; a rate of travelling, *on foot*, which our Author certainly had not in contemplation. And, it may be conceived that, little more than half of this rate, that is 33 miles, by the road, is an ample

\* Besides the mistake of 5° of longitude, in the first instance, it may be conceived that the geography of Alexander's land march, which had so many inflexions in it, might be very erroneous, when they had no guide for the line of direction, save the sun and stars. It is therefore possible, that they might suppose themselves to be no farther distant from the *Mæotis*, than the space occupied by the course of the *Tanais*.

† It is in justice due to Mr *Arrowsmith*, geographer, to mention, that in his Map of Europe lately published; and drawn before the observation of M. *Beauchamp* at *Sinope*, was known; he had actually placed *Sinope* within 3 or 4 minutes of the observation in question. We understand that he was led to this determination, by some surveys taken by Mr. *Eaton* (author of the View of the Turkish Empire), between *Constantinople* and *Karempi Boroun*, or the Promontory of *Carambis*.

allowance for a courier, on foot, when the journey is continued five days: and this is the rate at which the Indian couriers do actually travel.\* In consequence, Herodotus could not suppose the Isthmus to be more than 125 G. miles in breadth: that is, 115 less than the truth.

Eratosthenes allows 3000 stadia,† or 257 G. miles; which is not greatly beyond the truth, if taken as *direct* distance, and at the standard of 700 to a degree: and if as *road* distance, somewhat less than the truth, as 228 would be the result, allowing  $\frac{1}{9}$  for inflexions. So that, Eratosthenes, at any rate was not far from the truth.

Ptolemy, at a later date than Eratosthenes, gives a breadth of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  degrees, to the Isthmus, in the line between the gulfs of Tarsus and Amisus. Pliny has 200 MP. only; vi. c. 2; which falls below Herodotus. Concerning a part so well known, one is surprised to find such a variety of statements: for it seems, that the breadth was well known from the marches of Alexander; as the statement of Eratosthenes may be supposed to be founded on it.

Of the *length* of Asia Minor, and generally speaking, of the proportions of its parts, bating the above error, Herodotus was probably well informed. He was *at home*, in Ionia (as well as on the opposite side of the *Ægean* sea): for his account of the Satrapies of Darius, shews, that he knew Asia Minor in detail; although he might never have crossed the Isthmus. He, as well as some others, called it the Asiatic *Cbersonesus*, or Peninsula; which name the *supposed* form, warranted. In Melpom. 12, he places *Sinope* in this *Cbersonesus*.

With respect to his FOUR GRAND DIVISIONS OF ASIA,‡ we shall offer the following general remarks, and corrections: meaning however, to be more particular in the account of the Satrapies.

In the FIRST division or region, the Author obviously meant to include in Persia, the fertile part of *Carmania*, under the name of *Germania*; and apparently *Susiana* also, under the name of *Cissia*, or

\* See the Memoir of the Map of Hindoostan, section vii.

† Strabo, page 68.

‡ See above, page 184.

Kissia. Media includes *both* the countries of that name (*Major* and *Atropatia*), together with Elymais, Matiene, the Saspire, or *eastern* part of Armenia, and part of Iberia. Also Colchis; and with it, many of the *Caucasian* nations. It would have been more correct, to have called this, the tract between the THREE seas, Euxine, Erythræan, and Caspian; instead of the TWO seas, by which the two former are intended.

The second region comprized the *Western* Armenia, and Asia Minor; as is evident from the context. The *Eastern* Armenia, we have seen included in the *Saspire*. In Terpsichore, 52, the Euphrates divides *Armenia* from *Cilicia*, in the road from Sardis to Susa.\* Consequently, *Upper* Mesopotamia, is reckoned here, as in some other places, to *Armenia*; for instance, in Clio, 194, where the boats are said to "descend from Armenia to the province of Babylonia," by the Tigris. We must regard mount Taurus as the southern boundary of this region, although not expressed as such.† It has already been said, that our Author is deficient in his attention to this principal feature in the geography of Asia; as he only mentions it incidentally: that is, he calls Taurus the mountains of *Cilicia*, in Euterpe, 34; the mountains *above* *Ecbatana*, in Media, in another place; and those above the sources of the Euphrates and Tigris, in a third.

The THIRD region contained the *south-west* part of Asia, included between the different seas, on all quarters except the *north*, where it was shut up by mount *Taurus*; and on the north-east, by Media, and Susiana. The Isthmus of Suez forms a trifling exception on the *west*, also.

Within this division, under the name of ASSYRIA, are comprized not only *Assyria proper*, situated beyond the Tigris; but *Babylonia*,

\* It will be explained hereafter, that *his Cilicia* included the northern provinces of *Syria*: that is *Cyrbestica*, *Killis*, &c. as well as *Cilicia within Amanus*.

† Or, more critically, mount *Masius*, the southernmost branch of *Taurus*.



the tract between the Euphrates and Tigris (*afterwards* called *Mesopotamia*), and *Syria*. There was also included in it, *Arabia*, more extensive in itself than all the rest, collectively: and moreover, the small, but interesting and important states of *Phœnicia*, and *Syria* of *Palestine*. And yet this vast extent of space, was said to comprehend three nations only.

There is no question but that our Author supposed Arabia to be much less than the truth: in the first place, because he believed that the Persian gulf did not exist, and consequently might suppose that the sea coast ran in a direct line from the mouth of the Euphrates, to the entrance of the Red sea: and secondly, because he supposed the head of the Red sea to be nearer to the Persian sea. But of the *length* of Arabia, he was apprized, because he knew the extent of the Arabian gulf; and that Arabia *bordered* on it, throughout.

The ancients in general thought Arabia of much less extent than it is. Pliny, vi. c. 28, compares the *Peninsula* of Arabia, with *that* of Italy, in point of *form*, and *size*; and of *position*, in respect of the heavens. He was right only in the last particular. The Arabian gulf is about *twice* the length of Italy: and one is surprised that Pliny should have been under so great a mistake. But the context serves to shew, that it was the common opinion, that Arabia was less than it really is.

*Assyria* is the same with *Babylonia*, in Clio, 106, 178; Thalia, 155; and in other places. Both *Babylon* and *Nineveh* were reckoned Assyrian cities.

*Syria*, in the contemplation of Herodotus, was only a portion of *Assyria*. He distinguished the *Syrians* of *Palestine* from the *Syrians* of *Cappadocia*; but we do not find that he any where distinguishes *Syria proper*, as a *separate* country from *Assyria*. Strabo reckons it a *part* of *Assyria*.

The remarkable fact of there being but *three* nations within this space, which includes *Assyria*, *Persia*, and *Phœnicia*, as well as *Arabia*, shews that the *Arabians* must have extended over the

greater part of Assyria and Babylonia. Part of Mesopotamia was called Arabia, by Xenophon and Pliny. Perhaps we may regard the whole of this region, except what lies to the east of the Tigris, as Arabia, on an extended scale.

The FOURTH, and last region of ASIA, lay to the *east* of Persia and Media, and was bounded on the *north* by the Caspian sea, and river *Araxes* (meaning the *Jaxartes*; or possibly there may be some confusion, between it, and the lower part of the *Oxus*); on the *south*, by the *Erythræan* sea; and on the *east*, by the utmost known part of India.

The countries situated within these limits, our Author does not *specify*: but it is obvious by his account of the Satrapies, that most of the principal sub-divisions were familiar to him: these were, Hyrcania, Parthia, Aria, Bactria, Sogdia, Chorasmia, Saca, Zaranga, the countries of the Parycanians, and Ethiopians of Asia (under which are designed the Gedrosians.); and other southern tribes: and finally, the Indians on both sides of the river Indus.

The Caspian sea is a principal feature in this region. This, he rightly describes as a sea, distinct from all others: that is, a lake; Clio, 203. The dimensions given, are not very different from the truth; only that the width is made too great, if meant of the Caspian *alone*: but as Alexander, and all the geographers from his time, to that of Delisle, included the *Aral*, as a part of the Caspian, it is probable that Herodotus did the same, since he conducts the Jaxartes into the *Caspian*, and not into a *separate lake*. The length assigned to the Caspian, by our Author, is 15 days' navigation for a *swift oared* vessel; and the breadth 8. The former, according to the idea that may be formed of the rate of sailing of ancient vessels, appears consistent; but the breadth is too irregular to be reduced to rule.

The real length of this sea, which may now be regarded as pretty well known, is about 640 G. miles, in a N by W, and S by E direction; and it contracts to less than 130 miles at the northern neck,

and to about 100 at the southern neck.\* The 15 days' voyage of our Author, may perhaps approach towards 600. Eratosthenes and Strabo supposed it to be 6000 stadia, equal to 515 miles. Like the Euxine, and other narrow seas, it has always been represented too wide.

By the description, we must understand that the position of its length was supposed to be nearly north and south; which, generally speaking, is pretty much the case: he says "*Caucasus* bounds it on the *west*; the largest, and perhaps, highest, mountain in the world; and inhabited by various nations;" Clio, 203. And, "it is bounded on the *east*, by a plain of prodigious extent, a considerable part of which forms the country of the *Massagetæ*, (204.)—a great and powerful nation, whose territories extend beyond the river *Araxes* (*Jaxartes*) to the extreme parts of the East." (201.)

This knowledge concerning the unconnected state of the Caspian, in respect of other seas, was lost in the time of Eratosthenes, Strabo, and Pliny; but regained in that of Ptolemy, who restored its form of a lake, but under such dimensions and proportions, as shew that the Aral was mistaken for a part of it.†

As the subject of the *Massagetæ* and *Sacæ* is intended to be spoken of fully, in a separate chapter, under the head of EASTERN SCYTHIANS, of which they are members, we shall speak very generally of them, in this place. To the *Massagetæ* are assigned the vast plains to the N and NE of the Sirr or Sirt river (the *Jaxartes*), the Caspian, and Aral; and to the west of the mountains of Imaus, or Kashgur: in other words, the principal seats of the Kirgees tribes in the present times.

\* In the Map No. V. the form and dimensions of the Caspian sea (as well as of the Euxine) are given according to the latest observations, and most improved construction.

† One is surprised to find in M. Gosselin, page 103, an idea that the Caspian was once joined to the North sea by a strait, according to the opinions of the Greek geographers!

The Sacæ were situated towards the upper parts of the rivers Oxus and Jaxartes, by the testimony of authors who wrote posterior to Herodotus; but *he* places them in and about *Bactriana*. Sacæ was a term applied to Scythians in general, although it belonged in strictness to a tribe, subject, as it would appear, to the Persians; since they filled a conspicuous place amongst the crews in the naval armament of Xerxes.

Thus the Massagetæ and Sacæ occupied the north-eastern extreme of the habitable part of Asia, according to the system of our Author; but the former of the two, were entirely independent of the Persian empire.

Herodotus gives rather a confused account of a large plain, in this part of Asia. It was surrounded on every side by a *ridge of hills*, through which there were five different apertures: Thalia, 117. This plain, he says, belonged *formerly* to the Chorasmians, who inhabited those hills, in common with the Hyrcanians, Parthians, Sarangæans, and Thomaneans: but that after the subjection of these nations, to Persia, it became the property of the GREAT KING. A great river named *Aces*, flows from these hills; and was formerly conducted through the openings of the mountains, to water the abovementioned countries. That, on the Persians taking possession, they stopt up the passages, and thus formed the plain into a *sea*, or *great lake*, depriving the nations around of their accustomed share of water; who were therefore reduced to the most extreme distress; but were afterwards, on application to the king, supplied with the necessary quantity of water, for their cultivation; after which the passages were again shut. And thus he compelled the payment of an additional tribute.

This story, so improbably told, seems to relate either to the river *Oxus*, or to the *Ocbus*, both of which have undergone considerable changes in their courses; partly by the management of dams, partly by their own depositions. For they certainly flow near the countries of the Chorasmians, the Hyrcanians, and Parthians; but the

Sarangæans, if taken for the people of *Zarang*,\* that is, *Sigistan* (as, no doubt, they ought to be) are out of the question, as to any connection with these rivers.

But the country of Sigistan, (which is of a singular nature, as being a hollow tract surrounded by mountains, and having a river of considerable bulk (the Hindmend) flowing through it, and terminating in a lake, after forming vast alluvions) may have been confounded with those, through which the *Oxus* and *Ocbus* flow. It seems, however, to be clearly understood that there is no outlet for the waters of the Hindmend: since the level of Sigistan is lower than that of Korasan and Aria, through which the Oxus and Ochus flow.

The lake of Zurrah, into which the Hindmend discharges itself, is about 100 miles in length, and 20 broad at the widest part: and is said to be fresh.† The country through which the Hindmend flows, has all the characteristics of the alluvial tracts, at the mouths of great rivers; as Egypt, Bengal, &c. This was the celebrated tract which is said to have formed the *appanage* of RUSTUM;‡ and whose inhabitants, from the relief which they afforded to CYRUS, after his Eastern expedition, were named *Euergetæ*, or benefactors; and had considerable privileges and immunities granted them, which Alexander had the generosity to confirm. Much more will be said on this subject, under the heads of *Sarangæans* and *Sacæ*, in the detail of the Satrapies.

Of the general form and extent of the *Erythræan* sea, (which, according to our Author, is that which washes the coasts of *Arabia*, *Persia*, and *Western India*, and terminates southward, at the extremities of Arabia and India) he seems to have had some idea; by assigning a due length to the Arabian gulf, which opened into it;

\* *Zarang* appears in the Tables of *Nasreddin* and *Ulugbeig*; and no doubt represents the ancient capital of the *Zarangæi*. It is reckoned a very ancient city.

† The *Aria Palus* of Ptolemy.

‡ D'Herbelot, article *Segestan*. RUSTUM resided there; as it is said the kings of Persia did, previous to their establishment at *Estakar*, meant for *Persepolis*.

and by describing the land of India to extend a great way to the southward of the Indus; Thalia, 101. But as, on the other hand, he supposed Arabia to be the most southerly land of Asia, Thalia, 107, 115, he, of course had no idea that India projected *so far* to the south, as it really does. The boundary of the Erythræan sea, would therefore be a line drawn from the outlet of the Red sea, or Arabian gulf, to the south extremity of India. All beyond this line, southward, was by him called the *Southern* ocean; and that with strict propriety: for he must have supposed it to embrace *South Africa*, and afterwards to join the Atlantic; according to his own words, in Clio, 203; “the sea frequented by the Greeks (*i. e.* the Mediterranean), the Erythræan, and that beyond the Pillars, called the Atlantic, are all one ocean.” The Southern ocean is pointedly marked, in Melpom. 42, where “the ships of Nechao (destined to surround Africa) took their course from the *Red* sea, and entered the *Southern* ocean.” Another indication of this ocean is in Thalia, 17, where “the *Macrobian Æthiopians* inhabit that part of *Lybia*, which lies towards the *Southern* ocean.”

Herodotus, as we have seen, denominates *Erythræan*, or *Red*, the whole of that sea which lies between India, Persia, and Arabia (our sea of *Omman*); together with its gulfs or bays. But he, notwithstanding, distinguishes the *Arabian gulf* very pointedly; as in Euterpe, 159, “that part of the *Arabian gulf* which is *near the Red* sea.” In the preceding chapter, the *Arabian gulf* is said to be 1000 stadia from the *North* sea, at mount Casius. It is also called *Red* sea in the same place. Again, in Melpom. 39, and 42, the *Arabian gulf* is discriminated.

But the *Persian gulf*, he no where discriminates in this manner; and there is every reason to believe, that the same man, who knew better than Strabo and others, what were the circumstances of the Caspian sea, did not believe that the Euphrates emptied itself into a gulf, closely shut up by a narrow strait, like the Arabian gulf, but into a corner, or bay, of the greater ocean. For, he makes no

distinction, as Strabo and others did (who derived their information from the expedition of Alexander, or the voyage of Nearchus), between a *Persian gulf*, and an *Erythræan sea*; although he makes so clear a distinction between the Erythræan sea and the Arabian gulf. For he says, in Clio, 180, “the Euphrates pours itself into the *Red sea* :” the same is said of the Tigris, in Erato, 20. In Melpom. 37, “the region occupied by the *Persians*, extends southward to the *Red sea*.”

When he speaks of the Islands of the *Red sea* (to which *exiles* were sent, and whose inhabitants accompanied Xerxes in his expedition to Greece), he could only, from circumstances, mean the Islands of the Persian gulf. See Thalia, 93, and Polym. 80. In Melp. 40, the *Red sea* bounds the country on the east of *Media* and *Persia*. Nothing but an *open sea*, is here expressed; and it is probable that Herodotus knew of no distinction of this kind. At the same time, the Persian gulf ought to have been known to those, who knew the detail of the voyage of *Scylax of Caryandra*, from the Indus to the head of the Arabian gulf, as mentioned in Melpomene, 44.

As the Arabian gulf is the only part of this ocean that has retained, in modern times, the name of RED SEA, so we conceive it to have been the first that received it. The country of *Edom*, or *Idumea*, bordered on the upper part of the Arabian gulf, and probably gave name to it, amongst the neighbouring people of *Palestine* and *Phœnicia*: and the Greeks, no doubt, obtained from the latter, both the knowledge of this sea, and its name *Edom*, or *Red*; which they translated into *Erythræan*.\* Pliny says that the *Tyrians* were called *Erythræans* from their former place of abode near the *Red sea*: that is, the Arabian gulf; lib. iv. c. 22. This, then, may readily be conceived to have been the origin of the name, as well amongst the Greeks, as the Phœnicians, and people of *Palestine*. Amongst the Jews, we find “the *Red sea* in the land of *Edom*,”

\* We have here the support of the venerable NIKBUHR. Arabia, p. 360, French edition.

(1 Kings, ix. 26.) and of "the sea shore in the land of *Edom*," (2 Chron. viii. 17.)

The Greeks would naturally extend the name to as much of the adjoining seas, as they became acquainted with: as for instance, to the sea of *Omman*, and the *gulf of Persia*, as parts of it. The story of King *Erythras* and his tomb, in one of the islands of that gulf, may have been *invented* afterwards.

Arrian, whose ideas of the geography of this quarter of Asia, seem to have been collected from the voyage of Nearchus, calls the Persian gulf, the Erythræan sea: and if the story told by Nearchus could be credited, the name was first of all applied to this gulf; for he says, that the tomb of King Erythras, which was situated in one of its islands, gave occasion to the gulf being named from that king. This, however, we regard as a tale. But Arrian, in other places seems to regard the sea of OMMAN, at large, as the *proper* Erythræan sea: and speaks of the Persian and Arabian *gulfs*, merely as *such*; and as being distinct from the Erythræan sea, itself.

Concerning the Euxine, or Black sea, it has already been stated (page 53), that our Author gives it much too extended dimensions; and that it was occasioned by his following an erroneous calculation of the Egyptian schoene (page 19). For he reckons it 11,100 stades in length, between the Bosphorus, and the river Phasis; 3200, or 3300 in breadth, between Themiscyra and Sindica; Melp. 85, 86. But according to the Map of M. ZACH, founded on the latest observations, this sea cannot be more than 600 G. miles in length, or about 7200 stades, of our mean scale, 718.\* Its greatest breadth is

\* In M. ZACH's Geographical Ephemeris (for July, 1798), there is a new Map of the Euxine, constructed on the authority of the observations of M. Beauchamp, and those in the Mem. of the Academy of Petersburg, &c.

This publication by M. ZACH, commenced with the present year; and promises to be of the greatest advantage to geography, as well physical as political, by its sending forth to the world, for the use of the present age, or preserving for that of a future one, a great collection of valuable materials.



about half as much, in the line between *Amastris* and *Odessus*, near the mouth of the Borysthenes; and not in the place, Herodotus mentions. However, he is not much out in the breadth itself, which may be taken at 3600 stades. But he was wrong in his ideas of the relative positions of its coasts to each other, for he thought that the mouth of the Danube was opposite to Sinope; Sindica to the Thermodon river; and the Bosphorus of Thrace to the river Phasis.

Notwithstanding the opportunities that have occurred to Europeans, in latter times, the form and dimensions of this sea, have been left to the present time, more incorrect even than those of the Caspian. To give a few instances—the town of Sinope, and Promontory of Carambis, have been placed *one degree* of latitude too far to the *south*. The eastern bason of the Euxine has been represented 100 G. miles too wide, between the mouth of the Halys river, and the nearest opposite coast. And lastly, the narrowest part, between Carambis and the Krimea, is 30 too wide, where the whole width is no more than 113. The high land of the Krimea is visible from Carambis.\*

Some of the ancients had an idea, that the form of the Euxine was that of a *Scythian bow*, when *bent*.† The idea was not a bad one, if the Scythian bows were like those of the modern Turks: but then, it is to be considered, that the ancients supposed the south coast to form nearly a right line; in which they were mistaken.

The principal rivers of Western Asia, have been already spoken of, as known to Herodotus; in the course of our remarks. The

\* The error of Strabo was much greater; p. 125. He reckons the distance across 2500 stadia, or 214 G. miles. It is wonderful how such a mistake could have happened, when one of the lands can be seen from the other.

† Strabo, p. 125. He supposed the circumference of this sea to be 25,000 stadia; which was too high a calculation, by one-fourth.

In No. V. its form and dimensions may be seen, agreeably to M. Zach's idea. Its area cannot differ much from that of the Caspian sea; with which the reader may have an opportunity of comparing it, in the same Map.

Indus is said to be the second river that produces crocodiles (the Nile, the first, we may suppose); but as he also mentions the great *African* river (our Niger), as producing abundance of these animals, this is of course the *third* river of the same kind. The Ganges he knew not.

The source of the Euphrates he places in Armenia; but that of the Tigris he does not point out: although he speaks of the sources of two of its adjuncts (the greater and lesser *Zab*, under the same name of *Tigris*), which flow from *Armenia* and *Matiene*. The Euphrates and Tigris, are both said to fall into the Red sea; Clio, 180 and 189: and from the mode of expression, it may be understood, that they kept distinct courses, to the sea, as they are known to have done in the time of Alexander; although, at no great distance, of time afterwards, they became united, and joined the sea, in a collective stream.\*

The Euphrates and Tigris spring from opposite sides of mount Taurus, in Armenia: the former from the *upper* level, before described; the latter from the southern *declivity*; and certain of the sources of the two rivers, are only separated by the summits of Taurus. And yet, notwithstanding this vicinity, the sources of the Tigris, by being in a *southern* exposure, (where the snow melts much earlier than at the *back* of the mountains, and in a more *elevated* situation,) occasion the periodical swellings of this river, to happen many weeks earlier than those of the Euphrates. Of the two, the Tigris seems to be the largest body of water.

The river *Gyndes*, by the description given by Aristagoras, Terpsichore, 52, answers to the *Diala*, which joins the Tigris, just above *Modain* (the ancient *Ctesiphon* and *Seleucia*, collectively); but this will not agree with the circumstance of CYRUS' crossing it, in his way from Susa to Babylon; Clio, 189: for the Diala does not lie

\* These facts are very clearly collected from the history of Nearchus's voyage, and from the testimonies of the ancient geographers. The Cyrus and Araxes, likewise, kept distinct courses in ancient times.

in the way. The Gyndes, which was *divided* by Cyrus, should rather be the river of Mendeli, which descends from the quarter of mount *Zagros*, and passes by the country of *Derne*, or *Derna*,\* probably the *Darnea* of Herodotus; for he says, *Clio*, 189, that the Gyndes rises in the mountains of *Matiene*, and runs through the country of the *Darneans*, in its way to join the Tigris. (M. D'Anville supposed *Dainawar* to be meant, but in our idea, the waters of *Dainawar* descend to *Susiana*.)

Considering the imperfect state of the Grecian geography in this quarter, it is not at all improbable that some error or confusion may have arisen, concerning this river. To shew that our Author was not clear in his ideas of the relative positions, here, we need only mention that the city of *Opis* is by him implied to stand in a situation *below* the confluence of the Tigris and Gyndes. Now, according to the history of the retreat of the Ten Thousand, *Opis* cannot stand so low even as the mouth of the *Diala*, for it was no less than 20 parasangas *above* *Sitace*; † which city appears pretty clearly to have stood *above* the mouth of the *Diala*, since the Greeks did not cross it in their way. The reader is here referred to the Map of *Babylon* and its environs, No. VI.

As to the story of *Cyrus's* dividing the *Gyndes*, into 360 channels, it is a very childish one, in the manner in which it is told: as, that *Cyrus* was displeas'd with the river for being the occasion of drowning one of the sacred horses; and therefore destroyed its character, as a river, by dispersing it into 360 artificial canals.

The motive however, might possibly be this: *Cyrus*, unexpectedly found the river swoln, and too deep to be forded, and might be unprovided with embarkations, by which his army might cross it.

\* The country of *DERNA* according to *Niebuhr*, adjoins to *PERSIA*, but belongs to the *TURKS*; and forms a part of *KURDISTAN*. *Otter*, i. 155, speaks of the river *Derne*, which falls into the river *Diala*: and in p. 175, of the *fort* of the same name.

† *Anabasis*, lib. ii.

The remedy was the most natural imaginable, when so vast a multitude was assembled, by drawing off a large proportion of the water from its channel, in order to render it fordable. It was equally natural to employ at once, as many people as possible, on the work; which would give occasion to marking out a vast number of channels, on which they might all be employed at the same instant. The absurdity then, will only lie, in the *manner* of accounting for the action itself. But if the reason of the thing, will not account for it, we may quote an example in point, from our Author himself; in that of Croesus dividing the stream of the Halys, during his expedition to Cappadocia, and previous to that of Cyrus against Babylon.\*

The *Choaspes*, which passes by the city of *Susa*,† has a deep channel. It is the only river of *Susiana*, spoken of by our Author; and this being a *country of rivers*, in effect, the drain of Media, Elymais, Cossea, &c. and formed chiefly from alluvions, it may be collected from his silence, that the Greeks of his time, knew little concerning it. The waters of the *Choaspes*, are particularly celebrated, on the score of their being the particular beverage of the Persian kings;‡ *Clio*, 188. Here it may be remarked, that the Asiatics are more particular in their choice of water, than Europeans: perhaps it may be, because they drink more of the pure element.

\* *Clio*, 75. “Whilst Croesus was hesitating over what part of the river he should attempt a passage, as there was *no bridge* constructed, *THALES* (the Milesian) divided it into two branches,” &c.

† It is proper to remark, that the position of this ancient, and celebrated city, has been hitherto fixed at the present *Tostar*; or *Suster*; but differing from our brethren, we have placed it at *Sus*, 44 G. miles more to the NW, or nearer to Babylon. The reason for this alteration, cannot, with propriety, be detailed in this work; but belongs to another, on the subject of Persia, &c. The supposed *Choaspes* will then be the river that descends from the countries of *Dainawar* and *Kirmanshab* in *Al Jebal*, or *Media*.

‡ Our *MILTON*, who seldom falls into errors, in matters of history, has confined the use of the waters of the *Choaspes*, as a beverage, to *kings*, alone; instead of confining the kings, to the use of *those waters*.

Several rivers of Asia Minor, are mentioned, but without any particulars relating to them. It may be supposed, that all the principal streams of this region were known to our Author, although there was no necessity for introducing them. The *Thermodon* is mentioned as being the seat of the Amazons; Calliope, 27; Melp. 110; and the *Partbenius*, in Euterpe, 104, together with the former, as bordering on the Syrians of Cappadocia; the *Halys*, in Clio, 7. and 72, as the line of separation between the empire of Lydia, subject to Croesus, and that of the Medes. It is described in Clio, 72, to flow from the mountains of Armenia, passing through Cilicia, and dividing the *Matiensians*\* on the *right* (east) from *Pbrygia* on the left; and then stretching towards the north, it is described to separate the *Syrians* of Cappadocia from *Papblagonia*; which latter is situated to the *left* of the stream. Arrian seems to dispute this account of its course; saying, that it flows from the *east*, not from the *south*: however, the report of Herodotus, is certainly just.

Herodotus falls into a great mistake respecting the source of the river *Jaxartes*, which he calls *Araxes*. Strabo, in one place, calls it by the same name, as will be seen in the sequel, but he was too well informed, to fall into the error respecting its source.

Our Author speaks of the *Araxes* as the only considerable one, known to him on the east of the Caspian sea. The following are the passages relating to it, collected from his history of the expedition of Cyrus the Great, against the Massagetæ; Clio, 201, *et seq.*

“The nation of the Massagetæ lay *beyond* the *Araxes*—some reckoned this river *less*, others *greater*, than the Danube. There are many islands scattered up and down in it, some of which are nearly equal to *Lesbos* in extent—like the *Gyndes*, it rises amongst the *Matiensian* hills. It separates itself into 40 mouths, all of which, except one, lose themselves in the fens and marshes—the larger stream of the *Araxes* continues its even course to the Caspian.”

† The reader must not confound *this* *Matiene* with that of *Media*. See the xviiiith Satrapy of *Darius Hystaspes*, and also section xiii.

“ The Caspian is bounded on the *east*, by a plain of prodigious extent, a considerable part of which formed the country of the *Massagetæ*, against whom Cyrus meditated an attack—he advanced to the Araxes, threw a bridge of boats over it—passed it with his army, from *his own* territories into those of *the enemy*, and advanced beyond it,” &c. Clio, 204, 205, 206, 208, 211.

In this description, the *Jaxartes* and *Oxus* (*Sirr*, and *Jibon*) appear to be confounded together; (he had perhaps heard certain particulars of both rivers, but might refer them to one, only); for there are circumstances that may be applied to each, respectively; although *most* of them are applicable only to the former. It may be observed, that our Author mentions only *one* large river in this part of the empire of Cyrus; that is, the river which separates it from the *Massagetæ*, and which was unquestionably the *Sirr* or *Jaxartes*; for there is no question that *Sogdia* was included in the empire of Cyrus;\* and it lay *between* the *Oxus* and *Jaxartes*. The *Oxus* therefore, has no *distinct* place, in the geography of our Author, although a river of much greater bulk and importance than the *Jaxartes*. But that the *Oxus* was intended, when he says that the larger stream continued its even course to the Caspian, appears *probable*; although the numerous branches that formed the large islands, and were afterwards lost in bogs and marshes, agrees rather to the description of the *Aral* lake, and lower part of the *Sirr*. It is indeed possible, that the *Jaxartes* may, at some period have sent a branch into the *Oxus*; or, *vice versa*, the *Oxus* into the *Jaxartes*; but no such idea is warranted by the ancient descriptions.

Strabo, as we have said, describes it under the name of *Araxes*, p. 512; and seems in this place to follow Herodotus, both in the *name* and *description* of it: as, that it borders on the country of the *Massagetæ*, and affords a retreat to them, in the islands formed by

\* Alexander saw a city, or cities, that had been founded by *Cyrus*, in *Sogdia*, near the *Jaxartes*, and one of them bore his name. But the modern empire of Persia, or *IRAN*, is properly bounded by the *Jibon*, or *Oxus*.

the division of its streams; and in its marshes: as also, that one branch of it, alone, ran into the *Hyrceanian sea (Caspian)*. As Strabo describes this river in another place, under the name of *Jaxartes*, p. 510, 514, 518, and the *Oxus* also in *its* place, it appears that he must have taken the *Araxes* for a *distinct* river: and, it is not improbable that he copied the passage from Herodotus, without rightly understanding the subject of it.

The remarkable mistake of our Author's deriving *this Araxes* from the mountains of *Matiene*, and giving it an *easterly* course (Melp. 40), must have arisen from his having *heard* of the Armenian *Araxes*, and confounded it with the other. There is no possibility of getting rid of his error, in this matter; for he refers the source of the *Massagætan Araxes* to the same quarter with that of the *Gyndes*. It can only be said, that it is a prodigious mistake.\*

Such was the *ASIA* of *HERODOTUS*, in respect of its general extent and subdivision. We shall next proceed to illustrate such of the subdivisions, as the authorities afford the means of describing.

\* It is proper to observe, that there is much confusion in some of the ancient authors, between the *proper* *Tanais* at the *Mæotis*, and the *Jaxartes*, which was improperly called *Tanais*, by the followers of Alexander; from a supposition, probably, that it was the head of the other river: and there is little doubt but that they supposed their station on the *Jaxartes* to be much nearer the *Mæotis* than it really was. It has appeared that the *Araxes* was also confounded with the *Tanais* and *Jaxartes*: particularly in *Diodorus*, lib. ii. c. 3.

## SECTION X.

OF EASTERN SCYTHIA; OR THE COUNTRY OF THE MASSAGETÆ.

*Herodotus in Doubt whether the MASSAGETÆ were to be classed as SCYTHIANS—regarded as such, by succeeding Greek Writers.—Distinction of Scythia, within, and beyond, IMAUS—Limits of both Countries, respectively.—The Imaus of Ptolemy, recognized in modern Geography—Vast Error of Ptolemy, and the modern Geographers, in the Extent of hither Scythia.—The ancient Geographers had a very limited Knowledge of Eastern Scythia; and of these, Herodotus perhaps, the most limited—extended by the Expedition of Alexander; and still more, by the Commerce with Serica, for Silk.—Issedonians, the first Nation beyond Scythia.—By the Massagetæ, Herodotus intended the Eastern Scythians, collectively.—Opinions of different Authors, respecting the Tribes of Eastern Scythians: Arrian, Diodorus, Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, Justin—It may be collected, that they reckoned Three great Tribes; the Massagetæ, Sacæ, and Dahæ; besides many lesser ones—SACÆ, although the Name of a particular Tribe, was extended by the Persians, to ALL the Scythians.—Geographers overcome, by the Number and Names, of Scythian Tribes.—Authorities for the geographical Positions of the several Tribes of Massagetæ, Sacæ, Dahæ, Jaxartæ, Abii, Pasiiani, and Tochari.—Conjectures respecting the Name of the Kossacks; and of the Names of the Rivers Jaxartes and Oxus.—Remarks on the Expedition of CYRUS against the Massagetæ.—Justin more circumstantial than Herodotus.*

IT has been stated in page 47, *et seq.* that Herodotus was in doubt, whether to regard the MASSAGETÆ as SCYTHIANS; but that the subsequent Greek writers, universally reckoned them such. It may



be added, that the people, thus collectively denominated Massagetæ, by Herodotus, who had himself only heard of them in the gross, were in later times found to consist of many tribes, or nations, which had each of them a distinct appellation.

We propose to treat the subject, not merely according to the ideas of our Author, but rather according to those of the ancients, at large: in which disquisition, however, the ideas of Herodotus will be made fully to appear.

EASTERN SCYTHIA, which is the country of the Massagetæ, according to Herodotus, was formed into two natural divisions, by the chain of mount *Imaus*.

*Scythia intra Imaum* commenced on the west, either at the river *Daix* (*Jaik*, or *Daek*), or at the mountains of *Rhymnicus* (*Ural*): and extended eastward to the great chain, that divides in the first instance, the TWO BUCHARIAS; and in its course farther northward, the countries of Ferganah and Western Turkestan, from Kashgur; it being, in effect, the *Imaus* in question; concerning which, as well as the adjacent countries and levels, we have fully spoken in page 176, *et seq.* Accordingly, *Scythia within Imaus*, contained the countries since known by the names of Desht Kipzak, *Western Turkestan*, and the northern part of Ferganah. The Caspian and Aral seas, and the river Sirr (*Sirt*, or *Jaxartes*) formed its general boundary on the south. Northwards, its boundary is not clearly ascertained; but *Scythia* probably extended very far into the *Steppe*: and may be conceived to have been bounded by the continuation of the *Imaus* of Ptolemy, on the north-west. Hence, it will appear, on a reference to Mr. Tooke's *Russia*, Vol. ii. that *Scythia within Imaus*, is at present in the possession of the tribes of the KIRGEES, the KIPZAKS, and the KARAKALPAKS.

The *Imaus* of Ptolemy just mentioned, is extended northward, beyond the parallel of 60°; and from it, two different branches, namely, *Ascatancas* and *Anarei*, are described to strike off to the NW; the one from about the parallel of 48°, the other from that of

50°. There appear also in the Map of the Russian empire, two chains of mountains; the most extensive of which runs through the Steppe to the NW, and seems to represent the Imaus in question. These mountains, moreover, inclose the great lake of the Kalmucs (or Palkati Nor), and adjoin, on the east, to mount *Altai*. (See above, pages 177, and 181.)

The description of Ptolemy is less exact; and indeed, it is unlikely that he should have known its line of direction, *critically*; since the information communicated to him, may be supposed to relate rather to the line of progress of the caravans; that is, of the course of trade between *Sogdia* and *Serica*;\* than to the bearing of the mountains. The *hitherto* Scythia, of Ptolemy, then, extended eastward to the neighbourhood of the Palkati Nor, and the mountains of Kashgur, in our geography: and northward, to the great chain of mountains, in the Steppe. But the space allowed by him, between the head of the Jaxartes and mount Imaus (independent of his faulty scale of longitude), is prodigiously exaggerated: and this error has been copied into the modern maps, even those of M. D'Anville, as we have shewn in the Memoir of the Map of Hindoostan.†

Scythia *beyond* Imaus, extended eastward, according to Ptolemy, to the neighbourhood of the *Æchardæ*, which we have recognized in the *Oigurs* or *Yugures* of the present times;‡ southward to mount Emodus, the great ridge of Thibet; and northward to the parallel of 55°. These limits, however, must needs have been very vague; but taken as they are, they include generally, the country usually called *Eastern Turkestan*; comprehending Kashgur, Koteh, Acsou, &c. And herein Ptolemy agrees generally with Herodotus; who says, that the *Massagetæ* (who are our *Eastern Scythians*) extended to the neighbourhood of the *Issedones*; since these may unquestionably be taken for the *Oigurs*, or *Æchardæ*. It is proper to remind

\* That is, the country between *Kashgur* and *China*; as *Oigur*, *Tangut*, &c.

† See that Memoir, pages 97, and 191, *et seq.*

‡ See above, page 131.

the reader, that the further Scythia, must of course, be situated on the high level mentioned in page 181, *et seq.*: so that the two Scythias occupied very different degrees of level; and, of course, were widely different, in respect of temperature and productions.

Towards the north, Ptolemy places the *Hippophagi*, who seem to have been a nation of *Tartars*, situated near the Palkati Nor. The name, doubtless, will suit the Tartar nations in general. Beyond these again, northward, were the *Abii Scythæ* (of the same name with those so much celebrated by Homer, and other writers), and who may possibly have been the same with the *Ablai*; a tribe of such note, as to give name to that part of the Steppe, which borders on the SW of the river Irtish; though not altogether in the relative position that Ptolemy places them. But it may be conceived, that he knew little in detail, concerning this quarter, beyond the regions of Kashgur and Acsou; that is, *Casia* and *Auxacia*. See his *Asia*, Tab. vii. and viii.

It appears pretty clearly, that neither the Greeks, nor the Romans, knew many particulars respecting the geography, or division, of the *tribes* belonging to the Scythians; at least, such discriminations are not expressed in their writings. This being the case, we can only treat the subject in a general way: or, according to Mr. Pinkerton, "estimate ancient geography, by ancient opinions."\*

In the time of Herodotus, the knowledge of the Greeks respecting Eastern Scythia, even as a general subject, was exceedingly limited; being derived either from the report of the Persians, or from Greeks who had visited Persia. Their sphere of knowledge was enlarged by the expedition of Alexander, and by the communication which was opened with Eastern Asia, in consequence; but still there was no great stock of materials collected, for the improvement, either of the history, or of the geography, of Scythia; which, therefore, continued in a very imperfect state, down to the times of Strabo and

\* See his excellent dissertation on the Scythians, or Goths, p. 225.

Pliny.\* This is very forcibly expressed by the latter; who says, lib. vi. c. 71, "there is no region in which geographers vary more, than in this (Scythia); which, as I conceive, is occasioned by the infinite number of those nations, that wander to and fro:" a remark that will apply no less to the geographers of the present day. In effect, the inhabitants of this tract, were so often changed, by migrations, southward, and westward, into Persia, &c. that it is no wonder, that authors who wrote in different periods, should describe different tribes in the same place. It would therefore require a history, instead of a geographical dissertation, to note the different tribes that occupied the southern frontier of Scythia, between the times of Herodotus and Ptolemy.

Herodotus, from whom we have our first ideas of the Massagetæ, or Eastern Scythians, places them along the northern bank of the *Jaxartes* (he calls it *Araxes*),† and also extends them eastward, far into the country, since denominated from the Kalmucs. For he places them "beyond the Araxes;" and extends their territories "to the *extreme parts of the East*;" and "opposite to the *Issedonians*;" Clio, 201. In effect, he knew the subject but imperfectly: for it has been shewn (page 132, 133), that he supposed the Issedones and Massagetæ to occupy very different parallels on the globe: and that the former were very much to the northward of the latter.

The Issedonians, as we learn from Ptolemy, were *divided* between the bordering countries of *Scythia* and *Serica*: that is, there were Issedonians of *Scythia*, and Issedonians of *Serica*: and as the latter are placed, in, or about, the country of the *Æchardæ*, or *Oigurs* (as we have said before), we must regard the tract between Turkestan and China, as the *SERICA* of Ptolemy; and of course, place the eastern boundary of *Scythia extra Imaum*, at the western border of the Oigur country. This also agrees with a striking circumstance, above related, in the history of the Oigurs; namely, their being a

\* During this interval, a commerce appears to have been opened, between the Roman empire, and *Serica*.

† See above, p. 204, *et seq.*

lettered nation, whilst all, or most, of their neighbours, were illiterate barbarians: and where should the *termination* of Scythia be so properly placed, as at the *commencement* of civilization and letters?\*

The Massagetæ then, in the opinion of Herodotus, and of the early Greeks, must have constituted the bulk of the *Eastern Scythians*: but he also says, Polym. 64, that SACÆ was a name given, by the Persians, indiscriminately to ALL Scythians; in which he is supported by Pliny, *at least*: of which, more in the sequel.

Arrian, who appears to have written solely from materials furnished by the followers of Alexander (and more particularly by Ptolemy and Aristobulus), who describe the state of things about a century after the time of Herodotus, places the *Massagetæ* along the north of *Sogdia*: agreeing, so far as he goes, with Herodotus. But he also speaks of the *Dabæ*, as a very considerable tribe, seated on,

\* It is impossible to ascertain the extent of Ptolemy's knowledge of the *Tartarian* nations, and of the course of trade, between the Roman empire, and those of China and Tartary (that is, of the *Sinæ* and *Seres*). However, as there may be traced, in his geography, a general idea of the countries, in the line between *Sogdiana* and the western frontier of *China*; it may be supposed that this information was collected from the travellers in the caravans, which brought silk and other articles from China, or *Serica*; or both. This commerce is spoken of by Pliny, lib. vi. c. 17, about half a century before the time of Ptolemy: but Pliny knew so little concerning the nature of silk, that he supposed it to be the produce of a tree; nor does it appear that the silk-worm was accurately known, till the time of Justinian.

The same degree of ignorance seems to have prevailed, respecting the extent of China and *Serica*. According to Mr. Gibbon, "the Romans did not entertain a suspicion that the *SERES* or *SINÆ* possessed an empire, not inferior to their own." The reader will find in the 7th Vol. of his great work, p. 90, *et seq.* a curious history of the introduction of silk into Europe, by Justinian; prefaced with much information respecting that curious and valuable production. In the course of this dissertation, he remarks, that, "in the vain capital of China, the *Sogdian* caravans were entertained, as the *suppliant embassies* of tributary kingdoms;" which shews, that the customs of China have undergone little change, down to the present moment. The reader may receive full conviction on this head (if he doubted it before), by a perusal of M. Van Braam's account of the late Dutch Embassy to China.

or near the Jaxartes : and, by circumstances, near the lower part of its course. But he omits the *Sacæ*, altogether ; which is worthy of remark. They are, however, spoken of, by Curtius, who might have had recourse to materials, that had not been examined by Arrian. Curtius also, mentions the *Dabæ* : but seems to intend those only, who were seated on the Caspian sea, adjoining to Hyrcania ; lib. iii. and iv.

Diodorus speaks of the *Massagetæ*, *Sacæ*, and *Arimaspii*, as the principal tribes, or nations of Scythians, beyond the *Tanais* (meaning the *Jaxartes*) ; lib. ii. c. 3.

Strabo and Pliny appear to have examined a greater number of authorities, than either Arrian, or Curtius.

Strabo thus speaks of the positions of the Scythian nations, generally : “ Certain of the ancient Greek writers, called ALL those nations which lay towards the *north*, SCYTHIANS, and CELTO-SCYTHIANS, without distinction : but, at a still earlier period, they were divided into classes, or tribes ; those who dwelt above the Euxine, the Danube, and the Adriatic, were named HYPERBOREANS, SAUROMATÆ, and ARIMASPI ; but of those beyond the Caspian sea, some were called SACÆ, others MASSAGETÆ ; not being able to speak accurately of them, although they had written a history of the war of CYRUS, with the MASSAGETÆ.” Page 507.

After this, he gives in the succeeding pages, a detail of the positions of several of the principal tribes of *Eastern* Scythians.

In page 511, he speaks of the *Massagetæ*, *Dabæ*, and *Sacæ*, as the *principal* Scythian tribes : but says, that there are other tribes also, who have individual names, but pass under the general denomination of Scythians : all of which (says he) are *true Nomades*. The *Dabæ*, he says, begin at the Caspian sea ;\* the *Massagetæ* and *Sacæ* lie more to the east. Here we find an agreement between Strabo and Curtius, respecting the *Dabæ* : and as the *Massagetæ*

— \* He explains in the same pages, and also in 508, that these *Dabæ* were of a particular tribe named *Parni*, or *Aparni*.

and *Sacæ* lie more to the east, we are to look for them, at, or near the Jaxartes, of course. Strabo moreover tells us, p. 514, that the Jaxartes separated the *Sogdii* and *Sacæ*, in like manner as the Oxus did the *Sogdii* and *Bactriani*.

Again, page 512, he describes the seats of the *Massagetæ* to be towards the lower part of the course of the *Jaxartes*, and its lakes, (admitting, as we can hardly do less, that the river which he as well as Herodotus, Diodorus, and Justin, calls *Araxes*, is meant for the former.) In page 513, he also says that the *Chorasmi* ARE *Massagetæ*, and *Sacæ*. Whether these tribes possessed Chorasmia at the date of Alexander's expedition, we have no means of knowing; but as Strabo says, page 511, that the *Pasiani*, *Tochari*, and *Sacæ*, dispossessed the Macedonians of the empire of *Bactria*, it is not improbable that the progress of the *Massagetæ* in Chorasmia, was also subsequent to the time of Alexander. Not but that such migrations from Scythia, must have happened in earlier times; only that the Scythians might have been so long established, as to pass with the Greeks for aborigines.

Justin informs us, lib. ii. c. 1, and 3, that the kingdoms of *Bactria* and *Parthia* were founded by the Scythians; which, as he makes no distinction of tribes, agrees with Strabo.\* And, in fact, there is little doubt that the Scythians have, in the course of ages, over-run all the southern and western countries of Asia. We may trace the Turks, from their original country, *Turkestan* (a part of Scythia, inhabited by the *Massagetæ*), to the shores of the Hellespont, in an age subsequent to Strabo. The incursions of Monguls under Jinghis Khan and Tamerlane, into Persia and Lower Asia, are to be considered as Scythian invasions: and Persia is at the present moment over-run with *modern* Scythians, who are actually in a *Nomadic* state, in that country.

Pliny, vi. 17, says, "Beyond *Sogdiana* are the *Scythian nations*. The

\* We learn from Strabo, 515, that *Arsaces*, who conquered Parthia, was a Scythian, and of the tribe of *Parni-Dabæ*.

Persians were accustomed to call these in general, SACÆ, from a *tribe* which bordered on them.\* And, on the other hand, the Scythians called the Persians, *Cborsari*."† He speaks moreover of the Massagetæ, Dahæ, and various other Scythian tribes.

Pliny had a comprehensive knowledge of geography: and therefore we may place some dependance on his statements; and these express generally, that the subject was little understood, by reason of the frequent migrations of the tribes, in the quarter towards the Jaxartes and Imaus; as also, that *Sacæ* was a general term in Persia for ALL Scythians, although there were various tribes of them: in which, as has been already shewn, he agrees with Herodotus.

Ptolemy places a great number of tribes along the Jaxartes and mount Imaus; amongst whom are found the Massagetæ, near the fountains of the Jaxartes: and the *Sacæ*, a great nation, *beyond* the fountains both of the *Jaxartes* and *Oxus*; but on *this* side of *Imaus*, and *Casia* (Kashgur). A third tribe occupies generally the whole northern bank of the *Jaxartes*, opposite to *Sogdiana*; and this tribe is named *Jaxartæ*, of which we suppose the *Sartes* ‡ to be the remains. The *Dabæ* of Ptolemy, are placed in the country to the NE of *Hyrkania*, and adjacent to the Caspian sea; in effect, *Dabestan*; agreeing with Strabo: and are out of all question, with respect to Scythia: although they, no doubt, drew their origin from thence.

It appears that Justin understood so imperfectly, the geography of Scythia at large, that he supposed it to be wholly comprized in the country adjacent to the Euxine and Palus Mæotis: this, at least, his descriptions (lib. ii. c. 1. and 2.) shew: he says, that the Scythians dwelt along the rivers that fall into the Mæotis—and, that Scythia extended in length towards the east; and had Pontus on

\* Doubtless the *Sakita* (or *Sacqita*, in the Maronite edition) of Edrisi, in page 141: said to be situated in *Turkestan*, adjoining to *Kilan*, *Vachan*, &c. provinces of *Balk*, or *Bactriana*; and in the quarter of *Saganian*.

† Probably the same word with the modern *Kozar* or *Khajar*.

‡ This will be further explained, in the sequel.



one side; on the others, the *Ripbæan* mountains, and the river Phasis. Of course, he knew *Western* Scythia alone (the Scythia of our Author); and referred all the Scythian history to that quarter. He supposed the warfare of Alexander's army with the Scythians,\* to have been in the quarter of the Euxine (lib. xii. c. 2.); he also describes the passing of the *Araxes* (Jaxartes) by Cyrus, to attack Tomyris (lib. ii. c. 8.); but it is uncertain what his idea of its position, was; it is not impossible, that he took it for the Araxes of Armenia.

From the above authorities, taken generally, it appears, that the ancients reckoned *three great tribes* of Scythians towards the Jaxartes: namely, the *Massagetæ*, *Sacæ*, and *Dabæ*; besides a great many lesser tribes; (or possibly, only of *lesser note*, from their being farther removed from the seat of warfare with the Greeks.) They might, indeed, have been subdivisions of the greater tribes; a state of things existing at the present day. In the early times of Herodotus, it appears that only the *Sacæ* and *Massagetæ* were known to the Greeks; and that by report only: and Herodotus, who is supported in the assertion by Pliny, says, that *Sacæ*, although it was the name of a particular tribe, bordering on the *Persians*, yet that it was *by them*, extended to ALL the Scythians. Strabo, in effect, says the same, page 514, by giving the Jaxartes as the general boundary between the *Sogdians* and the *Sacæ*; for, as in the other descriptions, the *Massagetæ* were said to be the people who bordered on the *north* of *Sogdiana*, and consequently on the Jaxartes; the *Sacæ* of Strabo, must stand in the place of the *Massagetæ* of others. To this must be added, that Arrian, who made use of the materials furnished by Ptolemy and Aristobulus, never mentions the *Sacæ* at all: a plain proof that these journalists had not made use of the term; although they fought with those very Scythians, who are called *Sacæ* by Strabo and Pliny; but *Massagetæ*, by Arrian and Herodotus.

\* He calls them *Scythians* simply: not *Massagetæ*, like Herodotus.

This therefore can no otherwise be accounted for, than by supposing (as we have said before) that *Massagetæ* was a term invented and applied by the Greeks to the Eastern GETÆ, or Scythians, beyond the Caspian and Jaxartes; in contradistinction to the Getæ or Scythians of the Euxine; who were the first and most familiarly known to the Greeks.\* We must then regard the term SACÆ, as that in use, amongst the Persians, to denote the *Eastern Scythians*: and MASSAGETÆ, as of the same import amongst the Greeks. And indeed, in perusing Arrian's history of Alexander's campaigns in Sogdia, we can understand no other than that Massagetæ was a general term for all the Scythians, with whom Alexander fought. And, it is not improbable, that the name Massagetæ, being familiarized to the Greeks by their historians *at home*, was applied by them, on their arrival in Sogdia, without any farther inquiry, concerning the justness of the application. This may also account for the seeming contradictions, in the ancient geographers, respecting the seats of the different tribes, when their names came to be unfolded, as the progress of geographical knowledge increased, under the Macedonian empire in Asia: for instance, Strabo places the Massagetæ very *low down* the Jaxartes; Ptolemy very *high up* the same river; whilst Herodotus and Arrian, extend them along it, generally, throughout its whole course. Again, Strabo and Pliny place the *Sacæ* in the room of these *Massagetæ* of Herodotus and Arrian. To what is this owing, but that, in the first instance, MASSAGETÆ was regarded by some, as a general name; and by others, as a particular one: and in the second place, that the names SACÆ

† The like has happened in a variety of instances: the country *beyond* India, was named the *further* India, because a collective name was wanted for it; and it was accordingly denominated from its relative position to the other: although it might as well have been named the *hither* China. The *continents* of Asia and Africa were also denominated from *provinces* of those continents; that is, Asia at Large, from *Asia Minor*: Africa, from the Carthaginian province so named.

and *MASSAGETÆ* were used by two different nations, respectively, to denote one and the same people?

It may be owing to the same cause, that the Chorasmians were reckoned both *Sacæ* and *Massagetæ*, as we learn from Strabo.

Geographers seem to have been overcome by the number of names of Scythian tribes; but many, or perhaps most, of these, were no more than the names of chiefs; of which we have many examples in Western Asia.\* We shall therefore only attempt to fix the local positions of the principal tribes, amongst those known to the Greeks; that is, the *Massagetæ*, *Sacæ*, *Dabæ*, *Jaxartæ*, *Abii*, *Pasiani*, and *Tochari*. And this we hope to accomplish, by drawing into one point of view, the different authorities found in ancient history: in the course of which, some repetitions will occur, that were in the nature of things, unavoidable.

### I. MASSAGETÆ.

*Herodotus.* A great and powerful nation, whose territories extend beyond the river Araxes (Jaxartes) to the extreme parts of the East. They are opposite to the Issedonians; Clio, 201. The Caspian (or rather Aral?) sea is bounded on the east, by a plain of prodigious extent, a considerable part of which, forms the country of the *Massagetæ*; ib. 204. Cyrus advanced beyond the Araxes (Jaxartes) into the land of the *Massagetæ*; 209. They subsist upon cattle, and upon fish, which the *Araxes* abundantly supplies; 216.

*Strabo.* The *Massagetæ* border on the *Araxes* (Jaxartes) p. 512, and 513. The *Massagetæ* and *Sacæ* are situated to the eastward of the *Dabæ*, who border on the *Caspian* sea; 511. The *Massagetæ* were adjacent to the *Bactrians*, towards the *Oxus*: and the inhabitants of *Chorasmia* were partly *Massagetæ*; 513.

\* The reader will find in page 140, a quotation from Mr. Tooke, illustrative of this matter.

*Diodorus.* The *Massagetæ* are beyond the *Tanais* (*Jaxartes*); lib. ii. c. 3.

*Arrian.* The *Massagetæ* are situated to the north of *Sogdia*; lib. iv. c. 17.

*Ptolemy.* *Massagetæ*, a tribe towards the head of the *Jaxartes*; *Asia*, vii.

*Justin* makes no distinction between the different tribes of *Scythians*; in lib. i. and ii.

Thus, the *Massagetæ*, if taken according to the idea of *Herodotus*, as the whole nation of *Eastern Scythians*, must have inhabited the tract between the east side of the *Caspian sea*, and the territories of the *Oigurs* (since *these* can only be taken for the *Issedonians*); that is, they inhabited *Scythia*, both on *this* side, and *beyond*, *Imaus*. But this appears too great a range for them, according to the ideas of subsequent geographers, who were better informed: and it appears more probable, that the *proper* country of the *Massagetæ* was confined between the *Caspian sea*, and *Imaus*, on the east and west; and the *Jaxartes*, on the south.\* So that it may be taken generally for *Scythia within Imaus*; and may have comprehended the vast plains situated beyond the *Caspian* and *Jaxartes*; that is, the *Desht Kipzak*, the *Western Turkestan*, and the *proper* country of *Gete*; which latter, from *Sherefeddin's* history of *Timur*, we should conclude to be situated *wholly* within *Imaus*.† Thus they must have occupied the seats of the *Kirgees* tribes in the present times.

*Herodotus* spoke of them as *one* nation; but *Alexander*, about a century and half after the invasion of the *Massagetæ*, by *Cyrus*, found the *Scythians* at the *Jaxartes*, divided into several tribes. Doubtless, the fact was, that the former had only *heard* of them

\* At the date of *Alexander's* expedition, there were some tracts on the south of the *Jaxartes*, in possession of the *Scythians*.

† One cannot reasonably doubt, that this name *Gete*, has remained in that country from very early times. See *Sherefeddin's Timur*, lib. i. and ii.

collectively; but Alexander, having an *intercourse* with them, discovered that they were divided into different nations. All which was perfectly natural.

## II. SACÆ.

*Herodotus.* “ A Scythian nation—and though really the *Amyrgii* of Scythia, were called *Sacæ*, the name given by the Persians, indiscriminately to all Scythians.” Polym. 64.

*Pliny.* A tribe which bordered on the Persian empire, and from whence the whole nation of the (Eastern) Scythians was denominated; lib. vi. c. 17. This seems to have been the *Sakita* of Edrisi.

*Strabo.* The Jaxartes separates the *Sacæ* from the *Sogdii*; page 514; in like manner as the Oxus separates the *Sogdii* from the *Bactriani*; and again, p. 517.

*Diodorus.* One of the principal tribes of Scythians, beyond the Tanais—(Jaxartes); lib. ii. c. 3.

*Curtius.* The *Sacæ* sent ambassadors to Alexander, on occasion of his defeating the Scythians at the Jaxartes; lib. vii. c. 9. Alexander, afterwards invaded the country of the *Sacæ*; lib. viii. c. 4. Curtius gives no intimation concerning its position; but it is inferred from other notices.

*Ptolemy.* A great people, situated between *Casia*, *Bylta*, and the head of the Jaxartes. *Bylta*, is the modern *Baltistan*; or Little Thibet; Asia, Tab. vii.

It has been said (in page 215), that there is a tract named *Sackita* in Edrisi. This must be looked for, between the upper parts of the courses of the Jihon, and Sirr (Oxus and Jaxartes), and the Indus; and adjoining to the mountains of Kashgur: agreeing perfectly with the ideas derived from the ancients, and also with the expedition of Alexander, amongst the *Sacæ*; who seem therefore to have possessed the countries of Kotlan and Saganian, &c. The tract assigned them by Ptolemy, answers to this; it being situated between *Bactria*, *Sogdia*, and the *hither Scythia*. Ammianus Marcellinus speaks of a

city of *Saga*, in this quarter, which name has probably a reference to the *Sacæ*, and may be that of *Saganian* itself; which is situated between the Oxus and Jaxartes.\*

As the *Sacæ* are said to have extended their *name* to the Scythians in general, it must naturally be supposed, that they were a formidable and populous tribe; or rather nation; and that a part of them only, had established themselves within the dominions of Persia. That they were good warriors, is proved by the history of the expedition of Xerxes. Cyrus is even said, Clio, 153, "to have prepared for serious resistance from them:" and the frequent recurrence of the root *Saca*, in so many countries, shews that their conquests and establishments have been extensive. Such is *Sacastana* by *Sigistan*; *Saganian*; *Sacacene*, and *Sacapene*, in the quarter of Armenia. But it may be supposed, that these settlements were made posterior to the Macedonian conquest; as they had a share in the overthrow of their empire in *Bactria*, as we have shewn from Strabo, in page 214.†

\* Ammianus describes the seats of the *Sacæ* to be under the mountains *Ascanimia* and *Comedus*; and joining to *Drepsa*, which may be taken for *Anderab*, a province of Balk, or Bactria; lib. xxiii. The mountains *Ascatancas* and *Comedi*, appear also in Ptolemy, in the same situation. (Asia, vii.)

The road of the caravans led by, or through, the *Sacæ*; there was a *town* called the *Stone Tower* (perhaps a *military post* on a scarp'd rock), by which the caravans passed; noted both by Ammianus and Ptolemy. There was also near it, a *station* or *emporium* frequented by the merchants, who trafficked to *Serica*; and which seems to have been at the passage of the mountains, from Balk into Kashgur. This appears to have been the route followed by MARCO POLO, in 1272; for he went from Badakshan, by Belur, to Kashgur; crossing a vast elevated plain, named *Pamer*, which answers to the *Comedi*, and *Sacæ* of Ptolemy; and the *Sakita* of Edrisi.

† Strabo, p. 511, traces the *Sacæ* into *Bactria*, *Cimmeria*, *Eastern Armenia*, and even *Cappadocia*; where they were destroyed by the Persians. But they gave their name to the tract, through which the Cyrus and Araxes flow, between *Georgia* and the Caspian sea; that is, the beautiful vallies of Karabaug and Ganja. The name *Kosaki* still remains in a part of the tract. It is not improbable, that the *Assaceni* of Alexander, had their name from the same origin: and it is certain that their country, *Sowbad*, borders on the *Sacæ* of Ptolemy.

It is possible, that the general denomination of *Sacæ*, was of the same import, perhaps even a part of, the very same name, with the *Kossaki* of modern times: that is, *wanderers, freebooters, or banditti*.\*

Other particulars relating to the *Sacæ*, and especially those which were subjected to Persia, and who served in the army of Xerxes, will be given in the account of the Satrapies.

### III. DAHÆ, or DAÆ.

The DAHÆ are mentioned by Strabo, Pliny, Curtius, Justin, Arrian, and Ptolemy. Their name occurs very often in the history of Alexander's expeditions to Sogdia, &c.; and they appear to have been a numerous tribe. They were leagued with the *Massagetæ*; and from circumstances, they appear to have been seated chiefly, at the *lower* part of the Jaxartes: perhaps on both sides of it. Curtius says, that the *Chorasmians* lay between the *Dabæ* and the *Massagetæ*: so that he must mean, in this place, the *Dabæ* of the present *Dabestan*; who agree to the *Aparni* or *Parni* of Strabo, a tribe of *Dabæ* situated at the Caspian: † but the *Dabæ* amongst whom Spitamenes took refuge, seem evidently to have been situated in the neighbourhood of *Sogdia*, and of the *Massagetæ*.

In order therefore to allow any degree of consistency to the ancient accounts, there must have been *two* countries in which the *Dabæ* were settled, at the date of Alexander's expedition: one, at

\* Captain Kirkpatrick says, "I think I recognize the *Cossacks*, in the Oriental term or appellation of *Cozâck*, or *Cuzzâck*, which is applied generally to any *banditti* or freebooters: but which I have also met with, in a restrained sense, and applied to a particular tribe, or nation; though I cannot at present recollect the passage." (Kirk. MSS. Vol. v. p. 44.) Mr. Tooke also remarks, *Russia*, Vol. ii. p. 242, that the term *Kasack* is generally taken in a bad sense.

Capt. Kirkpatrick mentions a tribe of the name of ALLEMANS, with whom some of the Mogul princes of India warred, beyond the *Oxus*. We mention this, as an additional proof of the progress of the Scythian names westward, whilst they also keep their ground in the East.

† The *Dabæ* of Justin, lib. xli. c. 1, were also near *Hyrkania* and *Aria*.

the Jaxartes, and at the east of the Aral (taken for a part of the Caspian); the other farther down the Caspian, and adjoining to *Hyrkania*. In proof of the former, we have, 1st, the circumstances of the war of Alexander with the Scythians, in Arrian, and in Curtius. 2d, Arrian mentions the *Dabæ*, at, and beyond the Tanais; lib. iii. 28. Strabo, mentions the *Dabæ* beyond the Tanais, as well as at the Caspian, p. 511: and according to him (same page), it would appear, that the original seat of the *Dabæ*, was at, or beyond, the *Tanais* (meaning the *Jaxartes*).

That the *Dabæ* were settled at the Caspian, to the north of *Hyrkania*, we have abundant proof: and the present name of that very tract, DAHESTAN (or country of the *Dabæ*), adjoining on the north, to *Korkan*, or *Hyrkania*, is no contemptible one. Strabo says, that the *Dabæ* lay on the *left* of the Caspian sea, in coming from the *north*; p. 508. He also, p. 508, and 511, speaks of a tribe of *Dabæ* named *Parni*, or *Aparni*, who lived in the tract adjoining to *Hyrkania*, and had a desert to the northward of them; clearly referring to *Dabestan*. Again, 511, he speaks of the *Dahæ*, as the most western tribe of Scythians; and bordering on the Caspian sea: and in 515, of the *Parni* by the river *Ocbus*. It is certain, that he supposed the *Parni* *Dahæ* in this place, to have come from the *Palus Mæotis*; but it is more likely that Strabo should have been guilty of an error, in the supposed geography of the *Mæotis*, than that the *Dahæ* should have made the tour of the Caspian sea, from their seat at the *Jaxartes*. His ignorance of the particulars of the Caspian sea, led him also into the error of placing the *Dahæ* so high up, on the coast of that sea.

Ptolemy has both *Dabæ* and *Parni*, on the NE of *Hyrkania*, agreeing with Strabo. (Asia, vii.) He also places *Massagetæ* and *Derbicæ*, nearly in the same situation: that is, along the river, which in fact represents the *Ocbus*, but is there named *Margus*: and *vice versa*, the *Margus* is named *Ocbus*: (there being in his geography, a complete transposition of these two rivers, as well as



of some places on their banks.) The *Massagetæ* just mentioned, may be meant for those spoken of by Strabo, in *Chorasmiæ*.

It may be remarked, that Arrian never once mentions the *Dabæ*, during the *warfare* of Alexander, amongst the Eastern Scythians: but constantly calls these Scythians, *Massagetæ*, as a general term; although he had *previously* mentioned the tribe of *Dabæ*, at, or beyond, the Jaxartes. But Curtius, in describing the same events, speaks both of *Dabæ* and *Massagetæ*; as in the affair of *Maracanda*, and in the last expedition of *Spitamenes*; so that, in the idea of Arrian, the tribe of *Dabæ* should be included in the greater tribe, or nation of the *Massagetæ*: which, we shall once more repeat, seems to have included (amongst the early Greeks,) the whole body of *Eastern Scythians* collectively.\*

It is probable that the *Daritæ* of Herodotus, in *Thalia*, 92, are the *Dahæ*, at the Caspian sea. In *Clio*, 125, the *Dai*, a pastoral tribe of *Persia proper*, is mentioned. Can these be the *Dabæ*? More will be said of these, in the account of the Satrapies.

#### IV. JAXARTÆ.

Ptolemy mentions the *Jaxartæ*: placing them along the northern bank of the *Jaxartes*, throughout the *lower half* of its course. These, consequently, occupy the place of the *Massagetæ* of Herodotus, and Arrian; and of the *Sacæ* of Strabo. Ptolemy *may*, possibly, have named them arbitrarily: but as there is a remnant of a tribe named *SARTES*, now existing between the *Oxus* and *Jaxartes*, and which are reported to be the remains of the ancient inhabitants of the country, it is possible that this was one of the tribes of the *Massagetæ* or *Sacæ*; which, as we have seen, were no more than general names, bestowed by the Greeks and Persians; whilst *Jaxartæ* may have been the true name, in the *country itself*: and, very probably, gave

\* It has been remarked on a former occasion, p. 213, that Curtius appears to have made use of certain materials that Arrian had not seen. Here seems to be another instance of it.

name to the river *Jaxartes*, at that period; of which *SIRR*, and *SIRT*, which are in use at present, may be the remains. Ammianus speaks of the *Jaxartæ*, as a tribe; and of good account, in lib. xxiii.

The *SARTES* are mentioned by Abulgazi Kan: and also by Mr. Tooke (*Russia*, Vol. ii. p. 128, 150, 152.), under the name of *SARTI*.

As we have supposed the name of the *Jaxartes* to be derived from this tribe; so we suspect that the river *Oxus* had its name from the ancient tribe of *OUTZI*. Mr. Tooke says, (same volume, p. 130.) “The *Bokbarians* (these inhabit the banks of the *Oxus*, now called *Jibon*;) assert that they are the *unmixed* descendants of the *Outzians*; and the real *Turkomans*.” Now, there is a town and district at the side of the Indus, (where the waters of the Panjab join it,) named *OUTCH*, or *UTCH*; and which is evidently the tract, whose inhabitants were by the Greeks, named *OXYDRACÆ*. See Arrian, lib. vi.; and *Ayin Acbaree*, Vol. ii. p. 136.

Ptolemy not only places the city, and lake of the *Oxians*, in Sogdiana, the latter of which answers to the lake near Bokhara, but the *OXYDRACÆ* also; (*Asia*, Tab. vii.) It may be supposed that both of these tribes had anciently the same name of *Outzi*, or *Outchi*: and which the one has preserved, but the other lost, as it respects common use.

## V. ABII.

This appears to have been a respectable tribe, both in point of national character, and of numbers. Ptolemy places them far to the NE of the *Jaxartes*; and, as we have said in p. 210, in the position that we should assign to the *Steppe*, or desert of *Ablai*; on the SW bank of the upper part of the river Irtysh.

Some of the historians of Alexander mention the *Abii*, as having sent ambassadors to him, during his stay at the *Jaxartes*.\* The people of *Ablai*, appear to have been too far distant from the *Jaxartes* (that is five weeks' journey, or more), to be the people

\* Arrian, lib. iv.—Curtius, vii. c. 6.

intended; but then, the *European* Scythians, by which those of *Kipzak* appear to be meant, also came. The *Abii* are celebrated for their justice and forbearance; never entering into wars, but when compelled. This is a trait of the *Hyperborean* character also; (see page 152;) and the *Ablai* dwelt beyond the chain of mountains which seems intended for the boundary of the *Hyperboreans*.

It is a curious circumstance, and well worth notice, that the *Abian* Scythians were known, and celebrated by *Homer*, as the best and justest people on earth: and could it be supposed that he intended the same *Abians*, with those seen by *Alexander*, it would prove that the *Greeks* had a very early knowledge of the *Eastern Scythians*.\* But the *Greeks* carried with them into *Asia*, and sometimes applied, the names of nations and tribes found in their historians, or poets, without much regard to accuracy; and we rather conceive, that *Homer* meant some tribe of the *Western Scythians*; as also, that the *Greeks* applied to a tribe of *Eastern Scythians*, this name, which might have had some affinity in sound, with the other.

#### VI. PASIANI, ASPASIACÆ, OR PASICÆ.

*Ptolemy* places the *Pasicæ* on the north of the *Oxus*, below *Sogdiana*; but above the mountains of the *Oxii*: or in a position answering to that, in modern geography, between *Bokhara* and *Khwarezm*. This tribe answers in point of position, to the *Aspasians* of *Polybius*, who are placed between the *Oxus* and *Jaxartes*; and who occasionally crossed the former, in order to invade *Hyrkania*, &c.; of which passage, a curious description is given by *Polybius*, in lib. x. Exc. 8. These may also be taken for the *Pasiani* of *Strabo*, 511; who, with the *Sacæ* and *Tochari* conquered *Bactria* from the *Greeks*: as well as for the *Aspasiacæ* of the same author, in p. 513. We can find no traces of this name, in modern geography, except in that quarter of *Armenia*, towards the river *Aras*, or *Araxes*.

\* *Iliad*, xiii. v. 6. See also *Strabo*, lib. vii. p. 296, et seq. and 311; and *Ammian*. Marc. lib. xxiii.

## VII. TOCHARI, or TACHORI.

The place of this tribe is given in Ptolemy, Asia, vii. at the south of the Jaxartes (perhaps in, or near, Fergana): and the *Thocari*, perhaps meant for a part of the same tribe, on the south of the Oxus, *below Bactria*. We have just seen that the *Tochari* was one of the tribes who conquered Bactria; and at the present day, the country on the east of Balk is called *Tocharestan*. Ptolemy should therefore have placed his *Thocari* *higher* up the Oxus. The Jaxartes may have been the original seat of this tribe.

It is worthy of remark, that two tribes of the names of *Taochari* and *Pasiani* are *now* seated near the Araxes, in Armenia: the first answering to the *Taochi* of Xenophon; the other probably giving its name to the Araxes; as Xenophon calls it *Pbasis*: so that they seem to have penetrated southward, on both sides of the Caspian.



We shall close the observations on the Eastern Scythians, with a few remarks on the expedition of CYRUS against them, under the name of MASSAGETÆ.

The history of this transaction is very briefly related, both in Herodotus and Justin: so that little can be collected concerning his military progress. The former barely states, that he threw a bridge over the river, and advanced about a day's march beyond it, into Scythia; Clio, 206, 211; when the stratagem of alluring the Scythians to feasting and drunkenness, was practised, by which about one-third of the Scythian army was destroyed. See also Justin, lib. 1. c. 8.\*

After this, Herodotus says, Tomyris collected all her remaining forces, and gave battle to Cyrus: a battle the most obstinately

\* Strabo, who likewise mentions the warfare of Cyrus, with the *Massagetae*, refers this story to his war with the *Sacæ*; page 512.

fought, of any on record: and which terminated in the destruction of Cyrus himself, and the greater part of his army. Clio, 214.

Justin is somewhat more circumstantial. He says that Tomyris artfully drew Cyrus, into the *straits* of the *mountains*, where ambuscades being laid, the king and his whole army were slain. Lib. i. c. 8.

If it be supposed that Cyrus advanced by the usual road from *Sogdiana* into *Scythia*; that is, from *Mawuralnabr*\* into *Turkestan*, he would naturally have crossed the Jaxartes (Sirr) at *Kojend*, the great pass into *Turkestan*; where, it appears clearly, Alexander crossed it, to attack the Scythians; and in which neighbourhood, he found the city or cities that had been built by *Cyrus*; one of which bears the name of *Cyreschata*, or *Cyropolis*, in Ptolemy.

The narrative of Justin is rendered probable, by the circumstances of the geography: for there are mountainous chains, which approach very close to the farther bank of the Sirr; although, according to Herodotus, we should expect one continuous plain throughout the country of the Massagetæ. One of these chains commences directly opposite to the pass of *Kojend*, and extends far to the north, into *Turkestan*; (Kirk. MSS.) another commences opposite to *Otrar* (a famous pass over the same river towards *Kipzak*, and much nearer to the lake *Aral*), and contains some *strong posts*; as we learn from *Sherefeddin's History of Timur*. But the *former* is the most likely to have been the scene of the defeat and death of *Cyrus*.

\* Literally, *the country beyond the river*: that is, the *Jiban*, or *Oxus*. Thus the Persians and Arabians, are accustomed to express the country of *Samarkand*, or *Sogdiana*.





The  
TWENTY SATRAPIES  
of  
DARIUS HYSTASPES,  
in  
ASIA and AFRICA,  
with the  
TWO SCYTHIAE  
&c. &c.



## SECTION XI.

OF THE TWENTY SATRAPIES OF DARIUS HYSTASPES; CONSIDERED GEOGRAPHICALLY, AND ALSO WITH A REFERENCE TO THE CATALOGUE OF THE ARMY OF XERXES.

*The Persian Empire contained most of the known Part of Asia.—Much geographical Knowledge may be derived, from the Account of the Satrapies—Arrangement of this Dissertation.—Asia Minor divided into Four Satrapies; and arranged by the Persians, with a View to a Concentration of its naval Force.—Lydia, and Empire of Croesus—Gold of the Pactolus.—Phrygia, anciently the great Body of Asia Minor.—Syrians of Cappadocia, or Leuco-syri—Troy, and the Troade.—Strength and Importance of Cilicia, in a military View.—Phoenicia and Palestine—JERUSALEM, under the Name of Cadytis.—Monuments of the Conquests of Sesostris—Jews intended, by the Syrians of Palestine. Herodotus, ignorant of their History.—Phoenician Letters, and Commerce.—Egypt, the Conquest of Cambyses—Greatness of its Tribute—Ethiopians present Gold Dust, Ivory, and Ebony—Egyptian Forces sent to Xerxes, consisted of Ships; but the Crews fought also on Shore.—Arabian Auxiliaries.—Desert between Egypt and Syria—Arrangement of Cambyses to procure Water, in his Passage through it, to Egypt—Similar Arrangement of Nadir Shah, in Persia.—Assyria included the Countries in general, below Taurus.—Babylonia—A Proof of the Veracity of our Author.—Sensible Custom respecting diseased Persons.—Nineveh—Cissia, or Susiana—Susa.—Disposal of the Captive Eretrians, and Boeotians, by the Persians.—Agreement of sacred and profane History, in several Instances.—Media, a beautiful and extensive Tract.—*



*Nisæan Horses, and Pastures.*—*The Term Median, employed to express both Medians and Persians, collectively.*—*Cities of Ecbatana and Rages.*

OF that portion of ASIA, known in detail to Herodotus, and, as may be supposed, to the Greeks in general of his day, the Persian empire under DARIUS HYSTASPES formed by far the greatest part. Accordingly, our Author's account of the distribution of the Persian empire into twenty Satrapies, is particularly curious, and no less useful; as it points out the particulars, as well as the extent, of the geographical knowledge of the times. And although there are some errors in the description, as there must necessarily be, where the subject is so very extensive, yet it is on the whole, so remarkably consistent, that one is surprised how the Greeks found means to acquire so much knowledge, respecting so distant a part. It is possible, that we have been in the habit of doing them injustice, by allowing them a less degree of knowledge of the geography of Asia, down to the expedition of Alexander, than they really possessed: that is, we have, in some instances, ascribed to Alexander, certain geographical discoveries, which perhaps were made, long anterior to his expedition.

This arrangement of the SATRAPIES, is not to be regarded as a mere list of names of countries; for, aided by the catalogue, and the description of the army of Xerxes, and some other notices; it furnishes us with much information, relative to the manners and customs of their inhabitants. The date of Darius's arrangement, differs so little from that of the expedition of Xerxes, which succeeded it, that matters may be considered as continuing much in the same state.

Of the whole number of Satrapies, one only was situated beyond the boundary of Asia; and that one, in Africa: and so extensive was this empire of Persia, that Alexander, from the time he first crossed over into Asia, scarcely ever overstept the boundary of it,

constituted as it then was. We are even told by Herodotus, Clio, 4, that the Persians esteemed ASIA, their own peculiar possession.\* But Asia, however, is to be understood in a limited sense: for the parts beyond India, and Turkestan, were, as we have seen, unknown.

The conquests made on the continent of Europe, and in its islands, although subjected to regular tribute, were not erected into *Satrapies*. Indeed, the measure of dividing the empire, was anterior to the European conquests.

Our Author informs us, Thalia, 89, that one of the first acts of authority of Darius Hystaspes, was to divide Persia into 20 provinces, which they called SATRAPIES; to each of which, a governor under the title of *Satrap*, was appointed.† That he then ascertained the tribute they were severally to pay, connecting sometimes, many nations together, which were near each other, under one district; and that sometimes he passed over many, which were adjacent; forming one government of various remote, and scattered nations. He adds, that during the reign of CYRUS, and indeed of CAMBYSES, there were no *specific tributes*, but *presents* were made to the sovereign. That, in these innovations, Darius seemed to have no object in view, but the acquisition of gain: Cambyses was negligent and severe; whilst Cyrus was of a mild and gentle temper, ever studious of the good of his subjects: and from this difference of disposition, the Persians called Darius a merchant; Cambyses, a despot: but Cyrus (that which should be the ambition of all princes to gain), a PARENT.

The PERSIANS (inhabitants of Persia *proper*), and the *Colchians*, together with their *Caucasian* neighbours, were the only provinces, situated *within* the boundary of the empire, that were not classed in

\* And, in Calliope, 116: "the Persians considered *all Asia* as their *own*, and the property of the reigning monarch."

† In Daniel, ch. vi. ver. 1. DARIUS the MEDE (taken for Cyaxares II.) divides his empire, which consisted of the territories of Babylon and Media, united, into 120 provinces, subject to three presidents, of whom Daniel was one.

Satrapies, and subjected to tribute. They possessed the singular privilege of taxing themselves, and presenting the produce, in the form of a gratuity. The origin of this privilege, in Persia, may obviously be referred to its superiority in rank and command. How the Colchians and Caucasians obtained it, we know not. The Ethiopians who bordered on Egypt, and were subdued by Cambyses, were similarly circumstanced: and the Arabians adjacent to Egypt, ever independent of a foreign yoke, presented a gift of frankincense.

Although Herodotus has said, that one part of the arrangement was to join together in one government, provinces that lay remote from each other; yet, it is certain, that on a review of the geographical positions, as far as we are able to determine them, there scarcely appears any thing of this kind: for though in some instances, the component districts may form a Satrapy of an inconvenient form, and not at all concentrated, yet they are almost invariably found to lie contiguous to each other.

In the enumeration of them, our Author does not observe in general any kind of geographical connection. For instance, although he begins in *Asia Minor*, and proceeds pretty regularly to *Egypt*, yet he then goes off at once, beyond the *Caspian*; and, moreover, in the course of his description, wanders from one side of the empire to the other; so that he steps at once from *Bactria* to *Armenia*, and from the *Euxine* to the *Indus*. As it will be a saving of fatigue to the reader, to preserve a geographical connection, we shall adopt such an arrangement of our own, as may effect that purpose: in which however, we shall add the *original* number likewise, for the sake of reference to the original statement.

Following the example of our Author, we begin in *Asia Minor*, which was divided into four Satrapies: and proceed thence into the two succeeding ones of Phoenicia and Egypt. By this mode of arrangement, the whole tract of sea coast, which furnished that important aid, towards the invasion of Greece, a maritime force; will be given in a connected form. Even in another point of view, they

form a distinct species of territory, as they comprize generally the Greek colonies, and the establishments raised by their industry, arts, and courage, in Asia; a wonderful instance of exertion, in states so circumscribed in point of physical extent and means; compared with the rest of the world. To these, must be added, *Egypt*, the venerable parent of Grecian arts and superstition; but, whose geographical situation having denied her the protection afforded to Greece, occasioned her early fall, to the *increased* power of Persia.

Proceeding thence from the Syrian and Phoenician shores of the Mediterranean, we trace the countries between it and the head of the Persian gulf; and which have Arabia on the south, the Euxine, Caspian, and mount Caucasus, on the north. Within this space are *seven* other Satrapies; so that 13 of the 20, lay to the *west* of Persia *proper*, the *original* kingdom of *Cyrus*. Of course seven others must lie to the east of the same country.

Some of the names of the countries, were probably such as the Greeks, alone, applied to them; and which might not be those used in the countries themselves. Others, such as *Aria*, *Chorasmia*, *Zarang*, *Sogdiana*, &c. are known to have been used in the countries themselves; and are in use there, at present. It is therefore probable, that *Media*, *Colchis*, *Bactria*, &c. might be names in use there also, though now lost. *Bactria*, indeed, is likely to have been the same with the *Balk* of the present time. We now proceed to the discussion of the geographical positions of the Satrapies.

The first *four*, as we have said, are contained within the limits usually assigned to *Asia Minor*, and little difficulty occurs in arranging their limits: but they are disproportioned in point of extent, and the two first, very irregular in point of form.

## THE SATRAPIES.\*

I. "The Æolians† and Magnesians of Asia, the Æolians, Carians, Lycians, Meleyans, and Pamphylians, were comprized under one district; and jointly, paid a tribute of 400 talents of silver." Thalia, 90.

These subdivisions are all well known; and include the sea coast of Asia Minor, from the gulf of Adramyttium, and the Troade, on the north, round by *Cnidus*, and the *Triopian* Promontory,‡ to Cilicia, on the east: an extent of coast equal to about 450 G. miles. The province of *Doris*, as well as those islands of the Archipelago which shelter this deeply indented coast, are, of course, included.

No doubt, the long extended, and inconvenient form, of this Satrapy, as far as respected the purposes of internal regulation, was calculated to obtain some advantages in the disposition, and distribution, of the naval armaments intended against Greece: for the whole of the fleet of *Asia Minor* (save that of the Hellespont and Cilicia) was furnished by the first Satrapy: and consisted of 357 ships, out of 1207, which formed the strength of the whole naval armament of Xerxes; and which included also the fleets of Phoenicia and Egypt.

In the catalogue of the nations who composed the armament of Xerxes, all of the above, save the inland province of *Melias* or *Mylias*, served in the *fleet*; and formed no part of the *land* force.

The *Milyæ*, in the army of Xerxes, (Polym. 77,) carried short spears; and some of them had Lycian bows.

The *whole* country of the *Lycians* (says our Author) was formerly called *Milyas*. The Lycians were of Cretan origin, but derived their present name from *Lycus*, son of Pandion; Clio, 173. *Milyas* was afterwards applied to the *inland* part of Lycia,

\* The reader is referred to the Map, No. V. at page 229, for the geography of the Satrapies.

† Æonia began at the gulf of *Jasius*: Pliny, lib. v. c. 29.

‡ See above, page 185; note.

from whence springs the Lycus river, the southern branch of the Meander.

Our Author frequently derives the names of countries in Asia, from those individuals, who either colonized or reduced it. We find the like in modern times; as *Pennsylvania*; *Maryland*; *Carolina*; *Georgia*; &c.

II. "The second Satrapy, which paid 500 talents, was composed of the Mysians, Lydians, Alysonians, Cabalians, and Hygennians." Thalia, 90.

This division, which is by far the smallest of all the 20, does not appear to have touched on the sea, in any part: for although *Mysia* in later times included the coast of the Troade, and the south coast of the Propontis and Hellespont; yet we find in the arrangement of our Author, that the *right* side of the Hellespont forms a part of the *third* Satrapy, together with Bithynia and *Asiatic* Thrace.

The greatness of the tribute paid by this Satrapy, in proportion to its very confined limits, calls for an explanation; and none appears more satisfactory than that the sources from whence the vast riches of CRÆSUS, king of Lydia, were derived, were contained in it. These were said to consist of mines, of gold and silver; and of gold sand, brought down by the small river *Pactolus*, which flowed from mount *Tmolus*.\* It appears the more probable, as the arrangement of the Satrapies was made, at no great distance of time, from the period, in which the riches of Croesus were proverbial.†

It is however, remarkable, that although the bulk of these treasures is understood to have consisted of *gold*, yet that, in the calcu-

\* Terpsichore, 101. This source of wealth is said to have been exhausted, before the time of Augustus. Larcher.

† The history of CRÆSUS, and of his fall, by disputing the empire of Western Asia, with the Medes and Persians, is well known. His empire consisted of the greatest part of Asia Minor; for it was bounded on the east by the river Halys, on the south by Taurus (generally), and extended to the sea, on every other side. There seldom has been a more compact empire: and had he made a right use of the friendship of the Greeks, he might probably have possessed all Asia Minor, and held it in

lation of the whole sum of the tribute of the empire (Thalia, 95), India alone, is said to have paid its quota, in gold.\*

In the list of the army, Polym. 74, are found the *Lydians*, anciently called *Meonians*; and the *Nysians*, no doubt intended for *Mysians*, who are said to be a *colony* of Lydians. The latter were also called *Olympians*, from mount *Olympus*, which was situated within their country; and which was a marked feature of it, to those who sailed along the Propontis. The Lydians and Mysians had the same commander; and, it would appear, are to be regarded as the same people.†

In Polym. 77, the *Cabalian Meonians* are said to be the same with the *Lysonians*, and these must also be taken for the *Alysonians*, just mentioned; which, in Ptolemy, are found under the name of *Lycaones*,‡ between *Caria* and *Pisidia*. The Cabalians therefore, should be regarded as *Meonians* or Lydians, like the *Mysians*. They formed a part of the same command, with the *Milyans*, their neighbours; who, notwithstanding, belonged to a different Satrapy, as we despite of the Persians. The fable of the *dog* and the *shadow*, applies with all its force, to this monarch.

“After Croesus had extended the power of the Lydians, Sardis (his capital) became the resort of the great and the affluent; as well as of such, as were celebrated in Greece, for their talents and their wisdom. Among these was SOLON,” &c.; Clio, 28. The anecdotes of this great legislator, at the court of Croesus, which follow, are well worth the attention of the reader. Much consolation may be drawn from them; and, as a matter of curiosity, we find wisdom and true philosophy, contrasted with folly and weakness, in a very striking manner.

\* Aristagoras (in his report of the countries between Ionia and Susa), speaking of the Lydians, says, that “they possess a fertile territory, and a profusion of silver;” Terp. 49. Nothing is said concerning gold.

† Amongst a number of other modern discoveries, which serve to prove the truth of our Author’s descriptions, is the sepulchre of *Alyattes*, king of Lydia, (the father of Croesus,) described in Clio, 93. Herodotus says, that it is second to no monument of art, save those of the Egyptians and Babylonians. Dr. Chandler saw it, and has described the remains of it, in his Travels in Asia Minor, p. 263.

‡ This country is perfectly distinct from *Lycaonia*, which forms the eastern extremity of Phrygia.

have shewn above; for the arrangement of the Satrapies of Darius, and the military commanderies of his son Xerxes, are to be considered as perfectly distinct.

Of the *Hygenians*, we know nothing. On the whole, the second Satrapy appears to be an inland tract, extending from north to south, between mount *Olympus* and mount *Taurus*; bordered by the maritime provinces (which compose the first Satrapy) on the west, and south; and by Phrygia on the east.

III. "A tribute of 360 talents was paid by those who inhabit the *right* side of the Hellespont; by the Phrygians, and Thracians of Asia; by the Paphlagonians, Mariandynians, and Syrians: and these nations constituted the third Satrapy." Thalia, 90.

This, compared with the two former, is a very extensive province: although the whole three, collectively, fall short of some of the largest divisions, or Satrapies. It includes the great body of Asia Minor, situated to the north of *Taurus*, and east of *Lydia*: as well as the whole northern coast, from the *Troade*, to the river *Thermodon*, in *Pontus*. It is, however, to be remarked, that in all this extent of coast, the Hellespontians and those of *Pontus*, were the only people who furnished ships; and the Hellespontians appear to have sent *four-fifths* of these. This serves to shew, that the *Euxine*, then, as well as in latter times, possessed but little commerce of its own. So that it either had no materials which were in request, in the commerce of that day, or no consumption of foreign productions. The southern shores of the *Euxine*, are said to abound with naval stores; as timber, iron, and hemp, in the present times; and, as it would appear from ancient notices, timber and iron were then in great plenty; since two of the nations mentioned by Xenophon, the *Chalybes* and *Mosynæcians*, were evidently denominated, the one from their being workers in iron or steel, the other from the materials of their habitations.

However, these naval stores might not have been in request amongst the commercial nations in the west, because they might



have had enough of their own, to serve their purposes. For we are not to judge of the consumption of naval stores, at that day, by that of the present; when the coasts of the whole world are ransacked for timber, either for the purposes of war, or commerce; and when the forests of Asia, as well as of Europe, and America, float on the bosom of the Atlantic.

The country of *Phrygia* occupied the central parts of Asia Minor; and was a country of very great extent. It included, amongst others, the tract afterwards named *Galatia*, from the conquests and settlements made in it, by the Gauls. Armenia is said to have been colonized by the Phrygians: the Armenians were armed like the Phrygians, and both nations were commanded by one general, in Polym. 73. And hence it may be inferred, that the intermediate country of Cappadocia, also, was filled with the same race. Our Author says, in the same place, that, according to the *Macedonians*, the Phrygians, as long as they were *their* neighbours, and lived in Europe, were called *Bryges*; but that, in passing over into Asia, they took the name of *Phrygians*.\* So that their progress was *eastward*, and from Europe into Asia, like the Thracians of Asia (or *Bithynians*), who are said, in Polym. 75, to have come from the banks of the *Strymon*. So that the course of migration and conquest, on the *south* of the Euxine, seems to have been *opposite* to that on the *north*.

By the *Syrians*, are meant the *Cappadocians*: for it appears from several passages in our Author, (as Clio, 6, 76; Euterpe, 104; Terpsich. 49; and Polym. 72.) that the people of Cappadocia, and at the Euxine sea, at *Sinope*, and along its coasts, from the river *Parthenius*, on the west, to the *Thermodon* on the east, were called SYRIANS. Strabo confirms it generally; calling them *Leuco-syri*, or *white Syrians*; in contradistinction to the Syrians on the south of mount Taurus.† But although the Syrians are placed at the river Parthe-

\* In Erato, 45, the *Brygi* of Thrace, attack Mardonius, in Macedonia.

† Page 736. Pliny also, lib. vi. c. 3.

nus, in Euterpe, 104, yet Paphlagonia, which therefore ought also to have been inhabited by Syrians, is arranged under its proper name in this Satrapy; and the Paphlagonians are classed as a distinct people, in the list of the army, in Polym. 72. But Sinope is in Paphlagonia, and its inhabitants, *Syrians*, in Clio, 72. Hence we must allot, not only Cappadocia, but all the tract between it and the Euxine, to the *Leuco-syri*.\*

The *Mariandynians*, the only remaining people to be spoken of, in this Satrapy,† occupied a part of the coast of the Euxine, between *Bithynia* and *Paphlagonia*. In the army of Xerxes, the Paphlagonians are joined in one command with the *Matieni*; whilst the *Mariandyni*, are joined with the *Syrians*, and others. One might have suspected that *Matiene* was an error, especially as there is another country of *Matiene* in *Media*. But Herodotus says, in Clio, 72, that the river Halys divides *Matiene* on the right, from *Pbrygia*, on the left; thus pointing out the western part of Cappadocia, for the *Matiene* in question. No traces of such a name can, however, be found there, but the description is certainly consistent.‡

It appears then, that the third Satrapy extended eastward along the Euxine to the river *Thermodon*, in *Pontus*; where it met with the district of the *Tibareni*, belonging to the 19th Satrapy. Also, that it extended to the course of the Euphrates, inland; or it may be, only to the *Anti-Taurus*, which might divide it from Armenia: and southwards, to mount Taurus.

If we except the *Thracians* of *Asia*, there is scarcely any diversity

\* It is to be remarked, that Strabo, p. 534, divides Cappadocia into two Satrapies.

† We cannot find the *Ligyæ*. Could they be meant for the people of *Lycaonia*? Neither *these*, nor the *Pisidians* are classed, either in the Satrapies, or in the army, under those names.

‡ It is possible that the province of *Tyana*, may be the *Matiene* here spoken of, as the situation agrees. Or *Tyana*, as a part, may have given name to the whole. It is in effect, a part of *Cilicia*: but has sometimes been reckoned to Cappadocia.

of dress or weapons, throughout this extensive Satrapy, mentioned in the history of Xerxes' expedition. The dress of these Thracians (Bithynians) consisted chiefly of skins of deer and foxes; (Polym. 75.) The Paphlagonians, with their neighbours the Mariandynians, the Phrygians, and Syrians (by which are meant Cappadocians), wore helmets of network, with buskins, which reached to the middle of the leg; and had for weapons, small spears and bucklers, besides javelins and daggers. The Thracians had a general of their own; the Mariandynians and Ligyes had a commander in common; and the Phrygians, as has been said, were joined with the Armenians, their *colonists*.

The Hellespontians, in conjunction with the people of Pontus, sent 100 ships (triremes); Polym. 95; and the people of *Abydos* had the charge of defending the bridge, at the Hellespont. The proportion of ships sent by the *Pontics*, should be 20, of the 100; as Diodorus states that the others sent 80.

The *Troade*, although not specified, here, is included in this division. The siege of Troy, and the circumstances that led to it, are, however, spoken of, in other parts of his work.\*

\* Doubts have been recently started, not only whether the Trojan war ever happened, but even whether such a city as Troy, ever existed.

It may however, be said, that most of the ancients, believed both: and Thucydides, who is no mean authority, marks it as one of the historical facts that is worthy of credit; doubtless from having considered all the different authorities, many of which may now have ceased to exist.

Frequent allusions to the Trojan war, occur in Herodotus; and the original cause of the enmity of the Persians to the Greeks, is said to have been the destruction of Troy: Clio, 5. See also, Polym. 161; and Calliope, 27. Xerxes is said to have ascended the *citadel* of *Priam*: that he sacrificed to the Trojan Minerva; and offered libations to the manes of the heroes; Polym. 43. He, then, believed the above facts; and the same may be said of Alexander; judging by his conduct. We must consider, how much nearer to the date of the event, these personages lived: for in respect of the times of Xerxes and Alexander, the event of the taking of Troy, would be much the same, as the conquests of Tamerlane, or the Norman conquest, to us.

Alexander believed that he saw the tombs of Achilles and Patroclus, at Troy; and

IV. "The Cilicians were obliged to produce every day, a *white* horse; that is to say, 360 annually; with 500\* talents of silver. Of these, 140 were appointed for the payment of the cavalry, stationed for the guard of the country; the remaining 360 were received by Darius: these formed the fourth Satrapy." Thalia, 90.

In this statement we have notices of an arrangement, different from that, throughout the rest of the empire; and which might have grown out of the importance of Cilicia, considered in a military point of view; as being a post, that, according to the hands

the consecrated armour, in the temple of Minerva; Arrian, lib. i.; and Curtius, lib. ii.

Herodotus was informed by the Egyptian priests, that the Greeks had certainly taken and destroyed the city of Troy; but that, instead of finding Helen there, as they expected, she was at the same moment, in Egypt; being detained by King PROTEUS, who afterwards restored her to her husband, Menelaus: † Euterpe, 116, *et seq.*: and particularly 120.

This event is supposed by Sir Isaac Newton, to have happened about 900 years before our era; and consequently about 450 years, or more, before the visit of our Author to Egypt. It may perhaps be allowed, that the tradition preserved by the priests, was of equal authority to the Iliad; *in point of history*: and, at all events, the prominent facts, of the rape of Helen, and the siege and destruction of Troy, remain exactly as they were.

The matter then, may perhaps be reduced simply to this: that the above facts may be received, but that the poem of Homer has been ornamented with fictions, in order to render it more interesting! Who, ever thought it necessary, to receive as facts, all the matter of an epic poem?

It appears also, that too much accuracy is looked for, in Homer's description of the ground of the Troade; for why should he be expected to be more accurate in *that*, than Virgil in his description of the strait of Messina; with its *Scylla* and *Charybdis*? And yet the latter is known to be merely a poetical fiction.

Herodotus had an idea, Euterpe, 53, that HOMER lived 400 years, and no more, before him.

\* The same number is given by Aristagoras, in Terpsichore, 49.

† It is proper to remark, that, in Clio, 3, the aggressor is named ALEXANDER; but in Euterpe, 113, *et seq.* PARIS; the name by which he is more commonly known, although both may equally belong to him.

into which it fell, either connected, or separated, the two countries of Asia Minor and Persia, on the one hand; Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, on the other. Of this much more will be said in a future work, which is to treat, amongst other subjects, of the Cilician passes. Be it as it will, the force sent to Xerxes, consisted entirely of ships; 100 in number; as probably they were in greater request at that time, than cavalry. Polym. 91.

The boundaries of *Cilicia*, being of the natural kind, and very strongly marked, it may be supposed that they have not *greatly* varied, at any time. The fertile and capacious valley of *Cataonia*, formed by the separation of the ridges of *Taurus*, may, at times, have been included, and at others, excluded. But, it is certain, that Herodotus extends *Cilicia* to the *Euphrates*, (in *Terpsich.* 52,) where he makes that river the boundary between *Cilicia* and *Armenia*, in the line of the great road leading from *Sardis* to *Susa*. If this was really so, the Northern *Syria* (or perhaps *Comagena* only), must have been reckoned to *Cilicia*; as the northern part of *Mesopotamia*, between mount *Masius* and *Taurus*, really was to *Armenia*; of which several proofs appear; but more particularly in *Clio*, 194, where boats are said to descend from *Armenia*, above *Assyria*, to *Babylon*.

By a passage in the book of *Judith*, (ch. ii. ver. 21.) it also appears, as if *Cilicia* extended to the east of *Amanus*.

V. "The tribute levied from the fifth Satrapy was 350 talents. Under this district, was comprehended the tract of country, which extended from the city of *Posideium* (built on the frontiers of *Cilicia* and *Syria*, by *Amphilochus*, son of *Amphiaraus*), as far as *Egypt*; part of *Arabia* alone excluded, which paid no tribute.\* The same Satrapy, moreover, included all *Pœnecia*, the *Syrian Palestine*, and the *Island of Cyprus*." *Thalia*, 91.

Thus, *Pœnecia* and *Palestine* formed the body of this Satrapy,

\* More will be said concerning this tract, in the sequel.

and both were included in *Syria*; (regarded as synonymous with *Assyria*; for this is to be collected from various places in our Author:) and, it appears, that in order to complete the boundaries of this division, we have only to find those of *Phœnicia* and *Palestine*.

In *Thalia*, 91, "*Posideium*" is said to lie on "the *frontiers* of *Cilicia* and *Syria*."

*Palestine* and *Phœnicia* are parts of *Syria*, in *Euterpe*, 116, and 158: "*Syria* borders upon *Egypt*; and the *Phœnicians*, to whom *Sidon* belongs, inhabit part of *Syria*"—and, "*Syria* is divided from *Egypt* by mount *Casius*."

Again, *Polym.* 89: "The *Phœnicians*, by their own account, once inhabited the coasts of the *Red* sea; but emigrated from thence to the maritime parts of *Syria*: all which district, as far as *Egypt*, is denominated *Palestine*."\*

Thus, it appears, that our Author clearly discriminated *Phœnicia* and *Palestine*, from *Syria* at large: and that the name by which he denominates *Palestine*, is usually *SYRIA* of *PALESTINE*.

The boundaries of this Satrapy, are by no means difficult to be ascertained: *Posideium* occasions the only difficulty. This city, which is said to have stood on the *common frontier* of *Cilicia* and *Syria*; and consequently on the northern frontier of the *latter*, and of the *Satrapy*, in course; was situated on the sea coast of *Syria*, nearly opposite to mount *Casius* (of *Antioch*). Now, this appears contrary to all the geographical arrangements of the *Greeks*, and *Romans*; because *Cilicia* terminated, and *Syria* began, at the *pass*, situated at the shore of the gulf of *Issus*: and *Posideium* stood about 50 miles to the southward of that *pass*; and could have no relation to the *Cilicia* of the *Greek* and *Roman* systems.

\* The reader may perhaps, be apprized, that the country named *PALESTINE* by the *Greeks*, is called *FALASTIN* by the *Arabs*; and that this last is the *PHILISTINE* of the *Scriptures*. The land of the *Philistines*, was that quarter of *Palestine* towards the coast, left in possession of the original inhabitants.

It is certain however, that the reported situation of Posideium, on the *northern frontier* of the *Satrapy*, may possibly be true, since Herodotus, who had himself been in Palestine, might, perhaps, have travelled by land to it, from Natolia, in his way to Egypt; and thus might have ascertained the fact, himself: in which case, however, Cilicia must *then* have included a great part of what was afterwards reckoned to Syria. And it is certain, that Cilicia is extended to the Euphrates, in Terpsichore, 52, where it meets Armenia; as has been shewn in pages 191, and 242. This therefore agrees with what is said concerning Posideium; although it does not agree with the geography of the times of Xenophon and of Alexander.

As to the real northern boundary of Phœnicia, it is difficult to fix it, although it would seem that *Posideium* was intended for it, by Herodotus. Xenophon calls *Myriandrus* in the gulf of Iſsus, (which is the *Marandynian* bay, or more properly *Myriandinian* bay of our Author, in Melpom. 38,) a *Phœnician* city: and as Herodotus also says, that this bay is *contiguous* to *Phœnicia*, this should be decisive of its boundary, if Posideium did not stand a good way to the south, of the gulf in question; and was, notwithstanding, the northern extremity of the Satrapy that was *said* to include ALL *Phœnicia*. Perhaps, as Herodotus and Xenophon appear to concur in the report of the northern boundary of Phœnicia, placed at the southern part of the gulf of Issus; whilst Posideium was the northern point of the Satrapy, and was also reckoned contiguous to *Cilicia*; it may be, that the Phœnicians possessed certain insulated tracts, or townships along the coast, beyond the extent of their continuous territory: and *Myriandrus* might be one of these.\*

Phœnicia extended along the coast of the Mediterranean, southward, to the termination of the ridges of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, near Tyre; where it met the border of Palestine. In breadth, it comprehended only the narrow tract between the continuation of

\* This has happened continually in modern times, as well as in ancient. The European factories on the coast of AFRICA, and INDIA, are in point.

mount Lebanon and the sea; with the deep valley between the two ridges, named *Cæle-Syria*; now the valley of Bekaa.

Palestine, Syria of Palestine, or Syrian Palestine, has its boundaries too familiarly known to need description, here. It extended from *Phœnicia* and *Cæle-Syria* to the borders of Egypt, fixed by our Author at mount *Casius* (of Arabia), in Euterpe, 158; but in Thalia, 5, at the *Sirbonic* lake, a little to the eastward of that mount. The Arabian territory lying between it and Egypt, and which, in common with Arabia in general, was exempted from tribute, comprized *Idumea*, (or *Edom*,) the original seat of the *Isbmaelites*.

Herodotus, as we have said, had visited *Palestine*, if not *Phœnicia* also. The city of JERUSALEM he names CADYTIS, doubtless meant for the Arabian name *Al Kads*, the HOLY: in effect, a translation of the other. He says, Thalia, 5, "that it is a city belonging to the *Syrians* of *Palestine*; and in his opinion, equal to *Sardis*." It is mentioned a second time in Euterpe, 159, on occasion of its being taken possession of by *Necos*, king of Egypt, after his victory over the *Syrians* at Magdolum (*Megiddo*).

He had seen in Palestine some of the *pillars*, or *monuments*, erected by SESOSTRIS, in token of conquest; and which had disappeared for the most part, in the countries that had been conquered by him. See Euterpe, 102, and 106. Perhaps these monuments remained longer in the parts adjoining to Egypt, which might be in some degree subject to its influence, or domination, than in distant parts. Our Author believes that Sesostris over-ran Asia, and passing into Europe, conquered *Scythia* and *Thrace*: and that thus far, the monuments of his victories are discovered. Also that he left a detachment in *Colchis*: the relation of which circumstance, has given occasion to suppose, that the Egyptians were black, and had *crisped* and *curling* hair, like the Negroes. The context, surely, leads to a belief of the fact; although *we* may not be prepared to receive it. But at the same time, it is to be remarked, that he classes Egypt,



geographically, as a country *quite distinct* from *Lybia* (or *Africa*): that is, he does not allow the Egyptians to be *Africans*. See Euterpe, 16, and 17.

To return to the Syrians of Palestine.—He remarks that *these*, as well as the *Phœnicians*, acknowledged that they borrowed the custom of circumcision, from Egypt: and says, that it can be traced, both in Egypt and Æthiopia, to the remotest antiquity; so that, it is not possible to say, which of the two, first introduced it; but that the Egyptians unquestionably communicated it to other nations, by means of their commercial intercourse; Euterpe, 104. Without entering into the question concerning the origin of this custom, one may be allowed to remark, that, if our Author had made the inquiry amongst the *Jews* themselves (who should be meant by the *Syrians of Palestine*), they would surely have told him otherwise: and, it is probable, therefore, that he took his information from the Egyptians.

He seems to have known but little concerning the history of the Jews. The date of his visit to Palestine and Jerusalem (which latter, one must conclude by his expression above quoted, in page 245, he had certainly seen,) was short of a century after the re-establishment of the temple and worship, after the Babylonish captivity. But he is, notwithstanding, quite silent respecting the Jewish customs and worship, although he says so much concerning those of the Egyptians. He is equally silent, concerning the revolutions in this celebrated, and highly interesting spot. This appears very remarkable: for though the captivity must have greatly changed the face of things in Palestine,\* yet the singular institutions, and modes of life of the Jews, not only drew forth the most pointed remarks, from the Roman writers, at a much later period, but are

\* Palestine had, since the flourishing times of DAVID and SOLOMON, suffered from the invasions of the Assyrians and Babylonians, the Egyptians and Scythians: and those classes of people which determine the national character, and weight, in the eyes of foreigners, had either been removed, or annihilated.

acknowledged at the present day, to constitute a kind of standing miracle.\*

No man whatsoever, was a truer friend to the interests of the human race, than Herodotus: had he therefore been endowed with a prophetic spirit, to have foreseen that from Palestine there was to arise a LIGHT to guide the footsteps of men to the highest state of happiness that this world affords, by humanizing them, and making them fitter for the purposes of society; and moreover by giving them hopes of a better state hereafter; he would have thought it a spot of much more importance than he attaches to it.

He refers to this quarter of the world, the important invention of letters: and there seems to be no doubt, that the alphabets of the *Western* world, were derived from this source, alone. He observes, Terpsichore, 58, that “the Phœnicians who came with Cadmus (into Bœotia) introduced during their residence in Greece, various articles of science; and amongst other things, LETTERS; with which, as I conceive, the Greeks were before unacquainted. These were at first, such as the Phœnicians themselves indiscriminately use; in process of time, however, they were changed both in sound and form. At that time, the Greeks most contiguous to this people, were the Iōnians, who learnt these letters of the Phœnicians, and with some trifling variations, received them into common use. As the Phœnicians first made them known in Greece, they called them, as justice required, PHŒNICIAN letters.” †

\* See in particular Diodorus, lib. i. c. 8; and the remains of the xxxivth and xlth. These passages will also be considered in a future section, in which we shall touch slightly on the subject of the FIRST CAPTIVITY of the Israelites, by the king of Nineveh.

† Herodotus adds, Terps. 58, that, “by a very ancient custom, the Iōnians call their *books*, DIPHTERÆ, or SKINS; because at a time when the plant of the *biblos* was scarce, they used instead of it, the skins of goats and sheep. Many of the BARBARIANS have used these skins, for this purpose, within my recollection.”

The Persians name a *record*, or *writing*, DUPTER. Is it not probable, that the

The extended scale of the Phœnician commerce, is a theme of ancient history, as well sacred as profane. The *amber* of Prussia, and the *tin* of Britain; the *linen* of Egypt, and the *spices* of Arabia; the *slaves* of Caucasus; and the *horses* of Scythia; appear to have centered in their emporium.\* There is, however, no intimation of *Indian* productions, in the catalogue of merchandizes just mentioned, although they appear to have possessed two islands in the Persian gulf, whose names, *Tyrus* and *Aradus*, mark them for Phœnician possessions. These seem to have been two of the smaller islands, near the entrance of the gulf, and not those of *Babrein*, as M. D'Anville has supposed; for they are placed by Strabo, p. 766, at 10 days' voyage from the mouth of the Euphrates; *one* only, from the Promontory of *Maceta* (Massendon). Ptolemy, Tab. vi. Asia, places them exactly in the same position, and marks the Bahrein Islands (or those which represent them), also.

According to our Author, India had been recently explored, by the orders of Darius Hystaspes, and seems to have been little known to the Persians before his time. Ezekiel prophesied concerning the destruction of Tyre, only 60 or 70 years before Darius: and, as we have said, no traces of Indian products or manufactures appear in his catalogue. The two accounts therefore, agree: and impress an idea, that the Phœnicians did not trade to India, at that period. Had they known, and traded to, India, *through* the Persian empire, the Persians doubtless would not have been ignorant of India: which, if we are to credit our Author, they were, previous to the expedition set on foot by Darius, and conducted by Scylax; who first explored the Indus, and the coasts between it and Persia, &c.

Iōnians borrowed the term from the Persians, together with the use of the skin itself, the name of which may perhaps be rendered PARCHMENT?

\* These last, we should understand, by the merchants of *Ivan*, *Tubal*, and *Mesbeck*, "who traded in the *persons of men*, and vessels of brass, in the markets:" and the house of *Togarmah*, "who traded in the *fairs with horses*," &c. Ezekiel, ch. xxvii. ver. 13, and 14.

It may therefore have been, that these discoveries, and the consequent union of *Western* India, with the empire of Persia, laid the foundation of a commerce between those countries, although the communication between Egypt and India might have existed much earlier. And, it is not impossible, that the visit of Darius to Egypt, which was in the train of Cambyses,\* and little more than a century after the date of the splendid discoveries of the Egyptians in the Southern ocean, might have given him the idea of prosecuting discoveries in the East, from the gulf of Persia. He might also have learnt at the same time, that the Egyptians had a commerce with India, by sea.

The Phœnicians however, are said to have traded, in the produce of Assyria (meaning the empire of that name; Clio, c. 1.), and which probably, included not only that of Assyria, but of Persia and Arabia also; transmitted *through* Assyria. The inland *carrying trade*, was, no doubt effected by the camels of Palmyra; which place therefore formed an important link in the chain of communication.† It might not have suited the convenience, perhaps not the dignity, of the Phœnician merchants, to become the camel keepers of the desert.

The Phœnicians, who, although at one period denominated Erythræans, either from their real, or supposed, origin, from the shores of the Red sea, were, no doubt, an assemblage of industrious and enterprising adventurers, from all the *neighbouring* countries, at least; and perhaps, from very distant ones, also. Great wages of labour, and great profits of trade, would invite the different classes of mankind; and with such a people, gain must have been the prime object. Our Author gives, at the very opening of his history, a curious anecdote of Phœnician *commerce*, and Phœnician *perfidy*.

\* He was one of the guards of Cambyses, and, although of royal descent, being of the family of the Achæmenides, was at that time of no particular consideration. See a very curious anecdote of Darius Hystaspes, in Egypt, in Thalia, 139: and an account of his parentage and descent, in Clio, 209.

† More will be said concerning this subject, in a future work.

They traded, amongst other places, to *Argos*, which was at the period spoken of, the most famous of all those states, which were afterwards comprehended under the general appellation of GREECE. A Phœnician ship lying at the shore, so that people could walk to and fro, exposes her merchandizes to sale, on the shore, close to the ship. The king's daughter, *Iö*, comes, with many other females, either as a visitor, or a purchaser. "Whilst (says the historian), these females, standing near the stern of the vessel, amused themselves with bargaining for such things as attracted their curiosity, the Phœnicians, in conjunction, made an attempt to seize their persons. The greater part of them escaped, but *Iö* remained a captive, with many others. They carried them on board, and directed their course for Egypt;" *Clio*, c. 1. It is to be remarked, that these Phœnicians, like true traders, did not venture to commit this act of violence, until they had nearly disposed of their cargo, and were paid for it. A commander of a slave ship, on the coast of Africa, could not have acted with more worldly prudence!

The aid furnished by this Satrapy to the armament of Xerxes, was composed entirely of ships: and consisted of the amazing force of 450 triremes; 300 of which, were from the continent, 150 from the Island of Cyprus. This was more than  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the whole fleet of triremes; and more than double the quota furnished by Egypt. But then it was the combined force of *Phœnicia*, *Palestine*, and *Cyprus*: the boasted fleets of Tyre, Sidon, Aradus, and the numerous ports of Syria, from *Egypt* to *Cilicia*.

It has been said, in the geographical description of this Satrapy, page 242, that a portion of Arabia intervened, between Palestine and Egypt: and that, in common with the rest of Arabia, it remained independent of Persia. The tract in question, consists of Idumea (or Edom), and the desert which bordered on the sea coast, between *Gaza* and *Pelusium*; and which affects in a material degree, the act of communication between the two countries. But, as it appears to belong as much to the subject of *Egypt*, as of *Syria*, we shall post-

pone the consideration of it, till that of Egypt has been discussed, since that will contribute in a considerable degree, to its elucidation.

VI. "Seven hundred talents were exacted from Egypt; from the Africans which border upon Egypt; and from Cyrene and Barce, which are comprehended in the Egyptian district. The produce of the fishery of the lake Moëris was not included in this, neither was the corn, to the amount of 700 talents more; 120,000 measures of which were applied to the maintenance of the Persians and their auxiliary troops, garrisoned within the *white* castle of Memphis: this was the sixth Satrapy." Thalia, 91.\*

This Satrapy, then, consisted of the *entire* country of Egypt, together with certain tracts of Lybia adjacent to it, on the west; and which, extended along the sea coast of the Mediterranean, to the utmost limit of *Cyrenaica*: for Herodotus says, Melpom. 204, that "the farthest progress of the Persian army, was to the country of the *Euesperidæ*;" by which is intended the *western* limit of *Cyrenaica*, near the garden of the *Hesperides*; of which more in the sequel, under the head of Africa. *Cyrene*, *Barce*, and other Lybian provinces, had been nominally surrendered to Cambyses (Thalia, 13.); but were not, we believe, taken possession of: it was during the reign of Darius Hystaspes, that the Persians abovementioned, made the expedition to the westward.†

As to the *Africans*, who are said to *border* on Egypt, and were subject to Persia, they were probably the people of the *Oases* in that

\* Egypt and Cyrene, although parts of Africa, and therefore belonging to a different division from that, now under consideration; yet, as forming a part of the twenty Satrapies, they could not, in point of regularity, be omitted, in this place. However, they are here considered merely as political divisions; and will be spoken of, more at large in their proper places, under the head of AFRICA.

† The conquest of Egypt had been left to Cambyses, by Cyrus. It is said in Clio, 153, that Cyrus was prepared for serious resistance, from the *Sacæ* and *Egyptians*. The first he reduced; the latter it is said, in another place, was left to his successor.

neighbourhood; and perhaps also, those bordering immediately on Upper Egypt, between *Syene* and the great cataract (of *Jan Adel*): although these, in effect, constituted a part of Egypt, at large. They could not be meant for the people of *Ammon*, since the army of Cambyses perished in the attempt to reach their country; so that both *Ammon* and *Augela* must be regarded as independant. Much less could the *Ethiopians* be intended: for they are expressly said to be independant. It is said, in *Thalia*, 97, that even the Ethiopians, who were subdued by Cambyses, in his expedition against the *Macrobian Ethiopians*, were not included in the tribute levied on the Egyptian Satrapy; but *presented*, like the Persians, and some few others, a *regular gratuity*. As the progress of Cambyses towards the *Macrobian* (whom we regard as the *Abyssinians*), was said to be less than one-fifth of the whole way (*Thalia*, 25.), it must be supposed that he never got *through* the *desert of Selima*: that is, on a supposition that *Thebes* was the place of outset, and *Sennar* the entrance into the country of the *Macrobian*s. Of course, the conquests made in this quarter, could have been but trifling; and the sum of the present, seems to shew it. It consisted of two *chœnixes* of gold, *unrefined*; 200 blocks of ebony wood; 20 large elephants' teeth, and five Ethiopian youths. It was repeated once in *three* years: and the custom was continued to the time of Herodotus. *Thalia*, 97.

The *chœnix* of Attica, is reckoned by Arbutnot the 48th part of a *medimnus*, which being about 70 English pints, of  $34\frac{1}{32}$  cubic inches, a *choenix* may be taken at somewhat less than a *pint* and *half*. Hence, the value of the gold *dust* presented once in three years, might be about 80 guineas.

It may clearly be collected, that the gold, which constituted a part of this present, was sent in the form of *dust* (as it is commonly called); because the quantity was ascertained by the *chœnix*, which was a measure for dry goods, amongst the Greeks; and not by

weight, as in other cases. Moreover, it was said to be *unrefined*; which, no doubt meant exactly in the state in which it was, and is still, collected, in the African rivers.

The Egyptian force *originally*\* sent to Xerxes, consisted, like that of Cilicia, entirely of ships, and of which they sent no less than 200 triremes:† but the other districts of this Satrapy, sent land forces; having, it may be concluded, no ships to send.

It appears that Xerxes, collecting the naval force of the Mediterranean, from the Hellespont inclusive, to Lybia; had a fleet of somewhat more than 1200 triremes: for he wisely fixed the contingencies of the maritime provinces, in *ships*, in order to collect the greatest possible force, by sea; having his choice of land troops from every other quarter of his vast empire.‡

It is said, Polym. 96, that amongst the mariners, the *Phœnicians*, (as might have been expected) were the best; and of the Phœnicians, the *Sidonians* were the *most select*.§ The crews of the ships, c. 184, are said to have consisted generally of 200 (these were *triremes*): to which were added 30 others, either *Persians*, *Medes*,

\* This will presently be explained.

† The maritime force of Egypt was equal to  $\frac{1}{3}$  of that of all Phœnicia, at this time.

‡ Besides the *triremes*, there were 3000 vessels, of 30 and 50 oars; of long transports for cavalry, and of a particular kind of vessel, invented by the Cyprians; Polym. 97: Thus the whole fleet consisted of about 4200 vessels. (The reader is requested to correct accordingly, the note in page 127, where 3000 is stated to be the number of the *whole* fleet.)

§ In Polym. 128, it is said, that Xerxes preferred the *Sidonian* ships, when he had occasion to make an excursion by sea. This fully proves his opinion of them. The like occurs in c. 100, on occasion of the *naval and military review at Doriscus*. See also, c. 59. The naval review is described in c. 100: the 1200 *triremes* were moored in one uniform line, at 400 feet from the shore, with their sterns towards the sea, and their crews under arms, as if prepared for battle. Xerxes, sitting on the deck of a *Sidonian* vessel, beneath a golden canopy, passed slowly, the heads of the ships. The crews of the ships of war, alone, amounted to nearly 280,000 men: and of the whole fleet collectively (4200 ships) near 520,000.



or *Sacæ* (*i. e.* *Scythians*, subject to *Persia*).\* This last description of men, may perhaps be considered in the nature of *marines*; and it is worthy of remark, that the proportion of them, to the rest of the crew, does not differ much from the proportion of marines to our crews, in these times. As the *Medes* and *Persians* were esteemed the *best* troops of the empire; and the *Sacæ*, as *Scythians*, some of the best archers; it may be concluded, that some services of a different kind, and requiring more skill in certain modes of combat, were expected from them, than from the crews in general: and it is not improbable, that this skill might be exerted in the management of missile weapons, in distant fight. More of this, when we speak of the *Sacæ* themselves.†

The Egyptians wore helmets made of *network* (like the nations of Asia Minor). Their shields were of a convex form, having large *bosses*: their spears were calculated for sea service,‡ and they had huge battle axes, besides large swords.§ For defensive armour, they had breast-plates. Polym. 89.

The Lybians were dressed in *skins*, and had the points of their wooden spears hardened in the fire; Polym. 81. These were, in point of weapons, the most contemptibly furnished of any, throughout the whole army; in which were every kind of offensive weapon, from polished steel, to wood hardened in the fire; with all the inter-

\* The ships of *Chios*, in number 100, had each a crew of 400, in the preceding reign, Erato, 15. This agrees very nearly with the numbers in the contending fleets of the Romans and Carthaginians, in their most improved times of naval warfare.

† The *whole* crew of the ship, was 230, of which 30 were *Sacæ*, &c. Such of our ships, as have crews of 240 men, have 37 marines; and, according to the same proportion, the Persian ships should have had 35 to 230.

The Author feels a particular degree of satisfaction, in finding the same term, *MARINES*, employed by his friend Dr. Gillies, in his excellent History of Greece. The idea had been recorded by both, without the previous knowledge of the other.

‡ Spears have been universally used at all times, in sea service; to prevent boarding, no doubt. Some of these mariners had *two* spears.

§ Littlebury translates this, *bill*, or *bill-hook*.

mediate varieties, of *fish bone*, *horn*, and *stones*; and of defensive armour, from coats of mail of burnished steel, formed in scales, like those of fishes (which the Persians wore, Polym. 61.), to the *raw* hides of animals.

The Ethiopians (of Africa) were clad in skins of panthers and lions, and had bows of palm wood, four cubits in length. Their arrows were short, and made of reeds, and were pointed with stone;\* (69.) They had also, spears pointed with goats' horn, and knotty clubs. They painted their bodies half red, half white; and had hair more *crisp* and *curling* than any other men; 70. They are said to come from *above* Egypt; (69.) and are to be regarded, not as subjects but as allies, of Persia; in common with the Arabians and some few others.

The Arabians were joined in the same command with these Ethiopians; and a brother of Xerxes commanded them; Polym. 69. The Arabians were probably *Idumeans* and *Nabatbeans*; and not of Arabia Felix. There were of these, cavalry, as well as infantry: the former, who had many camels belonging to them, were said to place these animals in the rear, that the horses might not be frightened at them; † 87. The dresses of the Arabians were *long flowing vests*, called *ziræ*: their bows were long, flexible, and crooked; 69.

The Africans are said to have fought in chariots; Polym. 86. These were probably from the quarter of *Cyrene*; for our Author observes of the *Asbystæ*, (Melpom. 170.) that they are beyond all the Africans remarkable for their use of chariots, drawn by four horses: and in 189, he says that the Greeks themselves borrowed from the Africans, the custom of harnessing four horses to a carriage.

It is proper to explain the cause of the appearance of Egyptian land forces at the battle of *Platæa*, after it has been stated, that they sent a naval force only; and that their *spears* were calculated for

\* Said to be stones of the kind used for engraving seals.

† This was an error of long standing, but is now quite exploded.

sea service. It appears, then, Calliope, 32, that Mardonius had landed, at *Pbalerum* (one of the ports of *Attica*), that part of the Egyptian force, which had been originally disciplined for land service; and which was drawn from the tribes or classes of *Hermotyrians* and *Calasirians*; who alone of that country, followed the profession of arms. (See an account of the districts of these tribes, &c. in *Euterpe*, 164, 165, and 168.) The *pilots*, or *seamen*, constituted a distinct class.

It may be inferred from the above, that the proportion of *seamen* was very small indeed, in the ancient ships; as also that the *manœuvres*, and general duty of the ships of war, were so far from being complicated, that landmen who had got rid of their sea-sickness, were very soon, and easily trained to it. The sails were probably furled on the deck.

We shall now perform our promise, respecting the tract lying between Palestine and the borders of Egypt; which is become more particularly interesting at this time, when Egypt, and its communications with Syria, occupy so much of the public attention.

Herodotus observes, *Thalia*, 4, *et seq.* that the only avenue by which Egypt can be entered, from the side of Palestine, is by a *dry and parched desert*, where *very little* water can be procured.\* That Cambyses, who meditated the conquest of Egypt, was deterred by this difficulty, until he obtained permission of the king of Arabia, to pass through his territories (that is, *Idumea*, and the desert of *Pelusium*); which seems to have implied also, the service of supplying water for the army; by his means.† A treaty was accordingly

\* The southern part of PALESTINE bordering on the desert, is also very sandy; so that water can only be procured from deep wells. See the contests between the Patriarchs and the Philistines, about the wells, in *Genesis*, ch. xxi. and xxvi. *Beer Sheba*, or the well of Sheba, and *Gerar*, were situated on the edge of the desert in question.

† “The Arabians were never reduced to the subjection of Persia (or indeed, to any foreign power), but were in its alliance; they afforded Cambyses the means of

made, and the ceremonies of its ratification are given : \* (Thalia, 8.) after which, water was provided, in the desert, for the Persian army, in its march from Palestine to Pelusium, the frontier garrison of Egypt; situated at the *embouchure* of the *then* eastern branch of the Nile: but this celebrated river, has so far deviated from its former course, that Damietta, situated at the branch which forms the present eastern limit of the *Delta*, is between 60 and 70 British miles to the westward of Pelusium: and much of the intermediate space is returned to its ancient condition, of a desert.†

Our Author observes, that there were two stories in circulation, respecting the mode of conveying the water: the one, and which he thought the most probable, was, by transporting it on camels, in skins (of camels); which is the mode used at the present day, in the caravans. The other, that it was conducted in pipes, made of the skins of animals, into reservoirs, at *three* distinct places. It was added, that the water was brought from a river (*Corys*), which emptied itself into the Red sea, and was 12 journies distant. This was, however, the marvellous part of the story: but perhaps the truth might have been, that water was conducted through pipes into reservoirs, either from small running springs, whose waters were ordinarily absorbed by the sands of the desert (which is the case in many places); or from *draw-wells*. It appears morally impossible to have supplied a *Persian* army, and its *followers*, and beasts of

penetrating into Egypt, *without which he could never have accomplished his purpose.*" Thalia, 88.

\* It is there said that BACCHUS and URANIA were the only deities, whom they venerated; and that they called Bacchus, *Urotalt*; Urania, *Alilat*. The latter must be taken for ALLAH; the name of GOD, amongst the Arabs.

† *Damietta*, was the *Tamiathis* of ancient geography; and the branch of the Nile that runs by it, was the *Phatmetic*; the fourth in order of the seven branches, in going westward from *Pelusium*. It appears to be the deepest of the modern branches; and ought to have been deep anciently; since the fleet of Antigonus was ordered to shelter itself there. Diodorus, lib. xx. c. 4.

burthen with water, by means of *skins*, during the whole march. Arabia could scarcely have supplied skins enough.\*

If we may judge of the nature of the Idumean and Pelusiac deserts, by those of Syria, Arabia, &c. there should be in the inland tract, (although not in the line followed by the caravans, which passes very near the sea,) both wells and springs; and it was easy for the army to make a *detour*, for that purpose. From the journals of passengers across the *Arabian* desert, it appears, that the Arabs well know where to obtain water; and that they have, in

\* An arrangement somewhat similar to the former, made by Nadir Shah (Kouli Kan), is related by ABDUL KURREEM, translated by Mr. Gladwin; p. 51, *et seq.*

Whilst employed in the conquest of Khowarezm, (1740) he informed the governor of *Meru-Shahjehan*, that on his return, he should march from Charjoo on the Jihon, by way of Meru and Kelat, to Meshed, his capital; and gave him the following information and instructions: "That from the river *Jihon* (*Oxus*) to the borders of Meru, being a sandy desert, the army could not march above 11 farsangs a day (cosses of two British miles are probably meant; a farsang is nearer four), so that it would take them up four days† to go from Charjoo to Meru. That, for the first day's march, they would carry sufficient water from the Jihon. That although at the second stage, there is a large lake called *Ab Issar*, yet for fear it should not be sufficient for so large an army, the governor should order about 30 *Baghleyeh* wells to be sunk there. (The well so called, and which is used in all sandy soils, is made by sinking a frame of wood, stuffed with straw, or grass, to line the inside of the well, and prevent the sand from falling into it.) At the third stage, 18 such wells were to be made. For the fourth day, he was ordered to dig a large reservoir, and to supply it with water, by making a canal three farsangs in length from the river of Meru. This last stage was 15 *farsangs*.‡ Finally, he directed him to make a great number of *water bags* for camels and mules, and to *borrow* as many more as he could find; which were to be filled at the *new* reservoir, and sent onwards five farsangs, that the men might be able to allay their thirst on the march. The governor of Meru punctually executed these several commands." Notwithstanding these precautions, we learn (p. 69.) that many died on the march.

Thus the tyrants of the earth command the labour of man, in order to rivet, more firmly, the chains of his fellows.

† It should be five, by the sequel. Such inaccuracies perpetually occur in the writings of the Orientalists.

‡ More probably *cosses*.

many places, stopt up the wells, in order the more easily to arrange their schemes of depredation. But, as it happens, that camels will go several days without water, the caravans are content with a very few watering places; and disregard personal inconveniences. It is a strong presumptive proof, of there being water to be had, *generally*, in the Arabian desert, that the caravans if they please, make a direct line of course, across it.\*

Herodotus says, *Thalia*, 5, that the Syrian city of *Jenysus* is three journies from mount *Casius* (of Egypt); or rather perhaps, the distance should be understood, to be meant from the lake Serbonis; to a part of which, it is nearly adjacent. Thus, the text allows us to place *Jenysus* at no great distance to the SW of *Gaza* (and between it and *Raphia*); and to this circumstance of geographical position, others will be found to agree: so as to leave very little doubt that *Jenysus* was situated on the Syrian edge of the desert; and that it may be identified with the *Kan*, or *caravanserai*, of *Iönes* (*Kan Iönes*), situated at five or six hours travelling to the SW of *Gaza*.†

The modern travellers across the desert in question, represent it, in the line of the caravan route, from Egypt to Syria, to be formed of loose sand, and destitute of *good* water; corresponding with the "dry and parched desert," of our Author.‡ The route leads from *Cairo*, which is situated near the banks of the Nile, to *Salabiab*, the eastern frontier of the habitable part of Egypt (anciently *Sela*); and thence, leaving the site of *Pelusium* about three miles to the north, it soon after approaches the sea coast, which it afterwards skirts, the

\* The reader is referred to the very curious narratives of the journies of English travellers, from *Aleppo* to *Palmyra*, in the years 1678, and 1691, in the *Philosophical Transactions*, Vol. xix. Their guides found both springs and wells. See also the journal of Mr. Eyles Irwin across the Syrian and Arabian deserts: of Mr. Carmichael, in *Grose's Voyages*, &c.

† With respect to the position of *Jenysus*, Mr. BELOE is unquestionably right, in his note to *Thalia*, 5. M. D'Anville was of the same opinion.

‡ See M. Thevenot, *Della Valle*, &c.

whole way to Gaza, at the distance of a few miles. At, or near, *Kan Iönes* the country begins again to have verdure, trees, and good water, being the first of those productions that are to be seen, after leaving *Salabiab*.\*

The distance appears to be 107 G. miles *direct*, from *Salahiah* to *Kan Iönes*; and this is the extent of the desert: that is, a space equal to 10 *ordinary* marches of an army, and not, at any rate to be performed in less than seven days; if water could be procured. This was the interval of time that the caravan, in which M. Thevenot travelled, was in motion; although they halted two or three days by the way.

The space between mount *Casius* and *Kan Iönes*, is about 60 G. miles direct; but the lake of *Sirbonis* approaches many miles nearer to *Kan Iönes*, and therefore the three journies allowed by Herodotus between *Jenysus* and the *lake*, may be allowed to accord with that, between the *lake* and *Iönes*; taking a day's journey at 17 G. miles in *direct* distance. Hence, *Kan Iönes* may well be taken for *Jenysus*.

But from *Jenysus* to *Pelusium*, the distance was about 90 such miles; or, *Pelusium* was 30 miles farther than mount *Casius*, from *Jenysus*. Herodotus is silent concerning this part of the road, as if the desert had been confined to the first three days. This must remain unexplained; but, in the present day, it appears to be one continued desert, from *Kan Iönes* to the borders of Egypt; and the history of the march of Antigonus seems to prove the same state of things, then.

\* *Salabiab* may be regarded as the *pass*, on the side of Egypt towards Syria; as *Gaza* is on the Syrian side. Therefore, in respect to its *use*, it stands in the place of the ancient *Pelusium*, which was reckoned the key of Egypt; possessing, like *Salahiah*, the first drinkable water, in coming from the side of the desert. By the retreat of the Nile, westward, *Salahiah*, although more to the west than *Pelusium*, becomes the most advanced watering place towards Syria. The use of establishing a post here, by the French, lately, is therefore manifest. Geographically, it lies about 18 G. miles to the SW of the site of *Pelusium*: and about the same distance inland from the Mediterranean.

Thus, it appears, that in order to pass an army from Syria into Egypt, or *vice versa*, either the friendship and assistance of the Arabs must be secured, or a supply of water must be *carried* by the army itself; or in ships or boats, to the coast of the desert. Since the time of Cyrus, at least, Egypt and Syria have generally been subject to one master, which has served to facilitate the communication between them.

The expedition of Antigonus, against Ptolemy king of Egypt (B. C. 304.), although pretty much detailed in Diodorus (lib. xx. c. 4.), affords no explanations relative to the mode of procuring water.

It appears that he sent his fleet, which consisted of 150 ships of war, and 100 transports, or store ships, from Gaza, under the command of his son Demetrius: and marched himself, at the head of the army, from the same place, for *Pelusium*, with a view to surprise Ptolemy. The fleet was directed to arrange its motions, so as to communicate with the army; and the army, kept very *close* to the sea shore, or to that of the lake *Sirbonis*. It was said to consist of 80,000 foot, 8000 horse, and above 80 elephants.

Antigonus had collected an incredible number of camels, from Arabia; and making use of these, and other beasts of burthen, and a great number of carriages, he took with him, through the desert, provisions and forage. The soldiers also carried with them 10 days' provisions: but nothing is said respecting the provision of water; whether it made a part of the lading of the camels; whether the soldiers took it with them; or whether there was any arrangement for a supply, from the Arabs of the desert; according to the method employed by Cambyses. The fleet, either through bad weather, or calms, was often separated from the army, so that no regular supply could be derived from the ships; although, by the nature of the original disposition, one might conclude that it had been intended.

Nothing therefore can be gathered, respecting the mode by which



Antigonus supplied his vast army with water. It is certain that the historian does not record any complaint, of the want of it: and it might be, that he was not aware of the difficulty of procuring it.

It appears that Ptolemy was well provided for the reception of Antigonus. He had lined the banks of the river of Pelusium, which was at that season very deep, with fortifications: and had also provided a *flotilla* in each of the mouths of the Nile; so that the enemy was foiled in every attempt to land from his fleet: and he was finally compelled to retreat with disgrace, to Syria.\*

IX. We are now compelled to depart from the numerical arrangement of Herodotus, for the reasons stated at the outset (page 232); and to enter next on his ninth Satrapy, *Assyria*, &c.; although no more than the seventh, in our *geographical* arrangement; *his* seventh Satrapy being situated beyond the Caspian sea.

“BABYLON, and the *other parts* of ASSYRIA, constituted the ninth Satrapy, and paid 1000 talents of silver, with 500 young eunuchs.”  
Thalia, 92.

This Satrapy is one of the most extensive and rich, of any. Assyria, in the idea of Herodotus (and which is further explained by Strabo), comprehended not only Assyria *proper*, by which is to be understood the country beyond the Tigris, and of which, Nineveh was the capital, but Syria and *Mesopotamia*† likewise; as well as *Babylonia*: for our Author says, “*Babylon*, and the *rest* of the

\* Herodotus relates (in Thalia, 6, 7.) a curious particular concerning the disposal of the *jars*, in which wine was sent to Egypt, from Greece and Phœnicia. These jars were collected by the Persians (after the conquest of Egypt, by Cambyses) at Memphis, and sent, full of Nile water, to the desert, to aid the communication across it, when Egypt and Syria were both in their hands. This was certainly a very useful arrangement. Diodorus, lib. xix. c. 6, reports, that the *Nabatheans* of the adjoining desert, kept stores of rain water in earthen vessels, concealed in the ground, from whence, as from a grand magazine, they drew forth sufficient quantities for their ordinary expenditure.

† The term *Mesopotamia* seems to be of a later date than the time of Herodotus.

*Assyrians*:" and Assyrians and Babylonians are synonymous terms, in *Clio*, 106, 178: and *Thalia*, 155.\*

In effect, SYRIA, in the contemplation of our Author, as well as of Strabo, was a *member* of *Assyria*; and appears to be only the same name, a little abridged; perhaps without the article. In the enumeration of the army of Xerxes, *Polym.* 63, speaking of the *Assyrians*, "These people the Greeks call *Syrians*, the Barbarians *Assyrians*; mixt with these, were the *Cbaldeans*." And in his description of the regions of Asia, *Melpom.* 39, no country is mentioned between *Persia* and *Pbcenicia*, save ASSYRIA and ARABIA: and he adds, that "the whole of this region is occupied by *three* nations only:" these therefore we must suppose to be the *Assyrians*, *Arabians*, and *Pbcenicians*.

However, it is certain that he also uses the term SYRIA, to express collectively, SYRIA properly so called, together with SYRIA of PALESTINE, and PHCENICIA; as we have already shewn in page 243; although the two latter are not classed as belonging to the Satrapy of *Assyria*, but to that of *Pbcenicia*. The *Syrians*, north of Taurus, or the *Leuco-syri*, have been already spoken of; and are totally distinct from these.

This Satrapy then, extended in length, from the Mediterranean sea, opposite Cyprus,† to the head of the Persian gulf; and in breadth from mount Taurus to the Arabian desert; having *Cissia* (*Susiana*), *Media*, and *Matiene*, on the east; *Armenia* and *Cappadocia*, on the north (the former of which seems to have commenced at mount *Masius*); *Arabia* on the south; and on the west *Cilicia*, the *Mediterranean* sea, *Pbcenicia*, and *Palestine*.‡

According to our Author, *Clio*, 192, *Babylonia* was reckoned

\* Strabo, as well as others, extend ASSYRIA in like manner. See the xvth book of Strabo, particularly.

† *Posideium*, which stood on the borders of *Cilicia* and *Syria* (*Thalia*, 91.) was nearly opposite to *Cyprus*. See above, pages 242, and 243.

‡ The physical geography of this tract has been spoken of in section VIII.

equal to  $\frac{1}{3}$  of Asia, in point of revenue; previous (as we understand it,) to the time of Cyrus; and its government was deemed by much the noblest in the empire. It must be conceived that by Babylonia, Assyria in general was meant. Herodotus speaks of its fertility and produce, in terms of admiration: the Euphrates was the principal agent of this fertility, but he remarks that it does not, like the Egyptian Nile, enrich the country by overflowing its banks, but by the dispersion of its waters by manual labour, or by hydraulic engines: the country, like Egypt, being intersected by a number of canals; Clio, 193. It appears evidently, that he had himself visited Babylonia: he speaks of the *palm*, as abounding there (as Xenophon after him); and was no stranger to the distinction of sexes in these trees; but seems to be mistaken in certain parts of the œconomy of nature, in this matter.\*

He has collected a number of curious particulars respecting *Babylon*, and its province; which would occupy too much room, in this place; and therefore we refer the reader to the book itself: but as the reader will no doubt be gratified at finding that any custom described by Herodotus, exists in the present times, either wholly, or in part, we shall not pass over in silence his description of a particular kind of boat, seen by him on the rivers of Babylon. These were of a circular form, and composed of *willows*, covered with *skins*. They were constructed in *Armenia* (Upper Mesopotamia), in the parts above Assyria, and on their arrival at Babylon, the owners having disposed of their cargoes, they also sold all the materials of the boats, save the skins, which they carried again into Armenia, in order to use them in the construction of other boats. But the rapidity of the stream being too great to render their return by water practicable, they loaded the skins on the backs of asses, which were brought in the boats for that purpose. Some of these boats carried 5000 talents. Clio, 194.

\* See Clio, 194. He says that the palm produces *bread, wine, and honey*. Xenophon also speaks of the palms of Babylonia much in the same manner.

The same kind of embarkation is now in use in the lower parts of the same river, under the name of *kufab* (that is a *round vessel*): but they are most commonly daubed over with bitumen, skins being very seldom used; being perhaps much scarcer than formerly.\* These *kufabs* are exactly in the form of a *sieve*, and require only a few inches depth of water to float in. The reader will immediately recollect the Welch *corricles*, and the boats of reeds and willows made in other parts of the world. The *ark*, that is the cradle, or boat, or both, of MOSES, was formed of the *bulrush*, or reed of the Nile, and daubed over with *pitch*: that is, we may suppose, *bitumen*. Exodus, ii. ver. 3.

We have reserved our remarks on the description of the city of Babylon, for a separate section, as they are too long for this place.†

\* My friend Mr. John Sullivan, in his progress to India by land (through Natolia, and Mesopotamia), saw some of the *kufabs* covered with *skins*, in the manner which Herodotus relates.

Although Babylon was situated at the *Euphrates*, yet the canals of communication between that river and the *Tigris*, rendered matters much the same, as if the boats had come all the way, with the stream. They could not have descended from *Armenia* by the *Euphrates*, because of the interruption of the navigation, at the passage of mount *Taurus*.

† Herodotus promises to give the particulars of the capture of NINEVEH, by the Medes: perhaps a description and history of it, likewise; but it no where appears. See Clio, 106.

He mentions Nineveh, however, in several places; particularly in Clio, 102, 103, 178; and Euterpe, 150: but without any description. He speaks of its *first* siege by *Cyaxares*; and of the raising of that siege, by the Scythians of the *Mæotis*, on their irruption into Asia, as before related; page 111. Moreover, he calls it an *Assyrian* city; the royal residence of Sardanapalus; and speaks of its capture and destruction, by the Medes, after the retreat of the Scythians.

Both Diodorus and Strabo, attribute its foundation to NINUS, king of Assyria. The former, lib. ii. c. 1, describes its form and dimensions, to be an oblong figure, 150 stadia by 90; the longest side, being parallel to, and at, the bank of the *Euphrates* (*Tigris* is meant). He also speaks of its destruction, by the Medes.

Strabo (p. 737.) says, that it was larger than Babylon; which the above dimensions shew: and that it was totally in ruins.

From these notices, the first city of Nineveh should have been destroyed in the

One institution at Babylon we cannot forbear mentioning, for the good sense of it. "Such as are diseased, they carry into some public square: they have no professors of medicine, but the passengers in general interrogate the sick person concerning his malady; that if any person has either been afflicted with a similar disease himself, or seen its operation on another, he may communicate the process, &c. No one may pass by the afflicted person in silence, or without inquiry into the nature of his complaint." Clio, 197.

In the army of Xerxes (Polym. 6g.), the Assyrian forces "had brazen helmets of a strange form, and difficult to describe. Their shields, spears, and daggers, were like those of the Egyptians: they had also large clubs pointed with iron, and *linen cuirasses*.\* With these, whom the Greeks call *Syrians*, the Barbarians *Assyrians*, were

seventh century before Christ. § Its situation is well known to be at the eastern side of the Tigris, opposite the city of *Mosul*. Strabo places it in the country of *Aturia*; and Dion Cassius says, lib. lxxviii. that *Attyria* is the same with *Assyria*, the Barbarians having changed the *s* into *t*. Certain it is that both of the names *Assur* and *Nineveh*, are now found in that country; and the latter, is pointedly applied to the site opposite Mosul; where, according to travellers of the highest authority (Niebuhr amongst the rest), traces of the remains of a city are found; such as mounds of earth, and heaps which indicate the rubbish of buildings, as at Babylon.

It appears remarkable that XENOPHON, whose fifth encampment from the *Zabatus*, must have been near to, or on its site; and ALEXANDER, who passed so near it, in his way to the field of *Gaugamela* (*Arbela*); should neither of them have taken any notice of its ruins: the former especially, who notes the remains of two cities (*Larissa* and *Mespyla*) in his way towards the site of Nineveh, from the *Zabatus*.

According to Tacitus, there was a city named Nineveh, in this quarter, perhaps on the same site, in the reign of the Emperor Claudius.

\* Perhaps *vests* quilted with *cotton*, or some such substance, to resist the ordinary cut of a sabre—war jackets.—These are worn at present by the soldiery, in the service of the petty princes of India.

§ This was previous to the captivity of the tribe of Judah. Tobias lived to hear of its destruction: (Tobit, at the end).

mixed the *Chaldeans*: all were commanded by one general. It may be remarked, that the Assyrians were far behind the Persians and Susians, both in dress and weapons.

VIII. "The eighth Satrapy (here we return again to our Author's progressive number) furnished 300 talents, and consisted of *Susa*, and the rest of the *Cissians*." *Thalia*, 91.

This division answers to the modern *Khuzistan*; and was situated between *Babylonia*, *Media*, *Persia*, and the gulf of that name. Next to the Lydian Satrapy, it is the smallest of the whole: but as it contained the then capital of the empire, *Susa*,\* and possessed a rich alluvial soil, and valuable products, (and perhaps, as at the present day, rich manufactures also,) it was enabled to pay so considerable a proportion of tribute.† Aristagoras makes use of this remarkable saying, when he spoke to Cleomenes, king of Sparta, concerning *Susa*, called also the royal city and residence of Memnon,‡ " *Susa*, where the Persian monarch occasionally resides, and where his treasures are deposited—make yourselves masters of this city, and you may vie in affluence with Jupiter himself." *Terp.* 49.

There were of the *Cissians*, or *Susians*, both cavalry and infantry, in the army of Xerxes; *Polym.* 62, and 86. Their armour, arms, and accoutrements, appear to have been like those of the Persians; only that they wore *mitres* instead of *tiara*: and from circumstances in general, they appear to have been a rich, and a civilized people.

It was in this country of *Cissia*, or *Susiana*, that the *ERETRIANS* of the Island of *Eubœa*, (who were taken during the first invasion

\* It is well known that the Persian monarchs had more than one capital. *Ecbatana*, from the coolness of its situation, (see the note, page 178.) was the summer capital; *Susa*, and *Babylon*, seem to have been their winter residences. *Persepolis* was also a distinguished place of residence. In the time of Herodotus, *Susa* was the capital.

† See the description of this country, and of its cities, in *Otter*, Vol. ii. p. 49, *et seq.*

‡ The foundation of *Susa* is by some referred to *Memnon*; by others to *Tithonius*. Herodotus always calls it the city of *Memnon*.

of Greece, by the Persians, during the reign of Darius Hystaspes,) were placed, after having been first passed into the small Island of *Ægilea*; Erato, 101, 107. After the memorable battle of Marathon, such of the Eretrians as had not contrived to escape, about 400 in number, including 10 women, were carried to Susa, by Datis and Artaphernes, as (it would appear) the principal trophy obtained in the expedition. Darius, much to his honour (as Herodotus admits that the Eretrians were the first aggressors), took compassion on them, and appointed them a residence at *Ardericca*, in the district of Cissia; one of the royal stations, situated at the distance of 210 stadia from Susa. It cannot be recognized in the geography: but if, by the circumstance of its being a royal station, is meant that it was one of those between Sardis and Susa,\* it should lie to the *westward* of the latter. Herodotus says that they remained there, *to his time*, and preserved their ancient language. Erato, 119.

These Eretrians are again heard of, in the life of Apollonius of Tyana, by Philostratus. On a visit to the king of Parthia, Arsaces Bardanus, at Ctesiphon, he is said to have petitioned the king, in favour of the Eretrians carried away by Darius Hystaspes; and that the king promised redress. This visit being made 50 years after our era, would necessarily have been 540 after their captivity.

The *Bœotians* (*Thebans*) carried away by Xerxes, Polym. 233, were placed in the country of Assyria, at *Celonæ* (now *Gbilanee*), near the ascent of the pass of mount *Zagros*. This is collected from Diodorus, lib. xvii. c. 11. Alexander saw them at *Celonæ* in his way from Susa and Sittacene, to Ecbatana; after his return from India. Diodorus says, that they had not altogether forgot their language, laws, or customs; although they had learnt the language of the natives: doubtless, by intermarrying with them. This was no more than 150 years, or thereabouts, after their removal from Greece. Polybius speaks of the district of *Chalonitis* at the ascent of

\* See an account of these stations in Terp. 52, and also in section XIII.

Zagros, in lib. v. c. 5.: and both the pass, and Ghilanee are well known, from the travels of Thevenot, Otter, and Abdulkurreem. The pass in question leads from the country of *Irak* into *Al Jebal*, or Kurdistan.

Certain persons amongst the Jews, who were carried into captivity by the Babylonians, were afterwards removed from Babylon, to the province of Susiana. Daniel was one of them. One of his visions was in the palace of *Sushan*, or *Susa*; ch. viii. It is worthy of remark, that the practice of the Persian, Median, and Babylonian kings, of referring their dreams to the soothsayers, as we find it repeatedly in the book of Daniel, is also spoken of by Herodotus, as a system.\* In Polym. 19, the MAGI (who appear to be the *magicians* of Daniel, ch. iv. ver. 7.), deliver their opinions concerning the meaning of Xerxes' dream, respecting the invasion of Greece: and the interpretation was made known to the national assembly of the Persians. In like manner, the extraordinary dream of *Mandane*, the mother of CYRUS, and her father's dream respecting her; were referred to the MAGI, who are said to be "the usual interpreters;" Clio, 107, 108. Again in c. 110, their opinions are resorted to, on occasion of the disposal of Cyrus. And in a variety of other cases.

The practice of removing tribes of people from one country to another, to accomplish political purposes, has prevailed in all ages. Perhaps, there can hardly be devised a more cruel act of tyranny, when attended with compulsion; since every human creature has an attachment to its native soil and atmosphere; however bad they

\* We have a pleasure in remarking, that there are a number of coincidences, between the historical facts in the Old Testament, and in our Author; if we make such allowances, as, from the experience of our own times, are requisite, on the score of misapprehension, and misinformation. Such, amongst other facts, are, the story of SENACHERIB king of Assyria, and the mice (*Euterpe*, 141.), which is a different reading of that in 2 Kings, xix, and 2 Chron. xxxiii.: the battle of *Magdolum* (*Eut.* 159.), instead of *Megiddo*, 2 Chron. xxxv. in which the king of Judah, was conquered by the king of Egypt.



may be, in the estimation of those, who, from observation, are enabled to judge of their qualities. In modern times, Tamerlane and Nadir Shah practised it, with great rigour: and, considering how numerous the instances are, in all ages, one ought not to be surprised at finding dialects of languages in situations very remote from their original seats.

X. "The 10th Satrapy\* furnished 450 talents; and consisted of *Ecbatana*, the rest of *Media*, the *Parycanii*, and the *Orthocorybantes*." *Thalia*, 92.

It is well known, that there were *two* countries of the name of *MEDIA*, at the time of the Macedonian conquest; and that they were called the *greater* and *lesser*. The greater answers to the modern division of *Al Jebal*, or *Irak Ajami*; the lesser to *Aderbigian*, which was called by the Greeks *Atropatia*, perhaps meaning to imitate the former.† We conclude that Herodotus intended by *Media*, the *greater* *Media*, only; because he classes *Matiene*, which lay between the *two*, as distinct from *Media*; and because also, that *Aderbigian* appears to form a part of the *Saspires* and *Caspian*s, which are also classed distinctly from *Media*.

*Ecbatana*, which will naturally be understood to mean the country that lay around that capital, will then form the northern part of the Satrapy in question. The *Orthocorybantes* may be taken for the people of *Corbiana*, now *Currimabad*, the southern part of *Media*, towards *Susiana*: and by the *Parycanii*, we conclude are meant the *Paretacæni*, the people of the eastern province of *Media*, which extended from *Persis* to the *Caspian* straits.‡

*Media magna*, or *Media proper*, occupies the midland and elevated tract, between the approximating parts of the *Caspian* sea, and the *Persian* gulf; having the low lands of *Susiana* on the south, and

\* The *ninth* only, in this series.

† See above, page 177, note.

‡ The *Paretacæni* were one of the tribes of *Media*; in *Clio*, 101. Pliny says, that the *Pratiæ*, or *Paredoni*, kept possession of the *Caspian* strait. *Lib. vi. c. 15.*

the hollow semicircular tract, which embraces the south part of the Caspian sea, (and which contains the provinces that may with propriety be termed *Caspian*,) on the opposite side. It formed also the central part of the GREAT PERSIAN EMPIRE, of that day; and was, from climate, verdure, and richness of soil, the most beautiful of its provinces. In the descriptions of modern travellers, and geographers, Media is more commonly reckoned the *western* part of Persia; it being in reality its most western province; mount *Zagros* forming the common boundary between Persia and Turkey. Ispahan, the present capital, is situated in the south-east corner of the division of ancient Media.

Thus, occupying the space between the two seas, on the north and south, and forming a kind of pass between the cultivated parts of Eastern and Western Asia, Media, no less from its geographical position, than from its fertility and temperature, was one of the most important and interesting tracts in Asia.

MEDIA may be deemed the *cradle* of what was afterwards denominated the *Persian power*: for, it produced not only a hardy race of men, but also a numerous breed of the finest horses, from whence was formed the best cavalry of Asia; which were in fact, *Median*, although the superior fortune of Persia, communicated its name to *those*, in common with the empire at large. It is also well known, that the Medes held the sovereignty of Asia, *previous* to the Persians. The horses in question were those bred in the *Nisæan* pastures; and which were so much famed for size, and for beauty and swiftness, in almost every ancient historian and geographer. These pastures are recognized in the beautiful country above mount *Zagros*, between *Gbilanee* and *Kermanshab*.\*

\* See the Travels of M. Otter, Vol. i. p. 178, *et seq.*; Vol. ii. p. 11, *et seq.*

*Nisæus*, was a district in Media, remarkable for producing horses of an extraordinary size. Xerxes' chariot was drawn by them—and the sacred horses in the procession were *Nisæan*; Polym. 40. Alexander gave a Nisæan horse to *Calanus*, to carry him to the funeral pile. The king of Parthia sacrificed one to the *sun*, when

The Medes had both cavalry and infantry in the army of Xerxes : and they were armed and clothed like the Persians. Herodotus indeed says, that the military dress of the Persians, was, properly speaking, *Median*, and not *Persian* ; Polym. 61, 62.\* With the Greeks of his time, *MEDIAN* was applied generally to the united empire of Medes and Persians, as having from habit been applied to the power which held the sovereignty of Asia. This appears throughout his work. He says moreover, that in ancient times the Medes were universally named *ARII* (Polym. 62.) ; which agrees with Strabo ; for by him, it appears, as if the whole tract between Assyria and India, had originally been called *ARIA*, by the Greeks.

Media boasted of the splendid city of *Ecbatana*, the summer capital of the Persian monarchs ; now *Hamadan*.† Also that of *Rages*, perhaps of equal antiquity : afterwards revived under the modern

Apollonius of Tyana visited his court. *Masistius* rode a Nisæan horse at the decisive battle of *PLATÆA*. The Nisæan pastures are spoken of in Diodorus, lib. xvii. c. 11. ; and in Arrian, lib. vii.

*Ghilanee* has been already mentioned, as the *Celona* of Diodorus, where the Bœotians were placed by Xerxes. See above, page 268.

\* This ascendancy of the Median fashions, in so important an article as the military habit, serves to shew, that, although the fortune of Persia, under Cyrus, had risen superior to that of the Medes, yet that the latter were far more advanced in the arts.

† The city of *Ecbatana* was unquestionably on or near the site of *Hamadan*, in *Al Jebel*. A great number of authorities concur in proving this, although many refer it to *Tauris*, or *Tebriz*, in Aderbigian : Mr. Gibbon, and Sir W. Jones, amongst the rest. The authorities are too numerous to be adduced here : we shall only mention that Isidore of Charax places it on the road from *Seleucia* to *Parthia* : that Pliny says, that Susa is equidistant from *Seleucia* and *Ecbatana* ; and that the capital of *Atropatia* (*Aderbigian*) is midway between *Artaxata* and *Ecbatana*. And finally, that it lay in the road from *Nineveh* to *Rages*, or *Rey*. (*Tobit*, ch. v. and vi.)

For the account of the foundation, as well as the description, of *Ecbatana*, the reader is referred to Herodotus, Clio, 98 ; Polybius, lib. x. Ex. 4. ; Diodorus, lib. ii. c. 1. ; and to the book of *Judith*, ch. i. ver. 2.

name of *Rey*, by the Mahomedans; and which was one of the largest and finest cities of the East; but is now a mass of ruins.\* This province is moreover, famous for being the place of captivity of the ten tribes, or rather that *part* of them which was carried away by the Assyrians of Nineveh.†

\* The ruins of *two* cities of the name of *Rey* are noticed by travellers, in the plain, at about 50 miles to the west of the Caspian strait; which was the position of *Rages*. For *Rages*, see *Tobit*, throughout: *Strabo*, 524, 525; and *Polybius*, lib. x. Ex. 4.

† See section XV.

## SECTION XII.

## THE SATRAPIES CONTINUED.

Caspian and Hyrcanian Provinces; and Dahestan.—Bows made of Bamboo.—Eastern Armenia and Matiene.—Colchians not subjected to Tribute, but present Gratuities—attend Xerxes as Auxiliaries.—Caucasus, the Limit of the Persian Power—contains an infinite Number of Languages.—Western Armenia, peopled by Phrygians.—Mines of Gold, Silver, Lead, Copper, and Iron, in Mount Taurus.—Vallies of Sophene and Diarbekir.—Tribes along the South-east Coast of the Euxine—Chalybes and Mosynoecians—Mardi, or Anthropophagi.—Persia Proper; its Tribes emancipated from Tribute, by CYRUS.—Pasagardæ and Persepolis.—Artæi, a Name of the Persians.—Germanians, or Carmanians.—Sagartii, taken for a Tribe from Zagatai.—Sarangæans, the Euergetæ of Cyrus and the Greeks.—Utians, or Uxians.—The Persians,—the Flower of the Army of Xerxes.—Islands of the Persian Gulf, their various Uses.—Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, and Arians.—Bactrians—Sacæ, distinguished Warriors; conquered by Cyrus—Ethiopians of Asia—Indians—vast Tribute levied on them; and in Gold.—Herodotus knew few Particulars of India, and misrepresented the Natives of it—Vindication of their Characters; as well from ancient Authors, as from the Conduct of Alexander.—The Ganges not known to Herodotus—his Padæi, the same with the Gangaridæ of others.—Calanus, the Friend and Companion of Alexander—Death of Calanus, on a Funeral Pile.—Indian Widow burns herself with the Body of her Husband; in the Camp of Eumenes.—Aggregate Sum of the Tribute—Proportions of Gold to Silver.—The Southern Nations recruited from Caucasus, from remote Times.—Population of Egypt.—General Observations.—Cause of the Assem-

*blage of so many Nations, by Xerxes—entire Conquest of Europe, intended.—Rendezvous of the Fleet and Army of Xerxes.—Our Author's History, favourable to Liberty.*

XI. “THE *Caspians*, the *Pausicæ*, the *Pantimatbi*, and the *Daritæ*, contributed amongst them 200 talents, and formed the 11th Satrapy.”  
Thalia, 92.\*

Of these, we find only the *Caspians* in the army of *Xerxes*; in which they formed one entire and distinct command: and there were of them, both cavalry and infantry; Polym. 67, and 86. The infantry wore vests of skins; had bows made of *reeds* (*bamboos* it may be conceived), and scymetars. In effect, they resembled the *Bactrians*, and *Arians*, their neighbours; 86: and there was a general resemblance in the *armour* of the *Bactrians*, *Caspians*, *Parthians*, *Chorasmians*, *Sogdians*, *Gardarians*, and *Dadicæ*: see Polym. 64, 65, 66, 86; so that all the nations situated to the east and north of *Media*, had so many points of resemblance to each other, as to shew that they had a common origin; that is doubtless from *SCYTHIA*: and this is shewn also from many passages in *Strabo* and *Pliny*.

It may be observed, that although the *Hyrceanians* appear in the list of the army, with dresses like the *Persians*; Polym. 62; they are not classed in any Satrapy; and on the contrary, the *Daritæ*, and other nations who are classed in the same Satrapy with the *Caspians*, do not appear in the army. It is possible, however, that the *Daritæ* may be meant for the *Dabæ*, of whom we have spoken so fully under the head of *Scythia*; and who effected a settlement in *Dabestan* at the south-east part of the *Caspian sea*, between *Hyrkania* and the ancient course of the river *Oxus*. See p. 222, *et seq.*

There are found in *Strabo* and *Ptolemy*, some notices respecting the *Pasicæ* and *Aspasiacæ*, who appear to be the *Pausicæ* of our

\* The tenth only, in this arrangement.

Author. (See Strabo, p. 513: Ptolemy, *Asia*, Tab. vii.) They are placed near to, or bordering on the Chorasmiens; whence of course, the Caspian Satrapy should border north-eastward, on Chorasamia. On the other hand, the nation of the *Caspians* inhabited the shore of the sea of that name (and which they appear to have communicated to it, in that quarter at least,) from the mouth of the river *Cyrus*, southward; Pliny, vi. 13. Strabo, p. 514, places them nearly in the same situation; and Ptolemy, between the mouths of the *Cyrus* and *Araxes*; which rivers, in ancient times, gained the sea by separate channels. We may therefore conceive the *Caspians* to have possessed the *eastern* part of *Aderbigian*, with the province of Ghilan, &c. The name however, was obsolete before the time of Strabo.

Thus, then, the 11th Satrapy seems to have extended at least from the mouth of the *Cyrus*, to that of the *Oxus*; occupying the semicircular tract, which embraces the south part of the Caspian sea; and which is shut up on the inland side, by a great ridge of mountains, forming a most romantic and beautiful amphitheatre, described by modern travellers, and also slightly mentioned by Quintus Curtius.\* So that this Satrapy constitutes one vast natural division of country, and that of the most fertile and productive kind; being the modern provinces of *Ghilan*, *Mazanderan* (or *Taberistan*), *Korkan*, *Dabestan*, &c. known in ancient geography by the names of *Gela*, *Maxere*, *Tapuri*, *Hyrkania*, and the country of the *Dabæ*.

In effect then, *Hyrkania* should have been included in this division, although omitted in the statement of Herodotus; since it falls geographically between the *Caspians* and the *Pausicæ*; which latter, bordered, as we have seen, on Chorasamia, and marked the north-eastern extremity of the Satrapy. The *Pantimathi* may likewise be included, and may represent one or more of the provinces above enumerated.

\* See Della Valle, Vol. iii.; Olearius's Travels, lib. vii.; Hanway's, Vol. i.; and Quintus Curtius, lib. vi. c. 4.

XVIII. "The 18th Satrapy was taxed at 200 talents, and was composed of the *Matieni*, the *Saspires*, and *Alarodians*." Thalia, 94.\*

The position of *Matiene* is well known. It was, properly speaking, the north-west part of *Media major*, lying above the ascent of mount *Zagros*; and between *Ecbatana* and the lake of *Maraga*. In *Terpsichore*, 49, *Aristagoras* describes it as lying between *Armenia* and *Cissia*: and, in 52, the *Gyndes* is described to flow from it, in its course to the *Tigris*. According to our idea, although it borders on the SE of *Armenia*, yet it does not extend near so far to the south, as the province of *Cissia*, or *Susiana*.†

For the *Saspires*, or *Saspirians*, we have the following authorities: but it is proper to observe, that although this nation has different names in different places; as *Saspires*, *Saspines*, *Sapinians*, and *Saspirians*; yet they are all doubtless meant for the same people, as they are every one of them, connected geographically with the *Alarodians*.

"Beyond the Persians, to the north, are the Medes; and next to them, are the *Saspirians*. Contiguous to these, and where the *Phasis* empties itself into the northern sea, are the *Colchians*," &c.; *Melpom.* 37.

Again, "the *Saspirians* separate *Media* from *Colchis*;" *Clio*, 104: and in 110, speaking of the mountains that lay to the north of *Ecbatana* (near the *Euxine*, it is said, but *this* must be a mistake), "this part of *Media* TOWARDS the SASPIRES, is high and mountainous, and abounds with forests; the rest of the country is a spacious plain." And again, *Melp.* 40, "To the east, beyond Persia, *Media*, the SAPINIANS, and *Colchians*," &c.

As the mountainous tract just alluded to, is clearly the province of *Matiene*, so the *Saspires* (or whatsoever may be their proper

\* The eleventh only, in this arrangement.

† More will be said respecting *Matiene*, in the remarks on the road from *Sardis* to *Susa*, in section XIII.; which see. The *Matiene* of *Cappadocia* has already been discriminated, in the account of the third Satrapy, pages 204, and 239.



name) must occupy the space in the line between *Matiene* and *Colchis*; and, regard being had to the position of the *Caspians'* country; to that of the *Caucasian* provinces, of the *Moschi*, and of *Armenia*; all of which lay beyond it; the *Saspire*s must have extended through the space between the western bank of the river *Cyrus*, and the mountains of *Armenia*; the *Araxes* and its branches passing through it, to the point, where it descends into the plain of *Mogan*, a part of the country of the *Caspians*.

The *Saspire*s then, should have occupied in modern geography, the eastern part of *Armenia*.

The *Alarodians*, or third division of this Satrapy, we cannot find any authority for placing; but may suppose their country to be parts of *Iberia*, and *Albania*, bordering on the *Colchians* and *Saspire*s: for the *Alarodes* and *Saspire*s were joined in one command, and both were dressed like the *Colchians*; implying neighbourhood and connection. Polym. 79.

The *Colchians* themselves, as well as their neighbours, the *Caucasian* nations, were not classed as belonging to any Satrapy, but imposed a tribute on themselves, in like manner as the *Arabians*, and some other nations; *Thalia*, 97: and to this mountain of *Caucasus*, only, according to our Author, "the Persian authority extends. Northward of it, their name inspires no regard." The *Colchians*, however, attended the army of *Xerxes*, as *auxiliaries*; together with the *Mares*. *These*, we can only take for one of the tribes of *Caucasus*; *auxiliaries* also: for of these tribes there were, as in the present times, a great number.\*

\* The incredible number of tribes and languages, in, and about, mount *Caucasus*, is spoken of, as well by the ancients, as the moderns. See Mr. Tooke's *Russia*, Vol. ii.; and the Memoir of the Map of the countries between the *Euxine* and *Caspian*, published in 1788. This remarkable tract, which forms an *Isthmus* between the *nations* of the *north* and of the *south*, seems to have retained a specimen of each passing tribe, from the date of the earliest migration.

The *Mares*, or *Marians*, might be intended for the *Mardi* of the 19th Satrapy, adjoining to the one in question.

Concerning the *Matiene* troops, we have already spoken, as well as of the confusion arising between the different countries of that name. The troops spoken of in Polym. 72, evidently belonged to the *Matiene* of Cappadocia.

XIII. "From the 13th Satrapy,\* 400 talents were levied. This comprehended *Pactyica*, the *Armenians*, with the *contiguous* nations, *as far as the Euxine.*" Thalia, 93.

In the description of Xerxes' army, the *Armenians* are said to be a colony of *Phrygians*; they were armed like *them*, and were subject to the same commander; Polym. 73. We hear of *Pactyans* also, Polym. 67; but they were armed like the *Utii*, *Myci*, and *Paricanii*, who were situated towards the southern sea; and were quite unlike the people of the quarter towards the Euxine and Caucasus. Moreover, the *Sagartii*, who were said to be of Persian descent, and appear to have been seated on the borders of Persia proper, were habited somewhat *between* the *Persians* and *Pactyans*; Polym. 85. We should therefore take *these* *Pactyans* to be the *Bactearis*, seated in the mountains on the west of Ispahan; and the *Pactyans* of Armenia must be a different people; and are quite unknown to us.

When our Author extends this Satrapy to the Euxine, he appears to contradict himself. For, the nations along the Euxine, from the *Syrians* of *Cappadocia*, to the *Colchians*, and which are shut up on the land side, by the Armenian mountains, are all allotted to the XIXth Satrapy; as will presently appear. And the *Colchians* themselves, who are not included in any Satrapy, occupy the remainder of the coast, bordering on Armenia; so that no part of this Satrapy can possibly touch on the Euxine.

The Armenia of Herodotus (in Terpsichore 52.), extended westward to the Euphrates, in the quarter towards Cilicia; and southward to mount *Masius* in Mesopotamia; as may be inferred from the same chapter. Northwards it included the sources of the

\* The 12th only, in this arrangement.

Euphrates; Clio, 180; and from the position given to the *Saspies*, it should be confined on the east, by the mountains which separate the course of the Araxes, from the eastern sources of the Euphrates; amongst which is mount Ararat. Thus, the Armenia of our Author, has very circumscribed limits, compared with the geography of more modern times; which adds to it, the valley traversed by the Araxes, which Herodotus assigns to the *Saspies*.

From the moderate amount of the sum collected in this Satrapy, there is little reason to suppose, that any considerable proportion of it, arose from the produce of the mines, that are wrought with so much profit, at the present day. The mines alluded to, are those situated in the two branches of mount *Taurus*, that inclose the valley of *Sophene*; through which the Euphrates passes, in its way from Armenia to Syria.\* These are two in number, *Kebban*, and *Argana*; and a third, *Arabkir*, is situated on the western, or Cappadocian side, of the Euphrates.

KEBBAN, or *Mâden Kebban* (*Mâden* signifies mine), is situated in the very heart of the northern ridge of *Taurus* (apparently that intended by *Anti-Taurus*), and impends over the Euphrates, which has here forced itself a passage through the ridge, leaving a vast chasm.† The bed of the river is here about 200 yards in breadth, and very deep. The ARGANA mine is at the front of the southern branch of the same mountains, overlooking the great valley of *Diarbekir*, through which runs the *Tigris*.‡ These two mines are about

\* Now called the valley of *Karpoot*, from a fortress and town, within it. It lies opposite to the valley of *Malatia* (anciently *Melitena*), of which it is, in fact, a continuation; the Euphrates alone, separating the two vallies.

† The two great branches of the Euphrates from *Erzeroum* and *Bayazid*, form a junction at no great distance above *Kebban*. It is below this place, and in its passage through *Taurus*, that the Euphrates forms the rapids which interrupt the navigation to and from, Syria.

‡ This is a more extensive valley than that of *Sophene*, from whence it is divided by the principal ridge of *Taurus*. Northwards it is bounded by mount *Niphates*, the continuation of the last ridge; southwards by *Mâsius*, its southern branch. These

70 road miles asunder; and are respectively, 50 and 120 from the city of Diarbekir, to the NW. ARIBKIR is about 20 to the N of Kebban; or 140 from Diarbekir.

The two former of these, were visited by Mr. J. Sullivan in his way through Lower Asia, in 1781; and by M. Otter, in 1739. Mr. Sullivan reports, that they were rich in *gold* and *silver*, and also produced *lead* and *iron*. M. Sestini, who accompanied him, says, that the mine of Argana, yielded *copper*, also; and by the different accounts, taken together, Argana seems to have been the most productive. Mr. Sullivan was told, that the mine of Arabkir had a richer vein of *gold*, than the others.

M. Otter, although he stopt at Aribkir, does not mention the mine; which seems to shew that it was little regarded, at that time. He says that the works at Argana had very much declined; and those at Kebban, still more. Gold and silver, are the only metals, spoken of by him.

Dr. Howel was at Argana and Kebban, in 1788. He says of the former, that the only metals found there, are silver and iron.\* He is silent, respecting Kebban.

It may be observed, that Sestini mentions copper at Argana; and no copper is spoken of elsewhere. Since that time, however, the Armenian mines have produced vast abundance of excellent copper, which has been dispersed in all directions, and threatens a revolu-

unte, and shut up the valley on the east. Within it, the numerous heads of the Tigris, are collected into one stream, which forcing its way through mount Masius, forms the *steep cliffs*, which compelled the TEN THOUSAND to quit the bank of the river, in their ascent from the plains of Babylon.

The valley of Diarbekir is about 140 British miles in length, and very wide, forming a great oval; and may not improperly be named, the *hollow Mesopotamia*. It is to be noted, that although some of the ancients reckoned it to Armenia, it is in reality, inclosed between the Euphrates and Tigris.

\* *Chalybes*, or workers in iron, are spoken of, amongst the people conquered by Croesus in Cappadocia. Xenophon, Anab. lib. v. found them at the shore of the Euxine, in Pontus; and here they are found midway between the two seas.

tion in the trade of this valuable article. From Diarbekir, the water carriage is continuous, to the gulf of Persia, either by means of boats, or rafts: but there is no water carriage in any other direction. The Mediterranean is about 10 journies distant, by caravans; the Euxine, rather less.

XIX. "The *Moschi, Tibareni, Macrones, Mosynoeci, and Mardians*, provided 300 talents, and were the 19th Satrapy." Thalia, 94.\*

Xenophon, in his way westward, passed successively through the territories of the *Macrones*,† the *Mosynoecians*, *Chalybians*, and *Tibareni*, between the rivers *Phasis* and *Thermodon*: and the *Moschi* were said to be situated between the heads of the *Phasis*, and the river *Cyrus*. Hence, the 19th Satrapy of our Author must have extended along the SE coast of the Euxine sea; and was confined on the inland, or southern side, by the lofty chain of Armenian mountains. On the east it was bounded by the heads of the *Phasis* and *Cyrus*; and on the west, by the *Thermodon*. The *Tibareni* appear to have bordered on the east of the *Thermodon*, and the *Mosynoeci, Macrones, and Moschi*, to follow in succession, eastward.‡ Hence, it may clearly be perceived, that no part of the Armenian Satrapy, could extend to the Euxine. See above, p. 279.)

This Satrapy is one of the smallest; for the Armenian mountains which rise very suddenly from the north, and form the elevated level from whence the *Euphrates, the Araxes, and the Cyrus*, spring, are at no great distance from the sea; as may be seen more particularly, by the instructive and entertaining *Travels of M. Tournefort*. The Satrapy is therefore a narrow stripe, or border of land, forming an intermediate level, between the high country of Armenia, and the Euxine sea; but containing some very hardy and warlike

\* The 13th, in the order here placed.

† The *Macrones* were afterwards called *Sanni*. Strabo, p. 548.

‡ Herodotus, *Euterpe*, 34, says that the *Macrones*, are neighbours to the *Syrians of Cappadocia*. But this should rather be said of the *Tibareni*, whom Xenophon found near the river *Thermodon*.

tribes; as the Ten Thousand experienced, in their troublesome land march from the borders of *Colchis* to *Cotyora*. It is every where intersected by small rivers, the neighbourhood of the mountains to the sea, preventing the waters from collecting into larger streams.

The *Mardi* of this Satrapy cannot be recognized, unless they may be the *Mares*, or *Marians*, who were joined in the same command with the *Colchians*; in Polym. 79. It may be remarked, that there are several tribes of this name: one in particular in the country adjacent to the SW of the Caspian sea; another in the south of Media; and a third near Bactria (Pliny, vi. 16.); apparently in *Gaur*. They were all mountaineers; hardy and warlike: and those at the Caspian occasioned much trouble to Alexander. Perhaps *Mardi* might design such kind of mountaineers, in general; and the *Mardi* who are joined with the *Colchians*, might have been the mountaineers adjacent to them.\*

The *Moschi* and *Tibareni* (in Polym. 78.), formed one command; the *Macrones* and *Mosynæci*, another: however, it may be seen, that the *two former* were situated at the opposite extremes of the province; and it is therefore more probable that the *Mosynæci* and *Moschi* should change places in the text. All these tribes, save the *Mardi* (if the *Mares* may be taken for them,) were equipped alike: that is, they had helmets of wood, small bucklers, and short spears, with long *iron* points. They lived in a country abounding with *iron*; for Xenophon found, amongst the *Mosynæcians*, and subject to them, a tribe named *Chalybians*. "These (he says) are few in number, and the greatest part of them subsist by the manufacture of iron;" Anab. lib. v. Iron ore seems to be spread throughout the

\* The reader is referred to M. D'Anville's *Antiquité Géographique de l'Inde*, page 96, *et seq.* for some curious observations respecting the term *Mardi-coura*, taken to be equivalent to *cannibal*, or *man-eater*; in India. M. D'Anville quotes Photius, who says as much: and also M. Thevenot, who says that certain people near Baroach, in Guzerat, were formerly named *Mardi-coura*, or man-eaters. See his *Indian Travels*, chapter iv.

whole tract along the Euphrates, in Cappadocia, Pontus, and Western Armenia.

The city and colony of Trebizonde was situated within this Satrapy: and hence the geography of it was well known to the Greeks. So that when Xenophon gives the names of *Mosynæcians*, *Macrones*, *Chalybes*, &c. in his retreat, it appears that their names, at least, were not new to him, on his arrival amongst them; although such an idea might arise, unless regard is had to these passages, in Herodotus.

XIV. "The 14th Satrapy\* consisted of the *Sangatians*,† the *Sarangæans*, the *Tbamanæans*, *Utians*, and *Mencians*;‡ with those who inhabit the islands of the *Red sea*, where the king sends those whom he banishes: these jointly contributed 600 talents." Thalia, 93.

Although the *Sarangæans*, by which must be understood the people of *Zarang*, or *Sigistan*, and the people of the Islands of the *Red sea*, (that is of the *Persian gulf*,§) were included in this Satrapy, yet it is not to be supposed that the *whole intermediate country*, or even any great proportion of it, was included. For, the country of *PERSIA PROPER*, is out of the question; since it enjoyed the privilege of *exemption* from the arrangement, which is the subject of this inquiry. "They were not compelled to pay any specific taxes, but presented a regular gratuity;" Thalia, 97. It may be conceived that this privilege was extended to all the tribes of Persia

\* Here we return again to the progressive numeration of our Author; and also commence the examination of the *eastern* division of the empire; supposing it to be divided by a line drawn from the Caspian sea, to the head of the Persian gulf; when *Media* would form the central province. This division, although much the largest, contains seven Satrapies only.

† Littlebury translates *Sagartians*; 1, 307. If he is right, these should be the *Sagartii* hereafter mentioned.

‡ Littlebury has this variation: *Meci*, for *Menci*; and which seem to be the *Myci* hereafter mentioned with the *Uti*.

§ No other islands could be meant; because none but *these*, could contain a population, sufficient to form a body of troops, equal to a commandery.

proper, which are enumerated by the historian, on occasion of their emancipation by CYRUS, Clio, 125; namely, the *Arteatae*, *Persæ*, *Pasargadæ*, *Maraphii*, and *Masprians*, who are the principal ones: and the *Pantbialæ*,\* *Derusiaæ*, and *Germanians*, who follow laborious employments; the *Dai*, *Mardi*, *Dropici*, and *Sagartians*, who were feeders of cattle. Of all these, the *Pasargadæ* were the most considerable.

Here the name of PASARGADÆ is represented to exist, before the time of Cyrus, and also to belong to a populous tribe. History, moreover, represents, that Cyrus founded a city of the name of *Pasargada*, or *Pasagarda* (for it is written both ways), on occasion of a great victory which he obtained on that spot; and which appears to have established him in his new empire. It must of course, be inferred, that this city was founded in the province of *Pasargada*: and as the Persian term *gherd* signifies a district or province (as *Darab-gherd*, which signifies the king's province), it may be supposed that the *garda* or *gada*, is the same with *gherd*; and then *Pasa*, or *Pasar*, will represent the name itself; and *Pasa* or *Fasa*, is actually the name of a town and district of some consideration, in Persia proper, at this day.†

The *Persæ* appear also, as one of the principal tribes; and the city of *Persepolis*, although omitted by Herodotus, is spoken of by most of the succeeding writers; but not we believe till after the Macedonian conquest. This we should regard as the capital of the *Persæ*. Some have supposed, that *Persepolis* and *Pasagarda* were names for the same place; but we are strongly of opinion, from the authorities, that they were distinct places (although the discussion

\* Littlebury has these variations, *Meraphii*, *Masians*, and *Pantbelians*.

† Strabo says (p. 730, 731), that "Cyrus respected *Pasargadæ*, because this was the place where he gained his decisive victory over Astyages the Median, and which gave him the empire of ASIA: and that he built a city; and a palace for himself, in commemoration of the victory; but removed all the treasure in Persia, to Susa."



would be too long for this place); and conclude that *Chelminar*, was the ancient *Persepolis*: and that *Pasagardæ* was situated more to the south-east; perhaps at *Pasa*, or *Fasa*. At the same time, it is but fair to acknowledge, that we do not know of there being any remains of antiquity, either at *Fasa*, or any other place, save those of *Estakar*, which is known to have been a Mahomedan foundation, not far from *Chelminar*; and those of *Nakshi Rustum* (in the same neighbourhood); which however are regarded as sepulchres only, excavated from the front of a perpendicular rock, or cliff. But it may possibly be, that the remains of *Pasagardæ*, are not known to Europeans; for we should bear in mind, that the ruins of *Gour*, in Bengal, were unknown to the English and other Europeans, until they had been settled there a very long time; and until the year 1764.\*

Herodotus observes, that the Persians originally called themselves, and were called by their neighbours, *Artæi*; Polym. 61. These might be the same with the *Arteatæ* just mentioned; and their country may be expressed by the *Artacene* of Ptolemy, and the *Ardistan* of modern geography; a province situated to the NE of

\* In a future work on the geography of Persia, it is intended to give the authorities at large, for the positions of these places. *Persepolis* was no doubt, a name given by the Greeks, to denote the capital of the Persian empire; and, according to the expression of Justin, lib. i. c. 6, it should have existed before the revolt of the the Persians from the Medes, in the time of Cyrus. What Strabo says respecting *Persepolis* and *Pasagardæ*, in pages 729, 730, proves most clearly that he believed them to be distinct places: and it is equally certain, that, the description of the sepulchre of Cyrus, both in Strabo and Arrian, does not suit either those of *Chelminar*, or *Nakshi Rustum*. For it was in a garden, in the midst of a thick grove of trees; and rose like a tower from the ground. It was also of small dimensions; for its basis was composed of a *single stone*. (See Strabo, p. 730; and Arrian, lib. vii. at the end.) Now the sepulchres at *Nakshi Rustum* are (as we have said) *excavated from the front* of a steep high rock, or cliff, and could not be surrounded by a grove: and those at *Chelminar* have a very broad base, more like a pyramid than a tower. So that there is no one point of resemblance.

Ispahan. The *Marapbi* may be the same with the *Marrasium* of Ptolemy, situated to the NE of Persepolis.\* The *Maspians* (or *Masians*), the remaining principal tribe, we cannot place.

Of the inferior tribes, we agree with others, in believing that the *Germanians* are intended for the people of that part of Carmania, bordering on Persia: and which was by the ancients sometimes confounded with it. The *Dai*, a pastoral people, of Persia, were very probably a tribe of *Dabæ*; as these were much scattered about: and even appear to have served in the army of Eumenes, as soldiers of fortune. The *Mardi* were a tribe of mountaineers, lying between Media and Persia, on whom Alexander warred, at his first coming into Persia,† and before his expedition to the Caspian provinces; where he met with another tribe of the same name.‡ The *Sagartians*, a pastoral people, are also mentioned in the army of Xerxes; Polym. 85.; and formed a body of 8000 cavalry. Herodotus says that originally they were of Persian descent, and used the Persian language: and that their dress was between *Persian* and *Pactyan*. They are marked by a very singular mode of attack: that is, by throwing out a *noose* of leather, or hide, by which they endeavoured to entangle the enemy, or their horses. Their weapons were *daggers* only: with which, having entangled their enemy, they easily put him to death. Could we trace out such a modern custom in Asia, it might lead to a discovery of the descendants of the *Sagartii*. The same mode prevails amongst the native tribes in some parts of South America. It savours very much of uncivilized life: and as the *Sagartii* are said to have been a pastoral people, they were probably much on a par with the *Tartar tribes*, dispersed at present over Persia, at large. If the term *Zagatai* was so ancient, and one could suppose a mistake in the report of the origin of the *Sagartii*, one might suspect that *Zagati* were meant. This tribe is at present dispersed over the north-eastern quarter of Persia; they are of Scythian, or Tartar, origin, and were long settled in *Sogdia*, which at

\* Asia, Tab. v.

† Strabo, p. 524.

‡ See above, page 283.

one time took the name of *Zagatai*.\* As to the other tribes of *Pantialæ*, *Derusiæ*, and *Dropici*, we can find no traces of them.

If it be admitted that ALL the tribes of *proper Persia*, mentioned on occasion of the revolt of *CYRUS*, were exempted from tribute; which means also, that they were not classed in any Satrapy: it will be required that we should include, in the same exemption with Persia, a part of *Carmania*, and the provinces of *Lar* and *Sirjan*; in which case, the 14th Satrapy, a tract that supplied 600 talents, annually, must be looked for, elsewhere.

From the extent, fertility, and general riches of the province of the *Sarangæans*, (the people of *Zarang*, or *Sigistan*,†) it might be expected that this alone furnished a considerable proportion of the 600 talents, since so confined a country as *Susiana*, paid 300.‡ For *Sigistan*, as we have said before, page 196, is a rich *alluvial* tract, situated *inland*; it being a vast hollow, surrounded by hills and mountains; so that its rivers have from time immemorial, deposited in it, the earth brought from the surrounding country, and formed a rich soil like that of *Egypt* and *Bengal*. And although the rivers terminate finally in a lake, yet much more of their depositions must remain on the land, than if, like the *Nile* and *Ganges*, they disembogued their waters into the sea.

The *Sarangæans* in *Xerxes*' army, *Polym.* 67, "had beautiful

Some have supposed that *Zagatai*, the second son of *JINGHIS KAN* gave his name to the country of *Mawur-al-Nahr*; but it appears more probable that he received his name from it. His portion of the empire of *Jinghis*, extended from *Balk* to *Oigur*.

† The present name, *Sigistan*, seems to be derived from *Sacastana*, as it is found in *Isidore of Charax*; and which last is doubtless derived from the *Sacæ*; who, according to the same authority, possessed the province in question. This, of course, was subsequent to the *Macedonian* conquest. It should be remembered, that *Sacæ* was, amongst the *Persians*, a general term for *Scythians*.

*Isidore* places *Sacastana* to the south of *Bactria* and *Paropamisus*. (See *Hudson's Min. Geog.* Vol. ii.)

‡ *Sigistan* is much more than double the area of *Susiana*.

habits of *different* and *splendid* colours; buskins reaching to their knees, bows and javelins, like the Medes." Some of these particulars characterize a civilized, rich, and industrious people. In effect, they were the *Euergetæ* of the Greeks, whose bounty to *Cyrus*, proved the fertility and wealth of the country, as well as the generous dispositions of the natives of it.

Diodorus thus relates the transaction; lib. xvii. c. 8. "Cyrus, during a certain expedition which he had undertaken, was brought into great extremity, in a barren country, through the want of provisions. The *Euergetæ* (before named *Arimaspi*\*) brought to his army 30,000 carriages laden with provisions. Cyrus being thus unexpectedly relieved, not only declared them free of tribute, for the future, but bestowed on them other privileges, and changed their former name into *Euergetæ*." †

It is not known on what particular occasion this circumstance happened; but it appears, from the Persian histories, that, during the time of *Rustum*, who is supposed to be the general of *Cyrus*, the Empire of Persia was attacked by the king of *TURKESTAN* (that is, by the *SCYTHIANS* on the *NE* frontier). This seems to have given occasion to the establishment of the capital of Persia, at *Balk* (*Bactria*); and of *Rustum*, in the *fief* of *Sigistan*, or *Zarang*. ‡ It also appears, from *Herodotus*, that *Cyrus* undertook in person, an expedition against the *Scythians* and other nations in the east; and more particularly the *Sacæ* and *Bactrians*, § in which he was completely successful; at least in respect of its final termination. But never-

\* *Arrian* and *Curtius* call them *Agriaspæ*; *Pliny*, *Argetæ*; *Ptolemy* has *Ariaspæ*.

† Or rather, we may presume, some name which had the same meaning in the Persian language.

‡ Memorials of *Rustum* still existed in *Sigistan*, at the end of the 14th century. In particular, a remarkable *Dam* or *Dyke*, denominated from him; and which, the historian of *Tamerlane* relates, was destroyed by his army. (*Sherefeddin*, lib. ii. c. 45.)

§ More of this subject will be found under the head of *Sacæ*.

theless he might have encountered many difficulties in the execution of the enterprize.

Zarang lies midway between Persia and the Sacæ : and is separated from the former by a very extensive desert, which is noted in the journals of our early travellers, between Kandahar and Ispahan. It might possibly have been in crossing this desert, that Cyrus' army was distressed for provisions, and where the supply from the Zarangæans so opportunely came. There are, indeed, extensive deserts also *beyond* Zarang, in the way to *Sogdia*, and the *Jaxartes* : but they are too far removed from Zarang, to render it probable that the relief was sent thither.

The *Thamanæans*, we cannot place. In *Thalia*, 117, they are mentioned with the *Sarangæans*, *Chorasmians*, *Parthians*, and *Hyrca-nians*, as inhabiting the hills around the great plain, through which the river *Aces* flows ; and concerning which we have given our opinion in page 195. There is, probably, some confusion between the *Hindmend*, the river of *Sigistan* ; and that of *Ocbus*, in *Aria* ; since the above nations are not so situated, as to *encircle* any *plain* of the kind there mentioned. But, it is probable, that the *Thamanæans* may nevertheless have joined to the *Sarangæans*, although we cannot assign them their place.

If the *Sangatians* be not the *Sagartii*,\* we labour under the same difficulty respecting them ; and no less with regard to the *Utians* and *Mencians*, (or *Mecians*).

The *Utii*, *Myci*, and *Paricanii*, were armed like the *Pactyes* ; *Polym.* 68 ; and were commanded by a son of *Darius*. It has appeared that the dress of the *Sagartii* partook of the *Pactyan* also ; whence the latter should have been a people of some note ; and doubtless neighbours to those who imitated them. In page 279, we have taken them for the *Bactearis*, a people inhabiting the mountains, opposite to, and on the SW of, *Ispahan* : and we therefore are led to con-

\* The *Sangatians*, as we have seen, are called *Sagartians*, by *Littlebury*.

sider the *Utii* as the *Uxians*, which adjoined to the *Bactearis* on the SW, and are famous in the march of Alexander, from Babylon towards Susa.\* The *Paricanii* (of Media) taken, in page 270, to be the *Paredoni* of Pliny, who held the Caspian Straits, are situated in the eastern quarter of Media; and were so far connected with the *Utii* and *Myci*, as to use similar weapons, and to be joined in the same command with them. These, then, were of course neighbours to the *Uxians*, as well as to the *Sagartii*, who, as we have just seen, imitated the dress of the *Pactyes*; whom the *Uxians* copied, in point of weapons. Thus, it appears not improbable, that the *Utii* or *Utians*, may be the *Uxians*: and the *Myci* may be from the above connection, neighbours to them. †

In effect, then, the 14th Satrapy must be regarded as comprizing Sigistan, together with such parts of the country between it and the Persian Gulf, as were not exempted from tribute by Darius. We conceive *Carmania*, in general, to belong to this Satrapy, as well as the country of *Lar*, bordering on the Gulf of Persia; with several lesser tracts towards Media and Susiana. The islands of the gulf also, which are many in number, although none of them are of great extent, save Kishmah, were specifically included: and as they sent a body of troops equal to a whole command, Polym. 80; no other than the Persian Gulf could be intended by the *Red* sea, in this place; for the islands of the ocean are too few, too inconsiderable, and too remote, to answer to the description. But our author appears not to have known that the sea formed a gulf in that part, as we have shewn in page 197. On the whole, it must be admitted that the 14th Satrapy is very ill defined; Sigistan, and these islands being almost the only parts that can be depended on. But we cannot help regarding the circumstance of the *islands*, as affording a kind of proof, that a considerable part of the opposite continent, belonged to the same divi-

\* The *Bactearis* are no less distinguished in the warfare of Nadir Shah, in Persia.

† Pliny places the *Maci* near mount *Caucasus* of *Baetiana*: lib. vi. c. 23.

sion: since the *islands* and *Sigistan*, mark the two *extremities* on the NE and SW; as *Uxia* and *Carmania*, on the NW and SE.\*

Herodotus places the Persians at the head of the list, in Xerxes' army: (Polm. 61.) and says that they surpassed all the rest, not only in magnificence, but in valour; 83. They appear to have enjoyed indulgences beyond the rest of the army; and may, perhaps, not inaptly be compared, in respect of the rest, with the Europeans in a British army in India, composed chiefly of Sepoys, or native troops. They had with them carriages for the women, and a vast number of attendants: as also camels and beasts of burthen to carry their provisions; besides those for the common occasions of the army.† With respect to their dress, this was also in a superior style: they wore small helmets which they called *tiaræ*; their bodies were covered with tunics of different colours, having sleeves; and adorned with plates of steel in imitation of the scales of fishes: their thighs were defended, and they carried a kind of shield called *Gerra*, beneath which was a quiver. They had short spears, large bows, and arrows

\* There is much curious history belonging to these islands, which are scattered throughout the whole length of the Persian Gulf; and are in general, nearest to the Persian shore. In effect, they have at times, contained the commercial establishments of the Phœnicians, and also of the European nations. But what is more gratifying to the mind, is, that they have in modern times, afforded asylums to the inhabitants of the maritime towns on the continent, when invaded, or oppressed; and so regular has this system of taking refuge been, that some of the islands have their names from the opposite towns on the continent. In particular, the inhabitants of the continental *Ormus* (or *Hormus*), passed over into the island of that name (the *Organa* of *Nearchus*), on the irruption of the Tartars, in the 13th century. None can feel the importance of *insular* situations, to the cause of liberty, more than ENGLISHMEN; especially at this time. The Tartars had no fleets to pursue the fugitives to the islands; but the king of Persia, who possessed ships, made use of the islands as places of banishment.

† The Greek auxiliaries in the army of the younger Cyrus, appear to have had much the same privileges; and approach still nearer, in this respect, to the European troops, that form a part of the armies employed by the European states, in India.

made of reeds; and on their right side a dagger suspended from a belt. Polym. 61. And, in 83, he says, that their armour was remarkable for the quantity of gold which adorned it. They were commanded by *Otanes*, the father-in-law of Xerxes.

That body of Persian infantry called the *Immortals*, consisted of 10,000; clothed and armed like the rest.\*

XVI. "Three hundred talents were levied from the *Parthians*, *Choasmians*, *Sogdians*, and *Arians*; who constituted the 16th Satrapy."† Thalia, 93.

All these nations, (as well as the *Gandarii* or *Gardarii*,‡ who formed a part of the 7th Satrapy) appeared *generally* in the same arms and clothing as the *Bactrians*.§ Polym. 64, 65, 66: that is, they had bows made of *reeds* (*Bamboos*), and short spears. Their head-dress was the same with that of the Persians and Medes, that is, "small helmets, which they call *Tiaræ*;" 61. So that, as has been remarked in page 275, all the nations situated to the east and north of Media, and of which tract, the continuation of Taurus and Caucasus seems to form the southern boundary, have so many points of resemblance to each other, as to shew that they had a common origin; that is, doubtless from SCYTHIA.

The provinces above enumerated in this Satrapy, are all contiguous, and form one of the largest of those divisions. Little explanation is necessary to the geography of it: and the principal difficulty arises from the defect of information, respecting the extent of the 7th Satrapy, which was surrounded on *three* sides, by the one under discussion; as if *extracted* from it. There can be no doubt,

\* See Polym. 83. for the reason of their being so named.

† The 15th in the order here given.

‡ Called *Gandarii* in the Satrapy, but *Gardarii* in the list of the army.

§ The *Arii*, although included in the same Satrapy, or government, with the other provinces beyond the continuation of *Caucasus*, had *bows* like the Medes; that is, large and long; but were otherwise like the *Bactrians*, to whose country they joined.



that by *Sogdia*, is meant the country of *Soghd*, or Samarcand; situated between the Oxus and Jaxartes; excluding *Kotlan*, *Sagarian*, and *Kilan*, as parts of the *Sacan*, or *Bactrian*, Satrapies. *Chorasmia* must be taken for *Kbowarezm*, at large: and *Aria* for Herat; which is sometimes written without the *aspirate*, at this time.

As to *Parthia*, the subject is not so clear, because its limits were perpetually varying, from the date of the dynasty of the *Arsacidæ*, who first extinguished the power of the *Seleucidæ* in the East; and then gradually erected the celebrated and powerful empire, that bore the name of PARTHIAN.

By the Parthia of Herodotus must undoubtedly be meant their *original* country, previous to its extension, by conquest. Many of the latter geographers and historians formed their ideas of it, *after* its extension; and therefore do not agree amongst themselves.

We have extracted, in a note,\* the principal authorities for the position of the *original* seats of the Parthians, after they settled in IRAN, or Persia; and these appear to have been placed between Chorasmia, Margiana, Aria, and the Caspian provinces: that is, they possessed the hilly tract on the north of *Naisabour*. To this, they must afterwards have added *Kumis* (the *Comisene* of Ptolemy, *Camisene* of Strabo), as it was called PARTHIA in the time of

\* Justin says that the Parthians were *Scythian exiles*, who possessed themselves of places, *between Hyrcania*, the *Dabæ*, *Arii*, *Spartans* (read *Aparytæ* from Herodotus, Thalia, 91.), and *Margianians*; lib. xli. c. 1. Strabo (511) places PARTHIA between *Margiana* and *Aria*: and, in 514, says, that being originally of no great extent, it was increased, in after times, by the addition of *Camisene*, *Chorene*, and other districts (formerly belonging to Media), as far as the Caspian gates. In 509, he says that the river *Ochus* flows near Parthia: this is the river that passes by *Nesa* and *Bawerd*. Pliny, vi. 25, places Parthia between *Media* and *Aria*; *Carmania* and *Hyrcania*: and as he extends *Hyrcania* eastward to *Margiana*, it is certain that his Parthia agrees with that of Ptolemy. See his Asia, Tab. v. Moreover he says, that *Hecatompulos*, the capital of Parthia, lies in the middle part of it; and is only 133 MP. beyond the Caspian gates: lib. vi. c. 25, and 15.

Alexander, who crossed it in the line between *Mazanderan* and *Bactria*: and *Hecatompylos*, supposed to be near the site of *Damgan*, was the capital of Parthia, visited by Alexander. So that Parthia may be supposed to have included the province of *Naisabour* likewise, as it lay between their first possessions and *Kumis*: and Parthia *at large*, extended from the *Caspian strait* to *Chorasmia*; and from the mountains that confine the Caspian provinces, to *Aria*, and *Margiana*. But the present question is, what were the possessions of the Parthians, of the days of Herodotus? We conceive the answer is to be collected from the words of Strabo and Justin: and that the *original Parthia* of Herodotus, was nothing more than the mountainous tract between *Hyrkania*, *Margiana*, *Aria*, and the desert of *Chorasmia*.

The *Parthians* and *Chorasmians* were joined in one command, a presumptive proof of contiguity, or at least of vicinity: the *Arii* and *Sogdii* formed separate commands. Polym. 65, 66.

VII. "The seventh Satrapy was composed of the *Satgagydae*,\* the *Gandarii*, the *Dadicae*, and *Aparytae*, who together paid 170 talents." †

It has been said above, that this Satrapy was surrounded on three sides by the 16th; for it appears to have been composed of *Margiana* and some adjacent districts: and that it was bounded on the south, by *Aria*; west, by *Parthia*; north, by *Chorasmia*, and *Sogdia*; and on the east by *Bactriana*, which formed the 12th Satrapy. The name of *Margiana* was not known to Herodotus; and was probably bestowed by the Greeks, from the river *Margus* (or rather *Marg-ab*), which flowed through it. However, the particulars of this division, are by no means clearly made out; and we shall assign our reasons for the above arrangement.

In Isidore of Charax, there are found, *Gadar*, and *Aparbartica*, between *Nisæ*, taken for *Naisabour*; and *Antiochia* of *Margiana*,

\* *Sattagydiens*, in Littlebury, Vol. i. 306,

† This is the 16th division according to our arrangement.

taken for *Meru*: and these we regard as the seats of the *Gandarii* and *Aparytæ* of our Author; more especially as the former are called *Gardarii* in another place; that is, in Polym. 66.

Again, Isidore mentions *Siroc* and *Safri*, as places between *Gadar* and *Apabartica*; and these are recognized in the well known city of *Seraks*, and in the village of *Jaferi*; places about midway between *Naisabour* and *Meru*: whilst *Gandar*, or *Gadar*, appears yet more satisfactorily, in *Caendar*, a place of importance in the same quarter; as we learn from the history of Jinghis Kan. To these notices may be added, that, in Pliny, vi. c. 16, the *Gandarii* are mentioned with the *Chorasmii*, *Attasini*, and *Sarangæ*. Now, *Caendar* lies on the frontiers of *Khwarezm*, and has a place of some note near it, named *Tedjen*, or *Tedzen*, which may perhaps be intended by *Attasin*.\*

The *Dadicæ* being joined in one command with the *Gandarii* or *Gardarii* (for they seem to mean the same people), in Polym. 66, were probably their neighbours, although we cannot find out their situation. They wore moreover the same armour with the *Bactrians*, *Chorasmians*, and *Sogdians*; by whom we may conceive they were surrounded.

No name like the *Satgagydeæ* (or *Sattagydeæ*, as Littlebury calls them, Vol. i. 306), can be found: and the *Isaticbæ*, or people of *Tezd*, the only one in which any resemblance can be traced, were in the province of *Persia proper*, or on its borders: too far removed to answer the description.

From these scanty notices, it can only be supposed that the seventh Satrapy of Herodotus was made up of the province of *Margiana*, and some tracts adjoining to it on the west: and that it had for its boundaries on the south, the ridge of mountains that separates it from *Aria*: on the west the countries of *Baverd*, *Toos*, &c. the original seats of the *Partians*; on the north the desert towards the *Oxus*; and on the east, *Bactria*. In effect, that it was

\* *Kondor* in Abulfeda's *Chorasan*.

surrounded on three sides by the 16th Satrapy, and on the fourth by the 12th Satrapy.

XII. "The 12th Satrapy\* produced 360 talents, and was composed of the whole country, from the *Bactrians* to *Æglos*."†  
Thalia, 92.

The *Bactrians* are said, Polym. 64, to have most resembled the *Medes*, in the covering of their heads; and to have used bows made of *reeds* (*bamboos*), and short spears. There were *Bactrian cavalry*, as well as *infantry*; Thalia, 86.

No rule is given by which we can form an idea of the extent of this Satrapy; unless the modern province of *Balk* and its dependencies, are taken for the country of the *Bactrians*, at large. There is indeed, little question but that the present *city* of *Balk*, is the *Bactra* or *Bactria* of the ancients; but whether the modern *province*, may answer to the ancient one, cannot be known. It seems probable, however, that as *Bactiar* ‡ signified the east, *Bactriana* might contain all the tract, classed by the Oriental geographers, as belonging to the province of *Balk*; which literally comprizes the *eastern* extremity of the modern empire of *Persia*.§

But *Æglos* is an unknown position, and may lie either towards *India*, or *Aria*; or towards the *Sarangæ*, or the *Sacæ*. It is unlikely that *Bactria* included any of the *Indian* provinces, on the west of the *Indus*; since *India* was a *very extensive* Satrapy; and yet did not extend very far into *India proper*: so that nothing can be spared on the *Persian* side. *Kandahar*, therefore, as well as *Kabul*, was no

\* The 17th, in our arrangement.

† *Æglans*; Littlebury, Vol. i. p. 306.

‡ D'Herbelot, article *Bakhter*.

§ *Bactra* or *Bactria*, was a place of banishment, in the time of *Darius Hystaspes*: perhaps as being the most *remote* province from *Susa*. The *Ionians* were *threatened* with captivity in *Bactra*; *Erato*, 9: and *Herodotus* says, "The *Barcean* captives were carried to *Darius*, who assigned them for their residence, a portion of land in the *Bactrian* district, to which they gave the name of *Barce*: this has within my time contained a great number of inhabitants." *Melpomone*, 204.

doubt a part of the Indian Satrapy; whose revenue so much surpassed any of the others. Again, *Saranga* (*Sigistan*), *Aria*, *Margiana*, *Sogdia*, are appropriated: and there is reason to conclude that *Kotlan*, *Saganian*, *Vashgherd*, &c. situated on the north of the *Oxus*, were in the hands of the *Sacæ*, whose country, together with that of the *Caspîi* (or rather *Casii*), formed a separate Satrapy: for Alexander's expedition amongst the *Sacæ*, seems to have been into *Kotlan* and *Saganian*.

The mountainous and extensive province of *Gaur*, which lies on the SW of *Balk*; and between it, the *Indian* provinces, *Saranga*, and *Aria*; was most probably classed with *Bactria*: but however strong the *probability*, there is no kind of *certainty* respecting it. (But whether or not, we do not consider *this* as the *Æglos* intended by our Author.) Whether Herodotus had this country in contemplation at all, is a great doubt, as his descriptions are more and more deficient, and dark, as he advances eastward from the centre of *Persia*. Pliny however, seems evidently to have intended *Gaur* by the country of the *Mardi*, (vi. 16.) which, he says, extended to *Bactria*. It has already been observed, that the term *Mardi*, was always applied to savage mountaineers; and no country is better suited to this description, than *Gaur*; which is environed by craggy and lofty mountains; and is, in a degree, sequestered from the surrounding countries, by this barrier.\*

According to our Author's context, one might conclude that the countries of *Bactriana*, and *Æglos*, formed the *opposite extremes* of this Satrapy. *Bactriana*, then, taken as above, for the *Balk* province, may be conceived to form the *western* quarter of this Satrapy; and by the same rule, we ought to look for *Æglos* in the *eastern* quarter. Now the most remote eastern province of *Balk* is *Kil*, *Gil*, or *Kilan*; may not this be the *Kilos*, *Ekilos*, or *Æglos* of our Author?

\* See above, page 283.

XV. "The *Sacæ* and *Caspî* formed the 15th Satrapy; and provided 250 talents." *Thalia*, 93.\*

As the subject of the SACÆ has been already discussed, at large, in the account of *Eastern Scythia*; and that tribe of them subject to Persia, placed in the eastern quarter of *Sogdiana*, between the upper parts of the rivers *Oxus* and *Jaxartes*; it will be unnecessary to say more in this place, concerning their *geographical position*, than that they possessed the countries of *Kotlan* and *Saganian*, which were adjacent to *Bactriana*, *Sogdia*, and mount *Imaus*.

The *Sacæ*, Polym. 64, were joined in the same command with the Bactrians, their neighbours: "Bactria amongst the *Sacæ*," says our Author, in *Calliope*, 113. They were not only a very warlike tribe, but must have been very powerful also; since it is said of *Cyrus*, after the reduction of *Lydia*, that he held the IONIANS in trifling estimation, compared with what he expected in his views upon *Babylon*, and the *Bactrians*; and was prepared also for *more serious resistance* from the SACIANS and *Egyptians*; wherefore he resolved to take the command in these expeditions, himself, and to entrust one of his officers with the conduct of the *Ionian war*;" *Clio*, 153. It is probable, therefore, that the *Sacæ* were at this time making inroads on the eastern frontier of Persia, and had established themselves in the countries just mentioned; and probably in *Bactriana* also.†

It appears also, *Clio*, 177, that *Cyrus* pursued his conquests in the east, previous to the reduction of *Babylon*; it being no doubt of more importance to check the spirit, and the progress of the *Scythians*, than to undertake new conquests in *Babylonia*; from whence his kingdom might receive no annoyance in the mean time. It is said then, that "whilst *Harpagus* was engaged in the conquest of

\* The 18th, in this arrangement.

† In after times, as we have seen, they had a principal share in overthrowing the Macedonian empire in *Bactriana* (*Strabo*, 511); and made extensive conquests in *Armenia*, also.

LOWER ASIA, (that is *Asia Minor*, &c.) Cyrus himself conducted an army against the UPPER REGIONS; of every part of which, he became master.\* The particulars of his victories I shall omit (says the historian); expatiating only upon those, which are more memorable in themselves; and which Cyrus found the most difficult to accomplish. When he had reduced the *whole of the continent*, he commenced his march against the Assyrians."† Clio, 177.

It may be supposed then, that the *Sacæ*, as well as the *Bactrians* and other adjoining nations, were conquered in the course of this expedition; and that, from the expression of the historian, with less difficulty than Cyrus had expected. By the arrangement of the Satrapies, the *Sacæ* must have been in the condition of subjects, at the accession of Darius Hystaspes; (see also, *Polymnia*, 9). So that, from circumstances, they could only have been reduced by Cyrus; and *Sogdia* must have been in the possession of Cyrus, at the date of his expedition against the *Massagetæ*, which cost him his life; as well from the history of the expedition itself, as from the arrangement of the Satrapies; and also from the strong circumstance of his having founded a city, at the passage of the *Jaxartes*; which city, (*Cyropolis* or *Cyreschata*,) was particularly regarded by Alexander.‡

It was also during his *Sacan* expedition, either outward, or homeward, that the people of *Sigistan*, or *Zarang*, gave such material aid to the army of Cyrus, as to obtain the title of *Euergetæ*. See above, page 289.

It may be remarked, that Justin either was not informed of, or thought unworthy of notice, this conquest of the *Sacæ*: unless, indeed, he includes them in the *Scythians*, generally. He says, lib. i. c. 8, that "Cyrus having reduced *Asia*, and the *East in general*,

\* By the *upper regions* may be understood the *eastern*, or towards the sun-rising.

† The conquest of Egypt was left to Cambyses.

‡ According to Justin, lib. xii. c. 4, Cyrus built three cities near the *Tanais* (*Jaxartes*). Arrian also speaks of the city of *Cyropolis*, founded by Cyrus, and which Alexander took possession of: lib. iv.

carried war into *Scythia*:" meaning, certainly, the country assigned by Herodotus to the *Massagetæ*.

The *Sacæ* were a very distinguished nation in the army of Xerxes, both by *sea* and *land*.\* It has been remarked, that there were detachments of them, together with Persians and Medes (who were reckoned the best troops) on board the ships of war; apparently in the nature of *marines*; Polym. 96. The preference given to the *Sacæ*, was probably for their superior skill in archery; the Scythians in general being celebrated on the score of archery.† The use of such a missile weapon as an arrow in a sea-fight, in skilful hands, must have been of great advantage; especially as the Greeks neglected the use of it: for it is remarked that, at the battle of *Marathon* the Athenians were destitute both of *archers* and *cavalry*; Erato, 112. Xenophon found a vast difficulty, early in the retreat, through the want of cavalry and of people who threw missile weapons; and which being easily removed, by embodying the Rhodian slingers, the army was saved. Anab. lib. iii.

The *Sacæ* rendered the greatest services to the Persians in the battle of *Marathon*, Erato, 113: and at the battle of *Platæ*, as cavalry, Calliope, 71. They had helmets terminating in a *point*, and wore *breeches*; which article of dress seems to have been peculiar to them amongst all this army, and may have been an additional reason for employing them on ship-board; where such a dress

\* Mardonius chose the *Sacæ*, *Medes*, *Bactrians*, and *Indians*, amongst the troops that were to form his army in Thessaly. Urania, 113.

† We are told that the *Medes* learnt from Scythian masters, to improve in their management of the bow; Clio, 73. Hercules also is fabled to have learnt that art from the Scythians, who were great hunters. The *Sacæ* were distinguished (no doubt from their superior dexterity as archers) at *Marathon*, and *Platæ*. See Calliope, 61, and 72.

The Athenians are said to have had at one period, Scythians amongst their troops. Belisarius had *Massagetæ* in the African army. (Procopius.)



would have its convenience.\* They were armed with *bows*, *daggers*, and a *hatchet* called *sagaris*.

Concerning this last weapon, authors are not agreed. It appears that it was in use, not only with the *Sacæ*, but with the Persians also; and yet it seems to have been regarded as a singular kind of weapon. In the *Anabasis*, lib. iv. a Persian prisoner, belonging to the army of Teribazus, in Armenia, had a Persian bow and quiver, together with a *sagaris*; which Spelman translates an *Amazonian battle-axe*. Suidas doubts whether it was of the *sword*, or of the *hatchet* kind: but Montfaucon calls it a battle-axe with two edges. Littlebury translates it *bill*; and it is certain, that in Thibet and Bootan, there is a large sword of the *billbook* form, which the Author has himself seen: and Thibet is a part of the same region with *Sakita*, the proper country of the *Sacæ* in question.†

The *Caspîi* or *Caspians*, joined with the *Sacæ*, may with more probability be the *Casians*, or people of *Casia*, in Ptolemy; that is, *Kashgur*; which country borders on that of the *Sacæ*, or *Sakitæ*. The Caspian sea is quite out of the question; for the *Massagetæ* lay between the *Sacæ* and the (*Aral*, regarded as a part of the) Caspian: and moreover the *Caspians* have been already placed, in the 11th Satrapy, at the coast of that sea.

XVII. "The *Paricanii* and *Ethiopians* of Asia paid 400 talents, and formed the 17th Satrapy." *Thalia*, 94.‡

\* Aristagoras remarks, *Terp.* 49, in order to sink the military character of the Persians, in comparison with the Greeks, that, they go to battle "armed only with a bow and *short* spear; that their *robes were long*; that they suffered their hair to grow; and would afford an easy conquest."

† Weapons of the kind here spoken of, appear to have been in use in several countries; perhaps, because they answer the purpose of a hatchet to cut wood, as well as a weapon of war: and it might have been contrived to answer both purposes, without any great sacrifice of the qualities proper to either. In the *Toxaris* of *Lucian*, a wound is inflicted with a *hooked* sword.

‡ The 19th in this arrangement.

The *Paricanii* of Media have been supposed, page 270, to be intended for those whom other ancient authors call *Paratacæni*. The people of that name under consideration, we refer to the country of *Gedrosia*; *i. e.* *Kedge* or *Makran*, in the modern geography: considering the town of *Fabraj* or *Paraj*, as the *Poorab* of the historians of Alexander; to which that conqueror came, after surmounting the dangers and hardships of the Gedrosian desert: and this *Poorab* we regard as the seat or capital of the *Paricanii*, who are classed in the same Satrapy with the *Ethiopiens of Asia*.

Herodotus takes some pains to discriminate *these* Ethiopians from *those* of Africa, or from *above Egypt*; Polym. 69: for he says, (70), “Those Ethiopians who came from the *more eastern* parts of their country (for there were two distinct bodies in this expedition) served with the *Indians*. These differed from the former, in nothing but their language, and their hair. The Oriental Ethiopians have their hair straight; those of Africa have their hair more crisp and curling than any other men. The armour of the *Asiatic* Ethiopians resembled that of the *Indians*, but on their heads they wore the skins of horses’ heads, on which the manes and ears were left. The manes served as plumes, and the ears remained stiff and erect.”

In these Ethiopians, we are of course to look for a race of men *black*er than the rest of western Asia, and yet situated within *Persia*; for India formed a distinct Satrapy. And how well soever the description of *black* complexion, and *straight* hair, may agree with the people of the peninsula of India, these are out of the question; because it is expressly said, that the southern black people were independent of *Persia*. Of course they can only be looked for, in the south-east angle of *Persia* towards India. Being formed in one joint command with the *Indians*, this circumstance strengthens the idea of their being neighbours; and we must therefore regard the Ethiopians of Asia as the people of *Makran*, *Haur*,\* and other provinces

\* The *Oritæ* of Alexander and Nearchus.

in that quarter; for these were bordered by Indian provinces, on the north, as well as on the east.

The *Parycanians*, or people of *Poorab*, as we have supposed them, appear to be the body of cavalry mentioned in *Polym.* 86, but without any particular description, that might lead to identify them with the *Barcanii* of Curtius, (lib. iii. c. 2.) These last, formed a part of the army of Darius against Alexander; and consisted of 2000 horse and 10,000 foot. They, however, might have been the *Parycanii* of Media (or *Paratacæni*).

M. D'Anville (*Geog. Ancien.* Vol. ii. page 295.) places the *Barcanii* at *Balkan*, at the east side of the Caspian sea, and near the ancient mouth of the Oxus. This he may have done on the authority of Stephanus, who (as Cellarius quotes him, Vol. ii. 504), says, that "the *Barcanii* were situated at the extremity of *Hyrçania*;" which is indeed the situation of *Balkan*: but then this place forms a part of *Chorasnia*, which is itself included in the 16th Satrapy. And moreover, the strength of the body of troops, 12,000 in number, appears too great for the district of *Balkan* alone; and, it must be recollected, that in the arrangement of the Satrapies, the *Paricanii* are classed with the *Ethiopiens* of *Asia*; which latter, in the list of the army, were joined in the same command with the *Indians*.

We are, however, very far from being tenacious of the above opinion, respecting the geographical situation of *these Parycanii*: being by no means satisfied with the notices, on which the boundaries of the Satrapy under discussion, are founded. It has been remarked before, that our Author's ideas were more and more circumscribed, as he extended his views and descriptions, eastward: and on the whole, it can only be concluded generally, that the Satrapy in question, extended from the entrance of the Persian Gulf, on the west, to the borders of India, on the east; and from the Erythræan sea on the south, to *Saranga* and *Arachosia* on the north.

XX. and last Satrapy. "The *Indians*, the most numerous nation of whom we have any knowledge, were proportionally taxed; they

formed the 20th Satrapy, and furnished 600 talents in *golden ingots*." Thalia, 94.

How much of India Darius possessed, is not known; but the tribute of it, if rightly stated, was immense. By Herodotus's description it might be concluded, that the king possessed little beyond the Indus, save the *Panjab*, *Sindi*, and the country along the Indus, generally; in addition to all the Indian provinces situated on the Persian side, and which were indeed very extensive: that is to say, *Kabul*, *Kandahar*, and that wide stripe of country along the Indus, to the sea. But all these, collectively, could never produce so vast a sum as 600 talents in gold, each of which were reckoned equal to 13 of silver. (Thalia, 95).

It appears, in fact, from our Author's own statement, that the number 600 is a mistake. For, as he gives in Thalia 95, the number of talents of silver that were equivalent to that portion of the tribute that was paid in gold, at 4680 (that is, at the rate of 13 to one), no more than 360, instead of 600, should be reckoned; since this last number, multiplied by 13, produces, of course, 7800. So that we must lessen the Indian tribute, in the proportion of  $\frac{4}{10}$  of the whole; but it is yet too large, out of all proportion; it being  $4\frac{1}{2}$  times as much as *Babylonia* and *Assyria*, which formed one of the richest of the Satrapies.

That the tribute was paid in gold, appears very probable; for we learn from the *Ayin Acbaree*, that the rivers which descend from the northern mountains, in the west of India, yielded much gold. Herodotus knew this also: Thalia, 106: and so did Curtius. It was the only instance in which gold was paid: and this is one, out of a great many instances, in which our Author is right; when, to a common observer, he might appear the least so.

It is said, Polym. 65, that the dress of the Indians was cotton:\*

\* The cotton shrub is afterwards described. The dresses here intended may perhaps have been *quilted*, like those of the Phoenicians and the *Assyrians*; who are said to have had *linen curiasses*. See above, page 266; and Polym. c. 89.

“ that their *bows* were made of *reeds*,” by which, as in several other instances,\* *bamboos* are unquestionably to be understood; as they are at this day in common use. Their arrows were also “ of reeds, (of a small size we may suppose, as at present) and pointed with iron.” And in Polym. 86, “ the Indian cavalry were armed like their infantry; but besides *led* horses, they had chariots of war, drawn by horses and wild asses.” Here, no mention of elephants is made, although they were so much used in war, when Alexander visited India, at too short an interval after the time to which the descriptions of our Author refer, to have allowed of any considerable change. He does not appear to have known that there were any elephants in India; another proof of the slight degree of knowledge of India, possessed by the Greeks, in those times.

Herodotus’s very confined knowledge of India, is also proved by the extraordinary reports which he has detailed concerning its inhabitants; some of which are highly injurious to the character of that industrious, inoffensive, and highly civilized people. For, with many particulars that are true, respecting their customs, and manners, he has mixed a greater number that are false; and of such a nature as to brand their characters with a charge of odious and obscene practices; from which they are perfectly free, at this time; and were so, no doubt, then. Thalia, 98, *et seq.* The expedition of Alexander was within 150 years of the time referred to, by our Author; and the Grecians, who then visited India, speak of a very different state of things, even amongst the people of the Panjab,† who appear to have been polished and well informed. How otherwise can it be reconciled, that a prince of Alexander’s character, should have selected one of these Indians for a companion?‡ What say Ptolemy and Aristobulus, from whom Arrian collected his ideas? “ That the country (adjacent to the branches of the Indus) was rich, the inha-

\* As amongst the *Bactrians*, *Caspians*, &c.

† The country watered by the *five* eastern branches of the Indus.

‡ We allude to *Calanus*, of whom more will be said in the sequel.

bitants thereof good husbandmen, and excellent soldiers: that they were governed by the nobility, and lived peaceably: their rulers imposing nothing harsh, or unjust upon them." Arrian, lib. v. ch. 25.

It is true, that Herodotus says, Thalia, 98, " Under the name of *Indians*, many nations are comprehended, using different languages:" and, as he had heard more of the western Indians, or those towards the Indus, than the others, (that being the part more particularly known to the Persians, by their recent expedition), it is possible that the tribes spoken of, might have been the savages of some of the wild tracts adjacent to the Indus, below the Panjab country.

He indeed excepts one tribe of Indians, from the generality of the practices imputed to the others, and whose character and description, in a general point of view, accord with those of the Hindoos. These, says he, " differing in manners from the above, put no animal to death, sow no grain, have no fixed habitations, and live *solely* upon *vegetables*. They have a particular grain, nearly of the size of millet, which the soil spontaneously produces, which is protected by a calyx; the whole of this they bake and eat. If any of these are taken sick, they retire to some solitude and there remain; no one expressing the least concern about them, during their illness, or after their death." Thalia, 100.

Here we may observe, that truth and misrepresentation are blended together. It is true, that they abstain from animal food; that they live on rice and vegetables; and that they expose their sick to, oftentimes, untimely death: but it is not true, that they have no fixed habitations, for no people in the world live so much in one place; nor that they live on grain produced spontaneously, for none are greater cultivators. All that Herodotus has said, therefore, proves in the strongest manner, the very imperfect kind of information concerning India, that had reached Greece; or that had been collected in Persia. For if he could say, and say truly, of Egypt, Euterpe 35, that " it claimed our admiration, beyond all other countries; and the wonderful things which it exhibited, demanded a very copious descrip-

tion: that the EGYPTIANS, born under a climate to which no other can be compared, possessing a *river*, different in its *nature* and *properties*, from *all the rivers* in the *world*; and were themselves distinguished from the rest of mankind, by the singularity of their institutions, and their manners;” would he not also have distinguished the HINDOOS, together with *their country* and *river*, had he been sufficiently informed concerning them? Egypt was indeed the admiration of Herodotus: this he *had seen*; but Hindoostan, and China, were placed, not only beyond the reach of his observation, but, in a great measure, beyond his knowledge.

Some of the particulars respecting India, which occur in our Author, and which from the odd mixture of truth and falsehood, are worthy of being pointed out to present notice, are added in the notes. It does not by any means appear, that he considered *any* of the Indians as being polished, or well-informed.\*

\* Thalia, 98. “ Under the name of Indians, many nations are comprehended, using *different* languages; of these some attend principally to the care of cattle, others not; some inhabit marshes, and live on raw fish, which they catch in boats made of reeds, divided at the joint, and every joint makes a canoe. These Indians have a dress made of rushes, which having mowed and cut, they weave together like a mat, and wear in the manner of a cuirass.”

99. “ To the east of these, are other Indians, called PADÆI, who lead a pastoral life, live on raw flesh, and are said to observe these customs:—If any man among them be diseased, his nearest connections put him to death, alledging in excuse, that sickness would waste and injure his flesh. They pay no regard to his assertions that he is not really ill, but without the smallest compunction deprive him of life. If a woman be ill, her female connections treat her in the same manner. The more aged among them, are regularly killed and eaten; but to old age there are very few who arrive, for in case of sickness they put every one to death.”†

† It is remarkable, that these people, so described as *cannibals*, are twice mentioned in other parts of our Author, under the name of *Callatiæ* or *Callantiæ*. Thalia 38, and 97. He says, in the former place, that they are “ a people of India, known to *eat* the dead bodies of their parents; and that they were disgusted at the proposal of *burning* them; made by Cambyses.

The passage in Thalia 97, is not so easily understood; for *there* the *Callantian*

He further says of the Indians, Thalia 94, that "they were the most populous nation, of whom we have any knowledge; and were proportionally taxed" by Darius; which, indeed, appears from the vastness of the sums raised, could the numbers be depended on: but as he limits the length of the known parts of Asia, to a space *short* of what he assigns to Europe, (under the extended dimensions above described) or even to Lybia; Melp. 44; he could by no means have meant to include the *whole* of India: nor, indeed, does his description of that country express it. For he says, "Europe, in length, much exceeds the other two (Lybia and Asia), but is of far inferior breadth." Melp. 42. And in his description of India, he says, Melp. 98, "That part of India which lies towards the *east* is very sandy." And again, "the part most eastward is a *perfect desert*, from the sand;" but it is well known, that the eastern part of India, (Bengal and Oude, generally) is by far the most fertile part; nor will the above description apply to any other part of India, than that between the lower part of the Indus, and *Rajpootana*; and to this, it *does* literally apply. And hence, combining this information, with that concerning the southern part, which contained the blackest people, and who were independent of Persia, Thalia 101; we may

101. "Among all these Indians whom I have specified, the communication between the sexes is like that of the beasts, open and unrestrained. They are all of the same complexion, and much resembling the Ethiopians."

102. "There are still other Indians towards the north, who dwell near the city of *Caspatyrum*, and the country of *Pactyica*. Of all the Indians, these in their manners most resemble the Bactrians: they are distinguished above the rest for their bravery, and are those who are employed in searching for the gold."—

The cotton plant is thus described, in Thalia 106. "They (the Indians) possess a kind of plant, which, instead of fruit, produces *wool*, of a finer and better quality than that of sheep; of this, the natives make their cloaths."

Indians (if meant for *Callaïan*) are said to have *rites of sepulture*: according to Mr. Beloe's translation. Perhaps, something else is meant, as there is said to be a difference of opinion, respecting the meaning of the original.



conclude that *Darius*, in fact, possessed no more of India than what lay contiguous to the Indus, and its branches :\* and also, that the limit of our Author's knowledge eastward, was the sandy desert of Jesselmere, called *Registan* (or the Country of Sand); and that the rest was described from vague report, which generally supplies the want of *facts*, by monstrous fables; as if men, when constrained to invent, thought that probable stories were too insipid for belief.

Herodotus had certainly never heard of the GANGES, a river in so many respects like the Nile, and in bulk so much superior; and this may convince us, that the Persians had not penetrated so far to the east at that period. But as he speaks of the nation of the PADÆI, said to be one of the most *eastern* nations of India; and who killed or exposed the aged persons amongst them; it must be supposed that he meant the people who inhabit the banks of the *Ganges*, the *proper* and *Sanscrit* name of which, is PADDA; GANGA being the appellative only: so that the *Padæi* may answer to the *Gangaridæ* of later Greek writers. See *Thalia*, 99.

It is a circumstance very well known, that whilst Alexander was at the Indus (in the *Panjab* country), some *Bramins* either came, or were brought, to him; and that one of them, by name CALANUS, at the request of the king, accompanied him into Persia. In this Indian philosopher, we trace, at the distance of more than 21 centuries, the same frame of mind, and the like superstitions, as in the same tribe, in our own times; a contempt of death, founded on an unshaken belief of the IMMORTALITY of the SOUL, (a cordial drop which the most *atrocious* of the *enlightened* moderns would rob us of); and an unconquerable adherence to ancient customs. The friendly connection that subsisted between Alexander and this philosopher, does infinite honour to both; for it proves that both possessed great minds, and amiable dispositions; and that Alexander was, at bottom, a philosopher himself; otherwise the independent mind of

\* Of course, these cannot be the *Ethiopians of Asia*, who attended Xerxes, for they were included in the 17th Satrapy.

Calanus, could not have taken such hold of him. Alexander never appears to more advantage, than during the last act of the life of Calanus. This Indian sage, finding his health decline, and believing that his end approached (he was then 73, according to Diodorus, lib. xix. c. 2.), determined to lose his life on a funeral pile, to avoid the misery of a gradual decay; to which Alexander reluctantly consented, from an idea, that some other mode of suicide, less grateful to the feelings of Calanus, would certainly be resorted to. Alexander accordingly gave directions to Ptolemy, to comply with every request of the dying man; and to render him every honour that his situation admitted of; and even condescended to arrange the ceremonies himself. Descriptions of the awful ceremony are to be found in Arrian and in Plutarch.\* Arrian appears to be much struck with the character and fortitude of Calanus; and remarks, that “this is an example of no mean import, to those who study mankind; to shew how firm and unalterable the mind of man is, when custom, or education has taken full possession of it.” †

It may be believed, that the *moral* conduct of Alexander was influenced and improved by associating with this blameless man; and we therefore must lament that his acquaintance with *Calanus*, had not an earlier commencement. Then might the sad tragedy of *Clitus* have never been acted: and the inquiry into the conduct of *Philotas*, might have been more dispassionate! Happy the men in power, who have those of sense and moderation for their companions! But it is too unreasonable often to expect independence of mind, in such

\* Plutarch, as well as Arrian, says, that Calanus told Alexander that he should soon see him again, at Bābylon. The death of Calanus happened at *Pasargarda*. A severe frost happened on the night of the funeral, and occasioned the death of many persons, who committed debauches at the funeral feast given by Alexander. (Plutarch in Alex.)

† Arrian, lib. vii. My friend Mr. Wilkins supposes that his name may have been *Kālyānāh*, in his own country.

situations. Alexander, therefore, was a rare instance of a prince who tolerated it.\*

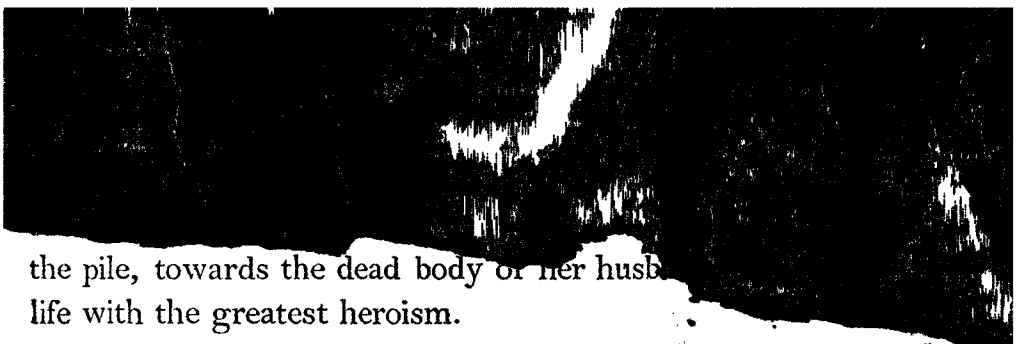
Thus, the accusation of barbarism in the manners of the Indians, brought by Herodotus, falls to the ground; unless the same barbarism is to be attributed to Alexander.

There occurs in Diodorus (lib. xix. c. 2.) an account of an Indian widow's burning herself on the funeral pile of her husband, who had commanded the troops brought out of India; we must suppose, by Alexander. The name of this general was *Ceteus*, (or rather *Keeteus*); and he was, no doubt, of the *Kātri* tribe of Hindoos. The event happened in the camp of Eumenes, on the borders of Media, about eight years after the death of Alexander, during the struggle for empire, between Eumenes and Antigonus. †

\* The history of CALANUS brings to mind that of another virtuous Asiatic, ALLAVEE KAN, a physician of eminence, who, at the desire of Nadir Shah, accompanied him from Delhi to Persia, after his conquest of Hindoostan, in 1740. This physician was a Mahomedan of family, and of the most respectable character; and, according to the anecdotes given of him by ABDUL KHURREEM, pages 44 and 74, was worthy of being placed in the same list with CALANUS. By the influence which this gentleman possessed, over the mind of one of the most stubborn and bloody tyrants the earth ever produced; as well as by a variety of other instances of a similar influence, operating on other men; we are led to suppose, that of all professors, those of physic take the firmest hold of the minds of the persons, whose necessities they administer to; when medical skill is combined with sagacity and address. And to the honour of the profession, it must be acknowledged, that this influence has very often been exerted to the best of purposes.

† “KEE TEUS left behind him *two* wives, who disputed the honour of burning themselves with the body of their husband, who fell in battle, after fighting with great courage. It was decided in favour of the youngest, the elder being pregnant.

“As soon as she came to the pile, she took off the ornaments of her person, and distributed them amongst her servants and friends, as tokens of remembrance. The ornaments consisted of a number of rings on her fingers, set with all manner of precious stones, of divers colours; a great number of small golden stars, interspersed with sparkling stones of all sorts, in her head-dress; together with abundance of jewels about her neck. At length she took leave of all her family and servants, and,



the pile, towards the dead body of her husband, and ended her life with the greatest heroism.

In Diodorus, it is said that the army of Eumenes, solemnly in arms, marched round the pile *thrice*, after the widow had ascended it: but in the instance seen by the Author, which was that of a rich private individual, the widow herself walked the same number of times round the pile; and the fire was applied to it by her eldest son, who was about eight years old: and instead of being *placed* on the pile, she ascended it by her own exertions.

Calanus distributed the ornaments, with which the king had caused the pile to be decorated, to certain persons present; and the *Nisæan* horse, provided also by the king (who supposed him to be too much weakened by sickness, to be able to walk), to Lysimachus, afterwards king of Thrace, who was one of his disciples and admirers. It has not come to our knowledge, that any *men* in India, have voluntarily burnt themselves, like Calanus, in modern times.

We have now completed the examination of the Twenty Satrapies; and from the above statement, compared with the map, an idea may be collected of the extent and division of the Persian empire under Darius Hystaspes. Cyrus had added to the central provinces of Persia, Media, Assyria, &c. those of Lydia, and Asia Minor, generally, on the west; Bactriana, and others, on the east; to which his son and

then her brother placed her upon the pile; and, to the great admiration of the spectators, she ended her life with an heroic courage.

“The whole army solemnly in their arms, marched thrice round the pile, before it was kindled; she, in the mean time, turned herself towards her husband’s body, and did not discover, by shrieks or otherwise, that she was at all daunted, by the crackling of the flames,” &c.

statement, at the same time that it proves a  
knowledge of the geography of Asia, than would  
have been imagined, without the aid of this investigation.

Herodotus remarks, (Thalia 95.) that "if the Babylonian money  
(in the above statement) be reduced to the standard of the Euboic  
talent, the aggregate sum will be found to be 9886 talents of silver;  
and estimating the gold at 13 times the value of the silver,\* there  
will be found 4680 Euboic talents more. So that the whole tribute  
paid to Darius was 14560 talents (Euboic).

The aggregate arising, on the detail, is 7740 Babylonish talents  
of silver, and 600 talents of gold. But as our Author does not  
give the proportion between the two talents, we are unable to com-  
pare the accounts. He says, however, Thalia 89, that the Baby-  
lonian talent is equal to 70 Euboic *minæ*, and Arbuthnot informs us,  
that the Euboic talent was equal to 60 *minæ* only. This proportion  
would give a result different from our Author's; since 7740 Baby-  
lonian talents, would at the above rate be equal to no more than  
9030 Euboic, whilst Herodotus has 9880: and adding to these, the

\* The proportion of gold to silver, has of course varied at different times, accord-  
ing to the comparative plenty, or scarceness, of either. At present, 1799, they are  
as 15½ to 1. According to the authorities in Arbuthnot, they have been at the rate  
of 9 to 1. (See his book on Ancient Weights and Measures, Coins, &c. p. 43,  
*et seq.*)

One circumstance is worthy of notice—the plunder of western Europe by the Ro-  
mans, in the time of Julius Cæsar, *sunk* the value of gold *one-tenth*; whereas, the  
plunder of the same countries, by the French, in these times, has *raised* the value of  
gold: so much more, must it have been the custom to use vessels and trinkets of  
gold, anciently, than now: for the change in the proportions could only have been  
effected, by drawing into circulation, what was before applied to other uses.



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