

1716
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1903

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Commerce and Navigation
OF THE
ANCIENTS.

Written in French by Monsieur HUET,
Bishop of Avranches.

Made English from the Paris EDITION.



L O N D O N :

Printed for *B. Lintot* between the *Temple-Gates* in
Fleet-street; and *W. Mears* at the *Lamb* without
Temple-Bar. MDCCXVII.

To the Honourable
Sir Gregory Page, Bart, Chairman,
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And to the other

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GENTLEMEN,

I Could not think a TREATISE
of this kind could properly
be published under any other
PATRONAGE but Yours, who
A 2 are,

iv *DEDICATION.*

are, as far as can be gathered from the best Accounts, the most glorious and important Society for *TRADE* that ever flourish'd in any Nation. You are certainly the best Judges of the Subject the Author has treated of, and will look back with Pleasure on the various Efforts of all Monarchs and States to raise Commerce to that Pitch, which was reserved for the Honour of *Great-Britain*, for You only to effect, and maintain. You will find some Nations fall short in their Capacity to undertake, others in their Powers to execute the great and universal Business of *TRADE* ; and in short, that something still was wanting to
make

DEDICATION. v

make it compleat, 'till the happy
Establishment of your *Company*.

I forbear to say what real Services you have done the *Nation* upon all Emergencies, and how much Glory you have reaped by preserving your *Country* at Home, as well as increasing its Riches from Abroad. *Emperors* formerly have not been ashamed of the Title of MERCHANTS, and *You* have done Honour to the Name, by becoming the Supporters of *Kings* and their Government. As in your publick, so in your private Transactions, Honour is most conspicuous in your Body ; nothing being more Religious to a *Merchant* than his PROMISE, nothing more Sacred than his WORD.

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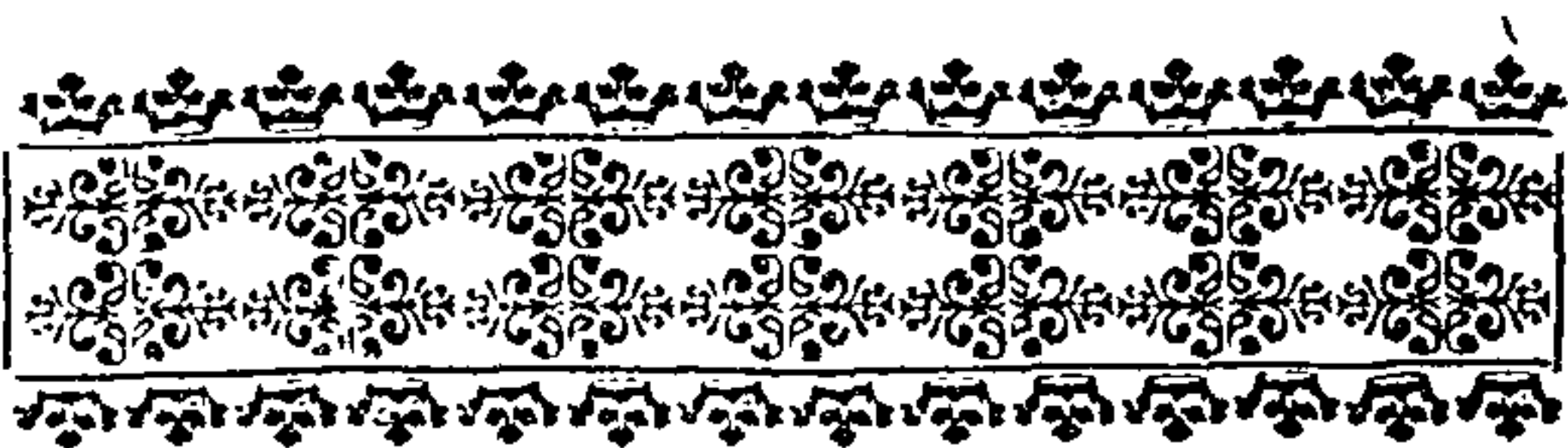
As

DEDICATION.

As to my Performance, as the Translator of this Book, I own that I had some Ambition to please so Glorious a Society, and hope that it will meet with the greater Encouragement for being inscribed to You, whose Integrity, Honour and Interests, have always been the Subject and the Praise of,

Your most devoted

humble Servant,



P R E F A C E

O F T H E

T R A N S L A T O R.

THE various and extensive Learning of Monsieur Huet is so well known to Men of Letters, that I am perswaded his Name alone will recommend this Work more powerfully than any Praises of others. The Subject indeed did not naturally fall in the Way of his Studies, and yet he has acquitted himself so well, that it may seem to many to have been the sole Employment of his Thoughts. As he was particularly conversant in the most ancient Authors, so he has given such Extracts from them in this History of Commerce and Navigation, as explain a
A 4 *great*

PREFACE.

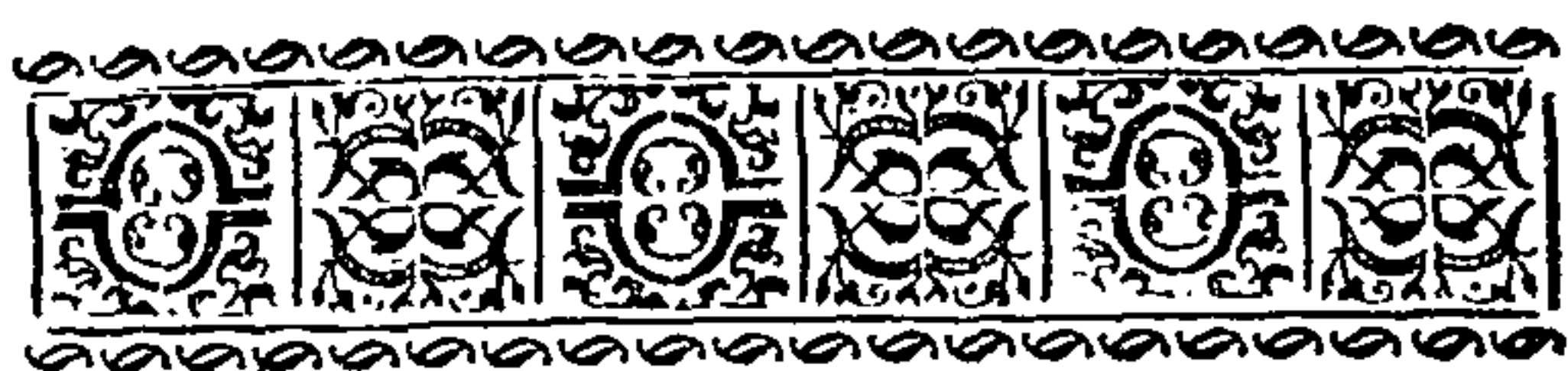
great many difficult Passages in History and Chronology. It has happen'd to few beside Monsieur Huet, to have their great Reading so well temper'd with a solid Judgment, as that the First should supply the Second with a constant Fund; and the Second beautify and strentben the First by an exact Disposition and Order of the Materials. If for all this great Care the Reader should in some Places find the Connexion a little broken and difficult, he must refer to the Heads of his Chapter, which will give him the Chain of the Writer's Thoughts, and so make him recover his Way immediately. He will easily perceive that in so new and bold an Undertaking, both the Matter and the Expression were in themselves difficult, and therefore ought to be the more ready to pardon any little Defect in the Compiler. However, I dare say, the Author will oftner demand his Praise than require his Excuse. And now, that the Subject so happily begun by this Great Man may be compleated for the Benefit of the Publick, there will be a Continuation

P R E F A C E.

tinuation of this History from the Place where he left off, to the modern Times. As this following Treatise will be of more general Use to the World, and what is very much wanted, so I can promise the Reader that there will be great Care taken to make it as compleat, and universally beneficial, as is possible.



P R E-



P R E F A C E

O F

Monfieur *H U E T*

T O

Monfign^r *C O L B E R T,*

S E C R E T A R Y O F S T A T E.

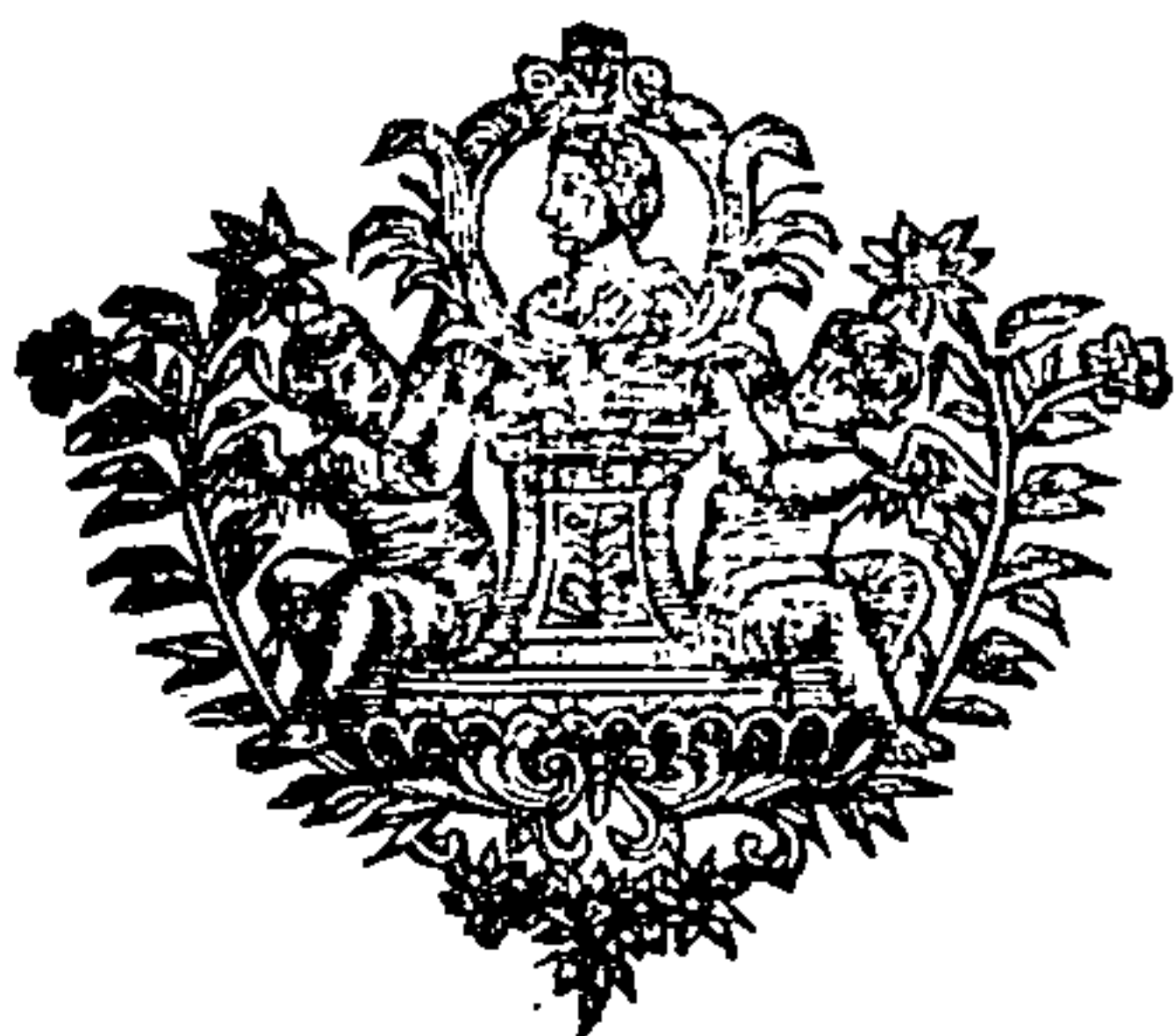
 O Authority lefs than Yours,
Monfieur, could have per-
fwaded me to quit the Studies
which I have fo long follow'd, and
which agree fo well with the Way of
Life I have chofen, to undertake a Sub-
ject fo different from them, as the
History of the Commerce and Navigation
of the Ancients. He who has lately
writ

P R E F A C E.

writ, by your Commands, of the Advantages which this State might draw from the *Indian* Trade, has so happily acquitted himself in that Performance, that there is no doubt but that he would have managed the Subject you have been pleas'd to lay before me with equal Success. The Employment which you exercise with so much Capacity and Vigilance of Inspector and Super-Intendant-General of *Commerce* and *Navigation* of this Kingdom, might have rather directed you to make use of him, to have satisfied your Zeal for the Glory and Welfare of *France*. The Reason you give is, that little Care has been taken hitherto to inform the World of this Part of Ancient History, is the very same which makes me feel the Difficulty of the Undertaking, and fills me with Apprehensions of the Event, having no Guide to show me the Way, nor any to support me in the Design : But all these Considerations cease, when I am to obey your
Com-

P R E F A C E.

Commands, and submit to the Desire of pleasing you, that I may give the Publick a Mark of the Absolute Power you have over me, and my Willingness to acknowledge the many Favours you have honour'd me with.



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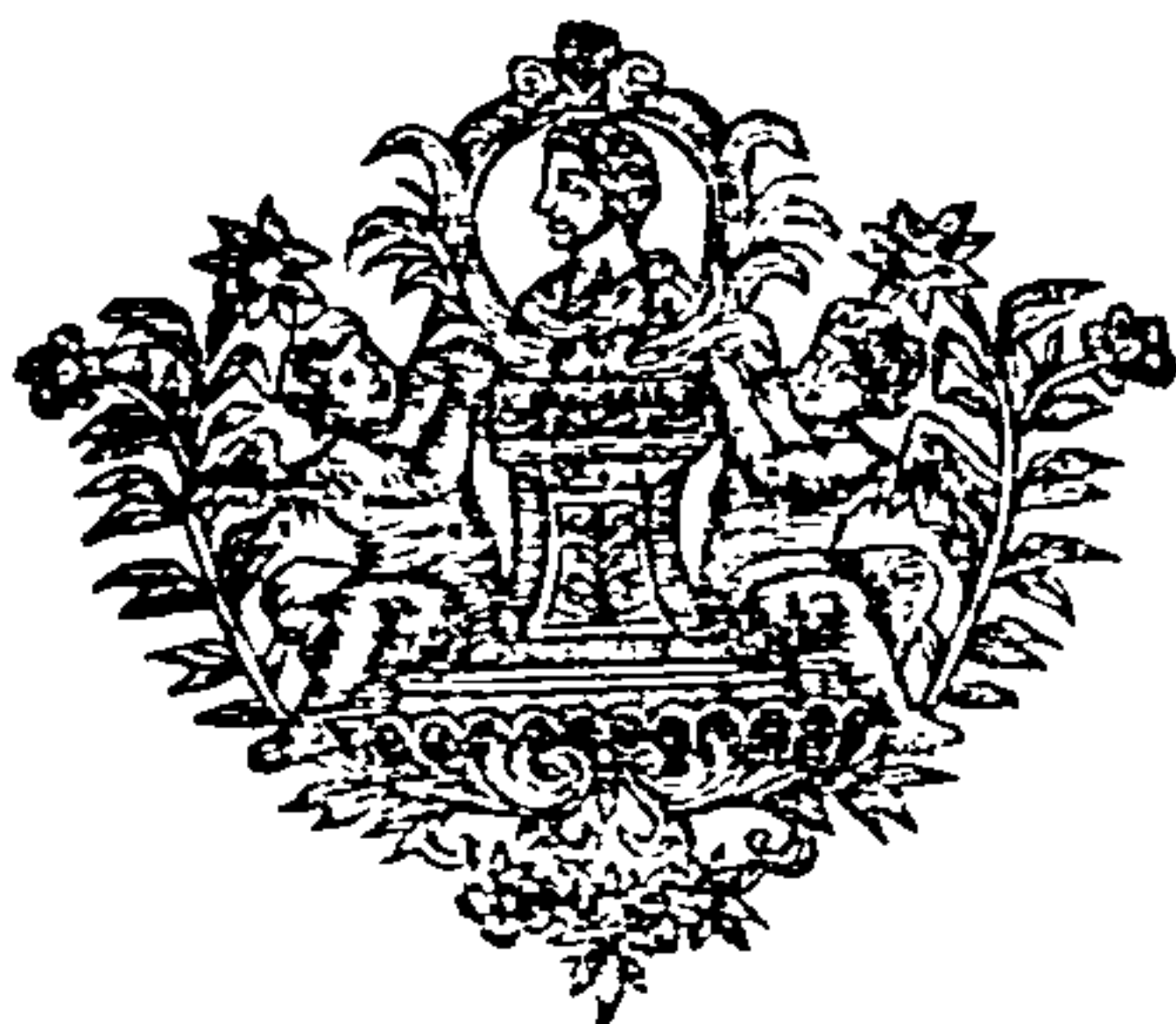
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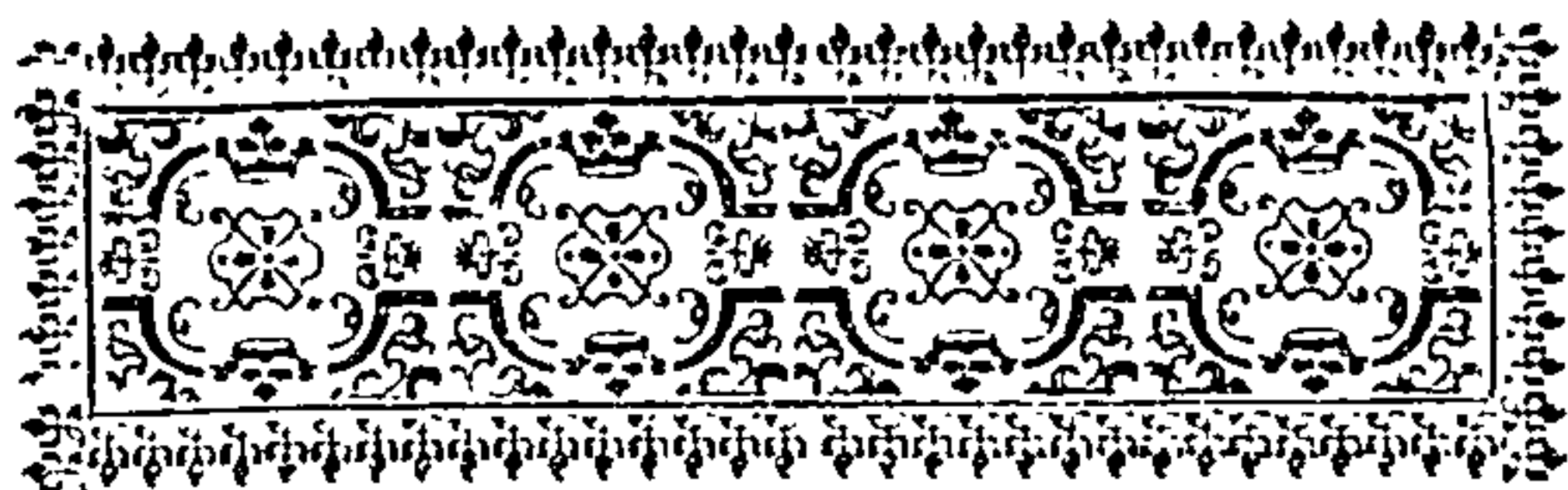
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THE



T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
Commerce and Navigation
O F T H E
A N C I E N T S.



C H A P. I.

Concerning the Origin of T R A D E.



DO enter upon the Matter : It seemsto
me that Mankind have rather intro-
duced Trade for their Convenience,
than out of any Necessity. Na-
ture always furnishes every Animal
with its proper Subsistence in those
Places which give them Birth ; and we have many
Instances of wild People in Parts of the World
lately discovered, living upon the most barren
Lands

Lands without any Trade, or the least Communication with Strangers, loving their Country, and contented in their Miseries. How many Navigators, even in our Times, have met with Inhabitants of Countries who were frighten'd at their Approach, not knowing any other Men but themselves, and not feeling any Want? But those People who by Neighbourhood and other accidental Occasions, had established a good Correspondence, took notice of each others Good, either by interchange of Gifts, or by fair Equivalents, or by mutually supplying each others Wants from their mutual Abundance, and Superfluities. Nevertheless, as Men are sociable in their Nature, even these savage People, who found themselves separated from other Men, were not altogether without the Practice of some sort of Trade among themselves. The Huntsman gave Part of his Game to the Fisherman, who also freely returned him a Share of his Fish. The Gardiner of his Fruits to one, and to another, for a Share of their respective Goods. There was also among them a kind of Commerce of Work and Industry; the Husbandman would help to build the House of the Artificer, who had assisted him in the Structure of his Plough. This Sort of Commerce between Man and Man is as ancient as the World itself; and even when we read in Holy Writ, that *Cain* was a Tiller of the Ground, and *Abel* a Shepherd, we may conclude, that *Cain* supplied *Abel* with Fruit and Grain of the Earth for his Nourishment, and *Abel* in return would furnish *Cain* with Skins and Wool for Raiment and Covering; and it may be also, with Flesh, and Milk for his Table. For there is no Necessity of believing that God did not allow Man in the Use of Flesh 'till after the Deluge, as some would insinuate. *Gen. ix. 3.* And since *Adam* and *Eve*, according to the Scripture, employ'd the Skins of Animals

mals for their Covering, they might reasonably enough make use of their Flesh for Food ; and it is likely that *Abel* fed also on the Flesh of those Lambs, whose Fat he offer'd to God : for Sacrifices were not made to God of those Things which were not useful to Man. *Gen. vii. 2.* Infomuch, that when God spake to *Noah* before the Flood, he made the Distinction of Clean and Unclean Beasts ; and it may be, it was meant only with respect to the Use which Man made of them for his Nourishment. But these Queries do not belong to my Subject.

CHAP. II.

Of TRADE before the FLOOD.

SUCH were the Rudiments of Trade ; which Use, the Parent of Arts in the Course of Time, has increas'd and brought to Perfection. Hence some built Cities, others chose rather to live in Tents, wandring at Pleasure, without any certain Settlement. Arts were discovered, and various Professions, Exercises, and Trades were established, some out of meer Necessity, and others for Pleasure : But all this could not be either began or maintain'd without a mutual Correspondence among Men, and by a reciprocal Communication of their Goods, and of their Industry ; nay, even to facilitate this Correspondence, they formed themselves into different Societies. What would *Tubal-Cain* have done (who was a Blacksmith, as the Scripture reports, and who has given Birth to the Fable of *Vulcan*?) What would he have done, I say, with those famous Works in *Brass* and *Iron* of his, if he had not traded with them among his Neighbours ? But many a Mixture of Cheats and Tricks began

began to run through all these Occupations ; the Wares were alter'd ; they sold with false Weights and false Measures ; Justice and Plain-dealing were banish'd from Trade, Virtue and Good Manners began to be corrupted : In a Word, the Malice of Men broke forth in that unbounded manner, that Heaven, being offended at the Ways of Man, almost entirely destroy'd their Race by the Deluge. Now, it is not out of the way here, to consider the Fabrick, and wonderful Work of the *Ark*, and how far Trade had advanced, to make it possible that a Structure of that kind could be completed ; how many Materials were employ'd, how many Tools, how many Workmen, what Machines, and what Industry ! Can we believe that *Noah* had in his own Ware-House, or in his Family, all that was convenient or necessary for the Execution of a Design so great ? I think then we need not doubt but that there was at that time some sort of Commerce among Men, who drove a Trade by the Help of Beasts of Burden, as Horses, Camels, Asses, Elephants, and by some Machines for Carriage, as Carts, Waggon and Sledges. And we may believe likewise, that Men were not at that Time without some Knowledge of the Use of Rivers, little Gulphs, and the Coasts of the Sea, whether by the means of Floats of Rushes, Wood or any other Materials which could swim upon the Water ; and it may be also that they had no less Knowledge of the Quality of the Air, whether in Bladders or other Inventions, capable of sustaining their Burdens upon the Water. But it is improbable that their Industry reach'd to the Building of Ships either great or small ; for if Navigation had already been found out, how many would have avoided the Rage of the Deluge, which God caus'd to be universal, excepting only *Noah* and his Family ?

C H A P. III.

*Of COMMERCE after the Deluge by Land
and by Sea.*

TH E Confusion of Languages followed the Flood, as did also the Dispersion of the People. Trade then became more difficult, but much more necessary. People then, upon leaving their Native Country to inhabit others, soon found the want of many Conveniences, which they had in their first Station; and met with many others unknown to them and their Fellows. Thus they made use of what they had now discover'd, and supply'd their Wants from Abroad. This was first began between Neighbour and Neighbour, and so spread it self by degrees to Countries more remote, and at last even to the End of the Earth.

The *Sea* was at first the chief Obstacle, but in Progress of Time was turn'd to the greatest Use by the Invention of Navigation, which may be ascribed to *Noah*, as the first Author, in his Fabrick of the Ark, according to the Instruction and Direction of God himself. We may easily believe that this curious Structure, which had been so beneficial, was imitated with the greatest Care, and contributed largely towards the Dispersion of Nations, which happened soon after the Deluge. We have here a large Field to examine the several Opinions of Authors concerning the Origin and Inventors of Navigation. But all these Conjectures, and the Fictions of profane History, lose themselves, disappear, and are of little Worth, in comparison of that Light which is given us in Holy Writ, where Truth so much abounds.

After this new Discovery were introduced two sorts of Commerce, that by Land, and that by Sea.

C H A P. IV.

Of COMMERCE by LAND.

THE Plains and Deserts were the Right of the first Possessors, who held them for a long time, without making any Division, and the more powerful among them kept Possession of some particular Places. These new Proprietors established their Dwellings, and cultivated those Lands which they enjoy'd, leaving the rest to the Liberty of those who follow'd the Feeding of Cattle, living in Tents, and often changing their Habitation, and seeking the best Pastures for their Flocks. Such was the State of the Land of *Canaan*, when *Abraham* was brought thither by God's Command; and during the Residence of his first Descendants, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, and his Twelve Children, he led for the most part the Life of a Wanderer, such as is practis'd at this Day among the *Arabians* of *Nomadia*, who are Borderers upon those Parts; and we don't find that *Abraham* paid any Homage to the Lords of the Country, to obtain the Liberty of Pasturage. And when he parted from his Nephew *Lot*, to avoid the Differences which began among their Shepherds, he let him choose that Part of the Country which suited him best, without having regard to any Proprietor. But when *Isaac* began to apply himself to the Tillage of the Land of *Gerar*, where, by the Blessing of God, he reap'd a Hundred-fold, it appears that it was by Permission of *Abimelech*. And when *Hemor* gave Invitation to *Jacob* and his Children to establish themselves in his Country, and incorporate themselves with his People, he proposed to him at the same time, and permitted him to cultivate the Ground. And to persuade his own People to consent to this Treaty,

Treaty, he set forth the vast Extent of their Lands, which were very capable of receiving these new Inhabitants : And some give another Reason, that they wanted People to Till their Ground. We cannot observe that *Abraham* possess'd, as Proprietor, any one Parcel of Land among the *Canaanites*, before the Purchase which he made with ready Money of the Field of *Ephron*, for the Burial of his Wife *Sarah* : We find also, that *Jacob*, at his Return from *Misopotamia*, made a Purchase of a Field from the Children of *Hemor*, for the Price of a Hundred Lambs. From all which Observations it is easy to observe what I have already mention'd, that when Colonies were first planted, the Men of the greatest Power possess'd and cultivated such Lands as were the most proper for their Use, leaving the others to the Occupation of those whose Riches consisted in Cattle. But these Countries where so many Lands yet remained in Common thro' the Fault of the Inhabitants, did not continue always in the same uncultivated State. For when the *Israelites* were return'd from their Captivity in *Egypt*, and came to take Possession of these Lands, the Spies which *Moses* sent out to survey and give an Account of the Country, were fill'd with Wonder at the Largeness of the Cities, and the Number and Power of the Inhabitants.

The several Authors of profane History have represented the Life of Men in the first Times under the Figure of the *Golden Age*. They tell us that the Lands were not then divided, and that it was then a Crime to separate them by Inclosures of any kind ; and that the Inhabitants were equally Partakers of the Fruits they naturally produced, without either the Advantage of the Plough, or other Cultivation, which Inventions were only made use of after a long Course of Years, when the Manners of Men began to be corrupted. The

same Authors, in their Description of this and the following Ages, do not totally exclude from the Golden Age a Commerce by Land ; but they place the Beginning of Navigation in the *Iron Age*, as knowing no other Cause than the Avarice of Mankind, nor other Motive to practise it, than an uncontrollable Hardiness of Spirit. The Commerce by Land was carried on by the Assistance of Animals, which were made use of for the Conveyance of their Merchandizes. After this manner the Borders of the River *Euphrates*, which had been the Cradle of Humane Race, was now become the scene of their Commerce, where they commonly employ'd for this Use Camels and Asses, which are the Beasts of Burden the best known in that Country.

C H A P. V.

*TRADE of the Ishmaelites and Midianites
in Gilead, in Egypt, and of Joseph in Egypt.*

THE Holy Scripture does not afford us any Example of Trade more ancient than those Caravans of *Ishmaelites* and *Midianites*, to whom *Joseph* was sold by his Brethren. These Men were on their Return from *Gilead*, with their Camels laden with Spices, and other rich Merchandizes of that Country, to be carry'd to *Egypt*, where they produced a great Return by the Use that was made of them there for the embalming the dead Bodies of Men. The Purchase which they made of *Joseph*, and their Selling of him to *Potiphar*, *Pharaoh's* Steward, teaches us, that their Trade was not confin'd only to the Merchandizes of *Gilead*. Their Country lying between *Gilead* and *Egypt*, which were Kingdoms abounding in many different Sorts of Commodities,

modities, the Inhabitants of these Countries communicated to each other what they thought most proper by constant Returns, with such a Care as became Men who design'd to gain by their Profession.

We must observe nevertheless, that when *Jacob* sent his Children the second time into *Egypt* to buy Corn, he supply'd them with the most valuable Merchandizes of his Country, as a Present to *Joseph*, the better to recommend them to him : These Commodities were much the same with those which were traded for by the *Ishmaelites* and *Midianites*, and what I have before mentioned to be carried from *Gilead* into *Egypt*.

The same *Joseph* soon undertook a Commerce of much greater Importance ; for having discover'd by *Pharaoh's* Dreams, that not only *Egypt* and *Canaan*, but also the whole Earth would be sorely afflicted with a Famine of seven Years, he providently improved the seven preceding Years of Plenty ; and lay'd up in the Granaries of *Pharaoh* so great a Quantity of Corn, that he had not only enough to exchange for all the Money and Cattle of the *Egyptians*, but also to purchase for the King's Use, even all the Lands of the Kingdom, and to furnish the Neighbouring Countries.

These Examples of Trade by Land are the first that History has deliver'd to us.



C H A P. VI.

TRADE by Exchange, and with Money.

FROM what we have said it is necessary to observe, that this Commerce did not consist only in the Exchange of Merchandizes, but was also carry'd on with Money; the Children of *Jacob* sold their Brother for ready Money, and by the same Means they purchas'd Corn from the *Egyptians*; and *Joseph* is said to have fill'd the Treasury of *Pharaoh* with the Money which he received for his Corn.

Pausanias. When *Pausanias* tells us, that in the Reign of *Polydorus*, King of *Lacedæmonia*, Trade was only carry'd on by Exchange, forasmuch as at that Time there was not any current Money, either of Gold or Silver, stamp'd with a publick Mark: We ought to understand him as speaking in particular of those *Greeks* and *Indians* which he treats of there, and not of these two Nations in general.

We know that the *Indians* had among them a considerable Quantity of Gold and Brass, the Produce of their own Country; and it is plain from all Accounts, and from what I have said, that Trade was carry'd on with ready Money among the *Hebrews* and the *Egyptians* above One Thousand Years before the Time of *Pausanias*; for there were not a less Number of Years between the Time of *Joseph* and that of *Polydorus*, who lived at the beginning of the first *Olympiad* and as it appears that the *Egyptians* had an antient and considerable Trade with the *Indians* by the *Red-Sea*, and that the People of the East had learnt from the *Egyptians* very many Customs (as I may explain in some other Work) it is to be believ'd, that the *Indians* having Gold and Silver of

COMMERCE *and* NAVIGATION. II

of their own Produce, had learnt among other Customs of the *Egyptians*, the Art of making Money to facilitate their Trade. We may conjecture, that *Pausanias* has only made mention of some particular *Indians*, with whom the *Greeks* traded in the Time of *Polydorus* : For before the Time of *Alexander*, the *Greeks* held no immediate Commerce with the *Indians*, but through the Means of the *Egyptians*, or by the *Phenicians* or *Persians* ; and what *Pausanias* attributes indiscriminately to the *Indian* Nation, may have been practised only in some particular Country of the *East* ; for we know, that under the general Name of the *Indies*, are commonly included all the People of the *East* ; and it is upon this Foot we must understand the Geographer *Mela*, and the Author of the *Coastings of the Red Sea*, *Mela, lib. 3. cap. 7.* when he mentions the Use of Trading by Exchange, he attributes that kind of Traffick in particular to the *Seres*, the most Eastern People of the Ancients known World ; so much famed for their Justice, that they would leave their Merchandizes in distant Countries, entirely confiding in the Integrity of their Correspondents to make due Returns.



CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

1. Of COMMERCE by Sea. The most Ancient Navigators were the Egyptians and Phenicians.
2. Of the COMMERCE of the Egyptians.

SACRED History does not furnish us with the least Tract, by which we can discover any Commerce by Sea, before the Navigation which is mention'd in *Solomon's* Time. It is nevertheless very true, that the *Hebrews* were acquainted both with the Knowledge and Practice of it before the Reign of that King, as I shall prove in the Sequel. But it is probable, that they made no great Advances in it, in comparison of their Neighbours.

We do not find in any History, that there were more ancient Navigators than the *Egyptians* and *Phenicians*. It seems, that these neighbouring People divided between them the Commerce by Sea; the *Egyptians* possessing chiefly the Trade of the *East*, by the *Red-Sea*, and the *Phenicians* that of the *West*, by the *Mediterranean*: However, these last did not entirely abandon the Eastern Trade, but often made use of a Port which they had at the Point of the *Red-Sea*; as the *Egyptians* often used the Mouths of the River *Nile* to Traffick in the Ports of the *West*; insomuch, that one of the Ports of *Tyre* has been named since the *Egyptian* Port. *Strabo* observes, That the first Kings of *Egypt* were contented with the Produce of their own Country, neglecting Foreign Merchandizes, and even forbidding the Fleets of Strangers to touch in their Country.

But a Nation so wise as this, would surely correct their Faults by Time and Reflection, and would not disdain to join with its own Abundance the
Produce

Produce of other Countries. And when it is said, that *Ptolemy Philadelphus* was the first who open'd the Trade between *Egypt* and *India*, it could not be true, unless in that Restraint which he put upon the *Grecian* Princes which had Reign'd in *Egypt*; for long before the Time of *Alexander*, the *Egyptians* and the *Phenicians* had sail'd to the *Indies*. I speak here of the most considerable Navigations; for I don't disown that other People, who were near Neighbours to the Sea, had not attempted to make some Voyages, and endeavour'd at the same Commerce. The *Idumeans*, with their King *Erythras*, who is thought to have been *Edom*, that is, *Esau*, were Masters of the *Red-Sea* before the *Egyptians* had begun the Trade there. Neither was this Commerce began without Leave from the *Idumeans*, who only permitted them the use of one single Vessel of Burden at one Time for the *Indian* Trade, without suffering any Galley: But the *Egyptians* soon got themselves free from this Yoke, first by their Address, and at last by Force of Arms, and knew well enough how to suppress the *Nabatæans* in their Pyracies in this Gulf. However, I do not believe, that either the *Egyptians*, or the *Phenicians*, were the first Inventors of Navigation. *Noah* had built his Vessel a long while before this, which indeed deserv'd much rather the Name of *Ark*, than of a Ship, not having either Sails, or Oars, or any other Rigging fit for Navigation; and not being made to range the Seas, and make long Voyages, but only to preserve the Lives of those who were enclosed in it, and save them from the Rage of the Waters. But when the Earth was divided among the Children of *Noah*, and that the Isles and *Peninsula's* were made the Portion of *Japhet* and his Descendants; as *Moses* signifies, Gén. x. 5. to us, they could not take Possession of them without great Knowledge in the Art of Navigation,

Navigation. It is hard to persuade our selves that during the Sixteen or Seventeen Ages of the World before the Flood, that none should be apprised of the several Means with which Art and Nature furnisheth us for Conveyance upon Water considering the continual want which they had of this Help, whether it was to pass over Rivers, or to transport Burdens whose Carriage might have been difficult; one might first employ for this Use as I have already mention'd, Reeds, Timber, Bladders and Gourds fill'd with Air, and Pieces of Wood to make Rudders or Floats; these Machines might well be perfected in Time upon the Model of the *Ark*, by Necessity, the Mother of Arts, and the succeeding Industry of Mankind. Poles or Perches, set to the Bottom of the Water, would drive them forward; the Fins and the Tails of Fishes serv'd as Models for the Oars and Rudders: Those little Stones which Cranes and Bees often carry to position themselves with in the Air, might suggest the Notion or Invention of Balast. In fine, the Force of the Wind, whose Effects were so frequent, and so sensible, might have taught them the Use of Sails, which perfected the Art of Navigation. The Poet *Claudian* has very well describ'd, in a few Lines, and with the Air of Truth, the Invention and Progress of this Art.

We find among the fabulous Authors, many plain Traces of these Things, scatter'd here and there in their Writings: They tell us, That in the Reign of *Saturn*, there was neither Navigation nor Trade; for that in *Noah's* Time (who is represented by *Saturn*) the People did not make any Voyages of great Consequence, and that the Earth was not then divided among Men. They tell us farther, That in that Division which was made among the Children of *Saturn*, the Empire of the Sea was given to *Neptune*, by reason that

Japhet

Japhet (of whom he is the Symbol) had for his Portion the *Isles* and *Peninsula's* of the *West*. Others would have us believe, that this Division was made to him, because he was the first who began the Sea Trade by his Father *Saturn's* Orders, and that he built a Fleet for that Purpose. These ancient *Mythologists* have made the *Egyptian* God *Thoyth* (who is the *Grecian Mercury*) to be the Author of Navigation and Merchandize. They tell us, that *Osiris* (who is their *Bacchus*) attempted the Conquest of *India*, as we learn since from History, that *Sesostris* had done, because that the *Egyptians* about that Time drove a considerable Trade with the *Indians*, and even brought them under their Government. It was this same *Bacchus* or *Osiris*, according to these Writers, who first taught the Art of Buying and Selling to Mankind, that is, the Art of Trade. They give us likewise to understand, what was the Trade between the *Egyptians* and the *Greeks*, by the Voyage which *Danaus* made to *Greece*, believing him to have been the first who made use of a Galley; and that before his Time they had no better Invention than Floats, which they pretend were first used in the *Red-Sea*. But be it as it will, these Fables give us Light enough to attribute to the *Egyptians* the Invention of Commerce and Navigation.



C H A P. VIII.

1. *The COMMERCE of the Phenicians and Hebrews.* 2. *The Cape of Good Hope known, frequented, and often doubled in Solomon's Time.* 3. *Of the Land of Phenicia, and its Ports.* 4. *Of the Ancient and New Tyre.* 5. *The Time of the Phenicians Navigations.*

THE *Phenicians*, who did not believe themselves in any Thing inferiour to the *Egyptians*, had also a *Mercury* among them, who they named *Taautus*. But as their Commerce was much more frequent in the Western Parts than that of the *Egyptians*, we must not be surpriz'd if they were more renown'd for the Course of their Merchandizes by *Herod. lib. 1. 4. 1.* the Greek and Roman Authors; and if *Herodotus* has said, That it was these People who were the only Traders and Carriers of the *Assyrian* and *Egyptian* Merchandizes, as if the People of *Egypt* had not any ways intermeddled with this Commerce; and as if they had been thought the Inventors of Trade, Navigation, and Astronomy, whose Use is so necessary to Mariners: Yet, nevertheless the Glory of these Discoveries seems rather to be long to the *Egyptians*; and neither must we believe when *Pliny* tells us, That the *Pæni* of the *Latins* were the Authors of Commerce, that he means the *Carthaginians*: He rather speaks of the *Phenicians*, from whom the *Carthaginians* took their Rise, as their Name of *Pæni* was taken from the Name of the *Phenicians*. The Commerce which was carry'd on by

by Sea and Land in the Eastern World, serv'd to furnish such Merchandizes as were remitted by them to the Western Parts. The Commerce which was then practis'd, was not confin'd only to the Coasts and Ports in the *Mediterranean* Sea; they enter'd the Ocean by the Streights of *Gibraltar*, where they divided their Course to the Right and Left. They establish'd a great Number of Colonies, both within and without this Sea, upon the same Foot with them in the East. *Thebes* in *Boetia*, as also *Cadix*, and *Carthage*, that famous Rival of *Rome*, which was built Fifty Years before the Destruction of *Troy*, and Three Hundred Years before the Flight of *Dido*. *Virgil* was not ignorant of this, but he writ a Poem and not a History; and the Licence of Poetry is not subject to the strickt Rules in Chronology: This I say with the Permission of the greatest Criticks upon *Virgil*.

The *Phenicians* attribute their first Navigation towards the West to *Melcarthus*, who was their *Hercules*. They visited the Western Coasts of *Africa*, and even those of *England*, as far as *Thule*. *Hamilco* and *Hanno*, *Carthaginian* Captains, having made these Voyages in *Africa*, left some Memorials behind them: But all these Voyages were not comparable to those which were perform'd by the *Phenicians*, either in their own Ships, or with *Solomon's* Fleets to *Ophir* and *Tarshish*, which were part of the Coasts of *Ailath* and *Assiongabar*, at the Point of the *Red-Sea*.

Not that I can believe these Voyages, which were undertaken by the Command of *Solomon*, were the first Tryals which were made by the *Hebrews* in the Sea Commerce. They had liv'd too long among the *Egyptians* to be ignorant of their Trade by the *Red-Sea* to all the known Parts of the East: And when they were establish'd in the Land of *Canaan*, they had a nearer View of

the Industry and Application of the *Phenicians* to the Sea Trade, and of the immense Treasures which they gain'd from that Practice. This was fully explain'd to them by the Resistance which they met with from the numerous Armies of *Phenicia*, and by their frequent Crosses by them. Can we imagine that these Tribes, who were plac'd so near the Sea ; that the Tribe of *Zebulon* for Example, which was extended even to the Shoar, and the Gates of *Sidon*, could behold the Inhabitants of this great City, so famous for its Navigations, bring home from time to time such abundant Riches, without being tempted to take part with them, to imitate them, or at least to associate themselves with them, as *Solomon* did afterwards with the *Tyrians* ? When there-

Jes. cont. A-
pien.

fore *Jesephus* tells us, That *Judea* is not situated on the Sea, and that the People of that Country did not drive any Trade, but that their whole Thoughts were turn'd to Agriculture. We must understand that of *Judea* in general ; there was but a little Part, comparatively, which was situate upon the Sea, and that there were not any Ports comparable to those of *Tyre* and *Sidon* ; that they did not exercise any Trade or Commerce directly of themselves ; neither did they make Merchandize their Aim, as did those of *Phenicia* : For we find elsewhere, that *Joppa* served as a Port to *Judea* and to *Jerusalem* and that *Solomon* made use of it for to import the several Materials for his Buildings. I could make it appear in some other Work, that *Ophir* was a general Name for all the Oriental Coast of *Africa* and particularly of the Country of *Sophala*, a Land abounding in Gold ; and that *Tarshish* was likewise a general Name for all the Occidental Coast of *Africa* and *Spain*, and in particular of that Coast in the Neighbourhood of the Mouth of the River *Guadal*

Guadalquivir, a Country fertile in Mines of *Silver*. ✓
 But these Riches of *Ophir* and of *Tarshish* were not
 sufficient for the excessive Expences of *Solomon*. For
 besides the heavy Taxes which he levy'd upon
 his Subjects, from which, after his Death, they
 endeavour'd to free themselves in the Reign of
Roboam, and the immense Presents which he re- ✓
 ceiv'd from neighbouring Kings, the Scripture
 teaches us, that he yet carried on a very consider-
 able Trade abroad, which might possibly be in
 other Places besides *Ophir* and *Tarshish*; and that he
 also establish'd proper Officers for the Manage-
 ment of it. *Jehoshaphat*, King of *Judah*, envying
 the Treasure of *Solomon*, from whose Race he de-
 scended, resolved to renew these gainful Voyages of
Ophir and *Tarshish*: And for this end he prepar'd his
 Fleets in the Port of *Asiongaber*. *Ochozias* King of
Israel, offer'd him at the same time his Friendship
 and Assistance for Share of his Profit; but God
 did not approve of their Design, and the Ships
 were destroy'd in the Harbour. This Oriental
 Coast of *Africa*, which in *Solomon's* Time was
 called *Ophir*, soon gain'd to it self a capital Trade,
 not only from the North by the *Arabian* Gulph
 through the frequent Concourse of the *Phenicians*
 and *Hebrews*, but also from all the Eastern Coun-
 try, the *Chinese*, and the *Indians*, as I shall make
 it appear; and this was not only become a gene-
 ral Mart, by reason of the rich Gold-Mines of
Sophala; but also for the Sake of those of *Melinda* ✓
 and *Mombasia* upon the Coast of *Zanguebar*. *Edrissi*,
 known under the Name of the Geographer of
Nubia, has put down in the neighbouring Sea
 several Islands, which he says to abound in *Camphire* ✓
 and *Sugar*; and one among the rest much fre-
 quented by the Merchants for Pearl-fishing, and
 for its Production of Spices.

2^{dly}. It is here we must lay down the most important Remark in point of Commerce ; and I shall undeniably establish the Truth of it in a Treatise which I have begun concerning the Navigations of *Solomon*, that the *Cape of Good-Hope*, was known, often frequented, and doubled in *Solomon's* Time, and so it was likewise for many Years after ; and that the *Portuguese*, to whom the Glory of this Discovery has been attributed, were not the first that found out this Place, but were secondary Discoverers.

But let us return to the *Phenicians*: We should yet be more surprized at their formidable Power and great Riches, if we consider the little Tract of Land which they possess'd on the Continent, if we had not before our Eyes the Example of the *Hollanders*, who live in a Country naturally limited, barren and marshy, usurp'd in part from the Sea, and defended by a continual Vigilance, and an excessive Expence ; who nevertheless by their Virtue and Industry have extended their Dominion, even to the Extremities of the Earth, and at this Day pretend an Equality with Kings. 'Twas in Consideration of the Smallness of the *Phenician* Territory, that *Solomon* gave to *Hiram*, King of *Tyre*, his Ally, twenty Towns on the Continent, towards enlarging his Dominions. But in this small Country, which they possess'd, they were not wanting of many good and advantageous Ports, which furnish'd them with many Conveniencies for Trade and War. We may easily judge of this, as I have said before, by the Resistance which they made against the *Israelites*, without either the Assistance of the *Tyrians* or *Syrians*, who were the most powerful among them. Moreover they drew a considerable Advantage from the Neighbourhood of *Libanus*, which furnish'd them with Timber in abundance for building of Ships.

But

But of all their Ports, none was equal to that of *Tyre*; we must not however confound the ancient *Tyre* with the new one. The ancient *Tyre* was upon the Coast, and was already rais'd to a formidable Power, as we find it described by the Prophet *Ezekiel*. It was that which drew upon it the Jealousy of the *Affyrians* and *Chaldeans*: It repuls'd the Troops of *Salmanazar*, although it was abandon'd by its Allies, and was besieg'd for Thirteen Years by *Nebuchadnezzar*, to whom at last it was forced to submit, and was destroy'd by him. But its Inhabitants were wise enough to convey all their choicest Effects into a neighbouring Island before this happen'd, where they afterwards establish'd themselves in the new *Tyre*, which far surpass'd in Splendor and Power their ancient City. It continued in this Pomp 'till the Time of *Alexander*, who laid siege to it; and having join'd it to the Continent by a Causeway of half a League in length, he took it, treated it in the most inhumane manner, and at last burnt it. And we must not believe *Josephus* when he says, that *Hiram* under-
Joseph. con. Apion.
 took this Junction of the old and new *Tyre*. *Tyre* had effaced the Glory of *Sidon*, who had surpass'd in Pomp all the other Cities in *Phenicia*, putting to Sea above a Hundred Gallies of three and five Tire of Oars.

In the Catalogue which the *Grecians* have given us of those who had obtain'd the Empire of the *Mediterranean Sea*, the *Phenicians* are placed in the seventh Rank, and the *Egyptians* in the eighth, giving the Preference of Antiquity to many other People of their Country, and of *Asia Minor*. But it is a long time since the *Egyptians* have reproach'd the *Greeks*, that they were always Children, and had never grew older; intimating to them how much they were Novices in Antiquity. The Holy Scriptures teaches us other Things of the Antiqui-

ty of the *Phenician* Navigation. When *Josbua* conquer'd the Land of *Canaan* the *Phenicians* retired towards the Sea, where *Sidon* was already built, and one Party of them took the Rout of *Africa*, as the ancient Inscriptions of *Tangier* attests : And even before the Time of *Josbua*, some Colonies of *Phenicians* were establish'd in these Countries: The Expedition of the *Phenician Hercules* into *Africa* was about Three hundred Years before *Jason* went to *Colchis*. And it is this *Hercules* that *Sanchoniaton* has mention'd under the Name of *Melcarthus*, and therefore his Voyage into *Africa* was preceding the Time of *Gideon*, Co-temporary with *Sanchoniaton*. So that before the Time of *Solomon*, of *Hyron*, and of *Homer*, the *Phenicians* had over-run the greatest part of the Coasts of the ancient World. We might nevertheless give another Sense to the *Grecian* way of reckoning, who perhaps were not quite ignorant of the Antiquity of the *Egyptian* and *Phenician* Navigation ; which is, that in their Account, they only had regard to the Armaments of the Sea, or such great Fleets as were prepar'd for the use of War. And that on the other hand, the *Egyptians* and *Phenicians* had little more in view than bare Commerce, particularly in their first Naval Attempts.



C H A P. IX.

The COMMERCE of the Ancient INDIANS.

IF the Commerce of the *Egyptians* was so ancient and so extensive in the Oriental Parts, as we have reason to believe, we must conclude, that the Trade of those *Indians*, who were their chief Correspondents, was not inferior to theirs. The War which they maintain'd against *Semiramis* is Proof enough of this Assertion. For she was opposed with Four thousand Ships upon the River *Indus* in a Passage that is Six Leagues in Breadth. These Ships, although they were made of single Pieces of Wood, were nevertheless very large, for the Trees of that Country are of an excessive Bigness.

If these People could fit out a Fleet of so great a Number of Vessels in a River only, we may judge of their Power by *Sea*. Now this Correspondence between the *Indians* and the *Egyptians* is so clearly made out by the ancient Histories, that we are naturally led to infer from thence, that if all the *Indian* and *Chinese* Nation is not descended from the *Egyptians*, yet at least the greatest part draw their Original from them. The famous Expedition of *Osiris* to *India* explains this to us, where he reign'd during Fifty two Years, cultivated the Country, civiliz'd the People, built Cities, and established many Colonies of *Egyptians*; inso-much, that *Egypt* in course of Time thought it had a good Title to demand the *Indies* as her own. *Sesostris*, who long time afterward subdued all *Asia*, extended his Conquests to *India*, and all the neighbouring Sea-Coasts. And when *Cambyfes* invaded *Egypt*, the *Indies* were the Refuge of many *Egyptians*. The Conformity of the Manners

and Doctrines of those two Nations are so many more certain Proofs of their Alliance. This Correspondence had many Periods, according to the different Disposition of Time and Circumstance. It appears, from what I have already said, that this Commerce was very frequent among them in their Beginning. It began to decline under the *Persian Empire*, inſomuch that the *Indian Sea* was hardly known to the *Egyptians*, and that many of the Ancients have believed, that the *Indian Sea* was no more navigable than they fancied the Ocean then to be. The *Persians* neglected the Road of *Egypt* for the *Indian Trade*, having Ports of their own, which were much nearer, and beſides being their Neighbours on the Land ſide. In the Time of the *Ptolemies* the *Egyptians* renewed the *Indian Trade*, and chiefly *Ptolemy Philadelphus*: But his Deſcendants did not keep it up in the ſame Splendor. The *Romans* rais'd it from *Strab. Lib. 2.* this drooping State; and *Strabo* tells us, that in his Time a Fleet of *Alexandria* renewed the Navigation of the *Nile*, and enter'd the *Arabian Gulph*. (for this Gulph was at that time join'd to the *Nile* by a Canal) and ſo to *India*, and made this *Route* much more practicable than it was before; and that he remembered a Fleet of 120 Sail of Ships, which ſet out from this Gulph to the *Indes*. In *Pliny's* Time the *Romans* made this Voyage every Year with an immense Profit to themſelves. Sometimes theſe Embarkations were made without the *Arabian Gulph*, at the Port of *Spices*, and other Ports on the Coaſt of *Africa*. *Arrian*, in his *Periplus* or Coaſtings of the *Red-Sea*, diſcourſes largely of its Ports, and of the Merchandizes which they brought in. And he adds, that this Paſſage from *Egypt* to *India* was began by coaſting it with the uſe of ſmall Ships; and that the Pilot *Hippalus* was the firſt that travers'd this great Sea. In ſine, the *Route* from *Egypt* to *India* was ſo well known,

known, that we find many Accounts of it in the ancient Authors, in *Arrian's* Coastings of the *Red-Sea*, in *Pliny*, and in *Solinus*.

CHAP. X.

*Of the ancient Chinese COMMERCE
by SEA.*

AMONG the many Swarms of the *Egyptians*, which spread themselves over *India*, the *Chineses* well deserve our particular Consideration. We find among them very sensible Marks of their Origin, a great Conformity of their Customs with those of the *Egyptians*, their double Letters, Hieroglyphicks, and some Affinity even in their Language; the Doctrine of the *Metempsychosis* or Transmigration of Souls; and that, which is yet very remarkable, the continual Aversion which appears among the *Chineses*, to receive into their Country any Foreign Trader, and even those with whom they had corresponded for many Years; so like the Custom which *Strabo* mentions to have been used *Strab. Lib. 17.* among the ancient *Egyptians*. I cannot help wondering, that against so many evident Proofs, a certain Writer of these late Times, full of Spirit and Authority in other things, but tainted with Prejudice, should maintain, that the *Egyptians* and *Phœnicians* received their first Notions of Sciences from the *Indians*. It would be easy to destroy his System, if the Subject now before me did not require my more particular Study. Although the *Chineses* were originally *Egyptians*, and that they left that Country either in whole or in part with the other *Indians*, they have nevertheless enjoy'd a separate State to themselves for many Years, and heretofore

heretofore acquir'd so great Power, that they brought all *India* under their Yoke. It is known that *Japan*, *Corea*, *Cochin-china* and *Tunquin*, were once Provinces of *China*: And if we should believe the *Chineses* themselves, and their Vanity does not render their Evidence suspected, they once extended their Empire even to the *Cape of Good-Hope*. Nevertheless, the greatest Part of the *Indian* People dispute with them the Honour of this Greatness, and call to mind their ancient Commerce. We find in the Annals of *Ormuz*, that in the *Persian* Gulph only, the *Chineses* have brought near Four hundred Ships, charging themselves with, and unlading an infinite Quantity of rich Merchandizes. The Use of the Compass is very ancient among them; but I cannot think that *Marcus Paulus* brought it from *China* into *Europe*, as some People perswade themselves; for it appears from some Verses of *Guyot de Provins*, a *French* Poet, who lived about the Year 1200, mention'd by *Fauchet*, that the *French* Pilots made use of the Needle above Forty Years before *Mark Paul*. History assures us of the Equity and Probity of the ancient *Seres*, who preceded the *Chineses*, who traded without seeing, or being seen by the Merchants.

C H A P. XI.

The SEA-COMMERCE of the Ancient PERSIANS.

PERSIA is most commodiously situated for Trade. It is in the Center of *Asia*, encompass'd with the *Indies*, *Tartary*, *Armenia*, *Notalia*, *Syria*, *Arabia*, and *Egypt*, so as to enjoy part of their Riches by a free and easy Communication, either by Land with the neighbouring Nations, or by Sea with those

thole which are far more remote. It has the *Indian* and *Arabian* Seas, and the *Persian* Gulph on the South-side; the *Caspian* Sea, and *Black Sea* on the North; it is water'd with the great Rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, which facilitate the Carriage of Merchandizes into the Continent: It has commodious Ports on its Sea, and many Harbours in its Rivers. *Semiramis*, who reign'd in these Countries, was not ignorant of these Advantages, and made use of them to advance Navigation: Some attribute the Invention of Gallies to her. We are told that she built Three thousand, all of them armed with Beaks of Brass. She caused the Rivers to be repair'd and render'd more navigable: She embark'd even herself on her Fleets, and advanced on the Southern Seas, being willing to inform herself of the Nature of the Country, and of the People situate upon her Coasts, who according to the Description, which yet remain of them, were no others than the *Indians* on one side, and the *Ethiopians* on the other; on which People she made War with glorious Successes. But the Mariners, which she made use of for the Pilots in her Fleet, were not Natives of her Country. She invited them from *Syria*, *Phenicia*, *Cyprus*, *Cilicia*, and *Egypt*.

When we read that *Salmanazor*, one of her Successors, attack'd the *Syrians* with a Fleet of 110 Ships, we must understand, that the *Phenicians* who were under his Empire, had furnish'd him with them; and the *Tyrians* only made use of Ten of their Ships to destroy this Fleet: Which shews how little his Subjects were acquainted with the Sea. *Darius* and *Xerxes* had more Success in this Sort of Navigation; the first was ambitious to know the *Asiatick* Seas, and gave the Command of one Fleet to the famous *Syclax*, who during two Years and half, visited these Coasts as far as the *Arabian* Gulph, and made use of the Experience

ence he there gain'd to subdue the *Indians* afterwards. *Xerxes* was carried yet farther by his Curiosity, and hoped that his Nephew *Sataspes* would compass the Design which he had proposed of sailing round *Africa*, passing out by the Pillars of *Hercules*, and returning by the *Arabian Gulph*; but this Design was not perfected. History does not shew us that these People apply'd themselves to Navigation in the following Ages. For the great Fleets of *Darius* and *Xerxes*, which were put to Sea against the *Persians*, were furnish'd by the several Nations situate on the Coasts, or the Islands of the *Mediterranean Sea*, who were either their Tributaries, or Subjects, or Allies, or Enemies to the *Athenians*. But, infine, after the famous Victory which *Cymon*, who commanded the *Athenian Fleet*, gain'd over that of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, King of *Persia*, upon the Coast of *Cyprus*; the *Persians*, by the Treaty of Peace which entu'd, abandon'd all their Pretensions to the *Grecian Sea*, and artticed to approach those Parts no nearer than the distance of three Days Voyage; and that they would never send a Ship of War into the *Lycian* and *Pamphilian Seas* on the South-side, nor into the *Pontus Euxinus* on the North-side. The Fleets which were at Sea, when *Alexander* attack'd *Persia*, were not supplied by Natives of *Persia*. But there is not any better Appearance, that their Nation was unskill'd in Sea Affairs, than those Cataracts which they so much encouraged and improved in the Rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, to prevent the Invasion of their Country by Strangers who should attempt to come up these Rivers. *Strabo* says, *Strab. Lib. 16.* that Ships might be brought up against the Stream of the *Tigris* to that Place where the City of *Selucca* has since been built, and against the Course of the River *Euphrates*, even to *Babylon*; but he does not mention the Time when these

these *Casades* were made. But *Herodotus* gives us room to believe, that *Nicotris*, Queen of *Assyria*, who far exceeded *Semiramis* in Wit and Magnanimity, was the Inventor of them. *Strabo* only adds, that *Alexander* removed these Obstacles, by destroying the *Cataracts*, and re-establish'd the Liberty of Navigating upon these Rivers. The *Persians* after that Time return'd to their first Constitution. But living always in fear of the Marine Powers, they again re-establish'd the *Cataracts* upon the same Rivers: And we find by the History of *Ammienus Marcelinus*, that they were yet remaining in the Time of the Emperor *Julian*.

But the *Persians* became better acquainted with their Interests some time after. The *Tygris* and *Euphrates* were turn'd at last to the Liberty of their Course, and the Merchants from *India*, *Mesopotamia*, and all *Persia* began to flock in great Companies to the Islands lying in the Mouths of these Rivers, and brought with them many valuable Commodities. We may yet remember the famous City of *Siraf*, situate upon the Borders of the *Persian* Gulph; which, notwithstanding the Barrenness of its Soil, became so famous by its Commerce, that it surpass'd all the Cities in *Persia* in Reputation and in Riches: But in the end a neighbouring Island, by the Commodiousness of its Situation, robb'd it of its Commerce, and grew rich by its Decay. *Arian* is the only Writer among the Ancients who has mention'd the Situation of *Apologus*; he places it in the *Persian* Gulph, between *Euphrates* and the Fort of *Spasimus*, and seems to make it a Place of Trade, which, according to the Situation of it to the East of *Euphrates*, as he says, it could not be the City of *Balfora*, as some may think, which is to the West of that River, as *Stucklus* * believed. *Arian*

* *Stuck. in Arrian peripl. mar. chrystr.*

speaks in the same Place of the City *Omana*, which he places in *Persia*; which he affirms also was a Place of great Trade. *Pliny* places the

Omanians in *Persia*, and makes them
Plin. Lib. 6. Inhabitants of those Cities that
cap. 28. were built by *Semiramis* in *Carmenia*.

Arian adds, that they brought from *Barigaza*, an ancient City of *India*, in very large Ships, many valuable Commodities to these Towns in *Persia*; he mentions particularly *Brass*, divers sorts of rich Wood, and Incense of *Cana* a Mercantile City of *Arabia*; that the *Omanians* made use of little Boats of Wood, ty'd and sew'd together, in which they carry'd to *Barigaza* and to *Arabia*, Pearls, Purple, Habits of their Country, Wine, Dates, and Slaves. However, we must be cautious how we confound the City *Omana* in *Persia* with *Omanum* a Town in *Arabia*, mention'd by *Ptolemy* and *Stephans*, as some very learned Men have done.

I attribute the Cause of this Conduct among the *Persians*, in respect of their Sea-Commerce, to the many powerful Nations which encompass'd their Country. The Preservation of their large Frontier employ'd their Study, and consumed all their Revenues. *Alexander* despised this Policy, and would not admit that the Sea should set Bounds to his Ambition. He made himself Master of the *Indian* Sea, as he had done before of the *Mediterranean*; although, after the Battle of *Granicus*, and the taking of *Miletum*, he discharged the Fleet which he had maintain'd all along in that Sea, either to save the Expence, or to inspire his Soldiers with greater Courage, by removing all Hopes of a Retreat. He embark'd himself upon the River *Indus*, and put out to Sea; and to shew us how little the *Persians* were used to Navigation, he did not employ any of them on board his Fleet, altho' he had an Opportunity of employing many of their Troops, and being at the Gates of their Country,

Country, but only took into his Service the *Egyptians*, *Phenicians*, *Carians* and *Cyprians*, which had follow'd his Army : But the extraordinary Affairs, which called him elsewhere, did not permit him to follow the Dictates of his Courage, and satisfy his unbounded Curiosity. He gave to *Nearchus* the Commission to range and survey these Seas. *Nearchus* set out from the Mouth of the *Indus*, and return'd into *Persia* by the *Pasitigris*. He left Memorials of his Expedition, equally useful for War and for Trade.

The Succession from *Alexander* was torn into so many Pieces, that a Division of that Nature could not fail to produce great Wars both by Sea and Land ; but all the Fleets that were employ'd in them were built and managed by those People which inhabited the Coasts and Islands of the *Mediterranean* Sea. *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, *Antigonus* and *Seleucus*, signaliz'd themselves in these Sea Expeditions. We cannot read without

Athen. Lib. 5. Wonder, what is mention'd by *Athenens*, of the Number and Greatness of *Ptolemy's* Ships, how much they surpass'd the Reputation which *Egypt*, where he reign'd, had acquir'd before upon the Seas. *Seleucus*, on the other hand, turn'd his Views to the East, and sent his Fleets against the *Indians*. But in all these Enterprizes, Trade had much less share than War. And when *Mithridatus*, that Prince who reign'd in some of those Countries, which heretofore were part of the *Persian* Empire, and who withstood the *Roman* Powers with so much Valour and Conduct, oppos'd them with Four hundred Ships, whereby he put himself in Possession of the Empire of the Sea, from *Cilicia* to the *Ionian* Sea, and fill'd the Ocean with Pirates as far as the Pillars of *Hercules* ; his Aim was only to curb the *Roman* Power, neglecting Trade as an Object unworthy of his Magnanimity.

When

When the *Romans* became Masters of *Asia*, the *Persians* began to apply themselves more to Trade; but they chiefly embraced the Commerce of the Southern Seas; and I will speak more at large of it when I come to mention that Commerce which was carried on under the Government of the *Romans*.

C H A P. XII.

COMMERCE by Land of the ancient *Persians*, and of some of their neighbouring People.

WHILE the *Persians* before *Alexander's* Time defended the Entrance into their Country on the Sea-Coasts by the Cataracts which I have mention'd, they were not without the Practice of some sort of Trade by Land. The Merchandizes, which they could not convey into their Country by way of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, were carry'd by Land. They had made a Port at the Entrance of the *Euphrates*, to receive their foreign Importations, and chiefly those of the *Arabians*. The *Armenians* made use of these Rivers to trade with the *Persians*. They went to *Babylon* up the *Euphrates* in Boats made of Leather, round, and very light. On the Borders of this River, and those of the *Tigris*, were several rich and commodious Staples, where the Merchants had the Convenience of Trading. The *Parthians*, a warlike People, made use of their Horses in their Trade, as also in all their other Affairs, whether private or publick, following the Custom of the *Scythians*, from whom they were descended: This Custom is likewise retain'd among the *Tartars*, a People of the same Origin. It must be in the same manner

ner that the ancient City *Arsacia*, the Capital of their Empire, and Seat of some of the *Persian* Kings, known by the modern Name of *Caswin*, carry'd on that great Trade, by which it became so famous and powerful. It is yet in esteem for the Trade of many Sorts of precious Stones, the Damask Works which are made there, and for its Manufacture of those rich Cloaths of Gold and Silk. The Concourse of Merchants, which was afterwards at *Girofia*, a City of *Carmania*, is Proof enough of the great Trade which was carry'd on in the Neighbouring Parts of *Persia*. The *Caspian* Sea, and *Black Sea* serv'd to furnish such Merchandizes to the *Armenians*, which they could trade with among the *Persians*, and also such Commodities as were the chief Subsistence of the *Hircanians*. By this, not only the Northern Trade was advanced and carry'd on among the *Persians*, but also that of *China* and the *Indies*; from whence the Merchandizes were brought down to the *Caspian Sea*, by the River *Oxus*, and from thence by the *Cyrus* into the *Black Sea*, from which last Place they spread themselves all over *Europe*. *Paul*, Centurion of *Genoa*, endeavour'd to recover this Route in the time of Pope *Leo X.* and made his Proposition to the Czar *Basil*, that *Indian* Wares might be brought to *Astracan* to be carry'd along the *Volga*, and so transported to *Moscow*, and afterwards to *Riga* by the Rivers *Moscow* and *Duna*, and from *Riga* into *Europe* by the *Baltick Sea*: But his Design was not receiv'd. *Frederick* Duke of *Holstein*, a Prince adorn'd with great Virtue, who did heretofore honour me with his good Graces, was not more fortunate in his Attempt of the same Nature for the Trade of Silks, from *Persia* to *Holstein*, by that Ambassador, whose History has been written with so much Candour and good Sense by *Adam Olearius*, with whom I maintain'd a very good Correspondence. This Prince did no

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more

more than imitate a Design of the same kind which had been entertain'd in *France* ever since the Year 1626.

CHAP. XIII.

COMMERCE of the Ancient ARABS.

BEFORE the *Egyptians* began to trade in the East, their principal and almost their whole Commerce, was carry'd on in *Arabia*, the *Indians* on their Side brought in also their Merchandizes. Thus was *Arabia* fill'd with the Wealth of the richest Countries in the World. The Place of their Landing was chiefly at that Port called heretofore *Arabia Felix*; and, according to all Appearance is the same with that which was since named the *Roman Port*, from the great Trade which the *Romans* establish'd there, and which we now call *Aden*, from a *Hebrew* Word signifying Pleasures, and expresses the Surname *Felix*. This Port is more celebrated and frequented than any other in *Arabia*, although there were many others commodious in their Situation upon the Coasts of the same Sea, where *Aden* lies, and upon those of the *Arabian* and *Persian* Gulphs. This Name of *Arabia Felix*, which was given to one of its Ports, has also been given with much more Justice to one of its principal Provinces for its Oppulence, and the great Value of its Wares. *Moses*, when he describes the Pleasures of the Terrestrial Paradise, joins to them the Productions of *Arabia*, its excellent Gold, its Pearls, and precious Stones, to which we may add its Gumms, Myrrh, and other Aromatics, without omitting its *Alloe* growing in the Isle *Zocotora*, celebrated by the Ancients under the Name of *Discurias*, as if it had been consecrated

crated to the *Dioscores*, i. e. *Castor* and *Pollux*. The *Greeks*, who take the Liberty to terminate strange Names in their own way, having corrupted those of *Diu Zocotora*, which is the Isle of *Zocotora*, and from thence form'd that of *Dioscuræ*: Others following their Errors have called it the Isle of *Dioscorides*. These great Advantages first engag'd *Alexander* in a Design of placing the Seat of his Empire in *Arabia*, when he should have put an End to his Conquests. And it was the great Reputation, which this Country had gain'd, which obliged *Augustus Cæsar* to send *Ælius Gallus* thither to subdue it. These natural Riches were much increased by the Trade which the *Arabians* carry'd on, not only by Sea, with *Egypt*, *Ethiopia*, *Persia*, and the *Indies*, but likewise by Land with *Phœnicia*, *Syria*, *Mesopotamia*, and all the rest of *Asia*, even to the Coasts of the *Black Sea*. For altho' they were heretofore unskill'd and weak in War; yet were they active and crafty in their Trade. I shall speak in another Place of a very different Practice, which the *Arabians* made use of to increase their Riches, which they have even continued to our Times, robbing on all Sides, and plundering their Friends and Enemies indifferently, and making this their constant Employment.

C H A P. XIV.

COMMERCE of the Ancient ETHIOPIANS.

THE Streights of *Babel-mandel*, which divides *Arabia* from *Ethiopia*, did not any ways prevent the Commerce of those two Nations, but was rather helpful to it, by bringing up the several Wares from the *Arabian Gulph* on one Side, and those from the great Southern Sea

on the other. There were also many commodious Ports on the neighbouring Coasts of this Streight, which establish'd several Places of good Trade. By the help of this Meridian Sea the *Ethiopians* drove a Trade with the *Arabians* of the East, the *Persians* and *Indians*, and by means of the Gulph, they traded with the *Egyptians*, the *Arabians* of the West, and the *Syrians*, and by these People carry'd on their Commerce all over *Europe*. The *Nile* was also very useful to them to transport their Wares towards the North, and into *Egypt*; for which use they had small light Vessels, either cut out of single Pieces of Wood, or made of Rushes platted or sown together, without any Iron, Pitch or Tar about them. From this Manufacture it is said, that *Rhapta*, a City in *Azania*, a Province in *Ethiopia*, near the Sea, and *Cape Raptum*, have taken their Names from a *Greek* Word signifying *to sew*. These Boats were pliable, and could be alter'd in their Form, for easier Carriage by the *Ethiopians* when they were come up as high as the Cataracts of the *Nile*. For the chief Sale of their Wares was at the City *Captos*. The *Egyptians* who were their Neighbours, were too industrious to neglect the use of this sort of Boat, which was so cheap and so commodious. Many of this kind are yet made every Year at *Cairo*, and are carried upon Camels to the *Red-Sea*.

Nothing has made the Trade of *Ethiopia* so famous as the Navigations of *Solomon* and the *Tyrrians*, I have already observ'd in this Work, that the *Ophir* of the Scriptures was no other than the Eastern Coast of *Africa*, and particularly the Province of *Sephali*, and that *Tarshish* was the Western Coast of *Africa* and *Spain* and *Betia* chiefly. The Merchandizes which were brought home by the Fleets of *Solomon*, were Gold, Silver, Ivory, and *Algum* Wood, with some precious Stones. But these valuable Merchandizes are not now found in
any

any abundance in that Country either through the Neglect or Carelessness of the People, or that the Mines are destroy'd, or that their Fecundity is diminish'd.

Gold is still the chief Merchandize of *Ethiopia*. I comprehend under the Name *Ethiopia*, all that vast Continent which spreads itself from the Tropic of *Cancer* to the Ocean. They find their Gold chiefly towards the South, and the greatest Traffick of it is at *Sophala*: This Trade is neither carried on by Measure, Weight or Money, but only by Sight, or the Direction of the Eye, which is so uncertain that the strange Merchants are often cheated by it. This Custom is very ancient among this People, and was general; for if by chance they coin'd any of it into Money, it was rather for the use of others than themselves. They have also other Metals among them, but have not the Art of refining them, and are therefore obliged to receive the same sorts from *Europe* for their use. Monsieur *Bo-*

chart maintains that several Metals are still found in *Africa*, notwithstanding they were not known to the Ancients: And to confirm this Opinion he refers to the Poet *Lucan*, who says, that *Lybia* does not afford either Gold or Silver; and that its Soil was simple, without any Mixture: He might have added what *Strabo* has said, that neither Gold nor Silver were found in *Ethiopia*, but Ivory only. Now if we examine carefully what goes before this Passage of *Lucan*, we shall find that he speaks only of one part of *Africa* situate towards the West: And if we read what immediately follows the Passage in *Strabo*, we shall find that he speaks only of that part of *Ethiopia* which borders upon the upper *Egypt*. But supposing these Passages to signifie what Monsieur *Bochart*

*Boch. Præf. Phal.
& Lib. 3. cap. 7.*

*Lucan, Lib. 9.
v. 424.*

Strab. Lib. 1.

would

would insinuate, we may oppose to them the Authority of *Diodorus*, who tells us, *Diodor Lib. 1.* that when *Sesistris* King of *Egypt* had subdued the *Ethiopians*, he imposed on them an annual Tribute of Gold, Ivory, and Ebony Wood; and also that Passage of *Theodoret*, who assures us, that the Silver of *Africa* was so much esteem'd, that in his Time the People who made it their Business to dig Gold and Silver made choice of *Africans* for that Office; unless that we can believe the South Parts of *Ethiopia* not to abound in Gold as it had done before, the neighbouring People, and those which were Traders to these Places, could not be ignorant of it. *Ethiopia* also afforded abundance of Ivory, Tortoise-shell, Ostrich-Feathers, and some Spices, but not always the Cinnamon, which all *Europe* heretofore brought from *Egypt*, and which they believed to come from *Ethiopia*, although it did not, but was brought thither from the Isle of *Ceylon*. However, be this as it will, this Nation was once so powerful that it extended its Dominion as far as *Syria*. They drew upon them the Power of *Sennanis*; and afterwards were over-run by the Victories of *Sesistris*, who was the only King of *Egypt* that gain'd the Glory of adjoining it to his Country, which Place the *Ethiopians* pretend without any shew of Reason to have been one of their Colonies, against which they had maintain'd very powerful Wars. The Fable of *Mennen*, who came to the Relief of *Troy*, is well known: He is made King of *Ethiopia* by an ancient Error, which has been the Reason why this Region was confounded with *Susiana*, which is the modern *Chysstan*, situate on the East of the Mouth of the River *Euphrates*, and was govern'd by *Tithon*, and his Son *Mennen*. The Original of this Error comes from the Ambiguity of the Word *Chus*, which in Holy Writ is sometimes apply'd to *Susiana*, and sometimes to those Countries

Countries which are situate on both sides of the *Arabian* Gulph, and make part of *Arabia*, and part of *Ethiopia*. At last *Cambyses*, having undertook to conquer the *Ethiopians*, lost his Army in the Enterprize ; but *Augustus* made them sensible of his Power, when he sent his Legions against them, under the Command of *Petronius*, Governour of *Egypt*, who carry'd on his Conquests even beyond the City of *Syena*, and at last *Nero* had formed a Design of attacking it, but his Intent was not followed with any Success.

C H A P. XV.

1. COMMERCE of the Carthaginians before Alexander
2. Their Power and their Colonies.
3. The Isle Fortunatus discover'd by them in the Ocean.
4. Account of Hanno and Hamilco.

CARTHAGE was a Daughter of Tyre, and a Fruit of the Syrian Trade. Justin, an Abridger of Trogus, remarks, that it was upon Account of Trade *Dido* Justin. Lib. 18. came into that Country, and was cap. 5. so well received, that all the neighbouring Parts brought in with Eagerness their Wares to these new Guests ; and that this Concourse of Traders gave rise to the great and famous City of Carthage. As Trade gave it Birth, so it gave it Encrease, insomuch that it became so powerful, that she disputed with Rome for a long Time the Dominion of the World : Her Situation was much more advantageous than that of Tyre ; she was equally distant from all the Extremities of the *Mediterranean* Sea ; and *Africa* where she was seated, a

large fertile Country, could furnish her plentifully with Corn necessary for her Use. With these Advantages her Inhabitants had acquir'd so great a Knowledge of the Sea, that in that Re-

polyb. lib. 6.

Plin. lib. 7. cap.

56.

spect, according to *Polybius*, no other

Nation was equal to them. *Pliny*

seems to assure us, that they were the

Inventors of Commerce ; but he is

misunderstood, and it is not his Meaning, as I have already signified ; for when he attributes this Invention to the *Pœni*, he means the *Phœnicians*, and not the *Carthaginians*. This is very well ex-

Dionys. Perieg. v.

9 & 8.

plain'd by a Passage in *Dionysius* the

Geographer, where he makes the

Phœnicians to be the Inventors of

Trade. The Name of *Pœnus* is the same as *Phœ-*

nix. *Cicero* styles the *Phœnicians* *Pe-*

Cicero. de Finib.

lib. 4.

Hor. lib. 2.

od. 2.

nuli, and in the same manner must

we understand the *Uterque Pœnus* of

Horace ; for whether we mean the

Syrians and the *Carthaginians*, or

the *Carthaginians* and the Inhabitants of *Cadix*, which we find to have been call'd *Pœni* by

Cicero. pro Balb.

Cicero, it is certain that *Pœnus* should

be taken there for the *Phœnicians*,

since we know that *Gadix* was one of their Colo-

nies. The *Phœnicians* had transmitted to the *Car-*

thaginians the Subtilty of their Wit, their Address

in Trade, and their Industry in Arts When

Kings iii. 5, 6.

we find in the holy Scriptures,

that *Solomon*, in building the Tem-

ple, had recourse to the *Tyrrians* for the Timber-

Works and Joiners Works, which they are said to

have excelled in ; the Works in Wood which were

brought from *Carthage*, were in great Esteem among

the *Romans*. They were no less skill'd in the Art

of dressing of Leather, which is yet preserv'd in

Africa to this Day, from whence we transport those

fine dress'd Leathers, which are so useful to us. To

all

all these Means which they had to enrich themselves, they added the strictest Parsimony : The *Romans*, in Mockery call'd them *Broth Eaters*, they which heretofore made Broath their principal Diet. But that which the *Romans* had done out of Poverty and Colwnishness, the *Carthaginians* did out of good Husbandry. By these Ways they became very powerful. At the beginning of the third War which they had against the *Romans*, which was the cause of their Ruin, *Carthage* had Seven Hundred Thousand Inhabitants, and Three Hundred Cities under their Government, on the Continent of *Africa* only. They were Masters not only of all that Border which extends it self from the great *Syria* to the Pillars of *Hercules*, which is above One Thousand

French Leagues in length ; but also *Three Thousand English Miles.*

that which runs from the same Pillars towards the South, where *Hanno* the *Carthaginian* built so many Cities, and establish'd so many Colonies. In *Spain*, which they had almost conquer'd, *Asdrubal* was sent to Command after *Barca*, the Father of *Hannibal* ; and there built the famous City *Carthagera*, of which *Polybius* has left us a magnificent Description. *Polyb. lib. 2 & 3, & 10.*

We may add to these Colonies that great Island which was discover'd and inhabited by the *Carthaginians* in the Ocean, far beyond the Streights of *Cadix*, which the Author of the Book of Wonders attributed to *Aristotle* and *Diodorus*, giving such a Description of

Dyod. Lib 3.

it, that many have believed it no other than *America*. But Monsieur *Bochart* could not be of this Opinion, being perswaded a Passage thither could not have been without the help of the

Boch. Geog. Sacr. Part 2. lib. 1. cap. 35. 38.

Compass : But we ought to take particular Notice of that Passage in *Diodorus*, where he tells us,
That

That those who discover'd this Island, were drove upon it by a Tempest; and that as an Easterly Wind is commonly for the greatest part of the Year in the Torrid Zone, it might well happen that some *Carthaginian* Ships, which were surpriz'd with this Wind, may have been carry'd towards these Islands against their Design, as I shall set forth in my *Evangelical Demonstration*. In fine, we must not account every Relation fabulous which the Ancients have given us of the *Fornatanate Islands*.

The *Greeks* might probably exaggerate what fell within their Knowledge, but of all the Circumstances they have brought together, few or none of them can be clearly made out. They say for Instance, that the Senate of *Carthage* fearing the agreeable Situation of this Country might be too strong an Invitation to their Subjects, and so dispeople their Country, forbade them by an express Order to make any Settlement in those Parts. They tell us farther, That they made a great Mystery of this Discovery to all other Nations, and prevented the *Tyrhenians* settling there, reserving it as a Retreat for themselves in any great Emergency, as if foreseeing the Fall of their Empire.

Posterity might have had a farther Light into these Matters, from the two famous Monuments of the Navigations of those People, in the Relations of the Voyage of *Hanno*, King of the *Carthaginians*, and that of *Himilco*, if these Relations had been remaining. The first writ his Voyages on the Ocean, from the Pillars of *Hercules* along the *Western Coast of Africa*, and the second those which he made on the *Western Coast of Europe*, both which were made by order of the Senate of *Carthage*. But Time has consumed these Writings, for whatever Pains some great Men of late Times have taken to vindicate them from Forgery and Suspicion, yet that *Perple*, or *Coasting*, which is left us
in

in the Name of *Hanno*, cannot be receiv'd without Scruple of its being genuine. But we should still lie under greater Difficulties to prove, that the ancient Relation of *Hanno's* cited by *Aristotle*, *Mela*, and *Pliny*, and that of *Hamilco*, cited by *Festus*, *Arienus*, were supposititious Works. We should have had a Sight of them before we could be able to pass positive Judgment on them. For although *Aristides*, and some other ancient Authors have accused that Relation of *Hanno's* of Falsity, we are not yet convinced, whether the Relation that bore the Name of *Hanno*, is the same which remains in our Times, or whether it was not one of greater Antiquity. Never was *Carthage* more powerful by Sea, than when *Alexander* besieged *Tyre*, its Metropolis; its good Fortune began to decline from that Time, and the Wars she afterwards carried on against the *Romans*, finished her Destruction.



CHAP.

C H A P. XVI.

1. COMMERCE of the Greeks before Alexander.
2. Of the Grecians Fleet sent against Tyre.
3. Commerce of the Corinthians.
4. Of the Ionians.
5. Of the Phoceans.
6. The Athenians.
7. Of the Lacedemonians.
8. The Greeks contributed to the Improvement, but not the Invention of Navigation.
9. The Expedition of Argonautus.
10. The Foundation and Commerce of Troy.
11. Thoughts of the ancient Greeks upon the Advantages of Commerce.
12. The Empire of the Sea, and of those who were Possessors of it, the Lydians, the Pelasges, the Tyrrenians, the Spinetes, the Rhodians, the Phoceans, and the Massilians; of Policrates Tyrant of Samos.
13. The Empire of the Sea disputed between the Athenians and the Lacedemonians, asserted by Philip King of Macedonia.
14. Commerce and Alliance of the Greeks with the Egyptians.

WHILE Commerce flourished under all these People, the Greeks were not neglectful of it; I comprehend under the Name of Greeks, not only the Inhabitants of Greece, but also those of the Isles in the Mediterranean Sea, and of the Coasts of Asia Minor, where the Greeks had planted Colonies, without excluding even the Sicilians, and a great part of the People of Italy, which came there heretofore from the Peloponese, nor the Tyrrenians, who are said to have descended from the Lydians, by many ancient Authors. Thucidides, towards

wards the beginning of his Work, gives a View of the State and Manners of the first *Grecian* Inhabitants; he represents them as Savages, having neither Society or Commerce among themselves, or with Strangers, either by Sea or Land. They were Robbers of one another, and those who lived near the Sea exercised Piracies; they invaded freely strange Countries, and ravaged the Cities which were then open, and without Defence, making their Thieveries an honourable Employment. This was likewise practis'd by the *Carians*, and it was those ancient Navigators the *Phenicians*, who had set them the Example. These Robberies were no less practis'd upon the Land than upon the Sea. *Minos*, the most ancient King of *Creet* that we have Knowledge of, was the first that endeavour'd to suppress this Disorder; he fitted out a Fleet, and made himself Master of the *Archipelago*, with its Isles and neighbouring Seas, he drove out the *Corfairs*, and established his Sons in the Government of those Places he had conquered. When the *Greeks* began to understand the Use of the Sea, they built Cities on their Coasts with a prospect of Trade, and chiefly upon the Necks of Land, as Places the most open to the Reception of Ships.

2. However, *Thucydides* does not entirely agree with the Poets concerning the great Number of Ships, which they pretend were sent against *Troy*, and he makes this Remark in particular upon some Ships which made up a part of that Fleet, that the Men they had on Board were as well employ'd at the Oar, as in the Soldiery; which became afterward almost a common Practice. He adds, That these Ships were for the most part open Vessels, without Decks, as were those of the Pirates. But after the *Trojan* War he assures us, That the *Greeks* began to apply themselves entirely to Sea Affairs.

3. He

3. He gives the Glory of the first Invention of Gallies with three Tiers of Oars, to the *Corinthians*, and of having always entertain'd Trade among them, even from the Time when it was only carry'd on by Land. These People were situated at the Entrance of the *Peloponessus*, as a Staple for those that came in and went out, and having since applied themselves to Naval Affairs, and built Ships, and dispersed the Pirates, their City afterwards became the most flourishing Place of Trade in all *Greece*.

4. After the *Corinthians*, he gives the Dominion of the Seas to the *Ionians*, who maintain'd it, maugre *Cyrus* and his Son *Cambyses*.

5. He adds, that at the same time *Policrates*, Tyrant of *Samos*, growing powerful at Sea, subdued several Islands in the *Archipelago*; that the *Phocians*, who were Founders of *Muscelles*, acquired sufficient Naval Force to overcome the *Carthaginians*; that these Fleets, how powerful and numerous soever they were, had nevertheless very few Gallies with three Banks of Oars among them, but were for the most part after the ancient Model, with one Tier only of Fifty Rowers, and very long; and likewise that in *Darius's* Time, who succeeded *Cambyses*, the Number of Gallies with three Banks were greatly encreased by the *Sicilian* Tyrants, *Gelon* and *Hieron*, and by the People of *Corfu*.

6. And again he tells us, That the Fleet which were afterwards made use by the *Athenians* and the *Eginets*, were not very numerous, and consisted chiefly of such Vessels as had only one Bank of Fifty Oars; and that even afterwards, when by the Counsel of *Themistocles*, they made use of their Fleets against *Xerxes*, their Ships were not then compleatly cover'd; but for all that,

*Xenoph. de Pro-
cedib.*

Xenophon, who came but a little after *Thucydides*, when he speaks of *Athens*, mentions it as a City
of

of great Trade, and well furnished with all sorts of Commodities for Traffick.

The *Lacedimonians*, their Behaviour in Trade, and in their Manners, with their austere and rigid Deportment in other Things, plainly shews us how little they understood of Com-

merce. *Pausanias* tells us, That *Pausan. Laced.*

before the Time of *Polydorus*, King of *Lacedæmonia*, who lived about Five Hundred Years after the taking of *Troy*, Commerce was carry'd on at *Sparta* by Exchange, giving in Payment Beeves, Slaves, or Gold and Silver in the Mass, the use of Money being unknown to them.

Ligys pretends, that this way of *Justin. Lib. 3.*
Trade was set on foot there, neither *cap. 2.*

through Ignorance, or the Clownishness of the People, but by the Policy of *Licurgus*, who banish'd all Gold and Silver Money from *Sparta*, as believing it the cause of every Crime. Those *Grecian* Games which were so famous, that they assembled with the greatest Eagerness all the People of that and the Countries round about, were not only establish'd to excite their Youth to those noble Exercises, where they signalized themselves in Actions of Honour, but they were also useful in furnishing their Wants with many Necessaries in Trade. For besides these general Assemblies which were brought together upon account of the public Games, there were several others more particular, where the use of Trade was intermix'd with the Gaity and Pleasure of

Show. *Polybius* describes those *Polyb. Lib. 5.*

which were celebrated by the *Ætolians* every Year among the *Thermians*, and adds some account of the rich Mercandizes that they brought in thither. *Xenophon* teaches us, that while the other Cities of *Greece* *Xenoph. de Repub. Laced.*

made use of every means which could any way encrease their Riches, whether by Agriculture,

Agriculture, Trade by Sea or Land, or other Methods of Producing Gain. *Lycurgus* would not permit the free People of *Sparta* to apply themselves in any manner to cultivate the Improvement of their Riches; and if we believe *Philestratus*, there yet remain'd among these People some Traces of that lofty and disinterested Spirit which *Lycurgus* had cultivated, even in *Apollonius's* Time, who was Co-temporary with *Domitian*. For we find there a young *Lacedemonian*, arraigned, and almost ready to be condemn'd by the *Ephores*, for preferring the Traffick and Commerce of the Sea, before the Government of the State, and the Service of the Republick. This Author speaking of *Apollonius*, tells us, That so long as the *Spartans* only apply'd themselves to their Land Affairs, they were a flourishing and glorious People, but that after they began to apply themselves to the Knowledge of the Sea, they soon effected their own Ruin both by Sea and Land.

8. Many of these *Grecian* People have disputed the Invention of divers sorts of Ships. I believe, indeed, they were ingenious and dexterous enough to improve, if not perfect the Art of Ship Building among them, and likewise some part of the Marine Art; but how could they attribute to themselves the first Invention of these Things when they saw so frequently the *Phenecian* and *Egyptian* Ships upon their Coasts, and even their own Authors agree and confess, that they had learned the Art of Navigation from the *Egyptians* and that the *Sydonians* had taught them the necessary Sciences to put that Art in Practice, viz *Arithmetick* and *Astronomy*. Now the Custom of guiding their Ships according to the Course of the *Great Bear*, is so different from that of the *Phenicians*, who were guided at Sea by the Course of the

the *Little Bear*, that 'tis very plain these last were much superior to the former in the Skill and Practice of Navigation, which is evident enough from their extraordinary Observations. Besides, all the Voyages that were made by the *Greeks*, were chiefly confin'd to the *Mediterranean Sea*. These People did not enter the Ocean before *Colæus* of *Samos*, who took that Route about Six hundred Years after the Expedition of the *Argonauts*, but did not go beyond the City *Tartessus*, situate at the Mouth of the *Boetis*, in the Neighbourhood of the Streights of *Gibraltar*; for neither the *Arabian* nor *Persian* Gulph, nor the *Red Sea*, were navigated by them 'till *Alexander's* Time.

9. About Fifty Years after the Reign of *Minos*, the *Argonauts* went to *Colchis*, in search of the *Golden Fleece*. Now, although the Fable would give the air of a Military Expedition to this Enterprize; yet, nevertheless, there is some Appearance that it was equally carry'd on by War and Merchandize. This *Golden Fleece* is a Mystery which has been variously explain'd by the Ancients, some say that it was the Profit arising from the Wool of *Colchis*; others, that it meant the Gold which was taken out of the Rivers of that Country. They tell us of an ancient Law among the *Greeks*, which forbid the putting to Sea any Galley which had more than Fifty Men on Board, and that *Jason* was the first who offended against this Order. We are likewise told, That the Ship *Argo* was the first of that sort which are call'd Long Ships; these were Ships of War, much larger and better equip'd, than the others in use at that Time, which were chiefly navigated with Oars; but Two Hundred Years before the *Argonauts*, they bring *Danaus* from *Egypt* to *Argos*, in a Ship of Fifty Oars. Those who have reported the Ship *Argo* to be the first that pass'd over the *Cyanees*, to enter the *Black Sea*, have explain'd themselves

E

very

very improperly ; they should have said that it was the first Long Ship, or Man of War, that got over this Pass, which was held at that Time to be impracticable ; for when *Phryxus* and *Helle* carry'd the *Golden-Fleece* into *Colchis*, they certainly steer'd the same Course that *Jason* afterward made use of, but it was in another sort of Ship. We must say the same thing of that *Cretan* Ship which carry'd off *Eriopis*, and of *Minos's* Fleet, which I have already mention'd, and of many other Vessels more ancient than *Argo*, which are so often spoke of in History ; and it is disputable, whether *Jason* was the first that made use of a Man of War ; for that Honour has been given to *Pericles*, *Scamander* and *Ægeon*. Now whatever they may tell us of the Ship *Argo*, we may easily guess, that it was of very little worth in Comparison of the Ships now made use of, especially when we read, that the *Argonauts* carry'd it upon their Shoulders from the *Danube* to the *Adriatick* Sea ; and are inform'd by others, that it was brought up the *Tanais*, and from thence was drawn upon the Land to another River, which runs into the Ocean, from whence, it is said they return'd into the *Mediterranean* Sea, by the Streights of *Gibraltar*. *Eratosthenes* has very much out-done the Poets in the Account of *Jason's* Voyage ; he pretends, that after his Arrival in *Colchis* he took his way by Land through *Armenia* into *Media*.

13. The *Asiatick* Coast of the *Hellspoint*, was an advantageous Post, as well for War as for Sea Commerce, and likewise to impose and raise Duties on those Merchandizes which pass'd by that Streight. Some Years after, *Minus Scamander*, a Prince of *Cæet*, and his Son *Tençer*, establish'd themselves there, where they found *Dardanus*, who was come from *Italy*, and had already built *Ilium*. They made an Alliance with him, and founded the Kingdom of *Troy*, which by its Situation soon became famous for its abounding Riches. Nevertheless

theless, this did not subsist longer than One Hundred and Forty Years, and was ruin'd by the *Greeks*, who themselves underwent the same Fate, by the tedious and destructive War they carry'd on against it. They brought against *Troy* One Thousand, or Twelve Hundred Sail of Ships which they had gathered together from all the Coasts and Islands of *Greece*.

11. It is in this Place we must make mention of the most illustrious and ancient Testimony which remains in favour of Commerce, and of those that practis'd it, it is in the Life of *Solon*, mention'd by *Plutarch*; but that I may not rob it of the full Spirit of the Author, by abridging it, I shall here give a literal Translation of it, after having first signify'd, that *Solon* finding his House ruin'd by the excessive Liberalities of his Father, he apply'd himself to Traffick, to restore it to its former Greatness. This is what he adds——“ In that
 “ Time, according to *Hesiod*'s Account, no kind
 “ of Work was shameful, and there was no Dif-
 “ ference among Men of Arts. Trade was also
 “ held in great Honour, and the Importation of
 “ Foreign Commodities was greatly encouraged,
 “ as also the establishing Alliances with Kings,
 “ and introducing the Knowledge of new and
 “ useful Things among them. Some Merchants
 “ have founded great Cities; as for Example,
 “ him that built *Marseilles*, and was so well receiv'd
 “ by the *Gauls*. They say likewise, that *Thales*
 “ apply'd himself to Trade; that the Mathema-
 “ tician *Hippocrates*, and *Plato*, only undertook the
 “ Voyage to *Egypt*, to meet with Returns for their
 “ Oil.” The Advantages of Commerce, which
 are here shortly describ'd, are agreeably express'd
 in a *Latin* Inscription, compos'd heretofore by a
 learned and ingenious Professor in Divinity, in the
 University of *Caen*, which is engrav'd over the
 Door of a House near the Sea, upon the Coast of
 E 2 the

the Lower *Normandy*, which deserves to be inserted in this Place

*Quis opus est, affert tumfacta Venilia secum ;
Et mox quæ superant revoluta Solacia tollit :
Qui poie damnosum vicinum Nerea dicas ?*

12. *Castor Rhodienus*, who liv'd in the Time of *Augustus Cæsar*, compil'd an exact History of all those People who had the Dominion of the *Mediterranean* Sea, from *Minos* down to the *Epicætes*; i. e. to the 68th. *Olympiad*, during the Course of about Nine Hundred Years. 'Twas from this *Castor*, that *Eusebius* hath taken the List of those People which he has plac'd in his Chronicle, and which the Learned have taken some Pains to explain in many of their Works. But as my present Design will not suffer me to run into so many Particulars, yet I must not omit those Remarks which may be proper for the Illustration of it. It is necessary first, to explain what was the Empire of the Sea, and in what it consisted. We must not imagine that it was any Right of Superiority or Dominion in the Practice of the Sea, which was agreed too by the Consent of the other People: No, this Empire consisted only in the Number and Strength of Ships, and in the great Use of Navigation, and extended no farther than from the Isles of *Creet* and *Rhodes*, to the *Cyanean* Islands; and on the Western side, it hardly went beyond the *Ionian* Sea, and it must be understood only of the *Grecian* Nations.

13. The *Lydians*, who are the next in this List after the People of *Crete*, were the first (according to *Herodotus*) who made Gold and Silver Monies, and practis'd Brokerage and retale Trading, buying by Wholesale, and selling again in small Parcels.

*Herod. Lib. 1.
cap. 94.*

Eusebius

Eusebius in this List, places the *Pelasges* immediately after the *Ly-*
dians, making them Contemporaries with *Solomon*. This may well enough explain to us, that the Bounds of their Empire were not more considerable than what I have observ'd, for without doubt the *Phenicians* were then much more powerful at Sea than the *Greeks*. The *Pelasges* Nation was very ancient among the *Greeks*. Their wandering Way of Life is one Proof of it; for in the first Times the *Greeks* had not any fix'd Habitation or Settlement, as *Thucydides* observes. But when the greater part of the *Grecian* People began to settle themselves, the *Pelasges* still remain unfix'd, and in a roving State, both by Sea and Land. And this way of Life made Navigation become more necessary to them, and their frequent use of it made them powerful.

Euseb. Chron.
Lib. 2.

Thucyd. Lib. 1.

Now, if (according to the common Opinion) the *Lydians* and the *Pelasges*, who were so famous for their Navigations, had given the first Rise to the *Tyrrhenians*, we need not be surpriz'd if they likewise communicated to them at the same Time a Love for the Sea. But *Dion* of *Halicarnassus* believes, that the *Tyrrhenians* were a very ancient Nation, Natives of *Italy*. The Fable of the *Tyrrhenian* Sailors, which *Bacchus* Metamorphos'd into Sea Monsters, and cited by *Ovid*, confirms this Antiquity, and also sets forth, that in the first Ages they apply'd themselves to Navigation, even before that the *Pelasges* had establish'd themselves in *Italy* in so near Neighbourhood with the *Tyrrhenians*, that they were almost the same Nation with them. The *Tyrrhenians* acquir'd in their turn the Dominion of the Sea, and establish'd their chief Seat in the Port of *Luna*, although, in my Opinion, this Do-

Dionys. Italic.
Lib. 1.

Ovid. Lib. 3.

minion could not reach to the Eastern Parts of the *Mediterranean* Sea. *Dion Halc.*
Nicomf. Italia. *carthaginis* is even perswaded, that
Liv. 1. the Commerce of the *Tyrhenians* perfected the *Pelages* in the Naval Art, which they would have long enjoy'd, had they not been oblig'd to give it up to the *Carthaginians*.

The same *Pelages* having enter'd one of the Mouths of the *Po*, built there the City *Spina*, which in its turn held likewise the Empire of the Sea for several Years, and was at last destroy'd by the Barbarians of its own Neighbourhood. However, I believe that this Empire should be restrain'd to the *Adriatick* Sea.

The *Rhodians*, who are placed in the Fifth Class among the Rulers of the Sea, ought in Justice to be term'd the Legislators of it, by the Esteem which their Naval Laws have acquir'd in the World, the most ancient of all others relating to Navigation. The *Romans* approv'd and authoris'd them, and by them decided all Controversies and Disputes that happen'd among the Sea-faring People, unless others of later Date happened to suit better with their Purpose.

It is well known to all the World, that the *Phoenicians*, who are numbred among the Masters of the Sea, were the Founders and Builders of *Marseilles*. This City was heretofore well furnished with Shipping, Arsenals, Magazines, and all sorts of Engines and Machines for War, either by Sea or Land, and for the most part of its own Contrivance. She never pretended to the Empire of the Sea, but would always powerfully oppose any one that would presume to dispute it with her, and was enrich'd and adorn'd with the Spoils which she had often taken from Usurpers. They attribute likewise to this People the Glory of overcoming the *Carthaginians* in a Sea-Fight. Moreover, as the *Ithacians* had been the first of the *Greeks* who undertook

took long Voyages ; if we believe *Herodotus*, the *Maffilians*, in Imitation of them, sent their Ships into the Ocean, along the Coasts of *Africa*, very far towards the South, under the Conduct of *Eathymenes*, and along the Coasts of *Europe*, very far towards the North, under the Conduct of *Pytheas*. Both these Commanders were of *Marfeilles*. *Herod. Lib. 1.*

13. But we may well be surpriz'd that *Ensebius* has not put into this List of Sea Rulers, the famous *Polycrates* the Tyrant of *Samos*, who had One Hundred Gallies of Fifty Oars a-piece, and of whom *Herodotus* gives proof that he was the next among the *Greeks*, after *Minos*, who became *Herod. Lib. 3. cap. 39 & 122.*

Master of the Sea, but we ought to observe in that Passage of *Herodotus*, that he does not deny the first Possession of this Empire to *Minos*.

14. About One Hundred Years before *Alexander*, the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians* disputed the Sovereignty of the Sea with an extraordinary warmth, and various Success, of which we have many ample Accounts in ancient History. *Philip* of *Macedon*, Father of *Alexander*, was an ambitious and active Prince ; he let no Opportunity slip whereby he might encrease his Power ; he executed all his Designs with extraordinary Valour, Subtilty, and Artifice, and did not neglect any thing that might gain him the Mastery of the Sea ; he was not without some plausible Pretences, among which that of the Pirates who infested the Sea Trade, was the most specious, although he himself had recourse to this infamous Way of Dealing, when he found himself destitute of Money at the Siege of *Byzantium*. The *Greeks* could see clearly into his Designs, but were not vigilant enough to anticipate the Effects, and had not a Power sufficient to disappoint them.

We must not suppose, that this Prince, and all those People which I have mention'd, were so strenuously bent upon this Dominion of the Sea, out of meer Ambition only : No, Commerce was the chief Object of their Desires, they were sensible how much their Riches and Power depended on it ; and they had no less Opinion of that Maxim of *Themistocles*, and which was afterwards maintain'd by *Pompey*, That whoever was Master of the Sea, was Master of the whole World.

15. When I speak of the *Grecian* Commerce I must not pass by, that there were not any People with whom they always kept so strickt a Correspondence as with the *Egyptians*, remembering their ancient Alliances, and the Colonies which came heretofore out of *Egypt* into *Greece*, and acknowledging them for their Masters in the naval Art. *Amasis*, King of *Egypt*, had a regard for them, and to facilitate this Commerce he assign'd them the City *Naucratis* for the Sale of their Merchandizes, and even for their Habitation, besides several other Places where they only enjoy'd the Liberty of Traffick.



C H A P. XVII.

1. *The Conquests of Alexander makes many Changes in Commerce.* 2. *Tyre destroy'd by Alexander.* 3. *Who lays the foundation of Alexandria.* 4. *And thereby disposes the Indian Seas to Commerce.* 5. *He prepares to make War against the Arabians.* 6. *He forms vast Designs for an universal Monarchy.*

1. **W**HILE things were in this State, *Alexander* invaded the *Persian* Empire, and by his Conquest of it, chang'd (if I may so say) the Face of the World: This made a great Revolution in all the Affairs of Commerce, we must esteem this Conquest, and chiefly the taking of *Tyre*, with the Foundation of *Alexandria*, as a new Epocha of Commerce. This Change happening in the Government of States, and in the Interests of the People, having open'd many new Ports and Passages, soon gave a Turn to the Conduct of Trade. We find that when *Alexander* made War against *Darius*, the *Phenician* Ships were acquainted with all the Seas from the *Indies* and *Ethiopia* to the Western Ocean, and that the *Carthaginians* had never been so powerful by Sea as they were at that time. That Power the *Greeks* boasted of in the *Mediterranean*, which hardly reach'd to the *Ionian* Sea, was chiefly owing to those of their own Nation and Language; and although Commerce was their chief Aim, nevertheless Ambition and Policy were not much less their Concern. It was for these Ends that *Philip*, *Alexander's* Father, had employ'd his Wit to become Master of the Sea, and even without shame to drive the Trade of a Pirate (as I have already hinted) when he wanted Money.

When

When his Son *Alexander* succeeded him, his naval Force was much inferior to that of the *Persians*, who were without dispute Masters of Navigation, by their numerous Fleets, altho' gather'd together for the most part from the People situate upon the Coasts of the Oriental Parts of the *Mediterranean* Sea. We have no certain Account from Authors of the number of Ships that made up the Fleet of *Alexander*, when he led his Army into *Asia*, *Diodorus* mentions 60 Men of War (or Long-Ships; *Arrian* encreases this number to 160, of which the *Athenians* had furnished twenty, without including the Transports: But all alike admire that he should dare to invade *Asia* with a Fleet so much inferior to that of *Perſia*, which was at that time enforced with Ships from *Cyus*, and from the *Phœnicians*, making in all Three hundred Sail, according to *Diodorus*; or as *Arrian* tells us Four hundred. It was this that obliged *Alexander* after the Battle of *Ganicus*, to deliberate whether he should encrease his naval Force, and exercise the *Macedonians* in the Knowledge of the Sea, before he went in search of *Darius*. This was also the Reason why he did not follow the Council of *Pavimus*, to hazard a Sea-fight, and obliged him in the end, after the taking of *Miletum*, to discharge his Fleet, and consequently to yield the Dominion of the Seas to the *Persians*, rather than to expose himself to the Danger of a Battle. Besides, considering the Posture of his Affairs at that time, he was very ready to spare that Expence, and give greater Resolution to his Soldiers, by removing from them all hopes of a Retreat. He had hopes on the other hand, that by being Master of the Maritime Towns in *Asia*, he should oblige the *Persians* likewise to lay aside their Fleets, when these necessary Retreats should be wanting to them, and could furnish them no more with Seamen or Provisions.

Diodor. Lib. 17.
Arrian. Exped.
Lib. 1.

Provisions. In a word, he now reserv'd only a few Ships that were necessary for the Carriage of his Instruments of War, of which, were the Twenty that the *Athenians* had lent him.

2. The Battle of *Iffus* having compleated his Conquest of *Phœnicia* and *Egypt*, *Tyre*, which was the Center of their Commerce, and of their naval Power, after a Siege of seven Months, fell into his Hands; and we may say, that by this Victory he conquer'd all the *Mediterranean*. The *Carthaginians* soon felt the Ruin of *Tyre*, to which they owed their Origin, *Tyre* had implor'd their Help, and they were interested in the Siege; they discharged it of its useless People, and would have succour'd it more effectually, if they themselves had not been at that time deeply engaged in a dangerous War against the *Syracusians*.

From that time *Alexander* look'd upon them as his Enemies, and promised himself ample Satisfaction for all the Affronts which he thought he had received from them, so soon as his Affairs in the East should be in a good posture: But particularly for concerning themselves in the Fate of the *Tyrrians*: This he declar'd to their Deputies which he found in *Tyre* when he took that City. The *Carthaginians* thus alarm'd at his Threats had a watchful Eye upon his Motions; they appointed *Hamilcar*, one of their Citizens, a wise and prudent Man to take some Employ in his Troops as a Defenter, to observe his Conduct, and to give them account from time to time by secret Letters, what he could discover against their Interests: He acquitted himself of this Task with great Dexterity and Fidelity; and for his Reward his Fellow-Citizens at his Return, after the Death of *Alexander*, put him to Death, upon a false Surmise, that he had been a Traytor to his Country. Such was the Barbarity of this People.

3. But

3. But nevertheless *Alexander* contriv'd a much surer and better way for his own Interest and that of the Age he lived in, to be revenged at once of *Tyre* and *Carthage*; the Force of which Design consisted chiefly in respect to Commerce; and for that end laid the Foundation of *Alexandria*, a great and happy Design, which in its Sphere has never been equal'd: For we must first consider the advantageous Situation of *Egypt*, which has on one hand a free Communication with *Asia*, and all the East by the *Red-Sea*; with *Ethiopia* and the Southern Parts by the same Sea, and on the other hand by the *Nile*, with *Europe* and *Africa* by the *Mediterranean*. *Egypt* of it self was one of the most fertile Countries of the whole World, abounding with all sorts of rich Commodities. *Alexander* wisely weighing all these natural Advantages, and filling his Head with vast Designs for establishing an universal Monarchy, judged it necessary to make this Country the principal Seat of Trade, and made choice of such a Place as might be a Mart for all Parts of the World; and being situate between *Tyre* and *Carthage* might command at the same time the Trade of the one and the other. Now as the Abundance of *Egypt*, in the Time of their first Kings, had made its Inhabitants despise all foreign Commerce; there were not any considerable Ports in the Country, and they had even neglected every means whereby they might have had them.

The Place where *Alexandria* was since built, was then named *Rhacotis*: It was commodiously situated for the landing of Strangers, from whom was expected many Visits; it was therefore furnish'd with Provisions, and a strong Garrison, the better to frustrate all such Attempts of their Enemies, the Lands lying in its Neighbourhood were abandon'd by the Inhabitants, for the use of the Pastors, who were a sort of Militia, a war-like

like People, living rather upon Robbery than by their Industry, which is well enough set forth in the Romance of *Heliodorus*. This City had in Front the Isle of *Pharos*, and the Lake *Mariotides* behind it, which was overflow'd by the Innundation of the *Nile*, by means of the Canals which had been cut in the Times of their ancient Kings. *Alexander* made choice of this Place before all others, for the Structure of the finest City, as well as the fairest Port in the World, for the Isle of *Pharos*, which was not then join'd the Continent contributed after its Junction with it to make a most magnificent Harbour, having two Inlets; and the Lake *Mariotides* was no less useful to the same purpose; although indeed it might be apt sometimes to breath an infectious Air in the hotter Seasons, but that Inconvenience was corrected by the wholesome Waters of the *Nile*, which overflow'd it in the great Heats. And to favour the Commerce of this new City, *Alexander* took care to Re-people *Tyre* with such as were entirely subject to his Will, who were to assist him in the War against the *Persians*; for he had Reason to fear that the Merchants who had been so long accusom'd to the *Phenician* Trade, and the *Phenicians* themselves might make use of the Place, and the Ruins of *Tyre* to renew its Commerce. *Carthage* was alarm'd at the Building of *Alexandria*, as it had been before at the Destruction of *Tyre*, foreseeing thereby a great decay in Commerce.

4. When *Alexander* had defeated *Porus* and Subdued the *Indians*, he apply'd himself to the Knowledge of the *Eastern* Seas. Several *Phenicians* skill'd in Merchandize follow'd his Army, and furnish'd themselves with the most valuable Spices that grew in *India*. *Alexander* built several Ports in the *Indus*, and enter'd the Ocean by that River. At his Return from *India*, he enter'd the *Eccleus*; a
River

River which crosses the Country of *Susiana*, and so along the *Euphrates*. It was at that Time he destroy'd the Cataracts which the *Persians* had made in the Mouth and other Places of the *Euphrates*, to hinder the Landing of Strangers in their Country. But before he left *India*, he sent his Fleets under the Conduct of *Nearcus* and *Onesicritus* to gain Intelligence of the *East*, and trace the Coasts of *Asia*. They set out from the *Indus* and return'd by the *Euphrates*.

During all this Time, *Alexander* had not receiv'd the least mark of Respect from the *Arabians*; for which Reason he prepared to send a large Force against them by Sea: And sent out several Vessels to Survey the Coasts of their Country, he undertook a new Navigation in the Ocean towards the *Arabian* Shoar, setting out by the *Pallacopas*, a Branch of the River *Euphrates*. He also propos'd to Settle some Colonies upon the Coasts, and in the Islands of the *Persian* Gulph, and to Establish in the End, the Capital place of Residence of his Vast Empire in this Country of *Arabia*, whose Fertility had been much spread Abroad.

History affords many other great Designs, which he had contriv'd for the Advancement of Navigation, but were frustrated by his Death; they are differently reported: Some have writ that he did not only intend to pursue his Conquest into *Arabia*, beginning by the *Persian* Gulph, and returning by the *Arabian* Gulph; but moreover to Embark himself upon the Coast of *Syria*, to bend his Force against *Africa*, to revenge himself on *Carthage*, subdue *Numidia* and *Mauritania*, to pass the Straights of *Calix*, attack *Spain*; and after having subdu'd it, to pass the *Alpes*, reduce *Italy*, and return to *Greece*. Others have carry'd his Projects yet much farther; supposing that he knew *Africa* was a Peninsula, encompass'd on all Sides with the Sea, excepting at the Isthmus of *Damietra*

miles ; they tell us, he design'd that his Ships should double the *Cape of Good-Hope* ; and that they should Re-enter the *Mediterranean Sea*, by *Hercules's Pillars*. With these, and the like Views, he got together a great Number of Ships ; he built new Fleets, he raised a great Number of Seamen, and built a Magnificent Port in the Mouth of the *Enphates*, Large enough to contain a Thousand Ships. But we ought not to pass by a most important Remark concerning all his Navigations, and attending most of those which were made afterward, which is, that they never lost Sight of the Land ; this may shew us how little they understood the Knowledge of the Sea, as it has been practised in the latter Ages. But altho' the Death of *Alexander* put a Stop to most of his Designs, yet he had, during the two last Years of his Life, renew'd the ancient Course of Trade to the *Indies*, and re-establish'd their ancient Correspondence with *Egypt*, which the Foundation of *Alexandria* was to help forward and render more Useful by extending it to the extreme Parts of the *West*. They tell us likewise that he had some Thoughts to enter the *Black Sea*, and visit *Sythia* and the *Palus Motides* : Others would have us believe that he began to take Umbrage at the Valour of the *Romans*, and propos'd to make a Descent into *Italy* and *Sicily*. It is certain that he began to prepare several Materials in the Forest of *Hircania* for the Fitting out a Fleet, with Design to enter the *Caspian Sea* ; and it is as true, that about the same Time some Embassadors were sent to him from *Africa*, and even from *Carthage*, *Spain*, *Gaul*, *Italy*, and from the *Scythians* in *Europe*, to congratulate him upon his Conquests, and desire his Friendship : This might well enough raise his extreme Ambition to believe he was desired as Lord of those People who sought after him, and fill him

with

with the desire of being the Master of all those Countries; that is to say, of the rest of the World

C H A P. XVIII.

1. Of COMMERCE under the Successors of Alexander, and chiefly under Ptolemy Philadelphus. 2. Particular Dispositions of the Indies for Commerce under Seleucus. 3. Accounts of the Indies, of Patrocles, Dionysius, Megasthenes and Daimachus. 4. Seleucus and Antigonus apply themselves to Sea Affairs; the Re-establishment of Tyre. 5. An Error of the Ancients upon the Caspian Sea. Alexander and his Captains changes the Names of those Countries they conquer'd. 6. A prodigious Fleet of Demetrius Poliorcetes, and of the enormous Ship built by Ptolemy Philopator.

1. **I**F the Life of Alexander brought about so many Changes in the Affairs of the World, the Consequences of his Death were much greater, when out of the Ruins of the Persian Empire so many particular States were formed. But all his Successors, however divided in their Interests, did not differ in Point of Commerce, but follow'd those Traces that were left them by Alexander. The Ptolemy's, who had Egypt for their Lot, and chiefly Philadelphus, open'd a Passage from Alexandria to the Indies, by disposing several commodious Staples near the Channels of the Nile to the Red Sea. This Prince, although infirm in his Body, was Master of a sprightly Genius,

Genius, was curious, and desirous to learn. He became powerful at Sea by his numerous Fleets, of which *Athenus* has given a short Description, which must fill his Reader with Wonder. Besides above Sixscore Ships with Oars, of an extraordinary Bigness, he attributes to him above Four thousand other Ships that were employ'd in the Service of his State; for he possess'd a vast Empire, which he had form'd, by extending the Bounds of *Egypt* into *Africa*, *Ethopia*, *Syria*, and even beyond the Sea, being Master of *Cicilia*, *Pamphilia*, *Lycia*, *Caria*, and the *Cyclades*, and was Possessor of almost Four thousand Cities in his Dominions. To increase yet the Felicity and Wealth of these Provinces, he endeavour'd to add, by the help of Commerce, the richest and most valuable Commodities of the East.

2. *Alexander* had already laid the Foundation of this Correspondence, by the Colonies of *Greeks* which he had establish'd in *India*, and the Cities he had built there, which after *Alexander's* Death were govern'd by *Pithon*. *Porus* and *Taxiles* maintain'd the Articles which they made with their *Grecian* Conquerors, and were rather Viceroys than Kings. But *Sandrocottus*, who had Wit enough to exercise a Regal Power in these Countries, rais'd an Army against the *Greeks*, and over-turn'd the Government that *Alexander* had set up. *Seleucus*, who had challeng'd the Sovereignty of the *Indies*, in that he had carry'd it farther than *Alexander*, brought this Rebel to Reason, and put an end to his Differences with him, by a Treaty of Partition, leaving to *Sandrocottus* the Dominion of those Lands situate upon the Coasts of the *Indus*, and the Cities which *Alexander* had built.

3. *Seleucus* nevertheless gave the Government of his Country, and also that of *Babylon*, to his Lieutenant *Patrocles*, a Man of known Fidelity and Capacity, who left behind him some Memoirs that

would have been of great use to Posterity, if they had been yet remaining.

Ptolemy on his side was particularly desirous to know the State of the *Indies* from a Person of Credit, and sent *Dionysius*, a learned Mathematician, thither. *Megasthenes* was also dispatch'd to *Sandrocottus*; he had many Conferences with him and other *Indian* Princes, and gave the World good Accounts of them, which some following Ages profited from. *Dumachus* was also sent Ambassador to *Antiochades*, the Son of *Sandrocottus*, and left good Memorials of that Embassy.

The Commerce, which was so well establish'd by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, between *Egypt* and *India*, and by *Egypt*, between the *Indies* and the Western Parts, was of too great Consequence to be neglected by his Successors; it was carry'd on diligently so long as that Race reign'd in *Egypt*.

4. Among the Successors of *Alexander*, *Seleucus* and *Antigonus* were the chief who follow'd Sea Affairs. The Neighbourhood of the *Indies* invited *Seleucus* to Trade by Sea and Land. In the War which he made against *Antigonus*, the *Mediterranean* Sea was cover'd with the Fleets of these two Potentates. *Antigonus* finding himself at first slightly provided with Shipping, in regard that *Ptolemy*, *Lysimachus*, and *Cassander* were Masters of the Sea, built a great Fleet upon the Coasts of *Phoenicia*. And when *Seleucus* went against him with a Hundred Ships, he was inform'd that *Antigonus* would put to Sea a Fleet of Five Hundred Sail before the end of that Summer: Which in effect soon afterward came forth, not much inferiour to that Number, and gain'd the Dominion of the Sea. *Antigonus* became also Master of *Tyre*, which City, after the Havock which had been made on it by *Alexander*, was so powerfully re-establish'd that it maintain'd it self against a Siege of Fifteen Months.

c. What

5. What *Pliny* mentions of the Navigations which were made by *Seleucus* and *Antigonus* in the Indian Sea, towards the *Caspian* Sea, is very intricate, and is a Continuation of an Error which many others have fallen into, who believ'd that the *Caspian* Sea was a Gulph of the *Scythian* Sea. *Alexander* and his Successors were the occasion of great Confusion in Geography and History, when by their ridiculous Vanities they alter'd the Names of those Countries they had conquer'd.

*Plin. Lib. 2.
cap. 67.*

Patrocles one of the *Macedonian* Admirals, gave rise to this Error touching the *Caspian* Sea, by his false boasting that he had enter'd it by the Sea of *Scythia*; and *Pliny* is not more intelligible in what he adds concerning the *Palus Meotides*, and the Northern Ocean.

*Plin. Lib. 2.
cap. 77.*

The Princes that were descended from the Successors of *Alexander*, were likewise mindful of Sea Affairs, but had not the same Success in the Practice of them, and at last were subdued by the Roman Power.

6. But we must not forget to mention in this Place, the prodigious Fleet which was built by *Demetrius Poliorcetes* the Son of *Antigonus*, design'd for the Conquest of *Asia*. *Plutarch* reckons Five hundred Ships, which were admired as well for their Greatness, as for extraordinary Number; for there had not been before that Time any Ships of Fifteen and Sixteen Banks of Oars; however, *Ptolemy Philopator*, King of *Egypt*, some Years afterward, built a Ship of Forty Banks; it was in Length Two hundred and fourscore Cubits, carrying its Poop Forty eight Cubits in Height; it had on Board Four thousand Men for the Oar, Four hundred Sea Men, and Three thousand Soldiers: But this vast Machine was rather a Work of Vanity than Use, resembling a Castle without

Motion, rather than a Ship. The Ships of *Demetrius*, notwithstanding their surprizing Size, had all the Quickness of Motion requir'd in the Service and Use they were design'd for. But now, although these Ships were only made use of in War, without any regard to Trade: Yet may we judge from them, how far the Study of Navigation had made its way at that Time in the World.

C H A P. XIX.

COMMERCE of the Rhodians after Alexander.

IT was during the War which *Antigonus* made against *Seleucus* and his Allies, that the Virtue, Valour, and Marine Power of the *Rhodians* were display'd. *Alexander* had always treated them with distinguishing Marks of his Friendship; and they carefully avoided to involve themselves in the Wars of his Successors. The Favour of these Princes, a long Peace, and a frequent Commerce, had made them powerful enough, without any Foreign Aid, to cleanse the Sea of Pirates. Now as their Situation gave them a free Trade with *Egypt*, which was so useful and necessary to them, that they drew their chief Subsistence from it, so they always maintain'd the strictest Amity with *Ptolemy*. And when *Antigonus* would have made them of his Party, and have engaged them to assist him against *Ptolemy*, they generously refus'd him, and resolv'd rather to suffer the last Extremities, than break their Faith with their Ally. They were besieged by his Son *Demetrius*, and maintain'd themselves against his Attacks for a whole Year, notwithstanding he had not his Equal in that Art of taking Towns, and was no less formidable at Sea, having above Four hundred

hundred Sail of Ships ; and at last they made Peace with this powerful Adversary, upon good Terms. They maintain'd afterward the same Policy with the *Romans* that they had done before with the Successors of *Alexander*, and held the strictest Friendship with them, which was the occasion of their falling out with *Philip* King of *Macedon*, and *Mithridates*.

CHAP. XX.

1. *COMMERCE* of the Carthaginians after Alexander.
2. In Sicily.
3. In Sardinia.
4. And in Spain.

NEVERTHELESS, the Carthaginians augmented their Forces, and by endeavouring to enlarge their Dominion, they increas'd their Commerce. They found little Resistance at first in the Continent of *Africa*, their Aim was more remote, and their Thoughts put them upon establishing themselves in *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Spain*.

2. The Neighbourhood and Riches of *Sicily*, drew them to its Conquest ; they were tempted to it in *Cyrus's* Time, but met then with great Resistance. The Plague sometimes overturn'd the Advantages they had gain'd by War : However, they brought off great Spoils, and conquer'd one part of that Island, but could not peaceably enjoy their Conquests. The *Sicilians*, tir'd with their obstinate Cruelties, had some Times recourse to Strangers, but their surest Defence was from themselves. *Gelon*, who had made himself Tyrant of *Sicily*, destroy'd the Carthaginian Troops upon the Borders of the *Himerus*, while they blindly follow'd the Counsel of *Xerxes*, to invade *Sicily*. But *Gelon* made a moderate use of this Victory, and gave

them Peace. After the Death of Gelon, his Brothers could not hinder *Sicily* from returning into a State of Democracy. Then the *Carthaginians* renew'd their Efforts against this Island, and took such Measures as might assure them of it entirely, but the two *Demys's* oppos'd them, having usurp'd the Tyranny of *Sicily*, and maintain'd it for Fifty Years, with Five hundred great Ships, a Hundred thousand Foot, and Ten thousand Horse. *Demys*, the Father began his Usurpation by the Advantage which he gain'd over the *Carthaginians*, when he drove them from the Island; but his End was not answerable to his Beginning; for after many Adventures he finish'd his Days by an unhappy Death. Commerce declin'd under his Government, when he permitted the *Syracusians* and *Sicilians* to plunder the *Carthaginian* Magazines that were establish'd among them, fill'd with Riches, and not sparing even their Ships, which lay in great Numbers in their Ports. However, he apply'd himself closely to Navigation; he rais'd by that means the *Corinthians*, who were the Inventors of Gallies with Three Banks of Oars, and himself, that built Gallies of Five Teer. His Son, who was much inferior to him in every respect, put to Sea almost four hundred Gallies. But all these great Armaments were rather for War, than Trade. *Timoleon*, who succeeded him, was no less an Enemy to the *Carthaginians*; he oppos'd them vigorously, and made them return to *Africa*, and abandon the Possession of *Sicily*, which they had enjoy'd for a long Time, although they oppos'd him with a Fleet of Two hundred Gallies, and above a Thousand Ships of Burden, so did he regain the former Liberty of the Island. But these Advantages were not of long Continuance, for a People so inquisitive, ambitious, and interested as the *Carthaginians*, could not forget the Wealth they used to draw in such plenty from this Island; besides, they were no less
jealous

jealous of the Greatness of *Syracuse*, which rival'd them in their Hopes of the Dominion of *Sicily*. Fortune produced yet another dangerous Adversary to this Place, in the Person of *Agathocles*, who took upon him the Government in a tyrannical manner, soon after the younger *Demys's* Time, although neither his base Extraction or unripe Years could promise him so great a Power, having even exercised Piracies against his own Country. History is fill'd with the Accounts of his various Successes in the Wars he carry'd on against the *Carthaginians*, and with the Exploits of his singular Valour and Capacity, by which he repell'd them. He attack'd them in *Africa*, besieg'd their Capital, and re-establish'd the *Sicilians* in the Empire of the Sea. He then took a particular Care of their Trade, and protected their Merchants, although he cross'd the Affairs of Commerce elsewhere and for his own private Interest, he yet retain'd the Spirit of Piracy, and associated himself with the *Corsaires* of *Italy*. In fine, after a Tyranny of Twenty eight Years, he was poison'd by his Grandson.

After the Death of *Agathocles*, the *Carthaginians* renew'd their Pretensions to *Sicily*, and laid a Design to invade it on all sides; they landed a considerable Force there; which obliged the *Sicilians* to implore the Assistance of *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus*, who had been a Kinsman of *Agathocles*. He presently came to their Aid with a good Number of Ships, which being join'd with the *Syracusan* Fleet, made up above Two hundred Sail. With this Force he overcame the *Carthaginians*, although they were at that Time Masters of the Sea; he made several Conquests in that Island, and was made King of it. But the *Romans* gaining the like Advantages over his Allies in *Italy*, that he did in *Sicily* over the *Carthaginians*, he was

obliged to abandon *Sicily*, and in the end even his Pretensions in *Italy*.

3. When the *Carthaginians* thought themselves Masters of *Sicily*, they undertook the Conquest of *Sardinia*, but without Success; they were overcome in a Battel, and lost the best part of their Army. Some time afterward they made a second Attempt with the same ill Success; and *Asdrubal* their General, who commanded in this Expedition, was mortally wounded in it; and they were obliged in the end to give it up to the *Romans*, which was not one of the least Causes of the second *Punic* War; during which the *Carthaginians* did not neglect any thing that might put them in possession of it.

4. Although the Example of the *Tyrrians*, who had made considerable Settlements in *Spain*, might well enough draw the *Carthaginians* thither; nevertheless these Settlements, which were chiefly on account of Trade, were not of themselves sufficient to invite them thither; it was rather a favourable Accident, than any premeditated Design, that put them upon the Thought of extending their Dominion as far as *Spain*: For the People of *Cadix*, who were (like them) of the *Tyrrian* Race, desiring their Aid against the neighbouring *Spaniards*, who harass'd them continually, the *Carthaginians* would not refuse them a Succour which they could give them with so much ease by Sea and by Land, when they had carry'd their Dominion even to the Streights of *Cadix*. They were not content alone to repulse the *Spaniards*, but pursued their Victory 'till they became Masters of a large part of *Spain*. *Carthage* was unwilling to give up so fair a Conquest, and sent thither several Generals well vers'd in War, who after divers Successes extended their Dominions far into the Country: But none of these were equal to *Hannibal* who succeeded them, and became Master
of

of all that part of *Spain* which lies beyond the *Hebrus*. However they were robb'd of all this, by the Valour of the *Romans*, who after they had drove them from this Land, were themselves forced to carry on great Wars with the *Spaniards*, 'till *Augustus's* Time, who in the end subdued this People, and reduced *Spain* into a Province.

CHAP. XXI.

1. *COMMERCE* of the *Romans* before the first *Punick War*. 2. They are excited to Commerce by the Example of their Neighbours. 3. *Polybius* assures us, that altho' before that time they had no Thoughts of Sea Affairs, yet then they began to apply themselves to the Sea by way of *Sicily* with great Vigour. 4. *Polybius* seems to contradict himself, and is explain'd. 5. A great Fault in *Isidorus*. 6. The *Roman Fleet* attacked by the *Tarentines*. 7. Office of the *Duumvir of the Sea*. 8. The *Romans* apply'd themselves to the Sea, from the Time of their Kings.

1. **T**HE *Romans* had little regard to Commerce in the Wars they undertook, but Traffick was the chief Aim of the *Carthaginians*. The *Romans* study'd how to extend their Dominion by Conquest, and succeeded in their Attempt ; but a People of their Wisdom could not be ignorant how much Riches were necessary to bring about their Designs ; and that Commerce was the surest means whereby they might acquire Wealth.

2. The

2. The Example of their Neighbours taught them the Advantages of Trade. On the one hand the *Tyrrenians*, who had been Masters of the greatest part of the *Mediterranean* Sea, where they had practised Piracies, by the commodious Situation of their Port of *Luna*, and were abridg'd in their Power by the *Carthaginians* and *Sicilians*, and chiefly by their Tyrant *Agathocles*. On the other hand the Maritime Towns, which lay near them, and those People who had descended from the *Græcians*, and inhabited then the extream Parts of *Italy*, gave them many Proofs of the great Advantages arising by Commerce : Nay, even their Necessities constrain'd them to it, for the Country they liv'd in was not fertile enough to furnish them with Provisions. And although they profess'd an extraordinary Frugality, and seem'd to despise Riches, yet were they obliged by all the Rules of Prudence and Policy, to provide against Poverty and Want.

3. However *Polybius*, an intelligent and grave Author, who has been famed for his Sincerity, tells us positively, that before the first *Punic* War, the *Romans* had not any thought of the Sea, and that *Sicily* was the first Land beyond *Italy* where they had any footing : And that when they went thither to assist the *Mamerteans*, they borrow'd the Ships which they made use of in that Expedition from the *Tarentines*, the *Locrians*, and the People of *Naples* and that having taken a cover'd Galley from the *Carthaginians*, they made use of it as a Model and built a Fleet of One hundred Gallies of five Banks, and Twenty Gallies of three Tier of Oars in the space of Sixty Days ; and with these Vessels they afterwards overcame the *Carthaginian* Fleet, although they had been Masters of the Sea for a long time. *Polybius* admires this unparalleled Dispatch and Boldness of the *Romans*, which

he declares was the chief Reason that invited him to write the History of the first *Punick* War. And it is remark'd, that the *Romans* did not begin any Navigation 'till the 493d Year after the Foundation of *Rome*. We may believe that these *Roman* Ships were coarsly built, as History assures us; and we learn that even in the War which the *Romans* made against *Antiochus*, *Ann.* 563, of *Rome*, they were yet very awkward in the Art of Ship-building.

4. Now although *Polybius* seems to tell us, that the *Romans* had never enter'd the Sea before the first *Punick* War, he speaks only of those Naval Expeditions which they undertook upon the account of War; it is nevertheless very difficult to reconcile him with himself, when in his third Book we read his Accounts of the ancient Treaties made between the *Romans* and the *Carthaginians*. By the first, which has been only mention'd by him, and was made in the 245th Year of *Rome*, under the first Consuls, after *Tarquin* was deposed; *i. e.* about 250 Years before the first *Punick* War: The *Romans* engages for themselves, and their Allies, not to navigate beyond the Cape of *Carthage* on the North side, which was called the *Fair Promontory*, unless Necessity urg'd them to it. The Voyages which were undertaken by them on account of Trade, as well to *Africa* and *Sardinia*, as that part of *Sicily* which was possess'd by the *Carthaginians*, are expressly regulated and distinguish'd by particular Clauses in this Treaty. And what yet gives us a clearer Proof of it, is the Remarks which *Polybius* makes afterwards upon the Terms of this Treaty, by allotting only to the Ships of War what has been said of Ships in general. By the second Treaty agreed to by the *Romans* at the Desire of the *Carthaginians* in the 402d Year of *Rome*, in which the *Tyrrhians*, and the People of *Utica* are named in the Alliance with the
Romans,

Romans, we may be sure that the *Romans* traded to the same Places which were design'd them by the first Treaty ; and moreover that they follow'd Piracy, and were powerful enough to build Cities beyond their Seas. The coming of *Pyrrhus* into *Italy* was the occasion of the third Treaty of Alliance between the *Romans* and the *Carthaginians*, which was made in the 473d Year of *Rome* : This,

Tit. Liv. Epit. Lib. 13. *Titus Livius* calls the fourth Treaty. It appears however from this Treaty that the *Romans* were negligent

of Sea Affairs at that time, for it is stipulated therein, that the *Carthaginians* should furnish them with Ships in case of need, either for Trade or War ; and the Conditions in the preceding Treaties were renewed. But besides these Proofs which we draw from *Polybius* against himself, we read, that in the 416th Year of *Rome*, which was 74 Years before the first *Punick* War, the *Romans* having ruin'd the Port of the *Antiates*, and become Masters of their Fleet, which consisted of twenty two Gallies, among which there were six armed with Beaks. The Consul *Manius* adorn'd the Tribune of the Orators in the publick Place with these Beaks, he burnt the Ships which he had stripp'd of this Defence, and brought up the others to *Rome*, and laid them up in the place allotted for the Safety and Building of Ships. This is an undeniable Proof, that from that time the *Romans* apply'd themselves to Sea Affairs.

5. I must in this place take notice of a capital Fault which *Isidorus* has committed in his Etymologies concerning this Matter, when he says in several places of his Book, that the Tribune of Oratory was adorn'd with Beaks or Spurs, taken from the *Carthaginian* Ships in the *Punick* War, confounding those Beaks which were taken from the Ships of the *Antiates*, and placed in the Tribune of Oratory, with those which *Drillius* hung up upon the Column

Column which he caus'd to be erected in the publick Place after the Sea-fight, in which he overcame the *Carthaginians*.

6. We read moreover, that the *Romans* put to Sea a Fleet of Ten cover'd Ships of War before the War against the *Tarentines* (*i. e.*) about 18 Years before the first *Punic* War; and it was this Fleet which gave the first occasion of the War against the *Tarentines*, who attack'd it while it pass'd peaceably near their Port without any other design than to take in some Necessaries there: They sunk four of the Ships, and kill'd *Valerius* who commanded it, otherwise called *Cornelius*, with the other Captains and Soldiers that fell in to their Hands; they sold the Seamen, and took one of the Ships, and by way of Retalliation for their Injustice and uncivil Behaviour, they treated the *Roman* Embassadors with the greatest Insolence, when they came to demand Satisfaction for these Insults. But they had already given very sufficient Proofs of their Ill-will towards the *Romans*, when they took part with the *Neapolitans* and *Paleopolitans* against them, by promising them Succours, and blaming them openly when they submitted themselves to the *Romans*: They had also made secret Alliances with the *Gauls*, *Tyrrhenians*, the *Samnites*, and other Enemies of *Rome*. The *Tarentines*, who were thus loaded with Offences, seeing the *Roman* Fleet before their Port, and not imagining it would come thither on a peaceable Design, thought to act according to the most prudent Maxims of War, and prevent them in their Attempt.

7. *Titus Livius* tells us, that *Valerius*, who commanded this Fleet, exercis'd the Office of *Quinroir* of the Sea, whose Business it was to equip, to repair, and to maintain the Fleets; by which it plainly appears that the *Romans* had not
began

*Tit. Liv. Epit.
Lib. 12.*

began to meddle with Sea Affairs when they went first into *Sicily*, before the first *Punick War*, since the Office of the *Duumvir* of the Sea was created the 443d Year of *Rome*, (*i. e.*) about fifty Years before the Time that *Polybius* pretends the *Romans* began to apply themselves to Sea Affairs: Even before that barbarous Action of the *Tarentines* there was a Treaty between them and the *Romans*, by which the latter were not permitted to navigate beyond the Promontory *Lacinium*, which is near the Gulph of *Tarentum*.

8. It is then evident, that the *Romans* apply'd themselves to Navigation from the Time of their Kings, first with regard to Trade, and afterward much more on account of War. But the Enemies which environ'd their State in *Italy* kept them in continual Employ, and constrain'd them to neglect the Sea, 'till the Time of the first *Punick War*: For then they renew'd their Application to Sea Affairs, and had such extraordinary Success in their Navigations, that all they had done before might pass for nothing in comparison of what they now understood and practis'd: And it is in this Sense we must understand and explain *Polybius*.

C H A P. XXII.

I. *COMMERCE* and Navigations of the *Romans* and the *Carthaginians*, from the first *Punick War* to the second. 2. Frequent Shipwrecks weaken'd the Maritime Power of the *Romans*.

1. **T**HE *Carthaginians* had been Masters of the Sea 'till the Time of the first *Punick War* by which Power they had acquir'd part of *Africa*
Spain

Spain, and *Sicily*, all *Sardinia*, and its adjacent Islands. They infested freely the Coasts of *Italy* upon the slightest Pretences, and not any one disputed with them the Commerce of the *Mediterranean* Sea, which they peaceably divided with the *Tyrhenians*, a People of their own Race, and their Allies. In a word, Commerce was their chiefest Aim, as we may plainly discover from the Oration of the Consul *Marcins* in the Third Punick War, when he declared the Order which the Senate had given to destroy *Carthage*. It is the Sea, says he, and the great Riches you draw from it, which are the Causes of your Misfortunes ; it is the Sea that has invited you to invade *Sicily* and *Spain*, and even in the Time of Peace you rob our Merchants ; and to oblivate your Crime, you drown them in the Sea ; but at last, your Wickedness being discover'd, you lost *Sardinia*. It was the Remembrance of this great Power that gave occasion for their Deputies to say in the *Roman* Senate, after the second Punick War, that they had hardly then remaining the City of *Carthage*, and its Walls, after having once been Masters as it were of the whole Earth. It was then by a wise Precaution, and almost necessary, that the *Romans* undertook the first Punick War ; upon which Account, I have already said, that the *Romans*, in the space of Sixty Days (reckoning from the Day the Trees were cut down in the Forests) built a Fleet of One hundred Gallies, of Five Banks, and Twenty Gallies of Three Banks of Oars, upon the Model of that Vessel which they had taken from their Enemies, and some would reckon One hundred and sixty Sail in this Fleet. Now we must not imagine that these Ships were little Boats, very much inferior to the Greatness of those in our Days, since *Polybius* assures us, that in the Sea Expedition of the Consuls, *Attilius* and *Manlius*, against the *Carthaginians*

Polyb. Lib. 1.

nians, Five hundred Years after that of *Duillius*, each Ship carry'd Three hundred Men for the Oar, and One hundred and twenty Soldiers; however, we may be assured, that this new built Fleet, altho' guided by unskilful Pilots, and commanded by the Consul *Duillius*, overcame the *Carthaginians*. I know not how we ought to believe that Account which *Pliny* gives us upon the Credit of *Piso* the Historian, that the *Romans* built a Fleet of Two hundred and twenty Sail of Ships in the space of Forty five Days, which they sent against *Hieron*, King of *Syracuse*, who had then declar'd for the *Carthaginians*, but soon after was reconciled to the *Romans*; for this does not agree in any manner with the Account which *Polybius* gives us of the Quarrel between that Prince and the *Romans*. Five Years after the Victory of *Duillius*, another *Roman* Fleet, consisting of Three hundred and thirty cover'd Gallies, under the Command of the Consul *Attilius Regulus*, defeated that of the *Carthaginians* of Three hundred and fifty armed Ships.

2. By these Victories the *Romans* would have gain'd the Dominion of the Sea, if their Fleets had not in the following Years been greatly damaged by Shipwreck, which obliged them to yield that Power to the *Carthaginians*. The first Year their Fleet consisted of Three hundred and sixty four Ships, but was reduced to Eighty Sail; and to repair this Loss, they built One hundred and twenty new Ships in Three Months time, and put to Sea a Fleet of Two hundred Sail. A second Wreck lost them the half of these; nevertheless they took Courage Three Years afterward, and re-establish'd a new Fleet of Two hundred Sail; but losing Ninety three of them in a Sea Fight, near the Coast of *Sicily*, and some Time afterward the Consul *Junius* coming to *Sicily* with a Reinforcement of One hundred and twenty Gallies, and above Eight hundred Ships of Burden;

Burden ; the two Fleets were bulg'd and destroy'd upon those Coasts by a violent Storm, so were they again obliged to resign the Dominion of the Sea to the *Carthaginians*, who then finding no Probability of Resistance from the *Romans*, ravaged those Coasts of *Italy* that lay the nearest to *Sicily* ; which obliged the *Romans* once more to attempt their Fortune at Sea. They fitted out a new Fleet of Two hundred Gallies, of Five Banks of Oars, which put an end to this War, by the Victory it gain'd under the Command of the Consul *Lutatius*, in the Year of *Rome* 511. The *Carthaginians* sued to the *Romans* for Peace, which they obtain'd, upon condition that they should abandon their Possessions in *Sicily*, (*i. e.*) the whole Island, reserving only the Possessions of *Hieron*, King of *Syracuse*, and all the Isles which lie between *Italy* and *Sicily*. In this manner ended a War, which had been maintain'd for Twenty four Years, and had cost the *Carthaginians* Five hundred Gallies of Five Banks of Oars, and the *Romans* Seven hundred, including those which they had lost by Wrecks. This was the Fourth Treaty between these two powerful Nations. It seem'd to exclude the *Carthaginians* from the Islands of *Sardinia* and *Corfa*, but did not attribute the Possession of them to the *Romans*. The one and the other had ancient Pretensions to them, but the *Carthaginians* Right seem'd the most lawful, in that they had possess'd them for many Years, although the *Romans* had often disputed it, and above Twenty Years before, the Consul *Lucius Scipio* defeated the Inhabitants of *Corfa* and *Sardinia* in those Islands, notwithstanding they were defended by the *Carthaginians*. Soon after the last Treaty of Peace, the *Romans* put themselves in Possession of them, and declared War against the *Carthaginians*, who took their Measures to oppose them, without reflecting upon the many Hardships they had suffer'd

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in the last War. However, they were forced to submit to the *Romans*, and consent to a new Clause touching the Cession of *Sardinia*. Some time after-ward these Islands endeavour'd to fling off the *Roman* Yoke, but their Efforts were of no other use than to afford a Subject of Triumph to the *Roman* Consuls.

C H A P. XXIII.

1. *The Piracies of the Illyrians repressed.* 2. *And particularly those of the Istrians.*

1. **T**EN or Twelve Years after the Fourth Treaty between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, the *Romans* were involv'd in a new War against the *Illyrians*, for the Preservation of their Commerce, and the Protection of their Merchants. This People, who inhabited the oriental Coast of the *Adriatick* Sea, and chiefly the *Istrians* and *Liburnians*, who were the greatest among them, had been notorious for their Piracies above Thirty Years before the first Punick War. The *Liburnians* were famous for the lightness of their Ships, which were better Sailors than any others in those Seas. These Robberies of the *Illyrians* were authorized by their Queen *Teuta*, who permitted them to plunder all Nations indiscriminately. They often fell upon the *Italian* Merchants, whom they used with the greatest Barbarity. The *Romans*, who by the Extent of their Dominion in *Italy*, and by the Alliances they had made, found themselves interested in these Courses of the *Illyrians*, they receiv'd frequent Complaints of them, and resolv'd to put a stop to their Growth. They sent Ambassadors to the Queen *Teuta*, who being possess'd with the brutish Spirit of her Country

treated

treated them with Ignominy, and kill'd one of them, which she thought had not shewn her sufficient Respect. But soon after she had reason to repent her Rashness, by the vigorous War the *Romans* made against her. She sued for Peace, which she compass'd upon severe Conditions: She submitted to yield up all *Illyria* to the *Romans*, reserving only some few Places upon the Coasts; and was under Articles not to put to Sea more than two small Brigantines unarmed, and to navigate no farther than the City *Lyssus*, near *Dyrrachium*, upon the Frontier of *Macedonia*.

2. But the *Istrians* could not confine themselves to these Bounds, nor submit to Conditions so contrary to their Humour and Interest. They renew'd their Robberies six or seven Years after the Peace concluded with *Teuta*, and did not spare even the *Roman* Ships that were laden with Corn in their way to *Rome*. They were punish'd for it as *Teuta* had been, but not in such a manner as to prevent their falling into the same Extravagancies two Years afterward, under the Conduct of *Demetrius* the *Pharian*, who contrary to the Terms of Peace made with *Teuta*, dared to put to Sea fifty Brigantines, which were sent beyond the *Lyssus*, as far as the *Cyclades*. But this Assurance of theirs did not go unpunish'd by the Consul *Emilius*, who overcame them, and drove their Commander out of *Illyria*.



C H A P. XXIV.

I. COMMERCE and Navigations of the Romans and Carthaginians, during, and after the second Punick War.

I Have heretofore observ'd, That one of the principal Causes of the second Punick War, was the Possession of *Sardinia* ; to which we may add, the Payment of a great Sum of Money, which the *Romans* demanded from the *Carthaginians* during the Disorder of their Affairs. *Hannibal*, who in his Childhood had engaged himself by an Oath to be an irreconcilable Enemy to the *Romans*, pass'd the *Hebrus*, and laying Siege to *Sagantum*, a City in Alliance with the *Romans*, contrary to the Treaty that had been made with *Asdrubal*, began the second Punick War. But I should fall from my Design, if I should undertake to give here a Relation of it. The ancient and modern Authors have largely treated of this War : Therefore I shall only set down what relates to Commerce and Navigation. *Scipio* was sent into *Sicily*, and from thence into *Africa*, to divert the *Carthaginians* from that bloody War, which *Hannibal* had for a long time carry'd on in *Italy*, even to the Walls of *Rome*. The Fleet which *Scipio* commanded against the *Carthaginians*, was fitted out with so much Expedition, that it is said the *Romans*, within the space of forty Days, built twenty Gallies of five Banks, and thirty of four Banks of Oars, and arm'd them, and equip'd them for Service. The Victory which *Scipio* gain'd in *Africa* over *Hannibal*, put an end to this War, and obliged the *Carthaginians* to sue for Peace, which they obtain'd upon hard Terms. Among other Articles of this Treaty, it was agreed, That for the future, the *Carthaginians* should not maintain

maintain above ten Gallies at one time, and that they should make Restitution for the Ships they had taken from the *Romans* during the Peace. And even the size of the Fisher-boats was regulated as well as those Vessels which should be made use of to trade with the neighbouring People. *Scipio* burnt before their Eyes Five hundred of their Gallies. And thus ended a War which had been maintain'd seventeen Years, after a Peace of twenty three Years. The *Romans* were then indisputably Masters of the Sea, upon which they maintain'd a hundred Gallies for a Year. Thus Commerce flourish'd, and *Rome* was so plentifully furnish'd with Corn, that the Merchants pay'd their Seamen with it.

CHAP. XXV.

1. *Affairs of the Sea during the War between the Romans and Philip King of Macedon.*
2. *The Confederacy between Philip and Hannibal.*
3. *Philip is constrain'd to burnt part of his Fleet : His Country invaded by Attalus, the Romans, and the Rhodians.*
4. *Pristis, a kind of Ship.*
5. *Philip overcome by the Romans, is stript of his Sea Forces.*

1. **T**HE Peace between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, after the second *Punick* War, was followed by a War against *Philip* King of *Macedon*. The Power of the *Romans* had given Umbrage to this Prince for a long time, but before he would undertake any War against them he apply'd himself to Sea Affairs, in the War he made against the *Etolians*. He exercis'd the *Macedonians* in the Art of Navigation, which the Neighbour-

hood of the Sea help'd him in. About that time the *Romans* began to think of *Greece*, which made *Philip* the more diligent in Sea Affairs : Not that he had Force enough to oppose the *Roman* Fleets, but that he might have sufficient Means to transport his Soldiers to such Places where he might attack them by Land : For this use he built Ships after the *Illyrian* manner, and set sail for *Italy*. He was the first King of *Macedonia* that put to Sea One hundred Brigantines at one time.

2. The Battle of *Cannæ*, which was so fatal to the *Romans*, determin'd *Philip* to make a Treaty of Confederacy with *Hannibal* : The chief Conditions were, That *Philip* should immediately invade *Italy* with Two hundred Sail of Ships ; that he should ravage the Oriental Coasts ; and that the Islands lying in the Neighbourhood of *Macedonia*, which he should conquer, should fall to his Lott.

3. In the Year of *Rome* 540, *Laevinus* commanded the Fleet that guarded the Coasts of *Brindus* and *Calabria*, he embark'd his Soldiers upon his Gallies, and Ships of Burden, to succour the Cities *Oricum* and *Apollonia*, the one situate on the Coast of *Epirus*, and the latter upon the Coast of *Macedonia*, besieged at that time by *Philip*, who assisted at those Sieges with One hundred and twenty Brigantines of two Banks of Oars. *Laevinus* forced him in his Camp, and obliged him to retire by Land to *Macedonia*, after he had been constrain'd to burn part of his Fleet. In this same Year the Cities of *Eubœa* were attack'd by three powerful Fleets, that of the *Romans*, that of *Attalus*, King of *Pergamus*, which consisted of twenty four Gallies of Five Banks, and that of the *Rhodians* of twenty covered Ships. Twelve Years afterwards *Philip* found himself engaged in a new Sea War, near the Isle of *Chio*, against the same *Attalus*, and the *Rhodians*, in whose Fleets were sixty five cover'd Gallies, without reckoning those of *Byzantium*, and some others.

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The Fleet of *Philip* consisted of fifty three cover'd Gallies, besides others, without Decks, and One hundred and Fifty Galliot's and *Pristis*.

4. *Pristis* were little Ships which took their Name from the Figure of a sort of Whale, which was carv'd on the fore-part of them, either as an Ensign to know them by, or a Mark of their Swift-ness, like unto that of a kind of Whale which is called *Pristis*, which has the end of his Snout made in manner of a Saw. I here introduce this Account to shew the Navigations of this People, from whence we may judge that they were not negligent of such Commodities as might contribute to the use of Commerce.

5. In the Year of *Rome* 556, the *Romans* under the Command of the Consul *Quintius Flaminius* having conquer'd *Philip*, King of *Macedon*, he sued to them for Peace, and obtain'd it. One of the Conditions in the Treaty was, that he should deliver up to the *Romans* all his cover'd Gallies, and should only reserve to himself some few Brigantines; with that wonderful Galley of sixteen Banks of Oars, whose prodigious Greatness made it of little use, and which however some time afterwards serv'd to bring the Consul *Paulus Emilius* to *Rome*, when he had overcome *Perseus*, *Philip's* Son.



C H A P. XXVI.

I. *Antiochus wages War against the Romans, at the Instigation of the Ætolians and Hannibal; he is defeated at Thermopolis. 2. Sea Affairs in this War. Antiochus overcome by Sea and Land, is stript of his Maritime Forces, and part of his Estate.*

I. **T**HE Example of *Philip* should have gain'd to the *Romans* the Respect of *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, commonly surnamed the Great, who being puff'd up with this great Title, and some prosperous Gales of favourable Events, brought upon himself, to his great Loss, the *Roman* Arms, whereby he was depriv'd of his Sea-forces, and part of his Estate. The growing Greatness of the *Romans* did daily alarm his Jealousy; as the *Romans* were no less jealous of his additional Fortunes. He resolved at length to declare War against them, at the Instigation of the *Ætolians*, and of their Prince *Thoas*, who had the Charge of that Deputation, and most of all by *Hannibal*, who was there then in Exile, never abating in any Point his Hatred towards the *Romans*; but the Successes came far short of the Hopes they had given to *Antiochus*: His Mistrust, Irresolution and Incapacity hindred him from drawing those Advantages from the Counsels of the great of *Hannibal*, that were rationally to be expected; he was beaten and defeated at *Thermopolis* by the Consul *Ancilius Glabrio*.

2. In the same Year, which was the 563d Year of *Rome*, the Prætor *Livius* being charged with the Command of the *Roman* Fleet, was ordered to pass forthwith into *Greece*, with thirty Ships well equipt, and to join them with the Fleet which the Consul *Acilius* was to put under his Command.

Command. The Fleet of *Antiochus* in the mean while had some Skirmishes with that of the *Romans* ; for *Antiochus* was then no less powerful by Sea than by Land. *Livius* succeeded *Atilius* in the Command of the *Roman* Fleet, and made up a Force consisting of eighty one armed Ships, besides others, either belonging to the *Romans* or to their Allies. *Antiochus* opposed them with an hundred Ships under the Command of *Poloxenidas*, an experienc'd Captain. These Vessels were inferior both in Bulk and Strength to those of the *Romans*, but they surpass'd them in Swiftnefs and Lightnefs ; for 'till that time the *Romans* understood Sea Affairs but very indifferently. This Lightnefs of the Ships was an occasion of saving part of *Antiochus's* Fleet after the Naval Fight which he lost near the Coasts of *Ionia*. The King, to repair this Loss, sent *Hannibal* into *Syria*, to bring him Ships from *Sicilia* and *Phenicia* : But while he was executing this Design the *Rhodians* attack'd him in his Return, and after having taken some of his Ships, they endeavoured to fall upon the rest as he returned from the Coasts of *Pamphilia*, whither they had driven him. But *Polyxenidas*, the King's Admiral, did not delay to revenge himself of the *Rhodians*, surprizing their Fleet which had joined a *Roman* Squadron before the Isle of *Samos* ; twenty of which were taken and carried into *Ephesus*, and seven narrowly making their Escape. *Livius* was succeeded by *Æmilius Regillus* in the Command of the Navy ; he opposed *Antiochus* with Fourscore Ships, notwithstanding this King had a Fleet of One hundred Sail under the Command of *Hannibal* and *Polyxenidas* ; which were all destroyed by the *Romans* upon the Coast of *Ionia* near *Myonesus*. This King was thereby made sensible that the *Romans* were to be the 'Masters of these Seas, which he before that time had challenged as his own. In this Action
thirteen,

thirteen of his Ships were taken, the rest either being burnt or sunk; but the Defeat of his Army near Mount *Sypylus*, by that of the *Romans* commanded by *Damilius*, and the two *Scipio's*, took from him all hopes of repairing the Naval Forces; and he could not obtain Peace upon any other Condition, than by abandoning all that Part of *Asia* that lies between the Sea and Mount *Taurus*, contenting himself with *Syria* only, delivering up all his Vessels to the *Romans*, excepting ten middle siz'd Ships, to be employ'd in keeping his Subjects in their Obedience; and it was agreed that he should not send these any further than the two Promontories of *Cilicia*, which were to be the Limits of his Empire. In executing these Conditions of Peace, the *Roman* Consul destroy'd fifty cover'd Gallies of the King's Navy: And his Son *Antiochus Eupator* dispensing with the Accomplishment of this Clause; but being willing to recruit his Naval Forces, the *Roman* Senate sent Orders to burn the supernumerary Vessels.

C H A P. XXVII.

1. *Sea Affairs under Prusias King of Bythinia.*

AFTER the Defeat of *Antiochus*, *Hannibal* being possess'd with some Apprehensions that the King might deliver him up to the *Romans*, went over to the Service of *Prusias* King of *Bythinia*, who then made War against *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, confederated with the *Romans*, and whose Alliance gave him great Advantages in his War against *Prusias*: The Fleets being ready to engage, and that of *Prusias* being of inferiour Strength to that of the Enemy, *Hannibal* who commanded it, supply'd this Deficiency by a Stratagem; he order'd

order'd a great many Serpents to be gather'd together, and to be put into Earthen Pots, which in the Heat of the Battle he order'd to be thrown into the Enemies Ships. The Soldiers of *Eumenes*, surpriz'd at this new way of Fighting, were put in Disorder, and betook themselves to Flight: 'Twas this same *Prusias*, who in Conjunction with the *Rhodians*, made War against the *Byzantines*, and hindred them from receiving the accustomed Imposts, which Ships that sail'd towards the *Black-Sea* used to pay.

C H A P. XXVIII.

1. *Sea Affairs during the Roman Wars against the Ætolians.*
2. *Against the Istrians.*
3. *And against Nobis Tyrant of Sparta.*

THE *Ætolians* felt in their Time the Power of the *Romans*, which they brought upon themselves, partly by their Pride, and partly by the Solicitations which they made to *Antiochus* by their Deputy *Theas*, to stir him up against the *Romans*. This People was not contented to assume a Superiority over their Neighbours by Land, but they exercised Piracy upon the Seas, for their Naval Forces were very considerable; and since the Time they allied themselves with the *Romans* against *Philip* King of *Macedonia*, they engaged to attack him by Sea with their own Forces only. There appear'd in them such an immoderate Desire of Riches and Dominion over their Neighbours, that they alarm'd all those that were near them, and were hated by those that were afar off; and their Presumption carried them so far, that they publicly despised the *Roman* Power. After some Alliances had been made among them, which they did

did not carefully observe, they came at length to Blows. The War which *Antiochus*, at their Instigation, had began against the *Romans*, proving very fatal to him, their Ruin soon follow'd the Defeat of *Antiochus*. The Consul *Flavius* took *Ambracia* their Capital City, and oblig'd them to sue for Peace, which was granted them by the Mediation of the *Athenians* and *Rhodians*. This Conquest was attended with that of all the Islands, from the Coast of *Epirus*, as far as the Cape of *Malea*.

2. The *Istrians*, who had engaged themselves in the Quarrel of the *Ætolians* against the *Romans*, took share likewise in their Misfortunes. *Claudius Pulcher* subdued them; and thus the *Romans* made themselves Masters of all the Western Parts of the *Mediterranean* Sea, and were thereby capable of driving a free Trade in Times of Peace

3. Moreover, they extended their Naval Power beyond the Cape of *Malea*, by possessing themselves of those Places that *Nabis* was Master of upon the neighbouring Coasts of *Sparta*, whose Government he had usurp'd, with that of *Cythium* among the rest, which was the Harbour of *Sparta*. This Tyrant exercised his Piracies upon the Coasts of the *Peloponnesus*. The *Romans* had of old many Alliances with the *Lacedemonians*, which *Nabis* had renew'd; but having afterwards violated them by several Infringements, the *Roman* Consul was obliged to put to Sea a Fleet, consisting of forty Ships, supported by eighteen cover'd Gallies from *Rhodes*, with ten others belonging to King *Eumenes*, and thirty Brigantines, with which Power, *Nabis* was divested of all his Naval Forces, and was obliged to enter into a Treaty, by vertue of which he was constrain'd to deliver up his Fleet to the *Romans*, and restore to the neighbouring Cities, these Ships he had taken from them, and to reserve for himself only two Brigantines; but this did not hinder him

him from equipping a small Fleet some time afterward, sufficient only to maintain himself in the Maritime Towns which he possess'd, against the *Acheans*, who were coming to attack him, without staying for the Conjunction of that of the *Romans*. *Philopæmen*, a great Land Commander, but as little versed in Sea Affairs as his Countrymen the *Acadians* (who are an Inland People) commanding this Fleet, was beaten by *Nabis*, who taking the Advantage of this Victory, made a Truce with the *Romans*, but before it was expired he was slain by the *Ætolians*. This Accident, with the Diligence of *Philopæmen*, and the Arrival of the *Roman* Fleet, consisting of twenty four great Gallies of five Tire of Oars, the Port of *Gythium*, under the Command of *Attilius*, oblig'd the *Spartans* to enter into an Alliance with the *Acheans*.

CHAP. XXIX.

I. Of the Differences between the Romans and Rhodians.

WHILE in the Year of *Rome* 585, the *Romans* resolved to make War against *Perseus* King of *Macedon*, the *Rhodians* with great Boldness would have made themselves the Arbitrators of that War; remonstrating to the *Romans*, by their Ambassadors in the Senate and in the Army, before the Consul *Paulus Emilius*, the great Damages their Island had sustain'd during the last three Years, in that their Provisions had been with-held, and the Customs and Duties which their Maritime Situation formerly afforded them, were now kept back. But after the Defeat of *Perseus*, the *Rhodians* chang'd their Note, and both at *Rhodes* and *Rome* gave publick Marks of their hearty Repentance, endeavouring

endeavouring to throw the Reproach of this publick Crime upon some private Person. 'Twas with some difficulty the *Romans* were satisfied with this Excuse ; but at length they renew'd their ancient Alliance with them, after they had first strip'd them of *Caria* and *Licia*.

CH A P. XXX.

1. *Sea Affairs during the War between the Romans and Perseus King of Macedon.*
2. *Sea Affairs during the War between the Romans and Gentius King of the Illyrians.*
3. *Commerce and Navigation much neglected at that Time by the Romans.*
4. *The Naval Forces of Attalus King of Pargamus.*

1. **A**MONG other Preparations made by *Perseus* to sustain the War against the *Romans*, his Naval Forces were not the least considerable; for after he had in vain solicited the Kings of *Pergamus*, *Syria* and *Egypt*, with the People of *Greece*, to enter into his Interest, he sent Deputies to *Carthage* to awake their ancient Grudges and Aversions against the *Romans*. The *Carthaginians*, after having given them a private Audience, sent likewise their Ambassadors to *Perseus*. He had a great number of Ships, some of which were of a very extraordinary Bulk. His Brigantines ply'd the Shoar, and plunder'd or sunk all the Ships they met with.

The *Romans* in the mean while took care to secure their Sea Coasts. The Prætor *Licinius* had prepar'd before hand, by Order of the Senate, fifty Gallies with five Banks of Oars, and brought them to *Brindis*, having taken them out of the Arsenal

Arsenals of *Rome* and *Sicily* : Whereupon the Prætor *Lucretius*, being charged with the Command of the Fleet, having join'd to the *Roman* Forces what Ships the Allies had furnished, conducted them all to the Island *Cephalonia*, near the Coasts of *Epinus*, and from thence sent them to the Island of *Eubœa*, where more of the Confederate Ships join'd him ; but *Lucretius* dismiss'd them soon afterward, having no War at Sea wherein he could employ them. The Management of this War falling at length to the Share of *Paulus Emylius*, a wise and valiant Captain, he took great Pains to inform himself of the Naval Strength of *Perseus*. *Cneius Octavius* was made Admiral of the Fleet which the *Romans* employ'd to oppose him : But this Fleet was very badly provided for want of due Care, the Mariners being either dead or absent ; and those few which remain'd were either ill paid, or worse cloath'd, which is a clear Demonstration of the little Care the *Romans* took of their Trade in those Times ; but their Industry to repair it, alarm'd *Perseus*, who apprehending least his Coasts might be invaded, he took all the Precautions imaginable for defending them ; but all his Endeavours were to little or no purpose, his Army having been defeated in *Macedonia*, near the City *Pidna*, by the *Roman* Consul, which obliged him to retire into the Island *Samothracia*, putting himself under the Protection of the Gods that are worshipped in that Place : But this did not hinder the Arrival of the Pretor *Octavius* with his Fleet, who took him away from this Island, in order to deliver him to the Consul, who led him to *Rome*, designing him to be the principal Ornament of his Triumph, by dragging him thorough the City in Chains. *Paulus Emylius* arriving at *Rome*, sail'd up the River *Tyber* in one of *Perseus's* Ships of a very extraordinary bulk, having sixteen Banks of Oars, and adorn'd with the Booty taken from that Prince.

This

This without doubt was the same Vessel that *Philip*, *Perseus's* Father, employ'd in his War against the *Romans*, and which by vertue of a Treaty of Peace was left him by *Emilius* the Consul. Many other Ships of large bulk taken from this King were carried to *Rome*, and drawn into the *Campus Martius*, from whence we conjecture how powerful this unfortunate King had been at Sea.

2. *Gentius* King of the *Illyrians*, who had followed the Party of *Perseus*, was not more successful in his Undertakings, *Perseus* had diligently sought his Friendship, to fortifie himself against the *Romans*: He solicited him to augment his Naval Forces, knowing the *Romans* would not be in a Condition to make any great Resistance at Sea. *Gentius* made great Naval Preparations, not neglecting in the mean time his Land Forces: He had infested the Coasts of *Italy* with his Brigantines for a long time. The Prætor *Duranius*, who was the Governour of *Puglia*, and had the Charge of the Affairs of *Istria*, complain'd to the Senate (ever since the Year of *Rome* 585.) that he having sent Deputies to *Gentius* to demand Satisfaction of him for these Affronts, he had refused them Audience, treating them as Spies, and not as Deputies, and that moreover he had made an Alliance with *Perseus*. The *Romans* could no longer bear these Abuses, but resolv'd to attack the two Kings by Sea and Land. The Prætor *Annius* had the Management of this War in *Illyria*, which he finish'd in thirty Days Time, by attacking the *Illyrian* Fleet, which he undertook with a great Circumspection, for he was well appriz'd of its great Force; however he destroy'd some few of its Ships, and afterward landed in *Illyria*, and attack'd the King with so much Bravery and Resolution, that he was obliged to surrender himself at Discretion, with his Brother, Wife, and Children, together with the greatest Lords of that Kingdom,
even

People, rather than their own. In a word, *Polybius* assures us, That from the Time of *Philip*, King of *Macedon*, 'till a great while after the Defeat of *Perseus*, the *Romans* had entirely neglected the Coasts of *Illyria*.

4 In the mean time, the other petty Kings of *Asia* fortified themselves at Sea. Some few Years before the Third Punick War, *Athenens*, the Brother of *Antalus*, King of *Pergamus*, fitted out a Fleet against *Antiochus*, consisting of fourscore Ships of the Line of Battle. This Navy was made up of five Gallies from *Rhodes*, of twenty belonging to the *Cyziceniens*, and of twenty seven belonging to *Antalus*; the others were furnished by their Allies.

C H A P, XXXI.

1. *Sea Affairs during the Third Punick War.*
2. *The Taking and Destruction of Carthage.*
3. *The Power of Carthage before its Destruction.*
4. *The Re-establishment of Carthage.*

1 DURING the War which was carry'd on by the *Romans* in *Macedonia*, the *Carthaginians* endeavour'd to shake off the *Roman* Yolk, and made private Preparations to regain their former Power, but their secret Practices could not be hid from the *Romans*, who were apprised of the great quantity of Timber which they had gathered together to repair their Navy, and of other such like Stores, necessary to carry on a War. Their Courage was so far from being quell'd, that when the *Romans* sent their Deputies to *Carthage* to inform themselves of these Matters

under the Pretence of determining the Differences between the *Carthaginians* and *Massinissa*, the common People treated them with the greatest Insolence, and would have torn them to pieces ; inso-much that they were obliged to return to *Rome*, being convinced, that the People of *Carthage* were preparing a Fleet against the Tenor of the Treaty that was settled between them. *Rome* then resolved to declare War against *Carthage*, which was actually done in the Year of *Rome* 605. The Consul *Marcus* had the Command of the Fleet, consisting of fifty Gallies, of five Banks of Oars, one hundred Pinks, and a great number of other Ships : And the other Consul *Manilius* commanded the Land-Forces. The *Carthaginians* were surprized at this great and sudden Preparation. The Inhabitants of *Utica* submitted to the *Romans* at Discretion, and thereby set the *Carthaginians* an Example what to do ; which they followed without considering the miserable Consequences that might attend their so sudden Submission.

2. The *Romans* began to execute this Treaty, by burning the *Carthaginian* Fleet ; they took from them a great number of Hostages : And after having reduced them to this low Estate, they declared to them the Resolution that was taken to destroy their City, and to establish their Dwelling in the Continent five Leagues distant from the Sea. They were seized with Rage at this Declaration, and resolved rather to suffer the last Extremities than to accept such unreasonable Conditions. This Obstinacy of theirs obliged the *Romans* to besiege them in form both by Sea and Land. No sooner had *Scipio* ruin'd their Harbour, but they made another in a different part of their City, from whence they put out a Fleet of sixscore armed Ships within the space of two Months ; they boldly attack'd that of the *Romans*, and burnt a great many of their Ships : But notwithstanding

all their Efforts, *Carthage* was at length forced to submit to the Power of *Scipio*, seven hundred Years after the time it had been built, and the 608th Year of *Rome*. This third *Punick* War did not hold above five Years. The *Romans* burnt the Remainder of the *Carthaginian* Ships : A certain Proof of the little regard the *Romans* had at that time to Sea Affairs. In the Triumph of *Scipio* we might have beheld the Spoils of that opulent City, which had been gathering together for so many Years with so much Toil and Industry.

3. To judge rightly of this Victory, we must call to mind the Riches and Power of this City, before the third *Punick* War, although much weaken'd by the two former : She had yet seven hundred thousand Inhabitants within her Walls, and was Mistress of three hundred Towns in *Africa* : Her Territories were three hundred Leagues in extent ; her Power never appeared more than in her last Efforts against the *Romans*, in equipping and arming that great Fleet during the Time of the Siege, when they seem'd to want every thing necessary for such an Enterprize.

4. But in length of time the *Romans* began to consider how useful *Carthage* might be to the Promotion of their Interest. In the seditious Times of the *Gracchi*, the youngest of which being Tribune of the People, got himself deputed to lead a Colony of Six thousand Men, and to make a Settlement with them upon the Ruins of old *Carthage*, about Twenty-two Years after it had been destroyed, and in the Year of *Rome* 631. But this Establishment being then thwarted by some unlucky Omens and Prodigies ; it was at length consummated by *Augustus*, who by following the Plan of *Julius Caesar*, caus'd *Carthage* to be rebuilt one hundred and two Years after it had been destroyed, and peopled it with *Romans* and *Africans*.

C H A P. XXXII.

*The Beginning of the Roman COMMERCE
in AFRICA.*

AFTER the Destruction of *Carthage*, the Romans began to settle a regular Commerce with *Africa*; for before that time there was none at all, as *Suetonius* tells us expressly in the Life of *Terrence*. This Trade consisted chiefly in vending of Slaves, whose number encreased considerably by the Destruction of *Carthage* and *Corinth*, which happened a little afterwards. And this Trade was carried on chiefly in the Island of *Delos*.

C H A P. XXXIII.

1. TRADE of *Corinth*.
2. *The Art of Ship-building reformed by the Corinthians.*
3. *The advantageous Situation of Corinth for Trade.*
4. *Its Pride and Arrogance the Cause of its Ruin.*

THE Destruction of *Corinth* soon followed that of *Carthage*; it happened in the very same Year. *Corinth* was situate between two Seas, at the Entrance of the *Peloponnesus*, and in the Center of *Greece*; which Advantages drew to its Port such considerable Trade that it pass'd for one of the most Mercatile Cities in all *Greece*. The *Isthmick Games*, which were celebrated there, contributed very much to its Splendor and Oppulence. *Thucydides* assures us, that *Corinth* had always been a City of great Traffick, even from the time that the *Greeks* followed the Land-Trade. And that when they

Thucyd. Lib. 1.

apply'd themselves to the Sea, *Corinth* was so happily placed, that her Marine Commerce was no less beneficial to her, than that which she had before carry'd on by Land.

2. The *Corinthians* reformed the Art of Ship-building ; and the first Invention of Gallies with Three Banks of Oars is attributed to them : Some pretend that the Ship *Argo*, which was a Long-Ship (or Man of War) was built by them ; but we must look farther back, and give that Honour to the *Phenicians*. *Eusebius* is grossly mistaken, when instead of saying that the first Galley of three Banks of Oars was made at *Corinth*, he tells us, that the first Galley of three Banks was brought from *Athens* to *Corinth*. History assures us, that the first Naval War wherein the *Greeks* got their Experience, was between the *Corinthians*, and the Inhabitants of *Corfu*. It was a long time afterwards that the *Ionians* prevailed upon the Sea in that Naval War, which they so vigorously maintain'd against *Cyrus*. And it was by the Instruction of the *Corinthians* touching the Art of Ship-building, that the *Samians* put to Sea those powerful Fleets, which we find mentioned in History.

Before the *Corinthians* had invented any Gallies of three Banks, there were hardly known to the World any other sort of Vessels than those that were called Long-ships, which were navigated by fifty Men of the Oar, ranged in one Line. Some *Greeks* who inhabited the Isles, provided themselves with Gallies of three Banks, about *Darius's* Time, and when his Son *Xerxes* came against *Greece*, *Themistocles* with much ado perswaded the *Athenians* to set out a Fleet against him, which consisted of Ships that were not entirely covered. The *Greeks* soon found the good Effects of his Counsel, and those who have since followed the Marine Study, have assuredly extended their Power and their Riches.

3. The

3. The City of *Corinth*, which for its Land-Trade was, in its Situation, the most commodious Staple in all *Greece*, from whence she drew such large Tolls, that *Philip* used to call her the *Charm* of *Greece*. This City (I say) was no less commodious in its Situation for Sea-Commerce ; she had two Ports upon the neighbouring Seas. The one was the Port of *Cenchreae* upon the *Ægean* Sea, by which it commanded the Trade of all the Eastern part of the *Mediterranean* ; and the other was the Port of *Lechaum*, upon the *Ionian* Sea towards the West. But let us see what the Orator *Aristides* has written in Honour of this City. The Commu-
Aristid Orat.
Isthmic in Neptun.
 nication of these two Ports, so near one to the other, might save the *Corinthians* the tedious Voyage round the *Peloponnesus*, and the dangerous Passage about the Cape of *Malea*. In a word, *Corinth* was esteem'd the common Mart, and Fair, not only of all *Greece*, but of *Europe* and *Asia* likewise : And we need not have any better Proof of its great Traffick, than the Invention of Weights and Measures, which is attributed to it ; and also the Encouragement it gave to the Inventors of Arts and Sciences : In short, every excellent Workman made *Corinth* his Habitation.

4. But as it was enrich'd by its Commerce, so it encreased in Pride : It had the Impudence to violate the Law of Nations with the *Romans*, and treat their Deputies unworthily. *Rome* was sensible of the Affront ; and *Mummius* who had been Consul in the Year of *Rome* 607, was charged with a Commission to punish their Insolence, which he did effectually ; for after having defeated their Army under their Walls, he plundered, burnt, and entirely destroy'd their City ; and *Rome* was fill'd with the Spoils of *Corinth*, whose Ruin humbled all the rest of *Greece*. *Mummius* was the first *Roman*

who triumph'd over the *Greeks*, as *Appian. Lib. 7.* *Appianus* assures us ; for we must not confound *Macedonia* with the rest of *Greece*. *Corinth* remain'd in this ruin'd State 'till the Year of *Rome* 710 ; at which time *Julius Caesar* re-establish'd it, and it then became a *Roman Colony*.

C H A P. XXIV.

I. COMMERCE of the Isle of *DELLOS*.

I. **T**HE Isle of *Delos*, was as it were, the Center of the *Egean Sea*, and when the Fleets of Enemies met there, out of respect to the Place which was sacred to them, they forbore all manner of Hostilities. By this means this City became so rich and prosperous in its Trade, which consisted chiefly in Slaves, that about *Perseus's* Time, (as *Strabo* reports) there *Strab. Lib. 14.* came in and went out above ten thousand in one Day. She advanced herself by the Destruction of *Corinth*, whose Merchants being invited by the Immunity of the Temple of *Delos*, and the commodious Situation of the Place for Navigation from *Europe* into *Asia*, came and settled themselves there after the Ruin of their own City. The *Romans* above all others frequented this Place, even before they had fallen out with the *Macedonians*, and the Resort of Merchants was not so great (proportionably) in any other Port of the World. After the Re-establishment of *Corinth*, the *Athenians* (who were Possessors of *Delos*) took great Care to drive a Trade with it ; but the Wars of *Mithridates* put an end to this Commerce, and *Delos* in few Years afterward, being abandoned by its Merchants, fell to Decay.

C H A P. XXXV.

1. *Sea Affairs after the Ruin of Carthage and Corinth : 2. And chiefly during the War between the Romans and Mithridates.*

1. **T**HE Destruction of *Carthage* and *Corinth* changed the Face of Sea Affairs. *Utica* became the Capital of *Africa*, altho' it had little Power upon the Land, and much less by Sea, where the *Romans* were then Masters. But as they were chiefly employ'd in War, Commerce was much neglected. In this Disposition of Affairs, the Pirates overspread the Seas, and almost render'd them impracticable to the Merchants. Who would have thought, that a People every way so despicable, as were the Inhabitants of the Islands, *Baleares*, should dare to attack and rob every Ship they met with, and have the Boldness to withstand the *Roman* Fleet, commanded by the Consul *Metellus*? However, they were repulsed, and perhaps would have confined themselves to their Rocks, if the Example of the *Cilician* Pirates had not recalled them to their former Robberies: But the *Romans* did not so easily subdue these last, as they had done the former; the Prætor *Antonius*, commonly called the Orator, pursued them into their Harbours. His Son, who was' the Father of *Mark Anthony* the *Triumvir*, during his Prætorship, had the Command given him of all the Maritime Coasts, he invaded the Isle of *Crete*, which was another Nest of Pirates, and the Friendship those People had contracted with *Mithridates* was the Pretence he laid hold of to attack them. The *Romans* were then engaged in a dangerous War against that King, who of himself was powerful at Sea; but to increase his Strength thereon, had

had allied himself with the *Corfaires* : But his Land Force was much more considerable. As the Power of this King served to employ the greatest Force of the *Romans*, the number of Pirates, (whose Insolence had not yet been suppress'd) increas'd extremely. *Antonius* attack'd the *Cretan* Ships with too much certainty of Victory to succeed in his Enterprize, he lost in that Undertaking many Men, and many Ships ; this Victory of the *Cretans* over him, fill'd them with so much Insolence, that they treated him with the utmost Scorn, and he was so sensible of their Affronts, that he dy'd of Grief in the Island of *Crete*. But *Q. Metellus* the Pro-Consul soon repair'd this Loss, and blotted out the Shame of this Defeat, by subduing the whole Island, and giving Laws to its People, who 'till that Time had been free under those of *Minos*. This glorious Conquest was the Occasion of his Triumph, and afforded him the Sir-name of *Creticus*, as the Defeat of the *Isaurians* had given before that Time the same Honour to the Pro-Consul *P. Servilius*. The Pirates of this Province, of *Cilicia*, *Pamphilia* and *Lycia*, extended their Courses as far as *Greece*, *Crete*, and even to *Africa*, which ruin'd all the Commerce thereabout ; they were bold enough to oppose the *Roman* Fleet with their Brigantines : The Battle was Bloody, they were defeated, and pursued to the Land, and their fortified Places upon the Coasts were destroy'd.

2. Now the War which the *Romans* made against *Mithridates*, was not the only cause that contributed to the Rebellion of the Pirates by the Diversi-
on it gave to the *Roman* Forces ; their Ruin was also forwarded by the Solicitations and Succours they receiv'd from that Prince. On the other hand, every Victory that was gain'd by the *Romans*, render'd them so odious to all *Asia*, *Egypt*, *Greece*, and the neighbouring Islands, that the Name and
Commands

Commands of *Mithridates* were respected, as if he had been their Deliverer. His Fleets, commanded by *Archelaus*, triumph'd upon the Sea, and would even insult the Coasts of *Italy*: But the *Rhodians*, who were a powerful People at Sea, kept their Faith with the *Romans*. Their Island was a Retreat for those who could escape from the Cruelties of this barbarous Prince. He attack'd the *Rhodians* with a Fleet much superior to theirs in number; but however, the Policy of the *Rhodians* render'd this Attempt unsuccessful. He nevertheless remain'd Master of the Sea, as well by the Strength of his own Fleets, as those of the Pirates who were under his Command. After *Sylla* had taken *Athens*, *Lucullus* was sent into *Africa* and *Egypt* to collect a Fleet. *Ptolemy* had not Courage enough then to declare himself for the *Romans*; but notwithstanding this Refusal, and the great number of Ships which were taken by the Pirates, he yet made shift to gather together a strong Squadron, which he afterward augmented by the Assistance of the *Rhodians*. At that Time *Mithridates* was block'd up in *Pitane*, a City of *Troas*, and finding himself closely besieged by *Fimbria* on the Land side, he summon'd all his Squadrons to his Assistance, hoping thro' their Means to make his escape by Sea. *Fimbria* sent Advice to *Lucullus* of his Design, wishing him to prevent his Flight, by posting the Fleet under his Command in proper Places on the Sea side of the City, that they might get into their Power this dangerous Enemy to the *Roman* Glory. But *Lucullus* would not enter into this Association with *Fimbria*, but contented himself with the Two Victories which he had already gain'd over the Fleets of *Mithridates*, near the Coasts of *Troas*. He was not less successful against the *Mityleneans*, who had declared for the King. *Archelaus*, Admiral to *Mithridates*, by the Perswasion of *Sylla*, and the secret Solicitations of *Lucullus*
and

and *Murana*, deliver'd up part of his Fleet to the *Romans*, and even oblig'd *Mithridates* to consent to it; he then quitted his Service, and went into that of his Enemies: Out of two hundred Ships which compos'd the Fleet of *Mithridates*, seventy were deliver'd up to *Sylla*. Some few Years after the Death of *Sylla*, *Lucullus* and *Cotta* being Consuls, the latter was sent with a Fleet into the *Propontis*, to protect *Bithynia* against the Enterprizes of *Mithridates*. *Lucullus* at the same Time having the chief Care and Management of that War. *Cotta* waited impatiently for an Opportunity to triumph over *Mithridates*; but his hopes proved vain, he was beaten by Sea and Land, he lost sixty Ships, and found himself on a sudden besieg'd in *Chalcedonia*. But *Lucullus* coming to his Assistance, *Mithridates* rais'd the Siege, and set down with his Army before *Cyzicus*, a City of *Mysia*, situate on the Borders of the *Propontis*: This City had been much weaken'd by the Overthrow of *Cotta*, in which Engagement she had lost ten Ships, and part of her Troops. But *Mithridates* soon found himself besieged in his Camp by *Lucullus*, and was forced, for want of Provisions, to retire; he took his Flight by Sea towards *Byzantium*, but being overtaken with a violent Storm, he lost above sixty armed Ships, and must have perished himself, if he had not been succour'd by a Pirate who took him into his Brigantine, and landed him safely in his own Kingdom. *Lucullus* on his side pursued the Remains of the Army that was commanded by the Generals of *Mithridates*, and sunk thirty two Ships of War, besides other Vessels of Burden belonging to that King, near the Coasts of *Troas* and *Lemnos*. The *Roman* Senate, to second the happy Successes of *Lucullus*, order'd him three thousand Talents to repair and augment his Fleet, but he would not accept of this Offer, and return'd them Answer, That with the Suc-

cours

cours he could get from their Allies, he should be able to compass the Dominion of the Sea, and overthrow *Mithridates*. In effect he made good his Promise, and in his Triumph gave the *Romans* convincing Marks of his Victories, from the Spoils he had brought Home with him, among which were one hundred and ten Gallies armed with Beaks.

C H A P. XXXVI.

1. *Sea Affairs during the Roman War against the Pirates.*

1. **W**HILE the *Romans* were taken up with the War against *Mithridates*, the Pirates encreas'd without controul. The *Carthaginians* and *Corinthians*, after the Destruction of their Cities, having neither a Place of Retreat, nor Means of subsisting, made Piracy their Profession, and were the more intent upon it, in that they were encouraged to it by *Mithridates*; those among them who had dared to practise it before that time, had taken their Seasons for it, but now Necessity urged them to make use of every Opportunity, which they did without Fear or Danger. Some People of Quality, although they had Wealth enough, made use of this Occasion to encrease their Riches. It is hardly to be imagined to what Power this dangerous Society rais'd it self, and with what Insolence they exercis'd their Dominion. All Commerce was interrupted, *Rome* was deprived of its ordinary and necessary Subsistence, its Citizens, and even its Magistrates who used the Sea, were taken away; the Coasts of *Italy* were continually infested by these Robbers, and their Ships came as far as the Entrance of the
Tiber,

Tiber, as if they had design'd to besiege *Rome* it self. The Temples and Cities which lay near the Sea, were sack'd, and they had pick'd out above four hundred Towns on these Coasts, to retreat to in Cases of Extremity, while the other Marine Cities had been obliged to pay Ransomes for their Liberties. These Fellows, although they were dispers'd over the whole *Mediterranean* Sea, made up nevertheless among them, a sort of Commonwealth. They elected Governours over them that were skill'd in War, and had above one thousand Ships of all sorts, out of which they form'd regular Fleets. They had their Ports, Watch-Towers, Arsenals and Magazines; and *Cilicia* was, as it were, their Citadel; it was from thence they drew the necessary Supplies for their several Squadrons. Now an Evil so pressing as this was, which carry'd a Famine along with it, even to *Rome* it self, requir'd a speedy and extraordinary Remedy. The Courage and Conduct of *Pompey* gained him the Command of all the *Mediterranean* Sea; the *Romans* gave him Power to range from the Streights of *Cadix* as far as the *Thracian* Bosphorus, and the Coasts about it, even fifty Miles in Land. They furnish'd him with Troops, Money, and necessary Provisions to equip five hundred Ships that were to be made up by the *Romans* and their Allies, but chiefly by the *Rhodians*. A Power so formidable as this, lodged in a single Person, by a free Republick, could not fail to produce many Jealousies among the People, although but two Years before they had seen the like Power given to *Antonius*, without murmuring; but the difference of the Persons might make the difference of Sentiments. *Pompey* surpass'd the hopes they had conceiv'd of him, for in less than three Months time he purged the Sea of Pirates; he overcame their Fleet upon the Coast of *Cilicia*, and pursued them even into the Fortresses which they had prepared among the Rocks
of

of Mount *Taurus*. The greatest part of them surrendered at Discretion. He took from them above one hundred armed Gallies, and an infinity of other Ships ; and what is remarkable, he did not lose one single Ship in this Expedition. The Pursuit of the *Cretan* Corsaires was recommended to *Metellus*, but they rather chose to surrender themselves to *Pompey*, whose Moderation they had heard of, then to lie at the Mercy of *Metellus*. *Pompey* having brought Affairs into this Posture, was resolved to destroy the Root of this Evil, by removing every occasion that might give the Pirates any hopes of returning to their former Thieveries : To this end he debar'd them the use of the Sea, and gave them fix'd Settlements on the Continent, with Lands to cultivate. *Pompeiopolis*, a City of *Cilicia*, which he partly establish'd, took its Name from him. In short, this untractable People, after they had been forced to submit to the *Roman* Valour, became most affectionate and faithful Subjects.

C H A P. XXXVII.

1. *Sea Affairs during the Roman War with the People of Vannes.* 2. *And during the first Roman War against Britain.*

1. **A**FTER the Defeat of the Pirates, Commerce began to re-establish it self among the People who inhabited the Coasts of the *Mediterranean* ; but the *Romans* had little share in it, they rather sought Means to enlarge their Empire by War ; and even if they had been minded to encrease their Riches by Traffick, the Civil Wars which ensued, and which made such great Changes in their State, would have travers'd their Design.

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The ancient Authors, who chiefly apply'd themselves to preserve the most considerable Events, have very much neglected this part of the History. From the Time of the War with the Pirates, in the Year of *Rome* 687, to the War which *Cæsar* made against the *Gauls*, we have nothing material in History. When *Cæsar* subdued the *Belgians*, the

Strab. Lib. 4. People of *Vannes* (which *Strabo* places among the *Belgians*) were

obliged, among others, to give them Hostages. The *Britains* were much concern'd at this War with the *Belgians* who were their Neighbours, and drove a Trade with them. But the *Vanni* chiefly carry'd on a considerable Trade with *Britain*; and as they foresaw that *Cæsar* was about to attack the *British* Nation, they endeavour'd to turn him from it, by giving him Employment for his Troops among the *Gauls*. They arrested the *Roman* Knights who commanded the Troops which were among them. Now this People were more powerful than any others in these Quarters, by the Number and Strength of their Ships, which they maintain'd, chiefly on account of Trade with *Britain*, from the great Experience of their Seamen; the Ports they possess'd on this Coast, and the Tributes which they drew from all those which navigated in this Sea. *Cæsar* being inform'd of this Practice of the People of *Vannes*, gave Orders for the building of Gallies on the *Loir*, and the Rivers which run into it, such as might be proper for that Sea, very much differing from those which the *Romans* made use of in the *Mediterranean*. They were built after the Model of the *Vannian* Ships, which were large, flat-bottom'd and high in their Head and Stern: They were strong built, carrying Sails of Leather, and Anchors fasten'd to them with Iron-Chains. The *Britains*, who were in Alliance with them, sent Ships to their Assistance, and thereby enabled them

them to oppose *Cæsar* with a Fleet of two hundred and twenty Sail of Ships, well supply'd with Amunition and Provision. *Cæsar* had given Orders to assemble together all the expert Pilots that could be found, and to raise a great number of Men for the Oar ; he got several Ships from the Coasts of *Xaintonge* and *Porten*, and the South Coasts of *Gallia*, which had not taken part in this Rebellion, and also from other parts of the *Mediterranean* Sea. But all these Preparations of *Cæsar* were despis'd by his Enemies, who confided in the Force and Greatness of their Ships ; and the *Roman* Fleet would certainly have fail'd in their Attempt, if they had not had recourse to sharp Engines, with which they cut the Ropes and Sails of the Enemies Fleet, and thereby rendred their Ships useless, and were then taken by the *Romans*. This Fight put an end to that War ; for as the People of *Vannes* had drawn together all their Force in that Place, and had lost the greatest part of their Fleet, and their best Men, so they had no hopes left them whereby they might retrieve their Loss.

2. This Obstacle, which had prevented *Cæsar* from invading *Britain*, being removed, he would no longer defer his Design upon that Island, which he thought himself obliged to attack, in that the *Britains* had assisted his Enemies against him in the preceeding Wars ; and besides the Glory of being the first *Roman* who had dared to attempt the Western Ocean with a Fleet, and of assailing a Country which had been 'till that Time unknown, gave him sufficient Invitation to the Undertaking : Now although the *Romans* knew *Britain* at that Time, yet was it hardly known to the *Gauls* ; they were appris'd only of its Coasts which lay over-against them ; and even that Knowledge was grounded upon the Report of their Merchants, who from time to time had traded with the *Britains*. It was to them that *Cæsar* address'd himself to

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gain Information concerning the State of the Island, but he receiv'd little or no Satisfaction from them; and it was by means of these Merchants that the *Britains* were first acquainted with *Cæsar's* Designs, and of the Preparations he was making against them. They learn'd that he had gather'd together from all the neighbouring Coasts, what Ships he could pick up, and had join'd them with the Fleet which he had the preceeding Summer employ'd against the *Vannians*: By this means he compos'd a Fleet of fourscore Sail of Transports, in which he embark'd two Legions, and his Officers were put on Board his Gallies. He had moreover eighteen other Ships for the Transportation of his Cavalry. *Cæsar* has given us an exact account of this Expedition in his Commentaries, and observes, that the Figure and Use of Gallies were then new to the *English*. Several Tempests which happen'd during this Enterprize of *Cæsar's*, put his Fleet into great Disorder, which hindred him from drawing all the Advantages which he had reason to expect from his Undertaking.

But being better informed by this first Attempt of the State of Things, he resolv'd upon a second Voyage, for which he prepar'd six hundred Ships with Sails and Oars, and built them flatter and lighter than ordinary, for the better Convenience of lading and unlading, and that they might be more commodiously laid up. Besides these he had twenty eight Gallies, many Vessels of Burden, and a great number of other Ships which he had borrowed from particular Persons. He embark'd with five Legions, and two thousand Horse, and arriv'd in *Britain* with a Fleet of above eight hundred Sail of Ships, without reckoning sixty others which *Labiemus*, one of his Lieutenants had built, and were kept back by contrary Winds. And some Authors say, that there were a thousand Ships in this Fleet. However, this

second

second Fleet of *Cæsar's* was greatly damaged by Storms: Yet notwithstanding these repeated Crosses of Fortune, he brought the *Britains* to Reason, and subjected them to pay Tribute to the *Romans*.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

1. British Traffick in *Cæsar's* Time. 2. *Cassiterides*, and their Commerce in Lead and Tinn. 3. The Traffick of Ireland and Cornwall. 4. What Commodities Britain afforded in those Times. 5. Copper, Tinn and Lead furnished by the *Britains*. 6. Of the British Dogs. 7. Commodities imported to Britain. 8. British Boats made of pliant Wood, and cover'd with Leather. 9. The *Romans* neglect Britain because of their Civil Wars.

THESE Expeditions of *Cæsar*, and those which the *Romans* had made before his Time into *Spain*, did mightily promote Commerce in the Western Parts of *Europe*. The *Belgians* or *Batavi* did not very willingly admit Strangers to vend their Merchandizes in their Country, least their Manners might be corrupted, and their Valour and Courage might, thro' Luxury, degenerate into effeminate softness, and the *Nervians*, a People of *Belgium*, absolutely refus'd Entrance to Strangers upon this score. But the *British* Ports were open to Foreign Merchants: The Inhabitants of *Belgium*, who addicted themselves to Trade, did often visit the nearer Coasts of *Britain*; where the *Gauls* also maintain'd a very strict Correspondence, and more-especially the *Vanni*, as I have already made appear.

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2. The *Spaniards* and *Phenicians*, who had great Establishments in *Spain*, made frequent Voyages into the Western Parts of *Britain*, and into the adjacent Islands, which Antiquity compriz'd under one general Name of *Cassiterides*. The great Gain which they drew from the *British* Lead and Tinn, induc'd them to make a Secret of it, lest the Multitude of Buyers should diminish their Profits, and therefore a *Phenician* Ship being closely pursu'd by one of the *Romans*, was by the Pilot ran upon the Rocks, and split to pieces, and made Shipwreck of all its Cargo, that thereby he might decoy the *Roman* Vessel into the same Disaster, lest

Strabo Lib. 3. it should have found the way to

the great Mart of Tinn, as *Strabo* tells us: The *Phenician* Nation approving their Countryman's Conduct, made good unto him all the Damages he sustain'd by the loss of his Ship. But the *Romans* being greedy after Gain, at length found out the Way to *Britain*.

Strabo Lib. 3. *Strabo* adds, that *Publius Crassus* making a Voyage to that Country, discover'd the Way thither. 'Tis likely he means *Crassus* the Father, who was slain in the *Parthian* Wars; for when he was Proconsul, he made Wars against the *Portuguese*, and triumph'd over the *Spaniards*, and was inform'd by the *Phenicians* and *Carthaginians* (inhabiting *Cadix*) of the Trade of the *Cassiterides*. Yet I find better Reasons to attribute this Voyage to *Crassus* the younger, whom the *Parthians* put to Death, together with his Father; for while he was Lieutenant under *Cæsar*, in the War with the *Gauls*, he subdued the *Vanni*, and all the neighbouring Nations inhabiting the Western and Northern Coasts of that Country, and during his abode among them, he was appris'd of the Traffick they carried on with the *Britains*, and the Islands *Cassiterides*, and being a young valiant enterprizing Hero, form'd the Design of visit-

ing in Person those Islands, to be fully assur'd of the Relations made of them ; or 'tis likely he was commission'd by *Cæsar* to take Cognizance of the Western Coasts of *Britain*, as *Volusenus* was to discover the Eastern and Southern Parts of the same Island.

3. *Craffts* being nearer to *Hibernia*, than any of *Cæsar*'s Lieutenants, he learn'd, without doubt, that that Island had good Harbours, and was much frequented by Merchants. In *Strabo*'s Time, the Vessels that sail'd from *Gallia* towards the North, did not pass farther than *Hibernia*, for they then believ'd, that the more Northern Climates were altogether uninhabitable by the Extremity of Cold ; but afterwards the *Hibernian* Harbours came to be more known than those of *Brit-*

tain. *Tacitus* tells us, That the People of *Cornwall*, by conversing continu-

Tacit. Vit. Agri-
col.

ally with Foreigners, became more tractable and courteous than others of their Countrymen, as *Diodorus Siculus* likewise assures us.

But as for the Inland and Nor-

Diodor. Lib. 4.

thern Parts of the Island, and the adjacent little Islands belonging to *Britain*, 'tis highly probable that the Inhabitants thereof, notwithstanding the Conflux of Foreigners did yet retain their natural Brutality and uncultivated Manners. And notwith-

standing *Solinus* says, That the Inhabitants of the *Cassiterides* did re-

Solin. Cap. 22.

fuse to take Money for their Commodities, this is no Argument of their Ignorance, but was rather for the furtherance of their Traffick ; for the *Britains* that were known to *Cæsar*, used Money made of Copper, or Iron, and paid *Cæsar* their Tribute-Money in those Coins.

4. *Strabo* tells us, That Corn, Cattle, Gold, Silver, Iron, Hides

Strab. Lib. 4.

and Hounds, were the Commodities furnished by the *Britains* ; and speaking of the Islands *Cassite-*

*Strab. Lib. 3.
Tacit. vit. Agric.
Cap. 12.*

terides, as making a part of the same, he adds Tin and Lead: And *Tacitus*, with some other ancient Authors, make mention of Pearls:

But *Cæsar* takes notice neither of its Gold Silver, or Pearls, whence we may conclude, that the *Romans* were not inform'd of the Metallick Productions of *Britain*, 'till after the time of *Cæsar*, which is made more clear by the Epistles

*Cicer. Epist. Fam.
Lib. 7. & Trebat.
Epist. ad Attic. Lib.
4. Epist. 17. &
116.*

of *Cicero*, where, upon the Relations sent him from his Brother *Quintus*, residing in *Britain*, and by those of *Cæsar*, that there was neither Gold nor Silver in that Island. Hence we may learn,

that the *Romans* at their first accoasting that Country, inform'd themselves of its rich Commodities; but 'tis reasonable to suppose, that the Inhabitants did studiously endeavour to keep them in the Dark in this Point, least it might prove a Bait to put them upon a Project of conquering the whole Island: And on the other hand, whereas Gold and Silver was not to be found in the Western and Northern Parts of the Island, whither *Cæsar* did not penetrate; he could gain but a very imperfect Knowledge of the Country: But the *Romans* did not delay to get better Informations of that Island, as it appears from *Strabo*, who liv'd in the time of *Augustus* and *Tiberius*.

5. As for Copper, 'tis certain 'twas imported into *Britain*, according to the Te-

*Cæsar. Lib. 5.
Cap. 12. & Bell.
Gal. Strab. Lib. 3.*

stimonies of *Cæsar*; and as *Strabo* says also to some of the *Cassiterides*: Whence I infer either that the Cop-

per found among them in our Times was not then discovered, or at least was not sufficient for the use of the Inhabitants. 'Twas likewise from the Western Parts of *Britain*, and its adjacent Islands, their Tin and Lead came, which more than

than any. other Commodity, enrich'd the Country, and gave it the Name of *Cassiterides*. *Herodotus* tells us very positively, that the *Grecians* fetch'd it thence. But *Pliny* will have this to be a Fable ; and whereas we learn in *Homer*, that this Metal was much in use in the Times of the *Trojan War*, and that Lead was not then unknown, these Metals might have been carried from the *Cassiterides* into *Greece*, by the *Phenicians*, who frequented those Seas at that time, according to the Testimony of *Homer*. But besides we find there were other Countries that abounded then in Lead and Tin ; for the *Phenicians* found these Metals both in *Spain* and *Gallia*, and in many other Parts of *Europe*, and *Asia* was not without it. *Aristotle* speaks of *Indian Lead* and *China* does now produce Tin and Copper : I mention this last Metal to discover *Pliny's* Mistake, who denies that Copper and Lead are to be found in the *Indies* ; for Tin was found among the *Drangians*, an *Indian* People, and in an Island of the *Indies* called *Cassitera*, from the abundance of Tin found there ; as in the *Cassiterides* Islands of *Europe*. I shall hardly be made to believe that Tin and Lead which the *Israelites* found in the Land of *Madian*, in *Moses's* Time, was transported there by the *Phenicians*. The *Egyptians* exercised Navigation and Traffick in the *Red-Sea* before the *Phenicians* traded in the West by the *Mediterranean* : Altho' I do not say but that the *Phenicians* might have traded into the East by the *Red-Sea*, the Oriental Tin and Lead perhaps came to the *Greeks* that way, or by Land ; and 'tis very probable that for this Reason the Discovery of these Metals were ascribed to *Midas* King of *Phrygia*, a Province of *Asia-Minor*, and Eastward of *Greece*. We must

Herodot. Lib. 3.

Cap. 15.

Plin Lib. 34.

Cap. 16.

Aristot. de Mirab. Ausc.

Plin. Lib. 34.

Cap. 17.

not therefore rashly believe *Pliny*, nor those who have writ since his Time ; affirming, that the first Lead that came into the Hands of the *Greeks* came from the *Cassiterides*.

6. As for the Dogs of *Britain*, they had them at *Rome* before the *Cæſarian* Expedition into that Island ; in as much as *Strabo*, and the Poet *Gratius*, cited by *Ort.*, make mention of them ; and the Poem about Hunting is still extant, wherein mention is made of the *British* Dogs, and the use the *Gauls* made of them in their Wars, and the *Romans* in Hunting.

7. The Merchandizes imported into *Britain* were Salt, Earthen Wares, Implements made of Copper, of Ivory, and Amber.

8. That we may have a just Idea of the Traffick of *Britain* by Sea in *Cæſar's* Time, we must understand, that their Vessels were made of pliant and light Wood, covered with Leather, which were then used among other Nations, and especially among the *Saxons*, who exercised Piracy upon the Coasts of *Gallia*, and of *Britain* ; and in these latter Times among the *Greenlanders*. *Cæſar* made use of these sorts of Boats in his War in *Spain* against *Afranius*. But there is Reason for conjecturing that these Vessels did only serve the *Britans* in waiving them over from one Island to another, and that they had other

Solin. Cap. 22.

Vessels besides, as *Solinus* tells us. They made use of these small Boats in their Passage from *Britain* to *Ireland*, and no ancient Authors do expressly mention any larger Ships among them,

Solin. Mar.

Claus. Cap. 26.

Lib. 2.

neither for long Voyages, nor nor for the use of War, as *Selden* has observed. And since *Pliny* remarks, that they made Voyages of six Days, sailing in these small Vessels, we must suppose, that they built them strong enough to endure such Voyages : Moreover, the Poet *Avienus*

ius tells expressly that they had no Vessels made of Pine and Fir, but only Boats covered with Leather or Hides. And *Eumenius*, in his Panegyrick upon *Constantine* assures us, that while *Britain* was attacked by *Cæsar* they had no Ships of War. But on the other hand, when the *Britains* assisted the *Gauls*, which they often did, as *Cæsar* himself affirms; and when they assisted the *Vanni* against the *Romans*, it is not to be supposed, that they fought against the *Romans* in Leathern Boats, or that they sent their Men there without furnishing them with Ships fit for Naval Engagements. It is rational to believe, that seeing their Enemies strong Ships of War, they would endeavour to imitate them for their own Preservation and Advantage. But all this is only uncertain Conjecture, therefore we shall leave the Matter undecided.

Eumen. Paneg.
Cæp. 11.

9. This was the State of the *British* Trade, until the Wars between *Cæsar* and *Pompey* made this Country to be neglected by the *Romans*. *Augustus* enjoying the Pleasures of a profound Peace, as likewise his Successor *Tiberius*, thought it more for the *Roman* Interest to abandon the Affairs of *Britain*. But the Emperor *Claudius* was of another Mind, and re-assumed the Designs of *Cæsar*.



CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIX.

1. *The Traffick of Gallia in Cæsar's Time.*
2. *The Trade of Marseilles about the Time of Cæsar.*
3. *The Marseillians did not affect the Title of Lords of the Sea.*
4. *Mar-seillian Colonies in the Ocean, and especially those of Euthymene, and of Pytheas.*
5. *Castor Rhodian falsely supposed a Native of Marseilles.*
6. *The Declension of Marseilles.*
7. *The Traffick of Arles.*
8. *That of Narbonne.*
9. *Of Montpellier, and other Cities of Gallia.*
10. *Gallick Harbours upon the Ocean, Bordeaux, Nants, Corbilon, Vannes.*
11. *Traffick of Treves and Lions.*
12. *Attempts made to join the Mediterranean Sea with the Ocean.*
13. *The Antiquity of Lions.*
14. *Sea-Commerce in Gallia from the Time of Cæsar.*
15. *Traffick by Sea, and the Conquests of the Franks.*

1. **W**E can desire no clearer Proof of the Gauls Application to Trade, then their Assiduity in worshipping of *Mercury*. This Idol God was not only adored by the *Gauls* under the Name of *Teutates*, but likewise by the *Germans* under the Name of *Woden*, and *Goden*, as the Guardian God, and Disposer of all the Gains and Profits accruing from Trade. I shall shew in another Place how the Worship of *Mercury*, and of the Goddess *Isis*, came into *Germany*; and thence, as 'tis very probable into *France* and *Spain*. For we find very notable Footsteps in Antiquity, that *Mercury* was adored by the *Spaniards* upon a Mountain near *Carthagona*, which carry'd his Name. There

There is moreover a Mountain in *Portugal* call'd *Herminius*, derived very likely from *Hermes* the Greek Name of *Mercury*; as we may read in *Mariana's* History.

*Marian. de rep.
Hisp. Lib. 5. c. 2.*

The *Saxons* had kept the same Name of *Mercury* among them, calling him *Irmin*; whence perhaps may have been taken the Name *Germans*, which became at last that of the whole Nation, and of the *Hermundures*, and the *Hermiones*; but more especially of the famous *Hermirius*, and King *Hermion*, and of many others. But supposing that the *Gauls* received their Religion from the *Britains*, as *Cæsar* and *Tacitus* assures us, we can't suppose but that the worshipping of *Mercury*, and the cultivating of Trade was also received by them. But

*Cæs. de Bell. Gall.
Lib. 6. Cap. 2.*

*Tacit. de Vit.
Agric. Cap. 11.*

besides this Proof, the Situation of *Gallia*, having the Ocean to the North and West, and the *Mediterranean* Sea to the South, inviting an industrious and populous Nation to the exercise of Traffick, will not permit us to doubt but they accepted of these Advantages which the Sea seem'd voluntarily to offer them. And *Cæsar* further remarks, that the Knowledge they had of Foreign Countries, and Commodities from abroad, made them abound in all sort of Provisions; and surely we cannot attribute the Maritime Power of the *Vanni*, and their great Correspondence with the *Britains*, to proceed from any other Cause, than their Sea-Traffick, and Naval Negotiations.

2. But the principal Commerce of the *Gauls* was then carried on at *Marseilles*; 'tis well known that this City was founded by the *Phoceans*, an *Asiatick* Nation, in the time of *Tarquinius Priscus*, Emperor of *Rome*: or as others believe, in the Time of *Servius Tullius* his Successor. This People were obliged, by the narrow Boundaries of their Territory, and the Barrenness of the Soil, to apply themselves

themselves to the Sea-Trade, Fishery, and even Piracy, which in those Times, and those Seas, was accounted honourable, which made them so powerful, that they enjoy'd the Dominion of the Sea during the space of forty Years; their Ships were built both for Traffick and Warlike Expeditions. The *Marseillians* retain'd the Inclination and Manners of their first Founders, making the Sea their chief Study, and imitating the *Rhodians* in their Construction of Maritime Laws and Constitutions. They civiliz'd the savage Humour of the *Gauls*, introducing among them the Modes and Manners of *Greece*: Their Glory and Wealth encreased by means of their Traffick, their Harbour, their Fleets, Arsenal and Magazines, both for Merchantile and Warlike Uses; the Beauty of their Buildings, and good Order of their Government, drew upon them the Envy of their Neighbours the *Ligurians* and *Salians*, with the other People of *Gallia*; but these Ornaments did no less gain them the Esteem of other Nations, and especially of the *Romans*, who courted their Friendship, and gave them many sensible Proofs of their Benevolence. The Pro-consul *Sextius*, who founded the City of *Aix*, put the *Marseillians* in Possession of all the neighbouring Harbours and Coasts lying towards *Italy*, by clearing the Sea of the *Salians*, who had so much molested the People of *Marseilles*, that they had often been obliged to have recourse to the *Romans* for Succours; he added to the Dominion of *Marseilles*, the Territories which he had taken from the *Salians*: Few Years after, *Marius* having cut a new Canal, which he fed with Water from the River *Rhone*, made the *Marseillians* Masters of it, in Acknowledgment of the great Service they had done him against the *Ambiens*. This Present enrich'd them considerably by the Impositions they laid upon all Commodities that entered into, or came out of the *Rhœan*,
and

and they took all just Measures to keep it in their Possession. *Pompey* gave them all the Lands that lay on the Western Banks of the *Rhone*, from the Sea even to the *Vivarais*, and *Cæsar* after he had conquer'd *Gallia*, gave them other Lands, and augmented their Revenues. This great Power of theirs encreased the Jealousie of their Neighbours, who had been beaten upon their account. The *Carthaginians*, on the other hand, looked upon their great Elevation with an Eye of Jealousie, but met with no better Success in their Attempts against them. And they had reason to repent of their too great forwardness, by the many Sea Battles they had lost against the *Marseillians*.

3. Notwithstanding these their Advantages, it does not appear that they did ever assume the Title of Masters of the Sea, in as much as their Name is not found in the List of those that were honoured with that Epithet. We owe that List to *Eusebius* his Chronicle, which was extracted from the Copy of *Castor Rhodian*, after *Julius Africanus*: But if they did not obtain that Title, yet they were more glorious in opposing such as vainly assum'd to themselves that pompous Character.

4. In this flourishing State they endeavour'd to extend the Limits of their Empire, and by that Means to strengthen themselves against their Neighbours, who were always jealous of their growing Greatness, in as much as they had planted many Colonies upon the Coasts of *Gallia*, *Italy* and *Spain*, viz. *Nice*, *Antibes*, *Frejus*, *Hieres*, *Ciotade* and *Toulon*; and as some affirm, *Agde*, *Roses*, and *Empurias*. Some Historians yet mention many more, making the Boundaries of their Government to extend very far both by Sea and Land; but their Opinions we shall not now examine, least we should digress too far from our present Purpose.

5. The

5. The *Marseillians* did not restrain their Navigation to the *Mediterranean* Sea, but made long Voyages in the Ocean, both to the South and North Parts. *Euthymenes*, a *Marseillian*, advanc'd in his Navigations beyond the Line, and reported some Particulars of his Voyages which seemed fabulous, and therefore the Relations of *Pytheas*, another *Marseillian*, of his Voyage Northward, as far as *Iceland*, gain'd but little Credit, *Polybus* and *Strabo* representing him as an Imposter, as *Aristides* had done *Euthymenes*; by which it seems that the *Grecians* concluded that the People of other Countries were no less fabulous in their Narrations than themselves; and indeed they gave no better Credit to the Account of the Navigation of *Hanno*, and other Voyages made by the *Carthaginians* his Countrymen. But *Eratosthenes* has done *Pytheas* Justice, and after-times have confirmed the Truth of his Relations, as likewise those of *Euthymenes*.

These two illustrious *Marseillians*, left behind them some Geographical Writings, and had join'd with them some others, without any shew of Reason, of *Castor*, a Kinsman to King *Dejotarus*, who among other Writings, had composed a List of those who had been Masters of the Sea, as I have said before. *Suidas* says expressly, that 'twas a gross Mistake in those who have made *Castor* a *Marseillian*, for he was a *Rhodian*: And in as much as he was settled in *Galatia*, he was call'd a *Gallatian*, and, I suppose, it was this which gave a Handle to the Mistake, for the *Grecians* call both the Inhabitants of *Gallia* and of *Galatia*, by the Title of *Galatians*; and therefore *Castor* pass'd to be a Native of *Gallia*, because he was call'd a *Galatian*. *Pessius*, though otherwise a judicious Author, affirms, that this *Castor* was at first an Orator at *Marseilles*, but he was deceived by the Words of *Suidas*, who says, that *Castor* was falsely thought a *Marseillian*, and then adds,

adds, that he was an Orator, without joining the Word Orator to that of *Marseilles*.

7. Although *Demosthenes*, in his Expedition against *Zenobius* represents both him and his Patron *Hegesrates* to be *Marseillians*, and two very fraudulent Persons, yet he lets us understand in what flourishing Condition the Traffick of that City was in their Times : But she was strip'd by *Cæsar* of many of her Colonies and Towns that were under her Dominion, for having sided with *Pompey* against him, after having lost two Sea Engagements with *Cæsar's* Fleet, which was commanded by *Decimus Brutus*, was forced to surrender herself, after having valiantly sustained a long Siege.

8. I have been somewhat Prolix in describing the Advantages of *Marseilles*, for no City of *Gallia* was then equal with this in Riches and Grandeur, by which we may judge of the Traffick then carried on in *Gallia*. But there were likewise other Cities which flourish'd in these Times by their Trade ; as *Arles* for Example, not very far distant from *Marseilles* ; and 'twas in that City that *Cæsar* built twelve Gallies in the space of thirty Days, reckoning from the Day the Wood was cut in the Forest : He made use of them in his Wars against the *Marseillians* ; whence we may conjecture how well versed the People of *Arles* were at that Time in Sea Affairs, which Knowledge increased more and more among them. This Town was famous for its Manufactures, and especially for her Embroideries and curious Works in Gold and Silver.

9. But this City, Notwithstanding these Advantages, was much inferior to *Narbonne*, which was the most famous Town for Trade in all that Country, as both *Strabo* and *Diodorus* assures

us. The last mention'd Author further remarks, That the *British* Tin was by Land Carriage brought through the Heart of *Gallia*, as far as *Marseilles*

Strab. Lib 4.

Diodor. Lib. 4.

& 5.

Ausen. de clar. urb. *Marseilles* and *Narbonne*; and *Ausen.* reports, That Fleets from the Easts, from *Africa*, *Spain*, *Sicily*, and every other part of the World, frequented the Port of *Narbonne*; but the Course of the River *Aude*, which then ran through this City, and the Disposition of the Sea being much changed, it was deprived both of its Harbour and Traffick. The same Accidents happen'd to the *Argues Mortes*, which in former Times was a very considerable Harbour, but now is at a good distance from the Sea, by reason of the Sands which have been brought thither by the *Rhone*.

10. *Marseilles* rais'd it self by the Ruin of *Narbonne*, and became a famous Harbour, much frequented by Vessels from all the Coasts of the *Mediterranean* Sea. I shall not speak particularly at this Time of other Ports of less note upon this Coast, as those of *Agde*, *Toulon*, and of *Antibes*, nor of *Fajus*, where *Augustus* laid up the Ships he design'd for the guard of those Coasts, the Sands whereof have since fill'd up the Port of *Nice*, and even those of *Monaco* and *Genua*.

11. The *Gauls* had likewise their Ports upon the Ocean, and as Time has rendred some of them useless, so has it since opened several others, which at this Day are of great Service. The Mouth of the *Garonne* fill'd a great Marsh with Sea-Water, near *Bordeaux*, and made there a good Port, which put that City into the flourishing Condition which we find described by *Ausenius*; but these Fens appear no more in our Times, however the City yet maintains its ancient Grandeur. *Cæsar* in his War against the *Parisi*, brought Ships from *Xaintong* and *Poitou*, and other Provinces of *Gaul*, which had not engaged themselves in that War. We must thence conclude, that there were Ports then in these Provinces, as there are in these Times; and although

although *Nants* is now some distance from the Sea, nevertheless *Cæsar* reckons its Inhabitants among the Maritime People. Moreover, the River *Loir* brought in many large Merchant Ships from the Ocean. *Strabo* makes mention of *Corbillion*, a Town of Trade, situ- *Strab. Lib. 4.* ate upon the *Loire*, which he makes equal to *Marseilles* and *Narbonne*; but length of Time has robb'd us of this Knowledge; however, I cannot be of the same Opinion with Monsieur *Valois*, who wou'd have it the same with the City *Coiron*, a Place near *Nants*; for 'tis not probable that two Towns of Trade so near the one to the other, should rise at one time to such a high pitch of Prosperity. Neither can I perswade my self that *Corbillion* was the same with *Blois*, as some have asserted; but it may be, that *Corbillion* was the first Name of the City of *Nants*, which has since been called *Condivincum*; for it is no rare thing to find one City called by several Names. But no other People of *Gallia* had then an equal Power with the *Vanni* upon the Sea. We may yet consider the Mouth of the River *Seine*, as a principal Port, which the People of *Gallia* made use of on their Northern Coasts. *Cæsar* informs us, That when he made his Preparations against *Britain*, he built his Ships in that Place.

12. The Conflux of the *Rhone* and the *Saone* at *Lyons*, made it a City of great Commerce, notwithstanding its Situation in the midst of *Gallia*: Its Arms, if I may so say, extended themselves from the *Mediterranean* Sea to the Ocean; for the Head of the River *Saone* was so near to the *Moselle* and *Seine*, that it was easie to convey such Merchandizes by Land as were brought down these Rivers. The *Rhone* received many Goods by means of the navigable Rivers which ran into it, and from thence were convey'd not only to the *Saone*, but to the River *Loire* in Carriages. The *Saone*
K brought

brought up Goods almost as far as the *Moselle*, and from thence passing to *Treves* (a powerful City in those Times) were afterwards embark'd on the *Rhine*, and so brought into the Ocean. This has

Vet. orb. Descript.
cap. 49. given occasion to an ancient Geographer to remark the strict Correspondence and happy Commerce that was carry'd on between *Ales* and *Treves*.

13. *Antistius Vetus*, one of the Chiefs of the *Roman* Army, which was in *Gallia* in the fourth Year of *Nero's* Empire, join'd the *Saone* with the *Moselle*, by a Canal which he caused to be made, and with the same View *Henry IV.* laid the Design of joyning the *Saone* with the *Muse*. On the other hand, the Merchandizes of the *Saone* being brought by Land Carriage to the River *Seine*, were from thence convey'd to the Ocean, and so to *Britann*. The Neighbourhood of the Rivers which ran into the *Aude* on one side, and into the *Garonne* on the other, serv'd to maintain a Correspondence between the Ocean and the *Mediterranean* Sea, and to establish a commodious Commerce between *Narbonne* and *Toulouse*.

14. But to return to *Lyons*: Some would suppose that City to be more ancient than the Year of *Rome* 710, which was the time when the *Roman* Senate order'd it to be built by *Mummius Plancus*; and that the Colony which he establish'd there, has told us, that it was a Place of Trade much frequented by Merchants for the Sale of Goods which were brought thither by the *Rhone* and the *Saone*, such as Wine, Oil, and other Liquors, with Corn, Cattle, Cloth, Linnen, and Iron-Works. They mention sixty several Nations which met in this Place on account of Trade. An ancient Inscription at *Lyons* mentions *Tauricius* of *Vannes* to have been general Overseer of the *Gallick* Trade the Patron of the Watermen on the Rivers *Saone* and *Ain*, and Regulator of the Weights and Carriages

riages. Other ancient Inscriptions inform us, that the Government of the Watermen belonging to the *Rhone* and the *Saone*, was often given to *Roman* Knights. Now, although *Lyon* was a *Mediterranean* City, yet was it not without the Advantages of Trade by Sea, and even took part in that Commerce which *Marseilles*, *Arles*, and other Cities of *Gallia* carry'd on with the *Egyptians* under the Reign of the Sultans. For since *Arles* was so beneficial to the Commerce of *Treves*, according to that ancient Geographer, who lived in the Reigns of *Constantius* and *Constans*, these two Cities could not maintain their Correspondence without making use of *Lyon* as a Staple for their Wares; and it is reasonable to believe that *Lyon*, which was a trading City from the Time of its Foundation, would not neglect so favourable an Opportunity of trading in the *Mediterranean* Sea. In a word, its Power increased to so high a pitch, and it became so populous, that in *Augustus's* Time (as *Strabo* reports) it was not inferior to any City except *Narbonne*.

Vet. orb. descrip.
cap. 49.

Strab. Lib. 4.

15. From what I have said, it plainly appears, that the *Gauls*, not being contented with the Fertility and Beauty of their own Country, apply'd themselves to the Sea with Success; which *Cæsar* was so well apprised of, that he made use of their Fleets in his Civil Wars. The *Romans* drew great Advantages from the *Gallick* Provinces which *Cæsar* had conquer'd: They laid great Duties, not only upon the natural Product of the Country, and those Merchandizes which were sent out, but upon those which the *Gauls* brought in for their own use; and even upon such as pass'd through that Land on the *British* Account. And to these Riches we must add the Gold which they gather'd in the *Cevennées* and *Pyrenées*.

16. The *Franks* who afterward subdued the *Gauls*, had likewise an Inclination to the Sea, for we learn from History, that after they had been subdued by the Emperor *Probus*, and had obtain'd from him certain Lands to inhabit ; a part of them, who were Enemies to Peace and Obedience, seiz'd several Ships which they found upon the Coasts of the *Black Sea*, with which they ravaged the Maritime Part of *Asia* and *Greece*, but being repuls'd from the Coasts of *Africa*, they attempted *Sicily*, and made themselves Masters of *Syracuse*, where they made a great Slaughter : They then took the Ocean by way of the Streights of *Cadix*, and attack'd the Coasts of *Spain* ; after which they return'd peaceably to their own Home, without having met with the least Check. Some time afterward they renew'd their Piracies, but were at last suppress'd by *Maximilian*.

C H A P. XL.

1. The *COMMERCE* of Spain about *Cæsar's Time*, and chiefly in *Metals*. 2. Of the other *Merchandizes* of Spain. 3. The *Trading Cities and Ports* of Spain, with the other *Conveniencies* for Commerce in that Country.

1. **A**LTHOUGH the *Gauls* surpass'd the People of Spain in the Fertility of their Country, yet was Spain much superior to them on account of the Antiquity and Richness of their Commerce. The *Phœnicians*, who open'd the first Trade in the *Mediterranean Sea*, did not frequent any other Country so much as the Provinces of *Spain*, lying near the Streights of *Gibraltar*, and the

the Mouth of the *Batis*, celebrated by the Sacred Authors, under the Name of *Tbanfis*. Which Country, according to the account

of the Prophet *Ezekiel*, abound- *Ezekiel. 27. 12.*

ed in Silver, Iron, Tin, and Lead, by which the *Tyrrians* enrich'd themselves; and besides these Metals, they brought from thence Gold and Copper, but Silver had the greatest share in its produce; it was found in many Provinces there, and chiefly along the *Batis*, which takes its rise in a Mountain which they call'd the Silver Mountain, from the great Quantity of Silver which it produced. It was this Silver which

enrich'd the *Phenicians*; for *Aristotle* *Arist. de Mirab. ausc.*

reports, That they barter'd it with the People of *Spain*, against Merchandizes of a very low Price, almost after the same manner that the *Spaniards* have since exchanged the Gold of *Mexico* and *Pernu*. He adds, That the *Phenicians*, finding there, more Silver than their Ships could bring away, they made their Anchors of it, and all other Utensils belonging to their Ships, which are commonly work'd in Iron.

Diodorus tells us, It was this Silver that made the *Phenicians* so powerful, and put them in a Condition of establishing their many flourishing Colonies; it was this which rais'd the Grandeur of the *Carthaginians*, and furnish'd them with Means to maintain their Wars against the *Romans*, *Sicilians*, and *Africans*, and from the same Fund the *Romans* at last gather'd a prodigious Wealth. The *Spanish* Authors have taken care to calculate in their Writings the immense Sums of Gold and Silver, as well in Ingots as in Money, which the *Romans* drew from their Provinces, for there was hardly any Canton in *Spain*, wherein they did not find either Gold, Silver, Tin, or other Metals, beginning with *Algarua* and *Andalusia*, and ending in *Galitia*, *Austria*, and the *Py-*

romes; however we must except in this List the Islands *Baleares*, which one may look upon as part of *Spain*. The Laws of these Isles would not permit the People to possess Gold or Silver, for fear of drawing upon them the Arms of other Countries, as the *Spaniards* had done those of *Hercules*. The *Greeks* likewise, in their Turn, took their Share of these Treasures. *Colaus* of *Samos* was accidentally driven to the Mouth of the *Bælis* (about the forty fifth *Olympiad*) and carry'd from thence a very rich Booty; he had been preceded in his Voyage by *Sostrates*, of the Island *Egna*. The *Phœceans* being drove out of *Asia* by the *Persians*, came into these Countries in the sixtieth *Olympiad*, in the Time of the famous *Arganthonius*, who loaded them with Riches, not having been able to keep them to himself.

2. But besides the Metals which were found in *Spain*, that Country afforded many other Merchandizes, (*viz.*) Wine and Wool, with fine Stuffs, fine Cloth and fine Linnen, which Inventions are attributed to them. To these we must add, Honey, Wax, Pitch, Borax, Vermilion, Scarlet, Rock Salt, Salt-Fish, excellent Pickles, and that kind of Rush called *Spartum*, so useful in Cordage, and serviceable in many other Works; from which *Carthagina* took its Surname *Spartaria*. The use of this Rush was not known to the *Spaniards*, till after the *Carthaginians* had been there, and inform'd them of it, by which means they afterwards traded with it in *Italy* to their considerable Advantage. Oil may likewise be placed among the other *Spanish* Merchandizes; it was chiefly the produce of *Andalusia*, but does not seem to have

*Ac. de Mirab.
aise.*

been there in any great Abundance in the first Times, for *Aristotle* assures us, That the *Spaniards* gave Bars of Silver to the *Phœnicians* for their Oil; and that the Inhabitants of the *Baleares*, wanting na

tura

tural Oil, made use of some other fat Preparation of their own; and in *Strabo's* Time the *Portuguese* used Butter instead of Oil. *Strab. Lib. 3.*

3. For the better Sale of all these rich Merchandizes, *Spain* was provided with many commodious Ports and great Rivers, that would carry up Boats far into the Country. These were chiefly upon their Western Coasts, although the Force of their Commerce lay towards *Italy*. Moreover, they had cut several Canals in the Country for the transport of their Merchandises, and for the Facility of their Commerce, as well among themselves as with Strangers. The Inhabitants knew how to improve these favourable Dispositions, and built a great Number of Trading Towns. But their chief Commerce from the beginning had been carry'd on at *Cadix*, and the Mouth of the *Betis*, which was part of the ancient *Tarish*, this made them to erect a Light-House there for the Security of their Navigations. About *Cæsar's* Time, Fortune began to second their Industry, and the Sea being then free from Pirates, *Spain* acquir'd vast Riches by her Trade. However, the *Portuguese*, who had a good part of it, chose to trade by Exchange; and to make their Payments rather in Ingots of Silver than in Money; and the Northern Part of *Spain*, being in great Measure inaccessible towards the Sea, was entirely void of Commerce, and its Inhabitants living in their natural Barbarity, were not civilized 'till a long time afterward by the *Romans*. In *Augustus* and *Tiberius's* Time, the Southern Coasts of *Spain*, sent to *Rome* and the Western Coasts of *Italy*, several great Squadrons of large Merchant Ships, whose number almost equal'd that of the Fleets which came from *Africa*.

C H A P. XLI.

1. COMMERCE of Germany about the Reign of Cæsar, and some time afterward.
2. Germany little known before Cæsar's Time.
3. The wandering Lives of the greatest part of the Germans occasioned their want of Commerce.

1. **T**HE Adoration which the *Gauls* paid to *Mercury*, has proved their Application to Commerce ; and we may judge in like manner of the *Germans*, who worshipped *Mercury* under the Name of *Woden* or *Goden*, as the Sovereign Lord of Trade ; for we are not obliged to believe *Cæsar*, when he tells us, that the *Germans* knew no other Gods, than the Sun, the Fire, and the Moon ; and even that they had not heard of any other : For *Tacitus* was better informed, and he assures us, that they had many Gods, and did sacrifice to them, and that *Mercury* was in esteem above the rest. There yet remains in *Germany* many Idols of this God. *Paul* the Deacon adds, that this Religion was very ancient among the *Germans*, and that this *Mercury* was the same with the *Grecian* and *Roman Mercury*. The Name *Teutates*, which was given him by the *Gauls*, is of the same Signification of *Truth*, by which he is known among the *Germans* ; from whence they are called *Teutones* : This is plainly the same Name (*Theuth*) which the *Egyptians* gave to their *Mercury*. *Cæsar* informs us in another Place, that the *Germans* were ready to receive Merchants among them ; but that the *Switzers*, who were the most powerful People of *Germany*, rather sought occasion to sell what they had

Cæf. de Bell. Gall.
Lib. 6. Cap. 21.

Tacit. de mor.
Serm. Cap. 8.

Cæf. de Bell. Gall.
Lib. 1. Cap. 39.

had gain'd by War, than to buy any Merchandizes that were brought in by Strangers.

2. In those Times *Germany* was little known; for before the Reign of *Cæsar* the *Romans* had only some uncertain Accounts of it, which chiefly related to such Parts, as border'd upon the *Rhine*. But *Augustus* was better inform'd of this Country by the Wars, which the *Romans* made in these Parts by his Direction, and their Navigations about *Germany*, as far as its most Northern Limits, even beyond the Cape of the *Cimbrick Chersonesus*; for under the Name of *Germans* I also comprehend the *Cimbri*, a People that inhabited the *Peninsula*, now call'd *Denmark*, which makes the most Northern Part of *Germany*. What I have now mentioned I have taken from *Pliny*, who in other Parts of his Work, speaks of *Baltia* or *Scandinavia*, as

Plin. Lib. 2. c. 67.

Lib. 4. Cap. 13.

of a Country known, and celebrated by many Authors, much more ancient than himself: From whence we may conclude, that

when *Strabo*, (who writ in the beginning of *Tiberius's* Empire) tells us, that all that part of *Germany* lying between the *Elbe* and the Ocean (*i. e.*) the *Baltick* Sea, was unknown in his Time; and that no one had penetrated into those Countries neither by Sea or Land, we must understand that he means the in-land Parts, and not the Coasts. And this is confirm'd by

Strab. Lib. 7.

a Passage in *Tacitus*, where he says, that the *Germans* were a Nation which had never received any strange People among them, either to establish themselves, or visit their Country; and he adds, that the Transmigrations of People were not made heretofore by Land, but only by Sea; and that the *Roman* Ships very rarely enter'd this Sea. Nevertheless, *Cæsar* shews us that in the preceding Times, the *Gauls* often

Tacit. de mor.

Germ. cap. 1 & 5.

Cæsar. de Bell. Gall.

Lib. 6. Cap. 24.

made

made Settlements in *Germany* by Force of Arms; and the same *Tacitus* reports (without refuting him) the Opinion of those who believed, that *Ulysses* came by Sea into *Germany*, and had advanced far into the Countries which border'd upon the *Rhine*. Elsewhere, we learn the Voyage which the *Egyptians* made under the Conduct of *Opus*, as far as the Heads of the *Danube*, as *Diodorus* reports, and the Adorations which the *Switzers* paid to *Jeh*, and those which the *Germans* offered to *Iexin*, from whence they were called *Teutones*: And that other Voyage mentioned in the Fable of the *Argonauts*, who in their return from *Colchis*, came up the *Danube*, and pass'd from thence to the *Adriatick* Sea, following their false Opinion, that the *Danube* ran into that Sea; or favouring another Notion which was yet more ridiculous, that the *Argonauts* had carried their Ship *Argo* thither upon their Shoulders: All this, I say, may give us room to believe, that *Germany* was not so inaccessible to Strangers, as some have reported. But I can't here pass by in Silence another Opinion, which is yet more extravagant than the former, and may shew us the Ignorance of the ancient Geographers; some of them have advanced that the *Argonauts* had gone up the *Tanis*, and by that River had enter'd the Ocean; and *Erastorhæus* in *Strabo* has carried them by Land from *Colchis* into *Armenia* and *Media*.

3. But let us now return to the *Germans*: It is certain that their Frugality, and the wandering Life they led, by often changing their Habitations, and carrying all their Goods with them, might make them neglect foreign Mercandizes: Their Avarice perhaps might fill them with Fears and Disorders, and for these Reasons would not suffer them to fix in any Place. But those who were situate upon the

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the Banks of the *Rhine* beginning to take delight in Wine ; after the Example of their Neighbours they began to trade in it, while the others who were more distant from this way of dealing, contented themselves with Beer. Besides their Wine they had little other Produce of their Country worth the Desire of Strangers ; for the Metallick Veins were at that time very rare among them, and even Gold and Silver were hardly known by them. Those who were establish'd near the *Rhine* had learnt the use of Money from the neighbouring Nations ; but those who were more retired towards the middle of the Country, and the Eastward Parts of it, traded chiefly by Exchange. The Amber, which was found on the Northern Coasts of *Germany*, brought them some Advantage, for the Luxury of the *Romans* had made it a valuable Commodity.

C H A P. XLII.

1. *Of the ancient COMMERCE of Scandinavia.* 2. *Of the People situate on the Eastern Parts of Germany.* 3. *Of Poland :* 4. *And Moscovy.*

1. *SCANDINAVIA*, which I have already mentioned, had its Ports upon the Ocean and *Baltick Sea* : The *Sitones*, who possess'd the Western part (*i. e.*) the People of *Norway*, had their Fleets upon the Ocean. They used a certain kind of Ship with two Prows, without Sails, and whose Bank of Oars might be turn'd on either side, as there was occasion. This sort of Vessel was also used by other People in the *Black-Sea*, of whom *Tacitus* * makes mention, as he has

* *Tacit. Hist. Lib. 3. cap. 46. De mor. Germ. cap. 45.*
likewise

likewise done of the former. *Scandinavia* was barren in Corn, both in its Nature, and for want of necessary Culture from the Inhabitants: But it was fertile in Cattle, and the Sea furnish'd it with abundance of Fish, which were dried by the People, and exchanged against such Merchandizes as were wanting to them, with the *German* and other Strangers which resorted in great numbers to their Ports: Moreover, the Copper and Pitch which that Country afforded, turn'd to good account; and we may add to these its other Merchandizes known in our Time, (*viz.*) its Train-Oil, Sulphur, and the Furs which they fetch from *Iceland* and *Greenland*.

2. All the People which inhabited on the East side of *Germany*, and even some of the Eastern part of *Germany* it self, were indiscriminately known to the Ancients, under the Name of *Sythians*. This Name extended it self very far into *Asia*, near the Eastern Extremities of it. These vast Countries had been little frequented by the *Greeks* and *Romans*; and if they did formerly carry on any Trade, either among themselves, or with their Neighbours, it is unknown to us.

3. The *Slavonians*, and after them the *Polanders* and *Muscovites*, succeeded the People of *Sarmatia* and the *Russians*. All the Commerce of *Poland*, and the Provinces which were then, or are now depending upon that Country, was only carry'd on in the Ports which it has in the *Baltick* Sea. It was at those Places they sold the Merchandizes of their own Growth, such as Leather, Wool, Flax, Hemp, Lead, and Amber; and there met with what they wanted, as Wine, Works in Silk and Iron, which were wrought in other parts of *Europe*. Yet notwithstanding all this Trade, the *Polanders* have very little Knowledge of Sea Affairs.

4. The Commerce of *Muscovy* is not confin'd to the *Baltick* Sea, but extends its self as far as the
White

White Sea, the *North Sea*, the *Pontus Euxinus*, and the *Caspian Sea*, and the Rivers *Duina*, *Tanais*, and *Volga*, coming up to the Ports of *Archangel*, *Asaf* and *Astacan*, gives this Country the Conveniencies of an extraordinary Commerce for the Sale of its Corn, Furs, Leathers, Salt, Honey, Wax, Lamp-black, dry'd Fish, Train-oil, Pitch, Flax, Hemp, and its *Caviar*, by which means it draws to it the Merchandizes of *Europe* by the Northern Seas; those of *Turkey* by the *Pontus Euxinus*, and those of *Persia* and the *Indies* by the *Caspian Sea*. The *Muscovites* might reap immense Riches from this advantageous Situation, if they were not wanting to themselves by their Neglect and Clownish way of living, which prevent them from cultivating Arts and Sciences, and the mistrustful and suspicious Humours of their Princes, who will not permit them to go out of their Country, or entertain any Commerce with Strangers; but if it should happen, that in course of Time there should rise up among them an enterprizing Prince, who should discover the base and barbarous Politicks of his State, who should civilize and reform the brutish Spirit of this People from their infociable and crabbed Manners; and that he should make the best use of the infinite Multitude of his Subjects, which reside in the vast Extent of his Dominion, which even reaches to the Frontiers of *China*, what numerous Armies might he raise, and what immense Riches might he reap by Commerce. In a Word this Nation would then become formidable to all its Neighbours.



C H A P. XLIII.

1. COMMERCE of the Pontus Euxinus or Black Sea. 2. The Trade of the Greeks in the Black Sea. 3. And that of the Egyptians. 4. The Fishery of the Black Sea: Of the Thracian Bosphorus, and the Archipelago.

1. **T**HE *Black Sea* from the first Ages, has supplied all the Inhabitants of its own Coasts, and those of the *Mediterranean Sea*, with the greatest Necessaries for Commerce. Very few are ignorant of the Voyages of *Phryxus*, and the *Argonauts*, whom the *Greeks* believed to have been the first that attempted that Sea in search of the Gold of *Colkis*. On the other hand, the *Danube*, the *Borysthenes* and the *Tanais*, were open to all the trading People of *Europe*, which were situate to the West and Northern Parts of the *Black Sea*. The *Scythians*, who were Neighbours to this Sea, might have traded among the rest, if they would have been civilized, and have slung off their Brutality. But they would never apply themselves to the Art of Commerce, but were contented with the simple Exchange of their Wares. On the East and South sides, a Multitude of little Rivers falling from Mount *Taurus*, and the neighbouring Hills, brought into this Sea the Merchandizes of *Asia*. Now besides the Gold, and other Metals of *Colkis*, the *Pontus Euxinus* also afforded Corn, Leather, Flax, Honey, Wax, Flocks of Sheep, and Goats, Furrs, Medicinal Plants, and chiefly Rhubarb, Liquorish, Pistachoes, Almonds and Nuts; from whence some derive the Name of *Pontus*, that by Privilege belongs to the *Pontus Euxinus*, which

which furnisheth likewise good Timber for Ship-building, Box-wood, and some precious Stones. The *Circassians* and the *Abassians*, which inhabit the North side of the *Black-Sea*, do not at this Day make use of Money, but trade all by Exchange. And particularly the *Abassians* are so little civilized that they have not even the use of Writing among them.

2. We may be assured, that it was on account of the Commerce which was carried on in this Sea, that the Temple and Statue was erected to *Mercury*, which *Anan* found upon the Shoar of *Trebizonde*: And that it was its Riches which drew thither the many *Grecian* Colonies, which were settled about it. The City *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*, near the *Bosphorus*, became a famous Staple, under *Anan*, the Merchandizes of *Pontus Euxinus*, were brought thither to be distributed to all the Ports of the *Mediterranean* Sea. The Island of *Delos* was then the Metropolis of the *Cyclades*, and the very Seat of the Empire of Trade, as I have already observ'd. It was thither chiefly that the *Nicomediens* carried the Corn and other Merchandizes of the *Pontus Euxinus*.

*Strian Peripl.
Pont. Eux.*

3. But before the *Greeks*, the *Egyptians* had penetrated to the farthest Parts of the *Black Sea*, and even to the *Palus Meotides*, they had learnt the Inhabitants the use of Agriculture, had established themselves in those Countries, and were the Fathers and Authors of the *Colchian* Nation. *Sesistis* King of *Egypt*, following the Footsteps of his Predecessors, endeavoured to conquer *Colchis*, but was beaten, and obliged to put an End to his Design. The Mythologists attributes the first *Egyptian* Expedition on the *Pontus Euxinus* to *Osiris*. It was then, according to their Accounts, that he brought *Isis* up the *Danube*, as far as its Spring-head. The Adoration which the *Switzers* paid to the Goddess

deſs *Iſis*, as I have already ſaid, took its Origin from thence, as did likewise the Port of the *Iſiaci* (mentioned by *Arrian*) that is to ſay, the Port of the *Egyptians*, Worſhippers of the Goddeſs *Iſis*.

4. The Fiſhery of the *Euxine Sea*, of the *Thracian Boſphorus*, and the *Archipelago* was very advantageous. The Sturgeons and Tunny Fiſh, which were taken in the *Pontus Euxinus*, and the Tunny, and Caviar, which was taken from the *Palus Meotides*, were ſold for a conſiderable Profit throughout *Greece* and *Italy*. The Revenue alone ariſing by the Fiſh that were taken before *Conſtantinople*, was ſufficient to maintain the Table-Expences of *Andronicus Paleologus* the elder, and of all his Houſe. And we learn farther, that among the Revenues of the Empire, the Article of the Fiſhery in the *Archipelago*, amounted to ten or twelve thouſand Crowns in Gold. But beſides the Fiſhery of the *Boſphorus*, in the Time of the *Roman Commonwealth*, the City *Byzantium* rais'd very conſiderable Taxes upon the Ships which paſs'd by, to trade in the *Pontus Euxinus*.



C H A P. XLIV.

1. *COMMERCE of the Palus Meotides, and the Taurick Chersonesus.*
2. *Of the Grecian Colony in the Taurick Chersonesus.*
3. *Merchandizes of the Taurick Chersonesus.*
4. *The Manners of the Inhabitants.*

1. **W**E have taken notice of the *Egyptians* in the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, in the *Palus Meotides*, and in the *Taurick Chersonesus*; the South of these Places was known and frequented by the Merchants which came from the *Mediterranean Sea*, but their Northern Parts had not been discovered; for *Pliny* tells us, that in his Time it was not known whether the *Palus Meotides* was an Arm of the main Sea. *Lucian* informs us, that the *Phenicians* were traders thither every Year: And as for the *Greeks*, we may learn by the Fables of *Iphigenia*, *Orestes*, and *Pylades*, and from the great Actions they did there, for which a Temple and Altars had been raised to their Honour, what Correspondence they had with the *Scythians* who inhabited those Countries.

Plin. Lib. 2.

Cap. 67.

Lucian. Toxar.

2. But the many Colonies which were planted there by the *Greeks*, is an undeniable Proof of their Knowledge of those Countries, and may satisfy us how much they contributed to promote the Trade of them. We may mention first *Theodosia*, which was so famous in ancient Times, and was an ancient Colony of the *Milesians*, whose Port could contain an hundred Ships: In the Reign of the Emperor *Adrian* it fell to decay, and was afterward re-established, and possess'd for a long time by the *Genoese* under the Name of *Cafa*: It had a considerable Trade in the Time of the *Grecian*

L

Emperors,

Emperors, and at last fell into the Hands of the *Turks*. *Tanais* was built by the *Greeks* upon the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*; it was formerly a Town of great Trade, known in our Times by the Name of *Asif*, under which Denomination it was heretofore possess'd by the *Gencefes*, and at this Day belongs to the *Turks*. *Oibia* was likewise built by the *Milefians*, and *Borysthenes* another *Grecian* City; both these were situate near the Mouth of the River *Borysthenes*. *Panticapæum* upon the *Bosphorus*, whose Port could contain thirty Ships, was another Work of the *Milefians*; as were also *Panagoria* and *Hemonaissa*, situate upon the *Bosphorus*; they are yet *Grecian* Colonies. And to conclude,

Chersonesus was built by *Diana*, if *Mela Lib. 1. c. 2.* we believe *Melo*; for I shall not particularise the many other Ports of less note in those Countries.

3. The Merchandizes of the *Taurick Chersonesus* consisted in *Corn*, which was transported into *Greece* and *Asia-Minor*, by means of the Ports in the *Euxine* Sea, and likewise in *Furrs*, *Butter*, and *Horses*, which the *Tartars* change in our Times with the *Muscovites* against their Cloth, and other Wares of small Price, such as *Salt*, *Salt-fish*, *Caviar*, and other Pickles. The *Tartars* changed these Goods with the *Turks* and *Armenians* for their *Calicoes*, *Wollen-Cloaths*, *Turkey-Leather*, and *Knives*. These Merchandizes, which the *Taurick Chersonesus* affords in great Plenty, were traded for in large Quantities in the *Greek* and *Roman* Times, as appears from the vast number of Ports which were heretofore upon those Coasts.

Arrian Periplus.
Pont. Eux.

Arrian assures us, the great Ship could not be brought up, for that the *Palus Meotides* had not a sufficient depth of Water, and where light Boats covered with Leather were only used. The *Indian* Merchandizes were convey'd from *Astracan* by Caravans, having been

been first brought thither by the *Caspian Sea*, down the *River Oxus*. Now although the *Tartars* of the *Taurick Chersonesus* made no great use of Spices and Aromaticks, yet nevertheless they drove a great Trade with them at *Cafa* and *Tana* among the *Genoese* and *Venetians*, before that the *Turks* had turn'd them out of those Places. However the *Tartars* could not forget the Advantages which arose from that Trade, and finding they were no more visited by them, carried their Merchandizes even to *Genoa*, where many Ships arrived frequently from *Cafa*.

4. The Ancients represent this Nation as a covetous People, and thirsting after Riches, who without neglecting the Culture of their Lands, were much devoted to the Sea, where they committed great Robberies; their Trade was carried on also by Land; but since the *Turks* have become Masters of these Seas all their Commerce has declined. *Ammianus Marcel-*

Amm. Marcell.

Lib. 31. Cap. 2.

laus, when he treats of the Manners of those savage People, who inhabited beyond the *Palus Meotides* towards the North and the East, and of those People who were Predecessors of these *Tartars*, viz. the *Huns* and *Alains*, who were the ancient *Messagetes*, and of all those others who inhabited *Asia*, even to the most distant Parts which lie in the Neighbourhood of the *Seres*, and are comprehended under the general Name of *Scythians*. He gives us plainly to understand that they did not carry on any Trade with Strangers, either to vend their own Merchandizes, or purchase such as were foreign to them. This People for the most part were Wanderers, often changing their Habitations, and seeking out the best Pastures for their Cattle. They made no use of Corn, but lived chiefly upon Milk and Horse-flesh; and it is reported by some, that they even fed upon humane Flesh; for which Reason they

did not apply themselves to the Culture of their Grounds. When the *Huns*, who lived the nearest to the *Palus Meotides*, had any Exchange to make among themselves, they did it without alighting from their Horses; and indeed they spent the greatest part of their Lives on Horseback. Now although they were ignorant of worldly Pleasures, yet had many of them a great Desire for Gold, but that was not general; for the greatest part of the *Scythian* People would not touch either Gold or Silver, nor would ever apply themselves to make Contracts or Acquisitions, which are the Consequences of Money.

C H A P. XLV.

1. Of the ancient COMMERCE of Italy, and chiefly of the *Tyrrhenians*. 2. Commerce of the *Tarentines*. 3. Commerce of the *Spinetes*. 4. Commerce of the *Liburnians*.

1. **T**HE ancient People of Italy were not altogether regardless of Commerce: The *Tyrrhenians*, the *Tarentines*, the *Spinetes*, and their Neighbours the *Liburnians*, had signalized themselves upon the Sea. The Oriental Coast of Italy had very good Ports, and beheld those belonging to the *Illyrians* on the other side with an envious Eye. The *Tyrrhenians*, even before the Reign of *Minos*, had been for a long time Masters of the greatest part of the *Mediterranean* Sea, and had given their Name to the *Tyrrhenian* Sea, upon which they were situate, having placed the Seat of their Marine Dominion in the Port of *Luna*; but they abused their Power by their Piracies, and

were

were at last suppress'd and obliged to yield up the Empire of the Sea to the *Carthaginians*.

2. The true Cause of the War which the *Tarentines* had with the *Romans*, was on account of Commerce. They had agreed to a Treaty with the *Romans*, wherein it was stipulated, That neither the one or the other should navigate beyond the Cape of *Lacina*, as I have already mention'd in this Work. *Cornelius* the *Duumvir* of the Sea, who by some Authors is call'd *Valerius*, put to Sea with ten armed Ships, without any other design than to inform himself of the *Grecian* Coasts; and coming near to *Tarentum*, which he look'd upon to be a City in Friendship with the *Romans*; this subtle People were offended at his Approach, fell violently upon this Squadron, plunder'd it, and kill'd the Commander. But their Rashness soon drew the *Roman* Arms upon them, which in a short time made them submit: The commodious Situation of *Tarentum*, near the upper and lower Seas of *Italy*, and its being placed in the Neighbourhood of *Greece*, *Africa*, and *Sicily*, together with the Beauty of its Harbour, might well enough give the People of that City sufficient cause for their Mistrust: However, History does not afford us any notable account of its Trade, nor that it made any great use of the Sea: I have only found, that some attribute to this People the Invention of a particular kind of Ship, which retain'd somewhat of the Form of Floats.

3. *Italy*, which is extended upon three Seas, has the lower Sea on the South West, the *Ionian* on the South, and the *Adriatick* Sea on the North East Parts of it. She was Mistress of the first of these Seas by the *Tyrrenians*; of the second by the *Tarentines*; and of the third by the *Spinetes*. This last People were originally *Pelasgi*, which Chance, rather than Design, had placed on the Southern part of the *Po*. This Post was commodious to a

People who were accustomed to Sea Affairs; they establish'd themselves there, built a City, and became so powerful by their Courage and Industry, that they gain'd the Sovereignty of the Sea, and maintain'd it for a considerable time. *Delfos* was adorn'd with magnificent Offerings of those People which they had sent thither as their Acknowledgments for the Favours they had receiv'd from the Gods. Their City was named *Spina*, which according to the Opinion of *Dionysius Halicarnassus* took its Name from the Mouth of the *Po*, where it was situated, which was called *Spineticum*: But I cannot agree with this Opinion; I rather believe that the Inhabitants of the City *Spina*, being justly named *Spinetes*, gave the Name *Spineticum* to the Mouth of the *Po*, where they were placed; in the same manner as the Mouths of the *Nile*, *Pelusiacum*, *Tamiticum*, and *Sebenniticum* took their Names from the Cities *Pelusium*, *Tanis*, and *Sebennis*. The Name of the City *Spina* seems to have been derived from the *Latin*, and it is probable, that when the *Pelasges* founded that City, they gave it the Name *Spina*, from some beautiful *Thorn* which they found growing there, or that the Place was so named before. This City had not the Advantages on the Land side, as it had towards the Sea: She could not resist the Assaults of her Neighbours, who were jealous of her Prosperity, and was at length abandon'd by her Inhabitants, insomuch that in *Augustus's* Time it was only a Village; and the Branches of the *Po* having changed their Course *Spina* was then five or six Leagues distant from the Sea, upon whose Shore she had been built.

4 The *Liburnians*, who were Neighbours to *Italy*, were situate opposite to the *Spinetes*, and apply'd themselves diligently to Navigation. Their Coast, and all that of *Illyria*, with the adjacent Isles, were well provided with good Ports; they possess'd

*Dionys. Halic.
Lib. 1.*

possess'd many Islands in the *Adriatick* Sea, and practis'd most inhuman Piracies; they were the Inventors of a particular kind of Ship which bore

their Name. *Eustathius* tells us, *Exstrab. in Dionys.* That a certain Man, named *Liburnus*, was the Inventor of the *Liburnian* Ships, and that he gave them his Name, *Perus v 38.*

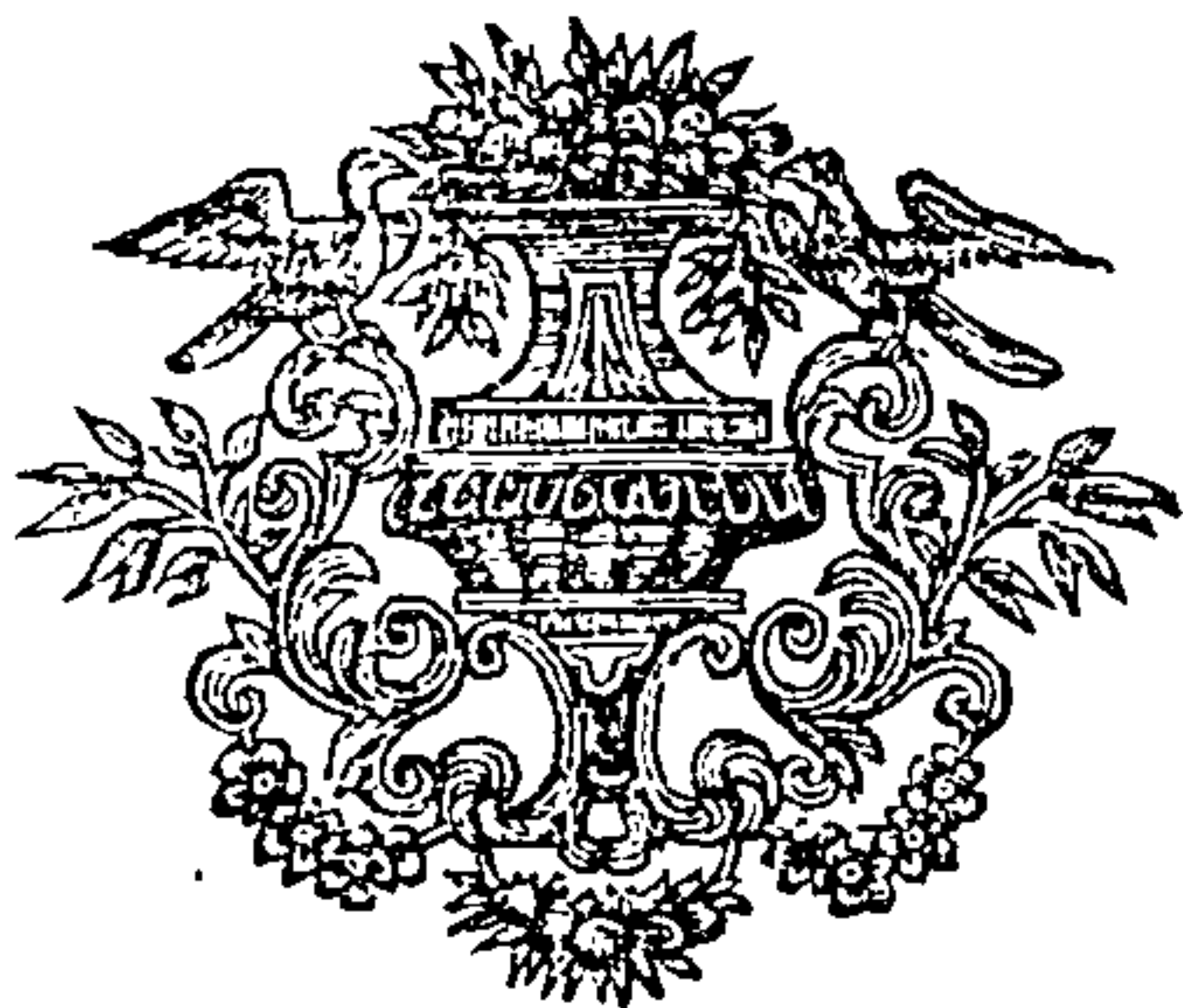
as he did likewise to all his People; but some deny his Attention. These Ships were of two sorts, the

one was large, fit for War, and long Voyages, and the others were small, for Fishing and other common Uses. Some of them were made with

Oilers, and cover'd with Hides; but however, the one and the other were commodious for their Strength and great Lightness. Now it is remark-

able, that neither the *Dalmatians*, who were powerful at Sea by means of their Port *Salona*, which was their Capital, nor the *Liburnians* themselves, according to all appearance, had the use of Mo-

ney among them, which *Strabo* says was very little known or made use of among many other barbarous Nations. *Strab. Lib 7.*



C H A P, XLVI.

1. Roman Commerce continued. 2. The Institution of the College of Merchants at Rome.
3. Carthage and Corinth re-established. 4. The Means used by the Romans for encreasing their Commerce.
5. Roman Commerce during the Naval War between Octavius Cæsar, and Sextus Pompeius. 6. The Battle of Actium.
7. The Liburnian Ships useful in War.
8. Three Fleets fitted out and maintain'd by Augustus, the one at Trejus, the other at the Cape of Misena, and the third at Ravenna.
9. The State of Commerce in Augustus's Time; the Navigations of his Time, and the preceeding Ages, were made chiefly by Coasting.
10. Roman Commerce to the Indies.
11. The South Cape of Africa known and doubled before Augustus's Time.
12. The Romans instruct themselves in Sea Affairs, from the Examples of other Countries; their Application to Navigation is evident from their Medals, from whence we may learn, that their Study of the Sea tended rather to War than Commerce.
14. But chiefly to furnish Rome with necessary Provisions.
15. The Romans honoured those Cities which had signalized themselves in the Study of the Sea.
16. Under the Empire of Augustus Rome was equally powerful at Sea and Land.

IF the Books of Navigation which were written by Varro had yet remain'd, they would certainly have given us great Light into the ancient

cient Commerce of the *Romans*, but chiefly into that Trade which they carry'd on in his Time; for although it is reasonable to believe, that their Efforts to preserve the Empire of the Sea, was chiefly on account of enlarging their Dominion upon the Land, yet we cannot well imagine, that a Senate and People, so wise as the *Romans*, should not be apprized of the necessity of Traffick for their Subsistence, the encrease of their Riches, and the Ornament of their City. By the Word *Traffick*, I mean all the Art and all the Industry they could employ to bring Foreign Merchandizes to *Rome*. The *Præfect*, or Governour of the Market, was an ancient Establishment in the *Roman* Commonwealth, and chiefly had regard to the importing of Corn, which at first was brought from *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, and afterward from *Africa*; and (then after the Punick Wars,) from *Egypt* under the first Emperors, and at last from *Marseilles* and *Gallia*, towards the Declension of the *Roman* Empire.

2. In the Year of *Rome* 259, was instituted the College of Merchants, which was also called the Mercurial College; not, as I believe, because that Assembly was made near the Temple of *Mercury*, as some have said, but for that the *Romans* honour'd that God as the Dispenser of all Benefits that accrued from Commerce, even as he himself declares in the Prologue to *Plautus's Amphitruon*. But perhaps this Colledge of Merchants might be first instituted with regard to the Commerce only which was carry'd on in the City of *Rome*, and afterwards was extended to that abroad, as the *Romans* grew in Power, first upon the Land, and at length at Sea.

3. We must remember, that the Ruin of *Carthage* and *Corinth* wrought a great Change in the Affairs of Commerce; and that many other Cities, but *Rome* principally, profited by their Destruction; but however, we may say, that nevertheless Commerce

merce then receiv'd a considerable Shock. I have already observed, that the younger of the *Gracchi* made a vain Attempt to re-establish *Carthage*, and that his Design was travers'd by unhappy Omens which fore-run it, to which the Superstition of the *Romans* had great regard; but at length the Design was brought about by *Augustus*, upon the Plan of *Julius Caesar*. I have likewise said, that the same *Julius Caesar*, in the Year of *Rome* 710, re-established *Corinth*, in which Year he died. When we consider the Re-establishment of these two Cities, which were Places of the most considerable Trade in those Times; and the care which *Augustus* took to send large Squadrons into the Ocean to view the Coasts of *Europe*, even beyond the *Cimbrick Cape*, and those of *Africa* towards the Line, and on the other side, as far as the *Palus Meotides* towards the North, and into the *Arabian Gulf* towards the South; I say, we may reasonably believe all that was done with a regard to Commerce. The Ruin of *Carthage* had given the *Romans* an opportunity to establish a settled Trade with the *Africans*, as I have already observed. This Commerce was carried on at *Utica*, which, after *Carthage*, was the first great City of *Africa*; and by the Destruction of *Corinth*, as I have also mention'd, the Isle of *Delos* became the chief Place of Trade, which for some time flourished under the *Athenians*, and was at last ruined by the Wars of *Mithridates*.

4. In this Place I must take notice of some Laws which are found in the *Leges*, by which it appears that the *Romans* apply'd themselves at certain Times to Sea Affairs; they encouraged their Citizens to build Ships, by exempting them from the Expences of the Municipal Law: the Size of these Ships was regulated, and their use was to fetch Corn for the Subsistence of *Rome*. This Exemption from the Expences of the common Law, appear'd so commodious to some, that they made
use

use of dishonest means to acquire it, either by false Pretences of having built Ships, or of being concerned in the Trade for Corn. But the *Romans* were soon apprized of this Deceit, and made new Law. The Corn Trade, although it was so necessary to *Rome*, did not exclude that of other Merchandizes. On the contrary, the State encouraged it, and protected the Merchants who carried it on; for there could hardly be any sort of Merchandize, which was not either necessary, or at least useful in a City so large as *Rome*. But what was thus earnestly recommended to the People, the Senators were restrain'd from; for by an ancient Law which was made by *Claudius*, Tribune of the People, in the Time of the second Punick War, and was renew'd by the *Julian* Law of Ex-tortions, the Senators were forbid the Possession or Use of Ships, lest the Advantages which they might reap from thence should make them aspire to some new Enterprize to the prejudice of the State.

5. During the Triumvirate of *Octavius Caesar*, (who was surnamed *Augustus*) of *Antonius* and *Lepidus*, young *Pompey*, who was among the Outlaws, attempting to sustain the Remains of his Father's Fortune, which had been chiefly raised by the Sea, built several Ships, and some among the rest cover'd with Leather; he associated himself with all the Pirates he could find, and made himself Master of the Sea; he took *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and the Isle of *Corfu*; he intercepted all the Convoys which were carrying Provisions and other Necessaries to *Rome*; those from the East by means of *Sicily*, and those from the West by *Sardinia*, and the Isle of *Corfu*; and he secured the Ships coming from *Africa*, by his Squadrons which he kept out at Sea; nay, he even insulted the Coasts of *Italy*, and brought off a considerable Booty. *Italy* thus insulted, and ready to be reduced by Famine, sought the most speedy Remedy, and
came

came to an Accommodation with their Enemy, *Pompey* on the one part, and *Cæsar* and *Antonius* on the other. They gave up to *Pompey* their Pretensions to the three Islands, and all others that were in his Possession. On his side, he abandon'd *Italy*, and promised never more to interrupt its Commerce, and that he would permit the Transportation of Corn to *Italy*, and would return that which he had stopped; he retained the Title of Governour of the Maritime Coasts, according to the Act which had given it to him. This Agreement would have been advantageous to all Parties, if it had been faithfully maintained; but *Pompey* having tasted the gain of Piracy, made use of the Corsairs, with whom he was in Alliance, to infest the Seas, as they have since confess'd: *Rome* being again afflicted with Famine, and not receiving from him the Succours he had promised, was obliged to seek her Remedy: *Cæsar* engaged in his Interest some of *Pompey's* Lieutenants, who were Men well skill'd in Sea Affairs. He fitted out some Ships, and built several new ones, by which he secured the Coasts of *Italy* against the Insults of *Pompey*, and sent a powerful Fleet to *Sicily* against him. But in all this Naval War *Cæsar* did not show any great Vigour; he was often beat, and as often suffered by Tempests; and what small Advantages he gain'd were chiefly owing to the Valour and Conduct of *Agrippa*. The secret Reflections which he made of these Dispositions, had given him an utter Aversion for the Sea, out of three hundred Sail of Ships which *Antonius* brought to his Aid, he took only one hundred and twenty, with ten other small Vessels, less than Gallies, which his Sister *Octavia*, who was married to *Antonius*, had presented him with. The Strength and Greatness of these Ships gave him a great Superiority over those of *Pompey*, which were chiefly serviceable for their Lightness and Agility, and were guided by more understanding Mariners

Mariners than those of *Cæsar*. *Pompey* had so much Confidence in these Advantages, and in some Victories which his Fleets had gain'd over those of *Cæsar*, that he attributed to himself the Title of the Son of *Neptune*, and in his constant Habit, affected a blue Colour (which is the Colour of the Sea) which he thought preferable to Purple. But nevertheless, all this did not preserve his Fleets from receiving some Checks from those of *Cæsar*; and at last, in a decisive Battle, he beheld his own Fleet, as he stood upon the Shoar, entirely defeated by *Agrippa*, who commanded *Cæsar's* Ships. These Fleets were composed of three hundred Ships each, and fought upon the Coast of *Sicily*. Of *Pompey's* Fleet there were only seventeen Ships saved, with which being retired towards *Antonius*, in hopes of Succour from him, he died in the Attempt. 'Twas in this War between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, that *Agrippa*, by opening the little Gulfs about *Baies*, made them commodious Harbours. *Cæsar*, to illustrate the Valour of this great Man, and give him a publick Mark of his Acknowledgement for the good Services he had receiv'd from him, honour'd him with a Naval Crown, for which there had been no President in the preceeding Wars, nor was it imitated in the following Ages.

6. The Battle of *Actium* caused another considerable Revolution in Sea Affairs. *Antonius* was obliged to have recourse to the *Egyptians*, the *Tyrrians*, and other People of *Asia* and the East, who were powerful at Sea, which gave them hopes that their Commerce would be again established. But the Victory of *Octavius* gave a turn to their Expectations. The Historians do not agree in the number of Ships which engaged in this Battle; some make *Cæsar's* Fleet to have consisted of two hundred and thirty armed Ships, and thirty light Gallies, and that of *Antonius* of one hundred and

and seventy Ships, much larger and stronger than those of *Cæſar*. Others give *Cæſar* four hundred Sail, and two hundred to *Antonius*. *Plutarch* carries it yet much farther, when he tells us, that *Cæſar* took three hundred of *Antonius*'s Ships; but these Differences may be easily reconciled, the one have only reckon'd the Ships of War, the others have added the Ships of Burden. But *Cæſar* punished the *Tyrinthians* and *Sidonians* for their Fidelity to *Antonius* against him; and from that time he began to exercise an absolute Power in *Asia*, which Country this Victory had entirely subdued.

7. It was chiefly this Victory which set forth the Advantages and extraordinary Use of the *Liburnian* Ships; for although they had been used before this time in the *Roman* Fleets, yet had they never been made so serviceable as they were in this Battle, where they were found to be more proper for War than any other. *Cæſar* being instructed by this Experience, as were also the succeeding Emperors, hardly built any other kinds of Ships than those of the *Liburnian* Model, of which we may find accurate Descriptions in the Writings of the Ancients.

8. This great Victory having got *Cæſar* the Mastery of the *Roman* State, he apply'd himself to regulate it. He first employ'd the Ships which he had taken from *Antonius*, (which *Plutarch* makes three hundred) to keep the People of *Gallia* in Subjection, having sent some Ships well equipped towards the Coast of *Trejus*. And to secure himself the Dominion of the Sea, he dispersed the Pirates of *Multha*, *Coſſu*, and those of *Liburnia*, which were a hindrance to Commerce. He fitted out two other powerful Fleets, to be constantly maintained; he established one of them at the Cape of *Misena*, in the *Tyrrhenian* Sea, and the other in the Port of *Ravenna* in the *Adriatick* Gulf; he disposed of them in this manner for the Safety of
Italy

Italy and *Rome*. The first of these had under its care all the Western and Southern Coasts, as far as *Egypt*, the other had all the Coasts of the *Levant* to take care of, even as far as the *Pontus Euxinus*, and *Palus Meotides*. This Establishment remain'd for a long time at *Ravenna*. We learn from the Letters of *Cassiodorus*, That *Theodoricus*, King of the *Ostrogoths*, some time before the Emperor *Justinian* built his Ships in this Port, the Banks of the *Po* furnished Timber fit for this Work, and the Course of that River was serviceable for its Transportation. But it happen'd to this Harbour, as to some others, that the Sea at last stopp'd it up with Sand.

*Cassiod. Lib. 3.
Epist. 17, 19, 20.*

9. In those Times, while the Empire of *Rome* was in its Youth, the *Romans* finding themselves Masters of a great part of the known World, sought rather to extend their Dominion, than the Art and Exercise of Commerce. It does not appear that Navigation was then otherwise practis'd, either in the *Mediterranean* Sea, or other Seas, than it had been before, that is to say by Coasting, rarely hazarding the main Sea. *Eratosthenes*, a Man of extraordinary Learning, who chiefly signalized himself in *Mathematicks* and *Geography*, was well apprised of this Truth, and is no ways deserving of the Reproaches which *Strabo* has given him, without alledging any Fact to contradict him. For *Strabo* gives but very trifling Proofs of what he advances, that the Ancients made greater Voyages than the Moderns, introducing only the fabulous Accounts of the Voyages of *Bacchus*, *Hercules*, and such others. But even allowing all those Voyages to have been real, *Strabo* does not make it appear that they travers'd the Ocean, nor that they lost sight of Land. The Voyage which the Fleet of *Alexander* made to *India*, towards the Mouth of the

Strab. Lib. 1.

the *Euphrates*, is another Proof. Historians have exactly described it upon the Credit of *Onesicritus*, who was on Board that Fleet, as well as that of *Juba*; from whence we may certainly infer, that the *Phenicians* who frequented those Seas by way of the *Red-Sea*, six or seven hundred Years before *Alexander*, did not lose Sight of Land in their Navigations.

Plin. Lib. 6. cap. 23. 10. We learn from *Pliny*, that the same Rout which *Alexander's* Fleet took to the *Indies*, was fol-

lowed in his Time by the *Roman* Ships: He adds, that the *Romans* being allured by the rich Merchandizes of *India*, sent their Fleets thither every Year, on Board of which they put a certain number of Archers, to secure them from the Pirates. Moreover, he tells us, that the desire of Gain made the Merchants search out shorter Ways; which seems to intimate, that they took the main Sea, and left their usual way of Coasting; and that those short ways which they had discovered were more safe for their Ships, in that they were free from Rocks and Shelves, which are too often found near the Shoar. He has given us an exact Description of the Rout which was followed in his Time, from *Alexandria* to the *Indies*, and of the proper Seasons for that Voyage, as well for setting out as for returning Home, and also of the Merchandizes used in that Trade.

Plin. Lib. 2. cap. 67. 11. On the other hand, a long time before *Pliny*, and even before *Augustus*, the way was opened from the *Mediterranean* Sea, by the Streights of *Cadix*, round *Africa* to the *Red-Sea*. What *Pliny* has writ upon this Subject is worth our regard: He tells us, upon the Credit of *Cælius Antipater*, a celebrated Historian, who lived in the Time of the Sedition of the *Gracchi*, that at that time Ships from the Coasts of *Spain* traded to *Ethiopia*. He adds, that

Hanno

Hanno the Carthaginian, while his Country flourished, navigated from the Streights of *Cadix*, as far as the extream Bounds of *Arabia*; and that he left an exact Relation of his Voyage, and that his Countryman *Hannico* was sent at the same time to discover the Coasts of *Europe*. *Pliny* still adds, under the Authority of *Cornelius Nepos*, (a faithful and valuable Historian,) that in his Time *Endoxus* flying the Pursuit of *Ptolemy Lathurus*, King of *Egypt*, embark'd in the *Arabian Gulf*, and landed at *Cadix*; from whence it appears, that the *Portuguese* are not much out of the way, when they attribute to themselves the Glory of having first discovered the *Cape of Good Hope*.

12. The Practice of the Sea which the *Romans* entertained at that time, contributed very much to the perfecting of their Commerce and Navigation. As they often traded with People who were more expert than themselves in the Marine Art, so they were not ashamed to improve from their Example, and even to imitate their Knaveries in Trade, as *Strabo* informs us. It was from them that they learnt to make use of the same Men in Navigation and War. We learn from the Testimonies of the Ancients, and by the Monuments they have left behind them, and from Medals and Inscriptions, that the Soldiers which were on Board their Ships were employ'd at the Oar, as the People of *Tunquin* practise at this Day, and as the Poets say, did also the ancient *Argonauts*, hanging up their Bucklers on the sides of the Ship, while they were employ'd at the Oar. I doubt not but that the *Roman* Custom (as *Vegetas* informs us) of painting the Ships which they sent upon new Discoveries of the colour of the Sea, as well the Sails and Ropes, as even the very Habits of their Mariners and Soldiers, came from the People of *Vannes*. The *Latin* Name of this Colour *Vene-*
M *tus*,

Veget. de re milit.
Lib. 5. cap. 7.

ius, which is the Name of that People, declares its Origin, although indeed some *Greek* Authors would bring the Name of this Colour from the *Venetes*, situate on the *Adriatick* Gulf; but it was for want of knowing the Reputation and Authority which the People of *Vannes* had acquired in Sea Affairs: But *Cæsar*, who was better apprized of it, made use of their Fleets and Soldiers with good Success in the Civil War, which follow'd that of *Gallia*. Now as the *Romans* were instructed in Commerce, and the Marine Art, by the Examples of those Countries they had subdued; so as they had opportunity they also instructed in the same Art those uncivilized People, which they afterwards subdued and brought under their Empire, as *Strabo* reports.

Strab. Lib. 2.

13. We may learn also from the ancient Medals what I have already remark'd, that the *Romans* chiefly studied Navigation on account of War, and that Commerce was their least Aim. Nothing gives us a clearer view of this, than the Statue of Victory which the *Romans* set up in the Port of *Ostia*, and those Medals of *Marcus Censorinus*, stamp'd in the Year of *Rome* 630, mark'd on their Reverse with two Ships and a Victory, which may shew us, that the *Roman* Fleets that set out from the Port of *Ostia*, were chiefly designed for War. When *Agrippa* and young *Pompey* took the Title of Prefects of the Sea, and the Maritime Coast, as we find upon their Medals; and that the latter took upon him the Title of the Son of *Neptune*, boasting that he had been adopted by that God, it is certain, War was their principal Aim, as it was also the chief View of *Calpurnius* and *Oppius*, when they made themselves Prefects of the Fleet.

14. During the Time of the *Roman* Commonwealth, the *Romans* often sent out Fleets to supply themselves with Provisions, but chiefly to import Corn: The Medals which were struck on that

that Occasion, shew the Design of those Fleets by these Words, *Ad commendum frumentum ex se*; with the Figure of the Prow of a Ship. The Emperors, who took the same care, express'd it upon their Medals by the Figure of a Ship, with these Words, *Annona Aug.* or *Ceres Aug.* We find many of this kind struck under *Nero* and *Antoninus Pius*.

15. The *Romans* honour'd those Cities who had signalized themselves either in Commerce or Ship Building, or were famous by some considerable Port belonging to them. These Cities mark'd their Medals with a Ship, or only with a Prow, sometimes with a *Neptune* and his Trident, or a Dolphin, and from thence they took the Title of *Navagylis*. (or Captains of the Sea.) Such were the Medals of *Tyre*, *Sidon*, *Byzantium*, *Leucate*, *Chelidonia* *Syracuse*, and many others; but before all this, the first and most ancient *Roman* Medals had the Head of *Janus* on one side, and a Prowe on the Reverse, to signify the Arrival of *Saturn* by Sea in *Italy*, who first taught the *Romans* the use of Money. And those Medals which were struck under their Kings, and are mark'd with the Figure of a Ship, has no other meaning than the arrival of *Saturn* in *Italy*; for we know how little the *Romans* apply'd themselves to Sea Affairs in the Time of their Kings.

16. But however, it is certain, that after the Battle of *Actium*; *Rome* was no less powerful by Sea than by Land. It is of

that Time that *Venus* speaks in the *Æneids*, when she remonstrates to

Virgil Æneid.
Lib 1. vers. 240.

Jupiter, that he had promised that the Descendants of the *Trojans* should once be Masters of the Land and Sea. But when *Cassandra* Daughter of *Priam* made the like Prediction mention'd by *Ixion*, it relates to a Time greatly anterior to that of *Augustus*, and that all these Predictions might not be

Dim Haliz. Lib. regarded as Poetical Exaggerations; *Dem. Halicarnassus* speaking of the Time he lived in, tells us plainly, That *Rome* was then Mistress of all the Sea, not only of that within the Pillars of *Hercules*, but also of the Ocean where-ever it was navigable.

C H A P. XLVII.

1. *The Reduction of Egypt into the Form of a Province improves the Commerce of the Roman Empire.* 2. *The Romans had for a long time been ignorant of the Affairs of Egypt.* 3. *The Kingdom of Cyprus reduced into a Province.* 4. *The Kingdom of Cyrene and Cilicia made Roman Provinces.* 5. *The Liberties of Egypt having been first cut off by Cæsar, Egypt was at last reduced into a Roman Province by Augustus.*

1. **B**UT nothing was more advantageous to the *Roman* Commerce, than the Reduction of *Egypt* into a Province, which was the Work of *Antony* after the Battle of *Actium*. *Rome* was enriched by this Conquest, she assured her self of a plentiful Subsistence from the Corn of this fertile Country. The *Indian* Trade was now laid open to the *Romans* by the Commerce which *Ptolemy* *Philadelphus* had established there a long while before. The two *Egyptian* Ports were *Pelusium* towards the East, which has since been unadvisedly confounded with *Damascus*, mention'd by *Stephanus* the Geographer, under the Name of *Tamiathis*, and *Myos Copris* towards the West. All the Ships of *Egypt*, and the neighbouring Provinces, came to

Pelusium;

Pelusium ; but all those from *Europe*, *Africa*, the North, and *Asia Minor*, went to the Port of *Alexandria*. The *Egyptians* made use of all the Mouths of the *Nile* for their Commerce, and *Hirtius*, who writ the War of *Cæsar* at *Alexandria*, against the last of the *Ptolemy*'s, has remark'd, that they established Offices, and placed Guards at all the Mouths of the *Nile*, to levy Duties upon the Ships that passed by.

2. The *Romans* for a long time had been ignorant of the Affairs of *Egypt*, but lost no Opportunity of shewing their Authority there. In the Time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, there was an Association between them and that Prince by reciprocal Favours. *Ptolemy* indeed, apprised of their Virtue, made the first step towards this Alliance ; and the *Romans* on the other hand, did not delay to answer his Civility, by a magnificent Embassy in the Year of *Rome* 478. But what gave the *Romans* the greatest Authority in *Egypt*, was the Will of *Ptolemy Philopator*, by which he had made them Guardians to his Son *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, who was but five Years old at the Death of his Father. They made *M. Læpidus* Governour of *Egypt*, in the Name of the young Prince ; and the *Roman* Medals have preserved to Posterity the Memory of it. The Affairs of *Egypt* being in this State, the *Romans*, in behalf of the young *Ptolemy*, declared War against *Antiochus the Great*, who taking the Advantage of the Minority of the young Prince, had invaded part of his Dominions. *Ptolemy Philopator*, who reigned jointly with his Brother *Ptolemy Evergetes*, seeing their Countries exposed to the Invasions of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, had recourse to their Allies the *Romans*. 'Twas on this account that *P. pilius*, who they had deputed to *Antiochus*, prevented the Artifices he would have used to lengthen the Negotiation, by enclosing him in a Circle which he drew on the Earth with his Wand,

without permitting him to go out of it 'till he had given a positive Answer. But *Sylla* yet treated the *Egyptians* with greater Insolence, when in the Year of *Rome* 673, he created *Alexander* King of *Egypt*, who was Son to another *Alexander*, Brother to *Ptolemy Lathurus*, who had been King of that Country; but the People of *Alexandria* soon removed him from his Government, and his Brother, who was also named *Alexander*, took his Place, but was likewise forced by his Subjects to quit his

regal Power in the Year of *Rome* 690, and retired to *Tyre*. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Cæsar*, who was

then Surveyor, endeavoured to get himself sent into *Egypt* by a *Plebiscite* to re-establish this King, who was a Friend and Ally of the *Romans*, but his Design did not take effect: The King died at *Tyre*, and appointed the *Romans* Heirs to his Kingdom. *Ptolemy Auletes*, who succeeded him, being apprehensive of the Effects of this Will, endeavoured to maintain his Possession, by engaging the Friendship of the *Romans*, among whom Gold, at that Time had a Sovereign Power; he distributed vast Sums among them, which he had exacted from his Subjects; but this means produced an effect quite contrary to his Designs. He was driven out of *Egypt* in the Year of *Rome* 697, and took his Refuge at *Rome*. The Affair of his Re-establishment remained a long time in suspense; but at length, after he had been two Years absent from his Kingdom, he was re-established by *Gabinus*, Proconsul of *Asia*, at the head of a great Army, according to the Directions of *Pompey*, in the Year of *Rome* 699, which Act the *Egyptians* looked upon as an Infringement of their Liberties.

3. In the preceding Year, his Brother *Ptolemy*, King of *Cyprus*, was treated unworthily by the *Romans*. *Claudius*, Tribune of the People, a Man noted for his evil Actions, undertook the Ruin of this

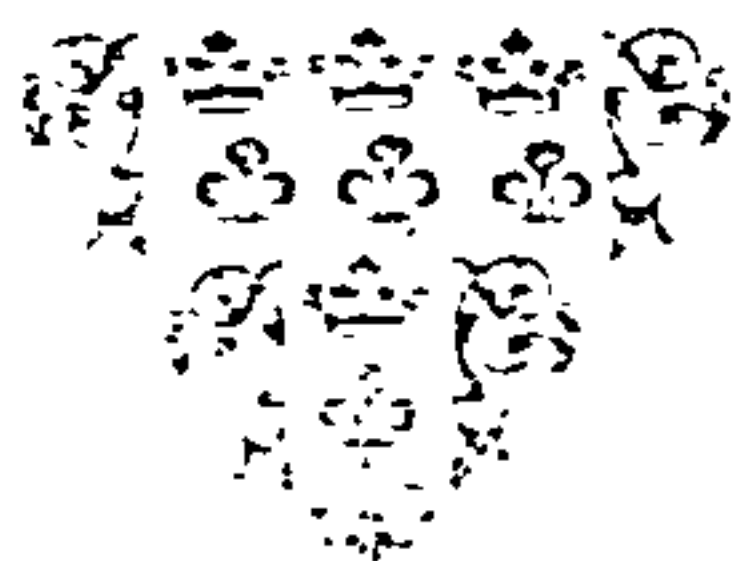
this Prince, who he thought had not treated him with sufficient Respect. The *Roman* People were indiscreet enough to come into his unjust Measures, and to depute *Cato* to seize the Kingdom of *Cyprus*, with its Treasure, which was very considerable. The King anticipated this Revolution by his Death, and the Isle of *Cyprus* became a *Roman* Province.

4. *Cyrene* was another Kingdom, tributary to *Egypt*, ever since the Time of the first *Ptolemy*; it had been also in Alliance with the *Romans*, by the Will of *Ptolemy*, surnamed *Apio*, a Bastard of *Ptolemy Evergetes Physco*, King of *Egypt*. This Kingdom likewise became a *Roman* Province: And *Cilicia* had also the same Fortune. So that *Egypt* was beset with the Forces of *Rome*, and losing thus continually such Tracts of Dominion, could expect no less, than to undergo herself the same Fate with her Tributaries.

5. *Appian* remarks, that after the Defeat of *Mithridates*, the *Romans* were Masters of all the Countries which encompassed the *Mediterranean* Sea, except *Egypt* only; for which reason *Pompey* was obliged to retire thither, after he had been routed at *Pharsalia*. But the *Egyptians* fearing the Arms, the Ambition and Greediness of the *Romans*, massacred him and his Troops so soon as he appeared among them. But what yet gave the greatest alarm to the People of *Egypt*, was the Authority which *Cæsar* took upon him in *Alexandria*, in the quality of Consul, to be Arbitrator of the Differences between the young *Ptolemy*, their King, and his Sister *Cleopatra*, touching their Pretensions to the Crown of *Egypt*, and the Order he gave them to dismiss their Armies. The *Egyptians*, who were a wise People, saw plainly that their Liberties were in danger, and that if they did not timely prevent the Evil that threatened them, *Egypt* would become a *Roman* Province. And this was the chief Cause of that bloody War which they

made with *Cæſar* in *Alexandria*. But he at length brought them to Reason (as we learn from History) without imposing on them any other Law than that which had been preſcribed in the Will of *Ptolemy Antioch*, to wit, that the elder of his two Sons, and the eldeſt of his two Daughters, which he had left behind him, ſhould jointly Reign after his deceaſe, deſiring the *Romans* would ſee this Diſpoſition of his fulfilled. The eldeſt Son was kill'd in the War he made againſt *Cæſar* : And *Cæſar* proclaimed his younger Brother King, with *Cleopatra*, the eldeſt of the two Daughters. Of all the Troops which he had brought into *Egypt*, he withdrew only the ſixth Legion, leaving the reſt, as he pretended, to maintain the Government which he had eſtabliſhed, but in effect to aſcertain the Poſſeſſion of *Egypt* to the *Romans*.

6. After the Deſeat of *Brutus* and *Cæſſius*, *Octavius Cæſar*, and *Mark Antony*, who were Conquerors, divided between them the Government of the *Roman* Provinces, and ſometime afterward renewed this Treaty. The Countries of the Eaſt were the Lot of *Antony*, and it was by that means he became a Slave to the Beauty of *Cleopatra*; from whence enſued his Rupture with *Auguſtus*, the Battle of *Actium*, his Death, and that of *Cleopatra*; and alſo the Reduction of *Egypt* into a Province by *Auguſtus*, in the Year of *Rome* 725, who drew an immense Wealth from that Country, and *Rome* was enriched by it.



C H A P. XLVIII.

1. Egypt fertile in Corn. 2. Rome and Constantinople furnished with Corn from Egypt.
3. The Invention of Beer. 4. The Voyages for Corn from Alexandria to Rome, call'd *Sacra Embole*, were regulated, and established by Augustus, and other Merchandizes of Alexandria brought to Rome and Constantinople.
5. Misdemeanors committed in the Administration of the Egyptian Commerce.
6. Egypt commodiously situated for Commerce.
7. The Landing in Egypt difficult, but its Conquest easie, through the Effeminacy and Discontent of the People.
8. The Valour and Power of the ancient Egyptians by Sea and Land.
9. Alexander, Augustus and his Successors, were circumspect in the Government of Egypt.
10. The Revenues of Egypt.
11. Antiquity of the Egyptian Commerce.
12. Commerce of Alexandria.
13. The Deficiencies of Egypt.

1. **T**H E Romans had made other Conquests, which contributed much more to the Establishment of their Dominion than that of Egypt, but they had not made any one that had given them a greater prospect of Riches and necessary Commodities. After Augustus had regulated the Tributes which the Egyptians were to pay to the Romans, he took care to assure himself of a constant Supply of Provision from them; a plentiful Corn-Harvest was as constant in Egypt, as the overflowing of the Nile, whose Flux of Waters so powerfully enriched the Lands, that they had no need of the Culture common

common to other Countries. Some Medals of the Emperor *Adrian* bear a publick Acknowledgement of the Fertility of *Egypt*, where *Alexandria* is represented, holding in her Hand a Sheaf of Corn. It was this Fertility which

Tacit. Annal.

Lib. 2. c. 18.

Lib. 3.

made *Tacitus* to call *Egypt* the Grainery and Key of *Italy*. But

that this Succour might be more abundant and certain to the *Romans*, *Augustus* had the Wisdom to order the cleansing of all the Canals of the Nile, by which its Waters were made to overflow the Country, and thereby enrich its Lands. And besides the abundance of Corn which *Egypt* afforded, it was equally fertile in many other sorts of Foods; it has sometimes happened, that in an universal Famine, this Country has preserved its usual Fecundity, and has supplied the Wants of Strangers. Holy Writ furnishes us with an illustrious Example in the History of

Gen. 47. 1.

Joseph. And *Diodorus* gives us another, of the Assistance it gave to *Athens* in a general Famine. It was this extraordinary Fertility of *Egypt*, which has made some attribute to it the Invention of Agriculture.

2. In short, the *Egyptian* Corn began to take its constant Course towards *Rome*, and at length towards *Constantinople*, which has even continued to our Times; for before *Constantine*, *Egypt* and *Africa* were only Nurseries to *Rome*; but after *Constantinople* was built, *Egypt* was obliged to furnish it with Substenance, and *Africa*, *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, furnished *Rome* with the like Provisions. The Trade for Corn from *Alexandria* to *Constantinople*, was regulated by an Officer appointed by the Prefect of the *Prætorium* of the East; and the Treaty for Corn from *Africa*, was under the care of the Prefect of the Court of *Italy* and *Africa*; one of these Inspectors resided at *Alexandria*, and the other at *Carthage*, under the Empire of *Valentinian*, *Valens*

and *Gratian*, the Proconsul being constrained to relieve the publick Wants, by distributing among the People the Corn which was only designed for the use of *Rome*; he faithfully restored it again to the *Romans*, after the return of the ancient Fertility. We may see by the Law of *Honorius* and *Theodosius*, which is in the XXVIIth Title of the Eleventh Book of the *Code* (*i. e.* the general Law-Book of the Emperors) what care they took of the *Egyptian* Corn, which they first had brought to *Alexandria*, and afterwards distributed to *Constantinople* and *Rome*. History has even informed us of the quantity which was brought to *Constantinople*, according to the diversity of Times and Necessities.

3. We may judge of the abundance of Corn in *Egypt*, from the Invention of Beer, which is due to the *Egyptians*: This Liquor supplied the Deficiency of the Vines in that Country, whose Land was not proper for them: This is what we learn from *Herodotus*. But *Athenens* tells us another Story; he says, That in his Time the *Egyptians* had learnt the Management of the Vine, and took great delight in Wine. He tells us, That all the Banks of the *Nile* were planted with Grapes, and particularizes the best Wines that came from thence, and chiefly that of *Marea*, which was celebrated long before his Time by *Virgil*, *Horace* and *Strabo*. The City *Tænia*, whose Wine he boasts of, and the City *Pluthma*, to which *Hellanicus* has attributed the Invention of Wine, were both neighbouring Towns to *Marea*, and it may be their Wines have been comprehended under the general Name of *Marean* Wine. Moreover he tells us, That it was the Dearness of Wine, and not the Rarity of it, that put the *Egyptians* upon the Invention of Beer, and that the People

Herodot. Lib. 2.

cap. 77.

Athen. Lib. 1.

Virg Georg Lib.

2.

Horat. Car. Lib. 1.

Ode 37.

Strab. Lib. 1.

of

of that Country were anciently given to Drunkenness. But since the *Mahometans* have been Masters of that Land, their Religion, which forbids them the use of Wine, has made them neglect the Culture of Vines ; they have only cultivated in these last Times some few Vineyards in the Province of *Fium*.

4. It was *Augustus* who established the regular Corn-Voyages from *Alexandria* to *Rome* : The Historians, after his Time, mention the *Alexandrian Fleet* as a Nurse to *Rome* ; it was that which the *Romans* called *Sacca Embole*, and *Felix Embole*, which we must distinguish from *ἀιγυπτία ἐμβολή*, which *Hesychius* cites from *Euripides*, and he explains to signify, not only Corn, but also all other Merchandizes which were brought from *Egypt*, from the Time of that Poet, who was Contemporary with *Alexander*. We might even be apt to judge, that the Word *Embole* has, by length of Time,

*Justin Ed 13.
de Alex. & L-
gypt. Provinc. 4
& 3, & 24 &
29.*

been corrupted from the Word *Empele*, although *Justinian* in his Edict, seems to make it dependant on the Word *ἐμπελεῖς*, because they threw these Merchandizes into the Ships when they

embarked them. Corn, to all appearance, has been the principal Lading of these Fleets ; wherefore *Justinian* explains the Word *ἐμπελεῖς* by that of *ἀπὸ πυλῶν* : but besides the Corn, they took hold of the Occasion to carry to *Rome* and *Constantinople* many other *Egyptian Merchandizes*, as well those of its own Growth, as those which came from *Ethiopia*, and such as were brought from *India*, *Persia*, and *Arabia*, by the *Red-Sea*.

5. Among the most important Edicts of *Justinian*, which concerns the Government of *Egypt*, we find, that before *Justinian's* Time there were many Misdemeanours committed in the Trade of Corn and other *Egyptian Merchandizes* that were shipped

shipp'd off at *Alexandria* for *Constantinople*; and that to remedy the Abuses of that Administration, which was very profitable to the Officers who had the Management of that Trade, and who, for that Reason, kept the Secrets of it to themselves, the Emperor thought it necessary to divide those Employments to facilitate that Commerce and regulate the Management of it, foreseeing that when it was in many Hands, the usual Frauds could not be so easily committed. Moreover, we learn from the same Edict, that besides the Port of *Alexandria*, where the *Egyptian* Corn was chiefly embark'd, there were several other Ports of *Egypt* in the Mouths of the *Nile*, where it was also shipp'd off; but these small Embarkations were not made without the Permission of the Emperor, and even then were not allowed of, 'till after the Imperial Fleet of *Alexandria* had got its Lading, and was out at Sea.

6. And as *Egypt* was the most happy Country in the then known World, by the Fertility of its Territory, and the Abundance of its precious Merchandizes; so was it likewise for its Situation, which determined *Alexander* to lay the Foundation of *Alexandria* there, and to make it the Center of the Commerce of his Empire. I have already remark'd in the preceding Pages, and the thing deserves to be observed more than once, that *Egypt* has the *Mediterranean* Sea on its Northern Parts, which affords it the Trade of the Western Part of *Asia*, of all *Europe* and the North: It has to the South the vast Mountains of *Ethiopia*, which form the Cataracts of the *Nile*, to which River the *Egyptians* owe their chiefest Riches: It has *Africa* on the West, and *Syria* on the East, which Countries furnish them by their Camels and Caravans, with the rich Merchandizes of the East, whose Trade had been opened many Years before by the Conquests of *Sesostris*, which he had carried very far into *Arabia*, *Africa*, *Ethiopia*, and the *Indies*; and also

also by the Prudence of *Psammitichus*, who perceiving the advantageous Situation of *Egypt*, established a trading Correspondence with Strangers. But he was not the first who did this good to his

Diodor. Lib. 1. Country, as *Diodorus* would have us believe ; for a long time before

him *Darius*, and other Princes of *Egypt*, more ancient than *Darius*, had settled *Egyptian* Colonies in *Greece*. The *Egyptians* have given us Memorandums enough of the Settlements they had made heretofore in the *Indies* ; and tell us, that their God *Osiris* had reign'd there many Years, and had left behind him many Marks of his Power in those Countries. The *Red-Sea*, which border'd upon the Eastern Coasts of *Egypt*, gave that Country a Communication with the Southern Ocean, and all the Coasts of *Arabia*, *Persia*, and the *Indies*, together with the East and West Coasts of *Africa*, which are so much celebrated in Holy Writ, (under the Names of *Ophir* and *Tharfis*) for the immense Riches which were brought from them by the Fleets of *Solomon*, and *Hiram* King of *Tyre*. By this it appears, that *Sesostris*, who lived some time afterward, was not the first who embarked upon the *Red-Sea* in great Ships, as the *Egyptians* believe. However, we may be assured that he set out with a Fleet of four hundred Sail of Ships to subdue the *Indies*, as appears by many evident Proofs. It was the same *Sesostris*, who join'd the *Nile* with the *Red-Sea* by a Canal, although some think it had been cut before his Time ; and having been neglected, and almost filled up, was only opened

Strab. Lib. 1. and enlarged by him. *Strabo* has written for the Honour of *Greece*,

that *Ptolemy Philadelphus* was the first who made the Way from *Coptos*, a City of *Egypt*, to the *Red-Sea*, for the better Passage of his

Diodor. Lib. 1. Army : And *Diodorus* assures us, that before the Time of that King, the *Greeks* had not

not any Entrance into *Egypt*, although he owns at the same time, that the *Egyptians* received the *Grecian* Merchants into their Ports on account of Trade.

7. The Difficulty of Entrance into *Egypt*, made the Conquest of it of greater importance; it had few good Ports; the Coast was stormy and dangerous: It had on the West sandy Desarts, and even in the *Isthmus*, which join'd it to *Syria*, it was mountainous on the South-side, and had the *Red-Sea* for a Rampart on the East. When *Nero* was inform'd of the almost general Rebellion of his Empire against him, he immediately chose *Egypt* for his Retreat; and we may believe that he had Hopes of maintaining himself there against his Enemies (by means of the natural Fortifications of the Country) and at the same time to enjoy the Pleasures of Life, which were his chief Concern. But this Thought of retiring to *Egypt*, in case of Distress, had been embraced by *Caligula* before his Time. Now if a Country so difficult of Access, had been defended by a courageous People, it might have despised all foreign Force; but its People, softened by their Pleasures and Abundance, were fallen into that Effeminacy, that the Country seem'd expos'd to the first that should attempt it: And we may add to this their seditious Spirit, their Untowardness and Discontent, as *Tacitus* has inform'd us. So that when their Enemies had once overcome the natural Defences of that Region, which consisted in its Barriers of *Pelusium*, *Paretumum*, and *Alexandria*, which some have call'd, *The Horns of Egypt*, the Conquest might then be said to be compleated. *Herodotus*, the *Armenian*, tells us, that in his Time when *Egypt* was possess'd by the *Mammæes*, one Victory alone sufficed to subdue it; which *Selim* found to be true when he conquer'd it.

I know

*Tacit. Hist. Lib. 1.
Cap. 11.*

Herod. Cap. 54.

know not well to what Time relates that remarkable Passage in *Philostates*, where he speaks of an ancient Treaty which had been concluded between the *Egyptians*, and a King who was Master of the *Red-Sea*, by which the *Egyptians* had been obliged to renounce coming into that Sea with any Ship of War; and only were to make use of one single Vessel of Burden at one time to keep up their Commerce with *India*. But the *Egyptians* endeavoured to evade this last Article, by framing a Vessel of such a size, and built with such Artifice that it might supply the place of many other Ships. I have reason to suspect that the King, who was then Master of the *Red-Sea*, might be the King of *Tyre*, who having a good Port at the Entrance of the *Arabian* Gulph, upon which he often navigated, had thereby acquired the Dominion of the *Red-Sea*.

8. However, we ought not to forget the ancient Valour of the *Egyptians*, and those prodigious Conquests of *Sesylis*, and his Son *Rhamfes*. We may call to mind their Zeal for the Service of *Cyrus*, and their Valour in the famous Battle which was fought against *Craesus*; their Resistance against the Invasion of his Son *Cambyses*: And their Courage was no less remarkable in the Sea-fight of *Arctus* against the *Greeks*, near *Artemisium*; and the Resolution and Bravery in the *Persian* War against the *Ethiopians*, in which *Herodorus* tells us they showed the greatest Intrepidity and Contempt of Death: All these Instances of their former Valour seem'd to indicate that they might again return to their natural Bravery, and correct themselves of their Sloth and Effeminacy. Moreover we may remember, that altho' Nature had not favoured them with a kind Sea, nor commodious Ports, yet nevertheless they gain'd the Dominion of

Philost. 177. Apud.
Lib. 3. Cap. 2. &
Lib. 6. Cap. 8.

Herod. Ethio.
Lib. 9.

of the Sea, under their Kings *Bocchoris* and *Psammitis* before the Time of the *Olympiades*; and that even the *Greeks* acknowledged them for their Masters in the Naval Science, as *Euripides* confesses. We may likewise once

Euripid. Troad.

more call to mind that Fleet of four hundred Ships, built by *Sesestris* in the *Red-Sea*, which we must not suppose were little Boats or Vessels of small importance, since we may judge of the Greatness of the Ships, built by the same *Sesestris*, by that enormous Vessel of two hundred and four-score Cubits in length, which was built by him; and that other *Egyptian* Ship which

Lucian saw in the Port of *Pirea*

Lucian. Vor.

of sixscore Cubits long, thirty in breadth, and twenty nine in depth. But we are yet better inform'd of the prodigious Power of the *Egyptians* at Sea and Land, by that pompous Account given us by *Appian*, which he chiefly attributes to the Time of *Ptolemy*

Appian. Pref.

the Son of *Lagus*: The *Egyptians*, says he, had then an Army of two hundred thousand Foot, forty thousand Horse, three hundred Elephants, and two thousand armed Chariots: Their Fleets consisted of fifteen hundred Gallies, two thousand light Vessels, and eight hundred of those large Ships, which were called *Thalamegi*, made chiefly for Pleasure. In *Cesar's* Time, somewhat before *Augustus* had conquer'd *Egypt*, that Country had fallen from its ancient Splendor, and was reduced to a low State; the Port of *Alexandria* was not however unfurnished of its Shipping. I know not whether we ought to attribute to the *Egyptians*, or to the *Romans*, the Structure of that prodigious Ship, whose Greatness exceeded the size of every other which had been built before that time: It was navigated by three hundred Men of the Oar, and built at *Alexandria* in the Reign

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of

of *Constantine* to transport to *Rome* a vast Obelisk of the Sun.

9. These Considerations obliged *Alexander* to alter the Constitution of the ancient Government of *Egypt*. By such Laws, says *Strabo*, Lib. 7.

Strabo, as were worthy the Wisdom of that Nation, which in all the Affairs of Life, made so much use of its Reason, it appears then that *Quintus Curtius* was wrong inform'd when he writ, that *Alexander* did not make any Change in the *Egyptian* Affairs. *Q. Curt. Lib. 4. Cap. 7.*

He first provided a sure and open Port for the better Entrance into *Egypt*, by building *Alexandria*; in the next place he did not think it proper to let the Government of *Egypt* remain in the Hands of a single Person, but appointed many Governments over it: And it was after this Model that *Augustus* regulated the Government of it in such a manner as was exactly observed by his Successors: Not (I say) by dividing it among many Chiefs, but reposing the Administration in the *Roman* Knights only, without admitting the Senators, or those who had great Employments to take part, or even to enter the Country without special Leave: And moreover, the *Romans* would not receive any *Egyptian* into their Senate: an Honour which was not allowed even to the *Alexandrians* till the Time of the Emperor *Severus*, and his Son *Antoninus*.

5. 6. 1. cap. 12.

2. 1. 1. Lib. 2.

And *Josephus* assures us, that in his Time the *Egyptians* were the only People to whom the *Romans* would not grant the Right of Burghership in any of their Cities; and that no other Sovereign would allow them that Privilege. In the Division of the Provinces of the Empire, which *Augustus* made with the Senate, he took care to reserve *Egypt* to himself, and reformed the Politicks, which had

been followed by the *Ptolemys*. *Tacitus* remarks, that this Prince made his Establishment of the *Egyptian* Government a Secret to the *Romans*; and *Tiberius* yet carried his Mistrust much further; for when his Nephew *Germanicus* took the Liberty to travel into *Egypt*, to view the Singularities of that famous Country without Leave, he was severely reprimanded for it. Now as the Possession of *Egypt* appeared of greater importance to *Rome*, so did the *Egyptians* appear more and more contemptible to the *Romans*, to which it may be the Vanities and the Superstition of their Religion contributed, as much as their Sloth and Effeminacy. Of all the *Bassas* in the *Ottoman* Empire, him of *Egypt* who seemingly has more Power than any of the rest, has a less Share of it than any other. The others have almost an absolute Authority in their Governments, but the *Bassa* of *Egypt* is controul'd in his Power by the Body of Militia established there.

10. We may judge of the Importance of this Government by the Revenues which were drawn from it. Without looking back into the Works of the Ancients, *Elmacinus*, Author of the History of the *Saracens*, tells us, that in the 898th Year of our blessed Saviour, the *Calif* drew out of the Revenues of *Egypt* three hundred millions, and two hundred thousand Crowns of Gold, and yet, as great as this Sum appears to be, it was nevertheless much inferiour to that which the *Romans* got from thence.

Elmac. Hist.
Sarac. Lib. 2.
Cap. 16, 17.

11. I think we may be certain, that the *Egyptian* Commerce is as ancient as their Adoration of *Mercury*, under the Name of *Thoth*; he was likewise worshipp'd under the Name of *Taautus* by the *Phenicians*; both of these People were equally given to Trade, and honoured *Mercury* as the chief God of Commerce. Nevertheless

Strab. Lib. 17. *Strabo* and *Diodorus* tells us in express Terms, that the ancient Kings of *Egypt*, being contented with their own Produce, did not seek after strange Merchandizes, and even would not permit the Entrance of any Stranger into their Country, but defended themselves against all foreign Invaders, and especially the *Greeks*. But this does not seem to have regard to any other Commerce than that which was carried on in the *Mediterranean* Sea, where the *Greeks* practised their Piracies along the Coasts of *Egypt*, as *Strabo* afterwards explains clear enough. The *Greeks* seeing themselves by this means excluded from *Egypt*, complain'd of this Usage as a piece of Injustice, and as an Attempt against the Right of Nations, they mentioned the *Egyptians* as a barbarous People, and as Strangers to Humanity and Hospitality ; and it is from thence is taken the Fable of *Buſiris*. The frequent Wrecks upon this Coast, and the Difficulty of landing there, contributed also to lessen the Fame of *Egypt* among the *Greeks*. But some Histories of better Credit than those of the *Greeks* justify the *Egyptians*. The Holy Bible teaches us that *Abraham*, and his Descendants, were received into *Egypt*, not only to trade in it, but likewise to establish themselves there ; and in that general Famine foretold by *Joseph*, Strangers were permitted to come and buy Corn in *Egypt* ; and even before that time the *Ishmaelites* and *Midianites*, to whom *Joseph* was sold, went from *Gilead* into *Egypt* to sell there the Merchandizes of other Countries. Can we believe that the *Canaanites*, who were an industrious People, and drove a Trade all over the World, would neglect that of *Egypt*, which was so commodious for them ? And did not *Solomon* buy of the *Egyptians*, for ready Money, that great number of Horses with which his Stables were filled ? That ancient Correspondence between the *Egyptians* and
Indians

Indians, could hardly have been maintain'd but by the *Red-Sea*, which was open to the *Persians* and *Arabians*, whose Merchandizes were useful and necessary to the *Egyptians*. That powerful City of *Thebes*, with its hundred Gates, the ancient Capital of *Egypt*, placed upon the Frontier of the *Ethiopians* and *Troglodytes*, wanted the Merchandizes of this Neighbourhood for its Subsistence : In a word, that ancient Trade of the City

Naucratis, which *Herodotus* speaks of, *Herodot. Lib.*
Cap. 78.

was in all Appearance, carried on with the neighbouring *Libyans*. But the Invasion of *Egypt* by the Kings of *Affyria* and *Babylon*, soon accustom'd the People of that Country to receive Strangers among them. *Psammitichus*, *Apries* and *Amasis*, who afterwards reigned there, altered the Politicks of the *Egyptians*, they established among them the *Carians*, the *Ionians*, and *Greeks*, which People they made use of for their Guards against their own Subjects. *Amasis* allotted *Naucratis* for the Habitation of such *Greeks* as would come and settle in *Egypt*, which City was the only place in that Country destin'd for Trade, and bordered on the Mouth of the *Nile*, which lay near *Canops*. Now although Nature had been liberal enough in some respects to *Egypt*, yet was that Country wanting of commodious Harbours towards the *Mediterranean* Sea : However it was not altogether destitute of Ports ; for besides the seven great Mouths of the *Nile*, that River had many others of less Note, which were called the false Mouths, which are particulariz'd by *Strabo*, where Vessels of small size could come up. If a Ship happened to go up any other Mouth of the *Nile* than that which led to *Naucratis*, she was forced to turn back again after his Leader had first sworn that he had been forced to take that Passage against his Will. But for the *Greeks*, who only came to *Egypt* on account of Trade, *Amasis* permitted them to build Temples

in certain Places there for the Exercise of their Religion. After all that I have here related, it is very surprizing that *Manéan*, who of all other Writers has given us the best Accounts of the Antiquities of *Egypt*, can advance, that the *Egyptians* did not begin to apply themselves to Trade 'till the Reigns of the *Ptolemys*; and that the Expeditions and Voyages, which they had made before, were designed for no other End than the Augmentation of their Dominion. It is true, *Ptolemy Philadelphus* was careful to improve to the *Egyptians* the Eastern Commerce, and the Trade with the *Ethiopians*, and the *Taglathæ*; but we do not find that he had any particular regard to the North and Western Commerce. It seems to me that his Application to Trade had no other View than the great Advantage which accrued to him from the Merchandizes which the *Egyptians* drew from the East, and were sent by him to *Alexandria*, to be distributed from thence to the Merchants of the *Mediterranean* Sea. However, it does not appear, that he gave himself much trouble in the Affairs of Trade; for his delicate Complexion forbid him the use of much Exercise, and only allowed him such Studies and Diversions as were quiet, and little depending upon Action. He was a Lover of Letters, and had a great desire to learn; from whence it is probable enough, that his Curiosity had the greatest share in that Correspondence, which he maintain'd with the People of the East and Southern Parts, who were then very little known. However, we are not to believe, that the People of those Countries were altogether unknown 'till his Time, lest we rob the ancient Kings of *Egypt* of the Honour due to them, of being the first that opened the Way to those Parts: That Canal alone, which was cut by *Sesistris*, between the *Nile*, and the *Red-Sea*, is Proof enough. But this ancient Commerce of *Egypt*, although it had been well established, began

to

to decline with the *Roman* Empire, and chiefly after the Building of *Constantinople*, and the Conquests of the *Sarazens*. The *Mammelues* afterward maintain'd it indifferently, and the *Turks*, who subdued the *Mammelues*, almost destroy'd it, according to the Genius of that Nation, and their Maxims of Policy, which lead them rather to the Destruction, than to the Improvement of Arts, which contribute so much to the Pleasure and Ornament of Life. The Navigations of the *Portuguese*, and their Establishment in the *Indies*, completed the Ruin of the *Egyptian* Commerce; and *Cairo* is at this Day sensible of it: That City was built in the Year of our Lord 795, upon the Western Shoar of the *Nile* out of the Ruins of the ancient *Memphis*, which was situate upon the opposite Shoar, by the Directions of the *Calif* of *Cairan* in *Africa*, after that *Egypt* had submitted to him: He established there the Seat of his *Califan*, to assure himself of the Passage of the *Nile*, and lye in the Neighbourhood of the *Sarazens* of *Asia*, and the *Califs* of *Damascus* and *Bagdad* with whom he was in Alliance. It is likely the same Considerations might contribute to the enlarging of those two Keys of *Egypt*, *Tanis* heretofore a famous Town, and *Damietes*, which grew out of the Ruins of *Pelusium* situate a little higher upon the Banks of the *Nile*. These Cities preserved a part of their ancient Commerce in the Trade of Linnen Cloth, which was heretofore so abundant in *Egypt*. I shall not add to this Account the famous City of *Thebes*, otherwise called the *Hecatompylos*, from its hundred Gates, which I have mentioned elsewhere, to have been so much noted by the Ancients, since that City has remained in Ruins ever since the coming of *Cambyfes* into *Egypt*, and the Destruction of it by him, when he strip'd it of its Ornaments and Riches. *Strabo* tells us it was deserted in his

Strab. Lib. 17.

Time, although there yet remained some Footsteps of its ancient Splendor. The City *Gerges*, which is thought by some to be the same, yet entertains some Traffick, but gives us a very feint Idea of the former Magnificence of *Thebes*, which perhaps might owe its Grandeur to the Neighbourhood of the *Arabian Gulph*, and the Fertility of *Egypt*, which was communicated to it by means of the *Nile*, upon which River it was situated.

12. But that we may yet have a more exact Idea of the Extent of the *Egyptians* Trade, we ought to observe, that since the building of *Alexandria* it diffused itself to all the Ports and Coasts of the *Mediterranean Sea*. *Egypt* became as it were a general Staple between the East and West Parts of the World; and *Alexandria* was the Staple between *Egypt* and *Europe*. When that City fell into the Hands of *Augustus* it commanded the Trade of the whole World, as *Strabo* says,

Strab. Lib. 17.

Joseph. bel. Jud.

Lib. 2. Cap. 16.

et Lib. 5. Cap. 32.

who lived at that Time: And *Josephus*, who came sometime afterward seems to exaggerate its Power and Greatness, tells us, that it

brought more Riches into the Treasury of *Rome* in one Month, than all *Egypt* did in a Year; and that its Extent was so great that no City besides *Rome* was its equal; which was as much as to say, that

Ann. Marcell.

Lib. 22. Cap. 16.

no other City of *Egypt* was prefer'd before it. *Annianus Marcellinus* calls it the Chief or Head

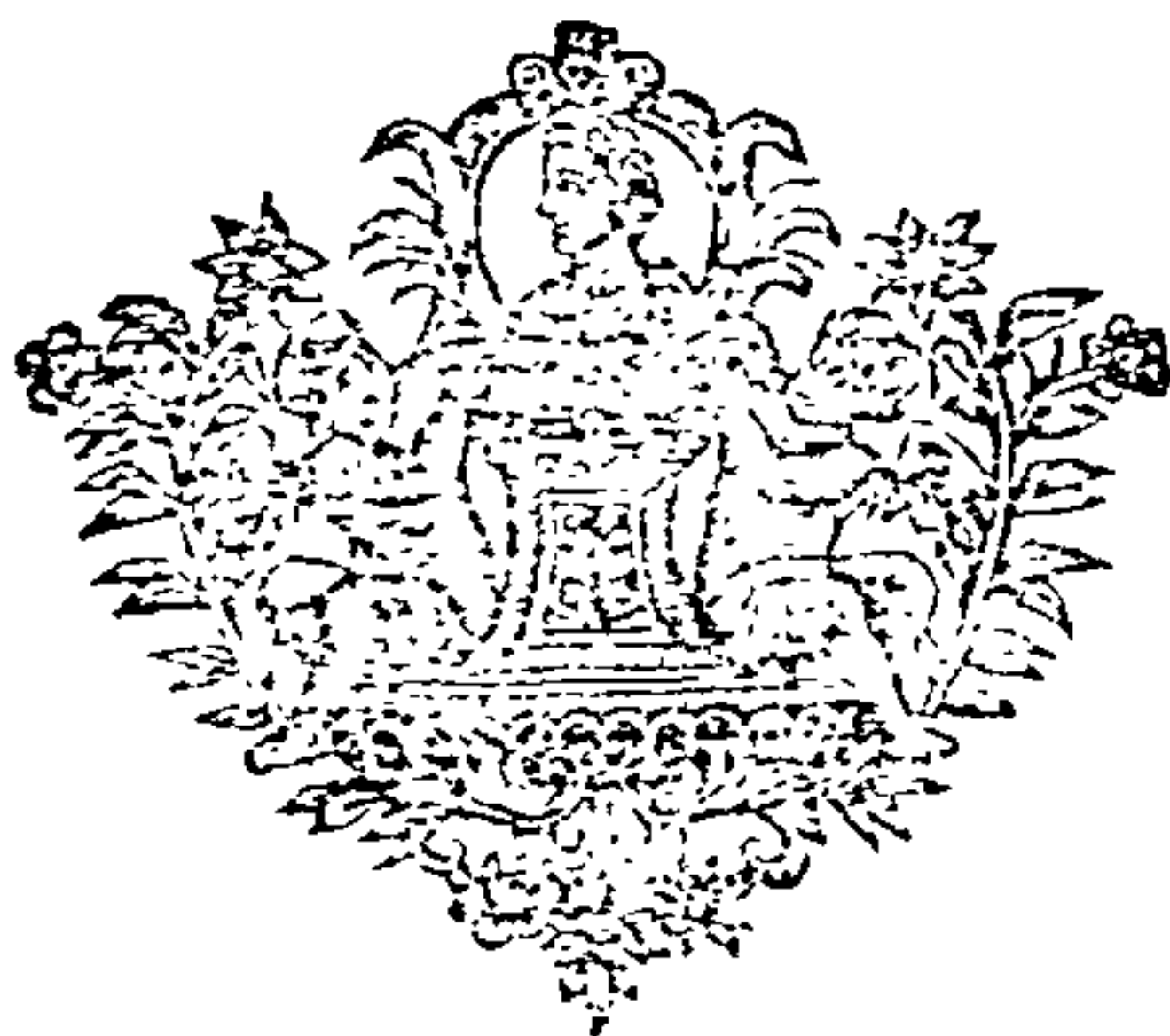
of the Cities. The Neighbourhood of the Sea, the Lake *Mareotis*, and the *Nile* made good the Defects of that barren Land wherein it was situated, and the Difficulty of its Port, insomuch that *Italy*, with all its Greatness and Riches, was not able to furnish *Rome* with so many valuable Merchandizes as were brought from *Alexandria*.

13. But *Egypt*, notwithstanding its Fertility in some things, was wanting of many others; its

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fat heavy Land did not afford any kinds of Metal, but its Inhabitants were furnished with those Commodities from *Europe* : There was wanting in *Egypt* Timber, Pitch, and Tar, and those agreeable Fruits which are so common in more temperate Countries. It is said the Quantity of Merchandizes, which came from *Alexandria* to *Rome*, was so great that the Ware-houses and Magazines were filled with them ; the chief of which were Spices of all sorts, Cloth, Paper, Glass, Flax, Hemp, and magnificent Robes : This great Trade of *Alexandria* began to decline under the Empire of *Heraclius*. When the *Sarazens* became Masters of *Egypt*, the *Europeans* seldom came there, not liking the Ill-nature of the *Mahometans*, who were a People rather enclined to War than Commerce ; and besides, this savage People abandon'd the Maritime Towns, and those of the West, to inhabit Countries nearer *Arabia*, *Syria*, and the other Provinces, where they had already established a powerful Dominion ; and by this means *Cairo* was enlarged, and *Alexandria* impoverished. The *Europeans* found it would turn to better Account to trade on the Coast of *Syria*, and with the Cities of *Tyre*, *Tripoli*, and *Scanderoon*. But at length both the Christians and *Mahometans* found the want of the *Alexandrian* Commerce, which they began again to promote, and was afterward re-established. *Benjamin* of *Navarre*, a *Jew*, in the Account he has given us of his Voyage into those Countries, about the middle of the twelfth Century, tells us, that there was then at *Alexandria* a great Resort of Merchants from all the Parts of the World. The *Indian* Wares, which had taken the Northern Rout to *Europe*, which the *Venetians* and *Genoese* fetch'd from *Astracan* by the *Caspian* Sea, and from *Casa* by the *Black-Sea*, retook the Way of *Egypt*, in the Reigns of the Sultans. The *Venetians* then got leave of the Pope to trade with the

the Infidels, after they had obtained from the Calif the Liberty of Commerce with the *Egyptians*, *Syrians*, and chiefly the People of *Alexandria*. They carefully maintained this Traffick 'till such time as the *Portuguese* doubled the *Cape of Good-Hope*, and made their Settlement in the *Indies*; they were then sensible of the Loss they were likely to sustain, and joined with the Sultans to drive them out of their new Settlement, but without Success. The People of *Marseilles*, and others of the South Parts of *France*, made annual Voyages to *Alexandria*, and brought from thence and from *Aleppo* Spices and other rich Merchandizes of the East, with which they furnished all the rest of the Kingdom.



C H A P. XLIX.

1. *COMMERCE of the Ethiopians and Troglodytae.* 2. *Debates between the Egyptians and Ethiopians about Precedence and Antiquity.* 3. *Ptolemy Philadelphus settled a Commerce between Egypt and Ethiopia: Coptos a famous City and Staple of Commerce.* 4. *The false Etymology of the Word Egypt.* 5. *The Ethiopian Trade becomes very profitable.* 6. *The Ethiopians can starve and ruin Egypt by turning the Course of the River Nile.*

1. **B**UT the *Egyptians* drew other sorts of Merchandizes from the Southern Parts. Although the *Ethiopians* lead poor Lives, inhabited a barren Soil, breath'd an unwholesome Air, and were situated at a great distance from other Nations, their Country, notwithstanding these Disadvantages, furnished many rich Commodities not only to their Neighbours the *Egyptians*, but likewise to the *Arabians* and other People that traded upon their Coasts. It afforded Gold, Brass, Iron and other Metals that *Egypt* wanted; but more especially its Gold was in such abundance, that *Heliodorus* assures *Heliod. Ethiop. Lib. 9, & 10.* us, that they made use of it in many Works where Iron is commonly employed. The Ships of *Solomon*, which brought such great Quantities of Gold from *Ophir*, that is to say *Sophola*, and what is still brought of that Metal from *Monomotapa*, doth sufficiently demonstrate the Riches of *Ethiopia*; for under the Name of *Ethiopia* I comprehend all that vast Extent of Country which

which reaches from the furthest Bounds of Egypt towards the South. The Gold of *Ophir* was known in *Palestine* before *Solomon's* Time ; for we

read in the *Paralipomenes*, that
1 Paral. 29. 4.

David had got together the Sum of three thousand Talents for the building of the Temple of *Jerusalem*, which came from the *Tyrans*, by which the Antiquity of the *Ethiopian* Trade is known : There came also from thence precious Stones of divers sorts. The Mines of Emeralds, which were upon the Frontiers of *Ethiopia*, but are not to be found in our Times, were the Cause of that War between the *Egyptians* and

Ethiopians, described by *Heliodorus*.

Heliod. Ethiop.

Lib. 9.

No other Country in the World afforded so much Ivory as *Ethiopia*; it yielded also Cinnamon, Myrrh, and many other precious Spices. Under the Name *Ethiopia* we are to comprehend also the Country of the *Troglydæ*, so much celebrated among the Ancients : However, the *Portuguese* have not been able to find in that Country those Spices which it formerly yielded in such great abundance. *Philostratus* reports, that in his Time there was a regular Trade settled between the *Egyptians* and *Ethiopians*, which was carried on by Land, and by Exchange.

2. These two Nations disputed a long time upon the Chapter of Priority and Antiquity, the *Ethiopians* pretending to be the most ancient Nation of the World, and that *Egypt* was first inhabited by *Ethiopian* Colonies under the Conduct of *Osiris*. But on the contrary the *Egyptians* assert that the *Ethiopians* were their Issue, which seems

to be confirm'd by the Testimony
Gen. 10.

of *Moses*. These Debates have produced many Wars between the two Nations; with various Successes and Events even before the Wars of *Troy*. The *Egyptian* Kings, *Sesostris* and *Ramesses*, the first of which reigned a few Years after

after Solomon, and the Second about fifty Years after the First, made themselves Masters of the *Ethiopians*, which People shortly shook off the *Egyptian* Yoke, and separated themselves entirely from *Egypt*, by breaking off all Correspondency.

3. *Ptolomy Philadelphus* was sensible of the Advantages which *Egypt* might draw from *Ethiopia*, and therefore invaded that Country with an Army, and got a more exact Knowledge of it than had been before his Time, and reviv'd its Commerce with the *Egyptians*. The City *Coptos*, on the *Nile*, was the Staple or Magazine for all the Merchandizes that came as well from the Western Parts of the World, thro' *Alexandria*, to be forwarded to the *Levant*, as for those that came down the *Nile* from *Ethiopia*: And because Navigation was more troublesome and dangerous towards the middle of the *Arabian* Gulf than at the Mouth of it, *Philadelphus* built the City *Berenice* (after his Mother's Name) upon the Banks of that Gulf, near its Entrance, in the Country of the *Troglodites*, in order to transport thither the Merchandizes of *Coptos*.

Strabo says, that the City *Berenice* had no Port; but *Pliny* affirms the contrary, who perhaps means the Port *Myoshormos*, or the Mouse-Port, which was very near to *Berenice*, and which she made use of as her own. Merchandizes were carried from *Coptos* to *Berenice* upon Camels in Caravans; which Journey was of six or seven Days, the Way being made very commodious for Travellers, with Cisterns and Fountains of Water, by the Care of their Prince. *Coptos* is now known by the Name of *Cana*, and is at this Day a great Mart for Corn: From this City it is transported to *Cosir*, which was the ancient *Myoshormos*, and from thence to *Mecca* and *Medina*.

Strab. Lib. 17.

Plin. Lib. 6. cap.

23.

4. The Renown of this ancient Town of *Coptos* made some believe that it gave its Name to *Egypt*; and

and that the Word *Egypt* was compounded of *Coptos*, and the *Greek* Diphthong prefix'd, which is the Contraction of the Word *'Αἴα* Earth ; but this seems to me very improbable ; for the Name *Egypt* is very ancient, and is found in *Homer* to denote both the Country and the River *Nile* which runs thro' it. For altho' *Homer* was but very little

acquainted with the Affairs of *Strab. Lib. 7.*

Ethiopia, as *Strabo* acknowledges, yet he knew so much of that Country, as to be instructed about the Original of the *Nile* and its Names ; whereas the Name *Coptos* is not so ancient ; for 'tis ridiculous to believe that the *Egyptians* should be beholding to the *Greek*, or any other foreign Language, for the Name of their Country. I shall here take notice of the fabulous Opinions of the *Arabians*, who derive the Names *Coptos* and *Egypt* from King *Copt*, the Son of *Mesram*, and Grandson of *Cham*, which has no Grounds in History. I am rather inclin'd to believe, that *Egypt* was first the Name of the River *Nile*, and that that River had taken its Name from *Ethiopia*, from whence it springs ; and that afterwards the *Nile* gave its Name to that Country, which is washed with its Streams, from whence likewise the Word *Coptos* was derived, a famous City situated upon the Banks of that River ; so that foreign Merchants, and Strangers, at their Arrival into *Egypt*, might perhaps give the Name of that Country to the most trading Town in it ; and from *Αἴγυπτος* might make *ἡ Αἴγυπτος*, not understanding the Language of the Country.

5. 'Tis true, that in *Menahis's* Time the Commerce made with the *Ethiopians* and *Troglodites*, was not very gainful, as *Strabo* well observes ; but Things have chang'd their Face since that Time, and those Countries has afforded very precious Commodities, as has been already observed : This further appears from the Port of *Aduli*, belonging

to the *Troglodites* or *Ethiopians*, which according to *Pliny*, was a *Plin. Lib. 6. c. 29.* Place of very great Trade ; the Truth of which is farther made known to us from those great Fleets which came in *Strabo's* Time from the *Red-Sea* to *Ethiopia*, from whence they carried back to *Egypt* very precious Merchandizes ; and also from what the same Author mentions, that the Revenues which the *Romans* drew from *Egypt* did mightily increase by the Trade of the *Troglodites* and the *Indes*. As the *Ethiopian* Commodities, in their way to *Rome*, pass'd through *Coptos*, whether they came from the *Red-Sea*, or by the *Nile*, having coasted along the *Elephantine* and *Syena*, which were the Bounds of the *Roman* Empire on that side, and thence were carried to *Alexandria*, and afterwards to *Italy*, these Commodities might pass for *Egyptian* Wares ; and very often the *Ethiopians* and *Egyptians* were promiscuously taken the one for the other in *Rome* about *Mameli's* Time.

6. *Augustus* apprehending the great Advantages which might accrue to *Egypt* from the Neighbourhood of *Ethiopia*, made some Attempts to gain the Mastery of it, by empowering *Ælius Gallus* to extend the *Roman* Eagle over *Arabia*, *Ethiopia*, and the *Troglodites*. In this View he did not only consider the Riches of these People, but also foresaw what great Damages they might do to *Egypt*, by turning the Course of the *Nile*, and drying it up. We read in *Elmacin*, *Elmac. Hist Sarac. Lib. 3. cap. 8.* a *Saracen* Historian, that in the Time of *Mustanser*, Calif of *Egypt*, in the Year 482 of the *Hegira*, that is the 1104th Year of the Christian *Æra*, the Water of the *Nile* being very low, and consequently *Egypt* threatened with Dearth and Famine, that Prince dispatch'd *Mubael*, Patriarch of the *Jacobins*, with many rich Presents to obtain the King of *Ethiopia's* Orders for opening the Sluices of the *Nile* in favour of *Egypt* ; and having

having obtained the Royal Orders for that purpose, the *Nile* rose three Cubits in one Night's Time.

John Cantacuzene, who ex-
5 Cantac. Lib. 4.
cap. 15. changed the Empire of *Constanti-
nople* for a Monastery in the Year
 1360, reports in the History of his own Reign,
 that the Sultan of *Egypt* endeavour'd to reconcile
 himself to the *Jacobins* which inhabited the
 Southern Parts of the River *Nile*, fearing lest they
 might, upon some occasion, change the Course of
 that River. 'Tis reported that *Alphonso Albuquerque*
 a *Portuguese*, one of the first Argonauts or Sailors
 into *India*, whose Virtues had acquir'd him the
 Epithet of the Great, form'd the same De-
 sign of altering the Course of this River, by
 making it fall into the *Red-Sea*, and thereby re-
 venge himself of the Sultan of *Egypt*, who had
 cross'd the Designs of the *Portuguese* in their Trade
 to the *Indies*. 'Twas very consistent with the Pru-
 dence of *Augustus* to consult the Preservation of
Egypt, and to weigh the Advantages and Dis-
 advantages which that Country might expect from
Ethiopia, and more especially considering that
Candace, the Queen of *Ethiopia*, had once enter'd
Egypt with a numerous Army, ravaging all the
 Country as far as the City of *Elephantine*, and
 making herself Mistress of three Roman Legions
 that kept Garrison in that Town, and those of
Syena and *Philes*, throwing down the Statues
 erected there in Honour of *Augustus*. *Petronius*,
 then Governour of *Egypt*, stop'd the Insults of this
 Queen, by making Inroads into her Country, and
 placing there Roman Garrisons, which kept her in
 Subjection.

C H A P. L.

1. *The COMMERCE of Arabia.* 2. *The Merchandizes of Arabia.* 3. *Arabians were great Robbers.* 4. *In former Times they were very Warlike.* 5. *Their Courage declin'd for a Time, but reviv'd again when they receiv'd Mahometanism.* 6. *Great Friendships between the Arabians and Egyptians.* 7. *The Canal from the Nile to the Red-Sea.* 8. *Arabian Ports upon the Coasts of Egypt.* 9. *Arabia subjected to the Romans.* 10. *Aden a famous Sea-port in Arabia.* *Oman a great trading Town in Arabia.*

I Have spoken already of the ancient Trade of the *Arabians*, and have made it appear, that *Arabia* furnish'd a great part of the Trade of *Egypt*. This Country and its Inhabitants were hardly known in *Homer's* Time, and, may be, scarcely knew themselves; but in succeeding Ages they grew acquainted with their own Power and Happiness, which was such, that *Alexander* made choice of this Country, after his Return from the *Indies*, to be the Seat of his Empire; one part of which took the Name of *Arabia the Happy*: And the *Sabeans*, who inhabited part of that Land, were thought to surpass all the Nations of the World in Wealth and Riches. The Product of their own Soil not only afforded them plenty of all Necessaries, but also produced such abundance of valuable Commodities more than they could make use of among themselves, that they had where-withal to barter for the Gold, Silver, and precious Stones of other Nations, with-
O
out

out paying for them any ready Money ; the great Traffick they made of their own natural Merchandizes brought them in immense Treasures, without being at the expence of embarking their Goods, and hazarding them in long Voyages at Sea ; they saw their Ports fill'd with forreign Ships, and the

the City *Aden* (as it is reported by
Geog. Nat. Clim. 1. part 6. the Geographer of *Nenbea*) had its Haven often visited with *Indians*

and *China* Ships : They also carried on their Commerce by Land with the *Syrians* (and other neighbouring People) we learn from the Voyage of

Jambulus in *Diodorus* the Antiquity
Diod. Lib 7. of the *Arabian* Trade by Land

with their Spices. The *Gerrbeans* and *Mineans*, which were People of *Arabia*, traded with their

Spices towards the Frontiers of *Pa-*
M. 2. 23. 1. cap. 15. *lestine*. And *Mela* the Geographer

tells us, that the City *Azotus* was the *Arabian* Port for the *Mediterranean* Trade ; but this Traffick was for a long time carried on only by Exchange, and at length the *Arabians* establish'd a Fair among them, where the neighbouring People brought in their Merchandizes.

2. These Merchandizes of the *Arabians* consisted chiefly in Aromaticks, precious Stones, and Gold of their own Growth ; and sometimes they found also Mines of Copper and Iron, but in small Quantities ; besides which their Country afforded them Ivory, Pepper, Wax and Honey. But can we find

a better Witness of the Merchan-
Gen. ii. 11, 12. dizes of *Arabia* than *Moses*, who inhabited it so many Years ? He boasts of its precious Stones, and the Goodness of its Gold ;

and the Royal Prophet, in the
Psal. lxx 15. *LXXI Psalm*, mentions it in like manner. The Presents which the Queen of *Sheba* brought to *Solomon*, and those which the Wise Men made to our Blessed Saviour, are sufficient

Testi-

Testimonies of its abundance of Gold and Spices. In fine, *Ezekiel* *Ezek. xxvii. 21,* speaks of the Trade which the *22.* *Arabians* carried on among the *Tyrrhians* with their Spices, precious Stones, and Gold.

3. Nevertheless, the great Profits arising from their Trade did not content them; they sought further Advantages by Robbery: One Part of them indeed apply'd themselves chiefly to Trade, but others, who were equal in Number to the former, ravag'd the Country, robb'd the Caravans, and stripp'd the Merchants and Travellers. They came at last so accusom'd to this infamous Way of Life, that they have not been able to leave it off, but even continue to practise it in our Times. And since that the *Ptolomies*, who were Kings of *Egypt*, had facilitated the Navigation and Commerce of the *Red-Sea*, the *Arabians* who inhabited the Borders exercised also their Thieveries, insomuch that some Squadrons of Ships were at last fitted out to suppress them.

4. The *Arabians* were heretofore a Warlike People. The *Mythologists*, who under the Cloak of their Fables hid many Truths, tell us, That when *Cadmus* went into *Greece*, he had many *Arabians* in his Troops, which established themselves in the Island of *Eubœa*. The Pastoral Kings which invaded *Egypt* with great Armies, and subdued it about the Time that *Joseph* sent for his Father *Jacob* and his Family thither, came from *Arabia* and reign'd in *Egypt* about five hundred Years. Some Historians will have it, that they reign'd in *Babylon* before *Ninus*; and the Assistance which they gave *Ninus* to subdue the *Babylonians* seems to have given Rise to this Opinion: Neither the *Lacedemonians*, nor the *Persians* before them, could subdue the *Arabians*: Indeed they sent to the King of *Persia* the Weight of a thousand Talents of Incense, but it was their own voluntary Will, by

way of Present, and not by Compulsion, that they might maintain good Neighbourhood with him and his Subjects. The hospitable Treaty, which they made with *Cyrus* and *Cambyses*, was all that those Princes could gain by the Advantages which they had had over them. The Troops of *Antigonus*, one of *Alexander's* Successors, and those of his Son *Dimitrius*, experienced to their Cost the *Arabian* Valour. The *Arabians* chiefly made use of their Courage, when their Liberty, which they had all along preserv'd, seem'd to be in danger; and even after they were deprived of it, they from time to time made unsuccessful Attempts to recover it, as it happened in *Trajan's* Time, who nevertheless knew how to keep them in Obedience.

5. These happy Successes, the Situation of their Country, remote from common Roads, the great Drought of their Soil, or want of Water, which made their Country inaccessible to Strangers, their Application to Trade, and the Advantages they drew from it join'd to those Riches they got by Robbery, slacken'd their Courage, which nevertheless reviv'd afterward when they receiv'd among them the Law of *Mahomet*; for then they extended their Conquests from the *Indies* as far as *Gallia*, and were likely to have made an entire Revolution, and to have establish'd an universal Monarchy in the three Parts of the World known at that time.

6. The *Egyptians* were too careful of their own Riches to neglect the Profits they might draw from *Arabia*. The Pastoral Kings, who came originally from among the *Arabians*, were apprised of their Riches, and endeavour'd to make them common between the two Nations, which seem'd to have been but one in former Times; inasmuch as *Arabia* did not only border upon the *Arabian* Gulf, but had its Banks also opposite to *Egypt*, and the

Inhabitants of its Western Coasts were named *Arab-Egyptians*, as *Ptolemy* has remark'd in his Geography. *Pliny* likewise tells us, upon the Credit of *Juba*, that the Inhabitants of the Borders of the *Nile*, from *Syena* to *Meroë* were *Arabians*. *Eschylus* the ancient Scholastick tells us, that *Belus* establish'd his Son *Ægyptus* in *Arabia*, to which Country he gave his Name. Now as the Pastoral Kings had come from *Arabia* into *Egypt*, so *Gnephachthus* King of *Egypt*, the Father of *Bocchoris*, in his turn, led an Army against the *Arabians*. And *Sesostris*, notwithstanding the want of Water and Provisions which obstructed his Expedition into *Arabia*, subdued that cunning Nation, which had 'till then been esteem'd invincible.

*Ptol. Lib. 4.
cap. 5.
Plin. Lib. 6.
cap. 29.*

*Esch. Prometheus.
v. 852.*

7. It was to settle an advantageous Trade between the two Nations, that he join'd the *Nile* to the *Red-Sea*, by a Canal which he caused to be cut by the *Egyptians* who were a laborious People, as appears by their Structure of the Pyramids: And it appears likewise they were well acquainted with the manner of digging Trenches from the many Canals they have made to divide the Waters of the *Nile*: However we are not certain that *Sesostris* was the Author of this Enterprize; some attribute it to his Son *Psammitichus*, others to his Grandson *Necos*; but let it be as it will, it is plain that this Design was undertaken on account of Commerce. If it was not entirely compleated by these Princes, nor even by *Darius*, as *Herodotus* affirms, it was perfected by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, who finish'd many other Works, and may be esteem'd altho' not the first Author, yet at least the Restorer of *Egyptian* Commerce with all the People, whose Navigations in the *Red-Sea* could

*Herod Lib. 4.
cap. 42.*

give them Access, viz. all the Oriental Coast of *Africa* comprehended under the Name of *Ophir* in Holy Writ, together with the *Persians* and *Indians*. But *Philadelphus*, willing to ascertain his Designs, resolv'd to have a more particular Knowledge of the Coasts of the *Arabian Gulph*, and had them carefully survey'd by *Aristo*.

8. The City *Coptos* was pitch'd upon to be the Mart and Magazine for the *Arabian* Merchandizes; and *Strabo* remarks, that the Canal, which led to the *Nile*, had its Entrance or first Opening in this City, which answer'd to the *White-haven*, a famous Port known by that Name, situate on the Western side of the *Arabian Gulph*, where Ships of a moderate size brought the Merchandizes of *Arabia*, which were from thence transported to *Coptos*. The *Arabians* likewise brought their Wares to the *Moufe-Port*, which I have mentioned, which lay more to the North of that Gulph; from thence they were convey'd upon Camels to the same City *Coptos*. The *Egyptians* on their side carried by Land to the two Ports I have mentioned, the Merchandizes of their Country, which were to be afterwards transported to *Arabia*, and from the same Ports, by coming up the Gulph, their Wares were carried in little Ship towards *Palestine*: The Conveyance of Merchandizes from *Coptos* to *Alexandria* was very easy and often practis'd upon the Canals of the *Nile*.

9. *Augustus*, having subdued *Egypt*, was desirous to conquer also those neighbouring Countries which contributed so much to the enriching of it: He order'd *Ælius Gallus*, to whom he had given the Government of *Egypt*, to go into *Arabia* with a part of the Troops he commanded, and to subdue that Country either by fair Words, or Force of Arms. *Gallus* having attack'd it by Sea and Land, soon discovered the Weakness and Laziness of its People; he penetrated further into the Country

Country than any other foreign Army had ever done, and discovered many Singularities in that Land, which the World 'till that Time had been ignorant of. And he would have yet gone much farther in his Attempt, if he had not been misled by the Artifices of *Syllacus* the Intendant of the *Nabatheans*, whom he had taken for his Guide, and wasto furnish him with Provisions and Necessaries for his Army : This Man lead him by difficult and perilous Ways through an unhealthful Country, very opposite to the Temper of the *Romans* : He engaged him in a great Sea-Expedition much superiour to his, went upon the *Arabian Gulph*, when he might as well have gone by Land without danger, and all that Expence to the Places where he carried his Fleet : *Gallus* lost many Men, and some Ships : But notwithstanding these Losses no other *Roman* Captain has penetrated since his Time so far into *Arabia*. But be it as it will, the Dominion of the *Romans* was so well settled in *Arabia*, that they lodged a good Garrison in the *Mine-haven*, and established then a Receiver, who took above a quarter of the Merchandizes that landed in that Port.

10. It was then (as I believe) that the City named *Arabia Felix*, and afterwards called *Aden*, which Names are almost of the same Signification, became one of the most celebrated Ports of the Eastern Seas ; it is situated without the *Arabian Gulph*, upon the South Coast of *Arabia*. Before the Commerce between the *Egyptians* and the *Indians* was re-established, those two Nations brought their Merchandizes to *Aden*, and traded there. *Caes. Caesar*, the Grandson of *Augustus*, who showed so much Care for the Affairs of *Arabia*, in the end ruined the City, as *Gallus* had destroyed many others that would not be submissive enough to the *Roman* Orders, and likewise to remove from the *Arabians* every Occasion of re-volting.

volting. But *Aden* was afterwards so well re-established, and so much frequented by the *Roman* Fleets, that it was called the *Roman Port*. The City *Oman*, which gave its Name to the Country of the *Omanites*, situate in *Arabia the Happy*, altho' some distance from the Sea, drew heretofore from the neighbouring Coast, although with some danger, many Merchant Ships.

C H A P. LI.

I. *COMMERCE of the Indies in Egypt and Europe. Strabo is not to be believed when he says, that the Indies were unknown to Homer.* 3. *Commerce of the Indies with the neighbouring People; and chiefly with the Chineses.* 4. *Commerce of the Indians to the Eastern Coasts of Africa, and the Persian Gulph.*

I. **T**HERE was not any Country contributed so much to increase the *Egyptian* Commerce, and by that means the Trade of *Europe* also, and all other Regions where the Traffick of *Egypt* extended itself, as *India*. It is the common Opinion, that *Ptolemy Philadelphus* was the first who opened this Commerce: But I shall easily shew, that in the Time of *Solomon*, and of the *Trojan War*, the *Egyptian* and *Phœnician* Fleets, and it may be also those of the *Hebrews*, visited *India*, and traded thither; for otherwise how came that Expedition of *Osiris* to *India*, that of *Sesostris* by Sea and Land, that Flight of the *Egyptians* to the *Indies*, as to a Region known and allied to them, when *Cambyses* invaded *Egypt*?

2. When

2. When *Strabo* tells us, that the *Indies* were unknown to *Homer*, he has no other Reason for what he says, than because *Homer* has not mentioned them in his Works ; as if that Author had been obliged to declare all he knew in his Writings : Can we believe, that the *Phenicians*, who navigated to the Extremities of the West, even before *Solomon's* Time, and traded by Land into *Syria*, *Mesopotamia*, *Affyria*, and as far as the Frontiers of *India*, and by Sea to the Oriental Coasts of *Arabia* (as the Prophet *Ezekiel* remarks, and established Colonies in the Isles of the *Persian* Gulph, and gave them the Names of *Tyrus* and *Aridus*, which belonged to the Islands of their own Country : Can we believe, I say, that they should stop in this fair Road, without continuing their Progress to *India*, when they were apprized of the Riches it produced ? For *Taprobane*, although its Situation was doubtful, yet was always allowed to be in the *Indies*, and had plain Marks of the Arrival of the *Phenicians* and *Egyptians* there, who were Worshipers, the first of *Hercules*, the other of *Bacchus*, which is *Osiris* : Now, I say, is it then reasonable to suppose, that *Homer*, who knew the *Phenicians* so well, and saw them so frequently upon the Coasts, and in the Islands of the *Archipelago*, should not have heard them speak of the *Indies* ?

*Strab. Lib. 1,
& 2.*

*Ezek. xxvii. 15,
& seq.*

3. The *Indian* Commerce was much altered in Course of Time ; the *Indians* on their side did not greatly apply themselves to Trade. We learn from the ancient Authors, that the first *Indians* would neither receive Strangers among them, nor send abroad to any Colony, which cannot be true in my Opinion ; for *Pliny*, when he speaks of the several Employments followed by the *Indians*, tells us, that some of them went abroad to sell their Merchandizes :

*Pliny, Lib. 6.
Cap. 19.*

chandizes : It may be indeed, that in the first Times their Simplicity might not let them see the Advantages of Trade, as it was the case of those who lived in the Golden Age : But they were better instructed in process of Time. The Author of the Coastings of the *Erythrean Sea*, mentions the Voyages which the *Sesates* made to *China*, with their Wives, their Children, and their Merchandizes. *Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Capella*, tell us, that the Trade among the *Seres*, (i. e.) the *Chineses* showed them to be a wild unpolished People, who had a great Aversion to Strangers, and who would not allow a Foreigner to land among them, but on account of Trade, which was made faithfully and without any Deceit, and without so much as speaking, or even seeing one another, as I have already remark'd. But at length the *Chineses* became more sociable ; and it is known among the *Indians* that they had formerly been great Navigators ; and that they had a knowledge of all the East, and even the *Cape of Good-Hope*.

4. In fine, the Commerce was so well established between the *Indies* and the Oriental Coast of *Africa*, that when the *Portuguese* had doubled the *Cape of Good-Hope*, they found in the *Mozambique* and *Melinda* several Pilots skilful in Navigation, who had the use of Astronomical Instruments, by which they took the Height of the Pole ; and who also made use of Maps of Geography, and the Compass. They were well instructed in the Rout to the *Indies*, and made use of their Maps and Instruments to cross the Ocean. *Arrian* tell us in his Coastings of the *Erythrean Sea*, that before the *Egyptians* had penetrated so far as *India*, or that the *Indians* had reached *Egypt*, the City which was called *Arabia Felix*, and in our Times *Aden*, was the Staple where the Merchants of both Regions met to Trade, and put off their Merchandizes, which we must not understand to mean those first Times

Times I have mentioned, when Navigation flourished among those People, but of some loose Interval, caused either by Wars, or some violent Plague, or the changeable Humour of the People, or it may be to save Time, Labour and Expence, by meeting one another half way. The Author of the same *People* or Coastings, when he describes the *Persian* Gulph, mentions two famous Ports situate on its Borders, *Apologus* and *Omana*, to which Places were brought from *India* in great Ships, Copper, Horns, and precious Woods; and from whence were carried into *India* and *Arabia* Pearls, Purple-stuffs, Robes, Wine, Dates, Gold, and Slaves.



C H A P.

C H A P, LII.

1. *The Indies little known in the West before Alexander.* 2. *Relations of the State of the Indies in Alexander's Time, by Nearchus and Onesicritus.* 3. *Trading to the Indies after Alexander's Time.* 4. *A Flourishing Trade to the Indies under Augustus.* 5. *The Indians very unskilful in Navigation. Their Trading by way of Exchange.* 6. *The imaginary Island of Parchaia.* 7. *Indians driven by a Tempest upon the Coasts of Germany.* 8. *The Romans trading to the Indies under Antoninus, Constantius, Arcadius, Honorius, Aurelian, and Probus.*

1. **W**E must indeed allow, that all the Accounts that the *Greeks* had of the *Indies* before *Alexander's Time* were very uncertain : That Prince's Conquests made a farther Discovery of the *Indies* to the Western World ; but however very imperfectly. *Jambulus's Voyage to the Indies*, which *Diodorus* has related, without mentioning the Time when he undertook it, seemed even to the *Greeks* to be fabulous ; and the Book which that Traveller writ of it, met but with little credit among them. The romantick Spirit of the *Greeks* follows them every where. *Alexander*, ambitious of Glory, swell'd the Greatness of his Conquests, and magnified the Strength and Stature of the *Indians*, together with the Wonders and Riches of their Country ; and by the like Artifice, unworthy of so great a Soul as his, endeavoured even to impose upon Posterity, by Monuments of an enormous bigness

bigness, which he caused to be erected in several places. The *Greeks*, who were in his Army, animated by the same Spirit, had their Heads full of Fictions, which surprized the Ignorant, but which have lost all their credit, since People have been undeceived by a greater Knowledge of Letters, and by so many Voyages made since to the *Indies*. Besides, 'tis well known, that the vast Countries of the *Indies*, and even those bordering upon the Sea, whither *Alexander* led his Army, were barren in themselves, and not very populous, and had no manner of Society either with their Neighbours, or with any other Nation, but lead a brutish Life, and were utter Strangers to all Humanity. The more remote Nations lying towards the North, and inhabiting a still more barren and a more rough Country, was also more fierce, and never were civilized by any Commerce with their Neighbours, with whom they had so little Society, that they were scarce known to them. *Arrian* however, in his Account of the four States that share the *Indies* among them, places in the fourth Class the Merchants and the Artificers, among whom were reckon'd those who were employed in building of Ships, and in steering them upon their Rivers: And this Observation of *Arrian* makes it pretty plain, that Navigation was not then in use.

2. The Accounts that were written by *Nearchus* and *Onesicritus*, inform us of the State of the *Indian* Sea at that Time: They were both sent by *Alexander* to make a full Discovery of it from the River *Indus* quite into the Mouth of the *Euphrates*. *Nearchus* had the Command of the Fleet, and *Onesicritus* the chief Direction of the Sailing. They both left Accounts of the State in which *Alexander* found the *Indies* both by Sea and Land. But *Strabo*, a Man of good Parts, treats these Works as

*Strab. Lib. 2 &
15.*

Fictions

Fictions, tho' he does not deny but that there may be several Truths mix'd with them ; the Knowledge of which may be useful, and which the most incredulous may not think despisable. One *Sicretus* compos'd a sort of an Itinerary of his Voyage from the River *Indus* to *Euphrates*. *Pliny* has left us an Abstract of this Navigation after *Juba* ; and he says that that Rout had been lately found out again, and that they sail'd that way in his Time. He adds, that after that Voyage of *Oniscritus*, the common Course was by the promontory *Syagrus*, supposed to be Cape *Fartack* to *Patala*, a Port in the Mouth of the *Indus* : Afterwards they found that from Cape *Syagrus* to *Zigeras*, a Port in the *Indies*, was a shorter Cut, and a less dangerous one. But at last the immense Profit that they made by Trading to the *Indies*, which in *Pliny's* Time amounted to one and forty Millions *Sterling* of our Money, induced them to establish regular Convoys, which sail'd every Year from *Egypt* to the *Indies*. The Fleets set out in *July*, which is confirm'd by the Author of the *Coastings of the Red-Sea*, and did not return 'till *December*. *Pliny* has taken this Itinerary to pieces, and maintains that they had a little Knowledge of that Course before.

3. But to return to *Alexander's* Time. The Knowledge of the *Indies*, which he had communicated to the West, was not neglected by his Successors. *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, King of *Egypt*, a Prince fond of Learning, and ambitious to raise the Grandeur of his Kingdom, was the first that opened again to his Subjects the Way to the *Indies*. I say he opened it again, that I may not fall into the same Error with those who have believ'd, that that Way was unknown before. They were deceiv'd by *Strabo's* Words, which say true, That this Prince was the first who prepared a Way for
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the March of an Army from *Coptos* to the City of *Berenice*, upon the *Red-Sea*: But they do not say, that he was the first that opened a Passage to the *Indies*. He sent *Dionysius*, a learned Mathematician, to take a View of the State of the *Indies*, and to mark out the best Routs that were to be taken in his March thither: He prepar'd a Way, as I have said already, for the Passage of Troops and Caravans from *Coptos* to *Berenice*, which he had built upon the Banks of the *Red-Sea*. Tho' History does not mention to us any thing of the Advantages that this Commerce brought to *Egypt* in Process of Time; yet, however, it is not to be doubted, but that she fetch'd from thence all her Spices; which, if not absolutely necessary to Life, it must at least be own'd, that they contribute very much to the Pleasure of it. *Strabo* reports, upon the Credit of *Posidonius*, that under *Ptolemy Evergetes*, the Second of that Name, King of *Egypt*, there was found in the Gulf of *Arabia* an *Indian* half dead, in a Vessel with no Body in it but himself; that he was carried before the King; that they were inform'd by him, that being bound from the *Indies*, and having steer'd a wrong Course, all the Ship's Crew, except himself, had perish'd with Hunger; he serv'd as a Pilot to those whom the *Egyptians* sent to the *Indies* with Presents, from whence they brought back Spices and precious Stones. This Relation informs us, that the Way from the *Indies* was at that Time but very little known to the *Indians*; whether it was for want of Care in *Philadelphus*, or whether from his Time to that of *Evergetes* the Second, that is to say, for the Space of four hundred and forty Years, that the *Ptolemies*, wholly taken up with the Affairs of their own Country, had neglected that of the *Indies* to such a degree, that this *Evergetes* had no Knowledge of it, any more

Strabo. Lib. 2. more than of the Voyages that had been made formerly, as *Strabo* himself affirms.

Strabo. Lib. 17. 4. He also informs us, That in his Time, that is, in the Reign of *Augustus*, they were better acquainted with Affairs of the *Indies*, than under the *Ptolemies*; that while *Ælius Gallus* govern'd *Egypt* under *Augustus*, a Fleet of Merchant-Men of *Alexandria* came up the River *Nile* into the *Red-Sea*, and from thence sail'd to the *Indies*; that he saw six and twenty Vessels sail from the *Moufe-Port* for the *Indies*, and the Coasts of *Ethiopia*; that they brought from those Countries very rich Commodities, which the *Egyptians* sold in all Parts of the World, and which brought in a considerable Revenue by the Duties of Importation and Exportation of 'em; whereas, under the *Ptolemies*, scarce twenty Ships dar'd to venture into the *Arabian Gulf*, and sail out of the Mouth of it. This good Success cannot be attributed to any thing but the Vigilance of the *Romans* after they had conquer'd *Egypt*, and the Wisdom of *Augustus*. For the same Author speaks of *Ptolemy Auletes*, who reign'd in *Egypt* a little before *Augustus*, and remarks, that he drew these Duties from *Egypt* only, without reckoning among 'em those of the *Indies* and *Ethiopia*. 'Twas then that the Trade by Sea from *Egypt* and the *Indies* began to be regulated. The *Romans*, intent upon their Interests, flatter'd by the vast Advantages they made of it, and allur'd by these fine and agreeable Commodities which they got by it, and which contributed so sensibly to the Pleasures of Life, applied themselves diligently to that sort of Traffick. *Horat. Lib. 1. Epist. 1.* *Horace* reproaches them with this Covetousness in his Epistles. Their Fleets, however, seldom sail'd beyond the Mouth of

of the *Indus*; and as the Sea-men, whom they sent thither, were rough unpolish'd Creatures, that minded nothing but their Sea Business, the *Romans* were but very little the better for the Information they gave 'em of the State of the *Indies*: But the *Indians* were satisfied by that, of the Power of *Augustus*, and accordingly they sent Ambassadors to him with Presents. The *Mouſe-Port* on the West Side of the *Arabian Gulf*, was the great Store-House of the Commodities of the *Indies*, *Arabia*, and *Ethiopia*, that were brought through that Gulf, The City of *Berenice*, built by *Philadelphus*, still serv'd for the same Use; and the City *Coptos* upon the *Nile*, was the general Staple of these Commodities, from whence they were convey'd, by the Canals of the *Nile* to *Alexandria*.

5. The *Indians*, in their Navigations, made use of Ships which were made of Reeds that grew in their Marshes, to that prodigious Thickness, that a Man could scarce clasp one of 'em in his Arms. These Reeds were not subject to Rot. Their Ships were built with a double Prow, because they could not turn them about in their Canals. Tho' their Country abounded in Gold and Silver, yet *Pausanias*, who lived in the Time of the Emperor *Marcus Aurelius* writes, that they never used Money in their Way of Trade, but that as Payment for the Commodities which the *Greeks* traded with, they gave them others of their own Country. By the Name of *Greeks*, doubtless *Pausanias* here means those who lived in *Egypt* under the *Ptolemies*. This Commerce, by way of Exchange, was not always occasion'd through the Stupidity of People that knew nothing of the Use of Money; but often to end Disputes and save Time, having but one Bargain to make in the Exchange, and two Prices to fix when they used Money: An Observation to be made throughout this whole Work.

But to return to the Navigation of the *Indians*; the Inhabitants of the ancient *Taprobane* were so ignorant in this Art, that they were never guided in their Sailing by the Aspect of Planets and Constellations, but only by the Flight of Birds, which they carried with 'em for that purpose, and which they let fly to discover on which Side they

might find Land. *Pliny* fancied
Plin. Lib. 6. that the Situation of their Island
cap. 22. hinder'd them from seeing the Nor-

thern Constellations, and that they had no Regard to the Stars in their Voyages; but in that Point he is doubly mistaken: For that Island being situated on this side the Line, they had a View of the North; for want of which they might have had recourse to that of the Star *Canopus*, which is towards the South: He tells us, That that Island was not much known 'till the Emperor *Claudius*'s Time, by the Voyage which a Free-Man of *Amidas Ptolemus*, who had treated with the *Roman* Treasury for the Revenues of the *Red-Sea*, was forced to make thither by the Violence of a Tempest: And that upon the Knowledge which this Free-Man gave these Islanders of the Power of the *Roman* Empire, they sent Ambassadors to the Emperour *Claudius*, to desire his Friendship. These Ambassadors gave *Rome* a more particular Insight into the Affairs of the East, and their Commerce with the *Seres*, who were the farthest Nation toward the East that were then known; a quiet, mild sort of People, but unsociable, and Enemies to all Hospitality, as I have said elsewhere.

6. I am not here speaking of that imaginary Island of *Panchia*, situated in the Ocean beyond *Araba*, which is so fertile in Incense, and so rich by the Sale she makes of it upon all the Coasts

and by the great Concourse of
Indians, Cretans and Scythians. *Diodor*

dorus, who has boasted so much of the Wonders of that Island, has been imposed upon by *Eubemerus*, whose Imposture *Plutarch* *Plut. de Isid.* & has taken notice of, and published *Osir.* to the World.

7. But I cannot here forbear speaking of those *Indian* Merchants, who were driven by a Storm on the Coasts of *Germany*, conducted to the King of *Sweden*, and by him presented to *Metellus Celer*, at that time Proconsul of *Gaul*, and who had been Consul in the Year of *Rome*, 694. This Accident has given room for several Conjectures about the Way by which those *Indians* could come upon the Coasts of *Germany*. They might come up the River *Oxus*, then enter into the *Caspian Sea*, go up the River *Volga*, and from thence into the *Dwina*, which is near it, and which falls into the *Baltick Sea*; or else they might come from the *Northern Sea* of *Tartary*, which is beyond *China*; then cross the *Streights* of *Waigats*, and so from thence into the *German Sea*; that is possible, but it is not much to be credited: As for my part, I have another Thought about that Matter. We give the Name of *Indians* to Strangers that come from unknown and distant Countries; and by the like Error we call *America* the *West-Indies*. How could they know what Country those Men were of, when they did not understand any thing at all of their Language? It seems to me probable enough, that they were *Norwegians*, or the *Western Scythians*, whom we call *Laplanders*, who bordering upon the Sea, and fishing in their little Boats, that they were wont to make use of, were surprized by those violent Winds, to which their Coast is subject, carried towards the South, and thrown upon the Coast of *Germany*: Their swarthy Complexion, the Stupidity of the *Germans* in whose Country they landed, and the extreme Ignorance of Mankind, at that time, in Geogra-

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phy;

phy ; and particularly of that of the North and the East, might well make 'em pass for *Indians*, 'Twas not 'till under the Protection of *Augustus*, that Navigation was carried on towards the North, as far as the *Cimbria Chersonesus*, which is *Jutland*. They supposed that those Seas which lay higher up towards the North, were not navigable by reason of the Ice, or on account of the deadness of the Waters for want of Heat. The same thing may be conjectured of those other pretended *Indians*, who are said to have landed towards the Coast of *Lubeck*, in the Emperour *Frederick Barbarossa's* Time. It is easie to conceive that some *Laplunders* being either a Fishing, or Trading to and fro in the *Botnic Gulph*, were driven by the Wind into the *Baltick Sea*, towards the Southern Coast.

8. In the Reign of *Antonius*, the *Romans* traded so much, not only in the *Mediterranean*, but also beyond the *Streights*, into the Western Ocean ; that it is not unreasonable to believe, but that they neglected the Traffick of the *Indies*, which had been established among 'em a long time. *Amianus Marcellinus* gives us a famous Proof of the vast Trade which was carried on, under the Reign of *Constantinus*, at *Bamnè*, a City of *Mesopotamia*, built by the ancient *Macedonians*. He says, That that City was full of rich Merchants ; that every Year, in the beginning of *December*, a great Fair was kept there ; to which an infinite Number of People used to resort to buy the Commodities which were brought thither both by Sea and Land from the *Indies*, the Country of *Seris*, and several other Places. Those Commodities that came by Land from the *Indies*, and the Country of the *Seris*, had doubtless been brought through *Persia* in Caravans ; and those that came by the *Persian Gulph* came up the River *Uphrates*, from whence the City of *Bamnè* was not very distant. Of those

Fleets which were under the Command of the Lieutenant of the East, in the Time of *Acadius* and *Honorius*, one of 'em was design'd for the *Red-Sea*, and the other for *Alexandria*. 'Twas the first of these that was employ'd in carrying on the Trade to the *Indies*; and the other went to *Alexandria* to fetch away the Merchandizes that were brought to that City, by the *Nile*, from the *Red-Sea*. The same *Marcellinus* speaks of a Ship of an extraordinary Bigness, that was row'd by three hundred Men of the Oar; and which was built before by *Constantine*, to transport an *Egyptian* Obelisk to *Rome*, and which *Constantine* afterwards made use of for the same purpose. The *Roman* History presents us with a fine Instance of the Trade which the *Romans* drove in the *Indies*, by the means of *Egypt*, under the Emperours. *Firmus* having made himself Master of *Alexandria*, under the Emperour *Aurelian*, took that Opportunity of sending a Fleet of Merchant-Men to the *Indies*. It is probable, that this Commerce did not a little contribute to those vast Riches which the Historian *Vopiscus* ascribes to him. That Author likewise reckons Navigation among the most common Arts and Professions of the *Romans* under *Probus*, who enjoy'd the Empire a little after *Aurelian*.



C H A P. LIII.

1. *Trading Towns, Places and People of the Indies.* 2. *Censure of the Account of Benjamin of Navarre's Travels ; Imaginary Isle of Nicrokes.* 3. *Malabar, Cambaya.* 4. *Samarcand.* 5. *Bogar.* 6. *Hera, Candahar, Cabul.* 7. *Ceilan.* 8. *Ancient Geography of the East ; Cathay, Caracathay, Gog and Magog.* 9. *Iebeth, Seres, Sinæ, or Thinaæ ; or South China, Siam, Asphettira.*

1. **T**HE great Number of Trading Towns that there were formerly in the *Indies*, was an undoubted Proof of its ancient Commerce; I speak only of its Trading Towns. For if we searched after the Number of all their Towns in general, and depended upon *Strabo*, *Pliny* and *Plutarch*, we should find five Thousand of 'em in that Part only which *Alexander* conquer'd; and even some of the first Magnitude, according to *Solinus*. And *Arrian* says, That the Number of them was so great, that they could not be named. *Prolemy* has mentioned several of those Trading Cities in the Seventh Book of his Geography, and they are to be found in his last Maps of *Asia*. *Alfragan*, a famous Astronomer, who lived about the Year of our Lord 800. And the Cherif *Edrissi* who has been known in the World, under the Title of the *North Geographer*, above 350 Years before *Alfragan*, have in their Works numbered the

the most populous, and the richest Towns of the East. If we consult them, we shall find that the List of them equals, and perhaps exceeds that of the Trading Towns in the West. And *Arrian* has mark'd and distinguished the *Indian* Nations that were the most addicted to Trading, and the Places in the *Indies* where the greatest Trade was stirring, and those that dealt most with *Egypt*. He likewise mentions some-where, the Arrival of some *Grecian* Ships, which I presume must be understood of the Ships that came from *Asia*, where the *Greeks* reigned so long after *Alexander*. He pursues his Enquires as far as the Island of *Oceanieme*, near the *Ganges*, which he says is the last of those Regions. Besides, he gives us to understand, that Trade was so flourishing among the *Indians*, that they traded with one another by Land, and made use of Waggon's for that purpose.

2. *Benjamin* of *Navarre*, a Jew by Religion, has written an Account of his Voyages, which he made in the sixth Century, towards the South and the East, as far as the *Indies*. Though one cannot deny but that it is a curious Piece, and worth the reading, upon account of the several Particulars of the Places and Times that are mentioned in it; but however it must be own'd, that Truth and Sincerity is not always to be met within that Work; and that the immoderate Desire of giving high Ideas of the *Jewish* Power, has made him invent several Fables, which are spoiled by his manner of relating them. One may make some Judgment of it, by his Description of an Island situated towards the Mouth of the *Tigris*, which he calls *Neroke*, and is six Days Journey in length, to which Place the People of *Mesopotamia* and *Persia*, bring in great Quantities, Silks, Linnen, Hemp, and all sorts of Grain fit for the Nourishment of Man; and where the *Indians* likewise bring their Spices; and where the Inhabitants are Managers of the Trade be-

tween the Parties concerned in it. This Recital is sufficient to shew us what little dependance there is upon that Jew's Relation; for in the whole *Perſian* Gulph, into which the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates* fall, there is no ſuch Iſland as that to be found. The Commentators ſuppoſes the Word *Nirakes* to be a Corruption of *Nanigeris*, which is preſumed to be the Iſland of *Seilan*, which does not ſeem to me to have any Probability at all in it.

3. *Marcus Paulus* affirms, that
Marc. Paul. de in his Time, that is, towards the
reſ Orient. Lib. 3. End of the thirteenth Century
 Trading was but very indifferent towards the Coaſt of *Malabar*, that no great Store of Commodities was ſent thither; and there were not many Merchants that could go ſo far to fetch the little that was there; but that on the contrary, the Spice-Trade was very great in the Iſles of *Java*. In following Ages, *Marco Sanado* a *Venetian*, like *Marcus Paulus*, very zealous for the Recovery of the *Holy Land*, and the Ruin of the Soldan of *Egypt*, in the Book writ upon that Subject, ſays, the greateſt Revenue of that Prince conſiſted in the Spice-Trade, and in that of the other Commodities of the Eaſt. He names the principal Ports of the *Indies*, *Malabar*, and *Cambaya*, where they drove the moſt conſiderable Trade, when the Soldans reigned in *Egypt*. He obſerves likewiſe, that the Merchandizes were carried to *Aden*, from thence they were conveyed in nine Days on Camels to the *Red-Sea*, and thence to the *Babylon* of *Egypt*, that is, *Grand-Caire*; and from *Grand-Cairo* to *Alexandria*: And that the Duties, which accrued to the Soldan from thoſe Commodities, amounted to the third Part of their Value. And that made him ſo jealous of his Commerce, that he would not ſuffer any Chriſtian to paſs through his Dominions into the *Indies*. And he informs us,
 that

that the Spices which came by Land, were much better than those that were carried by Sea into *Egypt*; and the same Trial has been made since the *Portuguese* undertook the Traffick.

There is something relating to this Matter in the History of the *Molucca* Islands

that deserves to be taken Notice of, which is, that in these last

*Hist. des Moluq.
Tom. 1. Liv. 2.*

Ages there has been seen a *Venitian* Galcon in those Eastern Seas, laden with her own Country Merchandizes, bound from *Lasson* to *China*; and which in all Appearance, had cross'd the South-Sea. That very *Marcus Paulus*, whom I have cited, and other Authors that have written of the Affairs of the *Indies*, give us surprizing Accounts of the vast Number of *Indian* Ships, which they have seen in those Ports.

4. In the City of *Samarcand*, which was the Capital of *Transoxiana*, and the *Maracanda* of the Ancients, situated on the other side of the River *Oxus*, contrary to *Ptolemy's* Designment, which appears very defective in that Place; and which was formerly the Capital of *Tamerlane's* Empire, there is a great Resort of *Indians*, *Persians*, *Tartars* and *Chinese*, who deal there in very valuable Commodities. But the Conquests of the *Turks*, and the Arrival of the *Portuguese*, have considerably lessened that Commerce, though it still to this Day continues in some Splendor. However it cannot be denied, but that the Beauty of its Building, and the Charms of its Situation, have drawn to it more Princes and great Lords, than Merchants.

5. *Samarcand* had eclips'd the Glory of *Bogar*, or *Bichara*, which is not far from it, situated to the North of the River *Oxus*, in the 39th Degree of Northern Latitude, heretofore the Capital of all this Country, and now possess'd by the *Usbeck Tartars*. But nothing better shews its Magnificence, than
its

its having given its Name to those vast Countries that separate *Muscovy* from *China*. The Relation of *Antony Jenkinson's* Voyage, which is to be met with in *Haclyt's* Collection, and which Mr. *Thevenot* has translated in the first Volume of his Works in describing his Voyage from *Astracan* to *Bogor* in the Year 1558, gives us a pretty exact Knowledge of that City. Its Name was also the Name of a petty separate State, subject to a *Tartarian* Prince. There was no great Trade there, notwithstanding that the Merchants of *Persia*, *Muscovy*, and of all the Ports of the *Indies*, and *Cathay*, used to meet there every Year. It is no small Honour to that City to have been the Birth-place of *Avicenna*; and not that other *Bochara* situated near the Mouth of the *Euphrates*, as those two learned *Maronites*, *Gabriel Sionita*, and *John Hefronita*, have supposed.

Gabr. Sion. Job.
Hefronit. Cap. 3.

6. As the City of *Bochara* has been honoured with having been the Birth-place of *Avicenna*, the City *Hera* has been no less so by being that of *Mircond*, who has written the History of the *East* in the *Persian* Language, with such universal Approbation. That City is one of chiefest of the Province of *Chorasan*, esteemed for the Wit and Industry of its Inhabitants, the great Resort of Merchants, and for the Sale of its Manufactures. Its Name *Hera*, and its Situation on the River *Hera*, is sufficient to perswade us, that it is no other than the City *Aria*, the Capital of the Province of the *Arians*, a populous Nation, and addicted to Trade.

Candahar, an ancient and large Town, which has given its Name to the Province in which it is situated, was heretofore a Staple much resorted to between *Persia* and the *Indies*, and drew the Trade of these Countries to it. It still enjoys some part of these Advantages, but very much

lessened, since the Western Nations began that Trade by Sea.

Beyond *Candabar*, towards the East, is the Town of *Cabul*, the Capital of a Province of the same Name. The Inhabitants of this Country are evidently mark'd down in *Ptolemy*, by the Name of *Cabolitæ*, and possess one Part of the Country called *Paroponisa*. The Spice-Trade is very great in *Cabul*, and heretofore it was made noble, for having been the Seat of some *Indian* Kings.

*Ptol. Asia, Ca. 18.
Tab. 9.*

7. But no other Country equalled the Riches of the Island *Ceilan*, so much extolled by the Relations of Travellers, the Description of Geographers, and for the Commerce of Merchants. From its Name of *Ceilan* is form'd that of *Sarandib*, which the *Nubian* Geographer gives it; and from *Selandive*, which is to be met with in *Taxeira*; and from

*Georg. Nub.
Clim. 1. Part 8.*

Seredini, according to *Ammianus Marcellinus*; which signifies the *Island of Ceilan*. The Learned do not question but that this Island was the *Taprobane* of the Ancients. Its Riches consist in Gold, Silver, and other Metals, in Pearls and precious Stones, in Spices, and chiefly in Cinnamon, Musk, Civet, Sugar, Silk, and Ivory.

8. The utmost Parts of the East, that have been so frequented in these last Ages, by the People of the West, and that now furnish the greatest Matter for Trade, were little known to the Ancients. Though I have limited my self in this Work to treat of their Commerce, without descending to the present Time; and though nothing more is required of me, yet the Connexion of Things often lead me farther than I am willing. In few Words then, I will shew what was the ancient Geography of these utmost Parts of the East. They placed in them three different Nations, the Eastern *Scythians*, the *Seres*, and the *Sinois*, or the ancient *Chinese*;

Chinese ; which have not been distinguished so exactly as they ought to have been by the Moderns. The Eastern *Scythians* are the *Tartars*, situated to the North of *China*. The *Seres* are those who at this Day possess the Northern part of *China*. And the ancient *Chinese* are the Southern *Chinese* of our Time.

9. That Country, that has been known by the Name of *Cathay*, contained a great Part of the Country of the *Seres*, and extended itself to the Northward into the *Scythians* Country. This Northern part was that which was *Cara-Cathay*, that is, the *Black-Cathay* ; not upon the Account of the Forests and Clouds that cover'd it, as some have imagined, but because the Ancients were persuaded, that the North was covered with Darkness so thick as even to have given the Name of *Black* to the North-wind ; for the Word *Aquilo* signifies nothing else ; and to have been the occasion of calling that Sea, which is under the North-East, the *Dark Sea*, and *Sea of Pitch* in the *Arabians* Books. We know that all that *Marcus Paulus* has said of *Cathay*, and of *Cambala*, its Capital, is to be understood of the Northern part of *China*, and of *Pekin*, at this Day the Capital of all *China*. 'Tis not to be doubted but

Strab. Lib. 15.

Ptol. Lib. 6.

Carp. 15. 432.

that *Cathay* took its Name from the Country *Cathæenene*, and those *Cathæens*, mentioned by *Strabo*, called *Chatæn Scythians*, by *Ptolemy*.

This very Country of *Cathay*, or of East-*Scythia* is the same to which the *Arabian* Geographers have given the Names of *Gog* and *Magog*, mentioned in the Holy Scripture, but to signify the Western *Scythians* : Just as the Name of *Hyperboreans* was a general Term, that was given to all the People, as well Eastern as Western, situated near the North.

10. As for the Kingdom of *Thibet*, it borders a little upon the West, and upon *China* on the East, *Cassia* on the West, and the *Indies* on the South. 'Tis from thence comes the Musk of *Thibet*, so highly commended, and even preferr'd to that of *China*; perhaps because it is fresher, as coming by Land from a Country not quite so far. It is the same with several other Merchandizes of *China*, which pass through *Thibet* in their way to the West, where they are dispersed. Any one more bold than I, might conjecture, that the Mountain of *Tabui*, situated in the Eastern Sea, at the utmost Borders of this *Scythia* we are now speaking of, mentioned in the ancient Geographers; or that the Promontary of *Tabui*, situated in the *Frozen-Sea*, near the Streights of *Waigats*, and not far from the Mouth of the River *Oby*, might have given their Name to the Kingdom of *Thibet*; but its vast distance from both, hinders this Conjecture.

11. Almost all the Oriental Nations were generally comprised by the Ancients under the Name of *Seres*, because the *Seres*, being situated in the middle of the East, and near the Equinoctial, they communicated their Name to the *Scythians*, their Neighbours on the North, and to the *Chinese* on the South. *Mela*, the Geographer, has exactly distinguished the Situation of these three People, by describing the ancient *Sinese* or *Chinese*, by the Names of Southern *Indies*. The *Seres* were esteemed for their Humanity, peaceful Temper, Frugality and Justice. They have given us, as an Instance of it, an Account of their singular manner of Trading: For as they would admit of no Society with Strangers, neither by receiving them into their Houses, nor by going abroad to look after them, they exposed their Commodities upon the Shore, fixing the Price upon every one of them. After which

*Mela Geo. Lib. 1.
Cap. 2.*

which retiring, Strangers came and examined the Commodities, and leaving what they had a mind to give, retired also a little out of the way. The Seres upon their Return, if they liked the Price,

*Eustath. in Dion.
Perig. v. 752.*

took it, or carried away their Commodities. *Eustathius*, who relates this, adds upon the Credit of *Herodotus*, that the *Carthaginians* traded much after the same manner with certain People, living beyond *Hercules's* Pillars; that they came and placed their Commodities upon the Shore; and then retired after having given them Notice of it by Smoak; that the Inhabitants therupon drew near, put a Price upon them, and left by them what they were willing to give, and then retired a little; and that the *Carthaginians* returned, either to take their Price, if they liked it, or to carry away their Commodities: And that the Bargains were thus made, or broken off, without speaking a Word to each other. Perhaps we must understand of the Seres in parti-

Solin. Cap. 2.

cular, what *Solinus* has said in general of the *Indians*; who are the only People that never stir out of their own Country. Ancient History indeed does not inform us of the Eastern Peoples ever appearing in the West; but it is very certain that they made great and long Voyages in some Parts of the *Indian* and *Red-Sea*. The most saleable Commodity that the Seres dealt in was their Silk, which they knew how to employ with a great deal of Art, in making that fine Thread, and those rich Stuffs, which were so mightily esteem'd and sought after heretofore. Some attribute to them so great a Moderation, that tho' they sold their own Commodities, they did not meddle with those belonging to Foreigners.

*Amm. Marc.
Lib. 23. Cap. 6.*

Ammianus Marcellinus extends the Country of the Seres as far as the *Ganges*; but *Palladius*, and *Ambrosius*, who have written of the *Brachmans*,
and

and whose Works have been published in *England* some Years ago, extend this Country to this side of the *Ganges*; but those Authors are so trifling, that they deserve no Credit.

12. Under the Name of *Sinæ*, or *Thinæ*, the Ancients comprised not only the Southern *Chinese*, but also *Tunquin*, *Cochin-Chin*, *Pegu* and *Siam*. The Name of *Siam* seems to be deriv'd from that of their Metropolis, which was call'd *Thin*, or *Thinæ*, for so it is named, in *Arian's Coasting of the Erythrean Sea*. *Ptolemy*, and *Martian* of *Heraclea*, name it *Theinæ*, and *Carolus Stephanus Sinæ*. The first Letter of this Name being pronounc'd with a middle Sound between the *T*. and the *S*. *Arian* says,

Ptol. Lib. 7. Cap. 3.
Tab. 11. Asia
Marc.
Heracl. Perip.
Arian Peripl.
Marc. Erythr.

that this is an Inland Town, and situated under the *Ursa Minor*, in which he has shewn himself to be as bad a Geographer as an Astronomer; for these Southern *Chinese* were very far from the North: And *Ptolemy*, who was more learned than he, places them about three degrees from the *Æquator*, towards the South, and pretty near the Eastern Sea. I would not forsake the Opinion of *Vossius*, who suppos'd that the

City of *Siam* was this ancient Metropolis mention'd in *Ptolemy*: For

Voss. in Mil. Lib. 1.
Cap. 2.

it is very certain, that the Country of ancient *China*, and its Situation, was near the *Æquator*. I could even willingly believe, that the City of *Asphetira*, the Capital of the Country of the *Chinese*, situated upon the Sea, and affording a convenient Port for Merchants, was the same as the City of *Siam*. I do not question but that this *Asphetira* is

the *Aspitra* of *Ptolemy*, placed at the Mouth of a River of the same Name, and the *Asparata* of *Ammianus Marcellinus*. But I am

Ptol. Lib. 6. Cap. 3.
Tab. XI. Asia.
Amm. Marc. Lib. 23. Cap. 6.

not of the Opinion of the same *Vossius*, when he

endea-

endeavours to perswade us that those ancient *Chinese*, who were named *Sinois*, or *Thinois*, were not the same as the Modern *Chinese*. 'Tis true that those *Sineses* did not contain the *Seres*, which make the most considerable part of the Modern *Chinese*; but they set down the Southern *Chinese* with *Turquin*, *Cochin-China*, *Pegu* and *Siam*, as I have already said. Those ancient *Sineses*, or *Chinese*, were not so savage, or unfociable, as the *Seres*: They were on the contrary great Sailers, and very much given to Trading. There are still some Footsteps along all the Coasts that surround the *Indian* Sea of their Courses. There are also some upon the Continent of *Africa*, in *Arabia*, and the *Indies*, set down by the *Nubian* Geographer.

Geogr. Nub. Clim
1. Part. 6, 8. &
10. & Clim. 2.
Part. 6.

These People acknowledged the *Indians* to be their Masters in Arts and Sciences; and *Confutius* himself was not ashamed to own that he learn'd Philosophy of the *Brachmans*; and it would be easie for me to shew, that we must search after the Source of the *Indian* and *Chinese* learning in *Egypt*. As those Countries have been more frequented in these last Ages by the Western People, than they were at that time, they got the same Commodities from thence that they did heretofore, and a great many others besides. *Arian*, in his *Periple* or *Coastings of the Red-Sea*, and other Authors, have specified the chief Commodities that were brought from the *Indies* in their Time. But the Modern Navigators, as the *Portugese*, the *Hollanders*, and the *Englsh*, who are more industrious, more daring, and perhaps more covetous, have penetrated much farther by the help of the Compass, have made new Discoveries both of Countries and Commodities, and have acquir'd a great deal more Riches.

C H A P. LIV.

1. *Chief Courses for Ships from the West to the Indies.* 2. *Ancient Voyages to the Indies, perform'd by Bacchus, Hercules, Semiramis, Cyrus, Sesostris, Hippalus, Etetias.* 3. *Extent of the Indies according to the Ancients.* 4. *Indies little known to the Ancients even a long time after Alexander.* 5. *Little known even to Megasthenes.* 6. *The Grecian Accounts have not been very just. Megasthenes, Daimachus, Onesicritus, Patrocles.* 7. *Ptolemy Philadelphus better instructed in the Affairs of the Indies than his Predecessors.*

1. **H**AVING already mentioned the principal Places where the *Indian Trade* was heretofore carried on, we are obliged in course to give, if not a particular Account, at least a short Description of the chief Routs or Courses; by which the Commodities of the *Indies* were brought from thence into the West. We must not expect to arrive at the Knowledge of them by those which have been opened and followed in our Days. *Tavernier*, in his Accounts of his Voyages to the *Indies*, has described six different Courses that he has followed; and he has been pretty exact, and likewise sincere in his Relation, which is to be seldom found in Travellers. There may be others still discovered; but we are now only speaking of the Courses that the Ancients followed; and the Histories which they have left us, do not afford us much Assistance in this Enquiry.

Q

2. The

2. The most ancient Voyages that were made from the Western Parts to the *Indies*, were those of the *Egyptians*; and those Voyages were made by the *Arabian Gulph*, and by the *Red-Sea*. *Bacchus's* Conquest of the *Indies*, full of Fables as it is, shews those Expeditions of the *Egyptians*: For it is well known, that the *Grecian Bacchus* is the *Egyptian Osiris*. And as the *Tyrrians* also sailed through the *Arabian Gulph* into the *Red-Sea*, it is probable that from thence arose the fabulous Account of *Heracles's* Expedition to the *Indies*; for the *Tyrrians* also, as we are inform'd, had their *Heracles*. I do not call Voyages, those Expeditions of *Semiramis* and *Cyrus* against the *Indians* their Neighbours, that bordered upon the Frontiers of their Dominions: Besides that, all the Accounts of that Expedition of *Semiramis* appeared very uncertain: and that of *Cyrus* was no less so. Those Conquests which *Sesostris* extended as far as the *Indes*, were bordering on the Sea; and to effect them, he embarked in the *Arabian Gulph* on Board a Fleet of four hundred Sail. They attribute also to him the Invention of long Ships. *The Periple, or Coasting, of the Red-Sea*, which goes under *Arian's* Name, mentions an ancient Pilot named *Hippalus*, who setting Sail from *Arabia* for the *Indies*, not minding to Coast it along, as they used to do before, and being driven by a South-West Wind, put out to Sea, and safely perform'd the Voyage by a much shorter Passage: His Example was follow'd with so much Success, that this South-West Wind which was so proper for the Voyage to the *Indies*, took his Name, and was call'd *Hippalus*. The *Greeks* might have had some Knowledge of the State of the *Indies* from the Accounts of *Cresus*, who could have instructed them in his long Residence in *Persia*, as a Physician, if they could have depended upon what he wrote. But being sensible of the little Probability that appear'd in

the greatest part of his Relations, he thought sufficiently to have established the Truth of them, by saying that he speaks upon the Credit of his own Eyes, or of credible Witnesses: Yet even in that he has not been able to conceal the Truth, he has done it in the rest; and that Protestation has not made the Readers the more credulous. The *Persians*, by whom he was inform'd of those Matters, might with ease impose upon him, and give him false Accounts; so that he has been treated by *Aristotle* and *Photius*, as a Liar, and a fabulous Author.

*Arist. Animal.
Lib. 8. Cap. 28.
Phot. Finem. 22.*

3. It must however be observ'd, that by the Extent which the Ancients have given to *India*, by saying it was as large as all the rest of *Asia* besides, and which is confirmed by *Ptolemy's* Fables; it appears that it was not, at that Time, bounded by the *Ganges*; that it was extended much farther towards the East; and that he does not deserve, in that respect, to be blam'd by *Arian*, who prefers before his the Opinion of *Onesicritus*, that asserts that the *Indies* are but the third Part of *Asia*, which could only be truly said of the *Indies*, that *Alexander* over-run with his Conquests. But in speaking absolutely of the *Indies*, and of their whole Extent, *Cresias's* Opinion is very true.

Arian Indic.

4. After *Alexander's* Conquests, which ended at the River *Hypanis*, or, as others call it, *Hyphasis*, between the *Indies* and the *Ganges*, and the Voyage which *Nearchus* and *Onesicritus* made by his Command, from the Mouth of the *Indus* quite into the *Euphrates*; History gives us no Information what use they made of so many new Discoveries, nor of those others which immediately succeeded them. *Arian* does not pretend, in his Treatise of the Affairs of the *Indies*, that he knew any thing beyond

beyond the River *Hyphasis*, and owns that few Authors have written of any People situated upon the *Ganges*, or near the Mouth of it.

5. The Reports of *Alexander's* Soldiers, have little Sincerity in them, and they made it much more their Business to relate strange and surprizing things than those that were true : And those who succeeded them were no honeste

Arian's Exped.
Lib. 5. & Indie. than they. Even *Arian*, who has written *Alexander's* Expedition, treats as Fables the greatest Part of those Wonders of the *Indies*, which are so highly extolled : And he does not believe that *Megasthenes*, who lived about *Alexander's* Time, and went into the Service of some *Indian* Kings, had much travelled in that Country ; though, however, he had seen more of it than *Alexander's* Soldiers. Nothing gives a better Idea of their extravagant Vanity, and the little Fidelity of their Relations, than the Letter of *Craterus*, one of *Alexander's* Generals, in which he acquaints his Mother, that *Alexander* had been as far as the *Ganges*, and he had accompanied him thither : To which he adds a Romantick Description of that River, very far from Truth ; for it is very certain that *Alexander* never saw the *Ganges*, nor penetrated so far as the *Hyphasis*. Now this *Megasthenes* charges all the Relations of the *Indies*, that were publish'd before his Time, with Falshood ; because, says he, no Army ever penetrated into their Country before *Alexander* ; and none of them ever went out of it to invade Foreigners. He does not allow, that either *Sesostris*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Tearion* ; *Indathysus*, or *Semiramis*, ever carried their Arms as far as the *Indies*. He does not altogether disown the Expedition of *Bacchus*, tho' he builds but upon very weak Conjectures : And as for what is said of *Hercules*, he supposes it must be understood of some Neighbouring Prince in the *Indies* ; and the
Indians

Indians will even have him to be their Countryman. But *Erathosthenes* treats all that as mere Stories invented by the *Greeks*, according to the Genius of their Nation; in which he has been followed by *Strabo*. *Strab. Lib. 5.*

6. But this *Megasthenes*, who had so little Faith in other People, does not deserve much himself, in *Strabo's* Judgment, who plainly says, That all *Strab. Lib. 2, c. 15.* those that have written of the Affairs of the *Indies*, have not been sincere: He places *Damaichus* at their Head; makes *Megasthenes* follow him close, and puts *Onesicritus* in the third Rank; tho' he does not deny there are some Probabilities in his Relations; but he boasts mightily of the Fidelity of *Patrocles*, who commanded that Fleet of *Selenus* and *Antiochus*, which sailed over the *Caspian* Sea, and who had written in those very Memoirs an Account of what *Alexander* saw in the *Indies*.

7. *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, King of *Egypt*, having, for the Good of his Kingdom, and the Satisfaction of his curious Mind, settled a regular Commerce to the *Indies*, and employ'd in it skilful Persons, such as *Dionysius*, the learned Mathematician, who left Memoirs of it, he might well be more particularly inform'd of the *Indies*, than any of his Predecessors. And *Erathosthenes*, who was in great Esteem at *Alexandria* about a hundred Years after *Alexander*, doubtless took the Advantage of that settled Commerce, to find out exactly the Extent of the *Indies*, and to compose a Treatise of it, which merited the good Opinion of the Publick: He was far from being knowing in the Geography of the West, in which he has been guilty of several Errors, and which *Strabo* has improv'd; but for that of the East, the Knowledge of which might be acquir'd by the *Egyptian* Voyages, no Body has excell'd him.

C H A P. LV.

1. *Before Augustus's Time, scarce any other Course to the Indies known than by the Red-Sea.*
2. *More particular Descriptions of that Course to the Indies by the Red-Sea.*

1. **T**HOSE are the Foot-steps that we have remaining of the Commerce which the People of the West had with those of the East, before *Augustus's* Time, and of the Courses which led from the one to the other, and which was reduced to the Navigation that was practised from *Egypt* to the *Indies* by the *Red-Sea*. And that we may not fancy that the Loss of ancient Records has deprived us of the Knowledge of them, we must hear what *Strabo* says of it, who lived under *Augustus*, and wrote, towards the Beginning of *Tiberius's* Reign, that excellent Treatise which he has left us. He prepares the Reader for his Description of the *Indies*, by saying, that in his Time, few People had seen them, on Account of their Distance; that those who had seen them, had seen one part of them, and only slightly enough; and that what they knew besides of them, was upon another's Word, and that they often gave different Accounts of the very same thing, just as *Alexander's* Soldiers did: And that all, however contrary to one another, protest, that they advance nothing but what they knew for certain. He says moreover, that among all the Merchants that traded from *Egypt* to the *Indies*, very few of them went so far as the *Ganges*, and that those even were dull ignorant Persons, very little capable of making just Observations on what they saw; and that those Ambassadors who were sent to *Augustus*, coming but from one single Province of the *Indies*, which are
so

so large, could not give a perfect and entire Knowledge of them. He says in another Place, that all that Tract of Land which was between the *Elbe* and the Eastern Ocean, and all the Coasts of that Ocean quite to the Mouth of the *Caspian* Sea, were utterly unknown in his Time ; and that neither by Sea nor Land, none of the *Romans* had ever been beyond the *Elbe*. This Opinion, which the Ancients had of the *Caspian* Sea, as being a Gulph of the Ocean, is a very plain Demonstration of their extream Ignorance of the *Scythian* Ocean. And this Ignorance continued 'till *Pliny's* Time ; and yet he and *Mela* represents the Countries bordering upon that Ocean, as impenetrable and unpassable ; whether by Reason of the Barbarity of the Inhabitants, who eat Men, or the Fierceness of wild Beasts, which devour them ; or by Reason of the Snows with which they are covered, or an Account of the frightful Desarts, or the insuperable Difficulties of the Roads. How then should the Ancients, having such a Notion of the State of those Places, believe that Merchants had been able to travel through such Countries, and to establish any certain Settlement, and fix'd Staples for their Commodities in them ?

Strab. Lib. 7.

Plin. Lib. 6.

Cap. 17. Mela

Lib. 3. Cap 7.

2. **This** Course by the *Red-Sea*, is, that of all the ancient ones, whose Certainty may be the least doubted of. *Nearchus* and *Onesicritus* had, by *Alexander's* Command, sailed over the most Eastern part of it, in their Voyage from the *Indus* to the *Euphrates*. *Pliny* has described it, and mark'd the chief Stations of it. *Arian* in his Remarks has been more large in relating this Voyage, and has omitted nothing relating to the Places and their Situation where those Generals went ashore. When

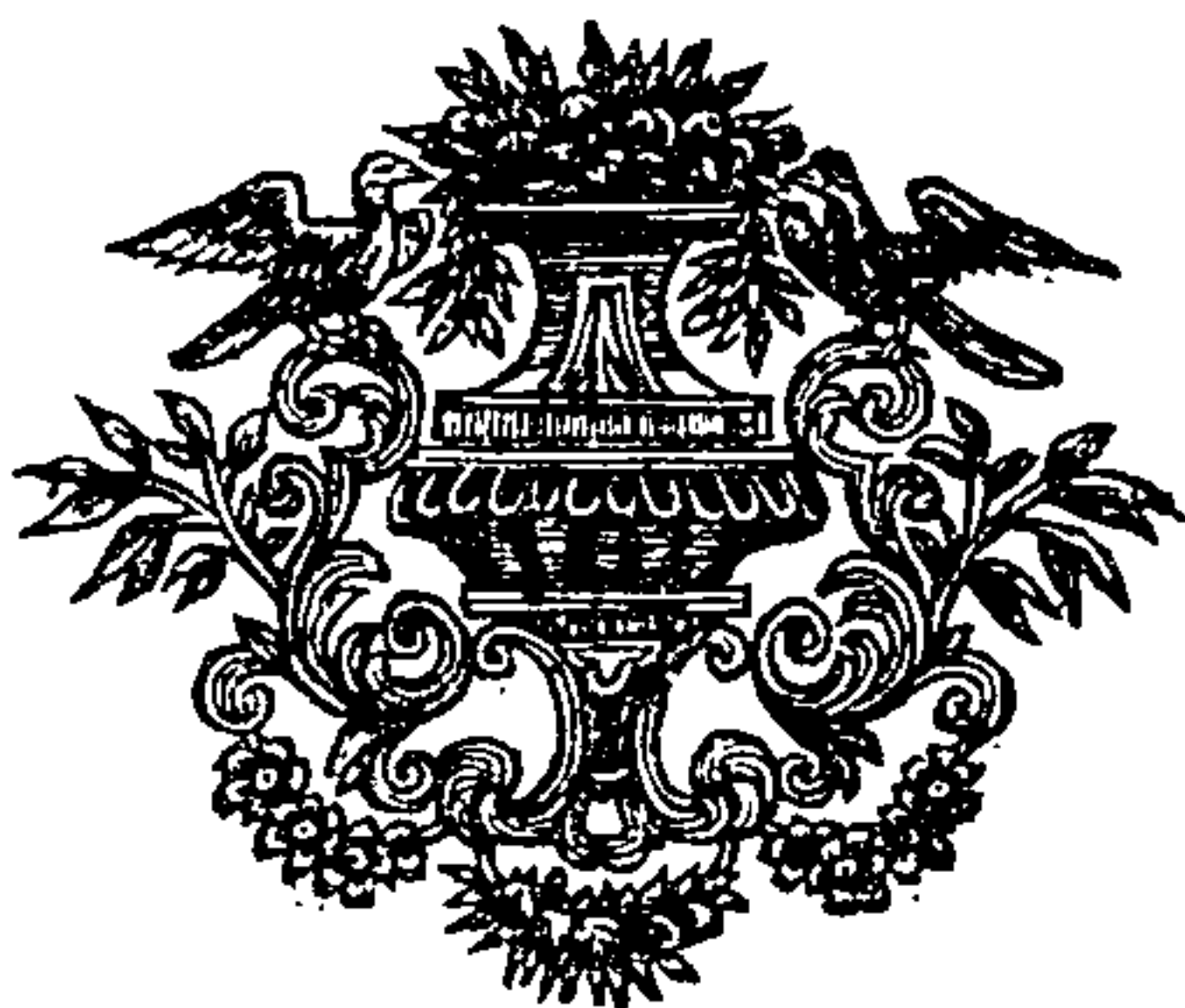
Plin. Lib. 6.

Cap 23.

Pliny then says, that the Description which they made of that Voyage, does not set down the Places, nor the Distances, he certainly meant *Juba's* Extract of it, and which he seems to have had in view, when he composed his own Relation of it. *Pliny* adds, that the Course which they steer'd afterwards in their Voyages from *Egypt* to the *Indes*, began at that Cape of *Arabia* called heretofore *Syagros*, and now *Cape Fartack*, for the Port of *Patala*, situated in one of the Mouths of the *Indus*. This Cape was very probably the Rendezvous of those Ships, which came by the *Arabian* and *Persian* Gulphs ; that is to say, from the Countries possess'd by the Successors of *Alexander*, both in *Egypt* and *Asia*. Though this was a pretty short Passage, they made it still shorter, according to *Pliny*, by sailing directly from the Cape *Syagros* for the Port of *Zigeras*, situated in the *Indies*, and more Westward than *Patala*. Let us always follow *Pliny*, who says that this Course was a long time practis'd, 'till the Merchants greedy of more Gain, sought after other ways to get the Riches of the *Indies* to themselves. *Ptolemy Philadelphus* began to apply himself to it ; and the *Romans* having made themselves Masters of *Egypt*, became also Masters of all the Trade which they drove to the *Indies*, and sent every Year regularly their Fleets thither. *Pliny* exactly describes the Course which the *Roman* Merchants sail'd in their Way from *Alexandria* to the Port of *Berenice* in the *Arabian* Gulph. They sail'd from thence towards the middle of the Summer, and touch'd at *Ocelis*, a Port of *Arabia*, at the very end of the same Gulph ; or at that of *Caza*, a little more to the West in the same Country. He likewise mentions the Port of *Maza*, situated above *Ocelis*, and upon the same Coast ; but whose Commerce consisted only in the Sale of Incense, and other Spices of *Arabia*, and never

Plin. Lib. 8.
Cap. 23.

never traded to the *Indies*. But for those who did trade thither, 'twas best for them to sail from *Ocelis* directly for the Port of *Muziris* in the *Indies*, or that of *Barace*, which is not far from it. And when *Pliny* subjoins, that the Names of these Places were unknown before his Time, he gives us sufficiently to understand, that those Courses were new, and discovered by the *Romans*: And at last he concludes this Discourse with saying, that these Fleets returned from the *Indies* towards the Winter-Solstice of the same Year they set out. What I find more remarkable in this Treatise of *Pliny* is, his saying, that there was no Year in which the *Romans* did not carry to the *Indies* in Merchandize at least the Value of five Millions; and that they got *Cent. per Cent.* by those Merchandizes which they imported from thence.



C H A P. LVI.

1. *Rout by the Straight of Waigats, unknown to the Ancients.*
2. *The Opinion of the Ancients concerning the Junction of the South-Sea of Asia, with the Caspian-Sea.*
3. *Rout from Moscovy to China.*
4. *Rout of the Indies by Samarcanda.*
5. *Rout from India by Bogar.*
6. *Rout of India by the Land of the Arians.*
7. *Rout of India by the Land of the Saces.*
8. *Rout of the Indies by Cabul.*
9. *Rout of the Indies by Candahar.*
10. *Solinus's Itinerary of the Indies.*
11. *Rout of the Sefates to the City of Thina.*
12. *The Name of Mount Taurus explain'd, with an Account of its Extent.*

1. **A**FTER the common Rout, which was so much frequented, the only one which presents itself, is that which we may believe to have been made by the North-Sea, between the East and West; but it does not appear by the Books of the ancient Geographers, that they had the least Knowledge of those Routs from the Western Seas to those of the East, which have been attempted in latter Times, by the Straights of *Waigats* and *Nova Zembla*; for it is unreasonable to believe that those *Indian Merchants*, which were by Strefs of Weather cast upon the Coast of *Germany*, and presented by the King of *Sweden* to the Proconul *M. Julius Celer*, had pass'd that Sea.

2. It is certain that the Ancients had very strange Opinions concerning the Disposition of the North Parts of *Asia*: They believ'd that the *Caspian-Sea* was a Gulph of the *Scythian Ocean*, that is to say, the North-Sea of *Asia*; and that those two Seas were joyned by a Canal large enough for Ships to pass, which went from the *Caspian-Sea* to *India*. I have shewn in my Animadversions upon the Poet *Manilius*, that those Authors have little reason for their Opinions, since *Herodotus* assures us very formally to the contrary. *Pliny* speaks of it after *Strabo*, as an Opinion commonly receiv'd in his Time, and gives us to understand, that *Seleucus* and *Antiochus*, who succeeded *Alexander*, made this Voyage under the Conduct of *Patrocles*. The Ancients following this Opinion, easily believ'd that all the Sea Commerce on the North of *India*, and of the *Caspian Sea*, where so many considerable Routs and great Rivers met, might be carry'd on with the People of the West, by the means of the *Scythian Ocean*, reasoning from the false Supposition, that those two Seas had a Communication with each other.

*Animad. in Manil.
Lib. 4. v. 644.*

Plin. Lib. 6.

Cap. 17.

*Strab. Lib. 2. 7,
& 11.*

3. If from these Routs by Sea, we come now to mention those by Land, and enquire first after the Northern Passages; we may reasonably conjecture, that the Ancients entertained some Commerce between the North Parts of *Asia* and those of *Europe*, as we find in later Times. The Frontiers of the Empire of *Moscovy* border upon those of the Empire of *China*; and the Ambassadors of the Czar, taking this Voyage in the Year 1659, pass'd thro' the North Parts of the Kingdom of *Boutan*, and cross'd *Great Tartary*; and that even in the Year 1619. another *Moscovite* had made the same Voyage, of which we have an Account: Therefore it appears that this Rout was no new Thing

Thing to the *Moscovites*, who had made use of it so many Years ago. We may also observe, that the Merchants of *Russia* carry'd on a regular Trade with the *Chinches*, by way of *Astracan* and the *Caspian-Sea*, and by *Bogar* above the River *Oxus*, as I shall mention in the proper Place : I shall not descend to the Voyages which have since been made to the *Indies*, *China* and *Tartary*, by *Benjamin* of *Navarre*, *Rubricus*, *Plancarpin*, *Haythou*, and others ; for I mean to speak here only of the Ancients Voyages, and should not have mention'd those of the *Moscovites* to *China*, but that they discover to us a Rout which was probably made use of by the Ancients. Neither shall I enter into the Particulars of those Voyages so common among the *Turks*, who setting out from *Constantinople* traverse *Persia* and the *Indies* to get to *China*, nor of those which are made from *India* to *Ormus*, and by the *Persian Gulph* to *Bassora* upon the *Euphrates*, from whence the *Indian Wars* were transported by Caravans into other Parts of *Asia*, and by *Aleppo*, *Cairo* and *Alexandria* into *Europe* ; nor also of those which were heretofore made from the *Indies* thro' *Persia* to *Antioch*, of which the *Palmyrenians* were the chief Promoters during their flourishing State ; nor shall I enquire into those which were made by Sea to *Aden* in *Arabia*, and from thence to *Egypt*. Now if this Rout from *Moscow* to *China* was frequented by the Ancients, as it is probable enough, it is the most Northern of all the others that have been regularly follow'd by Land : I say regularly, for it would be impossible to enumerate all the particular Routs which have been follow'd by Adventurers, who either by Chance or Curiosity have been led out of the high Roads.

4. The next Rout, more Southward than that from *Moscow* to *China*, was that of *Samarcand*, the Capital City of *Transoxiana*, situate beyond the River

River *Oxus*; it was by means of that River, that the City of *Samarcand*, which was not far distant from it, carry'd on its Trade towards the West, and following the Course of the *Oxus* by the *Caspian* Sea, and from thence up the *Volga*, and so to all the North-west Parts. If we consider this Rout, and those which I shall mention afterwards, which take in the *Caspian* Sea and the *Volga*, we may see that without entring the Ocean, one might navigate from *China* to *Spain*, and unite the East with the West, by taking the Course of the *Oxus*, and then the River *Volga*, which might be joyn'd to the nearest part of the *Tanais* by a Canal, which would not exceed six *German* Leagues in Length, and following the *Tanais*, might gain the *Black-Sea*, and from thence thro' the *Mediterranean-Sea*, at length come to *Gibraltar*. *Strabo* tells us of another

Strab. Lib. 11.

Rout by the *Caspian-Sea*, much shorter than that of the *Volga*, to enter the *Black-Sea*, by drawing towards *Albania*, which lies Westward from that Sea, by coming up the River *Cyrus* towards its Spring-Head. And *Pliny*, upon

Plin. Lib. 6.

the Credit of *Varro*, tells us, that *Pompey*, being willing to inform himself of this Rout, learnt that to come from the *Indies* by the River *Oxus* into the *Caspian-Sea*, he could then enter the Mouth of the *Cyrus*, and by going up that River could come within five Days Journey of the *Phasis* or *Fasso*; to which River the Merchandizes which came up the *Cyrus* might be transported by Land. I speak only of the Merchandizes, and not of the Boats which carry'd them, as *Solinus* has done.

Cap. 17.

The Way which *Seleucus Nicator* had laid out from *Pliny's* Account, which he says was warranted by the Emperour *Claudius* to joyn *Asia* to *Europe* and the *Caspian-Sea*, with the *Pontus Euxinus*, by drawing

Solin. 19. Cap.

Plin. Lib. 6.

Cap. 11.

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ing a Canal from the *Cimmerian Bosphorus* to the *Caspian-Sea*, would have yet shorned the Passage if it had been practicable.

5. *Bogar* was yet nearer to the *Oxus*, which River was helpful to its Trade. Altho' *Samarcaud* was in its Neighbourhood, and had weakened its Commerce, *Bogar* still continued to drive some Trade on one Side with the Merchants of *Cathay*, *China* and the *Indies*, from both Sides of the *Ganges*, and from *Persia*; and on the other hand with the *Moscovites* in their Way to *China*; but length of Time has alter'd the Dispositions of these Places. For according to *Jenkinson's Voyage*, the Course of the *Oxus* is so much weaken'd by several Cuts and Canals drawn from it to water the Lands, that now wanting a sufficient Force to reach the Sea, it has lost its Name by falling into another River, like to the *Rhine*; out of which they have drawn so many Canals, that its ancient Mouth is hardly known. The same Fate likewise attends the River *Sigde* near the *Oxus*.

Ann. Marcell.
Lib. 23. Cap. 6.

6. *Annianus Marcellinus* lays out another Rout very confusedly from the Country of the *Arians*, situate with regard to the *Seres*, between the North and the West to the *Caspian-Sea*, he sets down the *Arax*, a navigable River crossing that Region; then he adds, that from that Country they came up to the *Caspian-Sea* by a Navigation of near a hundred Leagues; nevertheless I cannot find any other River thereabouts but the *Oxus* which could serve them to navigate upon, and into which some of the *Arian* Rivers discharge themselves at the *Zariaspes*, which *Strabo* mentions.

Strab. Lib. 11.

Ann. Marcell.
Lib. 23. Cap. 6.

7. The same *Marcellinus* traces out another way from the Country of the *Seres*, by traversing the Land of the *Saces*, a wild Nation without any City. The Rivers
Araxates

Araxates and the *Dymas* present themselves in this Rout under the *Sogdian* Mountains, which after having form'd the *Oxian Fenns*, discharges themselves into the *Oxus* according to *Ptolemy's* Maps.

8. The Rout of *Cabul* was towards the South, through a neighbouring River which fell into the *Indus*, and so into the *Indian* Sea ; they brought the Spices and other *Indian* Merchandizes which were design'd for the South this way : There was a great Trade of Cattle carry'd on there between the *Scythians* and the *Persians* ; and at this Day, in the same Place, the *Usbecks*, Inhabitants of the ancient *Bactriana*, and of the ancient *Parthia*, drive a great Trade with their Horses, as it is easie to imagine by the Neighbourhood of the *Tartars* and *Persians*, who at all times, whether in War or Peace, are much addicted to the Use of Horses.

9. By descending yet nearer to the South, we fall into the grand Rout of *Candahar* ; at which Place the *Persians* and *Indians* carry on a considerable Commerce. This City, which is at this Day under the *Persian* Empire, being situated where *Ptolemy* has placed *Alexandria*, one of the Cities built by *Ptol. Asie, Tab. 7.* *Alexander* in the Course of his Conquests, as perpetual Monuments to his Honour. The Name *Candahar* may give us this Notion, by deriving it from that of *Alexander*, that the more modern People of the East have disfigured it into that of *Isander* ; but it is much more probable that it is taken from the *Candarians*, a People situate upon the *Oxus*, near to the City *Candahar* ; but this Rout has lost much of its Splendour, since the People of the West have been concern'd in the Trade between *Persia* and *India* by Sea ; yet nevertheless it still preserves some of its former Reputation. The Caravans of *Ispahan* and *Agra*, for want of a better Road, pass thro' *Candahar*, as do also those from the North Parts of *Persia*, to which other
Merchants

Merchants join themselves, who bring Goods by the *Black-Sea*, and by the *Caspian-Sea*, and the ancient *Colchis*, consisting chiefly in Iron and Steel, Fruits of the Earth, Corn, Wax, Honey, Hemp, Flax, Pitch, and Timber necessary for Navigation: These Caravans, I say, all fall into the Rout of *Candahar*, without advancing as far as *Ispahan*, or other Southern Parts of *Persia*; and it is reasonable to believe, that the Caravans of *Tauris*, which pass'd to the *Levant*, took the same Rout and accompany'd with the rest. This City traded greatly in precious Stones, Cloth of Gold and Silk, and other valuable Merchandizes; and its Commerce drew to it Merchants from *Europe*, all *Asia* and the *Indies*.

10. *Solinus* promises us in the Title of his Fifty-fourth Chapter an Itinerary of the *Indies*; but besides, his frequent Mistakes which *Saumaſis* has remark'd, he has not given us an exact Rout from *India* towards the West, but has only set down a Geographical List of the Provinces situated between the *Indies* and *Arabia*, which seems to have
Plin. Lib. 6. been taken from *Pliny*, and ill put
Cap. 23. together.

11. We ought likewise to give as little Credit to what *Arrian* says in his Coastings concerning the Situation of the great City *Thina*, the Capital of *China*, and of the Way by which the Merchants return from thence: For we may plainly discover how little he understood the Eastern Geography; and the other *Arrian*, who writ of the Affairs of *India*, was in the right, when he said that he knew nothing beyond the *Ganges*. The Author of the *Periple*, or Coastings, places the City *Thina* under the little Bear, that is, near the Pole; which shews, as I have said, extream Ignorance, and is an intolerable Absurdity. He adds, that they carry by Land the Merchandizes of this City, which are Wool, Thread, and Wrought-Silks, by
the

the City *Bactra* to *Barygaza* ; and that from thence they bring them to *Limyrica*, by means of the *Ganges*. But this is very different from the Situation which *Ptolemy* has given to all those Places ; for he puts a distance of twenty three Degrees of Latitude between *Bactra* and *Barygaza*, and twenty five Degrees of Longitude between *Limyrica* and the *Ganges*. Now what we may conjecture from this Account is, that the *Sesates* went every Year by Caravans to the Confines of the City *Thina* to carry their Merchandizes thither ; and if these *Sesates* are the same with the *Basades*, mentioned by *Ptolemy*, as *Stuckius* reasonably conjectures, the Rout which they kept to go to the City *Thina*, was not of any great length, since they were situated to the East of the *Ganges*.

*Ptol. Lib. 7.
Cap. 2. Tab. XI.
Asia.*

12. And because in this Description of the *Indies*, and the Provinces of *Asia*, we find Mount *Taurus* almost every where, and often is confounded with other Mountains, I shall therefore advertize the Reader that the Name of Mount *Taurus* is taken from the general Word ܐܪܥܐ, which in the *Chaldean* Language signifies a *Mountain*, and may therefore be given to every Mountain of the World : The *Greeks* have also received this Signification among them.

And *Diodorus* of *Sicily*, seems to give for Synonyms, *Taurus* and ὄρος, which signifies a *Hill*, therefore we need not wonder if we find the Word *Taurus* applied to all the Parts of that great Chain of Mountains, which extends itself from the Oriental Sea of *Asia*, as far as the *Pamphylian* Sea, which seems to explain a Passage in *Mela*, which has been corrupted, and therefore is not rightly understood : He says, that this Mountain, rising at the Eastern Sea, and extending itself to the right and left towards the West, at length it reaches the other Sea ; and then he adds these

Diod. Lib. 14.

Mela, Lib. cap. 15.

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Words,

Words, *Idem autem & totus, ut dictus est, dicitur, cuiusque spectat orientem ; deinde Emodes, & Caucasus & Paropamisus.* His Interpreters have been at a loss to explain this Passage, but it would have been plain and easy to them, if instead of the Word *totus* they had read *Torus*. *Mela* would say, that this Mountain, in its most Eastern Bounds, still retains the Name *Torus*, which it had upon the Coast of *Pamphylia*, notwithstanding in its Course it bears the other Names of *Emodes*, *Caucasus* and *Paropamisus*. The Name *Torus* is the same with that of *Taurus* ; for the Original Word *טור* may be expressed in *Greek* by *Torus* and *Taurus* ; the *Greeks* have made choice of the latter, because it is the most common in their Language. This is

Polib. Lib. 1. neatly proved by *Polybius*, who speaking of a Hill in *Sicily*, tells us it was called *Torus* : And in like manner, *Diod. Lib. 14.* *Diodorus* tells us, that the Hill in *Sicily*, upon which the City *Taurromenium* was built, was called *Taurus*.



C H A P. LVII.

1. *The Roman Commerce continued after Augustus.*
2. *Under Tiberius and Caligula, and by the Care of Drusus, Father of the Emperor Claudius.*
3. *Under Claudius.*
4. *Under Nero.*
5. *Under Galba, Otho, and Vitellius ; under Vespasian.*
6. *Under Titus, Domitian, and Nerva ; under Trajan.*
7. *Under Adrian ; under Antoninus the Courteous.*
8. *Under Antoninus the Philosopher.*
9. *Under Pertinax.*
10. *Under Severus.*
11. *Under Caracalla.*
12. *Under Alexander Severus.*
13. *Under Maximinus.*
14. *Under Aurelian.*
15. *Under Claudius.*
16. *Under Firmus, and Saturninus.*
17. *Under Probus.*
18. *Under Dioclesian.*
19. *Under Constantine.*

1. **H**AVING already in this Work given the History of the *Roman Commerce* down to *Augustus's Time*, I am now to give an Account of that which they afterward maintained under their Emperors. I have remark'd the flourishing State of the *Roman Commerce* during the long and happy Reign of *Augustus* ; and have shewn from *Strabo*, that in his Time great Fleets were sent out to the *Red-Sea* for the Commerce of *India* and *Ethiopia*, which returned with Goods of great Value, that were afterward transported to *Alexandria*. *Pliny* adds, that in the Age he lived this Navigation was made annually by the *Romans*, by keeping the same Route which *Alexander's Ships* had taken.

Strab. Lib. 17.

*Plin. Lib. 6.]
Cap. 23.*

2. We cannot learn from History that the Roman Commerce was any ways increased under *Tiberius*, we find only that that Prince having extended the *Roman Arms* over *Germany*, as far as the Banks of the River *Elbe*, whilst his Fleet after having cross'd the North-Sea (unknown 'till that time to the *Romans*) went up that River, and joined his Army. *Caligula*, an extravagant Prince, seemed to have subdued *Britain*, without having even so much as entered the Country : He built a high Tower upon the Shoar opposite to it, on the *German Side*, to serve for a Light-house, and as a Monument of his Victory. And to make his Victory still more famous, he had the Gallies which he made use of in those Seas carry'd by Land to *Rome* : He prepar'd also a great Triumph, altho' all this Expedition of his ended with collecting only a few Shells. At length he fitted out some Fleets, not for War or Commerce, but to help his Flight when he abandon'd *Italy* upon the News of a Revolt in *Germany* ; which Country I may observe, *en passant*, did not appear to have been much acquainted with Sea-Affairs. Some few Robbers only used the Sea at little distance from the Coasts in Canoes made of single Pieces of Wood, which were sometimes large enough to carry thirty Men. Thus ended the Exploits of *Caligula*, and his Cares for the Encrease of Commerce, to which he was so far from contributing, that it receiv'd an extreme Prejudice from him ; and *Rome* had like to have been famish'd, when he assembled from all Parts an infinite Number of Ships for the building of that Bridgewhich he caused to be made between *Bayes* and *Puzzoli*.

Sueton. Claud.
C. 25. 1.

Suetonius tells us, that *Drusus*, the Father of the Emperor *Claudius*, was the first *Roman* who navigated in the Northern Ocean ; but we must correct that Mistake, for else what would become of

of those Navigations which *Pliny* tells us were made by the Orders of *Augustus* in the Northern Ocean, whose Squadrons had been all over it? Or what would become of that Fleet mentioned by *Velleius*, which after having travers'd the Gulphs of the Ocean, went up the *Elb*, when *Tiberius* the Son of *Drusus* commanded in those Parts, and return'd laden with all sorts of Merchandizes: It was the same *Drusus* who join'd the *Rhine* with the *Iffel*, by a Canal which was call'd after his Name, the *Drusian* Channel.

*Plin. Lib. 2.
Cap. 67.*

Vell. Cap. 106.

3. The Emperour *Claudius* was the First after *Julius Cæsar*, who attack'd *Britain*. The Greatness of the Fleet which he prepared for that Expedition, was celebrated by the Verses of *Seneca*, where he says, that the *Roman* Fleets cover'd the Seas which had been unknown to them before:

*Senec. Octav.
Act. 1.*

And by *Pliny*, where he tells us, that that Prince, in his Triumph of *Britain*, enter'd the *Adriatick* Sea with a Ship of that surprising Greatness, that it rather deserv'd the Name of a Castle than of a Ship; he conquer'd part of *Britain* without meeting any Resistance: He subdued the Islands of *Orcades*, and made a memorable Triumph of this Conquest; and as a lasting Memorial of his Fame, he gave his Son the Surname of *Britannicus*. It was by his Orders that *Vespasian*, who was afterward Emperour, fought so many Battles, and subdued the Isle of *Wight*. *Rome* flourish'd by the Cares of *Claudius*, and by his Liberalities, for to excite the Merchants to Trade, and to the building of Ships, followed the Example which was practis'd at *Rome*, in the Time of the second *Punick* War. It was him who properly deserves the Title of Founder of the Port of *Ostia*, by the Repairs and

*Plin. Lib. 3.
Cap. 16.*

Improvements which he made there, and in that he built the Ship which *Caligula* used at that place to fetch the great Obelisk from *Egypt*, which was set up in the Circle of the *Vatican*; a Ship so admirable for its Greatness, that it carry'd one hundred and twenty thousand Measures of Lentils for its Ballast. It was also under the Empire of *Claudius* that *Corbulo* join'd the *Rhine* to the *Meuse* by a Canal of twenty three Miles long, to gain Time, and spare the Ships the Danger of the main Sea, and to avoid the Humour of the Tides.

4. *Nero* had no regard to the Sea, 'till he was about to retire into *Egypt*, when his Affairs began to grow desperate. If the Design which *Antistius Vetus*, one of the Chiefs of the *Roman* Army, who lay encamp'd upon the Frontier of *Germany*, had taken Effect, it wou'd have honour'd the Empire of *Nero*. This *Antistius Vetus* would have join'd the *Rhine* to the *Moselle* by a Canal, and by that Work would have open'd a Communication between the *Mediterranean* Sea and the Ocean. But the deference which he had for the envious and malign Counsel of one of the Commanders of the *Belgick Gaul*, made him to apprehend *Nero's* Displeasure, and prevented the Effect of that noble Enterprize.

5. The Successors of *Nero*, *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*, had not time enough to settle themselves in their Dominion, and much less to illustrate or enrich it. *Vespasian* coming from the East to take Possession of the Empire, to which he was call'd, thought it would be of the greatest Importance to seize upon *Alexandria*, which was the Key of *Egypt*, knowing by that means he should be Master of the Corn-Country, which was so service-

able to the *Romans*. *Tacitus* has writ, with great Exactness, the whole Fortune of *Britain*, from the Time of its Conquest by *Julius Caesar*, to that Time

Time when *Vespasian* (in the Year which preceded his Death) appointed *Julius Agricola* for its Governour : It was him who finish'd its Conquest ; and it was in his Time it was first known to be an Island ; of which they were more fully satisfied in the Time of the Emperor *Severus*. *Tacitus* places in the same Time the Discoveries of the *Orcades* and *Thule* ; altho' other Historians attribute the Conquest of the *Orcades* with more Justice to the Emperor *Claudius* ; which *Mela*, who liv'd in his Time, *Mel. Lib. 3. Cap. 6.* has remark'd with the Number of those Islands. The Words of *Tacitus* manifestly distinguish *Thule* from the *Orcades* : He says that he conquer'd the *Orcades*, but that he only discover'd *Thule*, which the Winters Snow had hid 'till that time ; but he is deceiv'd in that, for *Thule* was known in the Time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, when *Pytheas* of *Marseilles* gave a Description of it, which is cited by *Strabo*.

6. It does not appear that Commerce flourish'd, or that any new Discoveries were made under the Emperors *Titus*, *Domitian* and *Nerva*. But *Trajan*, an ambitious Prince, and desirous of Glory, after having taken the City *Ctesiphon*, penetrated as far as the Mouths of the *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, and enter'd the Ocean, where, by chance, 'spying a Ship bound for the *Indies*, he was tempted to take the same Rout, and had Thoughts of reducing that Country, that he might surpass the Glory of *Alexander* ; and he would have prosecuted his Enterprize, if he had not known the Difficulty of maintaining those new Conquests, so remote from the Seat of his Empire : In a Word, he was content only to establish a Fleet in the *Red-Sea* to maintain the Rout to *India*.

7. Altho' it does not appear that Commerce had any Share in these Enterprizes of *Trajan*, no more than it had in the Expedition of *Adrian* in *Britain* ;

yet nevertheless we cannot believe it was entirely neglected : A City so large as *Rome*, and a State so vast as was the *Roman Empire*, could not subsist without Commerce. *Antoninus Pius*, after the Example of *Augustus*, appointed that the Naval Laws of the *Rhedians* should be observed upon the Sea,

Dig. de Leg. Rebus, Leg. 9. Tit. 2. Lib. 14. Dig. de S. C. Trebellianum, Lib. 36. Leg. 49.

which appears from the Answer he made to *Eudamon* of *Nicomedia*, recorded in the *Digest*. And is also mentioned in a Decision of *Javolenus*, who lived under the same Emperor, of the *British Fleet*, commanded by *Senus Saturninus*, who was qualified *Archicubernus* : It is likely this Fleet had been established ever since the Victory of the Emperor *Claudius*, to carry on a Commerce with *Britain*, and to keep that Province in Obedience.

8. His Successor, *Antoninus* the Philosopher, had a special Regard to furnish *Rome* with Corn necessary for its Subsistence, and for the Conveniency of Trade he repaired the high Roads ; and yet further for its Advantage he put off the Representation of the *Pantomimes* to later Hours than usual upon Market-Days. And we learn also from the

Aristid. Egypt.

Orator *Aristides*, who lived in his Time, that Trade was then in a flourishing Condition, not only in the *Mediterranean Sea*, but also in the Ocean beyond the Streights.

9. The Trade, which the Emperor *Pertinax* had himself exercised during the greatest part of his Life, and even after he was possess'd of the Empire, is a sufficient Proof, that Merchants were in great Esteem among the *Romans*, and that Commerce was not any ways dishonourable to the Professor. His Father had traded in *Liguria* (which was his Native Country) with a certain sort of prepared Wood, then in use. Now as that Calling

was very profitable, his Son applied himself to it, perhaps against his Father's Will, who thought him more capable of other Studies ; and it may be for his Obstinacy in it gave him the Name of *Pertinax*.

10. *Severus* came to the Empire some time afterward, and by his Care to enrich *Rome*, and furnish it with necessary Provisions, we may reasonably believe, that his Application to the Affairs of *Britain* was as well with regard to Commerce as the Augmentation of his Empire. It was not certainly known 'till his Time, that *Britain* was an Island ; he penetrated into the North Parts of it, even to their utmost Extremity ; and suppress'd the Revolts of its Inhabitants, and entirely subdued it. It was him, who, to stop the Excursions of the Highlanders, situated on the North of the Island, made that famous Wall, whose Ruins yet remain to divide the uncultivated barren Lands from the Southern fertile Parts. This Wall reach'd from one Sea to the other, having for that End obtain'd from the Inhabitants a part of the Lands which they possess'd, and had freely granted him, as an Acknowledgment of the Protection he had given them against their Enemies, and of that firm Peace they enjoyed under him : These good Works of his gain'd him the Name of *Britannicus*. It was perhaps with the same Views of enriching the Empire of *Rome*, when he returned from his Expedition against the *Parthians*, that he went into *Egypt* to learn the particular State of that Country, and inform himself of the Advantages which *Rome* might draw from thence.

11. Now although his Son *Caracalla* coming from the same Places, took the same Rout, seemingly upon the Motives which had guided his Father ; yet the cruel Massacre which he had made at *Alexandria*, to revenge himself of the Insults he had received from its Inhabitants, had the greatest
part

part in his Expedition. However, we must own, that he was not without some regard for the Merchants, who were a powerful Body in *Alexandria*; for when he ordered that all Strangers should leave that City, he excepted the Merchants, whom he obliged to remain there.

12. But *Alexander Severus*, a pious, virtuous and wise Prince, thought it worthy the Wisdom of his Government, to promote the Welfare of Commerce, even in *Rome* itself, and to engage Merchants to settle there, he allowed them great Liberties; he moderated the Duties which were imposed on the Merchants and Tradesmen; for these Professions, which are generally confounded with each other, are essentially different, as appears in the Civil-Law. This Emperor divided the Merchants and Tradesmen into different Companies, he gave to each of them Protectors chosen out of their respective Societies, and particular Judges skill'd in their several Affairs.

13. *Maximin* himself traded with the *Goths* with those Wares which he had from his own Lands in *Thrace*, his Native Country, when he withdrew from thence to avoid the unjust Dominion of *Opilius Macrinus*.

14. *Aurelian* considering the Importance of the *Egyptian* Commerce, which was the most necessary of all others practised at that time by the *Romans*, made an exact Regulation of all the Merchandizes which should be brought from thence, as well those natural to that Country, as the others which came thither from the *Indies*; and to facilitate the Transport of them, he had a particular Regard to the Navigations on the *Nile*, and the *Tiber*: And that the common People might be more sensible of the Abundance and Plenty which came to *Rome*, he augmented the Weight of Bread without raising the Price.

15. The

15. The People of the Northern Countries being sensible how much a Force at Sea contributed to the Power of the *Romans*, endeavoured to equal them in their Naval Strength. Those *Goths*, who had been subdued by *Claudius*, who then govern'd the the Empire, came against the *Romans* with an Army of three hundred and twenty thousand Men, and a Fleet of two thousand Ships.

Zosimus reckons their Number of Ships to have been six Thousand, which were built in the *Black-Sea*, near the Mouth of the *Nieſter*, from whence they were conducted into the *Archipelago*, and were destroy'd partly in Battle, and partly by the Plague. The *Arabians* on their Side, under the Empire of *Conſtans*, in the Year of our Lord 639, ſail'd into the *Mediterranean Sea* with a Fleet of ſeventeen hundred Ships, and conquer'd the Iſle of *Cyprus*. *Zoſim. Lib. 1.*

16. *Firmus* having got Poſſeſſion of *Egypt* rebell'd againſt *Aurelian*, and was ſuppreſs'd by him. Now I ſay, whether we place this *Firmus* among the Emperors or the Tyrants, we ought to give him his due Praise for having contributed to the Advancement of Commerce, and often ſending Merchant-Ships to the *Indies*, which brought from thence Merchandizes of the greateſt value.

Saturninus run the ſame Fortune in his Attempt upon *Egypt*: The Hiſtorians ſetting forth the Nature, Power and Riches of *Egypt*, give us a Letter written by the Emperor *Adrian*, where he places among the chief Manufactures of that Country, Glaſs, Paper, and Linnen-Cloth.

17. If the Emperor *Probus*, who was not inferior to any of his Predeceſſors in Virtue and Merit, had been able to bring about his great Deſigns, he would have rais'd the *Roman* Glory to the higheſt pitch of Greatneſs: He would have eſtabliſh'd an univerſal Peace, and have converted to the publick Good the Men and Money which
the

the Wars consumed : He would have cultivated the Lands, encouraged Arts and Sciences, and improved Navigation and Merchandizes : And as he well knew that the greatest Riches of a State consisted in the Industry of its Subjects, he continually employ'd his Troops in some Works. But that which would have been so profitable to the Empire, was quite otherwise to the Emperour ; for the Soldiers degenerated from their ancient Discipline to Sedition and Rebellion. This Prince took care to open the Mouths of Rivers for the better Passage of Ships ; and he had particularly made so many useful Works in the *Nile*, that *Rome* afterward receiv'd more considerable Supplies of Corn than usual from *Egypt*.

18. The *Roman* Commerce suffer'd greatly under the Empire of *Dioclesian*, by the Revolt of *Britain*, which was first began by *Carausius*, and continued by *Allectus*, which remain'd for ten Years. This *Carausius* had the Command of the *British* Fleet (as I have before observ'd) with which he had Orders to suppress the Piracies which were practis'd by the *Franks* and *Saxons* in the *British* Sea. He acquitted himself of this Commission with great Valour, but not like a Man of Honour ; for he converted to his own Use the Prizes he had taken for the *Romans*. They took their Measures to punish his Infidelity, and he on his Side prepared to defend himself. He usurped the Title of Emperour, and invaded *Britain*. In short, the *Romans* were forced to bear his Usurpation, and let him enjoy peaceably the Fruits of his Crime for seven Years. It was then his Companion *Electus* kill'd him, and succeeded him in his usurp'd Government of the *Britains* ; who after three Years return'd to their Obedience of the *Romans*. The Rebellion of the *Egyptians*, headed by *Achilleus*, would have been also of ill Consequence to the *Roman* Commerce, if *Dioclesian* had not suppress'd it,

it, put its Author to Death, and severely punish'd the *Egyptians* who had favour'd it. He then put the Affairs of *Egypt* into better Order; he reform'd the Administration, and made many good Regulations which remain'd for a long Time. It was then that the *Saxons* began to be known to the *Romans*; first by Piracies, and at length by their Insults upon the Coasts of *Gaul* and *Britain*, situate in the *British* Sea, and the Establishments and Colonies which they planted on the same Coasts: This is the Origin of the Name of the *Saxon* Shoar which is so famous in History.

19. The Affairs of Religion and War which employ'd *Constantine*, would not permit him to think of Commerce: But the Foundation of *Constantine*, which was one of his chief Enterprizes, contributed to many Changes in Trade; one of the most notable was in the Sale of the *Egyptian* Merchandizes. The *Alexandrian* Ships took the Rout of *Constantinople*. To furnish this new *Rome* with Necessaries, they were obliged to make use of the same Succours which had supply'd the ancient City.



C H A P. LVIII.

1. *Description of the Commerce of Constantinople : The happy Situation of the City.*
2. *Commerce of Constantinople over-turn'd by the Wars of the Goths and Saracens. The Foundation of Cairo.*
3. *Commerce of Constantinople reviv'd with great Splendour; also of the Trade of Bagdad.*
4. *The Commerce of Egypt, under the Empire of the Mammeleus, consisted chiefly in the Buying and Selling of Children.*
5. *Revolutions which happen'd in the Commerce of Constantinople under the Emperors which succeeded Constantine.*
6. *Under Constans.*
7. *Under Honorius.*
8. *Under Leo.*

1. **I**F the Rules of good Policy had not obliged the Emperors of *Constantinople* to apply themselves to Sea-Affairs, the happy Situation of that Capital would have invited them to Navigation. That City extended itself to the Right towards the South into the *Archipelago*, and its Left into the *Black-Sea*, as far as the *Palus Meotides*, having all *Asia* in its Front, and all *Europe* behind it. Also we find in the *Theodosian Code*, and in that of *Justinian*, with what Care the Interests of Sea-faring People were preserv'd; and the Obligations on every particular Person to assist the State and the Empire with their Ships in Cases of Necessity, as is practis'd at this Day in some Places.

2. But the Advantages which the *Romans* might have drawn from these Establishments, were travers'd by the Incursions of the *Goths* and other
bar-

barbarous People of the North, who bent themselves against the *Roman* Empire with incredible Fury, and by compelling it to consult its Preservation, robb'd it of its usual Application to foreign Commerce. The *Arabians*, Sectaries of *Mahomet*, at length establish'd a new State more formidable against the *Romans* than all the Violence of the *Goths*, and stripp'd the *Roman* Empire of great Part of its Dominions, many of its Forces, and a great Share of its Riches. The *Egyptians*, who had been 'till that time serviceable to *Constantinople*, being weary of its Government, which began to grow burdensom to them, submitted to the Power of the *Saracens*. It was in the Year of our Lord 984, that the City of *Cairo* was built, and became the Rival of *Constantinople*, and one of the richest and most trading Cities of the World.

3. The *Grecian* Emperors, in spite of their powerful Enemies, still maintain'd their Commerce. *Benjamin* the Jew, who liv'd in the latter End of the Twelfth Century tells us, that in his Time there was a great Concourse of Merchants at *Constantinople*, as well from the North as from *Lombardy*, *Spain*, *Asia* and *Egypt*, which brought thither the Merchandizes of the *Indies*; and that *Bagdad* was then the only City, with regard to Trade, which could be compar'd with *Constantinople*. *Bagdad*, and the Provinces about it, being situated upon the Frontier of the *Indies*, carried on a great Trade with them; and those Merchandizes which the People of *Bagdad* drew from thence passing through *Asia*, were carry'd by Land to *Constantinople*. The *Persians* and the *Arabians* having brought Cloves into the Western Parts, the *Greeks* and *Latins* took such a Fancy to them, that some of their Emperors resolv'd to conquer the Eastern Countries, that they might by that means be Masters of the Spice Trade.

4. *Syrac-*

4. *Syracenus* and *Soladinus* his Son, having made themselves Soldans of *Egypt*, (after they had destroy'd the Calificate of the *Saracens*) their Successors establish'd there the Government of the *Mammelues*, and reviv'd the *Indian* Commerce which they found had been heretofore useful to *Egypt*. And as this Body of Militia, who were stiled *Mammelues*, who had the Dominion of *Egypt*, maintain'd themselves only by their Trade in Children, which they bought in *Circasia* among the *Comans*, and the other Provinces of *Colchis* near the *Palus Meotides*, and other Parts where they could find them. The Soldans were obliged to treat with the Emperors of *Constantinople*, to obtain of them Permission to send every Year one or two Ships into the *Black-Sea* for that purpose.

5. After having given a general *Idea* of the Success of the Commerce of *Constantinople*, for a long Course of Time, we must return to the Successors of *Constantine*, and observe the principal Revolutions which happen'd to the Affairs of Trade under their Governments. For our Information in those Points, we can have no better Authority than the *Theodosian Code*, and that of *Justinian*, to which I have already had recourse.

6. The Emperor *Constans* was one of those who signalized himself the most in Point of Commerce: He declared himself Protector of Seafaring People; he exempted them from publick Charges and Contributions, and allow'd them great Privileges; in which good Works he was carefully imitated by *Julian*, who bore the Title of *Cesar*. It was by his Cares that the Commerce of *Britain*, which had declin'd by means of the Piracies of the *Barbarians*, was re-establish'd. He repaired and augmented the Number of Ships which carried Corn from *Britain* into *Gaul*; and he prepared Barks for the more easie Conveyance of Corn up the several Rivers into the *Mediterranean* Country,

Country, which was more than had been done before his Time.

7. The Irruption of the Northern People, who arm'd themselves at the secret Intigation of *Stilicho* in *Honorius's* Time; but chiefly the *Goths* of the most Western Provinces, led by *Alarick*; together with the fatal taking of *Rome*, reduced the *Romans* to the greatest Extremities. Moreover they were oblig'd to defend themselves against many other Tyrants which rose up against them at that time, not Strangers only, but even some of their own Subjects; among whom *Attalus* endeavour'd to famish *Italy*, by stopping the usual Convoys of Provisions which the *Romans* drew from *Africa*, and who attempted to swallow up *Rome* with a Fleet of three thousand seven hundred Ships. But if his formidable Fleet afforded the *Romans* sufficient Matter of Wonder, his speedy and shameful Return was no less surprizing, when he came back to *Carthage* with only one Ship, having taken his Flight so soon as he had landed in *Italy*, without striking a Stroke in Battle.

8. In the Year of our Lord 468, the Emperor *Leo* fitted out a Fleet of eleven hundred Ships against *Genseric* King of the *Vandals*, which might have put a Stop to the Progress of that unciviliz'd Prince, and might have establish'd the Power of the *Romans* at Sea, if by the Treason of *Basilisk* the General, who was Brother-in-Law to the Emperor, that vast Fleet had not been burnt by *Genseric* upon the Coast of *Africa*.



C H A P. LIX.

1. *Divers Fleets entertain'd by the Romans; the Fleet of Alexandria.* 2. *The Fleet of Africa.* 3. *The Eastern Fleet.* 4. *The Fleet of the Black-Sea.* *The Fleet for the Guard of the Roman Treasure.* 6. *Fleet for the Commerce of Spain.* 7. *Particular Fleets entertain'd by the Romans, and chiefly of those mention'd in the State of the Empire.*

1. **A**CCORDING to the Diversity of Events, and Wants of the *Roman* Empire, and the different Humours of the Emperors, Commerce had its Vicissitudes, its Promotion, or its Declension. The Fleets which were maintain'd in the several Ports of the *Mediterranean-Sea*, and in the Ocean, were regarded or neglected: Of all which Fleets the most considerable was that of *Alexandria*, establish'd and regulated by *Augustus*, after he had reduced *Egypt* into the Form of a Province. In the Fleet of *Alexandria* I comprehend the Squadrons of *India* and *Ethiopia*, which were equip'd in the *Red-Sea*, and brought Merchandizes from those Countries to send them afterward to *Alexandria* by the Canals of the *Nile*. I already remark'd, that *Strabo* has given us a full Account of this Trade, as it was practis'd in his Time, and also of the Greatness of the Fleets, and Value of their Merchandizes. We learn further from that Author of what Advantage the Duties arising by that Trade were to the *Romans*, even beyond those which the Kings of *Egypt* drew from it, before that State was reduced into a Province. The *Indian* Commerce flourish'd at *Rome*
it

in *Pliny's* Time, but began to decline under *Trajan*; since, as we find, that Prince was obliged to send a Fleet into the *Red-Sea* to re-establish it and maintain it.

Plin. Lib. 6. Cap. 23.

2. In the second place I shall mention the Fleet of *Africa*, which had always been of great Importance for the transporting of Corn to *Rome*, but was of much greater Use after the Foundation of *Constantinople*: Which great City receiving its Subsistence from *Alexandria*, as I have said already, the ancient *Rome* being depriv'd of that Help, had recourse to *Africa*; the Commerce of which Country had been a long time before advantageous to the *Romans*.

3. The third was that which was called the Eastern Fleet, whose principal Port was *Seleucia*, a City of *Syria*, situate upon the River *Orontes*, on which were depending also some particular Fleets; as that of the Isle of *Carpathos*, mention'd in the Law of the Emperors *Honorius* and

Theodosius, set down in the *Theodosian Code*, and also in the Law of the Emperors *Valentinian*, *Valens*

Cod. Theod. Lib. 13. Tit. 5. Leg. 32. & Leg. 14.

and *Gratian*, found in the same Code; in which we may see the Care those Princes took to keep up their full Complement of Sea-faring Men in the Eastern Provinces. The same Law expressly intimates the Difference between the Eastern Fleet and that of *Egypt*; and that Law attributes to the Mariners the same Privileges which it gave to those of *Africa*. The Code of *Justinian* furnishes us with another Law of the Emperors *Honorius* and *Theodosius*, which regulated the Commerce between the *Romans* and *Persians*; it prescribes the Places where the Fairs and Markets were to be kept, with an Injunction that the *Romans* should not pass beyond them; nor that the *Persians* should not be suffer'd to pass the same Bounds, or enter the *Roman*

Ground to spy out their Designs under Pretence of Merchandizing. The Commerce which was carried on by Land very far into *Asia*, depended upon that which the Eastern Fleet maintain'd by Sea. The Emperor *Constantine* mentions this Eastern Fleet in a Law inserted in the *Theodosian Code*, where he allows great Privileges to the Mariners, and regulates their Salaries after the Example of those of the *Alexandrian* Fleet, which consisted partly of Corn, and partly of Money.

The *Romans* had yet another Fleet of forty Sail in the *Pontus Euxinus*, not only to keep the Neighbouring People in Obedience, but also for the sake of the Trade of those Regions, whose Merchandizes were rich and profitable.

5. The Law of the Emperors, *Leo* and *Zeno*, which is found in the *Code of Justinian*, mentions the Fleet which was kept to guard the Treasures. From the same *Code*, after the *Theodosian Code*, we learn in another Law, that the Guards of the Treasures were Officers under the Superintendant of the Imperial Revenue. I am of Opinion, that that Fleet was chiefly design'd to bring the Revenues of the Empire to *Rome*, which it drew from the Province bordering on the *Mediterranean* Sea.

6. Altho' it does not appear that the *Romans* maintain'd any regular Fleets for the Commerce of *Spain*: Yet nevertheless it is certain that they employ'd a great Number of Ships in that Trade: And we find in the Laws of the Emperor *Constantine*, mention'd in the *Theodosian Code*, that some of the Ships which came from *Spain* to *Rome* were freighted for the Service of the State.

7. It is very plain that *Rome* could not have kept so many large Provinces in Subjection, and draw

draw from them the Tributes they were to pay, and the Wars which were useful to the *Romans*, without keeping a great Number of Ships continually employ'd; which further appears from those particular Fleets mention'd in the State of the Empire, written in *Arcadius* and *Honorius's* Time: But those were small Fleets kept upon the great Rivers of the Provinces, to transport more easily and quickly the *Roman* Troops to those Places where they were required.

C H A P. LX.

1. *Of the Protection and Privileges allow'd to Mariners by the Emperors.*
2. *The rigorous Treatment of Mariners elsewhere.*
3. *Commerce forbid to Men of Quality.*

1. **T**HE Emperors gave a particular Protection to all the Mariners which serv'd in the Fleets that were employ'd in the Service of the State. The fifth Title of the 13th Book of the *Theodosian Code* entirely has a regard to their Interests: The Ninth Law under that Head, made by the Emperor *Constans* and *Julian*, while he was *Cæsar*, does not restrain the Protection granted to the Mariners, which shelters them from personal Injuries, but defends them from all sorts of Violences and Concussions ordinary and extraordinary, from all Inconveniencies and Inquietudes, and ordains that they enjoy an entire Security. *Justinian* thought this Law worthy to be inserted in his *Code*; and the same Exemptions are granted them, and confirmed by that Emperor, in the Fourth and Fifth

*Cod. Theod. Lib. 13.
Tit. 5. Leg. 5. &
7, 8 & 9.*

*Cod. Lib. 11. Tit. 1.
Leg. 3.*

*Con. Theod. Lib. 13.
Tit. 5. Leg. 19. &
24. & 36.*

Fifth Law under the same Title of the *Theodosian Code* : And moreover he punishes with Death any one who shall offer to apply the Ships of Mariners against their Will to any other use than what they were design'd for. The Law of the Emperors *Valentinian, Valens* and *Gratian*, which is there inserted, forbids likewise, upon pain of Death, that any one insult their Persons ; and *Arcadius, Honorius*, and *Theodosius*, treated them with the same respect. The

*Con. Theod. Lib. 13.
Tit. 5. Leg. 17 &
23.*

same Code gives us another Law of the Emperors *Gratian, Valentinian*, and *Theodosius*, wherein their Privileges are confirm'd, and order'd to be continued for ever ; and wherein likewise all Judges, Magistrates and Superiours are forbid, on pain of Death, to give them any manner of trouble : But what seems strange is, that the Emperors *Valentinian, Theodosius*, and *Arcadius*, in discharging the Mariners from paying Tributes, they laid the same Taxes upon the Merchants without any Exception : The true Reason of which is, that the Merchants were enrich'd by the Trade which the Mariners took all the Pains for, and run all Dangers to maintain. Elsewhere I have observ'd, that the *Roman* Laws excited the Citizens to the building of Ships, and to trade for Corn, by exempting them from publick Contributions ; and because the Meanness of the Employ of Mariners might be a Means of drawing upon them the Censure of the

*Con. Theod. Lib. 13.
Tit. 5. Leg. 18.
16. 14.*

People, the Emperors *Valentinian, Theodosius* and *Arcadius*, would not permit any one to join with this Body who had exercised any mean or shameful Employ : They were even rais'd to the Dignity of Knights by *Constantine* and *Julian*, as appears by their Law inserted in the *Theodosian Code* ; and also by another Law of *Valentinian*

ian, *Valens* and *Gratian*, it was ordain'd that this Function of Mariners might be admitted into the Society of Men of the most honourable Parentage, and even into the Senate.

2. But while the Sea-faring Men had so many Privileges, yet in some respects the State prescrib'd them strict Rules which they were oblig'd to observe : *First*, Their Profession depended on certain Lands, whose Possessors were oblig'd by the State to take upon them the Function of publick Mariners, but in such manner that it rather effected the Land than the Persons who were oblig'd to take that Calling, being in that respect in the Nature of Mannors. The whole Title of the *Theodosian Code*, concerning the Lands of Mariners, explains to us this Act of the State. When they sold these Lands to exempt themselves from this Subjection, the Purchasers were under the same Obligations : And the Emperors *Valentinian* and *Valens* ordain'd, That when such Lands, as were affected by the Sea-Service, happen'd to be in the Hands of Strangers, they should be put again into the Possession of the Mariners ; and this Obligation was taken from an Example of fifty Years before. It was moreover expressly order'd, upon pain of Displeasure, that the Mariners should not fail in any of their Works for the Service of the State ; and also they were not permitted in their Voyages to carry any particular Merchandizes ; they were oblig'd to have their Ships of a certain Size, to hold only a fix'd Proportion of Goods : In fine, they were not permitted to leave their Employment for the sake of a more honourable way of Life : It was, however, permitted to some particular Men among them, to have Ships of their own to use at their Pleasure, but with this Condition, that the State might make use of them in case of Necessity.

*Cod. Theod. Lib. 13.
Tit. 6. Leg. 5. &
6, 7, 8, 9 & 10.*

3. How-

3. However, we must observe, That notwithstanding all these Cares for the advancing of Commerce, the Merchants had not all the Encouragement they desir'd. The Noblemen, and those in exalted Posts, and the Rich-men, were forbid the Exercise of any Trade whatever: And I have mention'd before, that in some of the *Roman* Laws, the Senators were forbid building or possessing Ships, fearing least by those Means of enriching themselves, they might draw the Envy

of the State upon them. The
Co. Lib. 4. Tit. 3. Emperors *Honorius* and *Theodosius*,
Leg. 3. who were Authors of that Law,

wherein these Regulations are contain'd, give us the Reason of this Restraint: They say, that forasmuch as Trade might be carry'd on with greater ease among Men of base Extraction, that the Respect which they owe to Persons of Quality would hinder them of the full Liberty of

Trading. But *Cicero* reasons after
Cicer. Offic. Lib. 1. another manner: "Trade, says
 " he, is mean, if it has only a small Profit for its
 " Object; but it is otherwise if it has large
 " Dealing, bringing many Merchandizes from
 " foreign Parts, and distributing them among the
 " Publick without Deceit: And that if after a
 " reasonable Profit such Merchants are contented
 " with the Riches they have acquir'd, and pur-
 " chase Land with them, and retire into the
 " Country and apply themselves to Agriculture, I
 " cannot perceive wherein is the Dishonour of that
 " Function."

C H A P. LXI.

1. *The Fairs and Markets of Rome.* 2. *Fairs and Markets distant from Rome.*

1. **T**HE Use of Fairs and Markets where the chief Commerce was carry'd on, were as ancient among the *Romans* as *Rome* itself. The Fairs were kept in *Rome* every ninth Day. The Country People brought in their Goods thither, which were either the Produce of their Lands or their Industry. Some attribute the Institution of them to *Romulus*, others to King *Servius Tullius*: However this Establishment remain'd 'till the Time of the Emperors.

2. But these Fairs were only useful to the People in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*; for the more distant Cantons could not reap the Benefit of them. The *Romans* were therefore oblig'd to establish Fairs and Markets in the Country; and that they might be useful, it was necessary the Places, the Times, and the Persons who were to have a Right in them should be appointed. These Fairs, however, have been establish'd many ways; sometimes by the Possessors only, and other times by a Resolution of some of the Chief among the Commonalty; for the publick Use sometimes by the Ordinance of the Consuls, but more frequently by Order of the Senate. It is remarkable, that the Emperor *Claudius* being minded to establish a Fair on some of his own Lands, ask'd Leave of the Consuls. And *Pliny* in his Epistle takes notice of a Man who had been Prætor, who address'd himself to the Senate for the same Permission. But at length we find in the Books of the *Digest* and *Code*, that the Power of establishing Fairs was at last

*Plin. Epist. Lib. 5.
Epist. 5.*

entirely in the Emperors. The Law of *Valens* and *Valentinian*, which is found in the *Code* under the Title of Fairs and Markets, besides giving the Right of establishing them to the Emperors authorizes, at the same time all the Fairs which had been establish'd before with their first Privileges: And the same Law protected the Merchants, and the Wares found in any of the Fairs, from the arbitrary Exactions of those who were Masters of them.

*Ord. Lib. 4 Tit. 60.
Leg. Univ.*



CON

CONCLUSION.

THUS have I given your Lordship what I have been able to remember, with my Observations and Reflections concerning the History of the Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients, I might have enrich'd this Work with more ample and curious Enquires, but you know my Time is not my own, and therefore cannot attribute the Disposal of it to other Studies than what I have been call'd to, without being guilty of some sort of Robbery ; or at least an Infidelity which your Example would continually reproach me with, by seeing your constant Application, and indefatigable Industry for the publick Welfare, and to your Duty.

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