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K.K. Venugopal

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ARRIAN'S  
VOYAGE  
ROUND  
THE EUXINE SEA.





TABULA  
 PONTI EUXINI  
 ad Periplum Arriani  
 accommodata: e  
 D'Anvillii tabula  
 desumpta.

Scala Stadior. Olympicorum.



(204)

ARRIAN'S

VOYAGE

ROUND

THE EUXINE SEA

TRANSLATED;

AND ACCOMPANIED WITH

A GEOGRAPHICAL DISSERTATION,

AND MAPS.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED

THREE DISCOURSES,

- I. *On the Trade to the East Indies by means of the Euxine Sea.*
- II. *On the Distance which the Ships of Antiquity usually sailed in twenty-four Hours.*
- III. *On the Measure of the Olympic Stadium.*

1148

OXFORD:



SOLD BY J. COOKE; AND BY MESSRS. CADELL AND DAVIES,  
STRAND, LONDON.

1805.

S. Collingwood, Printer, Oxford.

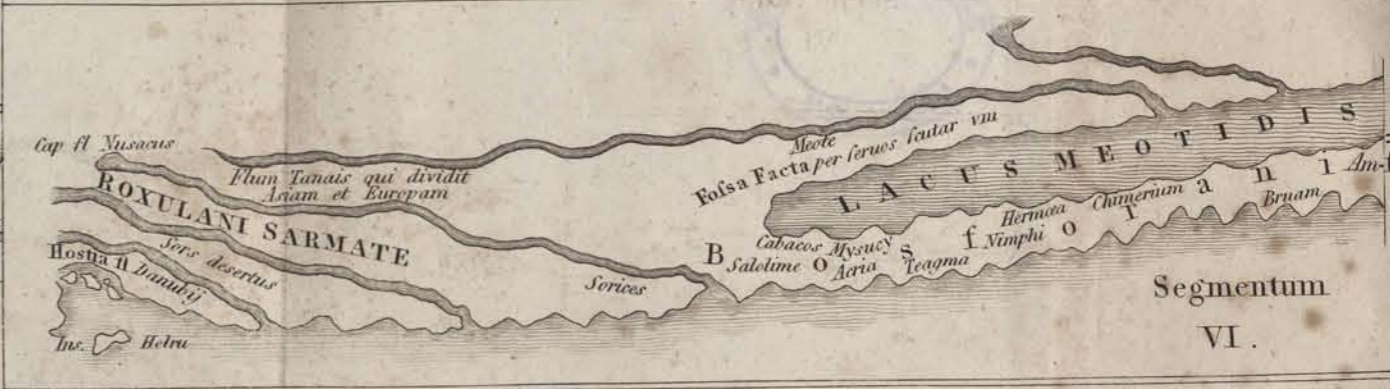
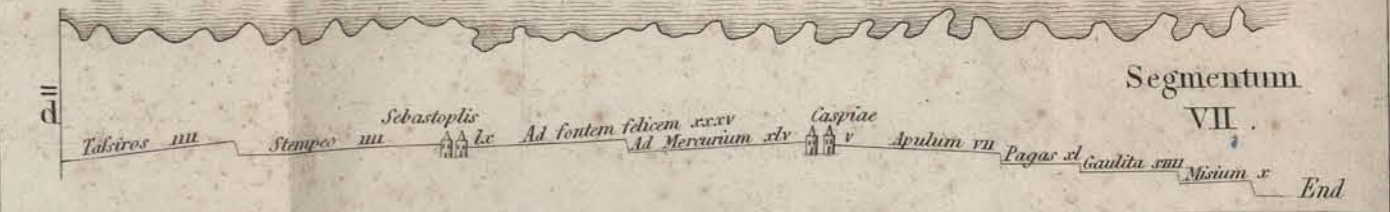
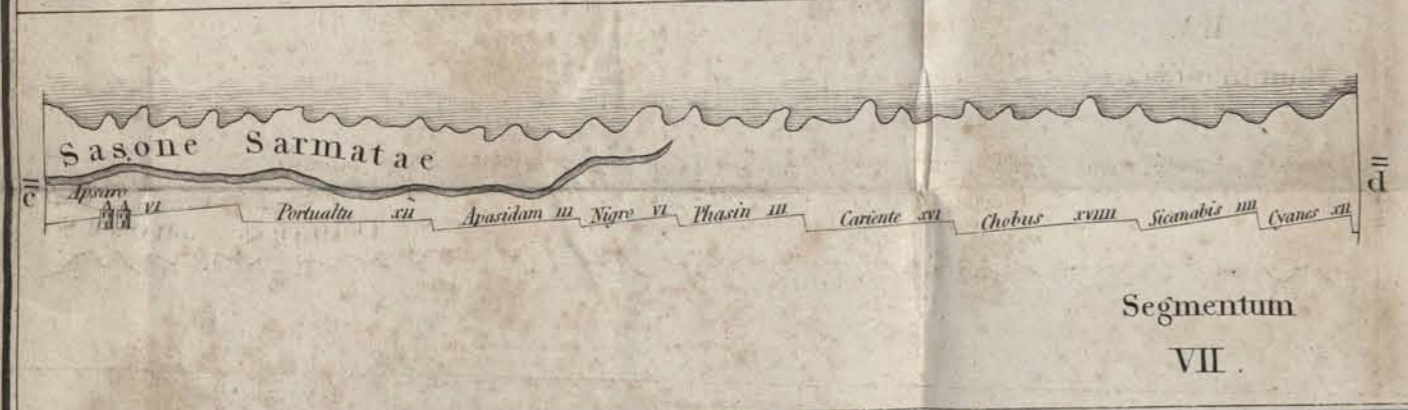
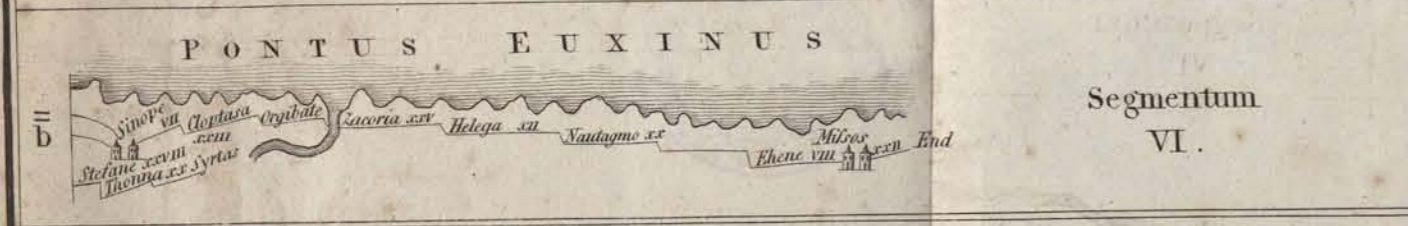


*Coins of Cities on the Coast of the Euxine Sea.*





Coast of the EUXINE SEA from the Peutingerian Tables.



T. Comber Sculp.





TO THE EMPEROR

CÆSAR ADRIAN AUGUSTUS,

ARRIAN WISHETH HEALTH AND PROSPERITY.

**W**E came in the course of our voyage to Trapezus, a Greek city in a maritime situation, a colony from Sinope, as we are informed by Xenophon, the celebrated Historian. We surveyed the Euxine sea with the greater pleasure, as we viewed it from the same spot, whence both Xenophon and Yourself had formerly observed it. Two altars of rough stone are still standing there; but, from the coarseness of the materials, the letters inscribed upon them are indistinctly engraven, and the Inscription itself is incorrectly written, as is common among barbarous people. I determined therefore to erect altars of marble, and to engrave the Inscription in well marked and distinct characters. Your Statue, which stands there, has merit in the idea of the figure, and of the design, as it represents You pointing towards the sea; but it bears no resemblance to the Original, and the execution is in other respects but indifferent. Send therefore a Statue worthy to be called Yours, and of a similar design to the one which is there at present,



as the situation is well calculated ~~to~~ perpetuating, by these means, the memory of any illustrious person. A Fane or Temple is there constructed, built of squared stone, and is a respectable edifice; but the Image of Mercury, which it contains, is neither worthy the Temple, nor the situation in which it stands. Wherefore, if You should think proper, send to me a Statue of Mercury of not more than five feet in height, as such a size seems well proportioned, and suitable to that of the building. I request also a Statue of Philesius of four feet in height; for it seems to me reasonable that the latter should have a temple and an altar in common with his Ancestor. Hence whilst some persons sacrifice to Mercury, and some to Philesius, and others to both, they will all do what is agreeable to both these Deities; to Mercury, as they honour his Descendant; to Philesius, as they honour his Ancestor. Wherefore I myself sacrificed an Ox there; not as Xenophon did in the port of Calpe, when he took an Ox from a waggon on account of the scarcity of victims; whereas here the Trapezuntines themselves furnished no contemptible sacrifice. We examined the entrails of the animals sacrificed, and performed our libations upon them. I need not mention to You in whose behalf we first offered our prayers, as You are well acquainted with our custom on such occasions, and as You must be conscious, that You deserve the prayers of all, and especially of those who are under less obligations of gratitude than myself.

Having then sailed from Trapezus, we arrived the first day at the port of Hyffus, and exercised the foot-soldiers, whom we found there. This body of men, as You know, consists of foot, although they have besides belonging to them twenty horsemen, who are designed for private services only. It has however been found necessary



cessary for these men sometimes to act in the capacity of those who throw javelins.

Thence we sailed, at first only with the breezes which blow early in the morning from the mouths of the rivers, using however oars at the same time. These breezes were indeed cool, as <sup>a</sup>Homer expresses himself, but not sufficiently strong for us, who wished for a quick voyage. A calm soon followed, when we were reduced to depend upon our oars only. Soon after a cloud suddenly arising burst nearly in an easterly direction from us, and brought on a violent storm of wind, which was entirely contrary to the course that we held, and from the fatal effects of which we had a narrow escape. For it almost instantly produced such a swell of the sea, as to make it appear hollow to the view, and caused a deluge of water to break not only over that part of the ship where the benches of the rowers were placed, but also over the part which is between them and the poop. Our situation was then truly tragical, since as fast as we pumped out the water, so fast did it burst in upon us. The swell of the sea did not however bear upon the side of our vessel; and from this circumstance we were enabled, although with great trouble and difficulty, to make use of our oars, and, after much distressful suffering, to arrive at Athenæ. For there is upon the Euxine sea a place so called, where there is a temple in the Grecian style, from which circumstance the place seems to have derived its name. There is a ruined castle at this place, and a port, which in the summer season cannot indeed contain many ships, but is sufficient to afford them a shelter from the South wind, and even from the South-East. Ships that put in there

<sup>a</sup> Ἀέρον δ' ἐν ποταμῶν ψυχρὴν ἀνέει ἡἴδις ἀπὸ. Odyss. ε'. ver. 469.



might indeed be safe from the North-East wind, but not from the North, nor from that wind, which is called in Pontus, Thrafcias, but in Greece, Sciron. During the night there came on a violent storm of thunder and lightning; nor did the wind continue in the same quarter, but came about to the South, and soon after from the South to the South-West, which rendered the bay, or road, in which we lay, no longer a safe station. Therefore, before the sea had begun to rage violently, we drew up into the harbour of Athenæ as many of our ships as it would contain, excepting one trireme, which having found a convenient shelter under cover of a rock, rode there in safety. We thought proper also to send several of our vessels to the neighbouring shores to be drawn aground; which succeeded so well, that they all escaped safe, excepting one, which entering the bay exposed its side improperly to the wind, and the swell of the sea drove it ashore, where it was wrecked. Every thing on board however was saved, not the sails only, and the nautical instruments, but the bolts also, and the men. We also scraped off the wax, which is as necessary an article in ship-building as any, timber excepted; of which last material there is, as You know, a great quantity in the countries that border upon this sea. The storm continued two days, and necessarily detained us during that time. It would indeed have indicated a want of respect to have passed by Athenæ, even the one of that name on the Pontic sea, as if it were some deserted and nameless port.

Setting sail thence early in the morning, we attempted to make our way with the waves, or swell of the sea, bearing upon the side of our ship; but as the day advanced, the North-East wind blowing gently calmed the sea, and rendered it altogether smooth and tranquil. Before noon we reached Apfarus, having sailed more than



than five hundred stadia. At this place five cohorts are stationed, to whom we delivered their pay, and inspected their arms, the walls, and the ditch, their sick, and their present stock of provisions. My report concerning these subjects has been already written in the Latin language. Apfarus, it is said, formerly bore the name of Apfyrtus, from the person who was murdered by Medea, and whose sepulchre is still shewn there. Its present name was corrupted by the Barbarians from the ancient one, as has taken place in many other instances. Thus they say, that Tyana in Cappadocia was called, about the time alluded to, Thoana, from Thoas, King of the Tauri; who, it is reported, came thither in pursuit of Pylades and Orestes, and their companions, and died there of some disease.

The rivers, which we passed since our departure from Trapezus, are as follows.

The Hyffus, from which the port of that name is called, is distant from Trapezus an hundred and eighty stadia.

The Ophis; which is distant from the port of Hyffus, at most, ninety stadia, and separates the country of Colchis from that of Thyana.

The Pfyehrus; distant from the Ophis about thirty stadia.

The Calus; distant from the Pfyehrus thirty stadia.

The Rhizius lies also in the neighbourhood of the Pfyehrus, and is distant from the Calus an hundred and twenty stadia.

From the Rhizius to the Ascurus the distance is thirty stadia.

From the Ascurus to the Adienus sixty stadia.

From the Adienus to Athenæ an hundred and eighty stadia.

The river Zagatis lies at most only seven stadia from Athenæ.



In sailing from Athenæ we passed by Prytanis, a palace of Anchialus, which is distant from Athenæ forty stadia.

The river Pyxites is distant from Prytanis ninety stadia.

The distance from Pyxites to Archabis is also ninety stadia.

From Archabis to Apfarus sixty stadia.

When we set sail from Apfarus, we passed by the river Acampfis in the night, at the distance of fifteen stadia from Apfarus. The river Bathys is seventy-five stadia distant from the Acampfis.

From the Bathys to the Acinasis ninety stadia.

From the Acinasis to the Ifis ninety stadia. The Acampfis and the Ifis are both of them navigable rivers, from whose mouths issue strong morning breezes.

Sailing from the mouth of the Ifis, we passed by the Mogrus, which also is a navigable river, and at the distance of ninety stadia from the Ifis. We then entered the Phasis, which is distant from the Mogrus ninety stadia. The water of this river is lighter in the balance, and more changeable in its colour, than any with which I am acquainted. Any person may satisfy himself of the superior lightness of this water by weighing it, or by observing that it floats on the surface of the sea without mingling with it. In the same manner Homer says, that the water of the river Titaresius floats upon the surface of the Peneus :

“ Yet o'er the silver surface pure they flow,

“ The silver stream unmix'd with streams below.” Il. i. ver. 754.

The water of the Phasis, if you take it from the surface, is fresh; but if any one lets down a jar deep into the stream, he finds the water brackish. It must however be observed, that the Pontic sea is much less salt than the sea without the Hellespont, on account of the rivers which discharge themselves into the former, the number



ber, and size of which are beyond computation. We may bring as a proof of its freshness, if any proof can be necessary respecting what is the object of our senses, that all the people who live on its borders lead out their cattle to drink of the water of the sea, which they willingly do; and experience has shewn that they thrive better with this than with fresh water. The colour of the water of the Phasis resembles that of water impregnated with lead or tin; but on standing and depositing a sediment, it becomes perfectly pure. It is even provided by the law, that those who sail into the Phasis should not import any foreign water into the country; but as soon as they enter the stream, it is signified to them, that they should pour out what water is left in the ship; which if they neglect to do, the common opinion is that their future voyages will not be prosperous. The water of the Phasis does not corrupt by keeping, but continues free from any taint of this kind for more than ten years. *The only change that takes place is, that it becomes sweeter than it was originally.* The Statue of the Goddess Phasiana is placed to the left of the entrance into the Phasis; which Deity we may reasonably conjecture, from her figure and appearance, to be the same with Rhea, as she holds in her hands a cymbal, has lions under her throne, and is seated in the same manner as the Statue by Phidias in the temple of Cybele at Athens. An anchor, said to be of the ship Argo, is shewn here; but as it is of iron, it does not seem to be ancient; it differs indeed both in size and shape from those at present in use, but nevertheless appears to me to be of later date than the Argonautic period. They also shew there some fragments of an ancient stone anchor, which are more likely than the other to be the remains of the anchor of the Argo. No other monument is now to be found there of the fabulous history of Jason. The castle, in which four hundred select



lect men are stationed, seems to me very strong by situation, and conveniently situated for the protection of those that sail upon the river. It was surrounded with a ditch and a double wall, each of them very broad. The walls were formerly of earth, and the towers of wood; but at present both the wall and the towers are built of baked brick, the foundations of which are securely laid, and the whole furnished with warlike engines, and, in short, so fortified in every respect, as to afford no access to the Barbarians, nor to expose those who defend it to the danger of a siege. But as it is advisable that the port should be rendered safe for sea-faring people, and that other places should be secured which lie without the walls of the castle, and are inhabited by people who are now exempted from military service, or by persons engaged in commerce, I thought proper to carry from the double ditch, that surrounds the wall, another ditch, as far as the river, which may include *both the harbour, and the buildings*, that lie beyond the walls of the fortifications.

Leaving the Phasis we passed by the Chariens, a navigable river, at the distance of ninety stadia from the Phasis. From the Chariens we sailed to the Chobus, which is ninety stadia distant from the Chariens. We here went into the harbour; but for what causes, and what business we transacted there, the Latin letters will explain. Proceeding from the Chobus we sailed by the Singamis, a navigable river, at the distance from the Chobus of two hundred and ten stadia at the utmost. Next to the Singamis, and at the distance of one hundred and ninety stadia, lies the river Tarfuras. From the Tarfuras to the Hippus is one hundred and fifty stadia. From Hippus to Astelephus is thirty stadia. In our course from the Chobus we passed by Astelephus,  
and



and got to Sebastopolis before noon; which last place is one hundred and twenty stadia from Astelephus. We spent the remainder of the day in distributing the pay to the soldiers, in reviewing the horses and the arms, and in observing the dextrous activity of the horsemen in leaping upon their horses; in viewing the sick, and in surveying the provision of corn, and the condition of the walls and of the ditch. The distance from the Chobus to Sebastopolis is six hundred and thirty stadia; but from Trapezus to Sebastopolis two thousand two hundred and sixty stadia. This place (Sebastopolis) was formerly called Dioscurias, and was a colony from Miletus. The nations which we sailed by on our voyage are as follows. The Colchians, who, as Xenophon observes, border on the Trapezuntines; as do the Drillæ, as he calls them, but who seem to me to be more properly called the Sanni; a people, whom he records to be of a warlike disposition, and very hostile to the Trapezuntines; both which *characters they preserve to the present time.* They dwell in strongly fortified places, and do not live under a monarchical government. They were formerly tributary to the Romans; but of late, being addicted to plunder, they do not pay the tribute regularly: however, now, by the Gods' assistance, we will either oblige them to be more punctual, or exterminate them. The Machelones and the Heniochi border on these people, the latter of whom have a King called Anchialus. Next to these lie the Sydretæ, subject to Pharasmanus; and adjoining to the Sydretæ are the Lazi, a people subject to King Malaffas, who holds his kingdom from You. Bordering on the Lazi are the Apfilæ, governed by King Julianus, who received his kingdom from your Father. The Abasci border on the Apfilæ, whose King, Rhesmagus, received his crown from You. The Sanigæ border on the Abasci. Sebastopolis is a city of the Sanigæ, who are subject to



King Spadagas, who received his kingdom from You. As far as Apfarus our course lay Eastward, on the right side of the Euxine sea. Apfarus appears to me to terminate the Pontus, when we estimate its greatest length.

From thence our course was Northerly to the river Chobus, and from thence to Singames. From Singames we turned to the left side of the Pontus as far as the river Hippius; and from thence to Astelephus and Dioscurias, where we had a view of Mount Caucasus, the height of which is much the same with that of the Celtic Alps. The highest point of the mountain called Strobilus is visible here, where Prometheus is fabled to have been suspended by Vulcan, according to the commands of Jupiter.

The distances of the places from one another, that lie between the *Thracian Bosphorus* and *Trapezus*, are as follows. The temple of Jupiter Urius is distant from *Byzantium* an hundred and twenty stadia. The *Thracian Bosphorus* is, as You know, the narrowest of the mouths of the Pontus, through which it discharges itself into the *Propontis*. The river *Rhebas* lies on the right hand of those who sail from the temple above mentioned, and is at the distance of ninety stadia from it. From the river *Rhebas* to *Acra Melæna* is one hundred and fifty stadia. From *Acra Melæna* to the river *Artanes*, where there is a harbour for small vessels near a temple of *Venus*, is one hundred and fifty stadia. From the river *Artanes* to *Pfilis*, where small vessels may lie safely under the shelter of a projecting rock, not far from the mouths of the river, an hundred and fifty stadia. From *Pfilis* to the port of *Calpe* two hundred and ten stadia.



Xenophon the elder has described at large the port and situation of Calpe, and informed us, that there is there a cool and pure spring, and woods of timber fit for building ships, and wild animals.

From the port of Calpe to Rhoe, a harbour for small vessels, twenty stadia. From Rhoe to Apollonia, a small island at a little distance from the Continent, twenty stadia. In this small island there is a port. From hence to Chelæ twenty stadia. From Chelæ to the place where the river Sangarius flows into the Pontus an hundred and eighty stadia. From thence to the mouths of the Hyppius an hundred and eighty stadia. From Hyppius to the mart of Lillium an hundred stadia. From Lillium to Elæum sixty stadia. From Elæum to another mart called Cales an hundred and twenty stadia. From Cales to the river Lycus eighty stadia. From Lycus to Heraclea, a Dorian Greek city, a colony of the Megareans, twenty stadia. Here *there is a harbour for ships.* From Heraclea to a place called Metroum eighty stadia. From Metroum to Posidæum forty stadia. From Posidæum to the Tyndaridæ forty-five stadia. From the Tyndaridæ to Nymphæum fifteen stadia. From Nymphæum to the river Oxinas thirty stadia. From the river Oxinas to Sandaraca, a port for small vessels, ninety stadia. From Sandaraca to Crenides sixty stadia. From Crenides to the mart of Pfylla thirty stadia. From Pfylla to Tios, an Ionian Greek city, situated on the sea, and a colony of the Milesians, ninety stadia. From Tios to the river Billæus twenty stadia. From Billæus to the river Parthenius an hundred stadia. The country so far is inhabited by the Thracian Bithynians, of whom Xenophon has made mention in his Memoirs, as the most warlike of the Asiatics, and from whom the army of the Greeks suffered much, after the Arcadians had separated themselves from the other division of the army, commanded by Chiri-



fophus and Xenophon. Here commences the boundary of Paphlagonia. From the river Parthenius to Amastris, a Greek city, where there is a port for ships, ninety stadia. From thence to the Erythini sixty stadia. From the Erythini to Cromna sixty stadia. From Cromna to Cytorus, where there is a port, ninety stadia. From Cytorus to Ægialus sixty stadia. From Ægialus to Thymena ninety stadia. From Thymena to Carambis an hundred and twenty stadia. From Carambis to Zephyrium an hundred and sixty stadia. From Zephyrium to the fortress of Abonum, where there is a small city, one hundred and fifty stadia. The port here is not altogether safe; nevertheless, ships may lie here free from harm, if the tempest be not very violent. From the fortress of Abonum to Æginetis an hundred and fifty stadia. From Æginetis to the mart of Cinolis sixty stadia. In the summer season ships may lie here. From Cinolis to Stephanes, a safe port for ships, an hundred and eighty stadia. From Stephanes to Potamos an hundred and fifty stadia. From Potamos to Lepte Acra one hundred and twenty stadia. From Lepte Acra to Harmene sixty stadia. There is a port at Harmene. This place is mentioned by Xenophon. From Harmene to Sinope, a colony of the Milesians, forty stadia. From Sinope to Carusa, where there is an open road where ships lie, but no port, an hundred and fifty stadia. From Carusa to Zagora an hundred and fifty stadia. From Zagora to the river Halys three hundred stadia. This river was formerly the boundary between the kingdom of Cræsus and that of the Persians; but now it is in the Roman territory. Its course is not from the South, as Herodotus describes it, but from the East; and where it discharges itself into the Pontus, it forms the boundary between the Sinopians and the Amisenians. From the river Halys to Naustathmus, where there is a marsh, ninety stadia. From hence to Conopæum, where there is another marsh, fifty stadia. From Conopæum to Eufene



an hundred and twenty stadia. From Eufene to Amifus an hundred and sixty stadia. Amifus lies upon the sea, is a Greek city, and an Athenian colony. From Amifus to the port of Ancon, where the river Iris empties itself into the sea, an hundred and twenty stadia. From the mouths of the Iris to the port of Heracleum three hundred and sixty stadia. From Heracleum to the river Thermodon forty stadia. This is the river Thermodon, on whose banks the Amazons are said to have dwelt. From the Thermodon to the river Beris ninety stadia. From the Beris to the river Thoaris sixty stadia. From Thoaris to CEnoe thirty stadia. From CEnoe to the river Phigamus forty stadia. From Phigamus to the fortrefs of Phadisana one hundred and fifty stadia. From Phadisana to the city of Polemonium ten stadia. From Polemonium to the promontory called the Jafonian an hundred and thirty stadia. From the Jafonian promontory to the island of the Cilices fifteen stadia. From this island to Boona, where there is a port for ships, seventy-five stadia. From Boona to Cotyora ninety stadia. Xenophon mentions Cotyora as a city, and says, that it was a colony of the Sinopians: at present it is no more than a village, and that not a large one. From Cotyora to the river Melanthius is, at the utmost, sixty stadia. From the Melanthius to the Pharmatenus, another river, an hundred and fifty stadia. From the Pharmatenus to Pharnacea an hundred and twenty stadia. Pharnacea was formerly called Cerafus, and was a colony from Sinope. From Pharnacea to the island Arrhentias thirty stadia. From Arrhentias to Zephyrium one hundred and twenty stadia. There is here a port for ships. From Zephyrium to Tripolis ninety stadia. From Tripolis to Argyria twenty stadia. From Argyria to Philocalea ninety stadia. From Philocalea to Coralla an hundred stadia. From Coralla to the sacred mountain (*ἱερὸν ὄρος*) an hundred



dred and fifty stadia. From the sacred mountain to Cordyla forty stadia. Here there is a port for ships. From Cordyla to Hermonassa forty-five stadia. Here also is a port for ships. From Hermonassa to Trapezus sixty stadia. Here You are constructing a harbour, as there was formerly only a road or station, where ships might ride in safety during the summer season.

The distances between the places that lie between Trapezus and Dioscurias have been before set down, according to the intervals between the rivers. If these separate distances between Trapezus and Dioscurias, now called Sebastopolis, be collected, they will amount to two thousand two hundred and sixty stadia. This is the distance, if you sail on the right hand from Byzantium to Dioscurias, which place is the last in the Roman territory to those who keep to the right hand side in sailing into the Pontic sea. For as soon as I was informed of the death of Cotys, King of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, I took care that You should be made acquainted with the navigation of this sea as far as the Bosphorus, that if You should be inclined to interfere in the affairs of that country, You might execute your intentions with greater ease, by being acquainted with the navigation.

The first port to be met with after quitting Dioscurias is Pityus, at the distance of three hundred and fifty stadia. From Pityus to Nitica is one hundred and fifty stadia. This was formerly inhabited by a Scythian nation, of whom Herodotus, who is apt to relate improbable stories, has made mention, and spoken of them as eaters of lice; and indeed the same opinion of them prevails in the present age. From Nitica to the river Abascus is ninety stadia. From Abascus to Borgys an hundred and twenty stadia. From  
Borgys



Borgys to Nefis, which includes the Herculean promontory, sixty stadia. From Nefis to Mafaitica ninety stadia. From Mafaitica to the river Achæus, which separates the Zicchi from the Sanichæ, sixty stadia. Satchempax is the King of the Zicchi, and received his kingdom from You. From Achæus to the Herculean promontory, where there is a station sheltered from the North-Westerly wind, called Thrafcias, and from the North-Easterly wind called Boreas, an hundred and eighty stadia. From thence to a place called ancient Lazica an hundred and twenty stadia. From hence to ancient Achaia an hundred and fifty stadia. From thence to the port of Pagræ three hundred and fifty stadia. From the port of Pagræ to the port of Hierus (or the sacred port) an hundred and eighty stadia. From thence to Sindica three hundred stadia. From Sindica to the Bosporus, called Cimmerian, and to Panticapæum, a city of the Bosporus, five hundred and forty stadia. From Panticapæum to the river Tanais, which is said to divide Europe from Asia, sixty stadia. This river bursts forth from the Palus Mæotis, and empties itself into the Euxine sea. Æschylus however, in the tragedy of Prometheus Delivered, makes the Phasis the boundary between Europe and Asia. He there introduces the Titans speaking thus to Prometheus: "Hither are we come to see thy labours, " O Prometheus! and the sufferings which thou undergoest in " consequence of thy bonds:" and in specifying how large a space of ground they had passed over in their journey, they speak of the Phasis "as the twin-born offspring of the earth, and the great " boundary of Europe and Asia." The circuit of the Palus Mæotis is said to be about nine thousand stadia. From Panticapæum to a village called Cazeca, situated upon the sea, four hundred and twenty stadia. From Cazeca to Theodosia, a deserted city, two hundred and eighty stadia. This was formerly an Ionian Greek city,



city, a colony from Miletus, the memory of which is preserved in the works of many writers. From Theodosia to a port of the Tauro-Scythæ, now deserted, two hundred stadia. From thence to Halmitis Taurica six hundred stadia. From Lampas to Symboli Portus, which is also a Tauric port, five hundred and twenty stadia. From Symbolus to Chersonesus Taurica a hundred and eighty stadia. From Chersonesus Taurica to Cercinetis six hundred stadia. From Cercinetis to Calos, a Scythian port, seven hundred stadia. From the port of Calos to Tamyraca three hundred stadia. Within the limits of Tamyraca there is a small lake. From Tamyraca to the place where the lake discharges itself, three hundred stadia. From the mouth of the lake to Eona three hundred and eighty stadia. From Eona to the river Borysthenes a hundred and fifty stadia. When you sail up the river you meet with a Greek city of the name of Olbia. From the Borysthenes to a small, deserted, nameless island, sixty stadia. From the desert island to Odeffus, where there is a port for ships, eighty stadia. The port of the Istrians is the next place in order from Odeffus, and lies at the distance of two hundred and fifty stadia. Next in order is a port of the Isiaci, at the distance of fifty stadia. From the port of the Isiaci to the mouth of the river Ister, called Pfilon, one thousand two hundred stadia. The intermediate places are desert and nameless. Exactly over against this mouth there lies an island, situated directly opposite to the course of those who sail with a North wind. Some call this the island of Achilles; others call it the chariot of Achilles; and others Leuce, from its colour. Thetis is said to have given up this island to her son Achilles, by whom it was inhabited. There are now existing a temple, and a wooden statue of Achilles, of ancient workmanship. It is destitute of inhabitants, and pastured only by a few goats, which those, who touch here, are said to offer



fer to the memory of Achilles. Many offerings are suspended in this temple, as cups, rings, and the more valuable gems. All these are offerings to the memory of Achilles. Inscriptions are also suspended, written in the Greek and Latin language, in praise of Achilles, and composed in different kinds of metre. Some are in praise of Patroclus, whom those, who are disposed to honour Achilles, treat with equal respect. Many birds inhabit this island, as sea-gulls, divers, and coots innumerable. These birds frequent the temple of Achilles. Every day in the morning they take their flight, and having moistened their wings, fly back again to the temple, and sprinkle it with the moisture; which having performed, they brush and clean the pavement with their wings. This is the account given by some persons. Those, who come on purpose to the island, carry animals proper for sacrifice with them in their ships, some of which they immolate, and others they set at liberty in honour of Achilles. Even those, who are compelled by stress of weather to land upon the island, must consult the God himself, whether it would be right and proper for them to select for sacrifice any of the animals, which they should find feeding there; offering, at the same time, such a recompense, as to them seems adequate to the value of the animal so selected. But if this should be rejected by the Oracle, for there is an Oracle in this temple, they must then add to their valuation; and if the increased valuation be still rejected, they must increase it again, till they find, from the assent of the Oracle, that the price they offer is deemed sufficient. When this is the case, the beast to be sacrificed stands still of its own accord, and makes no effort to escape. A considerable treasure is laid up in this temple as the price of these victims. It is said that Achilles has appeared in time of sleep both to those who have approached the coast of this island, and also to such as



have been sailing a short distance from it, and instructed them where the island was most safely accessible, and where the ships might best lie at anchor. They even say further, that Achilles has appeared to them not in time of sleep, or a dream, but in a visible form on the mast, or at the extremity of the yards, in the same manner as the Dioscuri have appeared. This distinction however must be made between the appearance of Achilles, and that of the Dioscuri, that the latter appear evidently and clearly to persons, who navigate the sea at large, and when so seen foretell a prosperous voyage; whereas the figure of Achilles is seen only by such as approach this island. Some also say, that Patroclus has appeared to them during their sleep. I have thus put down what I have heard concerning this island of Achilles, either from persons who had touched there themselves, or from others that had made the same enquiries; and indeed these accounts seem to me to be not unworthy of belief. I am myself persuaded, that Achilles was a hero, if ever man was, being illustrious by his noble birth, by the beauty of his person, by the strength of his mind and understanding, by his untimely death in the flower of youth, by his being the subject of Homer's poetry, and, lastly, by the force of his love, and constancy of his friendship, insomuch that he would even die for his friends.

From the mouth of the Ister called Pfilon to the second mouth is sixty stadia. Thence to the mouth called Calon forty stadia. From Calon to Naracum, which last is the name of the fourth mouth of the Ister, sixty stadia. Hence to the fifth mouth a hundred and twenty stadia. Hence to the city of Istria five hundred stadia. From Istria to the city of Tomea three hundred stadia. From Tomea to the city of Callantra, where there is a port, three hundred



hundred stadia. From Callantra to the port of the Carians a hundred and eighty stadia. The district surrounding this port is called Caria. From the port of the Carians to Tetrifias a hundred and twenty stadia. Thence to Bizus, a deserted place, sixty stadia. From Bizus to Dionysopolis eighty stadia. From Dionysopolis to Odeffus, where there is a road for ships, two hundred stadia. From Odeffus to the borders of Mount Hæmus, which range of mountains is extended even into Pontus, three hundred and sixty stadia. From Hæmus to the city of Mesembria ninety stadia. Here there is a road for ships. From Mesembria to the city of Anchialus seventy stadia. From Anchialus to Apollonia a hundred and eighty stadia. These are all of them Greek cities, which lie on the left hand of those who sail into the Euxine sea. From Apollonia to Cherronefus sixty stadia. Here there is a road for ships. From Cherronefus to the fortress of Aulæon two hundred and fifty stadia. From Aulæon to Thynias a hundred and twenty stadia. From Thynias to Salmydeffus two hundred stadia. Mention is made of this place by the elder Xenophon, who says, that the Grecian army, which he commanded himself, came so far in their march, when at the conclusion of the expedition he engaged his army in the service of Seuthes the Thracian. The same writer has described at length the dangers that accrue to ships at this place, from want of a good harbour; that ships forced hither by stress of weather are apt to be lost; and that the Thracians who live in the neighbourhood quarrel about the plunder of the wreck. From Salmydeffus to Phrygia three hundred and thirty stadia. From Phrygia to the Cyanean islands three hundred and twenty stadia. These are the Cyanean islands, which the Poets have described as having been formerly moveable, and liable to change their situation. Between these the Argo, the first ship on record, and which carried



Jafon to Colchis, passed. From the Cyanean islands to the temple of Jupiter Urius, which stands at the mouth of the Euxine sea, is forty stadia. Thence to the port of Daphne, which is denominated the Insane, forty stadia. From Daphne to Byzantium eighty stadia.

Such are the observations which have occurred in the passage from the Cimmerian to the Thracian Bosphorus, and to the city of Byzantium.



DISSERTATION  
ON  
ARRIAN'S PERIPLUS  
OF  
THE EUXINE SEA.



## DISSERTATION.

**FLAVIUS ARRIANUS**<sup>a</sup>, the Author of the work now under consideration, was a native of Nicomedia, the metropolis of Bithynia, a city situated at the extremity of a bay of the Propontis, on the Asiatic side. He was early in life remarkable for learning, which recommended him to the notice of the <sup>b</sup> Emperor Hadrian, and procured for him, although a stranger, the freedom of the Roman and <sup>c</sup> Athenian states. He afterwards became Priest of Ceres and of Proserpine in his native city, and was raised by his Patron, the Emperor, to the dignity of a Roman Senator, and to the Consulate. In this character he was made <sup>d</sup> Præfect of Cappadocia, and waged a successful war with the Alani, and with the Massagætæ. He died probably during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, but at what exact time is not certain. He left several works behind him of considerable merit, and among them the one now before us. His qualifications in Literature and Science, particularly Geography, must have been very agreeable to the disposition of the Emperor Hadrian, who was himself fond of travelling, and had visited in person a large proportion of his own extensive dominions.

<sup>a</sup> Dio. Cass. ad fin. Vit. Hadr. Imp.

<sup>b</sup> Suidæ Lex. Vox Ἀρριανός.

<sup>c</sup> Lucian in Pædomante.

<sup>d</sup> Suidæ Lex. ut supra.



The Periplus appears in form of an Epistle from Arrian to the Emperor, giving him a geographical, or perhaps, to speak more properly, a topographical sketch, or survey, of the coast of the Euxine sea, proceeding Eastward from Trapezus, and returning to the same place by Byzantium from the West. It is written in the Greek language, which was probably more familiar to himself than the Latin, and more agreeable to the Emperor, who was attached to the Greek language and <sup>e</sup> literature. He alludes however to Letters or Dispatches in the <sup>f</sup> Latin language, which alone was used in properly official communications.

It is not unlikely that the Periplus was undertaken by command of the Emperor himself, and that it was executed when Arrian was Præfect of Cappadocia. Mr. Dodwell thinks that it was performed early in the reign of Hadrian, as one of the petty Kings of that country was advanced to the regal dignity by Trajan, Hadrian's predecessor, and was living at the time that the account of the Periplus was written. This conjecture however is weakened by the consideration, that Arrian mentions several other Kings of that country, who received their advancement from Hadrian himself.

The province of Cappadocia, which included Trapezus, from whence the expedition was fitted out, was well suited for such a purpose, being probably under his jurisdiction, and as it furnished, by his own account, materials for ship-building, and other stores

<sup>e</sup> Imbutusque Hadrianus impensius Græcis studiis, ingenio ejus sic ad ea declinante, ut a nonnullis Græculus diceretur. *Spartian. Vit. Hadr.*

Φύσει δὲ φιλόλογος ἦν. ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ τῇ γλώσσῃ. *Suid. Lex. Vox Ἀδριανός.*

<sup>f</sup> See Casaubon's note on the above passage of Spartian.



for a sea voyage. We should observe further, that the Periplus of Arrian is not the history of one voyage executed by the narrator, as that of Nearchus, and others. It consists of three separate voyages, or expeditions of discovery, and these perhaps executed by different persons, and at considerable intervals.

The first of these, in the order of his relation, is the report of his own voyage along the coast from Trapezus to Dioscurias, or Sebastopolis; a city situated upon the Northern part of the Eastern extremity of the Euxine sea, lying in Latitude  $43^{\circ} 18'$  nearly, and in Longitude East from the Canaries about  $60^{\circ}$ <sup>a</sup>. This was evidently performed by Arrian himself in person, and seems to be the most correct of any.

The next division of the Periplus comprehends the account of the distances of the places from one another, which lie upon the Southern coast of the Euxine sea, from Byzantium to Trapezus. Whether these are put down from the personal experience of the Author, is not ascertained. Mr. Dodwell thinks that they might be the result of his own examination in his journey from Byzantium, when he went to take possession of his government of Cappadocia; and this conjecture is not improbable. This part of the Periplus is more correct than the one remaining to be spoken of; but less so, I think, than the former. It is however a valuable performance.

The third and last part of the Periplus contains an account of the distances between the places that lie on the coast of the Euxine

<sup>a</sup> D'Anville, Ancient Geogr. Map of Asia Minor.—Arrowsmith's Chart places Dioscurias nearly in Lat.  $43^{\circ} 19'$ , and in  $58^{\circ} 17' 50''$  E. Long. from Ferro.



sea, proceeding from Dioscurias, round the Northern and Western shores, as far as Byzantium. This survey, as it seems to be, is probably the work of some other hand; as it is less correct than the former parts, and the materials, of which it is composed, might be collected by Arrian from various persons, in order to complete the circuit of the Euxine sea.

In the computation of the measurements referred to in this Dissertation, I have followed the calculation laid down by the late Dr. Reinhold Forster, in the Geographical Dissertation annexed to Spelman's Translation of Xenophon's Anabasis, which states, that 960 Greek feet are equal to 967 English, and, of course, that a stadium of 600 Greek feet would be equal to 604 English feet, and 375 decimal parts.

My reasons for adopting this calculation will be seen in a Discourse annexed to the present work.

I proceed now to the examination of the Periplus.

The Title of it, according to the Cæsarean MS. is as follows.

Ἀρρίανου Περίπλους Εὐξείνου Πόντου, καὶ

Βιθυνίας τῆς πρὸς τὸν Πόντον.

Περίπλους Παφλαγονίας.

Περίπλους Πόντων τῶν δύο.

Περίπλους τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ μέρων τοῦ Πόντου.

Περίπλους Θράκης καὶ πρὸς Πόντον.

Perhaps these different heads, or divisions, as they appear to be, may have been the titles of some ancient detached accounts, from which a part at least of the Periplus may have been compiled.

The voyage seems to have been intended for the purpose of geographical



graphical information, and perhaps with a view of constructing an Itinerary of this coast, similar to those of various other parts by Antoninus. The measurements of the distances in the first part appear to have been taken at sea; but how they were ascertained, it is not easy to say. Several ships we know were employed, and perhaps the distances may have been computed from a medium of the calculation of each. They are too near the truth to allow us to suppose, that the time which elapsed in the passage from one place to another was the only guide they had in estimating the interval between them. They may possibly be reckoned according to the measurements by land. The commencement of the voyage is dated from Trapezus, a Greek city, and a colony from Sinope, situated on the Southern side of the Euxine sea, nearly in the

‡ The dimensions of the Euxine sea have been variously represented. I here give the best account of its length and breadth I am able to collect from modern writers and geographers.

First then of its length.

Its greatest length, as measured nearly on a parallel of Latitude from East to West, seems to be from the mouth of the Phasis to the corresponding Latitude on the opposite side.

According to Laurie's Chart, the mouth of the Phasis lies in Long.  $41^{\circ} 38'$  East, and Varna on the opposite side lies in Long.  $28^{\circ} 13'$  East. The difference of these is  $13^{\circ} 25'$ , which in Latit.  $42^{\circ} 30'$  amounts nearly to 687 English miles. Faden's Map of Turkey in Europe makes the mouth of the Phasis to be in Longit.  $41^{\circ} 28'$ , and Varna to be in  $28^{\circ} 24'$ . The difference of these is  $13^{\circ} 4'$ , or nearly 669 English miles and a half. D'Anville places the mouth of the Phasis in Longitude from London  $42^{\circ} 31' 10''$ , and the opposite shore (in the same Latitude) in  $28^{\circ} 46' 10''$ . The difference of these is  $13^{\circ} 45'$ , equal to 703.564 English miles. Arrowsmith's

Chart puts down the mouth of the Phasis in Long.  $41^{\circ} 21' 30''$ , and the opposite shore on the parallel of  $42^{\circ}$  in nearly  $28^{\circ}$ . The difference of these is  $13^{\circ} 21' 30''$ , equal to 687 English miles and a half nearly.

According to Citizen Beauchamp, the length of the Black sea is 214 nautical leagues, equal to 642', equal to 740.44 English miles nearly: but I think this calculation over-rated. He computes from the mouth of the Phasis to the meridian of Trebizond 32.6 leagues, equal to 97'.8, equal to 113 English miles nearly: but the Charts make the difference of Longitude between Trebizond and the Phasis to be no more than  $1^{\circ} 40'$ , equal to 86 English miles nearly, which makes a difference of 27 English miles in that portion of the distance. It must however be considered, that as Varna lies  $1^{\circ} 14'$  to the North of the Phasis, he estimates the distance from S. E. to N. W. but this obliquity will only make the whole distance to be 690 English miles, which is 50 English miles short of what he specifies.



same Latitude with Constantinople, but about  $10^{\circ} 41' 25''$  more to the Eastward. This city had been in early times, and probably was even in those of Arrian, a place of great trade, and of course much resort of shipping, and was also the principal rendezvous of the Roman naval force on the Euxine sea. Both Arrian and Tournefort remark the abundance of materials and other necessaries for ship-building, which were afforded by the surrounding country; and navigation appeared to be their primary object. Arrian tells us, that the statue of the Emperor Hadrian was constructed in an attitude pointing towards the sea<sup>h</sup>, as the source of their riches and prosperity. Goltzius has given two figures of Trapezuntine coins, one of which exhibits an anchor, and the other the prow of a ship, as emblems of naval industry. This was the first Greek city, which the army led by Xenophon reached in their retreat after the death of Cyrus: and probably the view of the sea, to which Arrian here

The breadth of the Euxine sea, reckoned from the Southernmost part of the bay of Heraclea to the opposite shore near Ockfacow, and measured on the meridian of  $32^{\circ}$ , amounts according to

	To	
Laurie's Chart	$5^{\circ} 50' 30''$	= 406 E. m.
Faden's Map	$5^{\circ} 52'$	= 408 E. m.
Arrowsmith's Chart	$5^{\circ} 31'$	= 383 E. m.

Average of the above calculation,

Length 698 English miles nearly.

Breadth 392.37 English miles.

The circumference of the Euxine sea was estimated by Polybius at 22000 stadia, equal to about 2518.23 English miles, or 2750 Greek miles; and this computation approaches very nearly to that of Arrian. The number of stadia set down in the distances specified in the Periplus amount to 22635, from which we must deduct 240, as the distance from the temple of Jupiter Urius to Byzantium and

back again, which interval, as Byzantium does not lie upon the Euxine sea, cannot be included in the measurement of its circumference. This reduces the numbers of Arrian to 22395, which varies from that of Polybius only as 1017 does from 1000, and the whole difference does not amount to 50 English miles, which is a remarkable approximation, as the calculation of Polybius being expressed in round numbers, can only be regarded as a gross estimate. Strabo makes it 25000 stadia, or 2861 English miles, or 3125 Greek miles. It extends, according to the latter writer, between Mæsia Inferior and Thrace to the West, the Hither Asia to the South, Colchis to the East, and Sarmatia Europæa and Asiatica to the North.

<sup>h</sup> In like manner Themistocles directed the pulpit for public orations to be turned towards the sea. Plut. Vit. Themist.

alludes,



alludes, was that which took place at the games, which the Greeks celebrated at Trapezus, as a thanksgiving for their reaching a Grecian city, and which were performed, as Xenophon informs us, on the declivity of a hill towards the sea. Hutchinson, in his Notes on this passage of Xenophon's *Anabasis*, remarks, that the altars mentioned by Arrian might be the same with those which served as *metæ*, or goals, at the games above mentioned.

The first place that Arrian's fleet reached on their voyage was Hyffus, a port at the mouth of a river, and a small Roman military station, at the distance of 180 stadia (equal to 22.5 Greek miles, and to 20.6037 English) from Trapezus. In D'Anville's map Hyffus is placed to the East of Trapezus, as we might expect it to be, from the direction of the intended voyage; but in the text of Ptolemy, it is put down as lying in 15' of Longitude to the West of Trapezus, and is so laid down in the first and third maps of Asia in Bertius's edition. It seems indeed somewhat extraordinary, that a place to the West of Trapezus should lie in the way of Arrian's fleet, which were meant to proceed Eastward. But the maps, if they are to be trusted, explain this difficulty, as Trapezus appears in them to be placed at the Southern extremity of a bay of some depth, and Hyffus is laid down at the Western extremity of the promontory, that forms the bay on that side, and might therefore serve as a station, or rendezvous, where the ships might collect, and put out again to sea when the wind served; which convenience might compensate for their deviating a little from their course. Pliny<sup>i</sup> seems to allude to this situation of Trapezus, when he describes it as inclosed by a vast mountain, (*vasto monte*

<sup>i</sup> Lib. vi. cap. 4.



claufum,) and the print in Tournefort's Travels seems to coincide with the account in Pliny. It must however be owned, that the Peutingerian Tables place the port of <sup>k</sup>Hyffus at the distance of 24 miles to the East of Trapezus, which differs but little from that assigned by Arrian; from which indeed that of Ptolemy, in point of distance, does not greatly vary, Ptolemy placing Trapezus in Longit.  $70^{\circ} 45'$ , Latit.  $43^{\circ} 6'$ ; and Hyffi Portus in Longit.  $70^{\circ} 30'$ , and Latit.  $43^{\circ} 20'$ ; so that there is a difference of  $15'$  of Longitude, and  $14'$  of Latitude, which gives a distance equal to about 20 English miles and a half, or 179 stadia and some fraction besides, approaching very near to the computation of Arrian.

From Hyffus to the river Ophis 90 stadia.

No river appears in the place assigned by Arrian either in Ptolemy, or in the modern maps; but a city is described by Ptolemy in this situation, which is called in the Greek text <sup>γ</sup>Οπις, and Opius in the Latin translation. It is called in the maps in Ptolemy's Geography, Pityufa, which is said in the margin of the text to have been its ancient name; doubtless derived from the pine trees, which both ancient and modern accounts assure us grow so plentifully on this coast. The word Ophis (supposing, with Arrian, that it is a river) may imply, either that it flowed in a serpentine direction, or that its banks or neighbourhood were infested with serpents. But perhaps the name of this river, or place, whichever it be, may admit of a different interpretation. The word <sup>γ</sup>Οπιος, the name given by Ptolemy, may imply a relation to the

<sup>k</sup> In the Peutingerian Tables it is spelt Nyffilime, which can mean nothing but <sup>γ</sup>Υσσὴ λιμὴν, or Hyffi portus.



drug called Ὀπίον, which was a <sup>1</sup> Greek as well as a Latin word, expressing the <sup>m</sup> substance, which we call Opium at present.

Colchis was famed in all ages for its fertility both in medicinal and poisonous plants <sup>n</sup>.

—Ille et venena Colchica,  
Et quicquid usquam concipitur nefas  
Tractavit. HOR. Od. lib. ii. 13.

Herbasque quas et Colchos atque Iberia  
Mittit, venenorum ferax. HOR. Epod. v. 21.

The drugs, with which Medea supplied Jason, in order to appease the fury of the bulls, which guarded the golden fleece, are called by Apollonius

Θελκτήρια Φάρμακα ταύρων.  
Argonaut. lib. iii. ver. 738.

words, which imply a soothing or anodyne quality. The preparation itself is described by the same writer as procured from the root of a plant, which bears a yellow flower, and is about a cubit in height <sup>o</sup>; and, as it should seem, the drug was gained by pressure, or rather perhaps by incision, as it is said to be in form of a black juice, collected in a shell.

Τῆς οἴης τ' ἐν ὄρεσσι κελαινὴν ἰκμάδα Φηγῶ  
Κασπίῃ ἐνὶ κόχλῳ ἀμήσατο Φαρμάσσεσθαι.  
Argon. lib. iii. ver. 858.

This account bears a great resemblance to Opium. The effects produced, its black colour, and its being collected in a shell, which

<sup>1</sup> Pliny calls Opium, Opion. Lib. xx. cap. 18.

<sup>m</sup> This place is called Opiunte in the Pcutingerian Tables.

<sup>n</sup> See Tournefort's Travels in Georgia.

<sup>o</sup> Τῶ δ' ἦτοι ἄνθος μὲν ὅσον πηχύσιον ὑπερθε  
Χροῖῃ Κωρυκίῳ ἱκελον κρόκῳ, ἐξεφαάνθη.

Argon. lib. iii. ver. 854.



was the method in use in the time of Dioscorides, both with <sup>o</sup> Opium, and with <sup>p</sup> Scammony, and is mentioned by Dr. Ruffel to be the method practised at present in the East for collecting the latter <sup>q</sup> drug, indicates this very strongly. As to its being procured from the root, Dioscorides says, that in his time the whole plant of the Poppy was pressed, and its inspissated juice made use of, which had the name of <sup>r</sup> Meconium, and was much weaker than Opium; and this account is confirmed by <sup>s</sup> Pliny. The juice of the root therefore, though not in use at present, might have been so formerly, and is probably possessed of similar virtues with that of the rest of the plant. Mithridates, whose kingdom was contiguous to Colchis, and included the place in question, was celebrated for his skill in <sup>t</sup> Botany and Medicine. He invented the celebrated Antidote, or Alexipharmic, which has his name, and which has been retained in medical practice even to the present day. The principal ingredient is well known to be Opium; and

<sup>o</sup> Porro opii faciendi hæc ratio est. Cum ros in eo exaruerit, cultro decussatim in stellas ne penitus adigatur, ex obliquo in rectum summam cutem incidere oportet, lacrimam exeuntem digito in concham abstergere. Dioscor. Matthioli Edit. p. 526. Constantine, in his Lexicon, Vox *ὄπιοι*, reads a passage in Pliny, respecting the collection of Opium, "in conchis," instead of "ut lactucis."

<sup>p</sup> Legitur ad hunc modum succus. Capite exempto radix in testudinis speciem cultro excavatur, quo fit ut in cavum confluat succus, qui conchis demum excipitur. Matth. Diosc. p. 610.

<sup>q</sup> The method of collecting the Scammony is this: having cleared away the earth from about the upper part of the root, they cut off the top in an oblique direction, about two

inches below where the stalks spring from it. Under the most depending part of the slope they fix a *shell*, or some other convenient receptacle, into which the milky juice gradually flows. Med. Observ. vol. i. p. 18.

<sup>r</sup> Aliqui capita ipsa et folia tundunt et prelo expriment, terentesque digerunt mortario in pastillos, id Meconium vocatur, multum Opio ignavius. Matth. Diosc. p. 526.

<sup>s</sup> Cum capita ipsa et folia decoquantur, succus Meconium vocatur multum Opio ignavior. Plin. lib. xx. cap. 18.

Suidas and Cælius Rhodoginus both mention a city of the name of *Μηκόννη*, derived probably from the abundance of poppies that grew in the neighbourhood.

<sup>t</sup> Plin. lib. xxv. c. 2. 6. 10.



in that light almost altogether is the preparation regarded by modern practitioners.

The country, of which we are speaking, still produces Opium in great plenty and perfection. Dr. Alston says, that “the Opium of “Natolia, or Anatolia,” (the modern name of the country, that lies on the southern side of the Euxine, or Black Sea,) “is produced in “greater quantity, and is of a better quality, than what comes from “Egypt<sup>u</sup>.”

It is as probable that the name of this place, or river, might be derived from the production of Opium, as that its other and ancient name, Pityusa, should be derived from the pine trees, which, Tournefort<sup>x</sup> tells us, still grow in great numbers and perfection in that country.

From the river Ophis to the river Psychrus 30 stadia.

The name of this river is doubtless derived from<sup>y</sup> its coldness, a quality remarked of other rivers in Asia Minor, particularly the Cydnus, which had nearly proved fatal to Alexander the Great, who bathed in it, and is said to have actually caused the death of the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa.

<sup>u</sup> Edin. Med. Essays, vol. v.

It is remarkable that many of the coins of the cities situated upon the southern coast of the Black Sea have a reference to medicine. Tournefort says, “that many of the medals “of Amastris are in honour of physic, as a “great many Esculapius’s with sticks, round “which a serpent is winded, and of the God- “des of Health with the serpents.” The

same may be said of the coins of Tios, Abonitichos, and other places on the same coast.

<sup>x</sup> Tournefort’s Trav. vol. iii. p. 75. Eng. Transl.

<sup>y</sup> ψυχρὸς, cold. Aristotle mentions a river of the same name in Thrace, probably so called for the same reason. Hist. Anim. lib. xii. c. 12.



From the river Pfychrus to the river Calus 30 stadia. From the river Calus to the river Rhizius 120 stadia.

A port of this name is put down in Ptolemy, probably the mouth of this river, which he places at only 10', or about 100 stadia to the East of the Ophis, or rather of the place, which he calls Opius, or *Ὀπίος*.

From the river Rhizius to the river Ascurus 30 stadia.

From the river Ascurus to the river Adienus 60 stadia.

From the river Adienus to Athenæ Ponticæ 180 stadia.

Arrian makes the whole distance from Trapezus to Athenæ Ponticæ 720 stadia, equal to 90 Greek miles, or  $82\frac{1}{2}$  English miles. Its direction is nearly East. The Peutingerian Tables make this distance to be <sup>z</sup> 91 M. P. or 728 stadia, very near to the calculation of Arrian. It had its name <sup>a</sup>, as Arrian says, from a temple in the Grecian style, which was built there; but the place appears to have been, even in his time, in a deserted state, the castle being in ruins; and the whole was probably noticed here more for its name, than on any other account. This was the first place the fleet touched at, being driven in by a violent tempest, which endangered them very much. He describes it as preceded by a cloud suddenly

<sup>z</sup> From Trapezus	to	Nyffilime	24 M. P.
Nyffilime	—	Opiunte	18
Opiunte	—	Reila	15
Reila	—	Ardinco	18
Ardinco	—	Athenis	16

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91 M. P. = 728 stadia.

<sup>a</sup> It is now called Ortouna, or Athenah.



arising in the East, which was followed by a violent gust of wind from the same quarter, and opposite to the course they held. In the same manner the cloud, described in the Book of Kings <sup>b</sup>, foretold wind, as well as rain; and Sir John Chardin informs us, that great storms are wont to begin with such a kind of cloud, and that it is the sign of them at sea in the Eastern countries <sup>c</sup>.

The East wind is often spoken of as being of a violent and dangerous nature. It is said in the Book of Psalms <sup>d</sup> to “break the ships of Tarshish;” and a similar expression concerning it is found in the Prophet Ezechiel <sup>e</sup>. Virgil mentions its ravages in the woods of Mount Caucasus, a part of which, and that with which Virgil was most likely to be acquainted, lies on the Eastern border of the Black Sea.

*Ipsæ Caucasio steriles in vertice sylvæ,  
Quas animosi Euri assidue franguntque feruntque.*

Geor. lib. ii. ver. 439, 440.

It is described by others as accompanied by clouds, and as raising such a swell of the sea, as Arrian tells us was experienced by his fleet.

————quodcunque minabitur Eurus

Fluctibus Hesperiiis. HORAT. Carm. lib. i. xxviii. ver. 25.

————ubi nubifer Eurus

Naufragium spargens, operit freta. SIL. ITAL. lib. x. ver. 323, 324.

Niger rudentes Eurus inverso mari

Fractosque remos differat. HOR. Epod. x. ver. 5.

<sup>b</sup> “Behold there ariseth a little cloud from ver. 43. 45.

“the sea, of the bigness of a man’s hand.

“And it came to pass in the mean time, that

“the heaven was black with clouds and wind,

“and there was a great rain.” B. I. ch. xviii.

<sup>c</sup> Harmer’s Observat. vol. i. p. 56.

<sup>d</sup> Psalm xlvi. 7.

<sup>e</sup> Chap. xxii. 25.



It was also a principal instrument of the mischief done to the fleet of Æneas.

— Tres Eurus ab alto  
In brevia, et Syrtes urget.            Æn. lib. i. ver. 114.

Vix septem convulsæ undis Euroque superfunt.    Æn. lib. i. ver. 386.

Ovid speaks of the swell of the Euxine Sea in terms nearly similar to those of Arrian.

Inque modum tumuli concava surgit aqua.  
Trist. lib. ii. Eleg. x. ver. 20.

Apollonius describes the ship Argo, as nearly sunk in the same situation with that of Arrian, by the swell of the sea breaking over the middle or side of the vessel.

Ἐνθα μὲν ἠλιθάτω ἐναλίγκιον οὐρεῖ κῦμα  
Ἐμφέρεται προπάρουθεν ἐπαΐσσονται ἑοικὸς,  
Αἰὲν ὑπὲρ νεφέων ἠερμένον, οὐδέ κε Φαίης  
Φεύξουσθαι κακὸν οἶτον, ἐπεὶ μάλα μεσσόθι νηὸς  
Λάβρον ἐπικρέμαται καθάπερ νέφος.

APOLL. lib. ii. ver. 169.

The embarrassment however of Arrian and his associates did not terminate altogether on their arrival at this port. The storm continued, and the wind veered about to different points, as is common both in the Mediterranean, and in other places subject to hurricanes. Thus Virgil, describing a storm, specifies several winds as either blowing at the same time, or in rapid succession.

Una Eurus Notusque ruunt, creberque procellis  
Africus.    Æn. lib. i. ver. 89.

And Ovid in more express terms.

Inter utrumque fremunt immani turbine venti.  
Nescit, cui domino pareat, unda maris.



Nam modo purpureo vires capit Eurus ab ortu :

Nunc Zephyrus, fero vespere missus, adest :

Nunc gelidus ficca Boreas bacchatur ab Arcto :

Nunc Notus adverfa prælia fronte gerit. Trist. lib. i. El. ii. ver. 25.

They seem to have been first incommoded by the North-West wind, called in that country Thrafcias, or by the Greeks Sciron. This probably brought the thunder and lightning, which Mr. Stuart, in his account of the winds on the Temple of Andronicus Cyrrhestes at Athens, tells us, is the distinguishing character of this wind <sup>f</sup>. It came however about to the South, and from thence to the South-West, so that in the course of the tempest the wind shifted to every point of the compass, like the storm above described by Ovid.

The harbour of Athenæ Ponticæ <sup>g</sup> proved however a sufficient protection for most of the ships ; and the trireme, which rode out the storm, under shelter of a rock, perhaps owed its safety to the promontory ἀκρον Ἀθηναίων, mentioned by Ptolemy. They however used the precaution to draw many of their ships ashore in the manner, in which the Grecian fleet is described by Homer ; which seems to have been the means of their preservation, but implied that their draught of water, and consequently their ability to sail near the wind, was but small. It seems however, from an expres-

<sup>f</sup> “ It is,” he says, “ accompanied with fierce and frequent lightnings.” Stuart’s Athens, vol. i. p. 23.

<sup>g</sup> The harbour of Athenæ Ponticæ was, as Arrian tells us, sheltered from the N. E. wind, called Βορρᾶς, but exposed to the North Ἀπ-αρυτίας, and to the North-West Σκίρων. It seems probable that the wind had shifted from

the last mentioned quarter before they reached the harbour, as Arrian tells us, the tempest blew at first from thence, but came about afterwards to the South and South-West. Had the original wind Σκίρων continued to blow, the harbour would not have afforded to the fleet sufficient protection.



sion, which occurs a little after, that they were able to sail with a wind at right angles <sup>h</sup> to the ship's course, or, as it is expressed in nautical language, "with the wind on the beam."

One of the vessels was wrecked by the sea breaking over it, but the rigging and naval stores were preserved. He also tells us, that they even scraped off the wax <sup>i</sup>, with which the sides were smeared, which he and other writers represent as one of the most necessary articles in the fitting out ships. Wax was produced in great quantity in this country. Xenophon <sup>k</sup>, Polybius <sup>l</sup>, Pliny <sup>m</sup>, and Dioscorides <sup>n</sup>, all mention the abundance of honey; and it appears from Pliny, that part of the tribute of these countries was paid in wax <sup>o</sup>, the use of which in large quantities is, in some degree, explained by this passage of Arrian. It may appear extraordinary that the use of pitch <sup>p</sup> for naval purposes being then well known, it was not employed preferably to wax, as being more adhesive, tenacious, and permanent. But it appears that both of them were in use mixed together, for naval purposes, into a composition called *Zopissa* <sup>q</sup>.

<sup>h</sup> Πλαγίῃ τῷ κλυδωνος ἐπειρώμεθα.

It appears from Xenophon's *Anabasis*, lib. v. p. 402. ed. Hutch. 8vo. that a North wind (*Βορρῆας*) was counted favourable to those, who intended to sail from the Southern coast of the Black sea to Greece. This, it is plain by the map, must have been nearly at right angles to their course. I suppose *Βορρῆας* here means the North wind, as it is opposed to *Notus*, and as it signifies the North wind on the temple of *Andronicus Cyrrhestes* at Athens: but it has not this meaning in *Arrian*, as *Βορρῆας* there means the North-East, or some point near it.

<sup>i</sup> *Veget.* lib. iv. c. 37. *Ovid Metam.*

lib. xi. ver. 514. *Lucan.* lib. iii. ver. 685.

<sup>k</sup> *Anabasis*. lib. iv.

<sup>l</sup> Wax was one of the articles of trade from this country to *Byzantium*. *Polyb.* lib. iv. c. 5.

<sup>m</sup> *Lib.* xxi. c. 14.

<sup>n</sup> *V. Cera et Mel.*

<sup>o</sup> *Gensque ea, cum ceram in tributa Romanis præstet, mel (quoniam exitiale est) non vendit.* *Lib.* xxi. c. 13.

<sup>p</sup> There was an ancient Athenian law, prohibiting the exportation of wood and pitch, to which some add wax. *Petit. Leg. Att.*

<sup>q</sup> *Plin.* lib. xvi. c. 12. *Dioscorid.* v. *Zopissa*.



Soon after their setting sail from Athenæ Ponticæ, the North or North-East wind, (*Βορρᾶς*) he tells us, calmed the sea. This effect is much the same as is ascribed to it by other Eastern writers. Thus it is said in the Book of Job<sup>r</sup>, that “fair weather cometh out of the North,” and in The Proverbs<sup>s</sup>, “that the North wind driveth away rain.” Boreas is called by Homer<sup>t</sup> *Αἰθρῆγενεῖς*, or *serenitatem inducens*, in several places. Hippocrates, who may be regarded much in the same light with Homer, as an Oriental writer, observes, that the North wind produces fair weather, and clears the air, and is on that account the most healthy of all the winds. We are next informed, that before noon they reached Apfarus, having, as he says, sailed more than five hundred stadia. There is some difficulty respecting this account of the distance. If it be meant of the whole distance from Trapezus, it is much too small, indeed nearly by one half, as he himself computes it to be a thousand stadia. If it be meant to mark the interval between Athenæ Ponticæ and Apfarus, it is too great, as Arrian says it is only 280 stadia. Perhaps he might mean, that, by the wind being contrary, they were driven so far out of their course, that they were obliged to traverse near double the real distance between Apfarus and Athenæ Ponticæ. At Apfarus Arrian took a survey of the fortifications, and reviewed the troops stationed there; which circumstance indicates, that he was one of the military governors, or <sup>x</sup> Proprætors, nominated by the Emperor,

<sup>r</sup> Job, chap. xxxvii. ver. 22.

<sup>s</sup> Prov. chap. xxv. ver. 23.

<sup>t</sup> Il. xv. ver. 171. xix. ver. 358. Odyss. v. ver. 296.

<sup>u</sup> Hippocr. de morbo sacro, §. 15. Tournefort however says, that the Turkish sailors on the Black sea were particularly afraid of

the North wind: but he adds, that they were very unskilful, and that the North wind caused little disturbance to their navigation. Tournefort's Trav. vol. iii. p. 56. Eng. Transl.

<sup>x</sup> It was understood that the Emperor and the Senate, in their quality of partners in the sovereignty, should have the nomination of the governors



and not one of the Senatorian Proconsuls. He mentions, that his reports on this subject were transmitted in the Latin language, in which the properly official communications were always made.

Arrian derives the name of this place from Abfyrus, the brother of Medea, whom she is said to have murdered at this place, and whose sepulchre was still to be seen.

I wish to observe here, that the numerous traditions and local evidences of the Argonautic expedition, which Arrian discovered on this coast, and which other writers have recorded to have existed in the neighbouring countries, are strong presumptive proofs that such a voyage was once undertaken, and that the history of it is not merely an allegorical tale invented by poets, or persons of fertile and flowery imagination, but a narrative of a real event. The purpose of it is undoubtedly very mysterious, and the circumstances, which accompany it, complicated with poetical imagery and mythological machinery; but that such a hero as Jason commanded such an expedition, seems to me unquestionable. The proofs of it are not derived from Greece<sup>y</sup>, the region of fabulous invention, but were found to subsist in countries barren, uncultivated, and of vast extent, such as no forgery of such a kind could influence, or probably penetrate. <sup>z</sup> Strabo and Diodorus observe,

governors in their respective provinces; that those named by the Senate should be civil officers, merely with the title of Proconsul, but without the power of the sword, or any military rank; and they were not to remain in office longer than one year; that the officers to be named by the Emperor should have military rank, with the title of Proprætor, and were to act in the capacity of his Lieutenants, ac-

countable only to himself, and to hold their commissions during his pleasure. Ferguson's Hist. of the Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic, vol. iii. p. 360. ed. 4to.

<sup>y</sup> Græciæ fabulositas. Plin. lib. iv. in Præf.

<sup>z</sup> Strabo, lib. i. p. 45, 46. lib. xi. p. 526. Diodorus, lib. xiv. c. 30.

that



that Armenia, Media, Colchis, Iberia, the whole coast of the Euxine sea, the Propontis, and the Hellespont, were full of heroic <sup>a</sup> monuments of this expedition. It is indeed somewhat extraordinary that any of these should have remained even to the time of Strabo, since he tells us, that they were industriously destroyed by Alexander's Generals, from a ridiculous jealousy, lest the fame of Jason might outrival that of their master. Parmenio, as <sup>b</sup>Strabo tells us, destroyed one of this kind at Abdera.

This account is confirmed by <sup>c</sup>Justin, who also says, that nearly the whole of the East paid divine honours to Jason as to their founder, and that the jealousy of Parmenio prompted him to destroy several of the temples erected in honour of Jason.

Tacitus observes, that the Iberians and Albanians, nations almost barbarous, retained notwithstanding, even in his time, the tradition respecting Jason, and the Argonautic expedition<sup>d</sup>. These are facts which cannot be forged, and afford arguments of the authenticity of the history much superior to any, that can be urged against it from its seeming improbability and absurdity, things of which we are at present very incompetent judges, considering the difference of our age, climate, and manners, and also the obscure and mutilated accounts, which we have of those remote ages. But

<sup>a</sup> Ἡρώειον—μνημεῖον. Hesych. et Phavor. monumentum heroi dicatum.

<sup>b</sup> Strab. lib. xi. p. 530.

<sup>c</sup> Itaque Jasoni totus ferme Oriens, ut conditori, divinos honores templaque constituit, quæ Parmenion, dux Alexandri Magni, post multos annos dirui jussit, ne cujusquam nomen in Oriente venerabilius quam Alexandri

esset. Justin. lib. xlii. cap. 3.

<sup>d</sup> Feruntque se Thessalis ortos, qua tempestate Jason, post avectam Medeam genitosque ex ea liberos, inanem mox regiam Æetæ, vacuosque Colchos, repetivit. Multaque de nomine ejus, et oraculum Phryxi celebrant. Tacit. Annal. lib. vi. cap. 34.



should we presume to declare all history fabulous, or unfounded, in which the events did not exactly coincide with our ideas of probability, we should expose our own pride and narrowness of sentiment, which cannot submit to credit any thing, but such as we can exactly reconcile to such principles, as we may premise as necessary to truth.

The history of the Crusades, an expedition almost as unaccountable as that of Jason, undertaken by a set of military adventurers, in an age nearly as rude and as warlike as that of the Argonauts, is disguised in the prose accounts we have of it, with as much <sup>e</sup>imagery as the poem of Apollonius Rhodius, and little less incredible. Yet we do not therefore question the existence of Peter the Hermit, of Godfrey of Bouillon, or of Raymond of Toulouse; or deny, that such persons conducted armies into Palestine, and actually founded a kingdom there, which subsisted for more than two centuries.

But to return to the subject.

From Athenæ Ponticæ to the river Prytanis 40 stadia. This is marked as a river in D'Anville, but is not so specified in Arrian, although I think it is implied. Here was a palace of King Anchialus, probably the one mentioned afterwards by Arrian, as King of the Heniochi. From Prytanis to the river Pyxites 90 stadia. This

<sup>e</sup> See the account of the vision, that led to the discovery of the head of the spear which pierced the side of our Lord, when on the cross, which was to ensure victory to those, who were in possession of this holy relic. Robert. Monach. lib. vii. Baldrici Archiepisc. Hist. Hierosol. lib. iii. Raymond de Agiles,

p. 155. Vision of the Crucifixion, and of St. Mark the Evangelist. Raymond de Agiles, pp. 166, 167. Vision of Peter the Hermit. Albert. Aquens. §. v. Effects of pieces of the cross in defeating the Turks, recorded in the same writer, with much more in the same strain. Gesta Dei per Francos.



river is mentioned by <sup>f</sup> Pliny, as lying between Trapezus and Apſarus.

From the Pyxites to Archabis 90 ſtadia. This is put down as a river in Ptolemy, but not in Arrian, although, I think, implied. The text of Ptolemy is undoubtedly very corrupt. According to the Latin copy, it is placed in E. Long.  $61^{\circ} 59'$ , and according to the Greek in  $52^{\circ}$  E. Long. a difference of full ten degrees, or more than 500 English miles. The longitude according to D'Anville is nearly  $59^{\circ} 40'$  Eaſt. In the maps of Ptolemy it is placed, as it ought to be, to the North-Eaſt of Trapezus and Athenæ Ponticæ. It ſeems to be ſpecified in the Peutingerian Tables under the name of Abgabes; but is there placed too much to the Weſt, being only nine miles, or ſeventy-two ſtadia, from Athenæ Ponticæ; whereas Arrian counts it to be 227 ſtadia, or more than 28 miles.

From Archabis to <sup>g</sup> Apſarus 60 ſtadia. This is the name of a river, and of a caſtle on its banks. It is placed by <sup>h</sup> Ptolemy  $80'$

<sup>f</sup> Plin. lib. vi. cap. 4.

<sup>g</sup> Now called Gonieh.

<sup>h</sup> "The latitudes laid down in Ptolemy's Geography are very incorrect, and particularly thoſe in the neighbourhood, or under the ſame parallel with Byzantium. He erroneouſly ſuppoſed, as indeed Strabo had done before him, that this city and Marſeilles were in the ſame latitude; and as the latitude of Marſeilles had been aſcertained by Pytheas by the proportion of the length of the gnomon to its ſhadow at the Summer ſoliſtice, and found, according to his computation, to be  $43^{\circ} 5'$ , or according to a more accurate calculation, which included the ſemidiameter

of the Sun,  $43^{\circ} 19' 25''$ , they reckoned the latitudes of many other places according to their diſtance North or South from the one, which they aſſumed as a ſtandard; which was the ſource of great confuſion, ſince the true latitude of Byzantium is only  $41^{\circ} 1'$ , and of courſe it was placed by Ptolemy  $2^{\circ} 18' 25''$  too far to the North; a ſpace, which is nearly equal to 160 English miles; and the ſame error was extended to every place, whoſe latitude was computed from a compariſon of its difference with that of Byzantium." Blair's Hiſtory of the Riſe and Progreſs of Geography, p. 88.



to the East of Athenæ Ponticæ, which, in the latitude laid down by D'Anville, is equal to  $67\frac{1}{2}$  English miles, or in the latitude, according to Ptolemy, to about 67 English miles. According to Arrian, it is 287 stadia, or nearly 33 English miles; so that these computations differ considerably. According to D'Anville, Apfarus is but little to the North of Athenæ Ponticæ, so that the difference of longitude of these two places scarcely varies from their true distance by sea. In the Peutingerian Tables Apfarus is set down as 36 miles from Athenæ Ponticæ. Pliny seems to say, that Apfarus was 150, or, as some copies read, 140 miles from Trapezus. According to Arrian, it is 1000 stadia, or 125 Greek miles, or 114.465 English miles. From Apfarus to the <sup>i</sup> Acampsis 15 stadia. From the Acampsis to the <sup>k</sup> Bathys 75 stadia. This river is not, as far as I can find, mentioned by name by any other writer, except Pliny; but probably the Portus Altus set down in the Peutingerian Tables, and which is nearly in the same situation, may be the place meant by Arrian. It appears to have been no unusual appellation, as a port so called (Βαθὺς λιμὴν) in Africa, is mentioned by Ptolemy. From the <sup>l</sup> Bathys to the Acinasis 90 stadia. This river seems to have derived its name from the Scythian <sup>m</sup> Sword so called, which was worshipped as a deity. Whether its name was employed to denote the straight course of the river, or to indicate that it was a

<sup>i</sup> The coast here begins to verge towards the North.

<sup>k</sup> D'Anville seems to think the Bathys and the Acampsis the same river. They have both of them Greek names, the former implying depth (βαθὺς, *altus*), and the other a straight course (ἀκαμπής, *rigidus*): but I know not that these epithets have any connection, although they are by no means incompatible.

<sup>l</sup> A place called Batumi is still to be found in this situation in modern maps. The river seems to be the Ischaruk.

<sup>m</sup> It was the emblem of Mars. Καὶ τῶτ' (ἀκινάκης) ἔστι τῆ Ἄρης τὸ ἄγαλμα· τῆτω δὲ τῶ ἀκινάκει θυσίας ἰπετείας προσάγουσι προβάτων καὶ ἵππων. Herodot. lib. iv. p. 62. Ed. Wessél. See also Lucian's Jupiter Tragœdus et Toxaris.



sacred stream, is doubtful. From the Acinasis to the Isis 90 stadia. From the Isis to the Mogrus 90 stadia. This river is noticed by Pliny under the name of Nogrus. From the Mogrus to the <sup>n</sup> Phafis 90 stadia. This river preserves in some degree its ancient name, being still called the Fafz, or Rion. Its mouth is placed by Ptolemy in  $45^{\circ}$  N. Lat. and  $72^{\circ} 30'$  E. Long. According to Arrowsmith's Chart it lies in nearly  $42^{\circ}$  of N. L. and  $59^{\circ} 6' 50''$  E. Long. from the Canaries. The map of the country between the Caspian and the Black sea makes it to be  $42^{\circ} 25'$  N. L. and  $59^{\circ} 2'$  E. from the Canaries. Ptolemy then makes it, according to the last computation, no less than  $13^{\circ} 28'$  too far to the Eastward, which is nearly 685 English miles, a vast difference, which must effectually confound all calculation.

The mouth of the Phafis is, according to Ptolemy,  $\frac{2}{3}$  of an hour to the East of Alexandria, which is equal to 35 minutes of time, or  $8^{\circ} 45'$  of longitude, which in latitude  $42^{\circ}$  is equal to nearly 452 English miles. This calculation, although erroneous, is less so than the former.

Long. of the Phafis	—	—	59° 6' 50" E. Arrowsmith	
Long. of the ° Pharos at Alexandria			47 30 50 E. Walsh's Journal.	

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Difference 11° 36'

<sup>n</sup> Pliny says it is 1000 miles from Chalcedon to the Phafis. Arrian makes it to be 8385 stadia, or 1048 Greek miles. D'Anville makes it about 13 degrees of Long. and  $\frac{1}{3}$  or about 688 English miles. Arrowsmith's Chart makes it considerably less, and not more than 630 English miles.

<sup>o</sup> The Pharos of Alexandria lies, according to Walsh's Journal, in Lat.  $31^{\circ} 13' 5''$  N. L.

and in  $29^{\circ} 45'$  East Long. from Greenwich. N. B. The Isle of Ferro in the Canaries is  $17^{\circ} 44' 50''$  West of Greenwich. The Long. and Lat. of Alexandria, according to Denon, are

Long. E. from Paris	$27^{\circ} 35'$
Latitude	$31^{\circ} 12' 20''$

Difference 10' more Easterly than Walsh's calculation.

equal



equal to 598 English miles, and 46' 24" of time. In this calculation the error of Ptolemy is of an opposite kind to the former, as he places the mouth of the Phasis, compared with the Pharos of Alexandria, 146 English miles nearly too far to the Westward. From Apfarus to the Phasis is, according to P Pliny, 75, or, as some copies read, 70 miles, equal to 600, or 560 stadia. D'Anville agrees nearly with Arrian. The Russian map makes it 54 English miles, or about 470 stadia.

¶ Strabo says, it is 1400 stadia from Trapezus to the Phasis. Arrian makes it 1450 stadia, which agrees nearly with Strabo. The distance between the Bathys and the Phasis is, according to Arrian, 360 stadia. The map of the country between the Black sea and the Caspian makes it 375 stadia, differing but little from Arrian. D'Anville's map agrees nearly herewith.

Arrian says, that the water of the Phasis is lighter in the balance, and more changeable in colour, than any water, with which he was acquainted. It may probably be soft, as being mostly rain water, which is also light. It is however, according to <sup>r</sup> Hippocrates, a sluggish and almost stagnant river, and its water not at all coinciding with the character given of it by Arrian. It further appears from Hippocrates that the water of the Phasis is subject to become putrid from its <sup>s</sup> stagnation, and the warmth of the sun; and that those, who drink it, are liable to <sup>t</sup> diseases from

<sup>p</sup> Plin. lib. vi. cap. 4.

<sup>q</sup> P. 548. Paris ed.

<sup>r</sup> Αὐτός τε ὁ Φάσις σασιμώτατος πάντων τῶν ποταμῶν, καὶ ῥέων ἡπιώτατα. Hippocrat. de Aer. Aq. et Loc. §. 83. Ed. Coray. à Paris, 1800.

<sup>s</sup> Τὰ δὲ ὕδατα, δευρὰ καὶ γάσιμα πίνοι, ὑπό

τε τῆ ἡλίου σηπόμενα, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀμβρῶν ἐπαυξόμενα. Ibid.

<sup>t</sup> Τὴν τε χροὴν ὠχρὴν ἔχουσι, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ ἑτέρου ἐχόμενοι. §. 84. Pindar calls them Κόλχοισι κελαινώπεισοι. Pyth. iv. Stroph. 10. vers. 377. Ed. Heyne.



this circumstance. Arrian, although he uses an <sup>u</sup> expression denoting clearness and transparency, allows that it resembles water impregnated with <sup>x</sup> lead or tin, and that it deposits a sediment on standing. He adds, that it does not become putrid by keeping, a quality seemingly inconsistent with that ascribed to it by Hippocrates. Very different accounts of this river are given by other writers. Although Hippocrates represents it as the most stagnant of all rivers, others describe it as rapid and violent ;

———rapidas limosi Phafidis undas. OVID. Met. lib. vii. ver. 5.

Magnus ubi aduersum spumanti Phafis in æquor

Ore ruit.

VAL. FLACC. lib. v. ver. 179.

But I think these seemingly opposite accounts may be reconciled, if we consider, that this river rises among the mountains of Armenia, which during a considerable part of the year are covered with snow; and whilst that remains unmelted, the river may be as Hippocrates represents it; but on the melting of the snow, it may become rapid and violent, like other rivers that rise in mountainous countries. It is called Nivosi by <sup>z</sup> Statius, which indicates somewhat of this kind. <sup>a</sup> Hippocrates also mentions, that large and violent showers frequently fall in that region, which might contribute to swell it. <sup>b</sup> Plutarch says, that this river was formerly

<sup>u</sup> Καθαρότατον.

<sup>x</sup> Chardin makes the same observation. L'eau en est fort bonne à boire, quoique elle soit trouble, épaisse, et de couleur de plomb. Vol. i. p. 148.

<sup>y</sup> Mount Niphates, which lies to the South of the source of the Phasis, had its name from the snows, which cover it; and Mount Caucasus is so called from the same circumstance. Νιφάτης, sic dictus à τῆς νιφάδος, a nivibus.

Vid. Stephan. — Et Caucasum montem, Graucasum hoc est nive candidum. Plin. lib. vi. c. 17. Le haut du mont Caucase est perpétuellement couvert de neige. Chardin, liv. i. pag. 155.

<sup>z</sup> Thebaid. lib. xii. ver. 182.

<sup>a</sup> Ὀμβροὶ τε αὐτόθι γίνονται πᾶσαν ἄρην πελοῖ τε, καὶ ἰσχυροί. Hippocr. §. 83.

<sup>b</sup> Plut. de Fluv.



called Arcturus, which may probably allude to its periodical overflow about the time of year, when this star rises cosmically, which took place then about the latter end of August, when the snows are melting. Apollonius remarks in the same country the wet weather, which accompanied the rising of Arcturus, which might contribute to the same purpose, and is agreeable to the observation of Hippocrates mentioned above.

Ἵδατι σημαίνων διερχὴν ὁδὸν Ἄρκτεροισι.

Argon. lib. ii. ver. 1101.

It may be added in confirmation of what has been just observed, that the Nile, whose annual increase is thought to be owing to the same cause, which is here suggested respecting the Phasis, begins to increase about the Summer solstice, and continues increasing until September; but as it rises in very hot countries, it may begin to overflow earlier than the Phasis, as the snow melts sooner. Somewhat of a similar analogy may, according to Selden, be observed between the Nile and Sirius, as is here suggested between the Phasis and Arcturus. The Dog-star (Sirius) was, as he thinks, so called from Siris, the ancient name of the Nile, as the cosmical rise of <sup>c</sup> Sirius coincided with the time of the greatest increase of the river.

The same circumstance may account for the different character given of the salubrity of the water. That of the Nile is thought unwholesome, when the river is rising; but at other times, if al-

<sup>c</sup> Sirio cane, cujus exortu Nili ascensus quotannis fiebat, a Siri, id est Nilo, etiam procul dubio denominato. Selden. de Vitulo

Aureo, Syntagm. i. c. 4. The Nile is called Sihor in various passages of Scripture.



lowed to <sup>d</sup> stand, and deposit its sediment, as Arrian says of the Phasis, it becomes like that river, limpid, and <sup>e</sup> excellent for drink.

What Arrian says respecting the statue of Cybele, and its resemblance, both in attitude and accompaniments, to the one by Phidias at Athens, argues strongly in favour of the early intercourse, which is supposed to have subsisted between Greece and this country. The statue of the Goddess is described by Arrian as holding a cymbal in her hand, with lions under her throne, or seat. This is exactly the same representation, as is to be found in <sup>f</sup> Montfaucon's Antiquities, of which many examples both from coins and <sup>g</sup> sculpture are produced. Arrian observes, that the statue of Cybele at Athens was placed ἐν Μητροῶν. This word was applied in general to the temples of Cybele, as appears from many ancient coins and inscriptions, as well as authors. <sup>h</sup> Pausanias speaks of a Μητροῶν at Elis in Greece, which he remarks, as singular from its not having a statue of <sup>i</sup> Cybele in it.

<sup>k</sup> Julius Pollux says, that the temple of Cybele at Athens was called Μητροῶν; and Suidas, Harpocration, and <sup>l</sup> Athenæus add, that it was the repository of the public records, and of the laws.

<sup>d</sup> Pocock's Travels, vol. i. p. 199. Walth's Journal of the Campaign in Egypt, p. 254.

<sup>e</sup> Harmer's Observat. vol. ii. p. 295.

<sup>f</sup> Vol. i. p. 1.

<sup>g</sup> See Mus. Florentin. vol. i. plate 96.

<sup>h</sup> Lib. i. p. 429. Ed. Kühn.

<sup>i</sup> Cybele was a Phrygian Goddess, and much revered throughout the course of the Euxine sea. Jason in Apollonius, lib. i. ver. 1094. is commanded to sacrifice to, and to propitiate her, as being the directress of the earth,

winds, and seas. Strabo tells us, that at Dindymene in Phrygia there was a temple built by the Argonauts, and dedicated to the mother of the Gods. Strab. lib. xiii.

<sup>k</sup> Jul. Poll. lib. iii. cap. 3.

<sup>l</sup> Athenæus says, that Apellicon the Grammarian, whose library fell into the hands of Sylla at the taking of Athens, was in possession of the original legal decrees of ancient times, which had been stolen out of the Μητροῶν. Athen. lib. v. p. 214. Ed. Casaub.



At or near this temple, an anchor of iron was shewn, which was reported to have belonged to the ship Argo; which Arrian very justly rejects as spurious, since anchors of stone only were in use at that early period. The fragments of a stone anchor, which was reported to have belonged to the same ship, are properly determined by him to be more probably genuine. Perhaps these fragments might be the remains of the anchor, which the Argonauts brought from Cyzicus, where, as Apollonius tells us, they exchanged a small stone anchor for a larger of the same kind. It is remarkable that Apollonius<sup>m</sup> notices, that the old anchor was laid up as a sacred deposit in a temple at Cyzicus, as probably the fragments of the new were preserved in the time of Arrian in the temple of Cybele.

The castle at the mouth of the river appears to have been regularly fortified as a frontier place. He notices, that it was built of baked brick (*πλίνθας ὀπτῆς*), a circumstance particularly mentioned to distinguish it from sun-dried brick, which formed the walls of many of the cities and castles in Asia Minor, and, as it should seem, even in Greece. <sup>n</sup>Xenophon observes, that the wall of Media, which extended from the Euphrates to the Tigris, was built of burnt brick, in opposition to raw brick. Herodotus notices, that the walls of Babylon were, in like manner, constructed of burnt bricks. Pausanias, speaking of the walls of Mantinea, which were destroyed by Agesipolis, who turned the stream of the river Ophis against them, tells us, that they were *ὠμῆς ὠκοδομημένης* ἢ *πλίνθας*, built of raw or crude bricks, which, he says, dissolved by water<sup>o</sup>, as wax does by the sun.

<sup>m</sup> Argon. lib. i. ver. 955.

<sup>o</sup> Pausan. lib. viii.

<sup>n</sup> Anabaf. lib. ii. p. 145. Ed. Hutch. 8vo.



Arrian observes in this part of the work, that the Pontic sea was much less salt than the sea without the Hellespont, on account of the numerous rivers, which discharge themselves into it. P Strabo and other writers make the same observation, and ascribe it to the same cause. Modern accounts agree with ancient <sup>9</sup> in this respect.

From the Phasis to the Chariens 90 stadia. This is the Charistus of Ptolemy, and, according to him, lies N. E. of the mouth of the Phasis, with 15' difference of latitude, equal to 17.4 English miles. It seems in the Russian map to be about ten Greek miles, or 80 stadia, from the mouth of the Phasis. In the Peutingerian Tables, only three miles are set down, as the distance from the Phasis to the Chariens, and 16 miles from the Chariens to the Chobus. These numbers are probably erroneous; but the whole distance from the Phasis to the Chobus is not so different from the one given by Arrian, as to make it probable that they used a different calculation.

From the Chariens to the <sup>r</sup>Chobus 90 stadia. According to some modern maps, a place of the name of Copi still remains at the mouth of this river. From the Chobus to the Singamis 210 stadia. The Greek copy of Ptolemy makes the difference of latitude between the Charistus and Siganeum to be 30 minutes, equal, as was then supposed, to 300 stadia, which is exactly the distance

<sup>P</sup> Διὸ καὶ γλυκύτερον εἶναι τὸν Πόντον. Strab. lib. i. Ipsum mare Ponticum dulcius quam cætera. *Fragm. Sallustii. Amm. Marc. xxii. c. 8.*

Copia tot laticum, quas auget, adulterat undas;

Nec patitur vires æquor habere suas.

Ovid. Ep. lib. iv. ep. 10.

Vimque fretum multo perdit ab amne suam.

Ibid. vers. 46.

<sup>9</sup> Tournefort remarks, that it is certain that the water of the Black sea is less briny than the water of our seas. *Desc. of the Canal of the Black Sea.*

<sup>r</sup> In D'Anville's map the Chariens and the Chobus seem to have changed places, as he lays down the Chobus to the South of the Chariens, whereas Arrian puts it to the North.



laid down by Arrian. The Peutingerian Tables count from the Chariens to Sicanabis 35 miles, or 280 stadia. From the Singamis to Tarfuras 120 stadia. The Peutingerian Tables make this distance to be 16 miles, or only eight stadia more than it is reckoned by Arrian. From Tarfuras to Hippius 150 stadia. From Hippius to Astelephus 30 stadia. From Astelephus to Sebastopolis 120 stadia. This place was, in early times, called Dioscurias from the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux), who were reported to have <sup>s</sup> founded it. It has now recovered its ancient name, although much corrupted, being called by the Turks Ifkouriah, or <sup>t</sup> Ifagour, although the Greeks, I believe, retain the modern name of Sevtopoli. It is placed by Ptolemy in Latitude  $44^{\circ} 45' N.$  and Long. E.  $72^{\circ} 20'.$  By the Russian map the latitude is  $43^{\circ} 27' 30''$ , and by Arrow-smith's Chart  $43^{\circ} 18'.$  Longitude by the Russian Map,  $57^{\circ} 56'.$ ; by Arrowsmith,  $58^{\circ} 21' 50''.$  It is reckoned by Arrian to be 2260 stadia, equal to 282 Greek miles, or 258.68 English, distant from Trapezus. Pliny says, that it is 100 miles distant from the Phasis, which agrees nearly with Arrian, who reckons this interval at 810 stadia, equal to 101 Greek miles and a quarter. The medium distance in <sup>u</sup> two modern maps is 96 English miles, equal to 838 stadia, or three Greek miles and a half more than Arrian's calculation.

Arrian, having enumerated the rivers, by which he passed, proceeds to speak of the inhabitants of the country. His account

<sup>s</sup> Solinus and Ammianus Marcellinus say, that Dioscurias was founded by Amphitus and Cercius, the charioteers to Castor and Pollux, from whom also originated the nation of the Heniochi. Strabo calls them Rhecas and Amphistratus. Strab. lib. xi. Amm.

Marcell. lib. xxii. c. 8.

<sup>t</sup> Ifagour is still a road for ships, but the place is in ruins, and uninhabited. Chardin, vol. i. p. 54.

<sup>u</sup> Arrowsmith's and Laurie's Charts.



of the Drillæ agrees with that of <sup>x</sup> Xenophon, save that the latter says nothing of their form of government. We see by the threats, which Arrian expresses towards this people, the manner in which the Romans treated their refractory tributaries; which explains the reason, why these nations, when they gained the superiority, as they did a few centuries afterwards, retorted the same ill usage on the Romans. The accounts of these writers agree very well with those given of the modern predatory inhabitants of these countries. It appears, that these nations were tributary, and perhaps feudatory, to the Romans, and governed by princes nominated by the Emperors. The description, which Arrian gives of the direction in which he proceeded in his course by sea, is perfectly correct. As far as Apfarus, he observes, that their course lay Eastward, and this place he considers as the <sup>y</sup> extremity of the Euxine sea towards that point; and this is true of it, as to what regards the Southern coast, or the right side of the Pontus. From thence their course lay Northward to the Chobus and the Singamis. At the latter place the shore began to verge a little to the Westward, or what he calls the left side of the Pontus, and continued in that direction to Astelephus and Dioscurias, where his voyage terminated.

The view of mount Caucasus from Dioscurias described by Arrian resembles that given by <sup>z</sup> Apollonius Rhodius. I do not find that the summit of mount Caucasus is called Strobilus by any other writer. It is undoubtedly so named from its resemblance in shape to a pine cone; and the plenty of trees of this kind in the surrounding <sup>a</sup> country makes this more evident. Strabo mentions

<sup>x</sup> Xenoph. Anabaf.

<sup>y</sup> Apollonius, with more propriety, supposes the mouth of the Phasis to be the extremity

of the Pontic sea. Lib. ii. ver. 1265.

<sup>z</sup> Lib. ii. ver. 1251.

<sup>a</sup> Virg. Georg. lib. ii. ver. 440.



a mountain of this shape, which is observed indeed to be the general form of such as have been volcanic, which might in early ages have been the case with mount Caucasus. The Periplus now reverts to an account of the distances of the several places from one another, that lie between the Thracian Bosphorus and Trapezus.

From Byzantium to the temple of Jupiter Urius 120 stadia. This was situated on the Asiatic side of the Thracian Bosphorus, and nearly on the point of land, which joins that strait on the Eastern side, and the Euxine sea on the North. It might possibly be on the spot, where the Argonauts sacrificed to the same <sup>b</sup> deity, by the advice of Phineus. <sup>c</sup> Polybius says, that the place bore the name of Ἰερόν in his time, and that Jason sacrificed there to the twelve deities, a circumstance recognized by Apollonius<sup>d</sup>. The Scholiast on Apollonius says, the spot was so called in his time. Gyllius says, that in his time it bore the name Ἰερόν, and Tournefort mentions its being called Ioro, which he takes to be a corruption of Ἰερόν, or possibly of Urii. The word οὐρίος is said to be particularly applicable to sea-voyages. It is derived from οὐρά, *cauda*, and signifies, as we are informed by the Scholiast on Thucydides, a wind that blows on the hinder part, or stern, of the ship, and, by an easy accommodation, a fair or a prosperous wind. The Greeks, being defective in navigation, regarded that wind as the most favourable, that blew directly towards the point aimed at, although they could sail with one more oblique, and even with the wind on the beam. The deity here mentioned seems to be the same with the one, which is called in Apollonius, Διὸς ἰχυμαῖος, or *Jupiter humidus*. Thus the Scholiast explains it. Perhaps Tournefort's

<sup>b</sup> Apoll. lib. ii. ver. 525.

<sup>d</sup> Apoll. lib. ii. 533, 534, and the Scholiast.

<sup>c</sup> Lib. iv. c. 39.



observation may be thought more applicable to the epithet, when he tells us, <sup>e</sup> “ that much more rain falls in the Black sea than in “ the Hellespont.” The word then bore a proper application to a situation, which marked the boundary between a moist and a dry climate. The distance of this <sup>f</sup> temple from Byzantium, as laid down by Arrian, is, as nearly as possible, agreeable to modern measurements. The Peutingerian Tables appear to set it down too far to the Eastward: but no dependence is to be placed on them as a map, otherwise than by the measurements expressed in the numbers annexed.

From the temple of Jupiter Urius to the river Rhebas 90 stadia. This river still goes by the name of Irva, or Riva, and appears to be, by the map, about nine English miles, or about 80 stadia, from the temple above mentioned. The stage to this river is put down in the Peutingerian Tables, Adherbas, which is probably a mis-spelling of Rhebas. The Rhebas is called by Apollonius <sup>g</sup> a swift flowing river (*ὠχυρόν*). Dionysius Periegetes describes it as a beautiful stream flowing into the Pontic sea near its mouth<sup>h</sup>. It appears from Strabo to be a winding stream, as he says the road crosses it seven times in a short space. Tournefort however says, that, when he passed it, it was no better than a brook <sup>i</sup>.

From the river Rhebas to Acra Melæna 150 stadia. This place is twice mentioned by <sup>k</sup> Apollonius under this name. It is also called

<sup>e</sup> Vol. iii. p. 16.

<sup>f</sup> It was probably in this temple, that Darius Hyftaspis sat, when he set out on his expedition against the Scythians. Herod. lib. iv. p. 320. Ed. Wessel.

<sup>g</sup> Lib. ii. ver. 349, 652.

<sup>h</sup> Line 795, 796.

<sup>i</sup> Tournefort observes, that most of the brooks or rivers on this coast are either dried up, or reduced almost to nothing. |

<sup>k</sup> Lib. ii. ver. 349, 653.



by Ptolemy *'Ακρίτας ἄκρα*, or the indistinct cape, or promontory, perhaps from its being often enveloped in <sup>k</sup> clouds, which might also be the origin of its other name. It still retains its ancient epithet, being now called Kalin acron, or the Black cape. Its distance from the Rhebas, as here laid down, agrees with modern maps, it being in the latter 18 English miles, which differs only a fraction of a mile from Arrian's computation. It is put down in the Peutingerian Tables, as 25 miles from the temple of Jupiter Urius; but, according to Arrian, it is 240 stadia, or 30 Greek miles.

From Acra Melæna to Artanes 150 stadia. Some think that this was a fortress, not a river. Ptolemy calls it *'Αγρᾶν χωρίον*. D'Anville adds a river, and there is one about this distance in the modern maps. It is set down in the Peutingerian Tables under the name of Artane, and is placed at the distance of nineteen miles from Acra Melæna, which is as near as possible to Arrian's calculation of 150 stadia.

From Artanes to Pfilis 150 stadia. This seems to be mentioned by Ptolemy, but the text is corrupted, or doubtful; and it is uncertain whether the Pfilis or the Rhebas be meant, and the longitude indicates that the latter was understood. A place or stage called Philium is put down in the Peutingerian Tables, at the distance of 19 miles from Artanes, which agrees so nearly with the interval assigned by Arrian, that there is little doubt that the same place is meant by both. The mouth of this river is men-

<sup>k</sup> Trecarris, or the Black mountain in South Wales, is probably so called for the same reason.



tioned by <sup>l</sup> Apollonius, and confirmed by the Scholiast to be a river of Bithynia. It is also mentioned by <sup>m</sup> Pliny and <sup>n</sup> Strabo.

From Pfilis to <sup>o</sup> Portus Calpes 210 stadia. This place is probably so called from its resemblance in shape to a water-pot. The port is accurately described by <sup>p</sup> Xenophon, being, as he says, “situated  
“ in Asiatic Thrace in the midway between <sup>q</sup> Heraclea and By-  
“ zantium. <sup>r</sup> A promontory runs out into the sea, of which that  
“ part, which lies contiguous to the sea, is a craggy rock; in height,  
“ where it is lowest, not less than twenty fathoms. The neck of  
“ land, by which this promontory is joined to the continent, is  
“ about 400 feet in breadth, and the space within the neck is  
“ ample enough to afford habitation for ten thousand men. The  
“ port lies under the rock upon the western shore, and close to the  
“ sea flows a spring, plentifully supplied with fresh water; this  
“ spring is commanded by the rock. This place affords great  
“ plenty of timber, particularly such as is proper for ship-building,  
“ in great quantity and perfection, close to the sea.”

Ptolemy makes it to lie in 25' of longitude to the eastward of Pfilis, equal to about twenty-one English miles, or 183 stadia. This river is specified by Apollonius to be <sup>s</sup> remarkable for its depth.

<sup>l</sup> Lib. ii. ver. 654.

<sup>m</sup> Lib. vi. c. 3.

<sup>n</sup> Lib. xii.

<sup>o</sup> *Κάλπη ἰθρία, Σάμνος*. Hefych. According to Steph. Byz. there was both a city and a port of this name.

<sup>p</sup> Anabaf. lib. vi.

<sup>q</sup> This agrees nearly with Arrian's compu-

tation. According to him,

From Byzantium to Heraclea is 1670 stadia.

From Byzantium to Calpe 870 stadia.

<sup>r</sup> This is an exact description of Gibraltar, (Calpe) with the difference of the proportions of size in its respective parts. *Editor*.

<sup>s</sup> *βαθυρείοντα τε Κάλπη*. Argon. lib. ii. vers. 661.



From Calpe to Rhoe Portus 20 stadia. I do not find this place mentioned by any other writer. From Rhoe Portus to Apollonia Infula 20 stadia. This island was sacred to Apollo, as we learn from <sup>t</sup>Apollonius Rhodius, and from thence had its name. It was usually called Thynias, or Daphnusa. It appears to have been uninhabited in early times. It is called Kerbeh, or Kirbe, in the modern maps.

From Apollonia to Chelas 20 stadia. The distance from Pfilis to Chelas is set down in the Peutingerian Tables as 20 <sup>u</sup>miles, equal to 160 stadia. It is set down in Ptolemy 20' to the east of Calpe. In Arrian the same space is reckoned to be 270 stadia, or 33.75 Greek miles. This river is now called by the Greeks Ava, or Ayala; but Tournefort says, the Turks call it Sagari, or Sacari; by the former of which names it appears both in the Peutingerian Tables, and in modern maps. This river was the boundary between Cappadocia and Bithynia. Tournefort says, he found no river between the Rhebas and the Sangarius. This river is mentioned by Homer in <sup>v</sup>two places, as a river of Phrygia, so that its ancient name has been continued through many ages. <sup>x</sup>Apollonius notices the mouth of this river, as appearing to the Argonauts early in the morning, on the third day of their voyage from the entrance of the Euxine sea.

Arrian says, it is 990 stadia from the temple of Jupiter Urius to

<sup>t</sup> Argon. lib. ii. vers. 688, 689.

<sup>u</sup> Q. if not 28 miles = 224 stadia.

<sup>v</sup> Iliad iii. vers. 187. Il. xvi. vers. 719.

<sup>x</sup> Argon. lib. ii. vers. 724. The Scholiast says, there was a temple of Cybele at the

mouth of the river, called *ὀρείας Διὸς ἱερόν*, probably to mark the boundary between the countries. In like manner Jupiter was under certain circumstances called *Ζεὺς ὀρείος*, or *Δίος ὀρείος*, and in the Latin, Jupiter terminalis.



the mouth of the Sangarius, or about 113 English miles; and several maps agree nearly with this distance: but Mr. Arrowsmith's chart makes it to be less than 87 English miles, or about <sup>y</sup>760 stadia. The Peutingerian Tables make it 148 miles, equal to 1184 stadia. Strabo says, that it is 500 stadia from the mouth of the Sangarius to Heraclea. Arrian makes it to be 660. Modern maps in general agree with Strabo's computation; but Mr. Arrowsmith's chart makes it only about 30 English miles, or about 262 stadia. Ptolemy makes the distance to be one degree of longitude, which in that latitude is about 52 English miles and a half, or about 460 stadia.

From the mouth of the Sangarius to that of the Hippius 180 stadia. This distance is set down in Ptolemy as equal to a degree of longitude, or 52.452 English miles; but Arrian makes it 22.5 Greek miles, equal to 20.5 English miles, and is nearer the truth. The Peutingerian Tables make it 19 Greek miles, or about 152 stadia. The Hippius is mentioned by Scylax, and by Apollonius, and characterised by the <sup>z</sup>latter as a deep river.

From the Hippius to Liliem Emporium 100 stadia. D'Anville's map places a river here; if so, this was the port at its mouth; but I cannot find any mention of one. There is, however, in all the modern maps, a place called Halebli, at the mouth of a river, which agrees nearly with the situation of this place.

From Liliem Emporium to Elæum 60 stadia. D'Anville's map

<sup>y</sup> Mr. Arrowsmith's chart seems to mean the Sangarius by the Kara: the other maps and the chart make them to be two distinct rivers.

<sup>z</sup> Βαδυγείοντος ἰφ' εἰαμεναίς ἑπιόιο. Argon. ii. vers. 797.



places a river here, and there is one in modern maps in this place, called Kaba-Sakal. A place nearly in this situation, of the name of Bylæum, is to be found in the Peutingerian Tables.

From Elæum to Cales Emporium 120 stadia. There is in D'Anville's map a river of the name of Cales. If so, the port, or emporium, was probably formed by its mouth.

From Cales to the river Lycus 80 stadia. This river is mentioned by <sup>a</sup> Apollonius, by Scylax, and by Xenophon; the latter of whom says, it was near Heraclea, and 200 feet wide.

From the Lycus to Heraclea 20 stadia. Heraclea was a Greek colony, said to be founded by the Argive Hercules. Strabo ascribes it to the Milesians, and Arrian and Xenophon to the Megareans. There is in Goltzius a plate of a coin of Heraclea, exhibiting a figure crowned with towers, and bearing a cornucopia filled with fruits, indicative of the plenty of provisions, with which it was furnished. Strabo and Xenophon, as well as Arrian, notice Heraclea as a haven for ships, and it was at one time a considerable naval power, but was destroyed by Cotta, in the Mithridatic war. It appears from Tournefort to have had no natural harbour, but a mole only, which is now in ruins. Its present name is Penderachi, or Elegri, both of which are perhaps corruptions of the ancient name.

It is set down in the Peutingerian Tables at the distance of only 38 miles from the Hippius. Arrian makes it 380 stadia, or 47

<sup>a</sup> Lib. ii. vers. 726.



Greek miles and a half. Strabo says, that Heraclea is distant 1500 stadia <sup>b</sup> from Chalcedon. This is probably too large a computation, as it measures only <sup>c</sup> 128 English miles, equal to 1118 stadia, on Arrowsmith's chart. Marcianus Heracleota says, that it is 1530 stadia from the <sup>d</sup> Fanum Jovis Urii to <sup>e</sup> Heraclea, and that it is only 1200 stadia in a direct line by sea. The anonymous author of the Periplus of the Euxine sea makes it to be 1550 stadia. Strabo says, that it is 500 stadia from the Sangarius to Heraclea. Arrian makes it 560. Arrowsmith's chart makes it to be little more than 35 English miles, or rather more than <sup>f</sup> 305 stadia.

From <sup>g</sup> Heraclea to Metroum 80 stadia. I do not find any mention of this place elsewhere. It was probably so called from being sacred to Cybele, or from there being at the place a fane, or temple of that goddess, both of which were very numerous on this coast, as I before observed.

From Metroum to <sup>h</sup> Pofidæum 40 stadia. I find no account of this place in any author. It might be so called from a temple of Neptune.

<sup>b</sup> Pliny says, lib. vi. cap. 1. that Heraclea is 200 miles from the mouth of the Pontus, which is 1600 stadia. Arrian makes it 1550 stadia.

<sup>c</sup> Laurie and Whittle's charts make it 3° 10' of longitude, which in lat. 41° amounts to about 166 English miles, or about 1450 stadia. Faden's map makes it 173 English miles, or 1511 stadia.

<sup>d</sup> Xenophon, in the Anabasis, says, that a trireme galley would, in the space of a very long day, sail from Byzantium to Heraclea.

<sup>e</sup> Heraclea is said by Ptolemy to be 4' or  $\frac{1}{15}$  of a degree, to the west of Alexandria.

<sup>f</sup> The chart published by Laurie makes it 54.5 English miles, or about 476 stadia.

<sup>g</sup> From Heraclea to Amastris is by Arrowsmith's chart 61 English miles; according to Laurie, 63.5; according to Citizen Beauchamp, 60', or 69.5 English miles nearly.

<sup>h</sup> Marcianus Heracleota makes Pofidæum to be 100 stadia from Heraclea. Arrian makes it to be 120, as does the anonymous author of the Periplus of the Euxine sea.



From Pofidæum to Tyndaridæ 45 stadia. This place was probably so called from Castor and Pollux, the sons of Tyndarus, who were adventurers in the Argonautic expedition, and forms another local evidence of that event.

From Tyndaridæ to Nymphæum 15 stadia. From Nymphæum to Oxinas 30 stadia.

Marcianus Heracleota makes it to be 90 stadia from Pofidæum to Oxinas, which agrees with Arrian.

From Oxinas to Sandaraca 90 stadia. From Sandaraca to Crenides 60 stadia. From Crenides to Pfylla 30 stadia.

This place is mentioned by Ptolemy, under the name of Pfyllium, and is placed 26' to <sup>h</sup> the west of Tios, or Tion, which is near double the distance assigned by Arrian. Scyllæum is placed in the Peutingerian Tables 12 Greek miles distant from Tion, which is nearer the computation of Arrian.

From Pfylla to Tios 90 stadia. Pliny says, that Tios is 38 miles distant from Heraclea. This is not <sup>i</sup>  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the distance assigned by Arrian. Perhaps the doubling of the Acherusia Chersonesus might cause so great a difference between the computation by land and that by sea. The distance by land agrees nearly with Pliny's computation.

<sup>h</sup> The Greek copy of Ptolemy makes a difference of 56 minutes of longitude between Pfyllium and Tios.

<sup>i</sup> It seems by the Peutingerian Tables to be 42 miles from Heraclea to Tium.



From Tios to the river Billæus 20 stadia. This river is mentioned by <sup>k</sup>Apollonius as a dark coloured water, and is noticed by Pliny.

From the River Billæus to the river Parthenius 100 stadia. This river is mentioned by <sup>l</sup>Homer, and in a commentary on the passage, it is described as “fluens per regiones valde amœnas et valde placide, unde hoc delicatum nomen nactus est.” It is called a very gentle river by <sup>m</sup>Apollonius. Tournefort says, the Greeks retain its name, calling it Partheni, but the Turks call it Dolap. He confirms the opinion that its name was derived from its beauty, and the flowery meadows through which it flows, which had been before observed by <sup>n</sup>Strabo. It is placed by Ptolemy 19' to the east of Tion, equal to about 16½ English miles, or 144 stadia, not very different from Arrian. It was the boundary between Bithynia and Paphlagonia.

From the Parthenius to Amastris 90 stadia. Amastris is described by Strabo as situated on a peninsula, the isthmus of which forms a port on each side. This corresponds exactly

<sup>k</sup> Ὅσσοις Βιλλαίοιο μέλαν περιάγνυται ὕδωρ.

Argon. lib. ii. ver. 791.

Plin. lib. vi. c. 1. The Billæus is represented in a coin of Antoninus Pius under a female form, with ears of corn and a cornucopia. Vaillant, Numism. Græc.

<sup>l</sup> Il. ii. vers. 854. See Damm's Lexic. vox Παρθ.

<sup>m</sup> Καὶ δὴ Παρθενίοιο ῥοὰς ἀλιμυρήεντος, Πρῆυτάτη ποταμῷ, παρεμέτρον.

Argon. lib. ii. ver. 936.

Scymnus Chius describes the Parthenius as a gentle river, but large enough to be navigable. Vers. 226, 227.

<sup>n</sup> Strab. lib. xii. In Vaillant's Numismat. Græca, there is an account of a medal of Marc. Aurelius, with the river Parthenius on the reverse, represented by the figure of a young man with a reed in his right hand, and leaning on an eminence, out of which the river flows, with an inscription, ΑΜΑΚΤΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΟΣ.



with the description given by Tournefort, who remarks at the same time, that both these ports are now choaked up with sand. The goodness of its ports gave occasion for several medals to be struck, celebrating their convenience and utility. It is now called °Amastro, and is about 12 Greek miles, or 100 stadia, distant from the Parthenius by modern maps.

From Amastris to Erythinus 60 stadia. This place was so called, according to <sup>p</sup>Strabo, from two red rocks, like the Saxa rubra on the Flaminian way in Etruria.

From Erythinus to Cromna 60 stadia. Cromna is placed by Ptolemy 10' to the east of Amastris, equal nearly to 73 stadia, whereas in Arrian it is 120 stadia. The distance from Cromna to Cytorus is in Arrian 90 stadia, but in Ptolemy it is nearly 113.5 stadia. But although there be a difference here, yet the whole distance between Amastris and Cytorus does not vary greatly in the two authors, it being in Arrian 210 stadia, and in the Latin copy of Ptolemy 192 stadia nearly.

From Cromna to Cytorus 90 stadia. This was a place dependent upon Sinope, and had its name from the box-trees that grew there, as we are told by Strabo, and Theophrastus. Catullus and Virgil both remark the abundance of this tree at the same place <sup>q</sup>. Apollonius calls it *ὕληντα Κύτωρον*, which the Scholiast explains by

\* From Amastris to Carambis is, according to Arrowsmith, 63 English miles; according to Citizen Beauchamp, 38', or 44 English miles, and according to D'Anville, 54 English miles.

<sup>p</sup> Strabo says, that in his time they were called Erythrini, from their red colour.

<sup>q</sup> Et juvat undantem buxo spectare Cytorum. VIRG. Georg. ii. vers. 437.



saying, that this epithet was applied on account of the box-tree growing there in great plenty. The name of Cytorus is partly preserved in that of a village called Kitros, which is distant from Amastris, by the map, 25 Greek miles, or 200 stadia. Pliny says, that it is 64 miles from Tios to Cytorus, which is equal to 512 stadia, but, according to Arrian, it is only 420 stadia. Ptolemy makes it equal to 43.5 English miles, or 380 stadia, which calculation is nearer to Arrian than to Pliny.

From Cytorus to Ægialos 60 stadia. This place was, in later times, called Ἠωνοπόλις, which has the same signification with Ægialos, importing a place or city on the sea-coast. This, as well as Cromna, Cytorus, and Erythinus, are mentioned both by Homer and Apollonius.

From Ægialos to Thymena 90 stadia. This was formerly called Teuthrania, and seems to be the place now called Temeneh in Arrowsmith's chart.

From Thymena to Carambis 120 stadia. This distance measures on Arrowsmith's chart 13' of latitude nearly, equal to about 131 stadia. Carambis is a promontory, now known by the name of Cape Pisello, or Comana, among the Greeks; but among the Turks it retains somewhat of its ancient appellation, being called Karempi Bouroun. It is the most northerly spot on the southern shore of the Black sea from the Fanum Jovis Urii to Apfarus. Two maps and one chart of the Black sea place this promontory in Lat. 41°

<sup>r</sup> D'Anville—Faden—Laurie and Whittle's chart. Ammianus Marcellinus, after Strabo,

says, that the promontory Carambis is distant from the opposite one of Criumetopon in the  
K Taurica



31'; but Arrowsmith's chart places it in Lat.  $42^{\circ} 24'$ , or 47' more to the northward.

Pliny says, that the promontory Carambis is distant from the Os Ponti 315, or as some say 350, miles. The latter number approaches nearly to the computation of Arrian, who makes it amount to 2810 stadia, equal to 351 Greek miles, which is a close coincidence. In Ptolemy, the difference of longitude between Carambis and the Os Ponti is  $4^{\circ} 56'$ , equal to 258 English miles, or nearly to  $281\frac{1}{2}$  Greek miles, or 2252 stadia. D'Anville makes it to be 275 Greek miles, or about 2200 stadia, and Faden's map and Laurie's chart agree nearly herewith. But Arrowsmith's chart differs considerably, making the difference to be no more than  $4^{\circ} 11'$  of Long. and  $1^{\circ} 7'$  of Lat. equal nearly to 226 English miles, or 1974 stadia nearly. This place is described as a projecting cape by Apollonius.

From Carambis to the promontory Zephyrium 60 stadia. From Zephyrium to Abonitichos 150 stadia. Ptolemy places a city called Callistratia half way between Zephyrium and Abonitichos, but I do not find any mention of it elsewhere. Tournefort says, that there is still a place of the name of Abono in that situation. The maps remark a castle in ruins near this place. Abonitichos is twice mentioned by Lucian, once in the Pseudomantis, and

Taurica Cherfonefus 2500 stadia. Pliny makes it only 170 miles, or 1360 stadia. It measures on Laurie and Whittle's chart 186 minutes of latitude, equal to about 1873 stadia. Faden's map makes it about 197 English miles, equal to about 1720 stadia. D'Anville

makes it nearly 1500 stadia, or 187 Greek miles. Arrowsmith's chart makes it to be 117 minutes of latitude, or 1178 stadia only. The relative situation of these places is but imperfectly ascertained, even by modern geographers.



again in the Alexander Pseudomantis, with some reflections on the folly and superstition of the inhabitants.

From Abonitichos to the river Æginetis 150 stadia. From the river Æginetis to Cinolis 150 stadia. This place still retains its ancient name, being now called Cimoli, or Cinoli.

From Cinolis to Stephanes 180 stadia. This place also keeps its ancient name, being now called Stephane, or, according to Arrow-smith's chart, Istifane. Tournefort says, it is a beautiful village, in which rank it is placed by Ptolemy.

From Stephanes to Potamos 150 stadia. From Potamos to Leptes acra 120 stadia. From Leptes acra to Harmene 60 stadia. Harmene was a village<sup>s</sup> belonging to Sinope, with a good port, as we are told by Strabo, Marcianus Heracleota, and Scylax. Ptolemy makes the distance between Harmene and Carambis to be 786 stadia, and<sup>n</sup> Arrowsmith's chart gives 855 stadia, but Arrian makes it 930 stadia. As Arrian followed the coast, the doubling of Cape Stephane would increase the distance, and perhaps to that amount. It is now called Armiro.

From Harmene to Sinope 40 stadia. Strabo makes this distance

<sup>s</sup> Xenoph. Anab. lib. vi.

<sup>t</sup> The difference between Harmene and Carambis is, according to Ptolemy,

Long.  $1^{\circ} 36'$ , Lat.  $24'$ , Latin copy;

Long.  $1^{\circ} 5'$ , Lat.  $1^{\circ}$ , Greek copy;

equal, according to the Latin copy, to 84.285 English miles, or 734 stadia nearly. According to the Greek copy, = 88 English miles,

or 768 stadia nearly. Average of both 751 stadia nearly. The Greek copy gives the latitude both of Carambis and Harmene nearly true, according to some maps; but maps, even the most modern, vary much from one another.

<sup>n</sup> 98 English miles.



to be 50 stadia. Sinope was a colony of the Milesians, and the most famous of any of the cities on the Euxine sea. It was the birth-place and residence of Mithridates Eupator, who made it the capital city of Pontus. It was situated upon the isthmus of a peninsula, about six miles in circuit, and terminating in a considerable cape, or head-land. It is mentioned by Apollonius and by Valerius Flaccus, as subsisting in the time of the Argonauts. It had two ports, one on each side of the isthmus, and was remarkable for its tunny fishery. The city, and particularly the suburbs, were very magnificent, and ornamented with a gymnasium, a forum, and superb porticos. The land surrounding it was fertile, and suited both to gardens and agriculture. It was once a seat of learning, and of arts, being the birth-place of Diogenes, the Cynic philosopher; and Strabo mentions the Sphere of Billarus the astronomer, which was taken away from this city by Lucullus. Both Strabo and Plutarch mention a celebrated statue, by the sculptor Sthenis, of Autolyceus, who was one of the companions of Hercules, and, as Strabo thinks, one of the Argonauts, and the founder of Sinope, which statue was carried away by Lucullus. Tournefort, who was at Sinope, concurs exactly with Strabo in his account of this place. Its present trade consists of salted fish, particularly young tunnies, as in former ages.

	Stadia.
From Heraclea to Sinope is, according to Strabo,	2000
according to Arrian,	2140
according to Ptolemy,	{ 1881 Gr. cop. 2157 Lat. cop.
In a straight line, according to D'Anville,	1300
according to Arrowsmith,	1747

From



	Stadia.
From Fanum Jovis Urii to Sinope is, according to Strabo,	3500
according to Arrian,	3690
according to Ptolemy,	3476.5 <sup>x</sup>
In a straight line, according to D'Anville,	2644
according to Arrowsmith,	2733
From Carambis to Sinope is, according to Strabo,	700
according to Arrian,	970
according to D'Anville,	500
according to Arrowsmith,	838
From Cytorus to Sinope is, according to Pliny, 164 Greek	} 1312
miles, equal to - - - - -	
according to Arrian, - -	1240
according to Arrowsmith's chart,	} 1004
115 Eng. miles, or	

From Sinope to Carufa 150 stadia. This place still preserves its name, being called Carfa at present, according to Tournefort, or Kesereh, according to Arrowsmith's chart. Tournefort travelled this stage himself, and found it, as he says, 18 miles, and observes thereupon, that 18½ miles make just 150 stadia; and that "it is surprising that the measures of the ancients should answer so exactly as they do to modern computation." In confirmation of this, we may observe, that Arrowsmith's chart makes this distance to be 19 miles.

From Carufa to Zagora 150 stadia. Zagora in the Peutingerian

<sup>x</sup> This is the average of the numbers in the Latin and Greek copy.



Tables is placed to the east of the Halys. Ptolemy, as well as Arrian, places it to the west of that river.

From Zagora to the river Halys 300 stadia. This river takes its name, as Strabo tells us, from the beds of fossil salt, through which it flows. Tournefort observes, in confirmation hereof, that “all the country is full of fossil salt, which is found even in the great roads, and arable grounds.” Arrian’s account of the rise of this river to the eastward, rather than to the south, is confirmed by Tournefort, who also bears testimony to the accuracy of Strabo, who says, that it rises in the greater Cappadocia, where it flows towards the west, and then winds towards the north, through Galatia and Paphlagonia. The maps of Ptolemy mark its course in much the same way. It must however be acknowledged, in favour of Herodotus, who gives the account, which is here corrected by Arrian, that its course is, for a considerable space, from the southward. D’Anville’s map makes two rivers of this name, which, in their course, unite. One of these, according to him, rises near the borders of Cilicia, not far from the Cydnus, and nearly south of the mouth of the Halys. Xenophon <sup>y</sup>says, that it was (not far from the mouth, I suppose) two stadia, or 1208 $\frac{3}{4}$  feet, in breadth; but perhaps this may not be a correct account, as it is in a speech intended to magnify the difficulties of the passage. This river is mentioned by <sup>z</sup>Apollonius, and by <sup>a</sup>Valerius Flaccus.

From the river Halys to Naustathmos 30 stadia. From Naustathmos to Conopæum 50 stadia. This was a lake, probably so called from the multitude of insects which it produced.

<sup>y</sup> Xenoph. Anabaf. lib. v.

<sup>z</sup> Argon. lib. ii. vers. 955.

<sup>a</sup> Val. Flacc. lib. iii. vers. 157.



From Conopæum to Eufene 120 stadia. From Eufene to Amifus 160 stadia. Strabo and Stephanus Byzantinus say, that it is 900 stadia from Sinope to Amifus. Arrian makes it 1060. According to the Peutingerian Tables, it is 94 m. p. from Sinope to Amifus, equal to 752 stadia. Pliny says, that it is 130 miles, equal to 1040 stadia, not very different from Arrian's computation. D'Anville makes it to be only 740 stadia. Arrowsmith's chart makes it to be about 89.5 English miles, equal to about 781 stadia. Citizen Beauchamp's Geography of the Black sea makes it to be 75', equal to about 87 English miles, or 756 stadia. Strabo says, that the distance from Trapezus to Amifus is about 2200 stadia. According to Arrian, it is 2325 stadia. Arrowsmith's chart makes it nearly 3° of longitude, which in latitude 41° is about 157.5 English miles, or 1370 stadia nearly.

From Trapezus to the Phafis is, according to Strabo, near 1400 stadia. Arrian makes it 1450, which agrees well with Strabo, who meant to express a rude calculation only. It is not, by Arrowsmith's chart, more than 947 stadia, in a direct line; but that is not the distance understood by these writers.

Strabo, in the same place, counts it about 8000 stadia from the Fanum Jovis Urii to the Phafis. Arrian makes it, from the Fanum Jovis Urii to Trapezus, 6935 stadia, and from Trapezus to the Phafis 1450, in all 8385 stadia; a difference in the proportion nearly of 20 to 19, which is no great difference in a rude calculation.

From Amifus to Ancon 160 stadia. This is the mouth of the Iris, the largest river, according to Tournefort, on this coast. The  
river



river is now called Cafalmac. The distance is put down in the Peutingerian Tables at 22 Greek miles, not far from Arrian's calculation.

From Ancon to the promontory Heracleum 360 stadia. The Peutingerian Tables make it 40 miles, or 320 stadia.

From Heracleum to the river Thermodon 40 stadia. This river is mentioned by <sup>b</sup>Apollonius, who says, that it rises in the mountains of the Amazons, and that it divides into no less than 96 streams. This circumstance seems to indicate, that it runs through a flat country, which is said by Tournefort to be the case. This river is also mentioned by <sup>c</sup>Valerius Flaccus. It rises, according to Strabo, among hills, bordering on the plains of Themiscyra, from a variety of sources; whereas Apollonius says, that it rises from one only. Perhaps Strabo might take, what Apollonius describes as so many divisions or branches of the river, for so many streams, that contributed to form it. Xenophon says, that it was 300 feet wide. Arrowsmith's, and another chart, put it down under the name of Therme, or Termeh.

From the river Thermodon to the river Beris 90 stadia. From the river Beris to the river Thoaris 60 stadia. From the river Thoaris to Oenoe 30 stadia. From Oenoe to Phigamus 40 stadia. From Phigamus to Phadifana 150 stadia.

From the river Thermodon to Phadifana is nearly 31 English miles, by Arrowsmith's chart, which is little more than 270 stadia;

<sup>b</sup> Argon. lib. ii. vers. 972.

<sup>c</sup> Lib. iv. vers. 610.



whereas Arrian makes it to be 370 stadia. Arrian's measurement however followed the coast, which is rather irregular. A place called Fatfa, said to be of great trade, is in this situation, and the river, at the mouth of which it stands, is called Phadizza, or, according to Tournefort, Vatiza. He mentions the place at the mouth as a village only.

From Phadifana to Polemonium 10 stadia. Pliny says, that from Amifus to Polemonium is 120 miles, equal to 960 stadia. Arrian makes it 940 stadia, or  $117\frac{1}{2}$  miles<sup>d</sup>.

From Polemonium to Cape Jafonium 130 stadia. This cape retains its ancient name, and adds to the testimonies yet remaining of the Argonautic expedition.

From Jafonium to the Infula Cilicum 15 stadia. From the Infula Cilicum to Boona 75 stadia, (now Cape Vona, according to Arrowsmith.<sup>e</sup>) From Boona to Cotyora 90 stadia. This seems to have been in ruins in Strabo's time, having been demolished to build Cerafus and Ischopolis. It was probably a larger place at the time of Cyrus's expedition. Xenophon informs us, that it was a Greek city and a colony from Sinope.

<sup>d</sup> The Peutingerian Tables make it 127 miles, or 1016 stadia.

	M. P.
From Amifus to Ancon,	22
From Ancon to Heracleum,	40
From Heracleum to Cena,	30
From Cena to Camila,	7
From Camila to Pytane,	8
From Pytane to Polemonium,	20
$127 \times 8 = 1016.$	127

<sup>e</sup> From Cape Jafonium to Cape Vona is, on Arrowsmith's chart, about nine English miles and a quarter, or about 82 stadia, in a right line.



From Cotyora to Melanthius 60 stadia. From Melanthius to Pharmatenus 150 stadia. From Pharmatenus to Pharnacea 120 stadia. This place, as well as some others in the same country, has recovered its ancient name, being now called Cerafonte, or Kirifontho<sup>f</sup>. It is well known to have been famous in early times for the cherry fruit; and Tournefort says, that at present cherry-trees<sup>g</sup> grow naturally, and in great abundance, in that neighbourhood.

From Pharnacea to the island Arrhentias 30 stadia. From Arrhentias to Zephyrium 120 stadia. Arrian makes it 420 stadia from Melanthius to Zephyrium<sup>h</sup>, the Peutingerian Tables make it to be 480 stadia, or 60 Greek miles.

From Zephyrium to Tripolis 90 stadia. Tournefort says, that Tripolis is 36 miles from Cerafonte. Arrian makes it 240 stadia, or 30 Greek miles.

From Tripolis to Argyria 20 stadia. From Argyria to Philocalea 90 stadia. From Philocalea to Coralla 100 stadia. From Coralla to Hieron Oros 150 stadia. This is called Cape Ioros, or Ioros

<sup>f</sup> Keresoun, Arrowsmith—Ghirecin, or Keresontas, Laurie's chart.

<sup>g</sup> Pliny, St. Jerome, and one of the Sophists in Athenæus, speak of the cherry-tree as being first brought into Italy from the town of Cerasus, in Pontus. But it was well known in Greece at the time of Theophrastus, who describes it accurately, and at length, and calls it by the name of κέρασος. The person likewise, who answers the Sophist in Athenæus, says, that Diphilus, who lived in the time of Lyfimachus, had described the fruit by name,

and given an account of its qualities. It appears from Servius, that the tree was known in Italy before the time of Lucullus, but that he introduced a better kind from Asia Minor. Casaubon thinks, that the place received its name from the fruit, and the observation of Tournefort, cited here, gives probability to this conjecture.

<sup>h</sup> This was a promontory, now called Kara Bouroun, or the Black Cape, perhaps for the same reasons as Acta Melæna was so called.



Burun, at present. From Hieron Oros to Cordyla 40 stadia. The Peutingerian Tables make it to be 30 miles from Cordyla to Philo-calea. Arrian reckons it to be 290 stadia, or  $36\frac{1}{4}$  miles.

From Cordyla to Hermonassa 45 stadia. From Hermonassa to Trapezus 60 stadia. The Peutingerian Tables make it 15 miles from Trapezus to Cordyla. Arrian makes it 105 stadia, equal to rather more than 13 Greek miles.

Arrian here sums up the account of the distances of the places from one another, in his own voyage from Trapezus to Dioscurias, and finds them to amount to 2260 stadia, which number corresponds exactly with the separate accounts of the distances, and is an undeniable proof of the correctness of the numbers specified in the text.

The voyage from Dioscurias to the Cimmerian Bosphorus was also, I am inclined to think, performed by Arrian himself in person, on his hearing of the death of King Cotys; and was meant to facilitate any interference which the Roman Government might choose to employ in the affairs of that country. This was professedly his intention; but whether he executed it personally, or not, is not clear.

The first place mentioned in the voyage, northward from Dioscurias, is Pityus, which lies rather to the north-west of Dioscurias, and is the first situation mentioned, where the coast bends in any considerable degree to the westward, which circumstance is remarked by Strabo<sup>i</sup>, when speaking of the direction of the coast.

<sup>i</sup> Lib. xi. p. 497. Ed. Paris.



It is reckoned by Arrian to be 350 stadia, or 43.75 Greek miles, or about 40 English miles distant from Dioscurias. Strabo agrees nearly herewith, as he makes it 360 stadia, a trifling difference from the calculation of Arrian. There is a place of nearly the same name<sup>k</sup> still on this coast, but it appears much farther to the north than the situation described by Arrian. It probably derived its name from the pine-trees, which still grow in great plenty throughout all that country. It is called by Strabo "the great Pityus," and by Pliny, "oppidum opulentissimum," probably from its sharing with Dioscurias in the trade of the East.

Arrian speaks of Dioscurias as the boundary of the Roman Empire, whereas Theodoret, who lived in the fifth century, and at least 300 years later than Arrian, and when the Empire was in a declining state, mentions Pityus as the frontier<sup>l</sup> place. It was regarded in still later times as a fortress only, and both this place and Sebastopolis are considered in that light by Procopius, and in the Preface to the 28th Constitution of the Novels of Justinian.

From Pityus<sup>m</sup> to Nitica 150 stadia. Beyond Pityus, Theodoret represents the people, as ferociously savage<sup>n</sup>, and this is probable from Arrian's account of them, as Nitica was the resort or the residence of the Scythian Phthirophagi, or Lice-eaters. Arrian seems to cast an oblique censure on Herodotus, for his account of these people; but they are mentioned both by Strabo and by Pliny,

<sup>k</sup> Bityunta—Map of the country between the Black sea and the Caspian. Byzjunta—Arrowsmith's chart.

<sup>l</sup> Theodor. Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. v. c. 34.

<sup>m</sup> Procopius says, it is two days journey

from Sebastopolis to Pityus. If this be meant of a day's journey for a foot traveller, which was usually reckoned at 20 miles a day, it agrees nearly with Strabo and Arrian.

<sup>n</sup> ὠμωτάτοις βαρβάροις.



without any marks of disbelief of their existence; and it is said<sup>o</sup>, that some modern savages resemble the ancient, and their counterpart monkeys, in being fond of this beastly viand. Arrian might certainly have spared his censure of Herodotus, as he owns, that what that Historian relates was the common opinion in his own time.

From Nitica to the river Abascus 90 stadia. This river probably belonged to the Abasgi before mentioned.

From the Abascus to the river Borgys 120 stadia. From the Borgys to the Nefis 60 stadia. Arrian says, that here was the promontory Herculeum. If there be no mistake here, there was another place of the same name about 300 stadia to the northward.

From Nefis to Mafætica 90 stadia. From Mafætica to the Achæus 60 stadia. Arrian observes, that this river separates the nation of the Zicchi from that of the Sanigæ, and that Satchempax was king of the Zicchi, and nominated by Hadrian, which shews that the Romans interfered in the nomination of kings beyond the limits of their own acknowledged territories.

From the Achæus to Promontorium Herculis 150 stadia. From Promontorium Herculis to another promontory 180 stadia. From the other promontory to ancient Lazica 120 stadia. The Lazi were the old inhabitants of this country, according to Procopius<sup>p</sup>, and changed their name into that of Colchi. These people were in some measure subject to Rome, as Julius Capitolinus tells us, that

<sup>o</sup> See Hearne's Journey from Prince of Wales's fort to the Copper-mine river, passim. *Editor.*

<sup>p</sup> Bell. Goth. lib. iv. c. 13.



Antoninus Pius nominated Pacorus to be their king; and it appears from Procopius<sup>a</sup>, that something of the same kind, although probably more in shew than in reality, was continued for many ages afterwards.

From ancient Lazica to ancient Achaia 150 stadia. Strabo intimates, that this name of Achaia was derived from some of the Thessalians of Phthiotis, who settled here at the time of the Argonautic expedition, and that the Lacedæmonians also formed a settlement in Heniochia under their leaders, Rhecas and Amphistratus, who were charioteers to the Dioscouri, or Castor and Pollux; and this circumstance is said to have given occasion to the name *Ἡνίοχος*; another memorial of the Argonautic expedition.

From ancient Achaia to Pagræ 350 stadia. From Pagræ to the Sacred port 180 stadia. There is a place on this coast, which still retains the name in a kind of mixture of Turkish and Greek, being called *Koddos-liman*<sup>r</sup>, which has the same meaning. This is about 160 English miles, or 1400 stadia, in a straight line from Iskouriah, or Dioscurias; but Arrian makes it amount to 1990 stadia. The computation however of these distances may be expected to be less correct, as they refer to places beyond the bounds of the Empire.

From the Sacred port to Sindica 300 stadia. Strabo calls this a port, and one called *Sundgik Liman* still remains at the distance of about 51 English miles from the Sacred port, which is sufficiently

<sup>a</sup> Bell. Persicum, lib. ii. c. 15.

<sup>r</sup> Laurie and Whittle's chart of the Black

sea. Arrowsmith's chart calls it *Kaldof-liman*.



near to make it probable that this is the place meant by Arrian, Scylax, as well as Strabo, calls it the *Sindic port*.

From *Sindica* to *Panticapæum* 540 *stadia*. The distance on the modern maps is about 74 miles, or rather more than 640 *stadia*<sup>s</sup>. *Panticapæum* was the principal city of the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, on the European side, as *Phanagoria* was on the *Asiatic*. It was a colony of the *Milesians*<sup>t</sup>, situated on an eminence, 20 *stadia* in compass, with a port and a citadel to the eastward. It was in early times a free city, but fell afterwards under the power of *Mithridates*. It seems however to have been a free city in the time of *Arrian*. The mouth of the *Tanais*, where it empties itself into the *Black sea*, through the *Palus Mæotis*, forms the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, and in early times was counted to mark the boundary between *Europe* and *Asia*, as *Arrian* shews by his quotation from *Æschylus*.

The whole distance from *Dioscurias* to *Panticapæum* is, according to *Arrian*, 2890 *stadia*, equal to 331 *English miles* nearly. According to *Arrowsmith's* chart, the rectilinear distance is 251 *English miles* nearly, or about 2200 *stadia*. The map of the country between the *Black sea* and the *Caspian* makes it 236 miles, and *Faden's* map 243 *English miles*.

We now enter upon the *European part* of this voyage.

From *Panticapæum* to *Cazeca* 420 *stadia*. This is probably the

<sup>s</sup> By *Faden's* map; but *Arrowsmith* makes it much less, not more than 56½ *English miles*: the *Russian map* however makes it 70 *English miles*.

<sup>t</sup> *Harum* (sc. *Milesiarum civitatum*) velut mater omnium, *Panticapæum*. *Ammian.* lib. xxii, c. 8.



place set down in the Ruffian map under the name of Konezek, as it lies on the sea-coast, about  $\frac{3}{5}$  of the way from Panticapæum to Theodosia.

From Cazeca to Theodosia 280 stadia. Strabo computes the distance between Panticapæum and Theodosia to be 530 stadia. This is nearly true, if it be reckoned in a straight line; but if it be measured round the capes and head-lands, it will agree nearly with that given by Arrian. The account of the distance in Pliny is too corrupt to be depended upon. The author of the fragment of the Periplus of the Euxine sea says, that Theodosia was then called by the Alani, Ardauda, from the seven deities worshipped there, as that word signifies in the Alanic language.

Theodosia was an ancient Greek city, a colony of the Milesians, and, with many cities<sup>a</sup> on this coast, was remarkable for monuments of literature. Arrian remarks, that it was deserted, and probably in ruins, in his time. It still subsists under the name of Kassa; but whether the modern town stands exactly on the same site with the ancient, is doubtful. It had a good port, and was situated in a fertile country. It recovered itself during the middle ages under the Genoese government, who took it A. D. 1266, and made it an emporium for eastern commodities. It was taken from them by the Turks, A. D. 1474, and is again in decay, although it still subsists as a considerable town.

From Theodosia to a port of the Tauro-Scythæ 200 stadia. We are told by Pliny, that there were several of these on this

<sup>a</sup> Ammianus says of the Cherronesus, that it was "coloniarum plena Græcarum." Lib. xxii. cap. 8.



coast. They seem to have been the resort of pirates, which was the character of the people. It appears from the fragment of the Periplus above cited, that this place was called Athenæon. In Arrian's time it was deserted.

From the port of the Tauro-Scythæ to Halmitis Taurica 600 stadia. It is somewhat extraordinary that Arrian should pass by the celebrated promontory of Criu-Metopon<sup>\*</sup> unnoticed, which lies between the port last mentioned and Halmitis Taurica, and is opposite nearly to the promontory of Carambis on the south side, and, as it were, divides the Euxine sea into two parts.

From Halmitis to Symboli Portus 520 stadia. This was, according to Strabo, a piratical sea-port, belonging to the ancient Scythians.

From Symboli Portus to Cherronefus Taurica 180 stadia. This was a colony from Heraclea, situated on the south-west part of the peninsula. It was called Cherfon by the late writers, as Zonaras, Procopius, and others. It is not, however, the same place with the one which has at present that name, that being situated on the western side of the Borysthenes.

From Cherronefus Taurica to Cercinetis 600 stadia. From Cercinetis to Calus 700 stadia. From Calus to Tamyraca 300 stadia. There is here a road or station for ships, according to Strabo. This place was, at an early period, the capital city of Sarmatia Europæa.

<sup>\*</sup> Now called Cape Avia, Arrowsmith; or Ava-Burun, or Cape Karadge, Faden.



From Tamyraca to the Ostium Paludis 300 stadia. The marsh here alluded to is formed by the peninsula of Dromos Achillis running parallel with the shore to the westward.

From the Ostium Paludis to Æona 380 stadia. From Æona to the Borysthenes 150 stadia. Arrian mentions Olbia, which lies on the western side of the Borysthenes, near its mouth, which was a Greek city, and in the time of Strabo a place of great trade, and an emporium for manufactures. It was also called Borysthenes, and seems to have been situated nearly where Ockzakow now stands.

From the Borysthenes to a desert island 60 stadia. From the desert island to Odeffus 80 stadia. This is called Odeffus, or Ordeffus, by Ptolemy, and is described by him as lying on the river Axiacus, which does not disagree with the situation assigned by Arrian.

From Odeffus to the Portus Istriarum 250 stadia. From the Portus Istriarum to the Portus Ifiacorum 50 stadia. From the Portus Ifiacorum to the Pfilon Os Istri 1200 stadia. The intermediate country was desert, and without a name. This mouth, as the name implied, was the smallest of the mouths of the Danube, and seems now to be nearly choaked up. It is called Kilia-Bogasi in Arrowsmith's chart, and lies in Lat.  $45^{\circ} 28'$ , and in Long. east from Greenwich,  $29^{\circ} 15'$ , and from Ferro  $47^{\circ} 0' 50''$ .

From the Os Pfilon to the second mouth of the Danube 60 stadia. Some of the modern maps mark out five mouths of the Danube; but Arrowsmith's chart notices four only. The second mouth is called



called Ruski Bogasi, and is said to be the deepest. To the north of the first mouth lay the island of Achilles, which Arrian seems to have mistaken for the Dromos, or Course of Achilles, which was a peninsula to the north of the island. The island was called Leuce<sup>y</sup>, or white, from its colour, and is noticed under that name by Ptolemy. It seems the same that is at present called Ilan-Adassi, or Serpents Island. Arrian spends more words in the description of this insignificant place than it seems to merit; but as he has thought proper to do so, I shall notice what he says. It appears to have been inhabited<sup>z</sup> in his time by a few goats only; but there was a temple in it, which contained many votive offerings<sup>a</sup>, as cups, rings, and precious stones. There were likewise inscriptions, both in the Greek and Latin languages, hung up in the temple, in honour both of Achilles and of Patroclus; and sacrifices were performed there, which shews that the superstition continued until the time of Arrian, and is another instance of the preservation of the ancient Greek traditions in this country. He remarks, that the fiery vapours, which are probably electrical, and which are frequently seen in the Mediterranean sea, playing about the masts, yards, and rigging of the ship, which went formerly under the name of Castor and Pollux, and are now called the fires of St. Helmo, were seen about this island, and were then called the fires of Achilles, and were at that time thought, as they have been in later times, to foretell a prosperous voyage.

From the second mouth of the Danube to the one called *Κάλον* 40 stadia. From the mouth called *Κάλον* to the one called *Νάρακον*

<sup>y</sup> Philostratus says, it was 30 stadia in length, and four in breadth. Heroic. c. xix. sect. 16.

being inhabited. Philostrat. Heroic.

<sup>z</sup> The superstition of the times forbade its

<sup>a</sup> Donariis eidem heroi consecratis. Ammian. lib. xxii. c. 8.



60 stadia. From the mouth last mentioned to the fifth mouth 120 stadia. Arrian makes only five mouths to the Danube, but Pliny and Ptolemy reckon six. The names assigned by Pliny are, 1. Spireostoma; 2. Boreostoma; 3. Pseudoostoma; 4. Calostoma; 5. Naracostoma; 6. Peuce. Pliny says, that the fifth mouth was so called, "a congelatis et stupidis piscibus, quarum ibi magna copia reperitur." The sixth mouth is probably so called from the pine-trees, which grow plentifully on all the sides of the Euxine sea. The names given by Ptolemy agree nearly with those of Pliny.

Names of the mouths.		Longitude.	Latitude.		Distances.
From	Πεύκη	55° 20'	46° 30'	Latin copy and Greek agree	36.5 Eng. miles.
To	Ἰερόν	56°	46° 45'	Latin copy and Greek agree	54 Eng. miles.
To	Θιαγόλα	55° 40'	47° 15'	Latin copy	26 Eng. miles, Latin copy.
From		56° 15'	47°	Greek copy	
To	Θιαγόλα	56° 15'	47°	Latin copy and Greek agree	21 Eng. miles.
From	Ψιλός				
To	Βορείον	56° 30'	46° 45'	Latin copy	47.5 Eng. miles, Gr. copy.
From		56° 15'	47°	Greek copy	
To	Ἰναριακίον	56° 20'	46° 20'	Latin copy and Greek agree	26 Eng. miles.
To	Ψευδοστομον	56° 15'	46° 40'	Latin copy and Greek agree	11.5 Eng. miles.
To	Καλόν	56° 15'	46° 30'	Latin copy and Greek agree	Total 222.5 English miles, very incorrect.

Arrian makes this distance to be only 280 stadia, a wide difference from the computation of Ptolemy.

Arrowsmith's chart, and that of Laurie and Whittle, make only four mouths of the Danube; but Faden's map makes them to be five, one of them a branch of one of the other mouths, and which



which I suppose to be the one called (probably from that circumstance) Pseudoſtoma, by Pliny and Ptolemy.

Distance according to Arrowſmith's chart,

From the firſt mouth (Kilia Bogafi) to the ſe-	}	16'
cond, called Sulina Bogafi,		
From the ſecond to the third, Ghiurcheri, . . . .		17'
From the third to the fourth, Vizi Bogafi, . . . .		7' 30"
		40' 30"

Equal to 47 English miles, or about 409 ſtadia.

Laurie and Whittle's chart varies but little, and theſe calculations are a kind of mean between thoſe of Arrian and of Ptolemy. It is poſſible that the river may have changed its courſe, and ſome of the mouths be blocked up, or choaked with foil and ſand, brought down by the current.

The fifth mouth of Arrian is the ſame with the fixth of Pliny and of Ptolemy. Strabo makes ſeven mouths, and about 300 ſtadia, or about  $37\frac{1}{2}$  Greek miles, or  $34\frac{1}{2}$  English miles from the firſt to the ſeventh. He reckons the order of them in an oppoſite direction to Arrian, as he counts the moſt ſoutherly to be the firſt.

From the fifth mouth to the city of Iſtria 500 ſtadia. Strabo ſays, that from Peuce to Iſtria is 500 ſtadia. D'Anville makes it to be 400 ſtadia only, which is nearly the diſtance which a place called Viſtar, or Viſtwar, meaſures on modern maps. Perhaps this may be the ſite of the ancient city of Iſtria, or Iſtropolis, although the diſtances do not exactly agree.

From



From Istria to Tomi 300 stadia. This is set down in the Peutingerian Tables at 40 Greek miles, equal to 320 stadia, agreeing nearly with Arrian. Antoninus's Itinerary makes it to be 36 miles, or 288 stadia, which approaches still nearer to Arrian. Strabo makes it to be only 250 stadia, or  $31\frac{1}{4}$  Greek miles. From the mouth of the river, on which Vistwar is situated, to Baba, or Tomiswar, is, by Laurie and Whittle's chart, 34 English miles, equal to 37 Greek miles nearly, and very near 300 stadia. Tomi seems to have been a more considerable place at the time the Peutingerian Tables were constructed, than it was in that of Ovid<sup>b</sup>. Hoffman says, in his Lexicon, that there is a lake there, which in its name (Ouvido Jezeoro) carries some memorial of that poet. The name of Tomi<sup>c</sup> bears, according to Ovid, a testimony respecting the Argonautic expedition. Perhaps Tomi might have become more considerable<sup>d</sup> after the removal of the imperial seat to Constantinople, from its neighbourhood to that city.

From Tomi to Callantra 300 stadia. This appears to be the Callatis of other authors. Strabo makes this distance to be 280 stadia, or 35 Greek miles. The Peutingerian Tables make it to be 34 Greek miles, equal to 272 stadia. The Itinerary makes it 30 Greek miles, or 240 stadia. The distance from Tomi to Callatis is, in D'Anville's map, about 280 stadia. In Arrowsmith's chart,

<sup>b</sup> There is in Goltzius a coin of Tomi, of the head of a young man with a laurel crown, with a lyre by him, which probably was meant for Ovid.

<sup>c</sup> Inde Tomos dictus locus hic, quia fertur in illo

Membra foror fratris consecuisse sui.

Trist. lib. iii. eleg. 9.

I should rather suppose, that it had its name

from the cutting the tunnies into pieces for curing. The Tomus Thyrianus is well known, and why should not a place on a coast so celebrated for the preparation of the tunny, have the name of Tomi? *Editor.*

<sup>d</sup> Istropolis, Tomi, and Callatis appear to have been flourishing places in Pliny's time, as he calls them "pulcherrimas urbes."



the distance from Tomiswar to Mankala is  $31\frac{1}{4}$  English miles, equal nearly to 273 stadia, which makes it likely to be the same place.

From Callantra to Carus Portus 180 stadia. From Carus to Tetrifias Acra 120 stadia. This is probably the place called Triffa in the Peutingerian Tables, and is placed 24 miles from Callantra, or Callatis. It is called Tiriftria Promontorium by Ptolemy, and Tirifis by Mela.

From Tetrifias to Bizus 60 stadia. This is called Bizon in Pliny, and is said by him to have been swallowed up by an earthquake<sup>e</sup>. It is called Bihone in the Peutingerian Tables, and is put down as 12 miles distant from Triffa.

From Bizus to Dionysopolis 80 stadia. This distance is marked 12 miles, or 96 stadia, in the Peutingerian Tables. The Itinerary makes it 42 miles from Callatis to Dionysopolis, equal to 336 stadia. Arrian makes it 440 stadia. From Tomi to Varna, or Dionysopolis, measures on the map 97 English miles, allowing for the doubling of the Cape. In Arrowsmith's chart, it measures 91 miles, or nearly 800 stadia. Arrian makes it to be 740 stadia, or nearly 85 English miles. It was formerly called *Κρυβος*, from the springs of water in its neighbourhood; and afterwards Dionysopolis, from a statue of Bacchus being there cast up by the sea<sup>f</sup>.

From Dionysopolis to Odeffus 200 stadia. This distance is marked in the Itinerary, 24 M. P. which agrees nearly with Arrian.

<sup>e</sup> Lib. iv. c. 11. Mel. lib. ii. c. 2.

<sup>f</sup> Anonymi Periplus Pont. Eux. Steph. Byzant.



In the Peutingerian Tables it seems to be 32 M. P. equal to 256 stadia. Cedrenus the historian says, that in the eighteenth year of the Emperor Justinian, A. D. 544, the sea inundated the cities of Dionysopolis and Odeffus.

From Odeffus to the foot of Mount Hæmus<sup>h</sup>, 360 stadia. This place is called Mesembria by Strabo, and in the Peutingerian Tables. In the latter the distance is set down as 43 miles, equal to 344 stadia, not very different from Arrian's calculation. Arrian, however, places Mesembria farther on towards Apollonia.

From the foot of Mount Hæmus to Mesembria 90 stadia. This place retains, in some degree, its ancient name, being called Mifeure, Mifeuria, or Mifeurin.

From Mesembria to Anchialus<sup>i</sup> 70 stadia. This distance is set down in the Peutingerian Tables at 12 miles, or 96 stadia.

From Anchialus to Apollonia 180 stadia. The Peutingerian Tables count this distance to be 18 miles, or 144 stadia. Laurie and Whittle's chart makes it to be about 14 English miles, or 112 stadia. Arrowsmith's chart does not make it to be so much. Strabo accounts the distance from Callatis to Apollonia to be 1300 stadia. Arrian makes it to be 1340, a remarkable coincidence, which argues strongly, that the stadia used by Arrian and Strabo were the same. The Peutingerian Tables reckon it at 153 miles,

<sup>h</sup> Now called Emireh Burun.

<sup>i</sup> Anchialus is still called Akkiali. In Ar-

rowsmith's chart it seems to be called Akliman.



or 1224 stadia<sup>k</sup>. Arrowsmith's chart makes it to be in a straight line 113 English miles, equal nearly to 123 Greek miles, or 984 stadia only. Pliny<sup>1</sup> reckons it at 188 miles, or about 1504 stadia. It is now called Sizeboli. Apollonia was a colony of the Milesians, and formerly remarkable for a colossal statue of Apollo, which Lucullus carried away, and placed in the Capitol. It was 30 cubits high, (equal, if Roman measure, to 43.5 English feet,) and cost 550 talents, equal to 106,562 pounds sterling.

From Apollonia<sup>m</sup> to Cherronefus 60 stadia. From Cherronefus to Aulai-tichos 250 stadia. From Aulai-tichos to Thynias 120 stadia. This seems to have been a colony from Apollonia. The island of Thynias on the south side of the Euxine sea was sacred to Apollo, and called Apollonia. There is still a cape Thyniada in this situation. It is called a promontory by Ptolemy.

From Thynias to Salmydeffus 200 stadia. Strabo says, that it is 700 stadia from hence to the Cyanææ Insulæ. According to Arrian, it is 650 stadia. Strabo says, the coast is desert, stony, without harbours, and exposed to the north wind, which may account for

<sup>k</sup> From Callatis to Triffa	24 M. P.	<sup>1</sup> Lib. iv. c. 12.
Triffa to Bihone	12	<sup>m</sup> From Apollonia to the Os Ponti is, according to Pliny, 188 M. P. or 1504 stadia.
Bihone to Dionysopolis	12	Arrian makes it to be 1320 stadia only.
Dionysopolis to Odeffus	32	
Odeffus to Erite	11	
Erite to Templ. Jovis	16	
Templ. Jovis to Mesembria	16	
Mesembria to Anchialus	12	
Anchialus to Apollonia	18	

153 = 1224 stadia.



the great degree of cold mentioned by Ovid and by Xenophon in this country, which might otherwise appear rather extraordinary in a latitude not exceeding 43 degrees. Salmydeffus has somewhat of the old name preserved in Midiah, (Midjeh, Arrowsmith,) a place built on the same spot. Xenophon, in the passage alluded to in the text of Arrian, says, that many ships, upon their arrival in the Euxine sea, strike, and are driven ashore, the coast being full of shoals, that run a considerable way into the sea<sup>n</sup>. The Thracians, who inhabit this coast, raise pillars, and every man plunders the wreck that is cast upon his own coast. Salmydeffus is mentioned by Æschylus in the Prometheus, with much the same character as is here ascribed to it; but the place there meant is said to be on the eastern side of the Propontis, and near to the river Thermodon.

From Salmydeffus to Phrygia 330 stadia. This place is called Philea in Anonymi Periplus Maris Euxini, and Philius in the Peutingerian Tables. A place called Philin now stands on the same spot, which is in the modern maps nearly 40 English miles, or 349 stadia, from Salmydeffus.

From Phrygia to the Cyanean rocks 320 stadia. These are now called Urek Tachi.

From the Cyanean rocks to the Fanum Jovis Urii<sup>o</sup> 40 stadia.

<sup>n</sup> In Arrowsmith's chart it is remarked, that this is the most dangerous place, where shipwreck is to be feared, being at the entrance of the Bosphorus.

<sup>o</sup> Quid? ex æde Jovis, religiosissimum simulacrum Jovis Imperatoris, quem Græci Urion

nominant, pulcherrime factum, nonne abstulisti?—Jovem autem Imperatorem quanto honore in suo templo fuisse arbitramini? hinc colligere potestis, si recordari volueritis, quanta religione fuerit eadem specie atque forma: signum illud, quod ex Macedonia captum in Capitolio



From the Fanum Jovis Urii to Daphne 40 stadia. From Daphne to Byzantium 80 stadia.

Capitolio posuerat Flamininus. Etenim tria ferebantur in orbe terrarum signa Jovis Imperatoris uno in genere pulcherrima facta, unum illud Macedonicum, alterum in Ponti ore et angustiis.—Quod autem est ad introitum Ponti; id, cum tam multa ex illo mari bella

emerferint, tam multa porro in Pontum in-vecta sint, usque ad hanc diem integrum, inviolatumque servatum est. Verres took away the statue from the temple at Syracuse. CIC. in Verr. Act. ii. lib. iv. sect. 57, 58. *Editor.*



*Table of the Distances of the Places, mentioned in the Periplus of Arrian, one from another, together with their Latitudes and Longitudes, according to Ptolemy, and to modern observation.*

From TRAPEZUS to DIOSCURIAS.

From	To	Distance in stadia.	Longitude according to Ptolemy.	Latitude according to Ptolemy.	Modern Longitude.	Modern Latitude.
Trapezus	Hyffus	180	70 50 0 70 45 0 L.c.	43 5 0 43 6 0 L.c.	57 28 0 Arrowf.	41 2 0 Arrowf.
Hyffus	Ophis	90	71 0 0 70 30 0 L.c.	43 0 0 43 20 0 L.c.	58 0 0 D'Anv.	41 7 0 D'Anv.
Ophis	Psychrus	30	71 0 0 L.c.	43 25 0 41 26 0 L.c.	57 55 50 Arrowf.	41 3 0 Arrowf.
Psychrus	Calus	30	67 20 0	47 20 0	58 10 0 D'Anv.	41 0 0 D'Anv.
Calus	Rhizius	120			58 12 0 D'Anv.	41 2 0 D'Anv.
Rhizius	Ascurus	30	71 0 0 71 10 0 L.c.	43 10 0 43 36 0 L.c.	58 3 50 Arrowf. 58 6 0 Ruf. map 58 28 24 D'Anv.	41 10 0 Arrowf. 41 12 0 Ruf. map 41 10 0 D'Anv.
Ascurus	Adienus	60			58 34 0 D'Anv.	41 11 0 D'Anv.
Adienus	Athenæ	180			58 45 0 D'Anv.	41 16 0 D'Anv.
Athenæ	Prytanis	40	71 0 0	43 15 0 43 45 0 L.c.	58 25 50 Arrowf. 59 3 0 D'Anv.	41 15 0 Arrowf. 41 19 0 D'Anv.
Prytanis	Pyxites	90			59 10 0 D'Anv.	41 20 0 D'Anv.
Pyxites	Archabis	90			59 23 0 D'Anv.	41 20 0 D'Anv.
Archabis	Apfarus	60	61 59 0 52 0 0	44 0 0	59 35 0 D'Anv.	41 25 0 D'Anv.
Apfarus	Acampfis	15	72 20 0	44 20 0 44 40 0	59 7 0 Ruf. map	41 37 0 Ruf. map



## TABLE OF DISTANCES.

From	To	Distance in stadia.	Longitude according to Ptolemy.	Latitude according to Ptolemy.	Modern Longitude.	Modern Latitude.
			° ' "	° ' "	° ' "	° ' "
Acampsis	Bathys	75				
Bathys	Acinacis	90			59 9 ° Ruf. map 60 0 ° D'Anv.	41 43 ° Ruf. map 41 40 ° D'Anv.
Acinacis	Ifis	90			60 0 ° D'Anv.	41 40 ° D'Anv.
Ifis	Mogrus	90			60 6 ° D'Anv.	41 47 ° D'Anv.
Mogrus	Phafis	90			60 7 ° D'Anv.	41 55 ° D'Anv.
Phafis	Chariens	90	72 30 °	44 45 °	59 5 50 Arrowf. 59 5 ° Ruf. map	42 2 ° Arrowf. 42 25 ° Ruf. map
Chariens	Chobus	90	72 0 °	45 15 °	60 20 ° D'Anv.	42 37 ° D'Anv.
Chobus <sup>a</sup>	Singames	210			60 18 ° D'Anv.	42 22 ° D'Anv.
Singames <sup>b</sup>	Tarfura	120			60 16 ° D'Anv.	42 47 ° D'Anv.
Tarfura <sup>c</sup>	Hippus	150			60 6 ° D'Anv.	42 57 ° D'Anv.
Hippus <sup>d</sup>	Astelephus	30	58 20 ° 58 40 ° L. c.	42 15 ° 42 45 ° L. c.	60 4 ° D'Anv.	43 2 ° D'Anv.
Astelephus	Diofcurias	120			60 2 ° D'Anv.	43 8 ° D'Anv.
Diofcurias			72 20 °	41 45 ° 44 45 ° L. c. <sup>e</sup>	58 31 50 Arrowf. 58 0 ° Ruf. map	43 18 ° Arrowf. 43 23 ° Ruf. map
Trapezus	Diofcurias	2260				

<sup>a</sup> Cobi, Chardin. t. i. p. 56.

<sup>b</sup> Tachar, Chardin.

<sup>c</sup> Socom, Chardin.

<sup>d</sup> Schiniscari, i. e. le fleuve Cheval, Chardin.

<sup>e</sup> It is in Ptolemy (Greek copy)  $\mu\alpha$ , which is

41°, but probably should be  $\mu\delta$ , or 44°, as it is in the Latin copy. In chap. 10, Diofcurias is put down 71° 10', Long. 46° 5', both in the Greek and Latin copies.



From BYZANTIUM to TRAPEZUS.

From	To	Distance in stadia.	Longitude according to Ptolemy.	Latitude according to Ptolemy.	Modern Longitude.	Modern Latitude.
			° ' "	° ' "	° ' "	° ' "
Byzantium <sup>f</sup>	Fanum Jovis Urii	120	56 ° 0'	43 5 ° 0'	46 39 39	41 1 ° 0' Blair's Geog. Requir. Tables. 41 1 24
Fanum Jovis Urii	Rhebas	90				
Rhebas	Acra Melæna	150				
Acra Melæna	Artanes	150	56 20 ° 0'	43 35 ° 0' 43 45 ° 0' L. c.	47 15 50 Arrowf. 47 16 ° 0' D'Anv.	41 6 ° 0' Arrowf. 41 ° 0' D'Anv.
Artanes	Pfilis	150	57 ° 0'	43 5 ° 0'		
Pfilis	Port. Calpes	210	57 15 ° 0'	43 5 ° 0' 43 15 ° 0' L. c.		
Port. Calpes	Rhoe	20	57 20 ° 0' 57 40 ° 0' L. c.	43 ° 0' 43 6 ° 0'		
Rhoe	Apollonia	20				
Apollonia	Chelæ	20	54 50 ° 0'	44 20 ° 0'		
Chelæ	Of. Sangarii	180				
Of. Sangarii	Of. Hippi	180	58 ° 0'	42 15 ° 0'	48 47 ° 0' D'Anv.	40 53 ° 0' D'Anv.

<sup>i</sup> The difference of longitude between Byzantium and Trapezus amounts, according to Beauchamp's calculation and Arrowsmith's chart, to

42' 45" of time, equal to 10° 41' 25", which in that latitude are equal to 558½ English miles.



## TABLE OF DISTANCES.

From	To	Distance in stadia.	Longitude according to Ptolemy.	Latitude according to Ptolemy.	Modern Longitude.	Modern Latitude.
Ost. Hippi	Lilium Emporium	100	71 0 0 l. v. cap. 10.	46 30 0		
			58 20 0	42 45 0		
			58 40 0 L. c. l. v. cap. 1.	42 15 0 L. c.		
Lilium Emporium	Elæum	60				
Eleum	Cales Emporium	120				
Cales Emporium	Lycus fluv.	80				
Lycus fluv.	Heraclea	20				
Heraclea	Metroum	80	59 0 0	43 10 0	50 0 0 D'Anv. 49 10 0 Arrowf.	41 0 0 D'Anv. 41 10 0 Arrowf.
Metroum	Pofidæum	40				
Pofidæum	Tyndaridæ	45				
Tyndaridæ	Nymphæum	15				
Nymphæum	Oxinas	30	63 45 0	47 30 0		
Oxinas	Sandaraca	90				
Sandaraca	Crenides	60				
Crenides	Pfylla Emporium	30				
Pfylla Emporium	Tios	90	59 30 0	43 10 0		
			59 10 0	43 30 0 L. c.		
Tios	Billæus fluv.	20	60 0 0 59 56 0 L. c.	43 10 0 43 30 0 L. c.	50 30 0 D'Anv.	41 12 0 D'Anv.



TABLE OF DISTANCES.

From	To	Distance in stadia.	Longitude according to Ptolemy.	Latitude according to Ptolemy.	Modern Longitude.	Modern Latitude.
Billæus fluv.	Parthenius fluv.	100	° ' "	° ' "	49 52 50	41 36 0 Arrowf.
Parthenius fluv.	Amaftris	90	60 15 0	43 10 0	50 3 50	41 39 0 Arrowf.
Amaftris	Erythinus	60	62 10 0	43 10 0	50 12 50 Arrowf. 51 0 0 D'Anv.	41 45 0 Arrowf.
Erythinus	Cromna	60				
Cromna	Cytorus	90	61 0 0	43 15 0		
Cytorus	Ægialos	60	61 0 0	41 20 0	53 39 50 Arrowf.	41 54 0 Arrowf.
Ægialos	Thymena	90				
Thymena	Carambis	120			50 59 50	42 11 24
Carambis	Zephyrium	60	61 20 0	41 25 0 44 26 0 L. c.	52 0 0 D'Anv. 51 6 20 Arrowf.	41 36 0 D'Anv. 42 23 0 Arrowf.
Zephyrium	Abonitichos	150	61 10 0 61 30 0	41 15 0 44 20 0 L. c.		
Abonitichos	Æginetis	150	62 2 0	41 25 0 44 0 0	52 8 0	41 20 0 D'Anv.
Æginetis	Cinolis	60				
Cinolis	Stephanes	180	61 20 0	40 15 0	51 57 50	42 3 0
Stephanes	Potamos	150	63 20 0	43 56 0 43 25 0	52 33 50	42 16 0
Potamos	Leptis Acra	120				
Leptis Acra	Harmene	60				
Harmene	Sinope	40	62 25 0	40 25 0		
Sinope	Carufa	150	63 10 0	44 0 0	52 56 0 D'Anv. 52 53 20 Arrowf.	41 8 0 D'Anv. 42 1 48 Arrowf.



## TABLE OF DISTANCES.

From	To	Distance in stadia.	Longitude according to Ptolemy.	Latitude according to Ptolemy.	Modern Longitude.	Modern Latitude.
Carufa	Zagora	150	0 0 0	0 0 0	53 2 50	41 45 5
Zagora	Halys fluv.	300				
Halys fluv.	Naustathmus	90	64 10 0	43 10 0	53 20 0	40 28 0
Naustathmus	Conopæum	50				
Conopæum	Eufene	120				
Eufene	Amifus	160				
Amifus	Ancon	160	65 0 0	45 0 0	54 0 0 D'Anv. 54 8 50 Arrowf.	40 10 0 D'Anv. 41 7 0 Arrowf.
Ancon	Heracleum	360	66 0 0	43 0 0		
Heracleum	Thermodon	40				
Thermodon	Beris	90	67 0 0	43 15 0	54 45 50	40 58 0
Beris	Thoaris	60				
Thoaris	Ænoe	30				
Ænoe	Phigamus	40				
Phigamus	Phadifana	150				
Phadifana	Polemonium	10				
Polemonium	Jafonium	130	67 15 0	43 5 0	55 19 50	40 57 0
Jafonium	Infula Cilicum	15	68 20 0	43 15 0	55 26 50 Arrowf.	41 1 0 Arrowf.



TABLE OF DISTANCES.

From	To	Distance in stadia	Longitude according to Ptolemy.	Latitude according to Ptolemy.	Modern Longitude.	Modern Latitude.
Infula Cilicum	Boona	75	o " "	o " "	o " "	o " "
Boona	Cotyora	90			55 33 50 Arrowf.	41 5 36 Arrowf.
Cotyora	Melanthis	60	67 5 0	43 5 0		
Melanthis	Pharmatenus	150				
Pharmatenus	Pharnacea	120				
Pharnacea	Arrhentias	30	68 10 0 G.c. 69 20 0	43 20 0	56 5 50 Arrowf.	40 51 0 Arrowf.
Arrhentias	Zephyrium	120				
Zephyrium	Tripolis	90	68 20 0	43 0 0	56 20 50 Arrowf.	40 58 0 Arrowf.
Tripolis	Argyria	20			56 37 50 Arrowf.	40 46 0 Arrowf.
Argyria	Philocalea	90				
Philocalea	Coralla	100				
Coralla	Ἰερὸν ὄρος	150				
Ἰερὸν ὄρος	Cordyla	40				
Cordyla	Hermonnassa	45	71 20 0	43 15 0		
Hermonnassa	Trapezus	60	68 0 0	43 0 0		
Byzantium	Trapezus	7055				



## From DIOSCURIAS to the CIMMERIAN BOSPORUS.

From	To	Distance in stadia.	Longitude according to Ptolemy.	Latitude according to Ptolemy.	Modern Longitude.	Modern Latitude.
			° ' "	° ' "	° ' "	° ' "
Dioscurias	Pityus	350	72 20 0	41 45 0	60 0 0 D'Anv. 58 15 0 Arrowf.	43 16 0 D'Anv. 43 18 0 Arrowf.
Pityus	Nitica	150			59 2 0 D'Anv. 57 23 50 Arrowf.	43 20 0 D'Anv. 43 20 0 Arrowf.
Nitica	Abafcus	90				
Abafcus	Borgys	120				
Borgys	Nefis	60				
Nefis	Mafætica	90				
Mafætica	Achæus	60				
Achæus	Prom. Hercul.	150				
Prom. Hercul.	Aliud Prom.	180				
Aliud Prom.	Vetus Lazica	120				
Vetus Lazica	Achaia Antiqua	150			57 20 0 D'Anv.	43 30 0 D'Anv.
Achaia Antiqua	Pagræ	350				
Pagræ	Sacer Portus	180				
Sacer Portus	Sindica	300			55 15 20 Arrowf.	44 5 0 Arrowf.



TABLE OF DISTANCES.

From	To	Distance in stadia.	Longitude according to Ptolemy.	Latitude according to Ptolemy.	Modern Longitude.	Modern Latitude.
Sindica	Bosporus Cimmerius	540	0 ' "	0 ' "	54 30 50 Arrowf.	44 42 0 Arrowf.
Bosporus Cimmerius	Tanaiidos Ostium	60				
Diofcurias	Bosporus Cimmerius	2890				

From PANTICAPÆUM to FANUM JOVIS URII.

From	To	Distance in stadia.	Longitude according to Ptolemy.	Latitude according to Ptolemy.	Modern Longitude.	Modern Latitude.
Pantica-pæum	Cazeca	420	64 0 0	47 55 0	44 11 50	45 21 0
Cazeca	Theodosia	280				
Theodosia	Port. Tauror-Scytharum	200	63 20 0	47 20 0	52 56 50 Arrowf. 53 6 0 Ruf. map	45 5 0 Arrowf. 45 20 0 Ruf. map
Port. Tauror-Scytharum	Halmitis Taurica	600				
Halmitis Taurica	Symboli Portus	520				
Symboli Portus	Cherrone-fus Taurica	180	61 0 0	47 15 0		
Cherrone-fus Taurica	Cercinetis	600	61 0 0	47 0 0		

<sup>1</sup> It is observed in the Travels of Pallas, that the distances of those places, which could be ascertained in the Taurica Chersonesus, pretty accu-

rately correspond with those specified in the Periplus. Pallas, Travels, vol. ii. p. 341.

Cercinetis



## TABLE OF DISTANCES.

From	To	Distance in stadia.	Longitude according to Ptolemy.	Latitude according to Ptolemy.	Modern Longitude.	Modern Latitude.
Cercinetis	Calus	700	59 40 0	48 30 0		
Calus	Tamyraca	300	59 30 0	48 0 0		
Tamyraca	Of. Paludis	300	59 20 0	48 30 0		
Of. Paludis	Eona	380	63 0 0	48 20 0		
Eona	Borysthe- nes	150				
Borysthe- nes	Insula Deferta	60	57 0 0	49 0 0		
Insula Deferta	Odeffus	80				
Odeffus	Port. Iftri- anorum	250	54 50 0	45 15 0		
Port. Iftri- anorum	Portus Ifiacorum	50				
Portus Ifiacorum	Pfilon Os Iftri	1200				
Pfilon Os Iftri	Secundum Os Iftri	60				
Secundum Os Iftri	Calon Os Iftri	40				
Calon Os. Iftri	Naracum	60				
Naracum	Quintum Os Iftri	120				
Quintum Os Iftri	Iftria	500				
Iftria	Tomea	300				



# TABLE OF DISTANCES.

From	To	Distance in stadia.	Longitude according to Ptolemy.	Latitude according to Ptolemy.	Modern Longitude.	Modern Latitude.
Tomea	Callantra	300	55 ° 0'	45 50 ° 0'	46 ° 0' D'Anv.	44 29 ° 0' D'Anv.
Callantra	Carus Portus	180	54 40 ° 0'	45 30 ° 0'		
Carus Portus	Tetrifias	120	54 40 ° 0'	45 30 ° 0'		
Tetrifias	Bizus	60				
Bizus	Dionyfo- polis	80				
Dionyfo- polis	Odeffus	200				
Odeffus	Prom. of Mount Hæmus	360				
Prom. of Mount Hæmus	Mesem- bria	90			46 50 ° Arrowf.	42 28 ° Arrowf.
Mesem- bria	Anchialus	70	55 ° 0'	44 40 ° 0'	46 27 ° 0'	42 25 ° Arrowf.
Anchialus	Apollonia	180	54 45 ° 0'	44 30 ° 0'		42 24 ° 0'
Apollonia	Cherrone- fus	60	54 50 ° 0'	44 20 ° 0'	45 40 ° 0'	42 20 ° 0'
Cherrone- fus	Aulai- tichos	250	55 ° 0'	44 40 ° 0'	46 32 ° 0'	42 19 ° 0'
Aulai- tichos	Thynias	120			45 24 ° 0'	42 2 ° 0'
Thynias	Salmydef- fus	200	57 40 ° 0'	43 26 ° 0' 43 20 ° 0'	45 33 ° 0'	41 54 ° 0'
Salmydef- fus	Phrygia	330	55 20 ° 0'	43 40 ° 0'	45 40 ° 0'	41 45 ° Arrowf.
Phrygia	Cyaneæ	320				



## TABLE OF DISTANCES.

From	To	Distance in stadia.	Longitude according to Ptolemy.	Latitude according to Ptolemy.	Modern Longitude.	Modern Latitude.
Cyaneæ	Fanum Jovis Urii	40	0 / "	0 / "	0 / "	0 / "
			56 30 0	43 26 0	47 10 0 D'Anv.	41 10 0 D'Anv.
			56 10 0	43 25 0		
Fanum Jovis Urii	Daphne	40				
Daphne	Byzanti- um	80				
Pantica- pæum	Fanum Jovis Urii	10,310				

	Stadia.
From Trapezus to Dioscurias	2260
From Fanum Jovis Urii to Trapezus	6935
From Dioscurias to Bosporus Cimmerius	2890
From Panticapæum to Fanum Jovis Urii	10,310

Circuit of the Euxine sea  $22,395 = 2564$  English miles nearly.



ON  
THE COMMERCE  
OF  
THE EUXINE SEA.



ON  
THE COMMERCE  
OF  
THE EUXINE SEA.

THE first sea-voyage of which we read in profane history was performed on the Euxine sea. The Argonauts, setting out from the port of Iolchos, or Pagasæ, in Thessaly, sailed to Colchis, at the eastern extremity of this sea, and, as it appears, visited many other places in that now unfrequented neighbourhood. This voyage is remarkable for its length, as well as for its antiquity, comprehending in extent the length of  $14\frac{1}{2}$  degrees upon the equator, or more than 1000 English miles.

The professed object of this expedition was the pursuit of gold; and perhaps the accounts given by Strabo and Appian may be the most probable of any, which state it to be a practice of the Colchians to extend fleeces of wool across the beds of the torrents that fall from mount Caucasus, and by means of these to entangle the particles of gold, which were washed down by the stream.

This mode of collecting this metal, which is much the same with the one practised now on the coast of Guinea, and other



rivers of Africa, made Colchis be regarded as the Gold Coast<sup>a</sup> of that early period.

The manners however of those remote ages oblige us to consider this expedition as rather prædatory than commercial.

The trade carried on upon the Euxine sea may be regarded in two points of view, one respecting its own produce, and that of the countries bordering on it; the other respecting it as a means of conveying the produce of other countries, and particularly that of the East Indies, to Europe.

If we look at this sea in a map of the world, it appears happily situated for commerce of every kind, forming an easy communication between Europe and the north-east parts of Asia, enjoying a moderate climate, free from the hurricanes, that infest the Southern seas, and the almost perpetual storms that distress navigation in the Northern ocean. It possesses numerous ports; many navigable rivers flow into it; it abounds with large fish, to a degree unknown in other places; and the countries bordering on it, at least the whole extent of the Southern coast, are exuberant in the produce of every material for ship-building, as timber, pitch, hemp<sup>b</sup>, iron, together with great plenty of provisions. These advantages caused it, in early times, to be a sea of great naval resort. Both the European and the Asiatic Greeks founded colonies on its shores, both to the north-west and to the east of the Thracian Bosphorus.

<sup>a</sup> Strabo, lib. i. et xii.

<sup>b</sup> Strabo, p. 498.



Miletus, the capital of Ionia, the great school for astronomical and nautical instruction, and the prime source from whence most of the colonies<sup>c</sup> of antiquity were derived, founded several cities on the Euxine sea, and some even on its most remote shores. Among these, were on the southern coast, Sinope, Tios, Amifus, and Trapezus, and, according to Paterculus, even Byzantium and Cyzicus. On the east, Dioscurias, the principal city in that neighbourhood. On the north, Panticapæum, Theodosia, and Olbia, and on the west, Istria and Apollonia.

The European Greeks, as well as the Asiatic, founded cities on the same sea. Heraclea Pontica was a colony from Megara, and Athens contributed to that sent to Amifus. Apollonia in Ponto was built by emigrants from Corinth, or Corcyra. Amastris was of Greek original, and, according to Arrian, the whole of the cities on the western coast were Greek colonies.

The commodities furnished as articles of trade by the countries bordering on the Euxine sea were neither very numerous, nor of great value. Honey, wax, hides, provisions of all kinds, and materials for building or rigging ships, were the principal. It must not be omitted, that linen-cloth<sup>d</sup>, both white and dyed, or painted, was an article of trade from this country to Greece in very early times.

But the Euxine sea itself was the great source of supply for

<sup>c</sup> Super octoginta urbium per cuncta maria genitrix, Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. v. c. 29. Primæ in Ionia fundatæ et matris multarum et magnarum urbium in Ponto atque Ægypto, atque pluribus locis mundi Milesiorum civi-

tatis Senatus et Populus &c. &c. Translat. of a Greek Inscription in Chandler, pag. 17. No. xliii.

<sup>d</sup> Strabo, lib. xi. Herodot. lib. ii. c. 5.



their domestic or œconomical commerce. Both this sea and the Palus Mæotis abound in fish of a large size<sup>e</sup>, and excellent quality. This is ascribed by Pliny<sup>f</sup> to its waters being less salt than those of the Mediterranean, which made them more proper for hatching the spawn, in the same manner as we observe some sea-fish, salmon particularly, come up the fresh-water rivers to deposit their ova. The Mæotis being, by the influx of the Tanais<sup>g</sup>, less salt than the Euxine sea, attracts them thither, as a breeding-place, and perhaps on account of its cold climate, the tunny fish being, according to Ælian, very impatient of heat.

The fish, when they have attained a convenient size, pour out through the Cimmerian Bosphorus into the Black sea, and swim along the southern coast to the Thracian Bosphorus, in their way to the Mediterranean. Their growth is very rapid during their passage. The fishery, according to Strabo<sup>h</sup>, begins about Trapezus, or Pharnacea (Cerasus); but they are seldom caught at either of these places of a size sufficient to salt as an article of trade.

By the time the shoals had proceeded westward as far as Sinope<sup>i</sup>,

<sup>e</sup> Piscium genus omne, præcipua celeritate adolescit maxime in Ponto. Plin. lib. ix. c. 15. xxxii. c. 11. Strabon. lib. vii. p. 320. Ed. Paris.

<sup>f</sup> Plin. lib. 9. c. 15.

<sup>g</sup> Polyb. lib. iv. c. 5. The shallowness of the Palus Mæotis may perhaps be an inducement to go thither to breed. Polybius says, in most places it is not more than five or seven fathoms deep.

<sup>h</sup> Strabon. lib. vii. p. 320.

<sup>i</sup> A medal struck at Sinope has a tunny on

its reverse. Patin. 317. Piscis in nummo cæ-  
latus pelamis est, ad denotandam thunnorum  
feu pelamidum versus ejus littus abundan-  
tiam et piscationem, de qua tradit Strabo, lib.  
vii. p. 320. Nascitur autem in paludibus  
Mæotidis, cumque aliquid virium cepit, ac ad  
littus Asianum deferuntur usque ad Trape-  
zuntem et Pharnaciam, atque ibi primum  
capiuntur: sed ea piscatio copiosa non est, quia  
justam magnitudinem pelamides non sunt as-  
secutæ, Σινώπην πρώτησα ὠραντέρα πρὸς τε τὴν Θύ-  
ραν, καὶ τὴν ταξιχείαν ἐστίν. Postquam ad Cyaneas  
appulere



the fish were increased in size, and were salted in great abundance. Heraclea, Tium, and Amastris, all of which lie to the west of Sinope, enjoyed the advantages of the fishery in still greater perfection, and were deeply engaged in it, as appears from Ælian<sup>k</sup>. In short, the advantages of the fishery to those who inhabited the coasts were such, that they abandoned all other means of getting a livelihood, and applied themselves entirely to fishing, though the ground in the neighbourhood was fertile, and the adjacent mountains rich in minerals.

As the fish proceeded further westward, they appear to have been more valued. A poetical glutton, of the name of Archistratus, cited by Athenæus, extols as a delicacy that part of the fish which lies next the tail, pickled and broiled, as we do a red herring; and adds, that Byzantium is the metropolis<sup>l</sup> of this article of luxury; in which sentiment another proficient in luxurious eating concurs. The Pontic<sup>m</sup> salted meats (ταριχεία Ποντικά) were highly esteemed in Greece, as early as the time of Herodotus, Plato, Aristophanes, and Polybius<sup>n</sup>, and probably long before. Even Hesiod is cited, as speaking of the Bosphorus as a market for these kinds of salted delicacies. They went under different names, but were mostly made of the tunny-fish, and were denominated, either from the size of the animal, the parts of it used, or the shape of the pieces into which it was cut. Thus the parts of the large

appulere, easque præteriere ad Byzantium et ad cornu ejus convertuntur, ibi fit tertia piscatio. Vaillant. Numm. Ær. p. 84. part. 2.

<sup>k</sup> Ælian. de Animal. lib. xv. c. 5.

<sup>l</sup> Athen. lib. vii. p. 303. Tunnies are still caught in vast quantities at Constantinople. See Petrus Gyllius, and Tournefort's Travels.

A medal of Plotina, struck at Byzantium, has on its reverse a dolphin between two tunnies, and two on a medal of Sabina. Vaillant. Patin. p. 188.

<sup>m</sup> Athen. lib. iii. p. 118, 119.

<sup>n</sup> Polyb. lib. iv. c. 5.



fish salted were called Melyandria; the parts next the tail, Orea, quasi *ἔρπαια*; the belly-parts, Hypogastria; and when cut into cubical shaped pieces, Cybia<sup>n</sup>.

Those who desire more information on this subject may consult Athenæus, who is very diffuse in his account, and adds, that a jar of this pickled fish was sold for 300 drachmæ, or about 10l. English.

It was not however the plenty of fish only, which gave the nations on this coast so much advantage in this trade. Nature had very plentifully supplied them with salt also.

The river Halys, which falls into the sea between Amifus and Sinope, takes its name from the salt grounds<sup>o</sup>, through which it flows; and Tournefort remarks, that all these parts are full of fossile salt, which is found even in the great roads<sup>p</sup> and arable lands.

Several of the places on this coast have, I think, received their names from the trade above mentioned. Thus Halmitis Taurica, which lies near the mouth of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, the great exit of the tunny-fish from the Palus Mæotis, probably took its name from the trade carried on there, the word *Ἀλμειτής* signifying a person who deals in salted<sup>q</sup> meats, or fish.

<sup>n</sup> Athen. lib. vii. p. 303.

<sup>o</sup> Strab. lib. xii. p. 546.

<sup>p</sup> Tournefort's Travels, vol. iii. p. 49.

<sup>q</sup> Τῆς λίμνης ταριχία. Strabo. The trade of

Cassa, or Theodosia, at present is, in a great measure, in salted fish and caviar, as formerly. Arrowsmith's chart.



Halmydeffus, or Salmydeffus, had, I suspect, a similar derivation. Cordyla, a place so called, which lies near Trapezus, expresses<sup>9</sup> by its name a small or young tunny; and Strabo tells us, as I have before noticed, that these fish caught so far to the eastward as Trapezus are all small. Farther to the westward lies Thynias, an island that, I suppose, took its name from these fish, it lying to the west of Heraclea; at which place, Ælian tells us, the fish are in great perfection, as they improve when they approach the Thracian Bosphorus, and do not acquire the name of Thynni, or Θύννοι, until they are grown to be large, the small and middle-sized being called Pelamides.

The city of Thynias, in the neighbourhood of Salmydeffus, had its name also, I presume, from these fish, it being within a moderate distance of the Bosphorus, their great resort, both when they leave and when they enter the Euxine sea.

But the great advantage, which the Euxine sea possessed in point of trade, was its serving as a means of conveyance of the commodities of the East to Europe. This appears to me to have been the most ancient method, and much prior to the communication across the Arabian gulph, to the Red sea and Alexandria. It was indeed tedious and circuitous, but the desire of possessing Indian commodities overcame all obstacles. Pliny relates, from Varro, that Pompey, when prosecuting the war against Mithridates, discovered the course of this trade.

<sup>9</sup> Cordyla, et hæc pelamis pusilla, cum bet. Plin. lib. xxxii. c. 11.  
in Pontum e Mæotide exit, hoc nomen ha-



The goods, he says, were brought out of India in seven days to the Icarus, a river of Bactriana, which falls into the Oxus, and conveyed down the river last mentioned into the Caspian sea, across which they were carried to the mouth of the Cyrus, and up that river to a place, that was five days' journey by land to the Phasis, down which they were carried to its entrance into the Euxine sea, from whence they were sent to Byzantium, and other places.

Strabo gives much the same account. He says, that Aristobulus and Eratosthenes had written, from the information of Patrocles, whose authority he highly commends in another part<sup>r</sup> of his work, that Indian commodities were carried down both the Ochus and the Oxus, into the Caspian sea, and transported from thence to the opposite coast of Albania, and from thence, by means of the Cyrus<sup>s</sup>, and the avenues afforded by that river, carried into the Euxine sea.

It appears, that the Phasis served as the means of conveyance, being navigable as high up its stream as Sarapana, to which place the goods were carried in four days, by land-carriage, in waggons from the Cyrus<sup>t</sup>. These accounts of Pliny and Strabo do not materially vary from one another.

The river Icarus, mentioned by Pliny, is to be found in Solinus; but I think it is only copied from Pliny. Ptolemy specifies a country called Guriana, on the banks of a river, that falls into the

<sup>r</sup> *Μάλισα πωρεύσθαι δικαίος*, Strab. lib. ii.

<sup>t</sup> Strab. lib. xi. p. 498.

<sup>s</sup> Strab. lib. xi. p. 509.



Oxus; and Mr. Rennell's map specifies both a district and a city, named Gaur, or Zout, in nearly the same situation, on the banks of a river, that runs into the Oxus, near the city of Balk, or, as it was anciently called, Bactra, or Zariafpe, in  $34^{\circ} 30'$  N. L. nearly, and  $64^{\circ}$  Long.

The district of Gaur joins to that of Cabul<sup>n</sup>, a celebrated place of trade in the East Indies, as low as the last century. The passage of the goods from thence to Europe and Asia Minor is easily conceived. They passed down the Oxus, or Jihon, northward to the Caspian sea. The Oxus is described by Arrian<sup>x</sup> to be the largest of the Asiatic rivers, those of India excepted; and Strabo speaks of it, as convenient for navigation<sup>y</sup>, inasmuch that the goods carried down it are easily conveyed into Hyrcania, and from thence, by means of rivers, to the countries lying on the Pontic sea. How different must the condition of those countries at that time have been from their present state!

The breadth of the Caspian sea, from the mouth of the Oxus to the mouth of the Kur, or Cyrus, on the opposite coast of Albania, is, according to D'Anville, about 1800 stadia, or rather more than 210 English miles. The Cyrus is described by Strabo, as the

<sup>n</sup> The province of Cabul is, according to Mr. Rennell, highly diversified, being made up of mountains, covered with eternal snow, hills of moderate height, and easy ascent, rich plains, and stately forests, and these enlivened by innumerable streams of water. The situation of the city of Cabul is spoken of in terms of rapture by the Indian historians, it being no less romantic than pleasant, enjoying a wholesome air, and having within its

reach the fruits and other products both of the temperate and torrid zone. In a political light, it is considered as the gate of India towards Tartary, as Candahar holds the same place with regard to Persia. Rennell's Memoir of a Map of Hindostan, p. 152, 153.

<sup>x</sup> Exped. Alex. lib. iii. p. 146. lib. viii. p. 295.

<sup>y</sup> Strab. lib. ii. p. 73.



largest river in that neighbourhood. It rises, he says<sup>z</sup>, in Armenia, and receiving several other streams from mount Caucasus, pours itself through a narrow channel into Albania, and becomes then a large stream, by the accession of four other navigable rivers; and, being thus increased, empties itself into the Caspian sea.

From modern maps<sup>a</sup>, and the consideration of the large rivers, which appear to flow into it, I make no doubt, that it was navigable (for such vessels as usually trade on rivers) as high as the meridian of Sarapana, which place still retains its ancient name, and is in one place distant only about 25 miles from a branch of the Cyrus. Sarapana was a fortified place, lying, as Sarapan now does, on one of the rivers that compose the Phasis, which last river, Strabo tells us, was also navigable so far. To this place the goods brought up the Cyrus were carried in waggons, and there re-embarked upon the Phasis, (which both Arrian and Pliny describe, as a very large river,) and carried down to its opening into the Euxine sea.

Strabo says, that the breadth of this isthmus, from the mouth of the Cyrus to Colchis, is about 3000 stadia, or 343 English miles. This seems to be nearly correct; the narrowest<sup>a</sup> part is about 318 English miles wide; but as the mouth of the Cyrus lies obliquely to the southward, this deviation would increase the distance rather more, I think, than Strabo's computation, who does not indeed profess to state the distance with exactness.

Diofcurias, which lies considerably to the north of the mouth

<sup>z</sup> Strab. lib. xi. p. 500.

<sup>a</sup> Map of the country between the Black and Caspian seas, 1788. Edwards.



of the Phasis, was the usual centre and resort of the domestic trade of the country. But the emporium of the Indian trade was, according to Strabo, a city, called Phasis, situated on the river of the same name.

From the Phasis, Strabo tells us, that it was but two or three<sup>b</sup> days sail to Amifus, or to Sinope, from both of which cities the East Indian goods were dispersed<sup>c</sup> over Europe and Asia Minor; and this trade contributed, no doubt, to the aggrandizement<sup>d</sup> of both those cities.

Hippocrates<sup>e</sup> observes, that the country adjacent to the Phasis was, in his time, intersected with canals, which the inhabitants used for the purposes of inland navigation. He also speaks of emporia in that country, but whether for the domestic produce, or for foreign commodities, does not appear: the commodities imported were, I presume, much the same as what the European nations now receive from the East Indies. Cotton manufactures<sup>f</sup>, pearls<sup>g</sup>,

<sup>b</sup> Strab. lib. xi. p. 498.

<sup>c</sup> Strabo speaks of the communication of Amifus and Sinope with Colchis, Hyrcania, Bactria, and the parts lying towards the East. Lib. xi. p. 68.

<sup>d</sup> Sinope is called magna et opima by Valerius Flaccus. Argon. lib. v. vers. 108, 109.

<sup>e</sup> De aere, aquis, et locis.

<sup>f</sup> Cotton is mentioned by Herodotus, as an Indian production, and used in the manufacture of cloth. Strabo relates, on the authority of Nearchus, that it was woven into the finest

and best constructed cloths, which, Pliny says, were of very high price. They are repeatedly mentioned in Arrian's Voyage of Nearchus. Herodot. lib. iii. Strab. lib. xv. p. 694. Plin. lib. xii. c. 10. Arrian, Rer. Ind. p. 179. et alibi.

<sup>g</sup> Pliny and Strabo both speak of the Indian pearls, as the finest. Fertilissima est Taprobane, et Toidis, item Perimula promontorium Indiæ. Plin. lib. ix. c. 35. lib. vi. c. 22. Strab. p. 717. Ælian. Hist. Anim. lib. xv. c. 8. Hill's Theophrastus, p. 92.



and gems<sup>h</sup>, dyeing materials<sup>i</sup>, drugs<sup>k</sup>, perfumes<sup>l</sup>, spices<sup>m</sup>, and ivory<sup>n</sup>, were, I believe, the principal, although other articles of less consideration might perhaps be added.

The Indian trade in early ages must have been carried on to extreme disadvantage, even in Pliny's time, when the knowledge of the navigation of the Arabian gulph had facilitated the intercourse with India. Pliny says<sup>o</sup>, that it never drained the Roman empire of less than 403,645*l.* annually paid for Indian commodities,

<sup>h</sup> The Indian diamonds are mentioned by Pliny, as first in excellence. The emeralds of the same country were much esteemed. Plin. lib. xxxvii. c. 45.

<sup>i</sup> India is mentioned by Strabo, as abounding in materials for dyeing. p. 694, 699. Pliny tells us, that Indico (Indigo) was brought from thence, and Dioscorides speaks of it as an Indian production. lib. xxxv. c. 6. The red resin, commonly called Dragon's blood, was, and still is, brought from India. Plin. lib. xxxiii. c. 7. lib. xxxv. c. 7. Draconum sanies. Another dyeing material, of the cochineal kind, was imported from the same country. It is described by Ctesias, and after him by Ælian; and as scarlet and purple colours were in such esteem at Rome, it is probable that this dye was made use of there.

<sup>k</sup> Strabo says, that many drugs were produced in India; and Dioscorides specifies a considerable number, which were in use in his time. Many of the ingredients in those exuberant and voluminous compositions, the confectio Damocratis, usually called Mithridate, and the Theriaca Andromachi, better known by the name of Venice treacle, are of Indian production. The admission of such into the

former of these compositions, forms a presumption, that the countries bordering on the Euxine sea had a connection with the East Indies.

<sup>l</sup> Perfumes appear to have been an article of trade with the East Indies, although more with Arabia. Malabathrum, amomum, nardus, agallochum, and many others, were all the produce of India. Heliogabalus, as we are told by Lampridius, burnt Indian perfumes by themselves, to impregnate the air of the vapour-rooms at the baths. As this is mentioned as an instance of extreme extravagance, it may serve to prove the value set on Indian perfumes at Rome.

<sup>m</sup> Cinnamon, mace, long pepper, ginger, and oil of nutmegs, are all ingredients in the confectio Damocratis, and of course well known in the countries adjacent to the Euxine sea.

<sup>n</sup> Ivory was, I believe, principally brought from Africa, but some from India, and the largest teeth were brought from thence. Plin. lib. viii. c. 11.

India mittit ebur—— VIRGIL.

<sup>o</sup> Plin. lib. vi. c. 23.

which



which were again fold for an hundred times the original coft; and in another place<sup>p</sup> he tells us, that India, Seres, and the peninfula of India, took from the Roman empire no lefs annually than double that fum.

As a large proportion of the vaft increafe of price of thefe goods, when fold again in Europe, muft have arifen from the neceffary expences attending their importation, this circumftance muft have brought back to the frontier countries a confiderable proportion of the wealth, which Rome attracted, as fovereign of the world.

But when the revolution, caufed by the religion and by the conquefts of Mahomet, put a ftop to the Eaft Indian trade down the Red fea, and acrofs the Arabian gulph, his followers, being rather of a military than a commercial difpofition, and not inclined to fhare with Chriftians what they retained of this commerce, the Eaft Indian trade reverted, in a good meafure, into its ancient channel, and contributed to the fupport and profperity of Conftantinople, which by this communication fupplied Europe with Eaft Indian commodities.

<sup>p</sup> Plin. lib. xii. c. 18.



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IT is not my intention to discuss here the subject of ancient navigation; but a few observations on the distances which the vessels of antiquity could sail in twenty-four hours, may not be foreign to the subject, and tend to illustrate the Voyage now under consideration.

Scylax says, that a ship will sail 500 stadia, or 57 English miles, in the course of a day; by which it is clear that he means a day only, and not a day and a night, as, when he means both, they are always so specified. Ptolemy mentions 1000 stadia as the distance that a ship will sail in a day and a night; from which it appears, that as great a distance was allowed for the navigation of the night as for that of the day.

The distances specified by Scylax (though many of them are estimated by the space which a ship will sail in a day, or a



day and a night) cannot be supposed all of them to correspond with measurement, as the time consumed in some coasting voyages must be longer than in others, on account of the shores and currents, and often of the irregularity of the winds that blow off the land.

Let us however, subject to such allowance as may be made for these interruptions, examine some of the distances which he specifies.

The first distance he mentions is that which extends across the Straits of Gibraltar, which he accounts one day's sail. This distance is much less than 500 stadia; but on account of the current, which always sets strongly through the Straits into the Mediterranean, it might have taken up so much time with ships of such imperfect construction and management.

The next distance he mentions is from Gades to the Pillars of Hercules, which he reckons as one day's sail. This corresponds well with the space, it being very nearly 500 stadia.

From the mouth of the Rhone to Antium, or, as Cluverius reads, to the Arnus, is counted four days and four nights sail. If the Arnus be the genuine reading, the coasting distance is about 2400 stadia, or 600 in twenty-four hours, or a day and night. If Antium be the right reading, the distance approaches nearer to the allotment of Ptolemy, it being nearly 4000 stadia, which accords with the calculation.

Another distance, which he specifies, is from Sardinia to the coast  
of



of Libya, or Africa. This he estimates as one day and one night's sail. The distance is about 850 stadia, which is sufficiently near the former computation, as fractions of a day or night are seldom expressed in the ancient writers on these subjects.

Another distance which he specifies is from the mouth of the river Strymon to Sestos, which is reckoned as two days and two nights sail. It measures about 1400 stadia; but it might take up more time than usual, on account of the currents, which set very strongly from the Euxine through the Straits into the Ægean sea.

Let us now examine some of the distances on the Euxine sea itself, which are most applicable to the present purpose.

From the mouth of the Ister to Criu-metopon, or the Ram's-head promontory, is reckoned three days and three nights sail. The distance is about 243 English miles, equal to about 2130 stadia, or about 710 stadia for a day and a night's sail.

Another distance is from Criu-metopon to Panticapæum, which is reckoned a day and a night's sail. This is somewhat, but not greatly, more than 1000 stadia.

Another distance set down (not indeed in the Euxine sea) is from the mouth of the river Meander to the promontory of Cragus. This is called a voyage of two days, and appears to be about 1500 stadia, and the passage so entangled among the islands that in all probability it was not reckoned safe to sail in the night time.



The last distance I shall cite from this author is from Lacedæmon to Crete, which is counted one day's sail, and is nearly 500 stadia. The average of the above distances is about 470 stadia in the course of twelve hours, or nearly 40 stadia, or 5 Greek miles, every hour.

Xenophon in his *Anabasis* says, that he sailed from Cotyora to Harmene in two days and one night. This distance by sea, if measured round Cape Boona amounts to 1422 stadia, or 162.765 English miles, by D'Anville's map, which is equal to nearly 500 stadia daily. By Arrowsmith's chart it is 167 English miles, equal to 1460 stadia nearly, or about 487 stadia daily.

Xenophon says again, that the Greeks sailed from Harmene, or Sinope, to Heraclea in two days, which is about 1800 stadia; but the ships they employed were probably not the best sailers, as he says, that a trireme galley would, in a very long day, sail from Byzantium to Heraclea. This, according to Arrowsmith's chart, is 1150 stadia, or 131 English miles nearly, which, if we reckon sixteen hours to the day, would be nearly  $8\frac{1}{4}$  miles per hour. Xenophon however esteems this an extraordinary exertion, and such as required, no doubt, a favourable wind; and then, by the joint power of sails and oars, such a distance is not unlikely to be accomplished.

Tournefort, though embarrassed with the company of many vessels, and bad sailers, went 80 miles in a day on this coast, with the greatest ease, and even by four in the afternoon; and sailed seventy miles more that night. He accounts 50 miles a small distance for a day's sail, and 60 miles as a very moderate one.

Had



Had he continued his voyage after failing 80 miles, he might perhaps have gone as far in 16 hours as is mentioned by Xenophon, with no better failors than those of the Greeks.

I am aware that in this statement I vary considerably from that of a gentleman, whose knowledge and abilities I respect; and it is on that account incumbent on me to state my reasons for thus differing with him in opinion<sup>a</sup>.

Mr. Rennel thinks that 37 Greek miles is the mean distance, which the ships of antiquity failed in the space of one day. As this is much less than I have assigned, I shall take the liberty to examine the authorities he cites for what he alledges.

The first instance he adduces is that of Miltiades, who, as he says, “under favour of an *easterly* wind, passed in a single day “from Elæus, in the Chersonese of Thrace, to Lemnos. The “distance is 38 Greek miles only.”

I am sorry to remark several inaccuracies in this short account. The story in Herodotus is as follows: “The Pelasgians, who were “in possession of Lemnos, being admonished by the Pythian oracle “to give satisfaction to the Athenians, for some injuries and cruelties which they had committed, and being required by the Athenians to surrender their island, replied, that they would do so when “the *north wind*<sup>b</sup> should carry a ship in one day from the Athe-

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Rennel and I differ in our estimation of the length of the stadium. But I have

given my reasons for this in another place.

<sup>b</sup> Βορρηνή άνέμω.



“ nian territory to Lemnos, well knowing the thing to be impracticable, as Attica lies much to the south of Lemnos <sup>c</sup>.”

“ Miltiades however, having gained possession of Elæus, which lies to the north-east of Lemnos, sailed from thence as from a part of the Athenian territory, during the prevalence of the Etesian winds, and claimed their promise of a surrender.”

It is clear from this account, that none but a northerly wind would have enabled him to claim this promise ; and it is equally clear, that the Etesian winds in Greece were northerly<sup>d</sup>, or north-westerly, not easterly, as Mr. Rennel (misled probably by the sound of the word) supposes.

Next Herodotus only says, that Miltiades sailed from Elæus to Lemnos in one day, not that the distance between these places was the utmost extent of a day's sail. Miltiades had no reason to go

<sup>c</sup> Herodot. lib. vi. ad finem.

<sup>d</sup> It must be owned that the Etesian winds are differently represented, some writers describing them as inclining to the east, others to the west, but all agreeing that their principal direction was northerly. But it is clear from Aristotle, who may properly be our guide on this occasion, and whose account reconciles these apparently contradictory opinions, that the Etesian winds in Greece always blow from the west of the north point, though within these limits their direction varied. In the eastern countries, he says, they were easterly winds.

Mare quoque Etesiaë flabant : harum flatu in orientem navigantibus secundum, inde adversum erat. Tacitus, Histor. lib. ii.

Τῶν δὲ ἀνέμων, οἱ μὲν χειμῶνος, ὡσπερ οἱ νότοι, δυναστεύοντες, οἱ δὲ θερούς, ὡς οἱ Ἑτησῖαι λεγόμενοι, μίξιν ἔχοντες τῶν τε ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρκτε φερομένων καὶ ζεφύρων. Aristot. de Mundo, cap. iv. p. 853. Ed. Du Val.

Οἱ δ' Ἑτησῖαι περιίτανται τοῖς μὲν περὶ δυσμᾶς οἰκῶσιν, ἐκ τῶν Ἀπαρκτίων εἰς Θρασκίας, Ἀργέας, καὶ Ζεφύρους· ὁ γὰρ Ἀπαρκτίας Ζεφύρος ἐστὶν ἀρχόμενος μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρκτε, τελευτῶντες δὲ εἰς τὴν πόρρω· τοῖς δὲ πρὸς Ἐω περιίτανται μέχρι τῆς Ἀπηνιώτε. Aristot. Meteorol. lib. ii. cap. vi. pag. 796.

In the table of the winds in Vitruvius, the Etesian winds are placed only fifteen degrees to the north of the west point. See the Plate at the end of this Work.



further; but this does not abridge his power of proceeding to a greater distance in that space of time. It should also be observed, that, although the distance between Attica and Lemnos is considerable, the Lemnians guarded their promise by restricting the voyage to be performed by a northerly wind.

Again, the distance between Elæum and the nearest point of Lemnos is, by Mr. D'Anville's map, 420 Olympic stadia, or more than 52 Greek miles; and according to Mr. Rochette's map, at least 49 miles. These distances approach much nearer to the calculation of Ptolemy than to that of Mr. Rennel; and indeed this instance proves nothing, as it does not appear that Miltiades might not have gone further, had he been so inclined.

Mr. Rennel next instances the fleet of Xerxes, which, he says, sailed from the Euripus to Phalerus, a port in Attica, in three days, which he says is 96 Greek miles, or 32 Greek miles each day. The words of Herodotus are, "that Xerxes, after having viewed  
" the dead bodies of the Lacedæmonians slain at Thermopylæ,  
" passed over from Trachis to Histiaæa, and after three days stay  
" sailed through the Euripus, and in three days arrived at Pha-  
" lerus." The distance from Histiaæa to Phalerus through the Euripus is, according to Mr. D'Anville, 179 Greek miles, and according to Mr. Rochette's map, 174 Greek miles; which gives, according to the lowest of these calculations, 58 Greek miles for each day's sail, instead of 32, according to Mr. Rennel. If we consider the vast fleet which performed this voyage, and the narrow straits through which they sailed, we may be justly surpris'd they were so expeditious. But a fleet of 1000 ships is no proper instance to prove how far ships in general may sail in a given time.



The third instance brought by Mr. Rennel is from the voyage of Nearchus. "That commander," he says, "reckoned the promontory of Maceta to be a day's sail from him, when he first discovered it; and it is shewn by circumstances, that this distance was about 38 Greek miles." The words of Nearchus are, that sailing 800 stadia from Bades, they came to a desert shore, from whence they viewed a long promontory extended a great way into the sea, and which *appeared* to them to be *about* a day's sail distance."

In this short account there is much uncertainty. We know not the spot from whence this promontory was viewed. The desert shore was not a point, and might allow a latitude of several miles. The judgment of a day's sail by the view of a distant object is very imperfect, and was probably still more so in the time of Nearchus than at present. The sentence referred to in Arrian has two expressions of doubt or uncertainty in eight words. Nothing therefore can be concluded from such a random computation.

The fourth instance which Mr. Rennel brings is from Scylax, who, he says, allows  $75\frac{1}{2}$  days for the navigation from Canopus to the Pillars of Hercules, which is equal to about 32 Greek miles a day. Canopus lies so near to Alexandria, that it may in so large a distance be taken for the same place. The longitude of Alexandria from London is, by the Nautical Almanack,  $30^{\circ} 16' 30''$  E. L. that of Gibraltar  $5^{\circ} 22' W$ . The sum of these,  $35^{\circ} 38' 30''$ , is equal, in the latitude of Gibraltar, ( $36^{\circ} 5' 30''$ ) to 2009 English

\* Ἀπέχου δὲ ΕΦΑΙΝΕΤΟ ἡ ἄμνη πλόου ΩΣ ἡμέρας.



miles. The difference of latitude between Gibraltar and Alexandria is  $4^{\circ} 54' 10''$ . These, reckoned in the usual way of latitude and departure, amount to 2035 English miles, equal to 2229 Greek miles, which, divided by 75, give about  $29\frac{2}{3}$  Greek miles for each day's sail. But I must say, that this instance is not fairly adduced. Scylax expressly assigns this time to a ship that sailed round the bays<sup>f</sup> and gulphs that lay in the line of passage, not to one that sailed directly to the point aimed at. This circumstance makes a material difference. Had Mr. Rennel drawn his conclusion from an instance he might have found a few lines above, in the same author, it might perhaps have been different: Scylax there says, that a ship under favourable circumstances might sail from Carthage to Hercules's Pillars in seven days and seven nights.

Carthage lies nearly in the same latitude with Gibraltar, and at least  $15^{\circ}$  East, which in latitude 36.5 amounts to 56 English miles and a small fraction over to a degree. This multiplied by 15 is equal to 840 English miles, or 917 Greek miles; or 131 Greek miles, or 1048 stadia, in twenty-four hours.

The fifth instance he brings is from the Red sea, which, he says, from Herodotus, is forty days of navigation. Its length, according to the track a ship must make through it, is about 1300 miles, which makes a rate of sailing about 32 miles a day. But I cannot think the navigation of the Red sea proper to be brought as an instance to estimate the distance which might be sailed by the ships of antiquity, or indeed by any ships whatever. Mr. Irwin observes, that from its narrowness it is soon agitated; that it abounds

<sup>f</sup> Κατὰ τὰς κόλπους κύκλω περιπλέοντι ἡμερῶν οὐ, δ'. Scylac. Perip.



with rocks, shoals, and breakers, and hazy weather. He mentions, that they could not run more than 30 miles on one tack, and that it was their custom to make one shore about sun-set<sup>g</sup>, then to tack, and to stand for the opposite shore until day-break. This is nearly the same progress described by Herodotus. Mr. Irwin adds, that an English ship had been wrecked<sup>h</sup> there, from the difficulty of the navigation, not six months before; and at one time he regarded his own situation as desperate.

They were besides twenty days (from April 16th to May 6th) in failing from Mocha to Zambo, which is a difference of not more than 11° of latitude and 6° of longitude, which is little more than 42 English miles, or about 46 Greek miles, each day of twenty-four hours. Perhaps it was from the difficulty of this navigation that Herodotus intimates, that it was performed with oars only; and indeed Mr. Irwin's account proves that the management of sails in this sea is difficult, even in the present age, and to English sailors.

The sixth and last instance I shall examine is the one Mr. Rennel brings from Herodotus, who says, that the navigation from the Thracian Bosphorus on the Euxine sea to the mouth of the Phasis is a voyage of eight days and nine nights, or, as Mr. Rennel counts it, of sixteen days. This distance he reckons at 38 miles each day. Herodotus estimates this distance at 11,100 stadia, which gives for 8½ days sail more than 1300 stadia for every twenty-four hours, equal to 162 Greek miles, or 148 English miles.

<sup>g</sup> Irwin's Voyage, page 20.

<sup>h</sup> Page 22.



Arrian reckons the same distance to be 8505 stadia, or 1063 Greek miles, which divided by 8.5 gives 125 Greek miles, or 1000 stadia, for each day's sail of twenty-four hours, which agrees exactly with Ptolemy. The real distance however appears to be about  $13^{\circ}$  of longitude, which in latitude  $41^{\circ}$  amounts to 682 English miles, which divided by 8.5 gives 80 English miles, or 87 Greek miles, equal to 696 stadia, for a day and night's sail.

Herodotus again says, that the distance from Sindica to Themiscyra is 3300 stadia, and that this was three days and three nights sail. This allows 1100 stadia for every twenty-four hours sail, which is above the computation of Ptolemy. According to Mr. D'Anville, the distance is about 2640 stadia, or more than 118 Greek miles, in twenty-four hours.

I have thus examined the instances which Mr. Rennel thinks the fairest and most to the purpose; and I submit to the reader, whether I have not shewn, that the distance, which he has ascribed to the ships of antiquity as a day's sail, has not been by him underrated; and that 1000 stadia, which is the space assigned by Ptolemy, is not very near the truth, on a medium computation.



ON  
THE MEASURE  
OF THE  
GREEK STADIUM.



ON  
THE MEASURE  
OF THE  
GREEK STADIUM.

THE Stadium is allowed to be a measure of Grecian original, though well known, and in use, among the Romans.

It had its name, as some say, from the stop at the end of the course for foot-races, at Pisa in Elis<sup>a</sup>, which course was of this length. Others derive it from a word which implies the space a man was able to run without taking breath<sup>b</sup>.

This measure was not uniform, it being acknowledged that there were stadia of different lengths.

The Olympic stadium however, of which I mean principally to treat, appears to have been in the most general use as an itinerary

Olympic stadium in the most general use for itinerary purposes.

<sup>a</sup> Aul. Gell. i. cap. 1. διὰ τὴν στάσιν. Phavorini Lexicon.

<sup>b</sup> Παρὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ δρόμῳ στάσιν. Phavor. The word στάσις, in the sense here used, is explained by a passage cited from Hermogenes, in Stephens's Greek Thesaurus. Τάσις δὲ ἐστὶ τῷ λόγῳ,

ὅταν ὑπεράιξη τῷ μέτρῳ τῆ λόγῳ τὸ πνεῦμα μακρότερον γινόμενον τῆ δυνάσθαι ἐν ἰδίῳ ληφθῆναι τοῦ λέγοντος πνεῦματι· τῆτο γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ στάσις, τὸ ἀποτετάσθαι ἐπὶ μακρότερον ἢ χρὴ τὸ πνεῦμα. Hermogen. de Invent. lib. iv.



measure, the others being mostly confined to local, or provincial districts.

Length of the Olympic stadium. The Olympic stadium consisted of 600 Greek feet, as appears from several authorities.

From Herodotus. Herodotus says<sup>c</sup>, “ that the pyramids of Egypt were 100 ὀργυιαί, “ or fathoms, in height, and that 100 *legal* fathoms were equal to “ a stadium of six plethra. The fathom measures six feet, or four “ cubits, and each foot measures four palms, (τετραπαλαίτων) and “ each cubit six palms.” The word δίκαιαι here used implies, I think, that the measures above specified were of the standard or established kind.

From Hero. Hero says, the stadium contained 600<sup>d</sup> Philetærian feet.

From Suidas. Suidas says, the stadium<sup>e</sup> contained 600 feet, and the plethron 100 feet.

From Strabo. Strabo says, that most people counted<sup>f</sup> 8 stadia to be equal to a mile.

A measure apparently different given by Columella. Several of the Roman writers indeed assign an apparently different measure to the stadium. Columella says<sup>g</sup>, that a stadium contains 125 paces, which, he says, make 625 feet; (each passus,

<sup>c</sup> Οὕτω αἱ μὲν πυραμίδες εἰσὶ ἑκατὸν ὀργυιέων, αἱ δ' ἑκατὸν ὀργυιαὶ δίκαιαι εἰσι σταδίων ἑξάπλευρον· ἑξαπέδου μὲν τῆς ὀργυιῆς μετρεομένης ἢ τετραπύχου, τῶν ποδῶν μὲν τετραπαλαίτων ἰόντων, τοῦ δὲ πήχου, ἑξαπαλαίτου. Herod. lib. ii. c. 149. Ed. Wessel.

<sup>d</sup> Hero in Isagoge.

<sup>e</sup> Vox Σταδίων.

<sup>f</sup> Strabon. lib. vii.

<sup>g</sup> Stadium deinde habet passus 125, id est pedes 625, quæ octies multiplicata efficit mille passus, sic veniunt quinque millia pedum. Columell. lib. v. c. 1.



or pace, containing five feet,) and the number of paces contained in each stadium being multiplied by eight make up 1000 paces, or 5000 feet.

Pliny says, that a stadium<sup>h</sup> contains 125 Roman paces, that is <sup>and by Pliny ;</sup> 625 feet.

Cenforinus says, that the Italic stadium<sup>i</sup> contains 625 feet, the <sup>and Cenforinus ;</sup> Olympic 600 feet, and the Pythic 1000 feet.

Frontinus says, the stadium<sup>k</sup> contains 625 feet, and the mile <sup>and Frontinus ;</sup> 1000 paces, or 5000 feet, equal to eight stadia.

The author of the treatise de Limitibus<sup>l</sup>, and the one de Menfuris<sup>m</sup>, say, “ that the stadium is the least computation of distance <sup>and an anonymous writer.</sup> “ used by travellers ; that it contains 125 paces, which are equal “ to 625 feet, and this last sum multiplied eight times makes a “ mile, which consists of 5000 feet.”

These accounts however are perhaps not more than seemingly discordant. The Olympic stadium, which is understood to be meant when nothing is expressed to the contrary, was composed of 600 Herculean feet, each of which exceeded the common foot, in the same proportion as the length of the foot<sup>n</sup> of Hercules did the

<sup>h</sup> Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 32.

<sup>i</sup> Cenforin. cap. xiii.

<sup>k</sup> Exposit. Formarum.—Goesii Rei Agrariæ Auctores.

<sup>l</sup> Rei Agrariæ Auctores, p. 292.

<sup>m</sup> Ibid. p. 321.

<sup>n</sup> Nam quum fere constaret, curriculum

stadii, quod est Pisæ ad Jovis Olympii, Herculem pedibus suis metatum, idque fecisse longum pedes sexcentos : cætera quoque stadia in terra Græcia, ab aliis postea instituta, pedum quidem esse numero sexcentum, sed tamen aliquantulum breviora : facile intellexerit, modum spatiumque plantæ Herculis, ratione



Explan-  
ation of the  
difference  
of these  
accounts.

length of that of an ordinary man. This difference of length appears to have been in the proportion of 25 to 24. The real length of the stadium was the same among the Romans as it was among the Greeks; but the Greek foot being longer than the Roman, caused the Greeks to reckon fewer feet to the stadium than was done by the Romans.

Even when the length of the mile was reduced, that of the stadium seems to have continued the same as formerly. Thus Suidas reckons the mile *in his time* only at seven stadia and an half, or 4500 feet; by which it is clear, that he means the proportion of 600 feet to a stadium, and those Herculean feet, which he had before reckoned at 4800 to a mile.

Causes of  
the errors of  
ancient  
writers.

I have no doubt therefore that 600 feet was the standard, or legal measure of the stadium; and in this opinion almost all the early writers agree, except when they speak of measurements governed by local customs. Errors and inconsistencies are however frequent, from the ancient writers quoting so often as they appear to have done from memory only; from the want of a free communication of information, and from the natives of one country not understanding the language, customs, or usages of another. Thus Strabo<sup>o</sup> tells us, that Polybius, who had probably been used to count 600 Greek feet to the stadium, observes, that, according to this computation, one third of a stadium was necessary to be added to each mile of eight stadia, in order to bring it to its proper length.

tione proportionis habita, tanto fuisse quam aliorum procerius, quanto Olympicum stadium

longius esset quam cætera. Aul. Gell. lib. i. c. 1.  
<sup>o</sup> Strabon. lib. vii.

This



This must have arisen from a want of considering the difference between the Greek and the Roman foot, the former being to the latter in the proportion of 25 to 24, which corresponds with the additional quantity required by Polybius, in order to supply the deficiency in the mile. It is not however clear whether the error was in Polybius or in Strabo, since in another passage of the former author, now extant in his original works, he says, that the distances from one city or river to another “ were distinctly <sup>p</sup> and “ accurately marked by the Romans, and divided into portions of “ eight stadia each.” This indicates that the Romans in his time allowed eight stadia to a mile, and no more ; which indeed Strabo admits to be the general custom, and is confirmed by this passage of Polybius, who in this place gives no account of any additional quantity necessary to make up the mile.

If then Polybius reckoned 600 feet to the stadium, as he appears to have done by Strabo’s account, he must, in the passage last cited, have meant Greek feet ; otherwise the mile would have been one-third of a stadium, or about 208 Roman feet, short of its proper length.

Plutarch, or those from whom he derived his information, seems to have been misled in the same way. He tells us, “ that Caius “ Gracchus caused all the roads <sup>q</sup> to be divided into miles, each “ mile containing a little less than eight stadia, and erected pillars “ of stone to mark these divisions.”

<sup>p</sup> Ταῦτα γὰρ ἢν βεβημάτισαι ἢ σημεῖωται  
κατὰ σταδίας ὀκτὼ διὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐπιμελῶς. Polyb.

lib. iii. sect. 39.

<sup>q</sup> Vita Caii Gracchi.



By this passage I suppose is meant only, that a mile of eight stadia of 600 feet each, measured by the Roman foot, was inferior in length to one of the same nominal dimensions, but measured by the Greek foot; which last we may reasonably conclude to have been in general use, in estimating the length of the stadium, which was a measure confessedly of Greek original.

It should be considered, that this quantity was assigned to each mile, at the first erection of mile-stones, when their computations might be less correct, and when, as Aulus Gellius tells us was done in later ages in some places, they preserved the number<sup>r</sup> of feet in a stadium, though they reckoned by a shorter foot.

Mr. D'Anville has, I think, incautiously blamed Censorinus, for saying, that the Italic and the Olympic stadia were of different lengths, when he *might* mean only, that the Olympic<sup>s</sup> and the Pythic were different, since we can scarcely suppose a man of the learning of Censorinus to be ignorant of the difference of length between the Greek and the Roman foot.

Length of  
the Greek  
foot.

Let us now endeavour to ascertain the length of the Greek foot, as on this the other calculation must in a great measure depend. For this purpose it will be necessary first to consider the length of the Roman foot.

<sup>r</sup> Cætera quoque stadia in terra Græcia, ab aliis postea instituta, pedum quidem esse numero sexcentum, sed tamen aliquantulum breviora. Aul. Gell. lib. i. cap. 1.

<sup>s</sup> Stadium autem in hac mundi mensura,

id potissimum intelligendum est, quod Italicum vocant, pedum 625, nam sunt præterea et alia longitudine discrepantia, ut Olympicum, quod est pedum 600, et Pythicum, pedum 1000. Censorin. cap. xiii.



Dr. Murdoch<sup>t</sup> is of opinion, that the itinerary foot among the Romans differed from the one in domestic use. But I see no <sup>Length of the Roman foot.</sup> grounds for this supposition. Columella assumes the foot as the origin and foundation of measurements of every kind, either by its multiplications<sup>u</sup>, or by its divisions, and specifies of the former kind, *passus*, *actus*, *climata*, *jugera*, *stadia*, *centuriæ*, and other spaces of greater extent. The foot which he describes must therefore have been the itinerary foot.

Vitruvius<sup>x</sup> gives the same account of the foot with Columella; as that it contains four palms, or sixteen digits, and that it is to the cubit in the proportion of four to six.

We cannot doubt that the foot described by Vitruvius was the architectural foot, and, as such, the same with the one on the monument of Cossutius at Rome. This may be inferred from Greaves's account, as he found the larger stones in the pavement of the Pantheon to correspond exactly with three Cossutian feet, and the smaller, with one Cossutian foot and a half. The person, to whose memory this is thought to have been erected, was by trade a sculptor, or perhaps more probably a builder, as we may infer from the compasses, square, and level, inscribed on his tomb,

<sup>t</sup> Preface to Busching's Geography.

<sup>u</sup> Modus omnis aræ pedali mensura comprehenditur, qui digitorum est sedecim. Pes multiplicatus, in *passus*, et *actus*, et *climata*, et *jugera*, et *stadia*, *centuriæ*que; mox etiam in *majora spatia* procedit. *Passus* pedes habet quinque, *actus* minimus, ut ait Marcus Varro, *latitudinis pedes quatuor*, *longitudinis habet pedes centum et viginti*. *Clima quo-*

*quoversus, pedum est sexaginta; actus quadratus, undique finitus, pedibus centum et viginti.* Columell. lib. v. cap. i.

<sup>x</sup> E cubito enim, cum dempti sunt palmi duo, relinquitur pes quatuor palmorum. *Palmus autem habet quatuor digitos, ita efficitur, ut pes habeat sedecim digitos.* Vitruv. lib. iii. cap. i.



and would therefore use the same measure with that employed in buildings. It appears then that this foot was used in superficial measurement; and Vitruvius, who derives his measures from the proportions of the human body, which he assumes as a standard, makes no difference between the foot used in the construction of buildings, and that employed in the mensuration of distances on the road. The author of the *Treatise de Mensuris* says farther, that the measures taken from the proportions of the human body are those “*quæ ad viatores seu ad cursores pertinent.*”

Romans  
used one  
kind of foot  
measure  
only.

We may then, I think, fairly conclude, that the Romans used one foot measure only, and that the *Cosutian* foot was the Roman foot for all purposes.

Dr. Murdoch speaks twice of the *pes monetalis* of Athens, for which he seems to cite Greaves, who is so far from regarding it as an Attic measure, that he calls it the *pes monetalis*<sup>2</sup>, or *Romanus*.

Dr. Murdoch again says, that the proportion of the *pes monetalis* to the English foot is as 19 to 20; and adds, that the term *monetalis* is to be found in Hyginus. It is certainly mentioned twice by that author; but it refers in both places to the *Roman*, and not to the *Attic* foot.

*Pes monetalis*  
whence  
derived.

The word *monetalis* is of Roman<sup>1</sup>, not of Greek extraction, and

<sup>1</sup> *Rei Agrariæ Scriptores*, Goessii, p. 320.

<sup>2</sup> On the Roman foot.

<sup>3</sup> *Μόνητα ἢ Ἡγεα παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις*. Phav. Lexic.  
Vocem ab æde Junonis ex arce extitisse,  
quocirca Junonem illam appellatam *Monetam*.

*Cicero de Divinatione*.

The Romans, being in want of money at the time of the war with Pyrrhus, invoked the assistance of Juno; who replied, in answer to their applications, that if the war which they carried



derived from an epithet of Juno, in whose temple the money was coined. The pes monetalis, or rather its subdivisions, seem to have been the standard for measuring the diameter of the silver coin; and it appears from Vitruvius<sup>b</sup>, and others, that there was much connection between the Greek and Roman measures and the Greek and Roman money. The pes monetæ is mentioned frequently by the writers of the middle ages, and is defined from one of these by Du Cange, to be “meta monetariis præscripta in “*cludendis nummis, quam omnino observare tenentur.*” From this hint, I examined several very fair Roman coins<sup>c</sup>, both aurei and

carried on was just, money should not be wanting. The Romans then, after gaining what they wished, paid divine honours to *Juno Moneta*, or the Adviser; and decreed, that the money should be coined in her temple. Suid. Lexic. Vox *Μόνητα*.

<sup>b</sup> Ex eo etiam videntur civitates Græcorum fecisse, uti quemadmodum cubitus est sex palmorum, ita in drachmis quoque, eo numero uterentur. Illæ enim æreos signatos, uti asses ex æquo sex, quos obolos appellant; quadrantesque obolorum, quæ alii dichalca, nonnulli trichalca dicunt, pro digitis viginti quatuor constituere.

Palmus autem habet quatuor digitos, ita efficitur, uti habeat pes sexdecim digitos, et totidem asses æreos denarius. Vitruv. lib. iii. cap. i.

As the denarius contained sixteen asses, so the foot contained sixteen digitos. And as the assis was divided into twelve uncias, so likewise the foot was divided into twelve uncias; and therefore the dodrans is used by Frontinus, and the femiuncia and Sicilius by Pliny, for proportionable parts of the Roman foot, as the same are used by other classical authors for proportionable parts of the Roman assis or uncia. Greaves of the Roman foot.

<sup>c</sup> The length of the digitus, or sixteenth part of the Roman foot, is, according to Mr. Greaves, .72525 decimal parts of an inch; but as so many figures denote fractional parts too minute to be ascertained by actual measurement, I have used the three first figures only; and the reader will remark, in the table annexed, how nearly the diameter of the beaded circle stamped upon the Roman coin accords with Mr. Greaves's calculation of the extent of the digitus. Some irregularity takes place; but this may be imputed, either to the inaccuracy of the workmen, or perhaps, in some degree, to the inequality of force in the blows of the hammer, with which the ancient money was struck: but the coincidence of this part of the impression with the digitus in the consular coins, and those of the higher empire, renders it more than probable that this measure was intended to be the standard of the dimensions of the die. The coins referred to were selected from a considerable number, for the fairness of the impression, and the clearness with which the beaded circle was marked out. The measurements were taken with a pair of fine hair-compasses, and a brass scale of inches and decimal parts, made for this purpose by Mr. Troughton.



denarii, and found the beaded circle impressed on them to coincide very nearly with Mr. Greaves's proportion of the digitus.

Dr. Murdoch himself cannot discover the length of the Roman itinerary foot, as he calls it, from any of his calculations. In the estimation of the distance between Bologna and Modena, he computes the Roman foot at one-sixty-fourth, or a quarter of a digit, less than the English: in reckoning the distance between London and Verulam, he makes it to be one-thirty-second, or half a digit, less; which differs very little<sup>d</sup> from the proportion assigned by Mr. Greaves.

Again, he computes the Roman itinerary foot to be to the English as forty-five to forty-four, or one-forty-fourth part greater. Such confusion arises from unauthorised suppositions. The Roman itinerary foot, as distinguished from the common Roman foot, is to me as visionary as the pes monetalis of Athens.

*Table of the dimensions of the beaded circle on the circumference of several Roman Coins.*

Gold Coins.	Diameter of the beaded circle in decimals of an inch.	Silver Coins.	Diameter of the beaded circle in decimals of an inch.
Vespasian	.71	Claudius	.695
Trajan	.74	Domitian	.725
Trajan	.725	Domitian	.70
Hadrian	.74	Domitian	.69
Reverse	.725	Domitian	.71
		Trajan	.71
		Trajan	.71
		Hadrian	.71
		Hadrian	.705
		Marc. Aurelius	.725
		Alex. Severus	.71 bad silver
		Gordian	.775 bad silver
		Philippus	.82 bad silver
Silver Coins.			
Confular	.695		
Confular	.725		
Confular	.725		
Divi filius	.725		
Divus Augustus	.725		

<sup>d</sup> 967 : 1000 :: 31 : 32.005.



Having thus, I hope, settled the length of the Roman, it remains to speak of the Greek foot, and the proportion which these bear to one another.

Proportion between the Greek and the Roman foot;

This is computed by Greaves to be in the ratio of 25 to 24, the Greek foot exceeding the Roman in that proportion, which is the same within a very minute fractional part with that of 1007.29<sup>c</sup> to 967; and this proportion has been adopted by Arbuthnot, and indeed, with an almost imperceptible difference, by Dr. Reinhold Forster.

Our knowledge of this proportion is deduced from

how discoverable.

1. The difference of number between the Greek and the Roman feet, said to be contained in the stadium, there being 600 Greek feet, as we have already seen, and 625 Roman feet, which, if we suppose the stadium to be of an equal length in both computations, makes the Greek foot to be longer than the Roman, in the ratio of 25 to 24.

2. The passage of Polybius cited by Strabo, and mentioned above, which seems to give the same proportion.

3. The proportion of the Philæterian foot, which is described to be  $\frac{1}{600}$  part of a stadium, and appears to have been the Greek foot, and was, as Salmafius<sup>f</sup> lays it down,  $\frac{1}{24}$  part longer than the Roman foot, or pes monetalis.

<sup>c</sup> 25 : 24 :: 1007.29 : 966.9984.

Græcus et Philæterius, Romano, five monetali.

<sup>f</sup> Sic vigesima quarta parte major erat pes

Salmaf. Plin. Exercitat.



ON THE MEASURE

4. From the description of the Ptolemaic foot, given by Hyginus<sup>s</sup>, which appears to be the same with the Greek, and was half an inch longer than the pes monetalis, or as 25 to 24.

5. From the measures of ancient buildings, now remaining. "Mr. Stuart," as we are told by the editor of the two last volumes of the Antiquities of Athens, "appears to have taken very great pains to discover the true length of the Greek foot, from different measures of the temple of Minerva Parthenon; which, from its name Hecatompodon, was supposed to contain a measure of an hundred feet, in some conspicuous part of the building."

The difference of the foot, and the proportion it bears to English measure, taken from various parts of the building, are as follows.

TABLE I.

	ENGLISH MEASURE.	
	Inches.	Dec. parts.
I. Length of the upper step in front of the temple gives for one Greek foot . . . . .	12.	139
II. From outside to outside of the angular columns . . . . .	12.	095
III. From center to center of the front columns . . . . .	12.	0928
IV. From the Roman foot, by measure of the obelisk of Sefostris . . . . .	12.	11551
V. Length of the architrave . . . . .	12.	0625
VI. From length of the third step in vol. ii. pag. 8. . . . .	12.	137
Average of the whole . . . . .	12.	10697
Average of Nos. I. II. III. V. VI. . . . .	12.	0808

<sup>s</sup> Præterea pes eorum qui Ptolemaicus appellatur habet monetalem pedem et femunciam. Hyginus de Limitibus constituendis.



TABLE II.

Suppose the English foot to be as . . . . .	1000.		
The Greek foot, according to Greaves, is . . . . .	1007.29		
According to No. I. in the other table . . . . .	1011.591		
According to No. II. . . . .	1008.		
According to No. III. . . . .	1007.68		
According to No. IV. . . . .	1009.6		
According to No. V. . . . .	1005.21		
According to No. VI. . . . .	1011.41		
Average of Mr. Stuart's calculations . . . . .	1008.915		
Proportion of Greek foot to Roman . . . . .	25 : 23.9614		
Length of Greek Olympic stadium, according	Eng. feet.	Dec. parts.	
to Mr. Stuart's calculation of the foot . . . . .	605.	341	

The near coincidence of these calculations with those of Mr. Greaves is a strong presumption of the correctness of both, and proves how much those have been deceived who have attempted to reduce the Greek foot to less than two-thirds of the English. But of this more hereafter.

Mr. Rennel, in his work entitled "The Geographical System of Herodotus," mentions the Olympic stadium of 600 feet, but alledges, that, "there is no testimony of the application of this stadium to itinerary purposes. On the contrary, every portion of distance, as well throughout Herodotus's history, as the writings of other Greeks, appears, on a reference to the ground itself, to be measured by a stade of a much shorter standard, most of them rising above that of Xenophon, which is of 750 to a degree, but falling below that of Strabo, which is of 700."

Mr. Rennel's account of the length of the stadium considered.

To



To Mr. Rennel's assertion, that there is no testimony of the application of the Olympic stadium to itinerary purposes by Herodotus, it may be replied, that there is as much testimony as could be expected. It is described as a superficial measure by that writer, and its parts or subdivisions particularised, and this but a few lines after he had specified the extent of the lake Mœris, which he estimates at 3600 stadia, or 450 miles, in circumference, a space which Mr. Rennel will surely allow to be sufficient to be accounted an itinerary computation. Now Herodotus never describes any other stadium, or gives any reason to think, that the one used in computing the extent of the lake Mœris was of a different length from the one described just after. It is worth remarking, that Herodotus, at the beginning of the same book, tells us, "that those who have but a small portion of land, measure it by the ὀργυρία, or fathom; those who have more, measure it by the stadium; those who have much, by the parasanga; and those who possess countries of great extent, by the schoenus; the former of the two last-mentioned measures consisting of 30, and the latter of 60, stadia." Now the ὀργυρία is mentioned as the next division to the stadium in both these places, and of course we have reason to think that the same stadium was meant in both.

From the dimensions of the lake Mœris.

In order to prove that Herodotus meant to express a stadium smaller than the Olympic, Mr. Rennel takes the distance between Pifa and Athens, which, he says, "ought, if the numbers be not corrupted, to be accounted decisive." This distance was, according to Herodotus, fifteen stadia short of 1500, or 1485 stadia; and this, he says, agreed nearly with the one between Heliopolis in Egypt, and the sea. "The direct distance," Mr. Rennel says, is, "in D'Anville's map of Greece, 105 Greek miles." I have that

From the distance between Pifa and Athens.



that map now before me, and this distance measures upon it 990 Olympic stadia, or 123 Greek miles and  $\frac{3}{4}$ . If we add to this  $\frac{1}{8}$ , or 15 miles and  $\frac{1}{2}$ , for the winding of the road, it will make up 139 miles and  $\frac{1}{4}$ , equal to 1114 stadia of 600 to a degree. Say then, <sup>h</sup> 1114 : 600 :: 1485 : 799.8, or almost 800 to a degree.

Let us now see what the number of stadia to a degree would be by Mr. Rennel's own numbers: <sup>i</sup> 118. × 8. = 944 : 600 :: 1485 : 943.856, both calculations very different from that of Mr. Rennel.

But the road which we may presume was usually travelled is as follows :

From Pisa to Corinth . . . . .	570	}	Olympic stadia, according to D'Anville's map.
From Corinth to Megara . . . . .	250		
From Megara to Athens . . . . .	229		
Direct distance from Pisa to Athens	1049		

Add  $\frac{1}{8}$ , or 131 stadia, for winding of the road, and the numbers will be 1180 stadia. Say then 1180 : 600 :: 1485 : 755.08, a number not very different from the one assigned by Mr. Rennel, but not deducible from those calculations which he has specified.

<sup>h</sup> 600 Olympic stadia are reckoned equal to a degree, on Mr. D'Anville's map of Greece.

<sup>i</sup> This is the number assigned by Mr. Rennel, with the addition of  $\frac{1}{8}$  for winding of the road.



The distance, according to Mr. Rochette's map of Greece, stands thus :

From Pisa to Corinth . . . . .	63	} English miles.
From Corinth to Megara . . . . .	27	
From Megara to Athens . . . . .	26	
<hr/>		
Distance from Pisa to Athens . . . . .	116	
Add $\frac{1}{8}$ or $14\frac{1}{2}$ miles, for winding of the road	14.5	
<hr/>		
	130.5	

Say then,  $130.5 : 1485 :: 69.5 : 790.86$  for the number of stadia in a degree.

From the distance between Olympia and Sparta.

But whatever dependence Mr. Rennel may place on this calculation, he owns that the account given by Pausanias, of the distance from Olympia to Sparta, leads to a different conclusion, and gives a stadium of no more than 707 to a degree. Pausanias estimates this distance at 660<sup>k</sup> stadia; and Mr. Rennel says, "that on the map this distance is 50 Greek miles, or 56 by the road, giving a rate of 707 to a degree. The Theodosian Table has 61 mille passus only, equal to about 49 Greek miles by the road."

The distance between Olympia and Sparta is, according to Mr. D'Anville's map, 500 stadia, or  $62\frac{1}{2}$  Greek miles, equal to 57.23 English miles, which last is nearly the distance laid down in Mr. Rochette's<sup>1</sup> map. If we add to this  $\frac{1}{8}$  for winding, it will make

<sup>k</sup> Ὀδοῦ δὲ τῆς ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἐξ Ὀλυμπίας ἐπὶ ἑτέραν σῆλην τὴν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι μέτρα εἶναι σταδίων ἑξήκοντά τε καὶ ἑξακοσίους. Pausan. lib. vi. p. 492.

Edit. Kühn.

<sup>1</sup> This is the same with the one in Stuart's Antiquities of Athens.



up  $562\frac{1}{2}$  stadia, or 70 Greek miles, or nearly  $64\frac{1}{4}$  English miles. Say then,  $64.326 : 660 :: 69.5 : 713.09$ , which is not far from Mr. Rennel's conclusion, though not founded on his calculations.

Let us now see how the account will stand, according to his own computation.  $51.28$  Engl. m. =  $56$  Greek m. :  $660 :: 69.5 : 817.22$ ; very different from Mr. Rennel's calculation of 707 to a degree.

As to what Mr. Rennel says respecting the distance being by the Theodosian or Peutingerian Tables 61 M. P. I answer, that I have these now before me, in Bertius's edition of Ptolemy's Geography, and find that there are two roads put down from Olympia to Lacedæmon, one the more direct by Melæna, the other following for a considerable part of it the sea-coast. The more direct road has the distances marked on it no farther than from Olympia to Melæna, which last place is set down as 12 miles from Olympia, which, by Mr. D'Anville's map, appears to be nearly the true distance; but no farther specifications are to be found for the remainder of the way.

The road by the coast is as follows; with the distances as marked in the tables, and those measured in a straight line in Mr. D'Anville's map of Greece.



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	Peutingarian Table.	D'Anville's map.
From Olympia to Samaco . . . . .	15 M. P.	17 M. P.
From Samaco to Cypariffa . . . . .	24	18
From Cypariffa to Pylus . . . . .	15	14
From Pylus to Methone . . . . .	30	19
From Methone to Afine . . . . .	12	11
From Afine to Messene . . . . .	30	28
From Messene to Lacedæmon . . . . .	30	30
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	156 Total.	137
Add $\frac{1}{3}$ , or 17 M. P. to Mr. D'Anville . . . . .		17
		<hr/>
		154 Total.

The agreement between modern and ancient computation is here very remarkable; but I suspect that the road, to which Pausanias alludes, was more circuitous than the common allowance of  $\frac{1}{3}$  will account for.

From the account given by Herodotus of the length of the Bosphorus.

Let us now examine some of the distances of which we may be supposed to have more accurate accounts, and which Herodotus himself is said to have measured. He says, that the length of the Bosphorus is 120 stadia. According to the large map of the Propontis, it measures 16<sup>m</sup> English miles; and, according to Mr. Arrowsmith's chart, 13° = 15 English miles. If we take the medium of these two computations, we may say, 15.5 : 120 :: 69.5 : 538 nearly.

We know not indeed the points between which Herodotus formed his mensurations; but they could not be far from those

<sup>m</sup> Rochette's map makes it to be 15 $\frac{1}{2}$  English miles.



here fixed on ; and this instance would argue, that Herodotus used a stadium considerably greater than even the Olympic. Again, Herodotus says, that the Propontis is 1400 stadia in length ; but <sup>Of the Propontis.</sup> by the large map it measures, including the Bosphorus, which Herodotus says belongs to it, 142.5 English miles. Say then,  $142.5 : 1400 :: 69.5 : 683$  nearly, a strange disproportion between two distances so nearly connected.

The same writer estimates the length of the Hellespont at 400 <sup>Of the Hellespont.</sup> stadia ; but it measures, from Gallipoli to the opening into the Ægean sea, no more than 38 English miles, or about 331 Olympic stadia ; though it winds so much, that Herodotus's calculation of the course of the Strait may be nearly just, and indicates, that he measured on this occasion by the Olympic stadium. But the truth is, that the measurements of Herodotus are in general so inaccurate, or so corrupted, as not to be depended on, and cannot be regarded as a foundation on which any standard measure can be established, and fully justify the observation of Dr. Blair<sup>n</sup>, that “ nothing is more common than to find a confusion of numbers in “ the distances given us by ancient authors.”

Mr. Rennel observes truly on the distance between Pisa and Athens, as laid down by Herodotus, that the distance from Heliopolis<sup>o</sup> to the sea, which Herodotus describes as equal to the other, is not in reality more than 80 Greek miles.

Let us then apply to Xenophon, who, as he travelled himself,

<sup>n</sup> Hist. of Geography. Strabo acknowledges the same inaccuracy, *ὅ γὰρ ὁμολογεῖται περὶ τῶν διαστημάτων.* Strab. lib. iv. pag. 178.

<sup>o</sup> From Heliopolis to Tanis is 80 Greek miles by D'Anville's map, or  $73\frac{1}{4}$  miles by Faden's map. 1802.



Length of  
the daily  
march of  
the army  
of Cyrus.

the distances, which he describes in Asia Minor, may afford more satisfactory information. Mr. Rennel tells us, that “Xenophon’s ordinary march was 150 stadia daily, which both he and Herodotus accounts to be equal to five parasangas.” The proper way, I apprehend, of computing the march of Xenophon’s army, is to take that part of it where they marched over ground with which they were acquainted; not where they were harassed and pursued by the enemy. I would therefore select the account of their march from Sardis to Babylon, a space where the distances were measured, and more to be depended on than those which occurred when they were traversing backwards and forwards deserts, and other difficult and dangerous paths, with which they were totally unacquainted.

*March of Xenophon, with the Greek Auxiliaries.*

	Parasangas.	Days journey.	Stadia, according to D’Anville.
From Sardis to the Mæander . . . . .	22	3	475
From the Mæander to Colosea . . . . .	8	1	200
From Colosea to Celænæ . . . . .	20	3	475
From Celænæ to Peltæ . . . . .	10	2	250
From Peltæ to the Market of the Cramians	12	2	
From the Market of the Cramians to Caystrus	30	3	600
From Caystrus to Thymbrium . . . . .	10	2	250
From Thymbrium to Iconium . . . . .	20	3	675
From Iconium to Tyana . . . . .	25	4	1275
From Tyana to Tarsus . . . . .	254		535
From Tarsus to Pharus . . . . .	10	2	
From Pharus to Pyramus . . . . .	5	1	350
From Pyramus to Iffus . . . . .	15	2	300
From Iffus to the Gates of Cilicia . . . . .	5	1	125
From the Gates of Cilicia to Myriandrus	5	1	150
From Myriandrus to Calus . . . . .	20	4	600

From



	Parafan- gas.	Days journey.	Stadia, according to D'Anville.
From Calus to Daradax . . . . .	30	5	475
From Daradax to Thapfacus . . . . .	15	3	930
From Thapfacus to Araxes . . . . .	50	9	
From Araxes through Arabia . . . . .	35	5	
From Corfotæ to Pylæ . . . . .	90	13	
Through Babylonia . . . . .	12	3	
	474	76	7665

Now 474 divided by 76 gives 6.2368, or almost *six* parafangas and a quarter, for a day's journey, not *five*, as Mr. Rennel says. Again, 6.2368 multiplied by 30 gives 187.104 stadia for a day's march, which, if we count by Olympic stadia, is equal to 21.34 English miles. This measure of a day's march differs much from the computation of Mr. Rennel, who assigns 15 miles only; but it is more agreeable to the accounts we have from antiquity of such military movements. But more of this presently.

The fourth column in the foregoing table marks the distances between the stages mentioned in Xenophon, measured from the scale of Olympic stadia annexed to Mr. D'Anville's map of Asia Minor. It is continued only from Sardis to Thapfacus, as the limits of the map did not afford an opportunity of pursuing it farther. The distance between every stage mentioned by Xenophon is not set down, as the several stages are not all marked in the map; but this makes little or no difference in the whole distance; and the coincidence of the numbers specified by Xenophon with those in D'Anville's map, is very remarkable. The distance between Sardis and Thapfacus was, according to Xenophon, 287 parafangas; which, reckoning 30 stadia to a parafanga, amounts to 8610 stadia. According to Mr. D'Anville's map, the sum of the  
direct



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direct distances between each stage amounts to 7665 Olympic stadia. If we add to this  $\frac{1}{8}$ , or 958 stadia, for winding of the road, the comparative account will stand thus.

*Distance from Sardis to Thapsacus.*

According to Xenophon, 8610 stadia.		According to D'Anville's	map . . . . .	7665	}	Olympic stadia.
		Add $\frac{1}{8}$ . . . . .	958	8623		
		Difference from Xenophon 13 stadia, or a 663d part of the whole distance.				

Surely this coincidence, in a space of such an extent, is a sufficient proof that Xenophon used the Olympic stadium.

The above calculation for a day's march implies, no doubt, that it was accelerated beyond the usual rate; and that it was actually so, we are expressly told by Xenophon himself. After having said, that some of the marches were very long, he adds, that "upon the whole, Cyrus appeared throughout to hasten their march, stopping no where, unless to get provisions, or for something else that was necessary; for he judged, that the quicker he marched, the more unprepared the king would be to encounter him, and the slower, the more numerous would be the king's army; for it was obvious to any person of attention, that the Persian empire, though strong with regard to the extent of the country, and the numbers of men, was however weak by reason of the great distances of the places, and the division of its forces, when surprised by a sudden invasion <sup>p.</sup>"

<sup>p</sup> Spelman's Translation of Xenophon's Anabasis, p. 31. It must however, I think, be admitted, that the acceleration of the march of Cyrus could not have been very great, otherwise



Arrian tells us, that Alexander marched from the lake Afcania <sup>q</sup> Of Alexander. to Celæne in five days. This is, according to D'Anville's ancient map of Asia Minor, 1250 Olympic stadia, and 143<sup>r</sup> English miles by Rochette's map, and the same by D'Anville's modern map of Asia Minor. This makes 250 stadia, or 28½ English miles, for each day's march, allowing nothing for the winding of the road. If  $\frac{1}{8}$  be allowed on that account, each day's march will be 280 stadia, equal to 32 English miles<sup>s</sup>.

Herodotus tells us, that 200 stadia, or 25 Greek miles, equal to <sup>Accounts from Herodotus.</sup> 22.893 English miles, was a day's journey for a foot traveller; and that 150 stadia, or 18½ Greek miles, was a day's march for an army.

Strabo assigns 250, or even 300, stadia for a day's journey for a <sup>From Strabo.</sup> foot traveller; and Procopius<sup>t</sup> mentions 210 as the usual com- <sup>From Procopius.</sup> putation.

Vegetius<sup>u</sup>, at a time when the Roman discipline began to de- <sup>From Vegetius.</sup> cline, says, that the usual daily march of the army was 20 miles, which was performed in five hours<sup>x</sup>; and that if they accelerated

wife it could scarcely have been continued for so many days successively.

<sup>q</sup> Καὶ ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Κελαινας περὶ πέντε ἡμέρας. Arriani Vit Alexandri, lib. i.

<sup>r</sup> 143 English miles are equal to 1249.248 Olympic stadia.

<sup>s</sup> Alexander, when more at leisure, marched from Gaza to Pelusium in seven days, which is, according to Mr. D'Anville's map, with the allowance of  $\frac{1}{8}$  for winding of the road, 1237.5 Olympic stadia; or, according to a later map,

1252 stadia, which is about 178 stadia each day, or more than 20 English miles.

<sup>t</sup> Bello Vandalico, lib. i. c. 1. Procopius says, a little after, that it was 40 days journey for a foot traveller from Chalcedon to the Phasis. The distance is, according to Arrian, 8505 stadia, or 212.6 stadia nearly for each day.

<sup>u</sup> He lived about A. D. 387.

<sup>x</sup> Lib. i. cap. 9.

their



their pace, they could march 24 miles in the same time. If this appears to be a greater effort than soldiers in the present age are equal to, we should consider the effects<sup>y</sup> of habit and exercise. The armour of our own forefathers, which was easily carried by them, and under the weight of which they even performed feats of activity, could scarcely be supported by a man of moderate strength in the present age. Vegetius tells us, that in his time the weight of the armour and provisions, which was carried by the Roman soldiers on these long marches, amounted to 60 pounds. Yet we have reason to believe that this was done without any extraordinary difficulty. Their military exercise was a constant habituation to fatigue, whereas that of modern times is more adapted to the practice of quick motions, and rapid evolutions; than to the endurance of hardship and labour. This circumstance gave the soldiers of antiquity a capacity of performing what we can scarcely conceive. Yet we must not deny what is so incontestably proved, from writers<sup>z</sup> of the best authority, and indeed from the general tenor of history.

From  
Cicero.

Cicero gives nearly the same account with Vegetius of the

<sup>y</sup> Livy reckons 25 Roman miles (equal to 200 stadia, as appears from the corresponding passage in Polybius) to be a day's journey or march for a body of men, on a military expedition. Twenty-five Roman miles were equal to 22.893 Eng. miles. Liv. lib. xxi. sect. 28.

<sup>z</sup> Pondus bajulare, usque ad sexaginta libras, et iter facere gradu militari frequentissime cogendi sunt juniores, quibus, in arduis expeditionibus necessitas imminet annonam pariter et arma portandi. Nec hoc credatur

esse difficile, si usus accesserit, nihil enim est quod non assidua meditatio facillimum reddat. Quam rem antiquos milites fecerunt Virgilio ipso teste cognoscitur. Veget. lib. i. cap. 19.

Silvam cædere, portare onera, transilire fossas, natæ in mari seu fluminibus, gradu pleno ambulare, vel currere, etiam armatos, cum sarcinis suis frequentissime convenit; ut quotidiani laboris usus in pace, difficilis non videatur in bello. Veget. lib. ii. cap. 23.



Roman discipline<sup>a</sup> in his time, and of its effects, which Marius had before experienced in the Cimbric war. Men who could undergo such fatigues might well perform longer marches than those to which Mr. Rennel objects. But, says Mr. R. the space of 14½ miles was the mean distance travelled by an Indian army. But that of Cyrus was not a tumultuary multitude of that kind. Xenophon himself relates a remarkable<sup>b</sup> instance how forward the principal persons among them were to expedite the march of the army by their personal exertions. Cyrus himself was the most consummate general of the age in which he lived; he commanded forces raised in Greece, or in countries connected with it; he himself admired and practised the Grecian discipline; he promised himself the empire of Persia, by the aid of the Greeks; and although a tragical accident put an end at once to his life and to his hopes, his allies, in the midst of an enemy's country, and subject to every disadvantage, returned sword in hand, in despite of all the efforts of their enemies, by a different road, and reached Greece in safety. Surely such forces were as capable of a long

<sup>a</sup> Nostri exercitus unde nomen habent vides: deinde qui labor, quantusque agminis, ferre plus dimidiati mensis cibaria; ferre, si quid ad usum velint: ferre vallum? Nam scutum, gladium, galeam, in onere nostri milites non plus numerant, quam humeros, lacertos, manus: arma enim membra milites esse ducunt. Ciceron. Tusc. Disp. lib. ii. sect. 15.

<sup>b</sup> Once, where the road was narrow, and so deep that the carriages could not pass without difficulty, Cyrus stopped, with those about him of the greatest authority and fortune, and ordered Glus and Pigres to take some of the barbarians belonging to his army, and help the carriages through: but thinking they

went slowly about it, he ordered, as in anger, the most considerable Persians who were with him to assist in hastening on the carriages. This afforded an instance of their ready obedience; for, throwing off their purple robes, where each of them happened to stand, they ran, as if it had been for a prize, down a very steep hill, in their costly vests and embroidered drawers, some even with chains about their necks, and bracelets round their wrists; and leaping into the dirt with these, they lifted up the carriages, and brought them out sooner than can be imagined. Spelman's Expedition of Cyrus, p. 30, 31.



march as the Roman armies were in the middle of the fourth century.

Mr. Rennel again allows that Strabo reckoned eight stadia to a mile, and that seemingly on his own judgment; and afterwards says, that if the opinion of Polybius is to be followed, one-third of a stadium is to be added, as he has allotted  $8\frac{1}{3}$  stadia to a mile. But I have before produced a passage from the works of Polybius, now extant, in which he allows eight stadia only to a mile; and it is probable that the passage cited by Strabo might be only to accommodate the Greek to the Roman measure, if it be not, as I have before hinted, a mistake of Strabo himself.

It is rather incorrect in Mr. Rennel to say that  $8\frac{1}{3}$  Olympic stadia, of 600 feet each, were equal to 5000 feet. If he measures the Olympic stadium by Roman feet, and allows only 600 of these to a stadium, contrary to the account given by all the Roman writers, who assign 625 Roman feet to a stadium, his calculation will hold good; but it is more natural to suppose that a Greek measure should be computed by Greek feet. If these were meant, eight Olympic stadia, without any addition, though containing only 4800 Greek feet, would be equal to 5000 Roman feet, as has been observed before.

Mistake of  
Mr. Rennel.

It is unfortunate that a person of Mr. Rennel's sagacity and abilities should fall into such a mistake, as to suppose that a figure of eight could be substituted in place of a figure of nine, in the MSS. of Strabo, when the use of the Arabic numerals was not introduced until a later date than that of any good MSS. of that writer, and when the number is not expressed by any numeral figures



figures at all, but by the Greek word *ὀκταστάδιον*<sup>c</sup>, which requires more than the change of a single letter to metamorphose it into *ἐννεαστάδιον*.

The measures of some of the ancient buildings may be applied towards ascertaining the length of the stadium, as well as that of the foot.

Testimonies concerning the length of the stadium, drawn from the measures of ancient buildings.

Pausanias tells us, that the Peribolus, or wall<sup>d</sup> surrounding the court which inclosed the temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens, was at most<sup>e</sup> four stadia in circumference. The dimensions, according to Mr. Stuart, are as follows :

	Feet.	Inches.	Dec. of an Inch.
Length . . . . .	688	6	5
Breadth . . . . .	463	5	37
	<hr/>		
	1151	11	87
			2
	<hr/>		
	2303	11	74

equal to 2286 Greek feet nearly, which are one-nineteenth part and a half short of four Olympic stadia ; but nevertheless sufficiently coinciding with the expression of Pausanias, supposing he meant Olympic stadia ; but not if he meant stadia of the dimensions assigned by Mr. Rennel.

<sup>c</sup> Ptolemy assigns only 500 stadia to a degree, or eight stadia and one-third to a minute, or 60 Roman miles, at 625 feet to the stadium. Geogr. cap. vii. A Greek or Roman mile is about 75 to a degree on the equator; of course 600 stadia would be the proper

number.

<sup>d</sup> Pausanias, lib. i.

<sup>e</sup> The words of Pausanias are, *σταδίων μάλιστα τεσσαράων ἐστίν* which means, at most or near four stadia. Const. Lexic. et Steph. Thésaur. Vox *μάλιστα*.



The length of the area of the Panathenæan stadium is yet distinguishable. It was accurately measured by Mr. Vernon, who accompanied Sir George Wheeler to that place, A. D. 1676, and was determined by him to be 630 English feet; and with this account both Dr. Chandler and Mr. Stuart agree. If we consider that the racers in the stadium, in the course called *Δίαυλος*, returned in the same direction in which they set out, we may allow 25 feet for the turn at the end round the meta; and if so, the length of the course will be 600 Greek feet, or 605 English feet; which, from this measurement, I think more than probable.

Opinion of  
Mr. Barré  
considered.

In the nineteenth volume of the French Memoirs of Literature, including from the year 1744 to 1746, there are some dissertations on the length of the stadium, by Mr. De la Barré<sup>f</sup>. That gentleman had conceived a notion, that the stadium of Herodotus was only  $\frac{3}{5}$  of the length of the one employed by Pliny; and this position, which abridges the length of the stadium more than any which I have seen, is supported by him with much learning and ingenuity, though not altogether with candour and impartial representation.

He founds his argument on the length of the Pythic stadium, which, Censorinus tells us, consisted of 1000 feet; whilst the Italic contained only 625, and the Olympic but 600 feet.

Mr. Barré thinks, that the Romans adopted the Pythic stadium from the intercourse which they had with Greece, when they sent, as they often did in early times, to consult the Pythian or Delphic

<sup>f</sup> Sur les Mesures Géographiques des Anciens.



oracle. But this is all a conjecture of his own. The Pythic stadium never could have been in general use among the Romans, as it is never, as far as I can find, noticed, or even named, by any other writer than Cenforinus, even by those who treat professedly of the mensuration of distances. It seems probable that it was a local measure only, perhaps of the Gymnasium<sup>s</sup> belonging to the place, and not in use elsewhere. But let us examine his arguments.

He begins with saying, that Pliny, translating a passage from Theophrastus, renders the words *τρῆς καὶ δέκα ὀργυιῶν*, by *centum triginta pedum*; and as the words so applied signify that each *ὀργυιά*, or fathom, contains ten feet, which is four feet above the length assigned by Herodotus, it follows, that the fathom in the time of Pliny was as five to three to that used in the time of Herodotus; and from thence infers, that the stadium of Pliny exceeded that of Herodotus in the same proportion. But, supposing the reading to be genuine, all that I can infer from it is, that thirteen fathoms in the time of Theophrastus were equal to 130 feet in the time of Pliny; and of course, that the fathom was increased in the proportion of five to three from the time of Herodotus to that of Theophrastus, a thing difficult to conceive, as the interval was no more than 137 years. But this no ways concerns Pliny's calculation of the length of the stadium, which he never reckons by fathoms, but by paces and feet; and says positively, that a stadium

Argument from the words of Theophrastus, as translated by Pliny.

<sup>s</sup> The Pythian games were celebrated at or near Cirrha, in the neighbourhood of Delphi, where, as it appears from Pausanias and Pindar, there was a horse-course (*Ἰππόδρομος*) and a stadium.

Πυδοῖ τε γυμνὸν ἐπὶ  
στάδιον καταβάντες ἤλεγξαν  
Ἑλλανίδα στρατιᾶν ἀκύντα-  
τι. Pindar. Pyth. Od. xi. vers. 73.

See also Pausan. Phocic. p. 893. Edit. Kühn.



contains 125 of the former, and 625 of the latter. To suppose on such a random conjecture that Pliny ascribed 1000 feet to a stadium, when his own words so directly contradict it, would be the height of absurdity.

But let us now examine, from the testimony of various writers of authority, Greek as well as Roman, if the measure of ten Roman feet would not be utterly inconsistent with the description of the ὀργυιὰ, or fathom, itself.

Xenophon <sup>h</sup>, who flourished only 54 years after Herodotus, describes the ὀργυιὰ to be the measure of the distance which reaches from the extremity of one arm to that of the other, when both are extended at right angles to the body. Phavorinus <sup>i</sup>, Suidas <sup>k</sup>, Hesychius <sup>l</sup>, and Julius Pollux <sup>m</sup>, explain it in the same way.

The same measure, though without a name assigned to it, is described by Vitruvius, who makes it equal <sup>n</sup> to the length of the body. It is also evident that Vitruvius meant hereby a measure of six feet, as he reckons the measure <sup>o</sup> of the foot as one-sixth part of the height.

Of the authors above cited, Vitruvius lived about 126 years be-

<sup>h</sup> Χεῖρες μὲν γὰρ, εἰ δέοι αὐτὰς τὰ πλεόν ὀργυιᾶς διέχοντα ἅμα ποιῆσαι, ἔκ τιν ἂν δύναιντο. Memorab. lib. ii. cap. 3. sect. 19.

<sup>i</sup> Ὀργυιὰ τὸ ἐξηπλωμένον μέτρον τῶν χειρῶν, ἢ τὴν ἕκτασιν τῶν χειρῶν. Phavorin.

<sup>k</sup> Ὀργυιὰ τὰ μὲν ἰδίων χειρῶν μέτρα. Suidas.

<sup>l</sup> Ὀργυιὰ ἢ τῶν ἀμφοτέρων χειρῶν ἕκτασις. Hesychii Lexic.

<sup>m</sup> Εἰ δ' ἀμφω τὰς χεῖρας ἐπτείνειας, ὡς καὶ τὸ σέρνον αὐταῖς συμμετρῆϊν, ὀργυιὰ τὸ μέτρον. Jul. Polluc. lib. ii. sect. 158.

<sup>n</sup> Nam si a pedibus imis ad summum caput mensum erit, eaque mensura relata fuerit ad manus ambas, invenitur eadem latitudo uti altitudo. Vitruv. lib. iii. cap. 1.

<sup>o</sup> Pes vero altitudinis corporis sexta. Ibid.



fore Pliny; Julius Pollux lived about eighty years later, and Hesychius about 300 years after Pliny. Is it reasonable then to suppose that Pliny should assign ten Roman feet to a measure, universally allowed in his own time to be equal to the height of a man, as a standard? Six Roman feet are, in English measure, equal to 69.624 inches, or rather more than five feet nine inches and a half, which is nearly the medium size of well-proportioned men. But if Pliny estimated the height of a man at ten Roman feet, equal to nine feet eight inches English measure, we must suppose he borrowed his standard from the heroic ages, and was himself infected with the "Græciæ fabulositas<sup>p</sup>," of which he more than once complains. But I suspect the passage cited from Pliny to be corrupt. It is certainly incorrect, as it describes the cedar, whose extraordinary size he records, as growing in Cyprus, when Theophrastus expressly says<sup>q</sup>, that it grew in Syria.

Mr. Barré next remarks, that the circumference of the earth, as reckoned by Posidonius, who lived in the time of Pompey, was 240,000 stadia; which number, he observes, is to 400,000 (the number assigned by Aristotle) as 6 is to 10; and concludes from thence, that there was a difference of  $\frac{2}{5}$  in the length of the stadia, by which they respectively calculated. But Posidonius no where says that his computation was derived from Aristotle; on the contrary, we know from Cleomedes<sup>r</sup>, that it was deduced from an

<sup>p</sup> Lib. iv. Argum. Lib. xii. cap. i. lib. v. cap. i.

<sup>q</sup> Theophrast. lib. v. cap. 9.

<sup>r</sup> Lib. i. cap. 26.



## ON THE MEASURE

observation of the star Canopus<sup>s</sup>, made by himself. He remarked,

<sup>s</sup> Height of the North Pole at Rhodes	36 27 <sup>0</sup>
Distance from the Pole to the Equator	90
Declination of Canopus South	52 31

Subtract this sum	178 58
From . . . . .	180

Remainder . . . . .	1 2
Add for refraction	24

Apparent altitude of Canopus at Rhodes 1 26

Height of North Pole at Alexandria	31 11
Distance from the Pole to the Equator	90
Declination of Canopus South	52 31

Subtract this sum	173 42
From . . . . .	180

Remainder . . . . .	6 18
Add for refraction	8

Apparent altitude of Canopus at Alexandria . . . . . 6 26

Subtract for its apparent height at Rhodes . . . . . 1 26

Remainder . . . . . 5

which is the difference between its apparent height at the two places. Five degrees of latitude, at 69.25 English miles each, = 346 English miles, = 3023 Olympic stadia; which should be, according to this calculation, the distance between Alexandria and Rhodes, supposing them to lie under the same meridian. But Alexandria is 1° 51' to the east of Rhodes, a space in the latitude of Alexandria equal to 110 English miles.

Square of 346	119716
Square of 110	12100
Sum	131816

Square root 363.65 E. miles.

for the distance from Alexandria to Rhodes, = 3177 Olympic stadia. But this distance is too small, owing to the proportionally greater refraction at the altitude of 1° 2', than at 6° 18', which amounts to 16' in altitude, and to about 17' in distance.

True altitude of Canopus at Rhodes	1 2 <sup>0</sup>
at Alexandria	6 18

Difference 5 16

Equal to 364.71 English miles.

Square of 364.71 133013.37

Square of 110 12100

Sum 145113.37

Square root 380.97 E. miles.

Equal to 3328 Olympic stadia, for the distance from Alexandria to Rhodes.

Let us now see how the calculation of Pofidonius, respecting the circumference of the earth, would stand, had his observations of the respective altitudes of Canopus at Alexandria and Rhodes been correct, though without allowing for refraction. The apparent difference of altitude at the two places was, as I before observed, 5°. Say then 5° : 360 : : 5000 stadia to 360,000 = 41207.4 English miles, just double to his later calculations, being 1000 stadia to a degree. By his other computations, derived from the gnomonic measurements of Eratosthenes, and which estimate the distance only at 3750 stadia, it would stand thus—5 : 360 : : 3750 : 270,000, or 750 stadia to a degree.

Pofidonius, it is evident, made two mistakes, besides that of supposing Rhodes and Alexandria to lie under the same meridian; the first in supposing Canopus to have no altitude at Rhodes, whereas it has a real one of 1° 2',



that this star was but just visible in the horizon of Rhodes, and that at Alexandria its meridian height was a forty-eighth part of a great circle in the heavens, or  $7^{\circ} 30'$ ; and inferred from thence, what part of a great circle on the earth this difference would amount to. The distance between Rhodes and Alexandria he took for granted to be 5000 stadia; and of course the circumference of the earth would be 240,000 stadia. Cleomedes was however doubtful of this measurement; as he observes, that a less sum is to be taken, if the distance between Rhodes and Alexandria should be found to be less than 5000 stadia; which distance, Mr. Costard<sup>t</sup> very properly observes, from Strabo, was not obtained by any attempt at mensuration, but only from the estimation of navigators<sup>u</sup>. But when Posidonius heard that Eratosthenes had, by gnomonic observations, ascertained the distance between Alexan-

$1^{\circ} 2'$ , and an apparent one of  $1^{\circ} 26'$ ; and the second in over-rating the altitude of the star at Alexandria, which he took to be  $7^{\circ} 30'$ ; whereas it is no more, including the effects of refraction, than  $6^{\circ} 26'$ . These errors caused him to under-rate the extent contained in  $7^{\circ} 30'$ , although he over-rated the real distance.

The following comes nearer the truth:

Distance between Rhodes and	Alexandria . . . . .	380.97
Subtract for difference of lon-	gitude . . . . .	16.26
Remains	364.71 E. miles.	

Say then,  $316 : 364.71 :: 21600 : 24935.27$  English miles, only five English miles different from modern calculation, and equal nearly to 217840 Olympic stadia, for the circumference of the earth, or 605.11 Olympic stadia to a degree on the equator, very near to what it is

computed to be in Table IV.

Cassini observed, that the medium number between the calculations of Eratosthenes and Posidonius, respecting the circumference of the earth, which the former supposed to be 252,000, and the latter to be 180,000 stadia, is 216,000; which number, divided by 360, gives 600 stadia to a degree, and 10 stadia to a minute.

The respective latitudes and longitudes of Alexandria and of Rhodes are as below stated.

	Latitude.	Longit.
Alexandria, Robertf. Navig.	$31^{\circ} 11'$	$30^{\circ} 17'$
————— from Denon's Trav.	$31^{\circ} 12'$	$29^{\circ} 55'$
————— from Walfh	$31^{\circ} 13'$	$29^{\circ} 45'$
Rhodes, Robertson's Navig.	$36^{\circ} 27'$	$28^{\circ} 26'$

<sup>t</sup> Costard's Astronomy, p. 207.

<sup>u</sup> Strabo, lib. ii. p. 125, 126. Ed. Casaub. Paris.



dria and Rhodes to be no more than 3750 stadia, and taking this interval to be (what it is not) a forty-eighth part of the earth's circumference, he reduced his computation to 180,000 stadia<sup>x</sup>; and this measure, in which the number of degrees assigned by Posidonius, and the number of stadia measured by Eratosthenes, are made use of, was received by Marinus<sup>y</sup> of Tyre, and others, and is generally ascribed to Ptolemy, because he makes use of it in his geography.

Besides, Eratosthenes, who lived during the interval between Aristotle and Posidonius, and 123 years later than Aristotle, had concluded the circumference of the earth to be 250,000 stadia; or, as most account it, 252,000 stadia, from an observation of the distance between Syene and Alexandria<sup>z</sup>, and the respective meridian altitude<sup>a</sup> of the sun at each place.

<sup>x</sup> Strabo, lib. ii. p. 95.

<sup>y</sup> Long's Astronomy, vol. i. p. 128.

<sup>z</sup> Eratosthenis Geograph. Fragmenta, p. 53.

<sup>a</sup> Arat. Phænom. Edit. Oxon. 1672. p. 37.

*καταγερίμων.*

De stadiis Eratosthenis nihil pro certo affirmare audeo, quale stadium in animo habuerit. Hoc tamen expectandum esset, aliud Eratosthenis si habuerit stadium, a Strabone esset indicatum. Nunc autem Strabo octo stadia mille passibus Romanis adnumerat, cui convenit Plinius, centum viginti quinque passus Romanos stadio tribuens semperque, ubi Eratosthenis stadia passuum numero exhibet, hac dimensione utens. Secundum hæc itaque terræ maximus circulus esset 31500 milliaria Romana, seu 6300 milliaria nostra (Germanica) geographica. Nam unum milliare geographicum est æquale quinque milliariis Romanis. Error itaque esset 900 mill.

geograph. Nam secundum nostrorum dimensiones geographicas ambitus circuli maximi est 5400 mill. geograph. Ex hoc ipso apparere videtur, eo stadio, quod Olympicum vocant, usum fuisse Eratosthenem. Etenim secundum ejus dimetiendi rationem, magnitudinem circuli maximi nimiam æstimare sane debebat. Secundum accuratiorem dimensionem autem non nisi 600 stadia Olympica uni gradui conveniunt. Stadium Ægyptiacum, quorum quindecim sunt æqualia uni milliario Romano, nullo modo dimensionem Eratosthenis potest accommodari adversus stadium Græcum minus testatur locus Strabonis. Eratosthenis Fragm. Edit. a G. C. F. Seidel, Goettingæ, 1789. p. 58.

Universum autem hunc circuitum Eratosthenes in omnium quidem literarum subtilitate et in hac utique præter cæteros solers, quam cunctis probare video ducentorum quinquaginta,



Archimedes<sup>b</sup>, who was contemporary with Eratosthenes, mentions that 300,000 stadia was the number assigned by some for the circumference of the earth in his time.

The proportion therefore, which Mr. Barré remarks between the numbers of Aristotle and those of Posidonius, was in all probability casual, and serves only to confirm the remark of Dr. Blair, above cited, “that nothing is more common than to find a confusion of numbers in the measurements given us by ancient authors.”

In order to prove the ancient Greek stadium to be only  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the length of the one used in later times, by which Mr. Barré means those subsequent to the age of Alexander, he observes, that it had been before remarked, that a Roman mile did not always contain eight stadia, but sometimes only seven and a half. This might prove that there was a difference in the length of the mile, but proves nothing respecting that of the stadium. Strabo says, that in his time the usual computation was eight stadia, but that some reckoned only seven and a half. This difference seems however to have been provincial only.

Polybius, as I have before remarked, reckons in general eight stadia to a mile; which, he says, was according to the Roman measurement. Livy appears to have used the same computation with Polybius. Thus, what Polybius calls *δρακόνια στάδια*, lib. iii. sect. 47. 7. Livy calls *viginti quinque millia*, lib. xxi. sect. 28.

quaginta, duorum millium stadiorum prodidit. Quæ mensura, Romana computatione, efficit trecenties quindecies centena millia pas-

suum. Plin. lib. ii. cap. 128.  $31.500 \times 8 = 252.000.$

<sup>b</sup> In Arenario.



What Polybius calls ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἑκκαίδεκα σταδίου, lib. iii. sect. 101. Livy renders by *duo ferme a Geronio millia*, lib. xxii. sect. 24. What Polybius calls ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι σταδίαις, lib. viii. sect. 28. Livy calls *quindecim millia*, lib. xxv. sect. 9. The words of Polybius, lib. xiv. sect. 4. περὶ γὰρ ἑξήκοντα σταδίαις, are rendered by Livy, *septem enim millia itineris erant*, lib. xxx. sect. 4. where, as Sigonius observes, the whole passage is cited by Livy from Polybius. Again, περὶ τριάκοντα σταδίαις, Polyb. lib. xiv. sect. 8. is rendered by Livy, *quatuor ferme millia*, lib. xxx. sect. 8.

Mr. Barré next attempts to prove that the Roman foot was equal to the πῆχυς, or cubit, of the Greeks. Let us see how he supports this extraordinary position.

His first argument is drawn from the description of the plant called *dracunculus*; or, by Dioscorides, δρακόντιον<sup>c</sup>, which the last-mentioned writer says is two cubits high, and which Pliny describes as “bipedali fere altitudine.” Taking it then for granted that Pliny copied Dioscorides, he would infer, from the last-mentioned passage, that the foot of Pliny was equal to the cubit of Dioscorides. But Pliny<sup>d</sup> himself is doubtful if the plant he calls *dracunculus* be in reality the δρακόντιον of the Greeks: The height of the plant (as Mr. Barré would reconcile the accounts) is the only circumstance in which they agree. Dioscorides mentions only two kinds, Pliny specifies three; and the description of their qualities in the respective authors by no means coincides.

Bodæus a Stapel, the learned editor of Theophrastus, thinks the

<sup>c</sup> Lib. ii. cap. 160.

<sup>d</sup> Lib. xxxiv. cap. 16.



account given by Pliny to be very erroneous; and adds, that the plant supposed to be the *δρακόντιον* is three feet high<sup>e</sup>; which agrees with the description given by Dioscorides, supposing the cubit to be a foot and a half, but not with Pliny's account.

Again, Mr. Barré says, that the Greeks employed two different measures, or palms, in estimating the foot and the cubit; the smaller called *παλαισῆ*, and the larger *σπιθαμή*. The former of these he defines to be the breadth<sup>f</sup> of the four fingers, laid close to one another; and the latter to be the breadth of the four fingers, with the addition of that of the thumb, in what he calls its natural state; which he explains to be when it appears a little separated from the fingers, as it always is when the hand is opened.

His definition of the former of these measures is just<sup>g</sup>, but not so of the latter. The *σπιθαμή* is the span<sup>h</sup>, not measured from the fingers lying close together, but from the thumb to the little finger, when both are extended. Indeed this is what the word itself denotes, being derived from *σπίζω*, which both Eustathius<sup>i</sup> and the Scholiast on Aristophanes interpret to be of the same meaning with *ἐκτείνω*.

<sup>e</sup> Caulem erigit tripedalem. Theophrast. p. 836.

<sup>f</sup> La paleste est composée de quatre doigts de la main joints les uns contre les autres, auxquels en ajoutant le pouce dans son état naturel, c'est-à-dire un peu écarté d'eux, comme il est toujours quand la main est ouverte, on a la spithame. Vol. xix. p. 522.

<sup>g</sup> Τῶν δὲ μέτρων ἐστὶ μέντοι καὶ δάκτυλος, δοχμὴ δὲ συγκλεισθέντες οἱ τέσσαρες δάκτυλοι. Jul. Poll.

lib. ii. sect. 157.

Παρά τὸ πέλαις συνάγειν τὰ ὄσα, id est, πηλοῖον ποιεῖν τὰς δακτύλους. Etymolog.

<sup>h</sup> Εἰ δὲ τὰς δακτύλους ἀποτείναις, ἀπὸ τῆς μεγάλης πρὸς τὴν μικρότατον μετρεῖς, σπιθαμὴ τὸ μέτρον. Jul. Polluc. lib. ii. sect. 157.

Τὸ μέτρον τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλης δακτύλου ἐπὶ τοῦ μικροῦ διάστημα. Hesych. vox σπιθαμῆ.

<sup>i</sup> Steph. Thesaur. Græc. Vox σπίζω.



Mr. Barré again affumes first, that there was the same difference between the *σπιθαμή* and the *παλαιστή*, as there was between the cubit and the foot; namely, that they were each to the other as three to two; and again, that the *σπιθαμή* was equal to four Roman digits only, or a quarter of a foot. Now as he supposes the *σπιθαμή* to have been equal to the *palmus*, which was four Roman digits also, it follows that four *spithames*, which, according to his computation, are equal to six *palestes*, would be equal to the Greek cubit; and as each *spithame* was equal to the *palmus*, it followed that the Greek cubit would be equal to the Roman foot. But the length he assigns to the *spithame* can by no means be admitted. The *δῶρον* and the *παλαιστή* were only different names<sup>k</sup> for the same thing. The word *didoron*, we are told by Vitruvius<sup>l</sup>, implied half a foot; and we learn from Hero<sup>m</sup>, that the *δῶρον* was the third part of the *σπιθαμή*.

This is agreeable to what might be expected from the derivation of the terms. The breadth of the four fingers of a man's hand of moderate size is about three inches, or four Roman digits; and the extent of the fingers when stretched out, as above described, is nearly nine inches, or twelve Roman digits, agreeable to the proportion above laid down.

It appears also, that, where accuracy of length is to be specified, the Romans translated the Greek word *πῆχυς* by the Latin word *cubitus*. Thus Herodotus<sup>n</sup>, describing the cell wherein the body of Orestes was deposited, says, that both that and the body were

<sup>k</sup> Julii Polluc. lib. ii. sect. 157.

<sup>l</sup> Lib. ii. cap. 3.

<sup>m</sup> Hero de Mensuris.

<sup>n</sup> Lib. i.



seven cubits in length; and Pliny<sup>o</sup>, copying professedly from him, translates the word *ἑπταπῆχει* by *septem cubitorum*; and Aulus Gellius<sup>p</sup> does the same, and adds, that these seven cubits were equal to  $12\frac{1}{4}$  Roman feet, which would make the Greek cubit longer than it has hitherto been supposed in any computation.

Again, the authors of the Septuagint, in describing the height of Goliath, who is represented to have been a man of gigantic stature<sup>q</sup>, translate the corresponding Hebrew words into, *ὑψος αὐτῆ τεσσαράρων πῆχεων καὶ σπιθαμῆς*. This, if understood to be of the Greek cubit, according to common interpretation, will amount to six feet nine inches and six tenths of an inch; and, if we reckon according to Aulus Gellius's computation, will be seven feet seven inches and a quarter; both of them extraordinary heights, though neither of them exceeding credibility; as I have seen a man much taller than either.

But if we diminish this, according to Mr. Barré's calculation, to four Roman feet three inches, (equal to four English feet one inch and a quarter,) we shall sink this boasting giant into a dwarf, and probably make him much inferior in stature to his antagonist, David, whom he so much despised.

We should consider that the authors of the Septuagint were persons of great learning, and knowledge both in the Greek and in the Hebrew tongues; and were also prior in date to Dioscorides by 336 years, and who must have known the real length of the

• Lib. viii. cap. 16.

p Lib. iii. c. 10.

q All of gigantic size, Goliath chief.

MILTON.



Greek measures in their own time, too well to represent a man as a giant, who was only four feet and a quarter in height.

It must indeed be owned that the later Greek writers (incorrectly, I think) are apt to confound the spithame<sup>r</sup> and the paleste. Thus Aetius, speaking of the viper, describes it as being in general of a cubit's length; and the longest *παλαισῶν τριῶν*. This last measure would amount but to 12 digits, or only three-quarters of a cubit, supposing the cubit to be of a foot length only. But if we understand that he meant three spithames, or thrice three-fourths of a Greek foot, such a measure exceeds a cubit in a proper proportion, or as three to two, or as 27 to 18. And this appears to be the real size of these animals.

Mr. Pennant says<sup>s</sup>, that "they are seldom of a greater length than two feet; though once he saw a female viper almost three feet long." This proves Aetius meant a foot and a half, and not a foot only, by the cubit. Many more instances of the confounding the two measures may be found in Constantine's Lexicon<sup>t</sup>.

Mr. Barré next produces an argument from the size of the

<sup>r</sup> Illud vero etiam dignum quod admoneatur, Græcos alterum pro altero usurpare. Conf. Lexic. Vox *παλαισή*.

Sometimes the true or larger spithame was distinguished by the name of *σπιθαμή βασιλική*. Thus Hero says, "the *ἔργυρα*, or fathom, contained eight royal spithames, (of 12 digits each,) or six feet and one common spithame." By the latter he undoubtedly meant

a measure of four digits, or the paleste; which shews that the orguia, which the Greek writers reckon as six feet, was by the Romans counted as six and  $\frac{1}{4}$  of their feet, which makes the proportion of the Roman foot to the Greek to be as 24 to 25.

<sup>s</sup> British Zoology.

<sup>t</sup> Vox *παλαισή*.



pygmies, which Pliny, Aulus Gellius, and Strabo say, were three spithames in height; or, as Pliny expresses it, “ ternos dodrantes non excedentes;” and Aulus Gellius, “ non longiores esse quam pedes duos et quadrantem.”

Eufathius, as Mr. Barré alledges, says of these people, that they were οὐδὲ πηχυαῖος τὸ μέγεθος, not of a cubit's size; and then reckoning the cubit as a foot only, he still farther reduces the size of these little folks. But I think Eufathius meant no more than to represent in strong terms the diminutive size of the pygmies, and not to assign to them any determinate proportion. Eufathius had before observed, that the δῶρον, or four fingers breadth, was one-third of the spithame; and of course, that two spithames made a πῆχυς, or foot and a half.

Again, Mr. Barré, taking it for granted that the Greek cubit was equal to the Roman foot, adds, that of course 600 Greek feet were equal to 400 Roman feet; and that there must be  $12\frac{1}{2}$  Olympic stadia to make up the mile: and as the Pythic stadium was greater by  $\frac{2}{5}$ , it must follow, that seven and a half of the latter would be required to make up the mile; and that 7500 Greek feet, equal to 5000 Greek cubits, or 5000 Roman feet, would be equal to a Pythic stadium.

But Herodotus <sup>u</sup> and Diodorus <sup>x</sup>, neither of whom reckoned by the Pythic stadium, assign 3600 stadia for the circumference of the

<sup>u</sup> Τῆς τὸ περίμετρον τῆς περιόδου εἰς ἑξάκισσι καὶ τριχίλιοι. Lib. ii. p. 177. Ed. Weffel.

σταδίων τρισχιλίων καὶ ἑξακοσίων. Diodor. lib. i. p. 61. Ed. Weffel.

<sup>x</sup> Τὴν μὲν γὰρ περίμετρον αὐτῆς φασιν ὑπάρχειν



lake Mœris; and Mucianus<sup>y</sup>, a person of great authority, and frequently cited by Pliny, says, that it is 450 mille passus. Now  $450 \times 8 = 3600$ .

I wish to repeat here in some degree what I before mentioned cursorily respecting the Olympic foot and the Olympic stadium. We are told by Aulus Gellius, that these measures exceeded the others in the same proportion as the foot of Hercules did that of ordinary men. The foot, we should recollect, was supposed to be one sixth of the height of the person. But what must we think of the stature of Hercules, should the length of his foot be reduced to eight Roman inches<sup>z</sup>? What must we think of the common race of mortals at that time, when he who is described, “corpore excelliorem quam alios<sup>a</sup>,” was only of the diminutive size above described?

I agree with Mr. Barré, that it is probable that Pliny copied Herodotus in his account of the thickness and height of the walls of Babylon: but his account is very incorrect, and inconsistent with the original, as Mr. Barré, and before him Salmasius, had observed. If the royal cubit was three digits longer than the

<sup>y</sup> Plin. lib. v. cap. 9.

<sup>z</sup>  $8 \times 6 = 48$  inches, = 4 feet.

Ricciolus observes, that if the foot of Hercules, according to the common computation, was  $\frac{1}{6}$  of his height, he must have been six Roman feet three inches high, or rather more than six feet one inch and a half, English measure. Apollodorus makes Hercules to be four cubits high, which, according to Mr. Barré, is four feet only.

Τετραπηχναῖον μὲν γὰρ εἶχε τὸ σῶμα.

Apollod. lib. ii. cap. 4. sect. 9.

If we even add eight inches, (or one foot more, as calculated by Mr. Barré,) to make up his height seven feet, which is said by an ancient writer, cited by Tzetzes, to be his height, it will not bring him to the pitch of what is now accounted an inferior stature. See Notes on Apollodorus, ed. Heyne, vol. ii. p. 330.

<sup>a</sup> Aulus Gellius.



common cubit, the royal foot could be only two digits longer than the common foot.

It should however be remarked, that Pliny, when describing the extent of the circuit of the walls of Babylon, lays it down as being sixty miles, which corresponds with the 480 stadia of Herodotus, reckoning these at eight to a mile, which is very different from Mr. Barré's calculation.

In like manner the city of Nineveh is described in the book of Jonah as being very great, and about three days journey in circuit, (*ὡσεὶ πορείας τριῶν ἡμερῶν.*) It is agreed that 20 M. P. are the allotted measure<sup>b</sup> for a day's journey, so that the whole amounts to 60 M. P. equal to the 480 stadia assigned by Diodorus for the circumference of that city.

The promontory of Sunium is, according to Strabo, 330 stadia from Piræus; and, according to Pliny, 42 Roman miles. Now  $330 \div 8 = 41.25$ , very near Pliny's calculation, at eight stadia to a mile.

Arrian, in the Periplus of the Euxine sea, says, that the distance from the Temple of Jupiter Urius to the river Rhebas is 90 stadia. This measures on the large map of the Propontis about nine English miles; to which if we add  $\frac{1}{4}$ , for the winding of the road, we shall have about 89.87 Olympic stadia, almost exact to Arrian's

<sup>b</sup> Hæc mensura legitima putabatur ad iter unius diei, ut ex jureconsulto clarum est. Sic tam apud Græcos, quam apud veteres Latinos

diurnum iter viginti millibus passuum definiebatur. Salmast. Plin. Exercitat. p. 351, 352, where this subject is largely discussed.



calculation. The distance from the Rhebas to Acra Melænæ is counted by Arrian 150 stadia; but it measures by the large map  $18\frac{1}{2}$  English miles nearly. If to these we add  $\frac{1}{3}$  for winding, we shall have upwards of  $20\frac{1}{2}$  miles, equal to about 179 stadia, or nearly a fifth part more than Arrian's computation. But, on the other hand, from Heraclea to Amastris is, according to Arrian, 690 stadia; but by Arrowsmith's chart it measures, in a straight line, 542 stadia; to which if we add  $\frac{1}{3}$ , it comes nearly to 609 stadia, or 81 short of Arrian's computation.

Again, from Amastris to Carambis is, according to Arrian, no more than 480 stadia; but by Arrowsmith's chart<sup>c</sup> it measures, in a direct line, 550, and with the addition of  $\frac{1}{3}$ , 619 stadia. It is obvious that no just conclusion respecting the length of the stadium can be drawn from the two last instances.

From Sinope to Amifus is, according to Arrian, 1020 stadia; but by Arrowsmith's chart it is, in a right line, 786 stadia only; and 884, with the addition of  $\frac{1}{3}$ . The difference in the distance between Amifus and Cerasuntum is still greater. Arrian makes it 1570 stadia; Arrowsmith's chart no more than 926, in a direct line; and, with the addition of  $\frac{1}{3}$ , only 1041.

Faden's map however makes it to be 1226 stadia, or 1379, with the addition of  $\frac{1}{3}$ . D'Anville makes it 1110 stadia in a direct line, or 1248.7 with the addition of  $\frac{1}{3}$ . Modern geographers in this instance vary nearly as much from one another, as modern do from ancient.

<sup>c</sup> The measurements on the chart were made with a due allowance for the difference of the

degrees of longitude in different latitudes.



The last instance I shall produce from Arrian shews a nearer coincidence. From Cerafus to Trapezus is, according to Arrian, 745 stadia. It measures on D'Anville's map 660; and, with the addition of  $\frac{1}{5}$ , = 85 stadia, makes up 745, agreeing exactly with Arrian. Arrowsmith's chart agrees nearly herewith. It measures by that 649 stadia; and, with the addition of  $\frac{1}{5}$ , equal to 81 stadia, makes up 730 stadia; not differing so much as two Greek miles from the calculation of Arrian.

There is in the 28th volume of the Mémoires de Littérature, page 362, a paper written by Mr. De la Nauze, on this subject. He is of opinion that Herodotus, Xenophon, Aristotle, and other writers of antiquity, employed a stadium of ten to a mile. He begins his proof of this with saying, that Herodotus ascribes fifty fathoms, or ὀργυρία, to the depth of the lake Mœris in Egypt, which is rendered by Pliny fifty paces; and as the former of these measures was to the latter in the proportion of 6 to 5, he inferred that the stadia of Herodotus were ten to a mile. But first, the proportion of 6 to 5 is not correctly the same with that of ten to eight.  $6 : 5 :: 10 : 8.333$ . Again, there is reason to think that the passus, when applied to explain the ὀργυρία, means six feet, and refers to the expansion of the arms, not of the legs. Pitiscus's Lexicon derives it "a passis vel expansis brachiis, et dicitur Græcis ὀργυρία, " quæ est mensura sex pedum, quæ inter ambas manus, mensurato " simul pectore, continetur expansas."

Another instance adduced by Mr. La Nauze is taken from the supposed distance between Ephesus and Sardis. But this has been so differently computed by geographers, modern as well as ancient, that it is difficult to draw any conclusion.



## ON THE MEASURE

*Distance from Ephesus to Sardis.*

According to Herodotus 540 Olympic stadia.

According to Mr. La Nauze, from De Lisle's map of Ancient Greece,  $37^{\circ} = 42.704$   
English miles, = 373.075 Olympic stadia.

According to Mr. D'Anville, 480 Olympic stadia.

According to Mr. Rochette, 66 English miles, = 576 stadia.

According to Mr. Arrowsmith,  $59' 30''$ , = 68.623 English miles, = 602.5  
Olympic stadia.

It must be observed, that these calculations of the modern geographers refer to the direct distance. If  $\frac{1}{8}$  be added, it will stand thus :

## DE LISLE.

$37 + \frac{1}{8} (=4.625) = 41.625 = 48.48$  English miles, = 423 Olympic stadia ;  
which last number is to that assigned by Herodotus, (540) as 8 to  
10.2126 ; and of course should give the last-mentioned number  
for that of the stadia contained in a mile.

D'ANVILLE, *Map of Asia Minor.*

$$480 + \frac{1}{8} (= 60) = 540 ;$$

the same with Herodotus, and eight to a mile.

ROCHETTE, *Map of Greece.*

66 Eng. miles,  $+ \frac{1}{8} (=8.25) = 74.25 = 648.7$  Olympic stadia, or 6.6595 to a mile.

ARROWSMITH, *Map of Turkey in Europe.*

$68.623 + \frac{1}{8} (=8.57) = 77.201 = 675$  Olympic stadia, or 6.4 to a mile ;

which makes the stadium of Herodotus longer than the usual  
computation of the Olympic in the proportion of 5 to 4. For 5 :  
675 :: 4 : 540.

This



This instance then, if it proves any thing, proves the direct contrary to the opinion of Mr. La Nauze.

The same gentleman again alledges, that Herodotus has estimated a ship's sailing for a day and a night at 1300 stadia; whereas Ptolemy allows 1000 stadia only; which difference he supposes to be owing to their employing stadia of different lengths. But the voyage of Scylax, whose date, though not ascertained, is confessedly much prior to the age of Ptolemy, allows no more than 1000 stadia; and Herodotus speaks of 700 stadia as a long day's sail; *μακρημεριη*: and the words, which assign 600 stadia as a night's sail, are in many copies wanting altogether.

The ancient writers made a great difference between a long day's sail and one of a common day. Xenophon says, that a trireme galley could row, in a very long day, (*Ἡμέρας μάλα μακρὰς πλοῦς*,) from Byzantium to Heraclea; which distance is, by Arrow-smith's chart of the Black sea, 131 English miles, or 1144 Olympic stadia. The longest day in that latitude is less than 15 hours, and the complement of this number to 24 would allow time sufficient to complete a voyage of more than 1300 stadia (supposing them to be Olympic) in a day and night.

The last instance I mean to cite from Mr. La Nauze does, I think, no credit to his candour. He says, that Herodotus lays down 200 stadia as the extent of a day's journey of a foot traveller; and that Vegetius had mentioned 20 miles as the day's march of the Roman soldiers; which, he observes, is just ten stadia to a mile. But Herodotus expressly refers to the distance travelled by a foot messenger, not to the march of armies. When the  
latter



## ON THE MEASURE OF THE GREEK STADIUM.

latter is understood, he assigns 150 stadia only, or  $18\frac{3}{4}$  Roman miles, a distance sufficiently near to Vegetius's calculation.

The above facts and arguments will, I trust, prove that, where the stadium is mentioned, and no specification of a different measure appears, the Olympic stadium of eight to a mile is understood; especially in the earlier writers, as Herodotus, Xenophon, Diodorus, Strabo, Arrian, and even Pausanias.



## APPENDIX.

THE learned Bishop of St. Asaph, Dr. Horsley, in a note annexed to Dr. Vincent's Account of the Voyage of Nearchus, has expressed himself to be of a different opinion, respecting the length of the stadium, from the one above specified. I shall take the liberty of examining briefly his Lordship's arguments; and must request the reader's patience, if I repeat some part of what has been urged in the foregoing Dissertation.

He begins with observing, that the circumference of the earth amounted, according to Eratosthenes's calculation, to 252,000 stadia; and, according to Aristotle, to 400,000 stadia; and infers from thence that the stadium of Aristotle was to the stadium of Eratosthenes as 252 is to 400, or very nearly as five to eight.

But this proposition takes it for granted that Aristotle and Eratosthenes agreed in opinion respecting the dimensions of the earth, and differed only in respect to their estimations of the measure which each of them respectively employed; a position which can by no means be admitted.



It does not appear on what grounds Aristotle<sup>a</sup>, or rather the mathematicians of his age, estimated the circumference of the earth to be 400,000 stadia: but this is certain, that Eratosthenes did not borrow his calculations from them, but formed his opinion from observations of his own, which are yet preserved. He attempted this arduous task by an actual measurement of a segment of a great circle on the globe, making his computation upon the whole by uniting observations made in the heavens with a corresponding distance, measured (as it was supposed to be) on a meridian of the earth.

The segment of the meridian, which he fixed on for this purpose, was that between Alexandria and Syene, the distance between which places he is said to have measured, and found to be 5000 stadia. He also found that the angle of the meridian shadow upon the scaphia or sun-dial at Alexandria was equal, at the summer solstice, to  $\frac{1}{50}$  part of the circle; and that there was no shadow from the gnomon at Syene at the same period of time, and at the same instant of the day.

Supposing then Alexandria and Syene to lie under the same meridian, he concluded that the distance between them was  $\frac{1}{50}$  part of a great circle of the earth; and this distance being (as was supposed) by measure, 5000 stadia, the whole circumference of the earth must be of course 250,000 stadia. But in the account of this process, which is accurately detailed by Cleomedes, not a

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Blair suggests, that this may be an objection to that work being written by Aristotle, as Eratosthenes was generally allowed to be

the first who attempted that mensuration. Blair's Hist. of Geography.



word occurs respecting the calculation of Aristotle, who, I believe, however great in other instances, had not much skill in astronomy.

Dr. Long laments “ that the Babylonian Observations, a treasure almost inestimable, and which he neither knew how to make use of himself, nor so much of their value as to induce him to use the necessary means for their preservation, for the use of those who did, had not fallen into the hands of Eudoxus, rather than into those of Aristotle.”

There is then neither proof nor presumption that Eratosthenes accommodated his calculation to that of Aristotle; or that the itinerary stadium was less in the time of Aristotle than it was in that of Eratosthenes<sup>b</sup>. But I fear we can place no great confidence either in the observations or in the measurements of Eratosthenes. He thought that Alexandria and Syene lay under the same meridian; whereas they are found to differ by a space equal to 100 minutes of latitude, equal nearly to  $115\frac{1}{2}$  English miles, Alexandria being so much to the west of Syene. The difference of latitude is about  $7^{\circ} 20'$ ; so that the real distance between the two places is about 521 English miles, equal nearly to 4552 Olympic stadia.

This falls short of Eratosthenes's calculation by 448 stadia, equal to 51 English miles: but we must consider that the distance laid down by Eratosthenes is the one found by measurement, which must exceed the difference of latitude, since the measurers

<sup>b</sup> Eratosthenes lived about 123 years after Aristotle.



did not discover that the two places lay under different meridians. The numbers of Eratosthenes above specified were not however acquiesced in by succeeding astronomers, since Marinus and Ptolemy allotted, as Dr. Blair observes, no more than 3600 stadia<sup>c</sup> to that distance; as the seven degrees twelve minutes (a calculation of the latitude not very different from that of Mr. D'Anville before-mentioned) amounted exactly to that number on the proportion of 500 stadia to a degree; which, Ptolemy tells us, was agreeable to mensurations allowed and acknowledged.

The learned Prelate's calculations in the next paragraph are rather incorrect. He states the proportion of the Roman foot to the English to be as 97 : 100; whereas it appears from Greaves, whose measurement the Bishop seems to have adopted, to be only 967 : 1000; which makes a difference of nearly  $\frac{1}{337}$  part, and amounts nearly to 16 feet in the space of an English mile; which, although an inconsiderable difference in small distances, is necessary to be taken into account in the estimation of large extents; and this error, by over-rating the length of the Roman foot, vitiates in some measure his subsequent calculations.

This appears in the next sentence of his Lordship's observations; where he urges, "that if eight Olympic stadia were equal to a Roman mile, and that Polybius's addition of  $\frac{1}{3}$  of a stadium was an error of his own, arising from the difference between the Roman and the Olympic foot, then one Olympic stadium would be 606.25 feet, London measure;" which computation over-rates

<sup>c</sup> 3600 × 50 gives only 180,000 stadia, difference of the earth.  
or 20603.4 English miles, for the circum-



the length of the stadium by one foot and 875 decimal parts, equal to 22.5 inches, amounting to more than 15 feet in the extent of an English mile.

The Bishop next lays it down, that the opinion of the Greek foot being to the Roman in the proportion of 25 to 24 was erroneous, though current among the Romans themselves. But it is difficult to suppose that persons of rank, science, and education among the Romans were ignorant of the difference between the Greek and the Roman foot, when we consider the intimate connection which subsisted between the two countries; or that Pliny, perhaps the most learned and philosophical man of the age in which he lived, and who, as appears from works of his, published by himself, and still extant, bestowed much labour on geographical researches, would assign 625 feet to a stadium, when he must know that 600 only was the proper quantity, and that too in a passage, wherein he was speaking of the stadium only, without any reference to the mile.

Nor can I admit with the learned Prelate, that the Romans, even in their popular valuation of the Greek measures, would be apt to reckon eight Olympic stadia to be exactly equal to their own mile, taking no account of the fraction mentioned by Polybius, supposing that such an addition was necessary to complete the true extent of the mile.

Can we suppose this to have been the case with those persons to whom the care of the mensuration of these distances was committed, when we are told by Polybius, not at second-hand, as in the quotation from Strabo, but in a passage now extant in his  
original



original works, “ that the distances between places were distinctly  
 “ and accurately marked and divided by the Romans into portions  
 “ of eight stadia each ?”

Would it have been consistent with the character of these *mensores terrarum*<sup>d</sup>, persons of rank entrusted with this charge by public authority, to have neglected one part in twenty-five of the distance which they were directed to measure, which, in large extents, would have amounted to a considerable space?

Thus Herodotus tells us, that the circumference of the lake Mœris amounted to 3600 stadia; which extent is estimated by Mucianus, a person of the greatest authority, and frequently appealed to by Pliny, to be 450 M. P. which is eight stadia, and no more, to a mile. Had the third part of a stadium been added, it would have amounted only to 432 M. P. or about 18 miles short of Mucianus’s calculation; a space too large to be properly overlooked in any survey that pretends to accuracy.

Again, Pliny tells us, that the 252,000 stadia, which Eratosthenes computed to be the circumference of the earth, amounted in Roman measure to 31,500 M. P. This, it is obvious, is no more than eight stadia to a mile; and it is surely very improbable, if Pliny had known (as he must have done, had it really been the case) that  $\frac{1}{3}$  of a stadium was necessary to be added to make up the

<sup>d</sup> In judicando, *mensor bonum virum et justum agere debet, nulla admonitione aut sordibus moveri, servare opinionem, et arte et moribus omnis illi artificii veritas custodienda est. Totum autem hoc judicandi officium homi-*

*nem bonum, justum, sobrium, castum, modestum, et artificem egregium exigit. Aggen. Urbicus de Officio Mensoris.*

*Via est illi sua lectio, ostendit quod dicit, probat quod didicit. Cassiodor. Var. iii. 53.*



mile, that he did not take such an additional quantity into the account, where it would make so great a difference.

Two hundred and fifty-two thousand stadia, at eight stadia and one-third to the mile, amount only to 30,240 M. P. which is 1260 M. P. short of Pliny's calculation. Can we then suppose that Pliny, on whose scientific character it is needless to enlarge, would knowingly have passed over, as not worthy notice, a space, which, at 75 M. P. to a degree, amounts nearly to 17 degrees of latitude, or about 1153 English miles?

But the learned Prelate would do well to consider, that Pliny is not the only Roman writer who has assigned 625 feet to the stadium. Columella, in a part of his work above cited, which was written professedly to explain the *præcepta menfurarum*, allots the same number with Pliny, both of paces and of feet; and Censorinus, Frontinus, together with the authors of the treatise de *Limitibus*, and that de *Menfuris*, preserved among the *Rei Agrariæ Auctores*, all concur in giving the same description of this measure. Is it possible to suppose writers of such rank and accuracy all uniting in the same mistake, respecting a circumstance of such common occurrence? Is it not more reasonable and more natural to suppose the meaning of Polybius to be, that the stadium, measured by 600 Roman feet, would be defective one part in 24, compared with its length, if measured by the same number of Greek feet; and that therefore it would be necessary to add  $\frac{1}{24}$  part, or 25 additional Roman feet, to make up the deficiency? and that these 25 feet were really added, the testimonies above produced demonstrate.



The Olympic foot, we are expressly told by Aulus Gellius, exceeded the common foot in the same proportion as the foot of Hercules exceeded in length the foot of an ordinary man; and this difference appears to be in the proportion of 25 to 24.

It is proper to remark, that all the Greek writers, who describe the Olympic or itinerary stadium, and who might be supposed to reckon by Greek feet, as Herodotus, Hero, and Suidas, concur in assigning to this measure 600 feet. On the other hand, all the Latin or Roman writers, to whom the Roman foot was more familiar, who describe the stadium in use among the Romans, uniformly ascribe to it the measure of 625 feet. Yet we have no reason to think that the Greek and the Roman stadium were of different dimensions.

The Greek foot, as deduced by Mr. Stuart, from measurements of different parts of the Hecatompedon at Athens, exhibits, as I have before shewn, as nearly as possible, allowing for small inaccuracies in the mensuration, and perhaps for some in the construction of the building itself, the proportion of 25 to 24, as compared with the Roman foot described by Mr. Greaves to be sculptured on the marble monument of Cossutius at Rome; which proportion coincides with the difference of the number of feet assigned to the stadium by the Greek, and that assigned to the same measure by the Latin or Roman writers. If Hercules was taller than other men, "aliorum procerius," as it is expressed by Aulus Gellius, the measure taken from his foot, supposing that to be in proportion with the rest of his body, must exceed the usual measure of length; and of course fewer Herculean feet than feet of the usual size would be required to make up a given length. To this

we



we may add, that the proportion of 25 to 24 is no extravagant or improbable excess of stature above that of ordinary men, for one so celebrated for strength, activity, and other athletic exercises, as Hercules is reported to have been.

Supposing the height of an ordinary man to be five feet ten inches, English measure, the addition of a 24th part will make that of Hercules to have been rather under six feet and one inch, which is no extraordinary height, though superior to the common standard of mankind.



TABLES  
OF  
THE PROPORTION  
WHICH  
ANCIENT MEASURES OF LENGTH  
BEAR TO  
ENGLISH MEASURE.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,  
A TABLE  
OF THE  
EXTENT OF THE DEGREES OF LONGITUDE,  
AT EVERY TEN MINUTES OF LATITUDE,  
RECKONED FROM  
THE EQUATOR TO THE POLE.



## TABLE I.

*Table of the proportion which Greek Stadia bear to Greek Miles, to English Miles, and to English Feet.*

Greek Stadia.	Greek Miles and decimal parts.	English Miles and decimal parts.	English Feet and decimal parts.	Greek Stadia.	Greek Miles and decimal parts.	English Miles and decimal parts.	English Feet and decimal parts.
1 equal to	.125	.114465	604.374 <sup>a</sup>	17 equal to	2.125	1.945875	10274.358
2	.25	.228930	1208.748	18	2.25	2.06034	10878.732
3	.375	.343395	1813.122	19	2.375	2.174805	11483.106
4	.5	.457860	2417.496	20	2.5	2.289300	12087.48
5	.625	.572325	3021.87	21	2.625	2.403765	12691.854
6	.75	.686790	3626.244	22	2.75	2.518230	13296.228
7	.875	.801255	4230.618	23	2.875	2.632695	13900.602
8	1.	.915720	4834.992	24	3.	2.747150	14504.976
9	1.125	1.030185	5439.366	25	3.125	2.861615	15109.25
10	1.25	1.144650	6043.74	26	3.25	2.976070	15713.724
11	1.375	1.259115	6648.114	27	3.375	3.090535	16318.098
12	1.5	1.373570	7252.488	28	3.5	3.205000	16922.472
13	1.625	1.488025	7856.862	29	3.625	3.319465	17526.846
14	1.75	1.602490	8461.236	30	3.75	3.43395	18131.22
15	1.875	1.716955	9065.61	31	3.875	3.548415	18735.594
16	2.	1.831410	9669.984	32	4.	3.66288	19339.968

<sup>a</sup> The length of the Greek stadium, expressed as here laid down in English feet, is correct according to the numbers given by Mr. Greaves, who has employed only two places of decimal-figures. If we extend these to six figures, (and it may be done indefinitely,) the proportion will be as below stated.

$$24 : 25 :: 967 : 1007.291666$$

$$\text{Again, } 1007.291666 \times 12 \div 1000 = 12.087509992$$

$$\text{Again, } 12.087509992 \times 600 = 7252.5059952$$

$$\text{Again, } 7252.5059952 \div 12 = 604.3754933$$

which differs from the calculation used in the Tables less than .018 decimals of an inch, or considerably less than  $\frac{1}{50}$  part of an inch in the extent of a stadium.



## TABLE I. CONTINUED,

Greek Stadia.	Greek Miles and decimal parts.	English Miles and decimal parts.	English Feet and decimal parts.	Greek Stadia.	Greek Miles and decimal parts.	English Miles and decimal parts.	English Feet and decimal parts.
33 equal to	4.125	3.777345	19944.342	55 equal to	6.875	6.295575	33240.570
34	4.25	3.891810	20548.716	56	7.	6.410040	33844.944
35	4.375	4.006275	21153.090	57	7.125	6.524505	34449.318
36	4.5	4.120740	21757.464	58	7.25	6.638970	35053.692
37	4.625	4.235205	22361.838	59	7.375	6.753435	35658.066
38	4.75	4.34967	22966.212	60	7.5	6.8679	36262.44
39	4.875	4.464135	23571.586	100	12.5	11.4465	60437.4
40	5.	4.57860	24174.96	200	25.	22.893	120874.8
41	5.125	4.693065	24779.334	300	37.5	34.3395	181312.2
42	5.25	4.807535	25383.708	400	50.	45.786	241749.6
43	5.375	4.921995	25988.082	500	62.5	57.2325	302187
44	5.5	5.036460	26592.456	600	75.	68.6789	362624.4
45	5.625	5.150925	27196.830	700	87.5	80.1255	423061.8
46	5.75	5.265390	27801.1204	800	100.	91.572	483499.2
47	5.875	5.379855	28405.578	900	112.5	103.0185	543936.6
48	6.	5.494320	29009.952	1000	125.	114.465	604374
49	6.125	5.608785	29614.326	2000	250.	228.930	1,208748
50	6.25	5.723250	30218.7	3000	375.	343.395	1,813122
51	6.375	5.837715	30823.074	4000	500.	457.86	2,417496
52	6.5	5.952180	31427.448	5000	625.	572.325	3,021870
53	6.625	6.056645	32031.822	10,000	1250.	1144.65	6,043740
54	6.75	6.171110	32636.196	20,000	2500.	2289.3	12,087480



## TABLE II.

*Of the proportion which English Miles bear to Greek Stadia.*

English Miles and decimal parts.	Greek Stadia and decimal parts.	English Miles and decimal parts.	Greek Stadia and decimal parts.	English Miles and decimal parts.	Greek Stadia and decimal parts.
$\frac{1}{8}$ or .125 equal to	1.09203925	17 equal to	148.517338	40 equal to	349.45256
$\frac{1}{4}$ or .25	2.18407850	18	157.253652	41	358.188874
$\frac{3}{8}$ or .375	3.27611775	19	165.989966	42	366.925188
$\frac{1}{2}$ or .5	4.36815700	20	174.726280	43	375.661502
$\frac{5}{8}$ or .625	5.46019625	21	183.462591	44	384.497816
$\frac{3}{4}$ or .75	6.55223550	22	192.198908	45	393.134130
$\frac{7}{8}$ or .875	7.64427475	23	200.935222	46	401.870444
1	8.736314	24	209.671536	47	410.606758
2	17.472628	25	218.407850	48	419.343072
3	26.208942	26	227.144164	49	428.079386
4	34.945256	27	235.880478	50	436.81570
5	43.681570	28	244.616792	51	445.552014
6	52.417884	29	253.352106	52	454.288328
7	61.154198	30	262.08942	53	463.024642
8	69.890512	31	270.825734	54	471.760956
9	78.626826	32	279.562048	55	480.497270
10	87.36314	33	288.298362	56	489.233584
11	96.099454	34	297.034676	57	497.969898
12	104.835768	35	305.770990	58	506.706212
13	113.572082	36	314.507304	59	515.442526
14	122.308396	37	323.243618	60	524.17884
15	131.044710	38	331.979932	100	873.6314
16	139.781024	39	340.716246	200	1747.2628



## TABLE II. CONTINUED.

English Miles.	Greek Stadia and decimal parts.	English Miles.	Greek Stadia and decimal parts.	English Miles.	Greek Stadia and decimal parts.
300 equal to	2620.8942	800 equal to	6989.0152	4000 equal to	34945.256
400	3494.5256	900	7862.6826	5000	43681.570
500	4368.1570	1000	8736.314	10,000	87363.14
600	5241.7884	2000	17472.628	20,000	174726.28
700	6115.4198	3000	26208.942		



## TABLE III.

### *Greek Feet reduced to English Measure.*

Greek Feet.	English Feet, Inches, &c.			Greek Feet.	English Feet, Inches, &c.		
	Feet.	Inches.	Decimals of an Inch.		Feet.	Inches.	Decimals of an Inch.
1 equal to	1		08748	26 equal to	26	2	27448
2	2		17496	27	27	2	36196
3	3		26244	28	28	2	44944
4	4		34992	29	29	2	53692
5	5		43740	30	30	2	62440
6	6		52488	31	31	2	71188
7	7		61236	32	32	2	79936
8	8		69984	33	33	2	88684
9	9		78732	34	34	2	97432
10	10		87480	35	35	3	06180
11	11		96228	36	36	3	14928
12	12	1	04976	37	37	3	23678
13	13	1	13724	38	38	3	32424
14	14	1	22472	39	39	3	41172
15	15	1	31220	40	40	3	49920
16	16	1	39968	41	41	3	58668
17	17	1	48716	42	42	3	67416
18	18	1	57464	43	43	3	76164
19	19	1	66212	44	44	3	84912
20	20	1	74960	45	45	3	93660
21	21	1	83708	46	46	4	02408
22	22	1	92456	47	47	4	11156
23	23	2	01204	48	48	4	19904
24	24	2	09952	49	49	4	28652
25	25	2	18700	50	50	4	37400



## TABLE III. CONTINUED.

Greek Feet.	English Feet, Inches, &c.			Greek Feet.	English Feet, Inches, &c.		
	Feet.	Inches.	Decimals of an Inch.		Feet.	Inches.	Decimals of an Inch.
51 equal to	51	4	46148	400 eq. to	402	10	99200
52	52	4	54896	500	503	7	74000
53	53	4	63634	600 equal to a stadium.	604	4	48800
54	54	4	72392	700	705	1	23600
55	55	4	81140	800	805	9	98400
56	56	4	89888	900	906	6	73200
57	57	4	98636	1000	1007	3	48000
58	58	5	07384	2000	2014	6	96000
59	59	5	16132	3000	3021	10	44000
60	60	5	24880	4000	4029	1	80000
100	100	8	74800	5000	5036	5	40000
200	201	5	49600	6000	6043	8	88000
300	302	2	24400				



TABLE IV.

*Of the proportion which the Minutes upon the Equator, reckoned from one to sixty, bear to English Miles and decimal Parts, to English Feet, and to Greek Stadia and decimal Parts.*

*N. B. A Degree is reckoned to contain 365640 English Feet, according to Mr. Picart's calculation.*

Minutes.	English Miles.	English Feet.	Greek Stadia.	Minutes.	English Miles.	English Feet.	Greek Stadia.
1 eq. to	1.154166	6094	10.083127	22 eq. to	25.391652	134068	221.828794
2	2.308332	12188	20.166254	23	26.545818	140162	231.911921
3	3.462498	18282	30.249381	24	27.699984	146256	241.995048
4	4.616664	24376	40.332508	25	28.854150	152350	252.078175
5	5.770830	30470	50.415633	26	30.008316	158444	262.161302
6	6.924996	36564	60.498762	27	31.162482	164538	272.244429
7	8.079162	42658	70.581889	28	32.316648	170632	282.327556
8	9.233328	48752	80.665116	29	33.470814	176726	292.410683
9	10.387494	54846	90.748143	30	34.624980	182820	302.494900
10	11.54166	60940	100.831270	31	35.779146	188914	312.576937
11	12.695826	67034	110.914397	32	36.933312	195008	323.660064
12	13.849992	73128	120.997524	33	38.087478	201102	332.743191
13	15.004158	79222	131.080651	34	39.241644	207196	342.826318
14	16.158324	85316	141.163778	35	40.395810	213290	352.909445
15	17.312490	91410	151.246905	36	41.549976	219384	362.992572
16	18.466656	97504	161.330032	37	42.704142	225478	373.075699
17	19.620822	103598	171.413159	38	43.858308	231572	383.158826
18	20.774988	109692	181.496286	39	45.012474	237666	393.241953
19	21.929154	115786	191.579413	40	46.166640	243760	403.325080
20	23.083320	121880	201.66254	41	47.320806	249854	413.408207
21	24.237486	127974	211.745667	42	48.474972	255948	423.491334



## TABLE IV. CONTINUED.

Minutes.	English Miles.	English Feet.	Greek Stadia.	Minutes.	English Miles.	English Feet.	Greek Stadia.
43 eq. to	49.629	262042	433.574461	52 eq. to	60.016632	315888	524.322604
44	50.783304	268136	443.657588	53	61.170798	322982	534.405731
45	51.937470	274230	453.740715	54	62.324964	329076	544.488858
46	53.091636	280324	463.823842	55	63.479130	335170	554.571985
47	54.245802	286418	473.906969	56	64.633296	341264	564.655112
48	55.399968	292512	483.990096	57	65.787462	347358	574.738239
49	56.554134	298606	494.073223	58	66.941628	353452	584.821366
50	57.708300	304700	504.156350	59	68.095794	359546	594.904493
51	58.862466	310794	514.239477	60	69.25	365640	604.9898



TABLE V.

*Of the extent of the Degrees of Longitude in English Miles and decimal Parts, at every ten Minutes of Latitude, reckoned from the Equator to the Pole.*

De- grees.	Mi- nutes.	Length of Degrees of Longi- tude in English Miles.	De- grees.	Mi- nutes.	Length of Degrees of Longi- tude in English Miles.	De- grees.	Mi- nutes.	Length of Degrees of Longi- tude in English Miles.
Equator.		69.25	4		69.08130	8		68.57680
	10	69.24973	4	10	69.06700	8	10	68.54773
	20	69.24885	4	20	69.05203	8	20	68.51883
	30	69.24736	4	30	69.03650	8	30	68.48936
	40	69.24531	4	40	69.02043	8	40	68.45930
	50	69.24271	4	50	69.00375	8	50	68.42865
1		69.23945	5		68.98648	9		68.39740
1	10	69.23565	5	10	68.96863	9	10	68.36563
1	20	69.23125	5	20	68.95020	9	20	68.33323
1	30	69.22646	5	30	68.93120	9	30	68.30360
1	40	69.22086	5	40	68.91160	9	40	68.26675
1	50	69.21454	5	50	68.89142	9	50	68.23263
2		69.20783	6		68.87600	10		68.19800
2	10	69.20500	6	10	68.84915	10	10	68.16268
2	20	69.19260	6	20	68.82740	10	20	68.12683
2	30	69.18410	6	30	68.80486	10	30	68.09400
2	40	69.17500	6	40	68.78173	10	40	68.05340
2	50	69.16535	6	50	68.76600	10	50	68.01583
3		69.15510	7		68.73366	11		67.97770
3	10	69.14426	7	10	68.70900	11	10	67.93880
3	20	69.13285	7	20	68.68354	11	20	67.89966
3	30	69.12085	7	30	68.65756	11	30	67.85980
3	40	69.10825	7	40	68.63100	11	40	67.81935
3	50	69.09510	7	50	68.60380	11	50	67.77837



## TABLE V. CONTINUED.

De- grees.	Mi- nutes.	Length of Degrees of Longi- tude in English Miles.	De- grees.	Mi- nutes.	Length of Degrees of Longi- tude in English Miles.	De- grees.	Mi- nutes.	Length of Degrees of Longi- tude in English Miles.
12		67.73671	17	50	65.92263	23	40	63.42583
12	10	67.69455	18		65.86066	23	50	63.34470
12	20	67.65181	18	10	65.79813	24		63.26330
12	30	67.60850	18	20	65.73504	24	10	63.18083
12	40	67.56460	18	30	65.67150	24	20	63.09100
12	50	67.52020	18	40	65.60721	24	30	63.01483
13		67.47510	18	50	65.54246	24	40	62.93130
13	10	67.42951	19		65.47716	24	50	62.84670
13	20	67.38340	19	10	65.41130	25		62.76181
13	30	67.33663	19	20	65.34490	25	10	62.67641
13	40	67.28930	19	30	65.27793	25	20	62.59050
13	50	67.24141	19	40	65.21040	25	30	62.50430
14		67.19300	19	50	65.14233	25	40	62.41743
14	10	67.14400	20		65.07371	25	50	62.33953
14	20	67.09436	20	10	65.00453	26		62.24150
14	30	67.04423	20	20	64.93480	26	10	62.15293
14	40	66.99350	20	30	64.86454	26	20	62.06383
14	50	66.94220	20	40	64.79373	26	30	61.97420
15		66.89036	20	50	64.7237	26	40	61.88460
15	10	66.83800	21		64.65044	26	50	61.79340
15	20	66.78500	21	10	64.57800	27		61.70220
15	30	66.73141	21	20	64.50500	27	10	61.61050
15	40	66.67730	21	30	64.43141	27	20	61.51825
15	50	66.61260	21	40	64.35731	27	30	61.42550
16		66.55736	21	50	64.28266	27	40	61.33223
16	10	66.51156	22		64.20750	27	50	61.23844
16	20	66.45520	22	10	64.13160	28		61.14413
16	30	66.39827	22	20	64.05550	28	10	61.04930
16	40	66.34078	22	30	63.97864	28	20	60.95400
16	50	66.28271	22	40	63.90130	28	30	60.85809
17		66.22410	22	50	63.82341	28	40	60.76171
17	10	66.16493	23		63.74494	28	50	60.66481
17	20	66.10520	23	10	63.66600	29		60.56741
17	30	66.04500	23	20	63.58646	29	10	60.46950
17	40	65.98460	23	30	63.50640	29	20	60.37107



TABLE V. CONTINUED.

De- grees.	Mi- nutes.	Length of Degrees of Longi- tude in English Miles.	De- grees.	Mi- nutes.	Length of Degrees of Longi- tude in English Miles.	De- grees.	Mi- nutes.	Length of Degrees of Longi- tude in English Miles.
29	30	60.27214	35	20	56.49425	41	10	52.13126
29	40	60.17270	35	30	56.37750	41	20	51.99845
29	50	60.07274	35	40	56.26027	41	30	51.86518
30		59.97501	35	50	56.14260	41	40	51.73150
30	10	59.88507	36		56.02442	41	50	51.59735
30	20	59.76980	36	10	55.90580	42		51.46280
30	30	59.66783	36	20	55.78667	42	10	51.32777
30	40	59.56534	36	30	55.66710	42	20	51.19232
30	50	59.46234	36	40	55.54739	42	30	51.05646
31		59.35884	36	50	55.42651	42	40	50.91008
31	10	59.25483	37		55.30651	42	50	50.78341
31	20	59.15034	37	10	55.17135	43		50.64624
31	30	59.04534	37	20	55.06211	43	10	50.50864
31	40	58.93983	37	30	54.93963	43	20	50.37062
31	50	58.83383	37	40	54.80423	43	30	50.23220
32		58.72732	37	50	54.69353	43	40	50.09330
32	10	58.62032	38		54.56972	43	50	49.95400
32	20	58.51270	38	10	54.44550	44		49.81430
32	30	58.40487	38	20	54.32080	44	10	49.67414
32	40	58.29538	38	30	54.19562	44	20	49.53358
32	50	58.18740	38	40	54.0982	44	30	49.39261
33		58.08792	38	50	53.94390	44	40	49.25115
33	10	57.96814	39		53.81736	44	50	49.10938
33	20	57.85752	39	10	53.69035	45		48.96714
33	30	57.74660	39	20	53.56290	45	10	48.83878
33	40	57.63520	39	30	53.43510	45	20	48.68143
33	50	57.52326	39	40	53.30665	45	30	48.53796
34		57.41094	39	50	53.17783	45	40	48.39410
34	10	57.29796	40		53.04860	45	50	48.24980
34	20	57.18460	40	10	52.91887	46		48.10510
34	30	57.07074	40	20	52.78872	46	10	47.96000
34	40	56.95641	40	30	52.65811	46	20	47.81448
34	50	56.84160	40	40	52.52710	46	30	47.66855
35		56.72628	40	50	52.39560	46	40	47.52224
35	10	56.61050	41		52.26366	46	50	47.37551



## TABLE V. CONTINUED.

De- grees.	Mi- nutes.	Length of Degrees of Longi- tude in English Miles.	De- grees.	Mi- nutes.	Length of Degrees of Longi- tude in English Miles.	De- grees.	Mi- nutes.	Length of Degrees of Longi- tude in English Miles.
47		47.22840	52	50	41.83640	58	40	36.01112
47	10	47.08085	53		41.67571	58	50	35.83890
47	20	46.93294	53	10	41.51464	59		35.66639
47	30	46.78462	53	20	41.35324	59	10	35.49357
47	40	46.63590	53	30	41.19149	59	20	35.32045
47	50	46.48680	53	40	41.02940	59	30	35.14732
48		46.33730	53	50	40.86693	59	40	34.97331
48	10	46.18740	54		40.70412	59	50	34.79930
48	20	46.03712	54	10	40.54100	60		34.62500
48	30	45.88644	54	20	40.37750	60	10	34.52981
48	40	45.73534	54	30	40.21367	60	20	34.27551
48	50	45.58391	54	40	40.04952	60	30	34.10033
49		45.43209	54	50	39.88501	60	40	33.92486
49	10	45.27992	55		39.72008	60	50	33.74911
49	20	45.12726	55	10	39.56410	61		33.57306
49	30	44.97428	55	20	39.38947	61	10	33.39674
49	40	44.82092	55	30	39.22362	61	20	33.22014
49	50	44.66716	55	40	39.05746	61	30	33.04324
50		44.51304	55	50	38.89094	61	40	32.86608
50	10	44.35854	56		38.72411	61	50	32.68863
50	20	44.20367	56	10	38.55694	62		32.51090
50	30	44.04842	56	20	38.38945	62	10	32.33290
50	40	43.89280	56	30	38.22164	62	20	32.15463
50	50	43.73671	56	40	38.05350	62	30	31.97610
51		43.58044	56	50	37.88534	62	40	31.79724
51	10	43.42371	57		37.71629	62	50	31.61820
51	20	43.26661	57	10	37.54715	63		31.43812
51	30	43.10915	57	20	37.36913	63	10	31.25922
51	40	42.95131	57	30	37.20800	63	20	31.07934
51	50	42.79312	57	40	37.03795	63	30	30.89920
52		42.63456	57	50	36.86759	63	40	30.71880
52	10	42.47565	58		36.69692	63	50	30.53813
52	20	42.31540	58	10	36.52593	64		30.35720
52	30	42.15673	58	20	36.35463	64	10	30.17602
52	40	41.99676	58	30	36.18325	64	20	29.99458



TABLE V. CONTINUED.

De- grees	Mi- nutes.	Length of Degrees of Longi- tude in English Miles.	De- grees.	Mi- nutes.	Length of Degrees of Longi- tude in English Miles.	De- grees.	Mi- nutes.	Length of Degrees of Longi- tude in English Miles.
64	30	29.81290	70	20	23.30591	76	10	16.55751
64	40	29.63095	70	30	23.11613	76	20	16.36190
64	50	29.44874	70	40	22.92614	76	30	16.16610
65		29.26631	70	50	22.73591	76	40	15.97015
65	10	29.08362	71		22.54551	76	50	15.77407
65	20	28.90071	71	10	22.35504	77		15.57785
65	30	28.71751	71	20	22.16521	77	10	15.38152
65	40	28.53410	71	30	21.97335	77	20	15.18505
65	50	28.35041	71	40	21.78222	77	30	14.98840
66		28.10172	71	50	21.59092	77	40	14.79170
66	10	27.98231	72		21.39941	77	50	14.59490
66	20	27.79800	72	10	21.20771	78		14.39760
66	30	27.61331	72	20	21.01590	78	10	14.22050
66	40	27.42852	72	30	20.82340	78	20	14.00360
66	50	27.24344	72	40	20.63162	78	30	13.80623
67		27.05813	72	50	20.43930	78	40	13.60878
67	10	26.87251	73		20.24674	78	50	13.40120
67	20	26.68682	73	10	20.05402	79		13.21323
67	30	26.50084	73	20	19.86112	79	10	13.03540
67	40	26.31461	73	30	19.66806	79	20	12.81782
67	50	26.13820	73	40	19.47428	79	30	12.61981
68		25.94150	73	50	19.28144	79	40	12.42170
68	10	25.75463	74		19.08790	79	50	12.22343
68	20	25.56752	74	10	18.89417	80		12.02510
68	30	25.38021	74	20	18.70030	80	10	11.82670
68	40	25.19261	74	30	18.50621	80	20	11.62820
68	50	25.00431	74	40	18.31207	80	30	11.43951
69		24.81700	74	50	18.11772	80	40	11.23081
69	10	24.62881	75		17.92322	80	50	11.03200
69	20	24.44044	75	10	17.72858	81		10.83308
69	30	24.25181	75	20	17.53380	81	10	10.63408
69	40	24.06308	75	30	17.33882	81	20	10.43500
69	50	23.87409	75	40	17.14372	81	30	10.23580
70		23.68490	75	50	16.94847	81	40	10.03650
70	10	23.49550	76		16.75310	81	50	9.81455







TABLE VI.

*Of the Greek Numerals, and of the Characters used by PTOLEMY to express Minutes of Longitude and Latitude.*

GREEK NUMERALS.

$\alpha$ 1	$\beta$ 2	$\gamma$ 3	$\delta$ 4	$\epsilon$ 5	$\zeta$ 6	$\eta$ 7	$\theta$ 8	$\iota$ 9
$\iota$ 10	$\kappa$ 11	$\lambda$ 30	$\mu$ 40	$\nu$ 50	$\xi$ 60	$\omicron$ 70	$\pi$ 80	$\rho$ 90
$\varphi$ 100	$\sigma$ 200	$\tau$ 300	$\upsilon$ 400	$\phi$ 500	$\chi$ 600	$\psi$ 700	$\omega$ 800	$\lambda\lambda$ 900
$\alpha$ 1000	$\beta$ 2000	$\gamma$ 3000	$\iota$ 10,000	$\kappa$ 20,000	$\rho$ 100,000			

*Characters used by Ptolemy to express Minutes.*

$\iota\beta$ 5	$\epsilon$ 10	$\delta$ 15	$\gamma$ 20	$\gamma\iota\beta$ 25	$\zeta'$ 30	$\zeta'\iota\beta$ 35	$\gamma\omicron$ 40	$\zeta'\delta$ 45	$\zeta'\gamma$ 50	$\zeta'\gamma\iota\beta$ 55	$\alpha$ 60
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THE END.

