NYPL RESEARCH UBRARIES
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## A DISSERTATION

ONTHE

## ORIGIN AND PROGRESS

OFTHE

## SCYTHIANS or GOTHS.

BIING

AN I N $\because::$


HISTORY of EUROPE.

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LONDON:

PRINTED BY JOHN NICHOLS, FOR GEORGEN1COL, PALL-MALL. mdCCLXXXVif.
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## [ iii ]

## P R E F A C

BEING occupied with a moft laborious refearch into the hiftory of Scotland, preceding the year 1056, the author found it incontrovertibly fettled from Tacitus, Beda, and the whole ancient accounts, that the Caledonii or Pigi, the ancient and ftill chief inhabitants of that country, came to it from German Scythia, or Scandinavia. This led him to enquire how the Scythians came to give their name even to the moft northern parts of Germany, from 访e.earlieft dpys of Grecian literature, down to a very late period. He found that the firft Greek authork had certain knowlege that the Scythians had procee ded from. Little, or Ancient, Scythia on the Euxine, even to the extremity of Germany, peopling the whole intervening country; and that the Latin claffics had the fame knowlege. But that the reafon why lfidorus, Beda, Paulus Diaconus, the Geographer of Ravenna, and innumerable writers of the middle ages, call Scandinavia peculiarly Scythia, was that Jornandes, who wrote about $53^{\circ}$, had imagined that the moft ancient Scythians proceeded from it about 4000 years before Chrift. Hence, in the darknefs of the middle ages, Scandinavia was regarded as the true Scythia, or Scythia Antiqua.

As the author was refolved, if a Spanifh proverb may be ufed, to leave nothing in the inkborn, knowing that, without going to the very bottom of a fubject like this, no point of it can be clear, he began a courfe of reading all the authors that could anywife illuftrate the early population of Europe, Proceeding chronologically thro the Greek and Roman writers, and the moft important ones of the middle ages, he referved modern authors to the laft, that they might minifter no matter of prejudice; for truth can only be had pure in it's fountains. This great labour, as indexes were never confulted, fave in moral authors, as Ariftotle, Plato, \&c. or others who could have almoft nothing on the fubject, confumed more than a year tho eight hours a day were almoft conftantly alloted to it; and fuch:clofe: attention goes ja:great way in a little time. Aftet this courfe of ancient reading he proceeded to the moderis; adid found himfelf in quite a new world indeeddy Fot:i fübject, fo capable of fuperabundart ilinifration from the multitude of authorities, if induftry alone, with fome degree of clear judgement, be applied, has been totally loft in a mafs of fuperficiality and error. For error is the conftant, and inevitable, produce of fuperficiality. The truth is always at the bottom; and if a man does not know all upon an antiquarian fubject, he knows nothing : nay lefs than nothing, inafinuch as error is worfe than ignorance. When all is redd upon fuch a theme, it is alfo a great pleafure to reflect that the truth muft be known; for ancient authorities are facts in hiftory,
and incontrovertible: one may be oppofed to another; but when all concur, for any modern to oppofe is in utter frenzy to dafh his head againft the wall of a caftle. After reading all upon fuch a fubject one is therefore thoroughly mafter of it; and no information can remain that can infringe the abfolute knowlege acquired. Antiquarian refearches, when complete, are infallible; for no new facts can occur in antiquity. To talk of opinion, upon fuch fubjects, is to talk as a child; for opinion can never alter facts : a man may opine that fnow is black, or that a Scythian is a Celt; but he will be left to his delufion, while the facts remain to eternity.

Perhaps a more arduous tafk never was undertaken than what is here fubmitted to the reader. The materials collected would have compofed a vaft volume ; but this was foreign to the author's intention. The toil of compreffing was far more great, than that of dilating would have been. A vaft volume might have been written in half the time employed in thefe few pages. But great advantages attend the progrefs of fcience, from concentrating into one ftrong focus a number of fcattered beams. Error is melted by the fierce light; and vanifhes beneath it's power. Would to heaven we had fewer large books, and more fmall ones! No greater advantage could arife to fcience, than if authors would follow the example of Tacitus, who, as Montefquieu well obferves, Abridged all because he saw all.

The

The learned have on no fubject fallen into fo numerous, and grofs, errors as with regard to the Scythians. They have been confounded with the Celts, tho all the ancient writers oppofe this; and diftinguif no two races of men more widely than Scythians and Celts. They have been taken for Sarmatians, tho all the ancients alfo oppofe this; and, from the days of Herodotus, efpecially diftinguiih the Scythians from the Sarmatians. They have been, by late authors of the firft fame, confounded with Tartars, an error of all others the moft ridiculous: for the Tartars were abfolutely unknown to the ancients, till the Huns, who were indeed ftrictly fpeaking Monguls not Tartars *, appeared and feized on the countries of the eaftern Scythx. Thefe points are difcuffed in this effay. But, that the reader may proceed to it with clear and precife ideas, he may be here told, what he will find fully difplayed in it, namely, that the

[^0]Scy hians

Scythians were neither Celts, Sarmatians, nor Tartars, no more than a horfe is an elephant, a lion or a tiger, but a horfe; fo the Scythians were Scythians, a diftinct, peculiar, and marked people, firft called Scythians by the Greeks, who retained that name for them till the deftruction of Conftantinople in the $15^{\text {th }}$ century; while the Latins, upon forming a difagreeable acquaintance with them, called them Goths, as they alfo called themfelves:

Now, tho almoft all Europe be poffeffed by the defcendents of the Goths, a people from whom, as fhall be fhewn, the Greeks and Romans alfo fprung; and the Goths tranfcended, even when barbarians, all nations in wifdom and war : yet fuch is our ignorance, who are at prefent but flowly eloping from barbarifm, that the name of Goth, the facred name of our fathers *, is an object of deteftation! This fchool-boy idea prevails to this hour in the firt writers; fo true is the remark of Dryden,

Men are but children of a larger growth.
It fprings folely from our love for Rome, (itfelf a Gothic ftate,) which we draw from Roman writers at fchool; and our knowlege that the other Goths deftroyed the Roman empire. Inftead of turning our admiration to that great people, who could annihilate fo potent an empire ; inftead of bleffing

[^1]the period that delivered all kingdoms from the dominion of one; we execrate our progenitors, to whom we are indebted for all our prefent happinefs! We look on the Goths as enemies of fcience, without once reflecting that wifdom is at any time fuperior to fcience; and that the Goths only defpifed the fcience prevalent on the decline of Rome, which was folly, and is regarded as fuch by us at prefent.

How different was the opinion entertained of the Goths by the Greeks and Romans! What ap. plaufe of the juftice, of the fortitude, of the temperance, of the wifdom, of the Scythians, in the Grecian page, from Herodotus to the lateft period! What applaufe of the fame virtues of the fame people, under the names of Scythians or Goths, in the Roman works, even after they had feized the Roman empire! Let us attend to the laft a little, as more immediately concerning us; and that we may know how fhockingly we err in our puerile difefteem of our fathers. Read Auguttin de Civitate Dei, lib. I. capp. 1, et 7. on their clemency; and lib. III. 29. where he fays that the Goths on taking Rome fpared fo many of the fenators that it is more a wonder that they flew fome. Orofius, lib. VII. tells, that, tho defirous of prey, they abftained from blood: and c. ult. calls Alaric ' the mildeft of kings.' See the whole fifth and feventh books of Salvianus de Gubcrnatione Dei. Hear Theodoric, the Gothic king himfelf, dictating to his fecretary Caffiodorus, Epif. lib. II. 23. and you hear the voice of fuch kings as render themfures
themfelves gods to mankind. ' Favour juftice. Employ courage in the defence of innocence : that, amid the crimes of other nations, you may fhew the juftice of the Goths.' And in the fame book, Epif. 34. 'Do you imitate our Goths, whofe courage in battle can only be equalled by their domeftic modefty.' And Epif. 43. ' Let the wars of other kings be crowned with the fpoils, and ruin, of captured cities. It is our purpofe, with the help of God, fo to conquer, that our fubjects fhall only grieve that they acquired our protection fo late.' And, to pafs many fuch, book VIII. epif. 14. ' This is the praife of the Goths, to preferve inviolate the laws of humanity *.' Rome, Rome, what were thy laurels to thefe? Great and divine people! it is no wonder that the few virtuous Romans fhould, as Salvianus fays, fly to you their enemies, for protection : and that heaven

[^2]mould,

Should, in your favour, have delivered the world from the tyrannic dotage of Rome.

Such virtues prevailed among the whole Goths, from the extremity of Scandinavia to the Vandals in Africa; the lat of whom, tho debated by an enervate clime, are yet the chief objects of the praise of Salvianus. Hospitality was particularly faced. The Burgundian laws enact, 'Whoever refuses his house or fire to a ftranger, let him pay a large fine. If any man travelling on his buffnefs alk lodging of a Burgundian, and it can be proved that he has flown the ftranger the house of a Roman, let the Burgundian pay the fame fine to the Roman, and an equal fine to the public treasfury.' A remarkable inftance of regard to hopitality alfo occurs in Procopius Hid. lib. III. cap. 35, and lib. IV. c. 27 . concerning the Gepidæ, a celebrated Gothic nation on the weft of prefent Hungary. An abstract of it follows. According to Lombardic institutions the crown of Lombardy was, after the death of Vaces, to pals to Ildifgal. This prince being however expelled by intrigues retired to the Gepidæ. Audouin, who had feized the throne of Lombardy, rent to demand Ildifgal of the Gepidæ his neighbours. The emperor Juftinian fent an embaffy to fupport the requef. Torifin king of the Gepidæ, who had jut made peace with the Lombards and Romans, called a council, and hewed the danger of refufing. But the council refolved unanimoufly, T'bat it would be better for the zubole nation, revives anil children, to perish, than commit fuck a facrilese aging the lazes

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of bofpitality. That this continued the cafe among the uncorrupted Goths of Scandinavia appears from Adam of Bremen, a writer of the eleventh century, who fays all the people of Scandinavia, Danes, Normans, Swedes, are moft hofpitable; efpecially the Swedes, with whom no reproach could be greater than to refufe lodging to a ftranger; and Grotius tells, that Charles, an ancient king of Sweden, made a law, that the houfe which refufed a ftranger fhould be burnt to the ground.

Of their wifdom let Herodotus fpeak : and Dio, who calls them the wifeft of mankind. Of their courage let their enemies tell; and we, their fons, who are here enjoying the countries which their fwords won from the Romans their civilifed brethren, who had conquered all nations yet yielded to them. Of their learning, when, by circumftances, they advanced in fociety in different countries, as after explained, let the Greeks, their eldeft progeny who enjoyed thefe circumftances, declare; the Romans next; and the modern Europæans, the laft, but not leaft, of their fons. But their learning even in unfocial wilds, and circumftances of fociety which precluded attention to elegance, while neceffity was the law, is a curious fubject, and fhall be briefly touched.

Herodotus, lib. IV. c. 46, fays, the Scythians were both learned and wife. Zamolxis, the early lawgiver of the Goths, is well known ; and fo is Diceneus. Anacharfis was the next Scythic philofopher: he was of the royal family, his brother Cadreda, and nephew Indathyrfus, being kings
of the Getæ, or Parental Goths, peculiarly fo called. He lived with Solon, 590 years before Chrift. Menander, the celebrated founder of the new comedy, and whofe drama was called the fchool of wifdom, was a Goth of Getia, as Strabo, book VII. tells us from his works, and gives us the lines, apparently from one of his prologues,



$\mathbf{E}_{s \mu s}{ }^{\prime}$.

For all the Thracians, but the Getre chief,
(From whom I glory to derive my birth,)
Have never yet been cold to female beauty.
Toxaris, a Scythian, was a learned phyfician, whom Lucian introduces as chief interlocutor in his admirable dialogue entituled Toxaris, or, On Friend/bip; which is not only the moft virtuous, but the mof entertaining, of Lucian's works, being enlivened with many tales and anecdotes. They who would know the virtues of the ancient Scythians are alfo efpecially referred to it.

As to the later Scythians or Goths, who fubverted the Roman empire, the hiftorian of Englifh poetry, fhewing our miftakes as to their hatred of learning and the arts, well obferves, that, 'their enemies have been their hiftorians.' Such learning and arts as were then in vogue were, indeed, worthy of their contempt, as of our's now. The Goths knew that a learned king was ufelefs in their then fituation of war ; and the fole example
that can be found of their imagined contempt of letters fprung from this idea. It occurs in Procopius, Hif. Gorb., lib. I. c. 2. where queen Amalafuntha, wifhing to teach her fon Alaric letters, the Gothic chiefs object to it, that arms, and not letters, had been formerly taught to their kings. Surely this paffage, fo often brought as a proof of their ignorance, was a proof of their wonted wifdom as events fhew. For Theodoric, who was unlearned, was the beft and greateft of kings: Theodahat, who was learned, brought the firft Gothic empire in Italy to utter ruin.

We look at the Goths thro a molt falfe and imperfect medium, that of the Roman writers of a barbarous age. And we have loft the nobleft monuments of their Gothic hiftory, as Pliny's Twenty Books on the German war: the Gothic hiftory of Dio: and that of Dexippus, of which Photius, Cod. 83, gives a brief hint. Yet even the molt barbarous writers, in the dotage of Rome, bear fufficient witnefs of the Gothic glory. The very generals, who alone fucceeded againft the Goths, were their countrymen. Stilicho was a Vandal, or German Goth. Belifarius was a Goth of Thrace. See Claudian and others for the firlt; Procopius de Bello Vandal. lib. I. c. it. for the laft. Inftead of imitating the barbarous Roman writers in their contempt of the ruder Goths, let us imitate the Goths in their contempt of doting Rome; and hear them exprefs it. "When we would brand an enemy with difgrace, we call him a Roman, comprehending under this one name of Roman whatever
xiv $\begin{array}{lllllll}P & R & E & F & \boldsymbol{A} & \boldsymbol{C}\end{array}$
whatever is bafe, is cowardly, is covetous, is falle; is vicious." LuitprandiLegatio, apud Muratori, Script. Ital. Indeed the contempt. we bear to the Goths refembles that of a fpendthrift heir to a great and prudent father. It is as foolifh as that of the Portuguefe for the Caftillans, fo well held out by Melchior de Santa Cruz, who tells, that a Caftillan going into a fhop in a Portuguefe village, a boy ran and told his mother to come and fpeak to a Caftillan. Upon which his mother chid him feverely for affronting the gentleman with fuch a name; while the Spaniard knew it to be his higheft honour.

It fhall only be further obferved, in this pre. face, that the author's attention to his quotations has been maft accurate and facred. Moft of them he has compared repeatedly with the originals. This became the more neceffary, as inaccurate quotations are the grand defects of the literature of this century; if we except Germany and Scandinavia only, where, if an author were to quote falfely, he would go near to endure the character of a fcoundrel and a liar. Indeed no literary crime is equal to this, for public faith attends an author ; and infamy ought always to attend his intentional abufe of it: nay in part his careleffnefs; for a man is a very bad member of fociety who teaches it error, compared to which even ignorance itielf is knowlege. The mifquotations and mifconitructions of Pelloutier, and many others, uron fimilar fubjects, mult fhock every reflecting mind
mind, for moft readers take quotations on truft. The author has feldom, if ever, taken a quotation on truft; but has commonly verified thofe few which fruck him at fecond-hand with the originals. This plan he earneftly recommends to fuch readers as wifh to attain complete and immediate knowlege of the important facts here developed. For this end a lift of the books and editions ufed is prefixt. This lift may alfo ferve as a directory for thofe who chufe to ftudy the fubject in it's fountains; and will fave much trouble; for had the author put down the other books he has perufed for this defign, to no purpofe, as there was nothing in them, the number would have been doubled. The author can fafely pledge his whole character in life, that he has never intentionally altered, or omitted, a fingle letter in a quotation; nor ever given it the leaft bias from it's open direct meaning. No toil has been fpared to guard againft miftakes: this little work has been revifed, and re-revifed, and revifed again : but our own errors fingularly efcape our eyes. Yet can there be no miftake touching the grand, and leading, facts, which ftand on the authorities of all antiquity. The author's toil was too enormous for him to trifle with any hypothefis, and thus lofe his labour, or any part of it. He fought for facts alone. The fole pleafure furely in a refearch of this kind is purely mathematical, the delicious delight in repofing one's mind upon truth. For tho the truth in hiftoric refearch be far from mathematical,
mathematical, yet that higheft probability, here called Hiforic Truth, confifts in this, that tho you cannot demonftrate it true, yet you can prove all oppofite opinions to be falfe; fo that, as truth is one, and no two oppofite opinions can be both true, this remains Hiftoric Truth,

## Lijt of the Cbief Books and Editions ufed.

## A.

ADAMI Bremenfis Hift. 太ccl. apud Lindenbrog. Script. Germ. Sepr. The Capur de Situ Danix is alfo in the Datia, the beft of the Elzevir Republics.
Athici Cofinographia apud Melam Gronovii, Lugd. Bat. 1696. 8vo:
Agathias de retus gettis Juftiniani, Paris, 1660 . f.
Ammianus Marcellinus Gronovii, Lugd. Bat. 1693. f.
Anaftafii Bibliothecarii Hiftoria Ecclefiaftica, Paris, 1642 . f.
Apollonius Rhodius, cum Scholiafte, Francof. 1546. 8 vo .
A ppiani Opera Stephani, Paris, 1592. f.
Ariftotelis Opera, 1597.4 vols, $f$.
Arii Polyhifforis Libellus de Inandia, Buffri, Haunix, 1733 . 4 to.
Arriani Tietica; Acies contra Alanos, \&c. Blancardi, Amft. 1683. 8 vo .
Aufónius V̈ariórum, Atiff. 167t. 8̌vo. Scaligeri, Lagd. Bat. 1612. 8 vo .

## B.

Bartholinus de Caufis Contemptxa a Danis Mortis, Havnix, 1689, 4 to.
Bayeri Differtationes de Scythis, de Cimmeriis, \&c. in Act. Acad. Petropol. Tom. 1. et feif 7 . This author, in his love of Ruffia, and ignorance of ancient hiftory and geography, makes the Scythx, \&c. Fins, and other nations of the Rufian empire 1 His errors are fo grofs as to be beneath notice in this wotk.
Bedx Opera, Bafil. 1563.8 vols, f.
Bibliander de Ratione communi omnium Linguarum, Tiguri, ${ }^{1548 \text {. }}$ 4 to.
Blackwell's Enquiry into the Lifé and Writings of Homer, London, 1736, 8 vo.
Buat, M. le Compte dia, Hiffoiré Ancienne des Peuples de l'Europe: Paris, 1772. 10 tomes, 8 vo.
Burton de veteri Lingua Perfica. Lutbecx, 17 io, 8 vo.
Bufbequii Opera, Elz. $16_{33}, 12 \mathrm{mo}$.

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## Cxfar Scaligeri, Elz. $1635,12 \mathrm{mo}$.

Cellarii Geographia Antiqua. Lipfix, 1731.2 vols. 4 to.
Chronicon Pafchiale (al. Fanti Siculi vel Chron. Alexandrinum) a Ducange. Paris, 1688. f.
Chamberlayne Oratio Dominica in omnibus fere Linguis. Amft. 1715. 410.

Chryfoftomi Opera a Montfaticon. Paris, 1718. ${ }^{13}$ vols. f.
Claudianus Heinfii. Elz. 1650 , 1 imo. Gefneri. Lipliz, 17 igi. 8vo.
Clementis Alexandrini Opera, Potteri Oxon, 1715, f.
Cluverii Germania Antiqua. Elz. 1616. f.
$\longrightarrow$ Geographia, Bunonis, Sc. Londini, $1711,4 t 0$.
Curtius. Elz. 1670 , 12 mo.

## D.

D'Anville, vide Memoires de l'Academie.
———Geographie Ancienne Abregée. Paris, 1768, 3 vols, 12 mo ,
___ Etars forthes en Europe apres la Chute de l'Emp. Rom.

| Paris, $2771,4: 0_{k}$ | , b | Davis |
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## [ xviii ]

Davis DiCtionarium Kymbraicum feu Wallicum. Londini, $\mathbf{1 6 3 2}$.f.
De Guignes Hiftoire des Huns. Paris, 1756.4 tomes, 4 to.
D'Hancarville Recherches fur les Arts de la Grece. Londre, 1785.
2 vols. 4 to.
Diodorus Siculus Weffelingi. Amfl. 1746, 2 vols. f.
Dion Caffius Reimari. Hamburgi, 1750,2 vols. f.
Diony fii Periegefis a Hill. Londini, 1688, 8 vo .
Dionyfius Halicarnaffeus Hudfoni. Oxon, 1704, 2 vols. f.
E.

Edda Refenii, $\mathbf{1 6 6 5}, 4$ to. and in the tranflation of Mallet.
Epiphanii Opera Valefii. Colon. 1652, f.
Eufebii Hieronymi et Profperi Chronica ad 28 MSS. et 8 Edit. emend. a Pontaco. Burdigalx, 1604. f.
Euftathius in Homerum, Bafil. 1560.3 vols. f.
Excerpra Legationum Urfini. Ant. 1582.410 . et Pars |Secunda eorundem Hoefchelii Gr. Aug. Vind. 1603, 4to. Cantoclari Lat. Paris $\mathbf{1 6 0 9 .}$. $8 v 0$. This fecond part is extremely fcarce, and fhnuld be reprinted with the firf. It is alfo in Labbe, Appar, ad Hift. Bye. edit. Reg. 1648. f.
Excerpta de Virtutibus et Vitiis Valefii. Paris, 1634. 4to.
F.

Frifch Hift. Lingux Slavonicx, Berolini, 1727. 4to. G.

Geographi Greci Minores a Hudfon, Oxon. 1698, 4 vols. 3vo.
Gibbon's Roman Hiftory. London, 1783.6 vols. 8 vo .
Gillies's Hiflory of Grecce. London, 1786. 2 vols. $4^{\text {to }}$.
Grotii Hiftoria (vel potius Collectio Hift.) Guthorum. Amft. $1655^{\circ}$ 8vo.

## H.

Helmoldi Chronicon Slavorum Bangerti, Lubecx, 1659. 4 to.
Herodotus Weffelingii. Amf. 1763 . f.
Hieronymi Opera. Paris, 1693,5 vols. f.
Hiftorix Augufte Scriptores Variorum. Lugd. Bat. 166 t , 8vo.
Homeri Ilias. Londini, 1747, 2 vols. 8 vo.

- Odyffea. Genevz, 12 mo .

Horatius, Baikerville. Birm. 176i, 12 mo .
Huet Hift. du Commerce et de la Navigation des Anciens. Paris, 1716, 8 vo .

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Ihre Gloffarium Suio. Gothicum. Upfalx, $\mathbf{1 7 6 9}, 2$ vols. f.
Jornandes Vulcanii. Lug. Bat. 1597, 8vo. et in Grotii Hift. Goth. Ilidari Chronicon Gothorum, Ib.
Jufinus Voffii, Elz. 1640, 12 mo.

## L.

Lagerbring, Sammandrag af Swea Rikes Hiftoria. Stockholm, 177 is $8 v 0$.
Lipfii Opera, Antw. 1614.8 vols. 4 to.
I, ivii Hiftoria Sigonii. Venet 1555 . f.
Lloyd Archaulogia Britannica. Oxon. 1707, f.
Lucianı Opera Benediiti, Salmurii. $\mathbf{8} 619,2$ vols. 8 vo .
M.

Mallet's Northern Antiquities. London, 1770, 2 vols. $8 v o$.
——.- Abregée de l'Hiff. de Dannemarc. Copenhague, 1760 , $\therefore 2 \mathrm{mo}$.
Macpherfon's Introduction to the Hiflory of Britain and Ireland. London, 1773.4io.
Marham Canon Chronicus. Lipfix, 1676, 4to.

Mela Gronovii. Lugd. Bat. 1696, 8vo. Olivarii. Lug. Bat. 1646. 12 mo .
Memoires de l'Academie des Inferiptions et Belles Lettres, 41 volumes, to 1780 .
Montefquieu Oeuvres de. Amf. 1772, 7 vols. Svo.
O.

Olahi Hungaria et Attila. Vindob. 1763, 8vo (fcript. 1536).
Orofius Havercampi. Lug. Bat, 173 8, 410.
Orphei Opera Gefneri. Lipfix, 1764. 8vo. It is furprifing that the age of thefe pretended poems of Orpheis, to Mufæus his fon, has not been examined. Some lately alcribe them to an Onomacritus, upon no grounds whatever. They are palpably forgerics of the firft, or fecond, century; but as near the Homeric language as any modern poet could forge an imitation of Chaucer. They are not earlier, becaufe unknown to all writers preceding that time. Plato, in Cratylo, quotes one line of. Orpheus; Diodorus Siculus I. 11, 12, two; but they are not found in the prefent. Orpheus was indeed the Zamolxis, the Zoroafter, the founder of their religion, to the Greek priefts, and they had forged a hymn or two in his name before. But thefe poems to Mufous are firft quoted by Juftin Martyr in the fecond century ; and feem to have been forged to fupport the Pagan faith againft the Chriftian, then rapidly advancing, when the Carmina Sibyllina were forged on the other fide. They relate to Pagan myfteries; and the Argonautics form a mock gofpel of Orpheus.
Ovidii Opera, 3 tom. Amft. $1717,12 \mathrm{mo}$.
P.

Panegvrici Veteres. Norimberga, 1759, 2 vols. 8 vo.
Pauli Warnefridi Diaconi Hift. Langobardorum, apud Grotii Hift. Goth.
Paufanias Kuhnii. Lipfix, 1696. f.
Pelloutier Hiftoire des Celtes. Haye, 1750, 2 vols. 12 mo . Paris, 1770, 8 vols. $8 v o$.
Peyffonnel Obfervations fur les Peuples barbares du Danube et du Pont Euxine. Paris, 1765.4 to.
Photii Bibliotheca, 1612, f.
Platonis Opera Ficini. Lugduni, 1550,5 vols. 12 mo .
Plinii Hiftoria Naturalis Harduini. Paris, 1723, 2 vols, f. Genevz, 1601, 3 vols. 12 mo .
Plutarchi Opera apud Stephanum, 1572, f. 13 vols.
Pollucis Onomafticon Variorum. Amft. 1706, 2 vols. f.
Polybii Hiftoria Cafauhoni. Amft. 1670, 3 vols. 8 vo.
Procopii Opera. Paris ${ }_{2}$ 1662, 2 vols. f.
Ptolemxi Geographia a Mercatore, 1605 . f,
R.

Ravennas Geographus, cum Mela Gronovii. Lug. Bat. 1696. 8vo, Richardfon's Differtation on Eaftern Manners, \&c. prefixt to Perfian, Arabic, and Englifh Dictionary.
S.

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The time when Solinus wrote could not be difcovered by Erafmus, the Scaligers, Lipfius, Grotius, Salmafius, \&c. in fhort, by all, from the revival of letters to this hour. There muft be witcheraft in the cafe, for nothing is more eafy. Solinus, c. $3^{8}$,"fpeaking of Judæa, fays, Fudea caput fuit Hierofolyma, fed excija ef. Succeffit Hiericus; et bacidefit, Artaxerxis bello fuba\&a. Who does not know that this war of Artaxerxes happened in the time of Alexander Severus, about the year 230? See Lampridius, \&e. Salmafius, on this paffage, calls Solinus a fool, and dreams about the old Artayerxes! Solinus alfo mentions Byzantium, fimply, not as Conftantinople, fo that he wrote before 330 . But he alfo mentions the Getæ, not by the name of Gothi, given them on their invafion 250 , nor does he hint at that invafion; fo that he clearly wrote between 230 and 250 , fay 240 . The laft edition by Goezius is the wortt we have of any olaffic. Solinus deferves a better fate, for had Pliny perifhed, how great muft have been his value I As it is, his book is not a mere abftract of Pliny, but has valuable additions.
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## [ $\mathbf{x x i}$ ]

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Part.

The identity of the Scythians, Getæ, and GothsWhether they proceeded from Europe into Afia, or from Aria into Europe- 'Their real origin, and firf Progrefs-Their fettlements in the Eat; and between the Euxine and Mediterranean feas.
Chapter I. The Scytbians, Gena, and Gobs, all one people Page 3
Chapter II. Whether the ScytJians or Goths proceded from Scandinavia into Afia, or from Afr into Europe D. 15
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\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{ART}} \mathrm{II} .
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The extended fettlements of the Scythians, or Goths, over all Germany, and in Scandinavia.
Chapter I. The Germans not of Sarmatic, nor Celtic origin page 89,
Chapter II. The Germans were Sola. First Grand Argument, from identity of language
p. 107

Chapter III. The Germans were Scytbe. Second Grand Argument, from the tefimohies of Ancient Authors P. 115
Chapter IV. The Germans were Scythe. Third Grand Argument, from Similar manhers
p. 13 I

Chapter V. The progress of the Scythian into Scandinavia especially considered p. 150

Epochs of the Firft Gothic progress over Europe p. 186 Epochs of the Second or Laft p. 188 Appendix. Pliny's defcription of the north of Europe, with a tranflation and remarks

## Correfions.

It feems fated to this word to reft an error of the prefs. There are no fuch ilands as Hebrides. Pliny IV. 16. calls them Habudes, or as fome MSS. Hebudes : as does Solinus, c. 25. Ptolemv, Eboodar, Ebuda. Hector Boethius, Hift. Scot. Paris, 1526 , fol. is the great father of Hebrides; but after looking over the editions of Pliny and Solinus preceding Boethius to no purpofe; as they hear Ebudes and Hebudes, i at laft happened on one of Solinus, Paris, ${ }^{1503}$, $4^{10}$. full of typographical crrors, and among them, f. xxii. Ebrides appears in text and margin, as in index, for Ebudes, as alfo Arcades, once for Orcades. This is palpably the very fountain of the miftake, for Boethius ftudied at Paris, where he muft have ufed this edition, without confulting any other. German and Scandinavian writers at this day always put Hebudes. 53, for Nic, read Nec.
63, for Illyriana, read Illyrians.
74, The Greek and Roman drefs, being an article of manners, is omisted in confidering the origin of thefe nations. But it may be hinted that the warlike was Gothic, a tunic and mantle, and often femoralia. The domeftic was Phoenician, and pot flowing as the Sarmatic.

99, mote f, for ( p .350 ) read ( p .330 ) effential. zọ2, for pronontory, read promentory.

## $\mathbf{P} \quad \mathbf{A} \quad \mathrm{R} \quad \mathrm{T} \quad \mathrm{I}$.

The identity of the Scythians, Geta, and Goths-Whether they proceeded from Europe into Afia, or from Afia into Europe-Their real origin, and firft progrefs-Their fettlements in the Eaft; and between the Euxine and Mediterranean feas.

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## A

## DISSERTATION

ONTHE

Origin and Progrefs of the Scythians or Goths.

## PART.

Tbe identity of the Scytbians, Geta, and Goths -Whether they proceeded from Europe into Afia, or from Afia into Europe-Their real origin, and firft progrefs-Their fettlements in the Eaf, and betrveen the Euxine and Mediterranean feas.

## CHAPTERI.

The Scytbians, Geta, and Gotbs, all one people.

THE fubject meant to be briefly treated in this differtation is fo extenfive, and important, that two vaft volumes might well be occupied with it alone. For upon it, as a wide and perpetual bafis, ftands the whole hiftory of Europe; excepting only that of Ruffia, Poland, and Hungary. All the reft is in the hands of the progeny of the Goths, or as we may juftly fay of the Goths : and there actually exits in Europe, at B 2 let us, deceived by vulgar blindnefs, efteem it a difgrace to be called by our real name of Goths, but rather exult in the glorious title. For, as fhall afterwards be fhewn, the Greeks themfelves were Goths, being originally Pelafgi, a Scythic or Gothic colony : and the Romans alfo were of the fame ftem. And tho we, mified by a puerile love of the Romans, revile the ruder Goths, our fathers, as defpifers of learning and the arts; becaufe they fcorned the fophiftical reading, and fantaftic arts, prevalent on the decline of the Roman empire, which we at prefent fcorn ; yet, as fhewn in the preface, the Goths were the friends of every elegant art, and ufeful fcience; and when not conltrained to arms alone by the inevitable fituation, and fpirit, of their fociety, they carried every art and fcience to heights unknown before; as the ancient Greeks and modern Europeans might witnefs. In wifdom, that perfection of human nature,

And tho no fcience fairly worth the feven, ançient authors ${ }^{\text {a }}$ call the rude Goths the firft of mankind. And in arms what people equalled thofe who conquered the Romans, who had conquered all? who, without military difcipline, overcame the greatef military difcipline in the world? who ruhhing at once, as lightning from heaven, daihed the trong and deep-rooted oak of Roman power to pieces; and fcattered the numerous trophies, that adorned its branches, over the furrounding fields?

[^3]Before proceeding further i mult apologife to the reader for compreffing my own materials for the prefent difquifition, and which might have filled a large quarto volume, into fuch contracted bounds. For tho i am a declared enemy to large books, yet to the learned reader it may feem audacious, even to attempt fo vaft a theme in fuch finall compafs. But he will confider that the purpofe of this work, into which my refearches into Scotifh hiftory led me, forbids my entering inta the fubject fo fully as its importance warratts. As M. de Guignes has obliged the world with an Hiftory of the Huns, in Four Quarto Volumes; fraught with all that information, which his great learning in the Eaftern tongues enabled him to give; fo it is earneftly to be wifhed that fome writer of eminent learning, induftry, and ability, would give us an Hiltory of the Scythians, at as great, or greater, extent. Such a work would be of the utmoft advantage both to ancient, and modern hiftory. Yet, tho confined to brevity, every toil has been exerted to render the prefent attempt veracious, accurate, and diftinct.

It is proper firft to fhew that Scytha, Geta, Gotbi, were but different names for one and the fame people; as we call them Spaniards, whom the French call E/pagnols; the Italians, Spagnuoli: or as the French call the Engliih Anglois; the Italians, Inglef. 3 . The learned reader will fmile at my thinking it neceffary to explain a matter fo wel! known, as the identity of the Scythians, Getæ, and Soths; but this tract is meant for the public at large, and it is always better to tell a reader what he may perhaps know, than run the rifque of obfcuring a whole work by omitting what he may not know. I fhall however be very brief on this article; referring thofe who wifh for more information upon it to Sheringham ${ }^{2}$, Pelloutier ${ }^{b}$, and Ihre ${ }^{c}$.

[^4]Of the Scytbians we find a molt ample account given by Herodotus; and which occupies almoft all his Fourth Book. In the fame book he affo mentions the Geta, telling us that Darius fubdued them in advancing againft the wandering Scythians, who lived on the other fide of the Ifter, or Danube; and adding a remarkable circumftance that the Geta believed in the immortality of the foul, and that they were the bravelt, and moft juft, of the Thracians. Thus from the earlieft periods of hiftory we find mention of the Scythæ and Getæ, as only divided by a river; but this is quoted folely to fhew that thefe names are thus early recorded d. After this we find them mentioned by almoft every Greek writer, even familiarly; for Geta is a common name for a flave in Greek comedy, and in Terence's tranflations: the Greeks procuring many flaves from thefe their barbarous brethren, either by art or force.

But the name of Goths is not near fo ancient; the very firt mention of it being in the time of the emperor Decius, in the year of Chrift 250, as Mr. Gibbon fhews. At which time a part of them burf from Getia into the empire, under Cneva : and Decius, attempting to repell them from Thrace, was conquered and flain. After this we find them as frequently in the Latin authors by the names of Geta, or Gothi, as formerly the Scytbians in the Greek; and, as Mr. Gibbon well obferves, all the Greek writers after this period ftill uniformly call thofe Scythe, whom the Latin authors denominate Gothi.

- For the more exactnefs it fhall now be fhewn, I. That the Geta and Gothi were the fame.

[^5]2. That
2. That the Getæ or Gothi were the fame with the Scythr.
I. The Gete and Gotbi the fame. This might almoft admit of proof from the identity of the word, and identic fituation of the people, were there not other irrefragable evidences at hand. The reader will pleafe to remember that the Romans, as the Greeks, and as the modern Germans, Scandinuvians, and many other nations, never gave the letter G a foft found, but always pronounced it hard, as we do in go, get, \&c. not as we ufe in german, gefture, \&c. Now, in the Grecian dialects, the vowels are often changed, and afpiration omitted; and it is probable that the name $\Gamma_{\varepsilon \tau \alpha t}$ is merely the name properly borne by the nation, and as pronounced by them, to wit Gothi, foftened to the delicacy of Greek pronunciation, as the Italians foften Englifh to Inglefi. We ufe as much freedom, nay often more, ourfelves, in many names of countries, as French for Franfois, \&c. and efpecially change the $e$ and $o$ in the fame verb $t 0$ get, be got. Torfæuse indeed obferves that Get and Got is the fame identic word, implying anciently, as he fays, a foldier.

But, not to infift further upon this, the following authoritues will infallibly prove that Getce and Gotbi are fynonymous words.

1. We learn from Suidas that Dio entitled his hiftory of the Goths 「erixov, or the Getic Hiftory. Dio wrote his Roman Hiftory under Alexander Severus, abcut the year 230; but probably lived to fee the attack of the Goths upon the empire in 250 , and wrote this work, now unhappily loft, in confequence of the public curiofity raifed by that event.
2. Spartian, who wrote under Diocletian, about the year 300 , or within fifty years of the firt ap-

[^6]pearance of the name Gothi, is alone a complete evidence. For in his life of Antoninus Caracallus, n. ャo. p. 419 of the Hift. Aug. Script. ed. var. 1661, 8vo. he fays Gotti Gete dicerentur,' the ' Goths were then called Geta.' And again, in his life of Antoninus Geta, n. 6. p. 427, Geticus quafi Gotticus; 'Geticus as we would now fay Gotticus.'
3. Claudian always calls the Goths Gcta, and entitles his poem on the Gothic war, De Bello Getico.
4. Sidonius Apollinaris in his poems frequently calls the Goths Geter; and in the epifle to Trigetius he calls the Oftrogoths Mafageta.
5. Aufonius, ldyl. 8. fpeaking of the Goths fays,
Que vaga Sauromates fibi juhxerat agmina Chunis; Quaque getis fociis Iftrum adfultabat Alanus.
6. Orofius, lib. I. c. 6. fays Geta qui et nunc, Gothi, 'the Getæ, who are now alfo called Gothi.'
7. Saint Jerome, in pref. Epif. 2. ad Galat. fays, that the Goths were anciently called Getz. And in his own Epirt. 135, he ufes Getre for Gotbi.
8. Ennodius, in his Panegyric to Theodoricus king of the Goths, Nam_illud quo ore celebrandum eft quod getici infrumenta roboris, dum provides ne interpellentur otia noffre, cufodis?
 ' For they fay the Goths are a Getic race.'
10. Jornandes entitles his hiftory De Getarum, five Gotborum, origine et rebus gefis; and conftantly ufes Gete and Gotbi as fynonymous. In his work De Regn. Succeff. he fays Decius bellantibus Getis occubuit.
II. Ifidorus, Origin. lib. ix. c. 2. fays the Getr, and Gothi, are the fame.

There is not even a fhade of an authority on the other fide; tho, within thefe two centuries, the blunders of fuperficial learning on this fubject on bis own authority, that the Gotbi were the Gutones, or Gothones, of Pomerellia, who went and ate up the Getæ,-becaufe Cluverius was himfelf a native of Pomerellia ${ }^{8}$, and wanted all the glory of the Goths to his own dear Gothones! Grotius ${ }^{\text {a }}$ followed, who afferted on bis own authority that the Goths went from Gotbland in Sweden, a name unknown till the Thirteenth, or Fourteenth century, and rifing merely from fome property of the country ${ }^{\text {i }}$, and ate up the Getæ, about three centuries before Chrit-becaufe Grotius was embaffadour from the Queen of Sweden to France, and bound, as he fays in his preface, to do all in his power for the honour of that kingdom. Such infants are men of learning! Grotius has had his followers; and of late D'Anville follows Cluverius, from whofe works he is indeed a frequent plagiary: and adds this only, and fapient, reafon ${ }^{k}$, that the Goths were Germans, becaufe the names of their princes, \&c. refemble the German, not the Scychic or Getic. But he ought to have known that the Greeks, from whom alone we have any Scythic or Getic names, totally perverted all barbaric names, nay often tranflated them - for Ardfhir they give us Artaxerxes, \&c. Agathyrfi, Amazones, \&c. are mere Greek tranflations, or rather metamorphofes. The names which D'Anville mult allude to are

[^7]thofe in ric, \&c. as Theodoric, and the like, to which fimilar names may be found among the Germans, as Orgetorix, \&c. This the Greeks feem in Scythic names to have changed into ris as Toxaris, \&c. But in fact the formal mufic of Greek compofition forced their authors to change all barbaric names into a Greek form, a circumftance which efcaped M. D'Anville, but which overthrows his argument; which, to fay the beft of it, is a caftle in the air, of which fuch fluctuating matters as words, and of them the moft fluctuating, names, are formed. A Frenchman calls London, Londres, where is the Gothic dun'? Such is the cafe with foreign pronunciation among all nations. But this is an age of etymological frenzy; and we pay fuch attention to words that facts efcape us. No author, before Cluverius, ever dreamed that the Goths differed from the Getæ. Even in the darkeft ages their identity was clearly feen. The Goths in the year 250 came from the very fame ground where Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, Dionyfius the Geographer, and all the writers from the firft century down to that very time, had placed the Getæ. The Romans before 250 only knew the Geta by Greek report, and gave them of courfe the Greek name: in 250 when they actually faw, and fought with, them, they calied them by their proper name Gothi; as they ftudied not mufic nor accents in profe, as the Greeks did, but put the name as fpoken, only with a Latin termination.

[^8]Dio, who wrote about 250 , calls them ftill Geta, as we have feen. Succeeding writers exprefly explain that the Getæ and Gothi were the fame; as common fenfe might convince us: for how could the prodigious nation of Getæ, fo remarkable in ancient authors, vanifh at once? The Goths came from the very territory of the Geta; and no authority would be required for any one of the fmalleft penetration to pronounce them the fame people. But in fcience it feems doubtful whether the moft falfehood arifes from the weak prejudices and caprice of the learned, or from the fuperficiality of the ignorant. Suffice it to fay, that authorities are facts in history; and that any one of the above authorities would overturn any theory at once. But where all the ancients agree in a point, as they do in this, for any modern to oppofe his theoretic dreams is equally abfurd, as it would be to attempt to prove by modern arguments that all the Greek and Roman hiftory is a fable.

From thefe proofs therefore we muft regard it as Hiforic Truth, that the Getce and Goths zuere the jame people.
II. The Geta or Goths the fame with the S. ytbians. This- will as plainly appear from the following evidences.
I. Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, all rank the Geta as Scythæ.
2. Juftin, or rather Trogus, fays, Tanaus king of the moft ancient Scythe fought with Vexores king of Egypt. Valerius Flaccus lib. V. calls the fame Tanaus king of the Geta.
3. Trebellius Pollio, in Gallieno: Scythre autem, id eft pars Gothorum, Afram vafabant. The fame, (in Claudio Gotbico) Scytbarum diverfi populi : Peucini, Trutungi, austrogothi, preda, \&c.
4. Dexippus, who as Grotius thinks wrote in the reign of Gallienus, entitled his hiftory of the wars between the Romans and Goths, $\Sigma$ KYeIKA, or Scythic

Scythic Hiftories: and called the Goths $\sum_{x u \theta \alpha s}$ Styther. See Photius, Cod. 83.
5. Prifcus ufes Scytbians and Gotbs fynonymoufly. faying ' they befieged the Goths. There the Scytbians labouring under want of victuals, \&c.'m
6. Eunapius calls thofe Goths whom Valens planted in Mrfia Scytbians ${ }^{\mathrm{n}}$.
7. Procopius, lib. IV. c. 5. каи $\tau \alpha \alpha \lambda \lambda \alpha$ Готfind
 ทンтоt: ' all the other Gothic nations, who were alfo called Scythians in ancient times.'
8. Anaftafrus in Hift. Chronograph. $\Sigma \kappa \nu \theta \propto<$,

 - When many Scythians, who are called Goths, 6 had palt the river Ifter, in the time of Decius, - they wafted the Roman empire.'
9. Theophanes, under the year 370 , Гor $\theta$ ous $\delta=$
 rat' autov istopoe qinsiv: ' for that the Scythians are 6 in their tongne called Goths, Trajanus Patricius ' relates in the hiftory of his own cime.'
 $\mu \in v o t \quad \varepsilon \pi r \chi$ wotws: ' the Scythians are alfo called ' Goths in their own language.'
11. Jornandes ${ }^{\circ}$ always fpeaks of the Goths, Getæ, and Scythæ, as one people, and ufes the names fynonymounly.
12. Ifidorus thus begins his Chronicle of the Goths in Spain, Gotborum antiquiffimum effe regnumt certum eft, quod ex regno Scytbarum eft exortum.
13. Procopius repeatedly calls the Faderati, fo woll known in the Lower Empire, Goths. Suidas in voce calls them Scythæ.
14. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xxxi.mentioning the death of Decius who fell in the battle againft the Goths, or Getæ, calls them Scythica gentes.

[^9]There

There is nota fhadow of any authority whatever on the other fide of the queftion. The dreams of Cluverius and Grotius, above mentioned, only merit laughter ; as any modern muft ever do, who chufes to advance his futile fpeculations againft ancient authority. For, as there can be nof pecial revelation in fuch cafes, without the ancients we know nothing of the matter; and, if we ftrive to extinguifh their lights, muft remain in utter darknefs. But, if modern names may weigh, Salmafius de Lege Hellenift. p. 368,
 differently pronounced. Indeed the $S$ in Scytba is but a fervile letter, as in many other Greek words, where it is put or omitted at pleafure, as Skimbri for Kimbri, \& C. ${ }^{p}$ This ancient name Scytha feems Cutbe with an $S$ prefixt, and the $G$ altered to $K$, as no word in Greek begins with SG, which is indeed almoft unpronounceable in the beginning of a word; but in SK (or SC) are many words in the Greek. Mr. Gibbon juftly obferves that the Greek writers, after the appearance of the name Gctbi among the Latin, ftill ufe Scytbians as a fynonymous word. This was owing to the Grecks retaining the name by which they had ever called them, while the Romans, to whom the people was unknown fave in ancient hiftory and geography, gave them on their firft nearer acquantance with them, not the Greek name, but their own proper appellation. It is alfo worth remarking that Odin was the great god of the Scandinavian Goths, and the Icelandic Eddas and Sagas fay that Odin led his people into Scandinavia from Scythia on the

[^10]Danaf-

Danaftrom; that is the Danafter, Dniefter, or Tyras.

Thefe fynonymous names Scytbe, Geta, Gothi, all appear fometimes in local, fometimes in extenfive, meaning among the ancients. Herodotus puts the Getæ on the fouth of the Danube, and the Scythæ on the other fide. Pliny and Strabo extend the Getæ all over the weft of the Euxine, and the later thro half of Germany. Herodotus, lib. IV. c. 121, mentions the Thyffa Getæ to the north of the Euxine, and in the heart of Scythia; and lib. IV. c. in. the Maffa Getæ on the north and eaft of the Cafpian. Procopius lib. I. c. 2. fays the whole Scythæ were anciently called $\Gamma_{\varepsilon \tau \pi \kappa x} \varepsilon \notin v$, Getic nations. Jornandes ufes the words Scytbic, Geta, Gothi, as quite fynonymous. Some, as may be feen in the above authorities, call the Getæ, or Gothi Scythians : others call the Scythians Getæ, or Goths. The words are abfolutely fynonymous: nay, to all appearance, but one and the fame name, differently fpelt.

From thefe proofs it is Hiforic Trutb that the Scythians, Geta, Goths, are one and the fame people.

## C H A P T ER II.

Whether the Scytbians or Gotbs proceeded from Scandinavia into Afia; or from Affa into Europe.

THIS is a moft important and curious inquiry ; and, for want of fufficient attention to it, prodigious errors have crept into the works of almoft all modern writers, even of the higheft account.

It muft here be premifed, that the term Scytbians is often, by modern writers, ufed in a moft lax and indefinite fenfe; but is never fo employed by the ancients, whofe ideas upon the fubject were accurate and diftinct. Herodotus carefully diftinguifhes between the Scythians and the Sarmate. In book IV. c. 57, he fays, that beyond the Tanais to the north ' are not Scythæ, but Sarmatæ :' c. 101. he mentions that the Melanchlæni (a Sarmatic nation) are beyond the Scythæ twenty days journey, having faid c. 20. that the Melanchlæni are not Scythæ: and lib. IV. c. 117 , he tells that fome of the Sarmatæ were taught the Scythic tongue by the Amazons. He alfo diftinguifhes the Scythians from the Celts; and places the later far to the weft. The Tartars were unknown to the ancients, till the Fifth century, when the Huns, who were Tartars, burf into Europe : and Jornandes afufficiently marks the great difference between the Scythians and the Huns; as we can at this day by comparing the large fhape, blue eyes, and fair hair, of a German,

[^11] with the fmall ftature, fmall black eyes, and black hair of a Tartar. Thefe differences are found in the other ancient writers, who fully knew that the Scythians were neither Sarmatæ, Celts, nor Tartars; but a race of men peculiar, fixt, and diftinct. It is to modern ignorance, or fuperficiality, which is worfe than ignorance, that we are indebted for any confufion upon this matter. There are however two exceptions to this general rule, which, as it is the intention of this treatife to lay every thing before the reader in the moft open manner, mult not be forgottén. The firft is that of Strabo who, in defcribing Afia, lib. XI. p. 492, fays Evootepw $\delta_{\varepsilon}$
 the Sarmatæ themfelves Scythians.' But this paffage is a palpable miftake ${ }^{b}$, and may be confuted from many others of Strabo himfelf; who, in defcribing Europe, clearly and repeatedly diftinguifhes the Sarmatæ from the Scythæ. Indeed the ignorance of Strabo concerning the Cafpian fea, and the nations to the eaft of it, is well known. Nor is it 2 wonder that he who fuppofed the Cafpian agulph of the Northern Ocean (VII. p. 294), from which it is near a thoufand miles diftant, was fo miftaken as to take the Afiatic Sarmatæ for Scythæ. But this fingle paffage of Strabo has no weight, when all the other ancients, from Herodotus down to Jornandes, are clear and direct againft it; and prove it a mere error into which Ephorus led him. The other exception is that of Procopius, who fays

[^12]' the Goths, Vandals, Vifigoths, and Gepidx were anciently called Sarmata and Melanchlani: fome have alfo called them Getic nations ${ }^{\text {c.' }}$ This can alfo be Thewn a miftake of Procopius, for the Melanchlæni were a Sarmatic nation, fo called from their black robes; and, not to name all the ancients, Jornandes a writer of his own time marks the Goths as warring with the Sarmatæ: and Herodotus, Strabo, Mela, Pliny, Ptolemy, with many others, mark the Scythæ or Goths as quite a diftinct people from the Sarmata. The fame Procopius, with the ignoranice of his benighted age, fays the Huns were anciently called Maffagetæ, Mass $\overline{\text { E }}$ tos $S_{\text {seos }}$ ous iov 'Ouvous radoustv. While the fact was that the Huns, or Tartars, had conquered the Maffagetæ, a Scythic nation, and feized their territories, whence Procopius confounded the Huns who, from that quarter, poured into Europe, with the Maffagetæ the ancient poffeffors ${ }^{4}$. Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Ptolemy, and other ancients, fully inftruct us that the Maffagetæ were a Scythic nation ; and Diodorus fays they were a colony of the Scythians on the Euxine. Thefe two are perhaps the only ancient writers who confound the Scythæ with the Sarmatæ, or with the Tartars. Not one of the ancients confounds the Scythr with the Celts. Strabo's Celto-Scythe were thofe Scythæ who bordered on the Celts; as the IndoScytbe were thofe who bordered on the Indi.

The reader, to obtain a clear and precife view of our fubject, muft bear in mind that there were in ancient Europe only four Grand Races of men; namely, i. The Celts, the moft ancient inhabitants that can be traced; and who were to the other races what the favages of America are to the European fettlers there. 2. The Iberi of Spain and Aquita-

[^13]nia, who were Mauri and had paft from Africa. Thefe Two Races were few in number; the Celts being moftly deftroyed by the Sarmatæ and Scythæ; and few of the Iberi having come into Europe. 3. The Sarmate, who were in all appearance originally poffeffors of fouth-weft Tartary, but expelled by the Tartars. For their fpeech, the Sarmatic or Slavonic is remote from the Tartaric; and their perfons, full of grace and majelty, are different from thofe of Tartars: fo that they are not of Tartaric origin. 4. The Scytbians, who originated, as thall prefently be feen, from prefent Perfia; and fpred from thence to the Euxine, and almoft over all Europe.

In the ancient authors thefe grand races of men are marked and clear; and that chief diftinction of the four languages fill remains to certify them. The Celtic is fpoken by the Irifh and Welch. The Iberian ftill partly furvives in the Gafcunian or Bafque, and Mauritanic. The Sarmatic is the vaft Slavonic tongue. The Scythic comprehends the other nations; but efpecially the Germans and Scandinavians, whofe fpeech is lefs mixt. No divifions can be more accurate and precife, from prefent proofs, as well as from ancient writers. It is to modern authors, and fome of them illuftrious, that we owe any confufion upon this fubject, arifing from a very fimple caufe, to wit, that good authors are rarely antiquaries, and that men of great talents are feldom fo induftrious as to go to the bottom of a fubject, where alone however the truth is to be found. Thus we find one modern writer ${ }^{\text {e }}$ gravely pronouncing that the Scythians were Celts, becaufe he was a Frenchman, and wanted to make France the parent of all nations, which he eafily proves; for he was enabled to fhew, from all the ancients, that the Greeks, Italians, Germans, \&c. \&c. were infallibly of Scythic origin;
and, as he fays, the Scythians were Celts, it followed that all the nations of Europe were Celtic. Unhappily he forgot that the antients diftinguif more widely between the Scythians and Celts than between any other Grand Races of men; for, from the days of Herodotus to the lateft voice of antiquity, the Scythians are marked as proceeding from Afia, and the Celts as confined to the utmolt. weft of Europe. Nor can any tongues be of more different form than the Celtic and Gothic. Thus we find another ${ }^{f}$ telling us upon bis own authority, that the Goths were Sarmatæ, without once reflecting that all the antients are direct againft him ; and that a nation fpeaking the Gothic tongue can no more be the fame with one fpeaking the Slavonic, than a Swede can be a Ruffian. Thus we find others ${ }^{8}$ calling the Scythæ Tartars, and the Tartars Scythw, forgetting that the ancients did not even know the exiftence of the Tartars till the Huns appeared; and that they diftinguih the Scythe from the Huns in the moft pofitive manner; forgetting that the Scythæ fpoke the Gothic tongue, a language as remote from the Tartaric as poffible.

Ihre, a man of induftry and fkill in the Gothic, but of fmall learning and ftill lefs penetration, in the preface to his Suio-Gothic Gloffary, obferves the danger of attempting to trace Scythic words, given us by ancient writers, in the Gothic; becaufe, lays he, it appears that the Scythians had anciently different tongues. For Herodotus fays that in Scythia were Seven languages. Strabo, lib. X. p. 503, fays the Alani, a Scythic nation, had twenty-fix languages. Mithridates king ofPontus, we are told, learned Twenty-two tongues, to converfe with his own fubjects, who were chiefly Scythic, or at leaft in the old feats of the Scythæ. Lucian fays, Tiridates, a fuccefior of Mithridates in thofe parts,

[^14]requefted a Pantomimus from Nero, as a general interpreter of geftures to his fubjects, not being able to underftand fo many tongues. The Scholiaft of Apollonius Rhodius IV. 32 I. fays, there were Fifty Scythian nations. Ihre remarks juftly that the ancients comprized all the nations in the oblique aicent from the Cafpian fea up to the far* theft point of Scandinavia under the general name of Scythians; and, let me add, for a good reafon, becaufe they were fo, all fave the Sarmatians, whom fome ancient writers only called Scythæ, before it was fully difcovered that the Sarmatre were of quite a diftinct race and language, as known in the time of Tacitus and Ptolemy. Let me obferve upon this that the whole is a fuperficial mifreprefentation. Herodotus does not fay that there were feven languages in Scythia, but that there was one Scythic nation, the Argippre, called alfo Phalacri, or Bald Scythians, who lived at a vaft diftance (isinz:ms $\chi \omega \in r_{5}$ wo $\lambda \lambda \pi y$ ) to the eaft ${ }^{4}$. He obferves there was a number of countries and regions between them and the others; and adds, 'the Scythæ who go to them pafs by feven interpreters, and as many tongues.' Herodotus is on the contrary a clear witnets that the Scythx had but one fpeech; for, lib.IV. c. 117 , he tells that fome of the Sarmata learned the Scythic tongue ( $¢ \mathrm{wm}$ Exubixn) from the Amazons. He alfo repeatedly tells us that the Scythians denominate fuch a perfon or thing by fuch a name in their language i. Strabo's teftimony concerning the Alani, a fmall nation of the Scythæ, having twenty-fix languages, is matter of laughter, not of authority; being only tikely to be true when the Cafpian fea was a gulf of the Northern Ocean, as Stiabo tells; and akin to the men with dogs heads, or horfes feet, and other impoffible nictions of travellars, which impofed on grave authors of antiquiy. If Mithridates learned

[^15]Twenty-two tongues, it was not to converfe with his fubjects, but from his love of learning; and the number is, no doubt vaftly magnified, as ufual in fuch cafes. Lucian's tale is a rifible and good one; but did Ihre think it a matter of fact? That the Alani, as a fcattered nation bordering on the Sarmatæ and on the Tartars, had many dialects, we may well believe. So we may that in the kingdom of Pontus, comprizing Galatæ or German Gauls, Afratic Scythians, Syrians of Cappadocia, Sarmatians, Colchians, Chaldæi, Greeks; there were three radical languages, the Scythian, Sarmatic, and Aflyrian, which might well ferment into many dialects. The Scholiaft of Apollonius fays nothing of languages, but only ihews the valt extent of the Scythæ.

This point required attention becaufe a diverfity of tongues would have argued the term Scitbie an indefinite appellation; and it is believed the reader will now fee that there is no authority whatever for fuch an idea. That fome Scythic wordsmentioned by the ancients fhould not now befound in Gothic, is lefs furprizing than that feveral hould, of which inftances may be found in Ihre, Sheringham, and others. Languages change by time; many words drop into defuetude, and others fupply their place. He mult be a fanguine antiquary indeed who would expect to find every Scythic word in the remains of the Gothic which we have! It may therefore be reafonably concluded that, as the Scytha are a moft marked and diftinct people in ancient accounts, fo they had but one general fpeech, the Scythic, or Gothic; tho perhaps divided into dialects as different as the Englifh and German are now.

Let us now proceed to that important queftion, Whether the Scythians came originally from Scandinavia into Afia, or from Afia into Europe?
I. Tbat the Scytbians originated from Scandinavia, we have one authority, that of Jornandes, who wrote about the year 530 . Jornandes was himfelf a

Goth ${ }^{k}$, but is thought only the abridger of a large hiftory of the Goths by Caffiodorus, who was his cotemporary. If this was the cafe, the abridgment muft be inaccurate, being folely from memory after a reading of three days'. But it appears from the words of Jornandes, underquoted, that he followed Cafliodorus, but added fome things from Greek and Roman writers. However this be, Jornandes puts Scandinavia as the ancient Scythia, from which the Scythians, afterward called Goths, came; for he rightly thro his whole work ufes Scytbe, Geta, and Gitbr, as fynonymous words. He makes them pour from Scandinavia down to the Euxine; thence into Afia, which they fubdue down to Egypt, where they conquer Vexores, as antient writers fay the Scythæ did about 3660 years before Chrift. He then gives the hiftory of the Amazons, or Scythian female warriors ; a fable in all probability grounded on realhifítory, and arifing from two fources. 1. That the Scythian women often fought along with their hufbands. 2. That the name of a Scythian nation, Amazons, unhappily fignified in Greek without breafts.' After this we find fome account of the learning of the Scythians or Goths, their manners, \&c. and he next paffes to Maximin the emperor, who was a Thracian

[^16]Goth ;

Goth; the irruption of the Goths in the time of Decius, \&c. \&c.

Such is the line which Jornandes perfues: and his account of the origin of the Scythæ was blindly followed by Ifidorus, by Beda who calls Scandinavia Scythia, by Paulus Diaconus, by the geographer of Ravenna, and by innumerable others in the dark ages. Nay fuch an effect may even a very weak writer (for fuch Jornandes is) have upon literature, that one fentence of Jornandes has overturned the very bafis of the hiftory of Europe. This famous fentence is in his fourth chapter, Ex bac igitur Scandia infula, quafi officina genTIUM, aut certe velut vagina nationum, cum rege fuo nomine Berig Gotbi quondam memorantur cgieff. Upon this one fentence have all modern liftorians, nay fuch writers as Montefquieu, Gibbon, and others of the firt name, built! Now it can clearly be fhewn that Scandinavia was down to a late period, nay is at prefent, almoft over-run with enormous forefts, where there was no room for population. Adam of Bremen ${ }^{m}$, who wrote in the Eleventh century, inftructs us that even in Denmark, at that time, the fea coafts alone were peopled; while the inner parts of the country were one valt foreft. If fuch was the cafe in Denmark, we may. guefs that in Scandinavia even the fhores were hardly peopled. Scandinavia is alfo a moft mountainous region; and, among a barbaric and uninduftrious people, the mountains are almoft unpeopled. In fact, the fole colonies that ever went from Scandinavia were the Piksn into Scotland,

[^17]the oppofite fhore; the Danes into Denmark : and at the late period the Normans into France; and a few fmall colonies into Iceland, and the neighbouring iles.

But to difcredit for ever this dream of Jornandes, who is in fact the fole aufhority on that fide of the queftion; for other writers down to our times, tho they might be reckoned by hundreds, all ftand upon his foundation alone; let us proceed to evince beyond a doubt that the Scythians came from Afia; and that of courfe Scandinavia muft have been almoft the laft point of their population, inftead of the firft, or punctum faliens.
II. Tbat the Scythians originated from Afa can be proved by many authorities, even the leaft of them fuperior to that of Jornandes.

1. Trogus Pompeius in the reign of Auguftus, with fedulous diligence and great ability, compiled an univerfal hiftory, afterward in the reign of Antoninus Pius abftracted by Juftin, who dedicates his work to that prince. From Trogus, Juftin ${ }^{\circ}$ tells us that the Scythians contended with the Egyptians, then efteemed the earlieft of nations, for antuquity: and that Afia was conquered by them, and tributary to them, for no lefs a fpace than Fifteen Hundred years, before Ninus, founder of the Affyrian Empire, put an end to the tribute.

The ideas of the ancients concerning this firt Supreme Empire were, as might be expected, very confufed. Trogus and Juftin fay the Scythians conquered Vexores king of Egypt, fifteen hundred years before the time of Ninus. Ifaac Voffius, in his notes on Juftin, wonders that Trogus fhould fay the Scythians conquered Sefoftris; while Herodotus, Dicæarchus, Diodorus Siculus, and others, fay that Sefoftris vanquifhed the Scythæ. Voffius did not fee that Sefoftris was out of all queftion; and that it is Vexores whom Juftin bears, as dif-

[^18]ferent
ferent a name, and perfon, from Sefoftris as can well be imagined. Vexores lived about 3660 years before Chrift : Sefoftris about 1480 ! But Voffius is not the only learned man who, from want of common difcernment, has even confounded this Firf Scythic Empire with an eruption of the Scythæ into Afia, about 1600 years after Ninus; while the Great Scythic Empire was terminated by Ninus after lafting more than 1500 years. In the works of the Lipfii, Scaligeri, Salmafii, Voffii, Grotii, one finds every thing but common fenfe, without which every thing is lefs than nothing. Trogus, who was in civil hiftory what Pliny was in natural hiftory, an indefatigable compiler of the whole knowlege that could be found in preceding authors, difcovered this earlieft empire, as Time draws truth out of the well. The war of Sefoftris againft the Scythæ; about 1480 years before Chrift, narrated by Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, muft by no means be confounded with events that happened 1500 years before Ninus, as Juftin ftates, or 3660 years before Chrift. From Juftin it is apparent that the Scythians, fixt and refident in prefent Perfia, perhaps 2000 years before Ninus, carried on a war againf Vexores 1500 years before the time of Ni nus, and fubduing the weft of Afia made it tributary, till Ninus delivered it by eftablifhing the Affyrian Empire on the ruins of the Scythian.

In fact, we have good authorities ${ }^{\mathrm{p}}$ to compare with Trogus, and to confirm that the Firf Grand Scythian Empire was in prefent Perfia. For that moft learned Father of the Church, Epiphanius, in his work againft Herefies, nearthe beginning, divides religious error into four great periods. I. Barbarifm. 2. Scythifm. 3. Hellenifm, or Grecian

[^19]error. 4. Judaifm. He alfo fays the Scythians were of thofe who built the tower of Babel : and his Scythifm extends from the flood to this later event.

Eufebius, in his Chronicle, p. 13, puts the Scythians as the immediate defcendants of Noah down to Serug his feventh defcendant; that is, a fpace of about 400 years, as generations are computed at that period of longevity. This was the Scythian age, the moft ancient after the flood; the Scythifm of Epiphanius, for his barbarifm was the period preceding the flood. Eufebius alfo fays $\sum \kappa v \vartheta 1 s \mu 0 s \alpha \pi \sigma$
 to the building of the tower of Babel Scythifm prevailed.'

The Chronicon Pafchale, p. 23, makes Barbarifm precede the deluge, then Scythifm, Hellenifm, Judaifm, as Epiphanius.

Perhaps it may be thought that thefe ecclefiaftic authorities prove too much, as they mark the whole immediate defcendents of Noah as Scythians ; and of courfe might prove all the nations of the globe Scythians, as by Scripture account they all fprung from Noah. But it is the line of Shem down to Serug, and not of Ham or Japhet, who are marked as Scythians; and Shem was reputed the father of Afia, as Han of Africa, and Japhet of Europe. The flood is now generally reputed a local event; but accept thefe authorities any way, and they fhew that the Scythians originated in Afia. The coincidence of thefe writers with Trogus is fixt, and ftrong. Ninus is reputed the founder of the tower of Babel; which was followed by the difperfion of mankind. He was the founder of the Affyrian empire whofe capital was Babylon, and the difperfion of the Scythians followed. Of the race of Ham, by fcripture account, was Nimrod thought Ninus, and Afhur thought father of the Affyrians, to which race alfo belong the fathers of nations along the eaft end of the Mediterranean, the Arabic gulf or Red
féa, and thro all Arabia. Certain it is that the Arabic is a dialect of the Grand Affyrian language, as are the Syrian, Phonician, Hebrew, Chaldee, Coptic, Abyffinian, \&c. all fifter dialects; and the Affyrians, who overturned the Scythian empire, formed one great language or race of men, extending along the eaft end of the Mediterranean and Arabian feas, to the Erythræan fea, gulf of Perfia, and river Euphrates. From them the Egyptians and White Ethiopians muft alfo have fprung, as their language and fituation declare.

From thefe fmaller lights, compared with Trogus or Juftin, it will appear as evident as fo very remote an event can well be, that the Scythian Empire was the firft of which any memory has reached us. And it is a plaufible opinion, adopted by late mythologifts, that Saturn, Jupiter, Bacchus, \&c. were monarchs of this firft empire, whofe giorious actions procured them divine honours from their fubjects after their death. This empire was perfectly barbaric, and the feat of war, not of arts. All nations, fave the Egyptians, were then paftoral ; and the Scythians, as defcribed by Herodotus, on the Euxine were certainly more advanced in fociety than when holding the empire of Afia; for agriculture was then known to one or two nations of them ${ }^{9}$, which there is no room to think they knew at all in their firft empire. This wandering ftate of paftoral fociety will at once account for fo many of the Scythæ leaving their dominions, on the Affyrian conqueft, that eaftern tradition reported the difperfion of men to have followed that event. But no doubt vaft numbers ftill remained in Perfia, and fubmitted to their new lords. Herodotus, Diodorus, only mention

[^20]the Scythæ Nomades of the north of Perfia to have palt the Araxes; and the Scythæ in the fouth remained, and were ever known by the name of Perfians, as at this day.

It may be afked how the memory of this vaft empire efcaped Herodotus, and yet was preferved by later writers? But we muft reflect that it is always time that difcovers the truth : that Herodotus might not be verfed in the eaftern languages or hiftory: and that Homer himfelf fays not a word of Ninus, Babylon, or the Affyrian empire, nor of the Median. Many of the moft important facts in ancient hiftory were recovered after the time of Herodotes, by writers who lived in the countries where they happened. Nor let it be imagined that what Herodotus fays, lib. IV. c. $5 \cdot$ with regard to the Scythians, their boafting of being the neweft of nations, and not exifting above a thoufand years before Darius, fon of Hyftafpes, be confidered as evidence againft the exiltence of the Scythian empire. For not to mention the well-known fabulous difpofition of Herodotus, whofe work has been rightly called the Thade between poetry and hiftory; and who, from his love of the marvellous and new, might afcribe this idea to the Scythians; we may well reconcile his authority with that of other ancients, by faying that the Scythians, tho the moft ancient people of which hiftory preferves remembrance, were yet new in the feats they held in the time of Herodotus; who fpeaks efpecially of the Scythx on the weft of the Euxine. Becaufe, after being expelled by Ninus, fome centuries muft have paft before they came to the weft of the Euxine and down to the Danube, where Herodotus finds the Scythæ he dwelt on; and between Ninus and Darius about 1800 years occur./.
2. Herodotus himfelf is a fufficient witnefs that the Scythians did not originate from Srandinavia, but from prefent Perfia. For he tells us, book IV.
ch. In. that they paffed the Araxes, and entered the Bofphorus Cimmerius. The Araxes, it is well known, is a large river of Armenia, running into the Cafpian fea. Herodotus IV. 40. mentions 'the Cafpian fea, and the Araxes running to the eaft.' Hence it is clear that, even by the account of Herodotus himfelf, the Scythians paffed up from Perfia to the Euxine. He therefore affords a collateral proof of the exittence of the firft Scythian empire, by making his later Scythians afcend from the country where other ancients place it; and at the fame time is an abfolute witnefs that the Scythæ could not come from Scandinavia, feeing their courfe was in direct oppofition, proceeding from the fouth-eaft to the north-weft, inftead of the contrary.
3. Diodorus Siculus confirms the account of $\mathrm{He}-$ rodotus, telling us, lib. II. $p .155$, that the Scythian Nomades were at firft a fmall nation on the Araxes, whence they fpred to Caucafus, and the Palus Mrotis. He alfo greatly ftrengthens the narrative of Trogus; tho he confounds the firft empire of the Scythe with their later invafion, and afcribes to this late invafion a protracted empire, and many great kings; in which he contradicts the beft and earlieft writers. And had not Juftin, Epiphanius, Eufebius, and the Chronicon Pafchale, remained, we might to this hour confound two vaft events, the invafion of Egypt by the Scythe from their original feats 3660 years before Chrift, and their later invafion 640 years before Chrift ; fo uncertain is traditional chronology !

As brevity is much fludied in this differtation, and every reader will at once allow any one of the above authorities fufficient to overturn that of Jornandes; i fhall not infift further, but fum up this article by obferving, I. That we have fufficient authorities, direct and collateral, for the Scythian empire in prefent Perfia being the firft
in the world; the Affyrian, generally reputed the firft, only fucceeding it. And it is believed no man will be fo much the dupe of hypothefis as to fuppofe that the Scythians afcended from Scandinavia, and dropped down in the plains of Babylon, or in oppofition to Epiphanius, Eufebius, and the Chronicon Pafchale, to affert that even thofe firft Scythæ were of Scandinavia; or, in other words, that Noah and the firlt reputed inhabitants of the earth came from Scandinavia. 2. That Herodotus, Diodorus, and indeed all writers who have occafion to mention the fubject, down to the Sixth century, when Jornandes the firft monaftic hiftorian wrote, and darknefs, error, and ignorance, furrounded the world, are in direct oppofition to Jornandes. Thefe early writers of enlightened times uniformly make the Scythx pafs, from the fouth of Afia, up in a North Weft direction, till they fpred over all Europe: and to oppofe the fingle teftimony of Jornandes to fuch authorities would be abfurd beyond all abfurdity. Grotius, who maintains it, from a filly wifh of honouring Sweden, has been forced totally to garble and alter it, by bringing thofe Goths from Scandinavia about 300 years before Chrift, whom Jornandes brings thence about 4000 years before Chrift. But this hypothefis is contradictory to all ancient accounts, as has been, and fhall be fhewn, in the courfe of this tract; and deferves laughter, not refutation. Grotius is no authority at all; it is Jornandes who, from his antiquity, merits confutation from other authors yet more ancient and far better informed. Indeed fimply to afk by what fpecial miracle Jornandes difcovered a matter not only unknown to, but contradictory of, all the ancients, would be full confutation in fuch a cafe. He lived in no Auguftan age when fcience was at its height; but in all the darknefs of ignorance: and would not have even merited confutation, had he not milled fo many.

Сhap. ii. SCTthians or'goths. 3z
It is therefore Hifforic Truth, that the Scytbians, otherviife called Goths, came from prefent Perfia into Europe by a North Weft progrefs: and that Scandinavia, inftead of being the country whence they Jprung, muft in fact bave been almoft the laft that received them.

CHAPTER III.

The real origin, and firf progrefs, of the Scythians or Gotbs : and their Eafern Settlements.

WE have already feen that the Scythian Empire, in prefent Perfia, is the moft ancient of which hiftory has preferved any memorial. This very curious fubject thall not be here enlarged on, but is left to fome future Hiftorian of the Scythians. This empire feems to have extended from Egypt to the Ganges; and from the Perfian gulf, and Indian fea, to the Cafpian. The conquefts of Bacchus, reputed a king of this Scythian dominion, in India, are farmous in antiquity : he introduced the vine, or the ufe of wine, into his dominions, and was deified as the god of wine by his fubjects. The bacchanalian feafts of the Thracians, and other Scythx, are noted by claffic authors; and from the Thracians they are mentioned to have paft to the Greeks. The wine of barley, ale, fupplied the want of the grape; and Bacchus retained his honours. But, to enter more certain ground, the real Scythians of this original empire feem to have been bounded by the Euphrates on the weft, and the Indus on the eaft. The Arabians, Syrians, \&c. were certainly not Scythr. We find Indo-Scythr on the Indus, and other remains on the Erythrean fea: but none beyond the Indo-Scythæ. On the north the original Scythæ extended to the Cafpian. Due knowlege of this empire would remove thofe embarraffments
barraffinents which the learned have fallen into, from ancient accounts of the wars between the Scythæ and Egyptians, while Scythia on the Euxine is fo remote from Egypt. Moft of the ancient authors only knowing Scythia on the Euxine, as the early feat of the Scythæ, have mifreprefented fome of thofe wars as carried on at fuch prodigious diftance, while the firt Scythian empire really 4 , iliijes bordered on the Egyptian kingdom.
It has been fhewn above that ecclefiaftic authors of chief account even regarded the Scythians as the very firt inhabitants of the eaft after the deluge. If any reader inclines to look upon the deluge as fabulous ${ }^{2}$, or as at moft a local event, and defires to learn whence the Scythians came to prefent Perfia, he need not be told that it is impofiible to anfwer him. With their refidence in Perfia commences the fainteft dawn of hiftory: beyond, altho the period may amount to myriads of ages, there is nothing but profound darknefs. It is a felf-evident propofition, that the author of nature, as he formied great varieties in the fame fpecies of plants, and of animals, fo he alfo gave various races of men as inhabitants of feveral countries. A Tartar, at Negro, an American, \&c. \&c. differ as much from a German, as a bull-dog, or lap-dog, or fhepherd's cur, from a pointer. The differences are radical; and fuch as no climate or chance could

[^21] advances, able writers will give us a complete fyitem of the many different races of men.

The Firf Progrefs of the Scythians was, as above fhewn from Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and other ancients, out of the north of prefent Perfia, over the river Araxes, and the vaft mountains of Caucafus, which run between the Euxine and Cafpian feas. And their firt grand fettlement; after this emigration, was upon the eaft, north, and weft, of the Euxine, in the tract defcribed as Ancient Scythia by Herodotus and many others ; and which, including the northern half of the Euxine, formed, as Herodotus reprefents, almoft a fquare A part of the Cimmerii, or ancient Celtic inhabitants of all Germany and up to the Euxine, naturally fortified in a corner of the Tauric Cherfonefe, by furrounding waters, long withtood the Scythians, or were neglected by them; and were not expelled till about 640 years before Chrift, when paffing the Cimmerian Bofphorus, they made their way into Afia over the mountains of Caucafus. The Scythians purfued them, and again conquered great part of Afia, but retained it only for about thirty years ${ }^{b}$. This later expedition, fome ancients have confounded with the firt Scythic empire.

But, if we except this fmall corner of the Tauric Cherfonefe, the Scythians may be regarded as poffeft of all ancient Scythia, at leaft two thoufand years before Chrift. Expelled from northern Perfia by Ninus, about 2200 years before our æra, they could not take more than two centuries to cover ancient Scythia, if their numbers did not fill it at firt. This will further appear from the progrefs

[^22] of the Scythæ, detailed in the reft of this differtation.

From Scythia on the Euxine, which, with the antients, let us call Antient Scythia, as being the Parent Country of the European Scythians, the Scythex gradually extended to the Eaft, around the northern fhores of the Cafpian. Dionyfius, the geographer, v. 798, and other ancients, inftruct us that the regions, between the Euxine and Cafpian, were all peopled by Scythx. Pontus c, Armenia, Iberia, Albania, were of the Scythic fettlements. The Iberi here had, as plain fenfe might dictate, nothing in common with the Iberi of Spain, but the name; tho Strabo, i. 61. xv. 687, fays they came from Spain, and Abydenus ${ }^{d}$ fabled that Nebuchadnezzar, having fubdued Afric and Spain, brought thefe Iberi from Spain. Appian ${ }^{-}$ tells us, in direct terms, that their language, manners, \&c. were totally different. They had indeed no more connection than the Albani here with the

## Albanique patres, et altx mœenia Romx,

with Albania, the mountainous weftern part of Macedon, or with the Albani or Highlanders of Scotland. Such coinciding names are mere falls of letters; and he, who builds any hypothefis on them, as M. de Buat, and others, have done, fhould be taught to ftudy the etymology of Hellebore. But etymology, and fingle words, and names, have converted the literature of the eighteenth century into a tiffue of vifions; and we daily fee hiftory built upon what no man of found mind would even

[^23]build a fable. Solinus, c. 20, fays, the Albani of Afiatic Scythia have white hair, blue eyes, and fee better by night than by day. See alfo Pliny, VII. 2. Aul. Gell. ix. 4: Between the mouths of the Tanais and Rha were the Alani, a Scythic people, celebrated in the Alanica of Arrian, and Toxaris of Lucian, who were generally leagned with the Oftrogoths, and in time came to have fettlements in Gaul and Spain. On the north of the Cafpian, as appears from Herodotus, who did not, like Strabo, take the Cafpian for a gulf of the Northern Ocean, were the Massagete, a great and renowned nation, whofe queen Thomyris flew Cyrus, and deftroyed his army. The Maffagetæ extended to the eaft of the Cafpian; and they and the Sacat were the Scytba Intra Imaum, which Ptolemy begins from the Rha or Wolga on the weft; as the Cbate, and fabulous Arimajpi, belonged to Scytbia extra Imaum, which Ptolemy marks as a very narrow tract, and it certainly did not reach above two hundred miles to the eaft of the Cafpian. We learn from Diodorus Siculus, lib. ii. c. 43. that the Scythians coming over the Araxes, and mountains of Caucafus, to the Palus Mæotis, from thence, after fome time, extended their conquefts and fettlements beyond the Tanais; and that from them the Maffagetx, Sacæ, Arimafpi, and feveral other nations \{prung. The Bactriani, Juftin fays, were Scythæ् ${ }^{\text {e }}$. That the Sogdiani, between the Maflagetre to the north, and Bactriani to the South, were Scythæ, is clear from Strabo, and the defcription of their manners given us by Curtius,

[^24]lib. vii. c. 8. Strabo XI. 5 11.' fays the Bactriani were Sacæ; and it would feem that the Sogdiani alfo were. Sacæ was indeed a general name given to the Scythe by the Perfians as Herodotus tells. The Bactriani were old Scythæ, who extended fo far during the Scythic Empire in Perfia, for Ninus made war on them: Diodor. ii. Fuffin i. The Alani, who bordered on the Maflagetæ on the weft, are alfo called Maffageta by one or two late Latin writers. The Hyrcani were alfo Scythr; and the Dabe, $\Delta x a t$, $\sum$ rubixov stros, Steph. Byz. and Pliny IV. 17. The Margiani were of the Maffageta, as Ptolemy fhews, who places Maffagetre in Margiana : and Dionyfius, the geographer, v. 740 . and Eratoftenes, in Strabo, lib. ii. extend fome Miaffagetæ into Bactriana. Indeed Strabo mentions, that Sace and Massagete were general names for the Afiatic Scythr on the eaft of the Cafpian; and Herodotus and Pliny fay that the Perfians called thofe Scythæ by the general name of Sacæ. The Saca alfo made later incurfions into Hyrcania, and fo far as Ar menia, where Sacapene, a diftrict, was called by their name; Ptolemy; Strabo lib. ii. Sacce and Maffagete, among the Perfians, feem equivalent to Scytbe and Geta, among the Greeks. A region at the fountains of Oxus and Jaxartes is ftill called Sakita, from the Sacæ; and the Scythia extra Imaum was called Gete and it's people Getes, in the time of Tamerlane, as appears from his life, written in Perfian. See M. de Anville's Memoir on the Getz in thofe of the Academy, Tome XXV. and on the mountains of Gog and Magog (which to me feem thofe of Imaus), Tome XXX11.

My purpofe forbids my dwelling on thefe caftern Scythæ. The ancient and modern Perfians certainly were, and are Scythæ, who remained in the fouthern parts, when the Scytha Nomades of the north paffed the Araxes to enjoy that freedom in other regions which they could not retain under
the Affyrian power; for northern nations have always been fond of liberty while the fouthern preferred the delights and eafe of their climate. The Affyrian empire followed the Scythian 2200 years before Chrift; the Median fucceeded to the Affyrian, 860 years before Chrift; the Perfian commenced 530 years before our æra. The Parthian kingdom began 248 years before Chritt. Ardhir, or Artaxerxes, reftored the Perfian 210 years after Chrift, which lafted till the invafion of the Arabs in 636 ; the Perfian line was reftored in the Tenth century; but the people remained, and remain much the fame. The Perfians, who refounded the empire, 530 years before our æra, feem to have been the old Scythæ of Perfia, ftrengthened by acceffions of the Indo-Scythæ, and from the Scythian territories on the eaft of the Cafpianf. The Affyrians formed one great language, or race of men, as above mentioned. The Medes, we know, from Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Solinus, and others, were Sarmatæ, who had pierced thro the Scythians, and paffed the Caucafus by the Sarmaticx Pylx, into Media. The Parthians were allo Sarmatæ, as appears from Tacitus ${ }^{5}$, and others. They had followed the fame tract with the Medes, eafily making way thro

[^25]the Alani, and other Scythic nations, who were fcattered around the mountains of Caucafus.

Procopius, who wrote about 530 , is fo ignorant, as above fhewn, as to call the Maffagetæ Huns, becaufe the Huns had feized on the lands of the Maffagetæ, and from that quarter poured into the empire. But when Herodotus wrote, and down to the Chriftian æra, as is clear from M. de Guignes, the Huns were on the north of China. When they appeared in the weft, Jornandes well marks the prodigious difference between them and the Scythx; the fame as that between a German and a Tartar. The famous scythia intra et extra imaum was, if compared to Tartary, as a drop in

- the ocean. Geographers preceding this century, not knowing the fhape of the Cafpian, have erred prodigiounly; but none more than Cluverius, a moft inaccurate writer. Ptolemy's longitudes of Afia, now proved to be falfe to excefs, have alfo mifled. M. D'Anville fhews, that the mouth of the Ganges, placed by Ptolemy in 148 degrees, has, by actual obfervation, been found to have but 108! Another place he gives $177^{\circ}$, which really bears $118^{\circ}$ ! an error of fifty-nine degrees or about 3000 miles! Strahlenberg obferves, that Ptolemy gives a place in the extremity of Serica a latitude extending to the borders of China, which, in fact, is but a hundred and twenty miles eaft of the Cafpian fea! Ptolemy's Seres, which he places beyond Scythia extra Imaum, were in the eaft of prefent Bucharia*. Thefe inland parts were

[^26]totally unknown to the ancients, while from the merchants they knew the coafts to Cochin China, which M. D'Anville. fhews to be the feat of the ancient Sinx. We know little about them even at prefent, tho much indebted to Strahlenberg's map ${ }^{i}$ and other works of this century. The Tartars were abfolutely unknown to the ancients till the Huns appeared: and they exprefs the greateft furprize at fuch new features of human nature, The Scythians were neither Tartars, nor of Tartaric origin, as fome late writers imagine; who, aftonithed at the vaft extent of Tartary, and forgetting how thinly that extent is peopled, make Tartary the ftorehoufe of nations, as if the author of nature had peopled the world from the moft defert part of it! Even the Chinefe and Japanefe are not Tartars, as their language and hiftory declare : the former are infallibly a Grand Aboriginal nation, and the later a colony of them ${ }^{\mathrm{k}}$. The Eaft Indians are not Tartars, but a race and language of men by themfelves. The Perfians are another. The Arabs another. The Turks are a mixture of a few Tartars, with numbers of Arabs, Greeks, Syrians, \&c. Some writers obferve a difference between the Southern and Northern Tartars. This rifes folely from the former remaining unmixed, while the later are intermingled with the inhabitants of all the kingdoms they con-

[^27]quered. For in agricultural and induftrious regions, the lords change, but the inhabitants remain. The Chinefe are the fame people, tho often fubdued, and ruled by Tartars; and in all the above Scythic fettlements, as the Huns came not in upon them till the fourth century, there is every reafon to conclude that the inhabitants, then far advanced in fociety, remained in their poffeffions. The Goths, who came into the Roman empire, are counted by thoufands; thole who remained may be reckoned by millions. The Oftrogoths and Alani, in particular, formed a league with the Huns, and joined them in arms; and their territories certainly remained unmolefted. Bufbequius, and others, fhew that the peafants of Crim Tartary ftill fpeak the Gothic.

CHAPTERIV.

## Ihe Weftern Settlements of tbe Scytbians or Gotbs between the Euxine and Mediterranean feas.

FR OM their fettlements on the Euxine, the Scythians, Getæ, or Goths, gradually extended over moft of Europe; and the Greeks and Romans were, as fhall be prefently fhewn, certainly Scythians, tho refined by adventitious circumftances. The ftation, whence the innumerable and vaft Scythic fwarms advanced, is now Little Tartary, formerly called Ancient, or Little, Scythia. ${ }^{2}$ It's

[^28]maritime fituation, encircling the fea, had, no doubt, advantages as to population. For it is well known, that fea coafts teem with progeny, owing to the inhabitants living on firh, a food at once falacious and prolific ; whence they, who love to moralize ancient fables, may well illuftrate the birth of Venus herfelf from the fea. The Greeks, accuftomed to a hot climate, regarded Ancient Scythia as very cold, for fuch ideas are comparative ; an African regarding Italy as cold, an Italian France, a Frenchman Britain, a Briton Iceland. But plain reafon dictates, that this country, from it's fituation, muft be bleft with a temperate climate ; and it's amazing vegetation, at prefent, declares this. Countries beyond the Sixtieth degree of latitude, in any part of the globe, are almoft defert; nor can population thrive in fuch extreme cold. Ancient Scythia, lying between the Fortieth and Fiftieth degree, is in that happy temperature, between heat and cold, where philofophy, and actual obfervation, evince, that population is greateft. Poland, a country bordering on Ancient Scythia, is the moft populous in Europe for it's fize; and, were it not for a tyrannic government, and total depreffion of the people, would be twice as populous. Far the greateft part of Scandinavia lies beyond the Sixtieth degree; and is, from real, and not comparative, cold, almoft defert : and all Iceland, tho nearly equal to Great Britain in fize, only contains about forty thoufand people; while Poland, a country little larger, has fifteen millions. This difference between the comparative cold afcribed by the dweller of a hot climate, to a temperate one, and that real cold which checks all vegetation and life, has been little attended to by modern writers; to whom a region which, to a Greek or Roman b,

[^29] the mont dreadful colours, that he might, if poffible, procure a mitigation of his banifhment. In England the Thames is often frozen, and yet the country is one of the moft fertile and populous in the world. Let us not therefore fhiver at Greek and Roman defcriptions of Thracian and of Scythian cold. Dionyfius, the Geographer, gives us, v. 666, to v. 679. of his Periegefis, a dreadful defcription of the coldnefs, and ftorms, of Ancient Scythia. "Where Tanais," fays he, " rolls over the Scythian fields, the North Wind rages, and condenfes the ice. Unhappy they who build their huts around! For perpetual to them is fnow, with the frofty gale. The horfes, mules, and heep, die before the piercing wind. Nor do men bear the blaft unhurt; but fly on their cars to another region; leaving the land to the wintry winds, which, rufhing with horrid uproar, fhake the fields, and piny hills." This poetic account of the cold, in the northern parts of Ancient Scythia, is merely comparative, between it, and Greece; and a Britifh poet would, perhaps, as much exaggerate the heat of that country. The temperature was fingularly adapted to population; and, perhaps, as' fome kinds of animals are infinitely more prolific than others, fo alfo may certain races of men, as the Scythæ, or Goths, undoubtedly were. This ancient Scythia was the real fountain of almoft all European nations; and was fo efteemed by the ancients, till the dreams of Jornandes, in a benighted age, afcribed to a country which,

## Chapiv. SCTTHIANS OR GOTHS.

which, by facts and philofophy, ever has been, and is now, very thinly peopled, honours which belonged to quite another clime.

If, we place the reign of Ninus, as Chronologers do, about 2200 years before Chrift, we may fuppofe the Scythians, who retired from his power, to have been fettled in Little or Ancient Scythia, extending down the fhores of the Euxine, to the mouth of the Danube, about 2000 years before Chrift. Europe at that time, feems to have been thinly inhabited by a few wandering Celts, who were to the Scythx, what the favages of America are to the Europeans. The Sarmata appear not then to have emerged from Afia, that mother of nations, 'wifdom, and arts; for the Scythæ far preceded the Sarmate in their progrefs. The Celts, from the Euxine to the Baltic, were called Cimmerii, a name noted in Grecian hiftory and fable; and from their antiquity fo obfcure that a Cimmerian darknefs dwells upon them. From the ancients we learn to a certainty, that they were the fame people with the Cimbri; and that they extended from the Bofphorus Cimmerius, on the Euxine, te the Cimbric Cherfonefe of Denmark, and' to the Rhine. "Pofidonius, apud. Strab. lib. viii. 'informs us, that the Cimmerii were the fame with the Cimbri; and that they had extendedfrom the Weftern, or German, ocean, to the Euxine. Which ac. count is confirmed, in both points, by Plutarch in Mario. Diodorus Siculus, lib. ii. fays the Cimbri were efteemed the fame people with the Cimmerii. Herodotus IV. 12. fays, that when the Cimmerii on the Danube hadheard of the entrance of the Scythæ into. Europe, they were in great confternation: and it is clear from his account, that the Cimbri were the ancient poffeffors of Germany. Claudian calls the ocean, oppofite the Rhine, the Cimbric:

> Divifure Cimbrica Tethys
> Divifum bifido confumit, Rhene, meatu.

On the north they feem to have reached the eaft of the Baltic, if the word Celtica be not lipe from the margin of fome copy of Pliny into the text, promontorium Celtica Lytarmis, which he places at the northern extremity of the Riphæan mountains ${ }^{\text {c }}$. Mela and Solinus ${ }^{d}$ mention $\mathrm{Cim}^{-}$ merii in the furtheft north on that direction, and no doubt from ancient Greek authors. In Greece the writers were fo fond of reprefenting the people as autocbthones, that no inhabitants preceding the Pelafgi, or oldeft Greeks, who were Scythx, as fhall prefently be fhewn, can be traced. Italy lay: in the way of the Gallic Celts, or Celts proper; not of the German Celts, or Cimmerii. Ephorus, Pliny, and Silius Italicus, mention a town of Cimmerii in Campania of Italy ${ }^{e}$; but, Cellarius ${ }^{\text {e }}$ juftly obferves that this is a mere fables founded on Homer Odyf. XI. at the beginning; where Odyffes, or Ulyffes, is faid to have failed from: Circe's abode, to the land of the Cimmerii in one, day. Let me add that this day was a day of Circe's magic, and to magic every thing is poffible; for Homer reprefents Odyffes as having reached the very extremity of the ocean in that day. During that magic day, he vifited Portugal, as the ancients fays, and touched at Caledonia ${ }^{\text {h }}$, then

[^30]then paffed to the oppofite fhore of Germany, the real land of the Cimmerii, where he defcended to the infernal fhades. The time he took to return is not \{pecified; but we may infer it to be equally magical. That the Cimmerii were the fame with the Cimbri, the name and fituation might inftruct us, were we not pofitively informed of this by the ancients. That the Cimmerii, or Cimbri, were Celts, is as certain as fo very remote and obfcure a fubject will bear: for, I . Upon the firft appearance of the Cimmerii in Homer, we find them placed in thofe very extreme weftern regions, where other ancients place the Celts ${ }^{1}$. 2. Upon their firft appearance in Herodotus, and Greek hiftory, we find the Scythæ made war upon them, when they entered Europe; fo that the Cimmerii were not Scythx, but original inhabitants of Germany; nor were they Sarmatæ, as all know, fo muft be Celta, the only other people known to the ancients in thefe parts. 3. Pliny mentions Lytarmis, a promontory of Celtica, on the eaft of the Baltic; and Mela and Solinus place a remnant of Cimmerii in that direction; hence it feems clear that they were the Celts who gave name to the promontory. 4. Appian is a witnefs that the Cimbri, or Cimmerii, were Celts; for lib. i. de bello civ.

paffed in Charon's boat from the oppofite fhore of Germany ; and where of courfe Ulyffes muft have gone to converfe with them. Plutarch De Defeef. Orac. fhews, that Elyfium was in Britain : or in the Orkneys, as Mr. D'Hancarville fuppofes. I have not examined ifHomer's defcription of the Elyfian Fields fits Scotland; but leave this to fome Scotifh Rudbeck.
${ }^{\text {i }}$ Odyf. XI. The ideas received by Blackwell and others concerning Homer's weftern geography are quite erroneovs. The Phoenicians had failed beyond the Straits of Gibraltar before Homer's time; Gades in Spain was founded by them centuries before Carthage. See Huet, Commerce des Anciens; Homer's defcriptions will not apply to the contracted fcale generally affigned. His Scylla and Charybdis were not near Sicily, but were two fooating rocks, as he fays, Odyy.XII. The iland of Circe was one of the Fortunate llands, and all the ancient traditions fuppofe this.

 leius publifhed a law for dividing the grounds, which, in the country now called Gaul by the Romans, the Cimbri, a people of Celts, had poffeffed.' And again in Itlyr. p. irg6. Ks $\lambda$ zous
 Cimbri.' 5. Several names of rivers, and mountains, in Germany, are Celtic; which fliew that Celts once poffiefled the country: and that the Germans themfelves were, from the earlieft dawn of hiftory, Scythians, not Celts, fhall be fully fhewn. 6. We find the Cimbri, or Cimmerii, mentioned in early times, as extending from the Euxine to the German ocean; and, in the firt century, we find thofe Cimbri, or Cimmerii, reduced to a frnall ftate upon the German ocearn; in like manner, 'as we find the Celta, the ancient poffeffors of Gaul, pent up in the extremity of Gaul, when Cafar entered that country. 7. Tacitus mentions the Aftii, a nation on the Baltic in prefent Pruffia, as feeaking a language nearly Britifh, that is, Cumraig, or Welfh. Thefe were evidently remains of the old inhabitants confined in that remote fittuation. 8. Pofidonius, Strabo, Platarch, fate that the Cimbri, or Cimmerii, came from the German ocean to the Euxine; fo that they originated from the north-weft; and we know, from all the ancients, that the utmoft north-weft was held by Celta; fo that it follows that the Cimbri were Celta. 9. The name of Cumri, or Cumbri, by which the Welfh fill call themfefves, is palpably a grand generic name, as the Tartars call themfelves Tatars, and the lriht Celts, Gael or Gauls. And there is every reafon to believe, that the Wellh narme Cutrri or Cumbri is that ancient one Cimmerii, or Cimbri, pronounced by the Greeks and Romans, Kimmerii and Kimbri. That a part of the Celtic Britons was called Cimbri, we learn from Ricartus Corinenfis.
nenfis. And it is reafonable to conclude, that the north and eaft of Britain were peopled from Germany, by the Cimbri of the oppofite fhores, who were the firft inhabitants of Scotland that can be traced, from leaving Cumraig names to rivers and mountains, even in the furtheft Hebudes ${ }^{k}$. From the fouth of Britain the Cimbri or Cumri expelled the Gael into Ireland, as their own writers, and traditions, bear'; and the oldeft names in Wales as in other parts fouth of Humber are Gaelic, not Cumraig. It is therefore with great juttice now allowed by Englifh antiquaries that the Cumri or Welch are remains of the Cimbri: and that the Welch are Celts, and their fpeech a Grand dialet of the Celtic, is known to all.

All Germany, nay from the Euxine to the German ocean, was therefore originally poffeft by the Cimmerii, or Cimbri, one of the two Grand Divifions of the Celts. The furthert weit, or Gaul, was held by the Celts, properly and peculiarly fo called, and of whom the Cumri were apparently the offspring, who fpreading into another region had affumed a new appellation ${ }^{m}$. Herodotus ${ }^{n}$ mentions the Celts as living near the Pyrenees. Ariftotle ${ }^{\circ}$ and many other ancients mention them
 Spain.' Cæfar ${ }^{p}$ actually found them confined to the utmoft corner of Gaul : the Scythians or Goths having under the name of Belga reftricted thern

[^31]$\mathrm{f}_{\text {rom the }}$ north and eaft; while the Ibeti, a Mauric race, who had paffed from Africa to Spain, had feized on the fouth-weft part of Gaul, where they bore the name of Aquitani. The famous Galli of the Romans were German Gauls, not Celts; as is clear from the names of their leaders, and from the pofition of their country, from which the Celts were quite remote, white it joined to Germany. But of this when we come to the Germans. That the Celts were the moft ancient poffeffors of Gaul is fo univerfally known, that it would be vain to illuftrate fo clear a fubject. But whether any Celts ever were in Italy feems as uncertain, as if any Cimmerii were in Greece. In truth, thofe little mountainous corners called Italy and Greece were very infignificant to a vaft paftoral people; and the fpacious plains of Gaul and Germany, over which they could range without reftrictions of hills and feas, muft have been the grand feats of fuch little population as then prevailed in Europe. The paffage of the Gael and Cumri to Britain appears to have been in confequence of the Scythic preffure from the eaft. However this be, it is certain that the Grecian, and Roman, fables have hid all memory of any Celts ever being in Greece, or Italy : and it is moft likely they were not, as thefe countries were in the extremity of either Celtic progrefs, from Gaul, or from Germany, fo that it would appear that both the Celts and Cumri were forced to recoil by the Scythæ, before they had reached fo far. Tacitus mentions the Gothini, a people in the fouth of Germany, as ufing the Gallic or Celtic tongue ; and it is probable they were remains of the Celts proper who had reached fo far in that direction, and being in a hilly fituation were employed by the Germans in working mines 9.

From the vaft forefts which even the Romans found in Gaul and Germany, and from other marks, it is evident that the population of the Gelts and Cumri was very thin, and fcattered. When the Scythr came into Europe, the Celtic favages, foon finding their inferiority, feem generally to have fled to the extremities; and Britain and Gaul appear to have been the final receptacles of almoft all the Celts. The earlieft. Scythæ alfo carried on very cruel war, diftinguilhing themfelves chiefly by the number of enemies they had flain ${ }^{\text { }}$. And, the Celtic nations being paftoral, the evacuation of their poffeffions by the vanquilhed muft have been complete as among the H:ns and other paftoral nations, fave only in a mountainous or retired corner or two. But when the Celts arrived at the extremities, which was not for fifteen centuries, as the Scythæ only enlarged their territories with their population, and confequent neceffities, the Scythe had by a natural progrefs acquired more advanced fociety, and treated the Celts with fome humanity. In Gaul the Belga feem to have mingled much with the Celts, and affifted their wars and counfels againft the Romans their common enemy. In Germany, a few Cimbri remained on the weftern ocean, every where furrounded with the Scythæ, till little more than a century before Chrift, when the Scandinavian Scythx, a more 'barbaric race, as being remote from civilization, poured down upon thefe Cimbri, and not only drove them, but the Teutones a German people, before them; and the fouthern Germans permitted both to pafs thro their territories in fearch of new habitations. The Cimbri and Teutones not expelled by the ocean overflowing their lands, as Plutarch ${ }^{\text {s }}$ fables, but by an ovcrflow of enemies, paffed into Gaul by the foreft of Ardenna, for

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the Belgæ repelled them '; and ruled Gaul ${ }^{\text {" }}$, and ravaged Spain ${ }^{v}$, for fome years, till turning upon Italy they were almoft extinguifhed by the fword of Marius, 102 years before our æra.

Having thus mentioned the ftate of Europe, when the Scythians entered it, let us now attend to their progrefs, which has fix grand ftages; 1 . Tbrace; 2. Illyricum; 3.Grecce; 4. Laly; 5.Germany; 6. Scandinavia. In other words, let us now fhew that the Thracians, Illyrians, Greeks, Italians, Germans, Scandinavians, were all Scythe, or Goths.
I. We have feen the Scythæ, Getæ, or Goths, fettled in Ancient Scythia, upon the Euxine, about two thoufand years before Chrift. This Ancient Scythia, Herodotus " defcribes as reaching down to the Ifter, or Danube, on the fouth-weft; and all the nations above the Danube, Herodotus calls Scythæ and Sarmatæ, as fhall be feen in the Second Part of this eflay, where the northern progrefs of the Scythians into Germany and Scandinavia is treated. At prefent the nations fouth of the Danube, call our attention: and of thefe, the firft which occurs, is that of the Thracians, whom Herodotus x mentions as the moft numerous people in the world, fave the Indi. On the north of Thrace was a fmall nation, who bore the Generic name of Getæ, in the time of Herodotus y ; an appellation afterward found to belong to the whole Scythæ, and efpecially the Parental Scythæ upon the Euxine. In the time of Philip of Macedon we find thefe Getæ, fouth of the Danube, called

[^33]Scythx ${ }^{2}$; and they indeed formed the fhade between the grand Generic name of Scythe, or Getæ, and the Specific name of Thracians, which had attended the Scythians in paffing into a diftinct country, feparated from Ancient Scythia by a broad and deep river, the Danube. Thofe feecific names are no more to be confidered, than as the names of counties in England; and the petty tribes, into which the fpecific nations were divided, only refemble our towns, tho upon a far larger fcale ; as, among barbaric nations, the people are fcattered in feparate huts over a wide country, which, in advanced fociety, would form a city. Herodotus includes the $M y \sqrt{2}$, or Maff, under the name of Thracians; and Strabo, lib. vii. fays, that many Greek authors did the fame. The Morfi were a valt people extending all along the fouth of the Danube, from it's mouth to Illyricum. When Macedon was conquered by the Romans, their cauntry was erected into two provinces Upper and Lower Mocfia. In Lower Mœefia ftood Tomi, the place of Ovid's banilhment, on the Euxine; and, we learn from his Triftia, that he there wrote a poem in the language of the country, and that the language was the Getic or Gothic.

> Ah pudet et Getico fcripfi fermone libellum, छ'c.
> De Ponto, lib. iv. ep. xiii. Nam dedici Gctice, Sarmaticeque loqui.
> Nic te mirari fif fint vitiofa, decebit
> Carmina qux faciam pene poeta Getes.
> Ib. III. ii.

From innumerable paffages in his Triftia, and

[^34]in his books De Ponto, we learn, that the Getic or Scythic was the language fpoken in Moefia; and he never, it is believed, mentions the Mœfi, but by the name he heard them give themfelves, that of Getæ, or Goths.

Threicio Scythicoque fere circumfonor ore, Et videor Geticis fcribere poffe modis.

Trift, III. ult.
Vulgus adeft Scytharum, braccataque turba Getarum. Ib. IV. vi.
For the braccæ, or breeches, were in all ages the grand badge of the Scythæ or Goths :

Pellibus, et laxis, arcent mala frigora, braccis.

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\text { lb. V. } 7
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and fpeaking of a Greek colony which, in confort with the natives, founded Tomi, he fays,

Pro patrio cultu Perfica bracca tegit. V. x.
He calls himfelf Geticus fenis : and his whole poetry written there fhews, that he found but two barbaric tongues in the valt regions around him, namely, the Getic or Gothic, and the Sarmatic or Slavonic. For the Scythæ lived upon the beft terms with the neighbouring Sarmatæ, infomuch, that we feldom read of any war between them, but, on the contrary, find them almoft in conftant alliance. Herodotus mentions the Sarmatæ as joining the Scythæ againft Darius ; and in Koman hiftory we find them frequently in united arms. Trajan's pillar ${ }^{\text {² }}$ inftructs us, that Decebalus, king of the Dacic Getæ a was aififted by Sarmatic cavalry,

[^35]with both man and horfe, in complete habergeon. Mutual advantages caufed this alliance, for the weftern Goths had little or no cavalry, and the Sarmata were all cavalry, as is clear, from all ancient writers who mention them. Hence feveral Gothic tribes of the frontier' fettled among the Sarmatæ; and feveral Sarmatic tribes among the Goths. Of the laft the fazyges in particular had three fettle, ments among the Scythæ, quite remote from the other Sarmata, and every where furrounded by Scythic poffeffions. Thefe were the fazyges Encocadle on the eart of the mouth of Tyras ; and the fazyges Maote on the north of the Moootis; and chiefly the $\mathfrak{F}$ azyges Metanafte between the Danube and Teifs above Pannonia ${ }^{\text {r }}$. This peculiar name of Fazyges, given to the Sarmatæ, who fettled among the Goths, feems to have implied fome quality they ftood in to the Goths, as auxiliaries, or cavalry, \&c. Befides thefe detached fettlements of Sarma. tæ, it would appear, that they often vifited the Greek towns on the Euxine to fell their furs, \&c. to the merchants, and that Ovid thus learned the Sarmatic ; for there were no Sarmatic fettlements, marked by any geographer, within lefs than an hundred, or an hundred and iffy, miles of Tomi. But as the Moefi formed only a divifion of the Thracians, let us return to confider the later in general.

That all the Thracians were Scythæ or Getæ, and fpoke the Scythic or Gothic tongue, is clear. Vopifcus fays of Probus, Tbracias, atque omnes Ge* ticos populos aut in deditionem, aut in amicitiam, recepit. The fpeech of the Moefi was, as Ovid teftifies in many paffages, the Getic or Scythic. Strabo gives us the fame information in direct
 Efroos'; ' the Getæ, a peopie ufing the fame lan-

[^36]$$
\mathrm{E}_{4} \quad \text { guaga }
$$ extend over the whole north-weft of the Danube, and Euxine, even to half of Germany d. Many ancients call the Getæ Thracians; and others call the Thracians Getæ. They who wifh to fee this further illuftrated are referred to Ihre :

From Thrace large colonies of the Scythr paffed the Bofphorus Thracius, and Hellefpont, into Afia Minor. Such were, as Strabo, lib. VII. mentions, the Bitbynians, and Pbrygians, and Mariandyni. Dionyfius, v. $75^{8}$ to 798, reckons among the Scythians, and who, from their fituations, had clearly paft from Thrace, the whole nations of the kingdom of Pontus, on the fouth of the Euxine; namely, befides the Bithynians and Mariandyni, the Rhabi, and Papblagonians, and Cbalybes, and Tibareni, and Moflynefi, and Peileres, and Macrones, and Bechires, and Byzeres, and Cbalcedonians. So that, excepting only the Cappadocians, who were Affyrians, as Dionyfius fays, v. $772^{f}$, the whole nations all around the Euxine were Scythians. The Lydians were alfo Scythæ, for the $M: /{ }^{2} a n s$ were furely from Moefia often called Myfia: and Herodotus, lib. I. fays, that Lydus and Myfus, whence thefe names, were brothers of Caris, whence the Carians. Befides, the river Halys, the eaftern boundary of Lydia, wis afterward that of Phrygia Major, fo that the Porygians formed a great part of the Lydian kingdom, and alfo held Galatia before the German Gauls feized it, 277 years before Chrift. The Lycians and Pamizhylians were alfo branches of the Hellenes ${ }^{\text {r }}$, who were Scythx, as fhall be

[^37]Thewn.
fhewn. As to Cilicia, the only other country in Afia Minor, there is no authority for the origin of its inhabitants; but as they bordered on the Affyrians, and Cappadocia, there is reafon to -believe them Affyrians. Of thefe countries many are highly famous. About 550 years before Chrift, Crefus, the opulent king of Lydia,' is celebrated; and coinage is rationally fuppofed to have been invented in his kingdom. Midas, the rich king of Phrygia, is much more ancient, but he belongs to fable. Pliny, lib. VII. c. 57 , informs us from Ariftotle, that Lydus, a Scythian, found the art of melting and tempering (temperarc) brafs: a mythologic method of faying that art was invented in Lydia. But, above all, the people of Phrygia Minor, or Trojans, are celebrated over the whole globe with the loudeft trump of fame. Many learned men have been puzzled at the Trojan names of men, places, \&c. being Greek, while we have no authority for Troy being founded by Greeks; but this wonder will vanifh, when we fhall fee prefently that the Greeks and Trojans were originally the fame people, and ufed the fame Scythic tongue. All the fettlements of the Scythæ yet mentioned appear to have been thus dilated in lefs than five centuries, or about 1500 years before Chrift.
II. The Illyrians were alfo Scythr. Illyricuan is here underftood as reaching all along the north fide of the Adriatic, from Macedon to Gaul, and including Noricum and Pannonia; or all fouth of the Danube; bounded by Macedon and Moefia on the eaft, Germany on the north, the Adriatic on the fouth, and Gaul on the weft. The vaft Thracian nations of Herodotus ${ }^{\mathrm{h}}$ certainly extended over moft of this country. Strabo, p. 207,
h Lib. V. c. 6. Herodotus tells, that Thrace beyond the
Ifter was vaft and infinite. He alfo mentions the Eviou on the
Adriatic. from whom the name of Venetians ought to be
traced. Polybius, lib. II. fays the Veneti had a different fpeech
from the Celts ; and that they were frequent in tragic poetry. $\mathrm{f}_{\text {ays the }}$ lapydes, a people between Illyrium and Gaul, were partly Celts, partly Illyrians, fo that the Illyrians were not Celts. Horace, Ode xi. Book II. inftructs us, that they were Scythæ.

Quid bellicofus Cantaber, et Scythes,
Hirpine Quinte, cogitet Adria
Divifus objecto, remittas, \&c.
The hiftory of this great people is not a little obfcure, tho Appian has written I $\Lambda \Lambda$ YPIKH. M. de Buat, who, when he fteers free of etymology, has great merit, well details what can be recovered of Illyrian hiftory ${ }^{\text {. }}$. Philip of Macedon vanquifhed and impofed conditions on them; and from the account of this war, preferved by ancient authors, it is clear, that the Illyrian manners were abfolutely Scythic, and fimilar to the Macedonian or Greek. Illyricum fubmitted to Rome about 227 years before our æra. The Thracian Scythæ, who peopled Hlyricum, had fpred chiefly to the eaft, as we have feen; and they alfo peopled Greece and laly, as thall be fhewn: fo that this population extended no further weft. The Celts retained all Cifalpine Gaul, and their other Gallic poffeffions, till about 500 years before Chrift, when the Germans, or northern Scythe, poured in, as after explained.
III. Beneath the Thracians and Illyrians were the Greeks. The denomination of Greece is here ufed in the large fenfe of the ancient Hellas, as including Macedon, and extending from Thrace and Hyricum, to the Cretan and the Ionian and Sicilian feas, and Afiatic fhore of the Egean; including the furrounding iles, and efpecially all thofe in the Egean fea. This article is fo curious and important, as to deferve being a little enlarged upon.

It is univerfally allowed by the learned that ПЕлAETOI, Pelafyi, was the firt name of the Greeks, who afterward bore the name of 'E 1 AHNE , Hellenes : and all Greece in the large ac-

[^38]ceptation very name of Greek is unknown to the Greek writers; who indeed very feldom ufe ' $E \lambda \lambda \cdot \boldsymbol{p} \%$, , or in other words, fpeak of the Greeks in general, but almoft univerfally tell of Spartans, Athenians, \&c. One or two very late Greek writersk, it is believed, ufe 「patioos, or Greek, from the Roman Gracus, or, poetically, Graius. How the Romans came to give this name to the people is inexplicable, if it were not from the Greek word $\Gamma_{\rho \alpha t r o s, ~ a n i l i s, ~}^{\text {, }}$
 tion which the Latin poetic term Graius feems alfo to infer. It mult therefore have been given in the fupreme contempt of a warlike for a learned people, and is itfelf a proof how little names import, while we ufe Greek, alias old woman, as a term of fupreme honour.

There is not the fmalleft trace to be found in the ancients of any people poffeffing Greece before the Pelafgi. That the Pelafgi were Scythx, or Goths, fhall now be fhewn : and if any Celts ever came as far as Greece, which was in the very extremity of their weftern progrefs, the whole ancient writers are totally filent concerning them; nor was it likely that fuch a fact could have efcaped Homer, if in the leaft known to Greek tradition.

Pelafti and Hellenes were the fole univerfal names by which the Greeks ever were known

[^39] among themfelves: For Herodotus, lib.II. fays, that all Greece was formerly called Pelafgia. Strabo, lib. V.p. 337, and lib. V1I. p. 504, fays, the Pelafgi over-ran all Greece. Herodotus, lib. II. c. 52, fays, the Greeks derived their rites and religion from them. The fcholiaft on Apollonius Rhodius fays the Argives were called Pelafgi. Herodotus, b. VII. and Paufanias in Arcad. inform ús, that the Arcadians were Pelafgi : and the Arcadians, from their inland fituation, were reputed the moft ancient and unmixt of all the Greeks. Herodotus, lib. I. c. 57, acknowledges his uncertainty about the Pelafgi; but, lib. VII./c. 95, he fays, $I \omega v \approx \zeta\lceil\varepsilon \lambda \alpha c \sqrt{0}$, the Ionians were Pelafgi : and,
 nians were Pelafgi.’ Apollonius Rhodius, and other
 reverence and antiquity; and fo alfo Virgil, Statius, and other Latin poets, ufe Pelafgi, and Pelafgiam, for Greeks and Greece, juftas if a Scotilh poet fhould put Pikland for Scotland.

Dr. Gillies, in his excellent Hiftory of Greece, obferves, vol.1. p. 5 . from Herodotus, lib. I. Diony L Hal. lib. I. and Paufanias, iib. VIII. that 'the colonies of the Pelafgi continued, in the fifth century before Chrift, to inhabit the fouthern coaft of Italy, and the thores of the Hellefpont. And, in thofe widely feparated countries, their ancient affinity was recognifed in the uniformity of their rude dialect, and barbarous manners, extremely diffimilar to the cuftoms and language of their Grecian neighbours.' But this juft remark militates not in the leaft againft the Greeks being Pelafgi, and their tongue Pelafgic, as their own writers uniformly fay. For the Greek tongue had been thrown into a ferment by a flight mixture of Phonician, and had been purified with all the art and attention of the wifeft and moot ingenious men in the world. It was the Pelafgic, but the Pelafgic refined, as the Englifh is from the Saxon. No wonder that in Greece,
a country where every city was as it were a diftinct people, fome few cities, and fome mountaineers and ilanders', fhould have retained the old dialect, and that it was as diffimilar from polifhed Greek as Saxon from Englifh: and fhould alfo, from detached fituation, have kept up the old barbaric manners. Befides, it has been lately fhewn ${ }^{m}$, that the Kpryscov, mentioned by Aerodotus, as Pelafgic, was not in Italy, but in Theffaly; and that Dionyfius Halicarnaffrus had miftaken it's fituation by reading Croton for Crefon as the text of Herodotus actually bears. So that the old Pelafgic was, as might be expected, only to be found in fome detached corners of Greece. And thefe feparate Pelafgi were either fome who had returned from Italy, after being defeated by the Aborigenes about the time of the Trojan war, if we credit Dionyfius of Halicarnaffus; or others who, according to Herodotus, had lately come from Samothrace. So that thefe fcattered fragments of Pelafgi muft not be confounded with the later Greeks, being only remnants of old colonies expelled from Italy, or late migrations of fmall parties from Thrace, the parent country of the Pelafgi; and that they retained their primitive barbaric fpeech and manners, was a neceflary confequence' of their late arrival from remote and uncultivated regions. This plain account at once reconciles all the Greek writers, who uniformly affert the whole Greeks to be Pelafgi, with the three above mentioned, who ftate fome Pelafgi as different in manners, and fpeech, from the refined Greeks. Thefe later Pelafgi had lately come from Italy, and Samothrace, and retained their old fpeech and manners : and this fingularity puzzled Herodotus, who knew that, by all accounts, the Greeks were Pelafgi, as he himfelf re-

[^40] peatedly mentions, yet found that a few detached Pelafgi did not Speak Greek, but the old Scythic tongue.
To proceed: Herodotus, lib. I. c. 23. tells us, that the Athenians were Pelafgi, and the Spartans Hellenes. The laft, he fays, came from Pthiotis, then down between Offa and Olympus, then to Pindus, then to Dryope, then to Pelopponefus: that is, they defcended from the north-eaft, or Thrace, into Greece. He alfo adds, that the Athenians, or Pelafgi, never wandered : but the Hellenes did *. So far did a filly prejudice of making the Athenians autox foves overcome the truth! Strabo, lib. XIII.p. 922 . and Dion. Hal. lib.I. p. 14. Gay truly, that the Pelafgi wandered very much. Lefbonax in Protrept. p. 173, fays, all the Greeks wandered from place to place, but the Athenians alone never. Weffeling in vain endeavours to fave Herodotus, by faying, he only means that the Pelafgi of Athens never wandered. In fact, Herodotus had difficult game to play: had the Athenians not been Pelafgi, they could not be ancient; had they wandered as Pelafgi, they could not be auroxfores. There was the dilemma! After efcaping from it as he can, Herodotus tells us, that fome Pelafgi dwelled on the Hellefpont, that is, in Thrace a country uncivilized, and ufed a barbarous tongue: however, adds he, the original Attic mult have been Pelafgic ${ }^{\mathrm{n}}$. In ch. 58 , he tells, that the Hellenes ufed the fame fpeech, and


* Mr. Clarke, in his Conneftion of Roman and Saxon Coins, p. 73, fays, that Salmafius wrote in hafte, and miftook Herodotus, who means that the Pelafig wandered, but the Hellenes never. I fufpect Salmafius might return the compliment ; for, not to fpeak of the article zo, which all mult allow here follows the order of the nations, and every interpreter including Weffeling, the laft, has underftood accordingly, if Mr. Clarke had read the page initead of the fentence he would have found himfelf miftaken.
${ }^{n}$ Lib. I. c. 57. тo A fixar feros soy He $\lambda a \sigma$ Iixoy, \&cc.

Hinasyruou. Thucydides, lib. 1. c. 28. fays the Hellenes were originally a fmall tribe in Theffaly. Euftathius, in his commentary on Dionyfius, obferves that Homer mentions Pelafgi near Cilicia in Troas; calls Lefbos Pelafgic ; and the Jupiter of Dodoria Pelafgic Jove: and that Crete and Lemnos were alfo Pelafgic, as were Argos; a part of Theffaly ; and Arcadia. Dionyfius, v. 534, calls Samos the Pelafgic feat of Juno. Juftin, lib. XIII. c. 4. mentioning the divifion of the eaft among Alexander's generals, fays Tleptolemus had the Perfians, Peuceftes the Babylonians, Archos the Pelafgi, Arcefilaus Mefopotamia. This is the moft fingular paffage i have met with concerning the Pelafgi; as, if there be no error in the name, which is fufpected, there muft have been a whole nation of them in the eaft unknown to all other writers. Carmania is not mentioned by Juftin in his long enumeration; and the inhabitants of that country were alfo called Pafargada and Parfira, one of which words may have been corrupted to Pelafg $i$, a name familiar to tranfcribers. After all, pethaps Juftin meaned Pelafgia of Theflaly; for in the beginning of his lift he is very erratic, giving us the Illyriana between the Cilicians and Mediains; then Sufiana; then Phrygia : the only difficulty is, that in' no lefs than fifteen names before, and one after, being the laft, he gives us only eaftern nations; and the Pelafgi of Theffaly would hardity deferve mention among fuch large names, fo that a corruption of the text may well be furpected, and that the Pafargadæ ought to be read; for that there was no nation called Pelafgi in the eaft, we know to a certainty, from all the ancient hiftorians and geographers.

Thucydides, lib. I. c.3. fays, 'before the time of Hellen, fon of Deucalion, the Pelafigi fpred all over Greece.' They held Peloponnefus, Herodot. lib. VII. c. 93. et Jeq. Dionyf. Hal. p. 9. I4. Stephanus de Urbibus, p. 166.'630.635. Altica, Herodotus IV. 109. Strabo, XI. p. 397. and the iles; as Lemnos, Herodot. VI. 137. Thucyd. IV. io9. Scyrus, Steph. de Urb. p. 676. Eubexa, formerly called Pelafgia, Schol. Apoll. p. 105. The Cyclades Dionyf. Hal. p. 14. Crete and Lefbos, Dionyf. ib. Homer Odyff. XIX. Diodor. Sic. IV. 183. V. 238. Strabo, V. 22I. X. 475. Afia Minor, Dionyf. Hal. p. 14. Caria Mela 1. 16. Eolis and Troas, Schol. Apollon. p.5. Strabo V. p. 221. Ionia, Herodot. VII. 93. 94. Strabo XIII. p. 621 . and fee Homer Iliad II. ad fin. Cyzicus, Dion. ib. Diod. Sic. V. 239. Steph. de Urbib. p. 426. Pliny, V. 3 I. Euftath. ad Dionyf. v. 537.-Herodotus I. 56. VII. 94. 95. fays, the lonians, Æolians, Dorians, that is, all the Hellenes or Greeks, defcended of the Pelargi. Hybrias Cretenfis apud Athen. XV. 14. makes an old Pelafgus of Crete boaft that his arrows were his riches, for with them he feized all. In fhort, not to heap authorities unneceffarily, thefe two points are, from the univerfal confent of all the Greek writers, as clear and pofitive as the moft luminous part of human hiftory : namely, i. That all the people of Hellas, or Greece, in the large acceptation above given, were Pelafgi. 2. That Hellenes was but a later name of the fame People who had been formerly called Pelafgi; the Hellenes being a paltry tribe of the Pelafgi, who chanced, by being the laft who came into the country, to give their name to the whole.

Let us now confider very briefly, i. Who the Pelafgi were not. 2. Who they were.

1. They were not Egyptians, because all the Greek writers remark two fmall colonies of Egyptians, who fettled in Athens and Argos in the earlieft times, and fpecially diftinguifh them as quite a different people from the Pelafgi. Befides, who can dream of Egypians peopling all Hellas, the lles, Afia Minor, and entering Italy, as the Pelafgi

Pelafgi did, who were of barbaric fpeech and manners, while the Egyptians were fo fmall and fo civilized a people? Because the Pelafgi had none of the Egyptian fpeech and manners, elfe Homer and Herodotus, who had been in Egypt, would have remarked this. Because no ancient has ever dreamed of their being Egyptians and the obfcurity of the Pelafgic origin hews they were quite a barbaric people, while the Egyptian colonies in Greece, and elfewhere, are quite marked and diftinct. Because the Greek mythology is as remote from the Egyptian as poffible. Because the Greek has no affinity with the Coptic or old Egyptian; which is a dialect of the Grand Affyrian language, while the Greek is a mere refined dialect of the Gothic, as the learned well know.
2. They were not Pbanicians, from all the reafons above urged refpecting the Egyptians. Herodotus, lib. V. c. 58. fpecially mentions, that the Phoenician colony, led by Cadmus to Thebes, changed their fpeech, being furrounded by the Iones, whom he mentions as Pelafgi, and as Hellenes.

Such have been the origins afcribed to the Pe . lafgi by fome men of learning; and, did we not daily fee that learning is but another name for want of common undertanding, what muft be our furprize to find the Pelargi, whom all the ancients ftate as a barbaric people, derived from the Egyptians and Phœenicians, the nations in antiquity that arrived the firt at civilization, and whom the ancients reprefent as polifhing thofe very Pelafgi, by fettling little colonies among them? Can abfurdity be greater? A barbaric nation never can fpring from a refined one. It is an impoffibility. A refined nation always fprings from a barbaric one.

In the Memoires de PAcademie des Inforiptions, a work replete with true and folid literature, and F which
which does honour to the nation that gave it birth, there is a differtation of M. de la Nauze ${ }^{\circ}$, attempting to fhew, that the Pelafgi and Hellenes. were different nations. But that gentleman wrote upon a mere theory, without having employed one quarter of the ftudy he ought to have done, and the differtations of M. Geinoz ${ }^{p}$, and of M. Freret ', fo amply refute him, as to leave nothing to add. True it is, that Ephorus, Apollodorus; and Dionyfius of Halicarnaffus, reprefent the Pelafgi as fprung from Pelafgus, fon of Inackius, king of Argos ${ }^{5}$, and, of courfé, as originating in Peloponnefus. This Pelargus is only mentioned in a verfe of Hefiod, preferved by Strabo; and thefe authors feized the name as a good father for the Pelafgi: but he is a mere being of poetry, and the three authors, who follow this opinion, are of fabulous fame. Dionyfius telling us all the battles, \&c. between the Pelafgi and Aborigines in Italy, as a matter of yefterday, while he had not a fhadow of ground for one fentence on the fubject. To oppore fuch writers to Herodotus, Thucydides, and the other moft eminent names of Greek antiquity, is therefore ridiculous; and M. Geinoz, and M. Freret, have amply fhewn that the Pelafgis came from Thrace.

But, had the Grecian origins been ever examined with much attention, there are two barbaric nations who might, with far higher probability than Egyptians or Phoenicians, have been fuppofed the progenitors of the Pelafgi, or Greeks.

[^41]Thefe

Chap. iv. SCTTHIANS OR GOTHS.
Thefe are the Celts and the Sarmatians. Yet the Pelafgi belonged not to either of thefe nations.
3. Tbey were not Celts, Because they can be abfolutely fhewn to be Scythians; a people who originated from the eaft, as the Celts did from the welt. Because the earlieft Greek writers defcribe the Celts as confined to the furtheft weft; whereas Greece was furrounded by Scythæ. Because the very form and ftructure of the Celtic tongue are as remote from the Greek as poffible; the Celts changing the beginning of nouns in many inflexions, while the Greeks uniformly change the end. What we now call the Celtic is half Gothic; owing to the Belga, Danes, and Norwegians, being mixt with all the Celtæ in France, Britain, and Ireland; but efpecially in the Highlands of Scotland, where the Celtic is the moft corrupt, becaufe the Norwegians were poffeffors of the Hebrides, and weftern coaft, from the reign of Harold Harfagre, about 880 , till fo late as 1263, and their defcendants remain to this day. The words, thought Greek by dablers in the Celtic, are all Gothic: But the real Celtic is as remote from the Greek, as the Hottentot, or the Laplandic. Because the manners of the Celts, as defcribed by Greek and Roman authors, are totally unlike thofe of the earlieft Greeks; the people among the former being flaves, among the later extremely free. Dr. Gillies has fhewn that the moftancient Greek manners perfectly refembled thofe of the Germans, which Cæfar and Tacitus mark as being as unlike thofe of the Celts as poffible. Of the Celtic mythology we know nothing: the Druidic fyftem being mentioned by Cæfar as a late invention, con-

[^42]fined to the fouth of Britain and north of Gaul: and it is clear from all the ancients, that it was no where elfe to be found. It was totally extinguifhed by Tiberius Pliny XXX. 1.-Suetonius in Claudio, and Aurelius Victor, fay by Claudius. It is palpably of Phocnician origin, having been taught by the Phœnicians to the Britons of prefent Cornwall, where they traded for tin; and had thence fpred north to the extremity of prefent Wales, and fouth to the Garonne ; beyond which bounds there is not a fhadow of it's exiftence in any ancient writer whatever. They who fpeak of Druids in Germany, Caledonia, or Ireland, fpeak utter nonfenfe, and have not a fingle authority to fupport them. Druid, in the Celtic, implies originally a wife or cunning man; and the name was naturally given by the rude vulgar to the priefts of the new doctrine: but the name will be found in it's original meaning where Druids never were known. Druidic antiquities there can be none, except there be any oak-trees two thoufand years old. Thofe childifhly, called Druidic are all Gothic; and are found in Iceland, and other countries, where the very name of Druid was unknown. The Celts had no monuments any more than the favage Americans or Samoiedes. From Diodorus Siculus, and others, it is clear that the manners of the Celts perfectly refembled thofe of the prefent Hottentots. The god Baal, Bell, or Belenus; the tranfmigration of fouls; their cofmogony and theogony are wholly Phœenician : what their own mythology was we know not, but it in all probability refembled that of the Hottentots, or others of the rudeft favages, as the Celts anciently were, and are little better at prefent, being incapable of any progrefs in fociety. But, it is unneceffary to infift further upon this, as the Pelafgi can be fhewn to be Scythx; and M. Pelloutier, who alone takes them for Celts, clearly proves them Scythx, that is, as he dreams, Celts; for he was fo ignorant
ignorant as to take the Celts and Scythæ for one people, in fite of all the ancients who mark them as literally toto calo different, and in fpite of our pofitive knowledge here in Britain, who know the Celts to be mere radical favages, not yet adwanced even to a ftate of barbarifm; and if any foreigner doubts this, he has only to ftep into the Celtic part of Wales, Ireland, or Scotland, and look at them, for they are juft as they were, incapable of induftry or civilization, even after half their blood is Gothic, and remain, as marked by the ancients, fond of lyes, and enemies of truth :
4. The Pelafgi, or Greeks, were not Sarmate, Because there is every rearon to doubt that the Sarmata entered Europe above a thoufand years before our æra: for they were far behind the Scythæ in their progrefs; and it is clear, that upon their entry they found the greater part of Europe occupied by the Scythæ; and the Sarmatix were. hounded by Scythx on the weft, north-weft, and fouth of Europe. Because the manners of the earlieft Greeks, as defcribed by Homer, were totally unlike the Sarmatic; and efpecially in that

[^43]
## yo DISSERTATION ON THE Parti.

grand feature, that the Sarmatæ were, like the Tartars, all cavalry; while the Greeks fought on foot, and in cars; and we know the later to be peculiarly Scythic, Philip having in his Scythic victory taken a vaft number of cars ${ }^{\text {n }}$ : and the Belgæ, and Piki, or Caledonians, two Gothic nations in Britain, fighting in cars, which were alfo ufed in Scandinavia down to the Eleventh or Twelfth century ". No cars are to be found among the Celts, or the Sarmatæ. Because the Sarmatic or Slavonic language is as unlike the Greek as can be, in grammar, ftructure, and nomenclature. Some imagine the Slavonic to be modern Greek, becaufe written in Greek character. They might as well fuppofe the Celtic Latin, becaufe written in Roman character. The Slavonic, whofe chief daughters are the Polonic, Ruffian, and Bohemian, was anciently written in Latin characters; but in the Ninth century one Conftantine Cyrillus, a Greek, firf ufed the Greek capital letter, which remains; and he invented characters for founds incompatible with Greek. From him the Slavonic character is called Cyrulic; and, after being corrupted by frribes, was called Glagolitic: the Ruffians only ufe the Cyrulic ". But the Slavonic has not the flighteft affinity with the Greek. That remarkable feature of the Greek, the dual, ufed in fpeaking to, or of, two perfons, is found in the Gothic, and Icelandic ; but not in the Slavonic, which has a tetral ufed in fpeaking to, or of, four perfons or lefs.

Let us now proceed to fhew who the Greeks really were.

[^44]The Pelafgi, or Hellenes, or Greeks, were Scythians of Thrace. This plain fenfe might argue at once, becaufe the Greeks were every where furrounded by Scythæ, and the fea; and no other nation was near them : but let us illuftrate it a little. From the Greek authors above adduced it is clear that all the Greeks were originally called Pelafgi ; but that the Hellenes, originally a fmall tribe in Theffaly, being the laft of the Pelafgi who came into Achaia, or Leffer Greece, they by a chance equal to that of the name of America, and many other great names, gave their appellation to the whole country. Some late Greek fables fay that Pelafgus, the grandfon of Inachus, king of Argos, from whom, as they falfely itate, the name Pelafgi is derived, lived before the deluge of Deucalion, by which moft of the Pelafgi were fwept away. Hellen, the fon of Deucalion, proceeded with freth recruits of Pelafgi into Greece: and the Greeks in gratitude took his name, and afcribed the renewal of human kind to Deucalion. But Herodotus, Thucydides, and others of the beft Greek authors, knew nothing of this; they repre renting the very fame identic people as being firt calted Pelafgi, then Hellenes. In Homer's time (II. $\beta .683$ ) Hellas was a town of Pelafgic Argos. To prevent all doubt, however, let us firft they that the Pelafgi were Scythæ; and then that the Hellenes were Scythre.

1. The Pelafgi were Scythe. This may be fhewn from different arguments, tho the Greek writers have fhaded the rabject much by the foolifh defire of making their nation aboriginal, or fprung from the ground on which they lived. It is a pity they faw not fo far as the philofopher Antifthenes, who ufed to tell the Athenians that fuch praife belonged to fnails, and not to men. But that the Pelafgi were Scythæ appears from this, that they certainly defcended from the north-eaft into Greece; and the Scythæ fpred over all thefe parts. For we
find fettlements of the Pelafgi on the Hellefpont: and in Theffaly, a country to the north-eaft of Greece, a large country was fpecially called Pelafgia in the days of Homer, and far later. Trogus Pompeius, in Juftin, lib. VII. c. I, fays exprefly, that the people of Macedon were anciently called Pelafgi. Strabo, lib. VII. p.222, fays that the Thracians under Eumolpus colonized Attica; and Herodotus calls thefe Thracians, Pelafgi, as above fhewn. Plutarch in Romulo

 avtoof ratorxysal: 'The Pelafgi, as they fay, roving over the greateft part of the world, and laving fubdued the inhabitants, refided in the country which they had conquered.' This can only refer to the Scythæ. Paufanias, lib. X. c. 5, fhews the oracle at Delphi to have been founded by Scythæ Hyperborei ; and ancient Greek poets alfo call it Pelafgic. Inachus, the firt fabulous king of the Pelafgi, is by fome mythologits faid to have come into Greece by fea. But i am convinced that this idea arofe folely from the fimilarity of the words $\Pi!\varepsilon \lambda \alpha y o s$ the fea, and $\Pi \varepsilon \lambda \alpha s \gamma 0 ;$ a Pelaf-
 overwhelm, becaufe the Pelafgi over-ran fo many countries; or more probably from fome Affyrian (Egyptian or Phocnician) epithet given to the old inhabitants by the few Egyptians and Phoenicians who fettled among them; if it be not a Scythic or Gothic appellative. Indeed we cannot be too cautious againft being mifled by etymology, or by fimilar or identic words; for in early and traditional hiftory they form the very rocks and fands upon which many an antiquarian fhip has foundered. And the danger is fo great, that it is beft never even to approach them.
lhre is fo convinced that the Pelafgi were Scythæ, that he feems to think the point does not even need proofs; yet it were to be wifhed that he had dwelt
more upon fo very interefting and curious a fubject. Herodotus, Thucydides, Strabo, affert the Pelafgi to have come from Theffaly into Greece; and Theffaly was anciently efteemed a part of Thrace, fo that the Pelafgi were Thracians, that is, Scythæ, Getæ or Goths.

The term Hellas, or Greece, is differently extended by writers ; fome excluding Macedon and Epirus from it, as Demofthenes, Pbilip. III. The Hellenes or Greeks, feverely fpeaking, were Pelafgi who went from Macedon, anciently called Pelafgia, as Trogus hhews, down into Greece proper. That Epirus was alfo inhabited by Pelafgi is clear, for Dionyfius Halicarnaffrus makes the Pelafgi of Italy pafs from Epirus, and the celebrated oracle of Dodona, called Pelafgic, was in the extreme north of Epirus. It is well known that the Epirian and Macedonian language was the Doric, dialect of Greek. So that, excluding Macedon and Epirus from Hellas or Greece, the argument is the fame. Ancient Pelafgia included Macedon, Epirus; and afterward that part in later times called Hellas, or Greece. Perhaps the Thracians who filled this cherfonefe were called Pelafgi by their northern brethren, becaufe every where furrounded by the fea (Pelagos), fave on the north.

But as it is now univerfally allowed by the learned that Pelafgi and Hellenes were but different naines for one and the fame people, let us proceed to fhew that the Hellenes, anciently called Pelafgi, were Scythx. They who wifh for fuller information on the Pelafgi may confult Geinoz, Freret, and others.
2. Tbe Hellenes were Scytha. Even mythology might perfuade this, for it is well known that Hellen, reputed father of the Hellenic name, was the fon of Deucalion; and Lucian de Dea Syra, p. 882. edit. Renedicti, 1619, Vol. II. fays expreflly, that

 thian,
thian, in whofe time happened the great flood.' Deucalion was the fon of Prometheus; Apollon. III. 1086, \&c. Prometheus was king of the Scythæ; Schol. Apollon. Argonaut. II. I252. The Titans, or family of the gods, were of Scythia, according to Greek mythologifts: the hymns afcribed to Orpheus, which are ancient, tho not his, expreflly call the Titans the forefathers of the Greeks. But leaving mythology, which is as diftant from hiftory as fable can be from truth, let us advance to furer ground. Thucydides, lib. I. c. 28. is an incontrovertable authority that the Hellenes were originally a fmall tribe in Theffaly; and Herodotus and Strabo fully confirm this. And that the Theffalians were Thracians is clear, for Thucydides, lib. II. c. 29. informs us, that the Thracians extended even down to Phocea. Strabo calls the Athenians Thracians, whom Herodotus calls Pelafgi of Theffaly, which was the country between Thrace and Attica. Eufebius, p. 17, and the Chronicon Pafchale, p. 49, mark the Ionians as Scytha. Epiphanius, adv. Heref. lib. I. p. 6, fays, that all the people fouth of the Hellefpont were Scythæ, that is, the Macedonians and Greeks.

The language and manners of the whole of Hel Ias from Thrace to the Ionian fea were Thracian, Scythic, Getic, Gothic. No ancient hints any diverfity of fpeech, fave as to refinement between Peloponnefus, Attica, Epirus, Theffaly, Macedon, Thrace. Thucydides ${ }^{v}$ well obferves that in Homer's time the name of barbarians was not given to the Thracians, but that thefe barbarians and the Hellenes fpoke one tongue. Diodorus Siculus, lib. II.

[^45]p. 92,
p. 92, fays, the Scythæ Hyperborei, or moft diftant Scythr, ufed a fpeech akin to that of Athens and Delos; that is, as Ihre well explains, Pelafgic or Scythic. Anacharfis, the Scythian philofopher, pronounced the Greeks Scythic, as he muft have learned from their language and manners; $\mathrm{E} \mu \mathrm{ol} \delta \varepsilon$,
 Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. I. p. 364). Even in the time of Xenophon, (Exp. Cyri, VII.) tho the Greek was then fo refined, that he was obliged to ufe an interpreter at firt in converfing with Seuthes a Thracian prince ; juft as a modern Anglus would need an interpreter to converfe with an Anglus of Anglen in Denmark, or with a German; there was neverthelefs fuch clear affinity obferved between the Thracian and Grecian manners and language, that kindred was given as the military word, implying their common origin. Nay Ovid is a witnefs of the fimilarity between the Greek and Gothic tongues:

> Exercent illi socie commercia lingux, Graiaque quod Getico victa loquela fono eft.

Trif. V. x.
And in modern times Salmafius w, Junius ${ }^{\mathrm{x}}$, Meric Cafaubon ${ }^{\text {y }}$, Ihre ${ }^{z}$, pronounce the Gothic and Greek to be merely dialects of the fame tongue; tho thefe writers are grofly miftaken in deriving Gothic words from the Greek, while the reverfe is the truth ; for the old Icelandic is full of Greek words, tho the Icelanders hardly knew that the Greeks exitted, and could have no correfpondence with them. Bibliander a fays, that in the German (a dialect of the Gothic) of 2000 radicals, 800 are common to the Greek and to the

[^46]Latin;

Suatin; which laft is merely the 庣olic dialet of the Greek, as all know. Now of all marks of the origin of nations, that of language is the moft infallible.

From all thefe proofs, it is as clear as fo remote a fubject can be, that the Pelargi, the anceftors of the Greeks; afterward called Hellenes from a fmah tribe of the Pelafgi who were the laft that came in, were at firft fettled in Macedon and Theffaly. That they were Thracians. That the Thracians were Scythæ, Getæ or Goths.

It is therefore Hijforic Trutb that the Pelafgi, Hellenes, or Greeks, were Scythians or Gotbs.

Chronologers place the reign of Inachus, the firft of the Pelafgic ftem, about 1800 years before Chrift: and Deucalion and Hellen about 1500. But the Argonautic expedition 1263 before Chrift forms the firt faint dawn even of traditional hiftory in Greece; all preceding this belonging to mythology. The Siege of Thebes 1225 , and that of Troy 1184, together with that expedition, are the immortal themes of poets; but fairy ground to hiftorians. The revolution caufed by the Heraclidæ in Peloponnefus, I.104, is blended with mythology. And from thence down to Lycurgus, or about 880 befóre our arra,' hardly an incident can be found. If we therefore fuppofe the Scythæ to have been in poffeffion of Greece and it's iles about 1500 years before Chrift, we fhall not greatly err. Tho the kingdom of Pelafgic Argos in Theffaly, the earlieft in Greece, may well have exifted 300 years before this population was complete, as chronologers ftate it about ${ }^{\prime} 1800 \mathrm{~B} . \mathrm{C}$.

The Pelafgi, afterward called Hellenes, were improved by the fituation of Greece, their new fettlement: for that favoured country, furrounded every where by the fea, fave on the north, proved an attractive centre to fmall colonies from Egypt, and from Phoenicia, realms famous for early civilization. Cecrops and, Danaus, who fettled in

Athens and Argos, about 1400 years before Chrift, were Egyptians: Cadmus, who about 1280, founded Thebes, was a Phonician. Letters began to be ufed ${ }^{b}$. Cecrops and Danaus had, it is likely, introduced tillage from the practice of Egypt; a country unfit for hunting or pafturage, and where, from neceffity, fowing of grain feems firft to have been invented ${ }^{\text {c }}$. Thus Egyptian agriculture, and the arts of Phœenicia, foon polifhed this branch of the Scythæ, while their northern brethren were loft in barbarifm. But thefe colonies adopted the Pelafgic or Hellenic language; and conformed to the Pelafgic or Hellenic rites, and cuftoms; as Dr. Gillies fhews from the beft authorities, particularly Herodot. V. 59. and VII. pafim. Herodotus efpecially mentions V. 58. that the followers of Cadmus changed their fpeech, being furrounded by the Ionians an Hellenic tribe. And it might be fhewn that the Greek mythology is but an improvement of the Scythic; the gods being moftly illuftrious princes of the firt Scythic empire, who were deified by their fubjects; a cuftom continued to a late period among the Goths. Many ideas of Greek mythology may alfo be found in the Gothic; but this ground muft not be lightly trodden, and is left to him who can employ a large work upon it, after a remark or two. It is well known, that the moft ancient Greek poets were the fole teachers of the people, and were the firt who, by introducing a portion of

[^47] tion and fupertition, compofed regular fyftems of theogony and mythology. Now, thefe earlier poets and teachers of religion were all of Thrace. Linus, Orpheus, Mufæus, Thamyris, Eumolpus, were all Thracians; end Euftathius ( $s \iota_{\rho}$ Incód. $\beta$.) has long ago obferved this fingularity. If Thracians, they were Scythians or Goths: if Scythians, they could only ufe Scythic mythology and traditions. For the religions of the Sarnatæ, of the Celts, of the Phonicians, of the Egyptians, were quite remote from the Grecian. Blackwell, in his admirable Enquiry into the life and writings of Homer (Sect. xii.), has well concluded the language of Thrace and of Greece to have been the lame; and efpecially quotes Strabo, who was of Colchis, and who fays, ' that the Trojan language had many words and names in common with the Thracian.' The feveral inftances he produces are, as Blackwell obferves, generally known Grecian terms, as well as Trojan or Thracian : even the others may have been ancient Grecian, tho unfit for poetry, the only repofitory of Greek language till Herodotus wrote, or about 450 years before Chrift. Herodotus, lib. II. c. 52. łays, the Greeks derived their rites and religion from the Pelafgi, who were certainly Scythæ of Southern Thrace. Anacharfis, as above obferved, faid, the Greeks fcytbicifed, or followed the cuftoms, \&c. of the Scythx. The Titans, or family of gods, were of Scythia, as mythologits agree. Plato in Cratylo fays, the Greek rites are all from the barbarians; that is, as juft fhewn, the barbarians of Thrace.

The Greeks, fermented into purity by foreign colonies, foon affumed quite a diftinct character from their Scythian progenitors and neighbours. Homer alfo rofe from the eaftern fhore of the Egean, like the fun, upon'them; and diffufed an intellectual light and warmth which made their fouls vegetate with great thoughts, the ftems of
great actions. So early as about 1000 years before Chrift Grecian colonies began to be eftablifhed in Magna Græcia or the fouth of Italy, in Sicily, in Africa. Nay in Macedon and Thrace, and among the more diftant Scythæ, in which later countries, for want of tillage and the arts, barbarifm was long to prevail : while, owing to fortunate circumftances above mentioned, the Greeks had admitted fuch refinement as almoft to pafs for another people among their own progenitors. A cafe which may even happen in ruder nations, as we know that the Danes, who came to Northumberland in the Ninth century, were regarded as utter ftrangers and enemies by their own countrymen the Angli, who in 547 had fettled in that province.
IV. Let us now very briefly confider the origins of the Italians, or whole ancient inhabitants of Italy. This country in its early ftate may be regarded as divided into four parts: I. Grecia Magna, and the whole country fouth-weft of the Apennines up to Hetruria. 2. The part northeaft of the Apennines, oppofite to Illyricum. 5. Hetruria. 4. The Gallic part, from the Alps down to the Senones in Umbria.

The firft part, as appears from Dionyfius of Halicarnaffus, was peopled by Aborigines from Arcadia, the earlieft inhabitants that can be traced of Magna Grecia and of Latium. Dionyfius mentions that fome Pelafgi afterwards went over; but it is clear that the Arcadians were Pelafgi ${ }^{\text {d }}$, and M. Freret accordingly thews that the Aborigines and Pelafgi were all one people. The learned look with a fufpicious eye upon the pages of Dionyfius, who only wrote about thirty years before Chrift, and yet details battles, fpeeches, embaflies, \&c. between the Pelafgi and Aborigines, as matters of yefterday; while Herodotus

[^48]and the other ancient Greek writers knew almof nothing of Italy，and Dionyfius had not one au－ thority．But it appears，that the Pelafgi，whom Dionyfius feigns to have fought with the Abori－ gines，but to have been vanquifhed and expelled by them，were fome few later Pelafgi from Epirus． Sicily，and this part of Italy，were afterward planted with fuch numerous Greek colonies，from about 700 years before Chrift，and downward，that they may be almoft faid to be peopled afrefh．In Latium，where Rome was founded，there were feveral little tribes and towns of the Aborigines， as the Sabines，Volfci，\＆c．Sir Ifaac Newton in his Chronology，has actually demonftrated that Romulus could noc exift till at leaft 125 years after the vulgar æra，or the year 627 before Chrit． For to the feven kings are given no lefs than 243 years！And of thefe feven kings three were mur－ dered，and one expelled！In no hiftory，ancient or modern，will fuch reigns of feven kings amount to 140 years，much lefs to 243 ．But as the Annus Urbis Condites is followed by the Roman writers，it would be moft eligible to fuppofe，with fome an－ cients，that Romulus did not found Rome；but that the city was a rude republick，with elective chiefs，for fome time before Romulus．However this be，the Latin language is a clear proof of the origin of the people，being merely the 庣olic dia－ lect of the Greek，as Quintilian remarks，and as the learned well know．This 庪隹ic has but a few variations from the Doric；as the Ionic has but a few variations from the Attic．The Æolians，a Pelafgic divifion，peopled Elis and Arcadia，or the weftern and inland parts of Peloponnefus， which confims the account of Dionyfius，that the Aborigines went from thefe parts．The Dorians， another Pelafgic or Hellenic divifion，held all the northweft or mountainous part of Greece；and being led into Peloponnefus by the Heraclidx， poffeffed Argos，Sparta，\＆e．The Ionians or moft colonies，on the oppofite fhore of Afra：all the Ionians were more refined by Afiatic commerce and arts．The Doric was ufed in Sicily；and Theo－ critus has given us an exquifite fample．If Pin－ dar ${ }^{\circ}$ ufed the Doric，it was certainly from knowing it moft adapted to the higher Lyric poetry；forthe Boeotians were Æolic ；and from Strabo，libv＊${ }^{\text {viii．}}$ we know that their fpeech was the 压olic．Theo－ critus is thought the only Doric writer．In the历olic are fome fragments of Alcæus and Sappho． It may eafily be fhewn，that inftead of four dialects in Greek there is but onef，namely the Doric or Æolic，for the variations of the latter from the for－ mer are fo trifling as to deferve no notice，being lefs than thofe of the Somerfethire dialect，or the Cockney，from the Englifh．The Attic，with it＇s

[^49]Ionic variations, is the Greek language ufed by all their writers but thefe above mentioned: and can no more be called a dialect than the Englifh is a dialect of the Englifh. The Doric, \&olic, or old Greek, was fpoken in Macedon, Epirus, Italy, Sicily, and over all Greece, fave Attica. But the Attic, from fuperior polifh, became the reigning language, while in time the other was univerfally left to clowns: and the Attic is the Greek of all countries and authors. Homer and Herodotus, Afiatic Greeks, wrote in Ionic or Afiatic Greek, that is the Attic rendered more, mufical by now and then dropping a confonant or afperate, and adding a vowel, \&c. Doric or Æolic is fometimes fparingly intermixed by fome writers as the dialect of their country ran, or to add antique dignity. Milton and Shakfpere are full of fuch Doric Englifh. But of this perhaps more largely elfewhere.

The part of Italy, north of the Apennines, and oppofite to Illyricum, was, as plain reafon would argue, peopled by Illyrians, who, as thewn, were Scythæ. Pliny III. 25, tells us, that Callimachus placed a people called Peuketi ${ }^{8}$ in Liburnia of Illyricum. In Italy directly on the oppofite fhore were the Pikeni ; and further fouth lay the large country of Peuketia, now Apulia, of which much may be found in Strabo. The Peuketi of Liburnia were certainly a part of the Peukini or Bafternx, "a Scythic divifion, who had fpred from Thrace into Illyricum, and Germany ; and of whom is fully treated in the laft chapter of this tract.

The Hetrurians, as we learn from Herodotus, whom Pliny, Paterculus, and other of the beft ancient writers follow, were a Lydian colony; a

[^50]circumftance not improbable, if we confider the great riches, and wide commerce of Lydia. Dionyfius of Halicarnaffus, a fabulous hiftorian, tells us, that the Hetrufcans were a peculiar indigenal people, refembling no other nation in fpeech or manners. He informs us that the Hetrufcan fpeech was notPelafgic, in the moft exprefs terms : and yet the learned univerfally allow the Hetrufcan letters, and antiquities, to be Pelafgic, or Ancient Grecian. Indeed thofe few detached barbaric Pelafgi, who had returned into Greece from Italy, and thofe who had come from Samothrace, quite puzzled Herodotus, and Dionyfius; juft as if a few Angli from Anglen had, in the ninth or tenth century, come to England, and the writers of the times had been aftonifhed at their fpeech not being Anglic, but Danifh. The number of books, of all ages and languages, gives the moderns a prodigious fuperiority over the ancients, in judging of the gradations of fpeech, and origin and progrefs of nations. From the ancient Hetrufcan infcriptions, and other monuments, the learned pronounce them Pelafgi, looking on Dionyfius as no authority againft facts. But may we not truft the well informed Herodotus that they were Lydians, who about 1000 years before our æra planted Etruria ? For the Lydians, as above fhewn, were Scythæ of Thrace, as were the Pelafgi : fo that a fimilarity in their ancient remains may be expected. The Lydians were early polifhed, from their neighbourhood with the Affyrians of Cappadocia; and were probably fomewhat mixt with them, fo as to tinge their dialect a little, whence the error of Dionyfius. They were a polifhed and opulent people: and the Hetrufcans feem to have had fkill in the fine arts long before the Latins, as the many ancient pieces preferved fhew : a circumftance appearing to confirm the account of Herodotus that they were a Lydian colony. By the teftimony of Herodotus therefore the Hetrufcans were Lydians, or Scythæ :
by their monuments they were Pelafgi, or Scythæ. At any rate they were vanquifhed, and their country almoft peopled afrefh by the Romans, a Grecian, Pelafgic, or Scythic nation.

The Gallic part of Italy alone remains. The Gauls were the lateft fertlers in Italy. It was 386 years before our æra that they took Rome, but were defeated by Camillus. The old Umbri ${ }^{\text { }}$ feem to have been lllyrians, as the Pikeni their fouthern neighbours; but the Galli Senones, who took Rome, fettling in Umbria, the whole Umbri began to be reputed of Gallic extract. "We have large ancient copper coins of towns in Umbria, on the Hetrufcan and Latin model, certainly ftruck before the Gauls had any idea of coinage '. However this be, it is clear that all the Gauls of Cifalpine Gaul were German Gauls, not Celts. For when Cafar entered Gaul the Celts were confined to the moft remote part of Gaul ; while Germany bordered on the fountain of the Rhine, and the northern Alps, or in other words on Cifalpine Gaul. The Celts lay within the Marne and the Loire; while all the eaft of Gaul had long before been feized by the Belgæ, Helvetii, Allobroges, and other German Gauls ${ }^{k}$. On the fouth the whole Provincia Romanorum, otherwife called

[^51]Gallia

Chap. iv. SCrTHIANSOR GOTHS.
Gallia Braccata, to diftinguifh it from Celtic and Aquitanic Gaul, had been poffeffed by German Gauls before the Romans, as the very name implies; for the Celts did not anciently wear breeches, while breeches were the chief mark of the Scythians or Goths from the time of Herodotus to this moment. For that the German Gauls, as being real Germans, were Scythians or Goths, fhall be fhewn in the Second Part of this Differtation. In fpeaking of Gauls, the Celts, the moft diftant part of the Gauls, are out of all queftion. It is not that daftard race who were vanquilhed by a lieutenant of Cæfar with one legion'; but the German Gauls, who long occupied all the power of Rome, that claim our notice in the hiftoric page. The Italian Gauls were at any rate vanquifhed, and their country colonized anew, by the Romans, a Scythian people.

It will be fhewn in the Second Part that the Scythæ had paft to the extremity of Germany and Scandinavia, about 500 years before Chrift. On the fouth of Germany they extended to the extremity of Illyricum, and entered Gaul on that fide before that period. The Scythr who peopled Illyricum were of the Thracian divifion, feparated from the Germans by the Danube; and as the fame divifion extended, as juft hewn, into Greece and Italy, their population was wholly occupied by thefe countries, and their Afiatic fettlements; fo that, preffing to the eaft and fouth, they never extended beyond the Adriatic. where they were checked by the Alps. The Celts feem to have poffeffed all their territories beyond the Adriatic, including Cifalpine Gaul, till about 500 years before Chrift, when the Germans arrived, and poured into the north of Italy, and the eaft, and fouth of Gaul ; the Celts flying before them to the weft. But as the Celts were called Gauls by the
! Cafar de Bell. Gall. lib. II. ad fin.

Romans, and their country Gaul, the name was continued to its new poffeffors; juft as the Englifh are called Britons, as well as the Welch; and as the French are called Galli at this day, But this the reader will find more fully treated when we come to the Germans. The Aborigines or Pelafgi, lllyrians, and Hetrufcans, were certainly fettled in Italy about 1000 years before Chrift. The Galli not above 500 .

It is therefore Hiforic Trutb that the Italians were Scytba.

## P A R T II.

The extended Settlements of the Scythians or Goths over all Germany, and in Scandinavia.
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## P A $\quad \mathbf{R} \quad \mathrm{T} \quad \mathrm{II}$.

The extended Settlements of the Scytbians or Gotbs over all Germany, and in Scandizavia.
C HAPTER I.

The Germans not of Sarmatic, nor Celtic, origin.

TVE are now arrived at the laft, and moft important part of this Differtation: and a fubject upon which the whole modern hiftory ot Europe depends. Senfible of its prodigious weight, i fhall examine it with all the fedulous care, and minute accuracy, which my purpofe permits. The theme is indeed fo valt, that large volumes may be written on it; but tho my bounds confine me to the mere outline; yet all attention fhall be paid to render it fcrupuloufly exact, fo as to enable the reader to form, as from a miniature drawing, a true and juft idea of the whole.

The

The Scythians or Goths have been followed to their Eaftern Settlements in Afia, and to their Southern in Europe. Let us now trace their Weftern progrefs, or that of our progenitors. If Englifh, Scotifh, Irifh; if French, Spaniard, Italian, German, Dutch, Swifs, Swede, or Dane, let the reader attend with reverence, as he perfues the facred fteps of his anceftors. Here every European is perfonally interefted, fave the Sarmatians of Ruffia and Poland; fave the Celto-Welch of England, and the Celt-Irih of Ireland and of the Highlands of Scotland; and fave the Fins of Hungary, Finland, and Lapland.

The reader will recollect that the Getæ, who extended all over the weft of the Euxine, are fhewn to have been the fame identic people with the Parental Scythians or Goths. On the NorthWeft the Bafternæ, a German nation, as Pliny and Tacitus fhew, bordered on the Geta. On the South-Weft that divifion of the Geta, called Daci, bordered with Germany. Pliny, IV. 12. fays, Geta, Daci Romanis dicti, ' thofe Getæ called Daci by the Romans.' Strabo, lib. VIII.
 have one and the fame fpeech.' Steph. de Urbibus, alfo fays the Daci are the fame with the Getr : and to this all antient and modern writers affent. Therefore the Germans bordered, on the Eaft, with the Getæ or Parental Goths. So Pliny VIII. 15. Germania Scythic contermina.

Thus we are come to the very crifis of our refearch. If we cannot fhew the Germans to have been originally Scythx, this differtation is inept. If we can, a ficld of wide curiofity and enquiry opens to the learned of Europe. For the origin of government, manners, laws, in fhort, all the antiquities of Europe, will affume a new appearance; and inftead of being only traced to the woods of Germany, as Montefquieu, and the greateft
greateft writers have hitherto dohe, may be fol-. lowed thro the long defcriptions of the manners, \&c. of the Scythians and Thracians given us by Herodotus. Nay, even up to the Aboriginal Scythic empire in Perfia, beyond which there is no memorial of human affairs, fave in Egypt alone; the hiftory of which begins with Menes the firft king, about 4000 years before our æra; while the earlieft appearance of the Scythians in hiftory is about 400 years after, when Vexores was king of Egypt, and Tanaus of the Scythx. Not to mention the collateral light to be derived from the whole hiftory of the Greeks and Romans, who were Scythæ, as juft fhewn.

Before producing an hoft of arguments to fhew the Germans to have been originally Scythæ or Goths, i fhall briefly confider the two only ${ }^{2}$ other opinions, which have been formed, or can poffibly be formed, on this fubject. I. That the Germans were Sarmatæ. 2. That they were Celts.

1. The Germans not Sarmate. The firft of thefe opinions, namely, that the Germans were Sarmatæ, proceeds from fuch grofs ignorance that i am really afhamed to mention, much more to refute it. I have diligently perufed moft writers on German antiquities, but they had all fome degree of reading, and could never fall into an error, which the whole ancient authors, and complete modern knowlege, concur to refute. This unhappy difcovery muft therefore be affigned to its right owner, and inventor, James Macpherfon, Efq. in whofe Introduction to the Hiftory of Great Britain it firft occurs. The author of that ftrange

[^52]and truly Celtic work, having, with that overheated rafhnefs, which genius colliding with perfect ignorance can alone infpire, attempted to introduce the moft difeafed dreams into the Hiftory of Scotland, thought he could, behind his Celtic mift, ufe equal freedoms with the hiftory of Europe! Rafh man, and ill advifed! The mift of Celtic nonfenfe he may gild with the beams of real genius; but, with the ignorance of a fchool-boy, to write on the antiquities of the Germans, in which the learned of all Europe had been ever converfant, was deplorable indeed, and worthy of eternal laughter, did not commiferation for the ingenious trannlator and compofer of Irifh poetry move every reader to gentlenefs. At the fame time it is much fufpected that his motives entitle him to no excufe : and the high and contemptuous manner in which he treats others annuls all favour. His Oflian (hews that he piques himfelf greatly on being a Celt, and will not admit the Englifh, or French, or Germans, or other paltry modern nations, to that high honour! Indeed the malice and contempt borne by the Celtic favages; for they are favages, have been favages fince the world began, and will be for ever favages while a feparate people; that is, while themfelves, and of unmixt blood; i fay the contempt borne by thofe Celts for the Englifh, Lowland Scots, and later Irifh (who are Englifh and Scots), is extreme and knows no bounds. Mr. Macpherfon knew that his own dear Celts are, and have ever been regarded as, a weak and brutith people; and in revenge tells us we are all Sarmatæ, a people eminently martial and famous, which he forgets; but remarkable, as his exprefs quotations thew, for naftinefs! Fielding tells us, that a fhallow book may, like a fhallow man, be cafily feen thro; and i can fee nothing, if the defign of Mr. Macpherfon's book be not to exalt
his fweet Celts at the expence of all truth, learn: ing, and common fenfe.

Quand l'abfurde eft outré, l'on lui fait trop d'honneur De vouloir par raifon combattre fon erreur ;
Encherir eft plus court, fans s'echauffer la bile.
Fontaine.
Sorry i am, toward the end of the Eighteenth Century, to be fhewing, againft a Britifh author, that the Germans were not Sarmatæ ; that is, that a Saxon, or a Silefian, is not a Ruffian, and does not fpeak the Sarmatic (Slavonic), but Gothic tongue. For if a German ftudent, in his firft year at college, fhould happen to fee this tract, he will conclude me as ignorant as my countryman, Mr. Macpherfon; to confute abfolute nonfenfe being furely as ridiculous as to write it. Stung with this reflection, i thall haften from my aukward fituation, after a night remark or two; for it would be abfurd to draw a fword when a ftraw will do, and i have a champion of far other force to encounter.

The fole authority which Mr. Macpherfon can find, for this new and profound idea, is a paffage which, with his ufual peremptory brevity, he quotes thus: "Gothi, Vandalique ab antiquis Sarmatis originem ducunt. Procop. lib. I." (Introduct. p. 34. edit. $3^{\text {d.) }}$ Not to mention the ignorant oddity of quoting a Greek author in Latin, the reader mult be informed there is no fuch paffage in Procopius, nor even one the leaft like it. This would alone be reckoned a full confutation: but as this work is not a controverfial one, but written with the moft fincere and facred defign of difcovering the truth, ifhall produce the real paffage in Procopius, to which Mr. Macpherfon, or the perfon he had the above quotation from ${ }^{b}$, muft
have

[^53] reas $\overline{\text { Efincose }}$ edven tava' exaxicuy. That is literally, "Gotbic nations many and fundry there were formerly, and are now. But among them the greatef and moof bigbly efteened are the Gotbs; and the Vandals; and the Vijigotbs; and tbe Gepida. Anciently tbey were called Sarmatce, and Melancblani: Jome bave alfo called them Getic nations." Left the reader may think that Mr. Macpherfon quoted from the Latin tranflation, it is alfo added. Plurimze quidem fuperioribus fuere temporibus, bodieque funt, nationes Gotbica; Jed inter illas Gothi, Vandali, Vifgothi, et Gepredes, cum numero tum disnitate praftant. Olim Sauromate dicobantur, ac Melancblani: quidam etiam Getarum nomen ipfs tribuerunt. This is certainly an authority; but an authority as light as a feather, compared to any one of the authorities againft it. Procopius lived in the time of Jutinian, about the year 540 : and was fecretary to Belifarius, in whofe African war he was prefent. His authority as to events of his own times, (and his whole hiftory is that of his own times, as the title bears,) is very good; but as to origins and names of nations in the Weft of Europe he could know nothing, and had no opportunity, being a lawyer of Cæfarea, in Paleftine, the moft diftant place that ever Greek author wrote in. His horrible ignorance with regard to the, Weft of Eu-
for his evidently, on many occafions, not underflanding his own quotations; but even adducing them fometimes to contradict his own inferences. Perhaps this plan is Celtic. See inflances in Mr. Whitaker's Genuine Hifory of the Britons againft Mr. M.
rope may be judged from his account of Britain, fo famous for its abfurdity. The origins, and ancient names of nations, he could only have from the ancient Greek and Roman writers; and when he pofitively contradicts them, as he does here, he is certainly in error by quoting from memory, and can be confuted now as fully as in his own time, being fo very late an author. That the Goths or Getæ were never called Sarmatæ and Melanchlæni, as Procopius fables, is clear from all writers who mention them, from Herodotus down to his own time: for even Jornandes is not fo ignorant as this, but mentions the Sarmatre always as a diftinct people from the Getæ or Goths. Strabo, who was mifled by Ephorus with regard to fome Scythæ of Afia being Sarmatæ, never dreamed that the Geta we:e Sarmata, but diftinguifhes them repeatedly in exprefs terms. The Gepidæ, and Vandals, were German nations; the former being a part of the Bafternæ; the latter Ifo well known in the page of Pliny and Tacitus. Ovid may thew that the Getæ were not Sarmatæ, for, as above quoted, he learned both Getic and Sarmatic. Now Mr. Macpherfon fays in his margin, ,p. 37. "The Sarmata ancefors of the Germans;" and on this he proceeds thro his work, without once recollecting that Tacitus (a writer whofe truth and accuracy every day almoft Shews more and more to have been perfect) makes the ftrongeft diftinction between the Germans and Sarmate thro his whole immortal Germania. He fays the Germans wore tight drefs, non fuitante ficut Sarmate, ' not flowing as the Sarmatix wear:' and mentioning fome remote nations, at the end, fays, Germanis an Sarmatis adfcribant dubito, 'I doubt whether to put them as Germans or Sarmatr.' Why did he think the Germans indigenes, but becaufe he found them totally different from the Sarmata? Had any refemblance exifted, nothing was fo natural as to fuppofe them fprung from
from the Sarmatæ, a great bordering peoplo. That the Sarmate were a diftinet people from the Scythæ proper, even Herodotus knew at firt, as appears by his mentioning a part of the Sarmatæ learning the Scythian tongue; and by the whole tenor of his famous account of the expedition of Darius againft the Scythæ, in which he places the Sarmatix north of the Scythæ. And Herodotus places Scythæ in Germany, and Sarmatæ to the Eaft of them, as fhall prefently be fhewn. Dionyfius diftinguilhes the Germans and Sarmata, v. 304. $\Gamma_{\varepsilon} \mu_{\mu}$ vot, $\sum_{\alpha \rho \mu \alpha 7 \alpha t} \tau \varepsilon$, \&c. Prolemy, the geographer, who wrote about forty years after Tacitus, was the firft, who, from the ample information then received concerning the earth, as known to the ancients, put down Sarmatia Europca, and Sarmatia Afatica, in their full and juft extent of all the nations who fpoke the Sarmatic tongue; that is all Ruffia in Europe, and a great part of Poland, for the former; and that part of Ruffia which lies between the Tanais or Don and the north-eaft of the Cafpian for the latter, or Afiatic Sarmatia. After the times of Tacitus and Ptolemy, all writers, down to the benighted age in which Procopius wrote, mention the Sarmatax as a marked, diftinct, peculiar, people. They had a valt country to rove in, whence only a few from the fouth-weft ever attacked the Romans: and tho coins of Conftantine I. impudently bear SARMATIA DEVICTA, he hardly ever had a peep at a corner of the country. Thofe Sarmatæ who invaded the Romans at any future time were indeed fo few that we find them very flightly mentioned $c$ :

[^54]and they never obtained a fettlement in any part of the Roman empire, fave a few in Illyricum. For the after-events of the Sarmata the reader is referred to any hiftory of Ruffia, or of Polanc ; in which writers of all ages have begun with them, tho not one has yet been fo illiterate as to confider them in the leaft connected with the hiftory of Germany. Matthias a Michou, who wrote his Sarmatia Europaa et Afana, about 1520: Guagnin, who, in 158 I , publifhed his Sarmatia Europaa Defrriptio; quec regnum Polonia, Lituaniam, Samogitiam, Ruffam, Maffoviam, Prufiam, Pomeraniam, Livoniam, et Mocchovia Tartariaque partem, complectitur; (dedicated to the king of Poland, and chiefly comprifing the lives and portraits of the Polifh monarchs) : thefe authors were, two centuries ago, fo fuperior to Mr. Macpherfon, as fufficiently to fhew that a man, who writes upon fuch trying fubjects without reading, muft only prochaim to the world that he is ignorant. Indeed, Mr. M. had only to look into Cluverius, Cellarius, or any fchool-book of geography, to fee that he was blundering almoft beyond poflibility. But to conclude this point, i thall thew the reader how little the fole teftimony of Procopius is to be relied on, by actually confuting this paffage of that author, by another from his own very work, and a part of it wholly geographical, and of courfe more accurate. This paffage occurs in. Book IV.








 $\tau \varepsilon, \varepsilon \pi=x a n o v i \tau \alpha u$. That is literally, 'To bim who H paffes

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pafes ftrait the lake Maotis, and its moutb, on the fiore antiently dzeelled the Gotbs, called Tetraxita, as $i$ juft mentioned. And at a great difance were placed the Goths, and Vifgotbs, and Vandals, and all the otber Gotbic nations, who were alfo called Scythians in ancient times, fince all the nations in the fe parts were in common called Scythic. Some of them were called Sarnata, and Melanchleni, and other names.' The reader will at once fee from this that the Sarmatæ could not, even in the opinion of Procopius, be the anceltors of the Goths and Vandals, as Mr. Macpherfon ftates his teftimony ; feeing that the Sarmatæ were but one nation of the many who bore the Scythic name, as Procopius here fays : and a few ancient writers certainly did from ignorance, as above fhewn, rank the Sarmatæ as a Scythic people. Let the greatelt of modern geographers, M. D' Anville, put the feal to this idle controverfy. In his Geograpbie Ancienne Abregéc, Paris 1768, 3 volumes, 12 mo . \{peaking of Sarmatia Europæa, Vol. I. p. 322, he thus expreffes himfelf: " Pour donner une idée generale de cette grande nation, et la diftinguer de ce qui eft Germanique d'un coté, et Scythique de l'autre, il faut dire que tout ce qui parle un langage foncierement Slavon, et ne variant que felon differents dialectes, eft Sarmate. Et fi on trouve oe meme fond de langage ctabli dans des contrées etrangeres a l'ancienne Sarmatie, c'eft que, dans les tems qui ont fuccedé a ceux de l'antiquité, des effaims de cette nation fe font repandus en Germanie jufqu'a l'Elbe, et au midi du Danube jufqu' a la mer Adreatique."

I beg pardon of Mr . M. for faying he has but one authority that the Germans were Sarmata. No! He has another! And fuch another! Suffice it to fay that his weight is prodigious, and here he is: 'Preliis ac revum penuria Sarmatas Getas confump/it. Pomp. Lætus in Claudio.' Introd.
p. $34{ }^{\text {d }}$. What a pity Mr. M. fhould have no akill in forgery, and did not know that the work given to Pomponius Lætus was written by Julio Sanfeverino about $1490^{\circ}$ ! That writer muft certainly be an object of perpetual compaffion who has tried to overturn the hiftory of Europe, upon the authority of a forgery known to every boy, and even that authority mifquoted. Yet who can but langh to fee the ingeniousfather of Offian building upon a literary fabrication? It is fo natural! Letus and Aug. in Sempron. ${ }^{f}$ were fit foundations for his bauble!
II. The Germans not Celts. Let us now proceed to the fecond opinion, namely, that the Germans. were Celts. This has a far other champion than Mr. Macpherfon, to wit, Cluverius, a writer of fome learning, and who would have regarded a mifquotation as the ruin of his character. In queftions of this kind, learning and accuracy are all in all. Genius will only miflead by falfe fplendors;
d Mr. M. cannot even quote his forgeries fairly. The paffage in Latus really is Praliis ac rerum penuria Sarmatas, Getas, Scytbas, 2uados, confumpfit. Strange, yea very ftrange!

- Julii Pomponii Lxti Compendium Hiltoria Romanx lucem primum vidit Venetiis, 1498 , 4to. De hoc Julio Sandevernno, Sabino five Picentino, qui Pomponii Leeti nomen adfcivit, et Roma $\lambda^{\circ}$ 1497, 21 Maii, diem obiit, vide Frider. Hannibalis Stempelii Diff. de focietate abbreviatorum Romana, Jenx, 1704; 4to. procipue vero, Diarium Venetum eruditorum Italix, Tom. xxii. p. 366. feq. Fabricii Bibliotbeca Latina, Hamburgi, ${ }_{1722}$, 8vo. Tom. III. p. 554.
f Aug. in Sempron. twice quoted by Mr. M. is a nonexiftence. He fleeps with Offian! I have hunted thro many a vaft Bibliotheca for him without effect : but for all this trouble i fincerely forgive Mr. M. as a good Chriftian ought.

The author who could foif in the word Angli in a quotation, (p. 350 .) from fo common a book as Pliny's Nat. Hift. may well be fuppofed to ftick at nothing. This Introduction abounds with fuch vices as have ftained no cther work fince the world began. It might be pronounced the moft falfe and difhoneft book ever written, were it not only the moft foolifh and ignorant. He who, in the broad day of authors in every body's. hands, could act thus, what muft he have done in the midnight of bis Celtic nonfenfe, where no eye could efpy him?
but profound learning, cold penetration, and mature judgment will throw the feady light of truth over a fubject like this. Unhappily Cluverius had but moderate learning, no penetration, and a judgment cool but not vigorous. He alfo wrote two centuries too foon: his Germania Antiqua being publifhed in 1616, when the Gothic and Celtic Languages were unknown, no monuments of them being in print; fo that he wanted all information, and is but a blind guide at beft. Yet has this blind guide been followed by almoft all authors down to this day; witnefs Keyfler, in his Antiquitates Septentrionales et Celtica, Hanoveræ, 1720, 8vo; Pelloutier in his Hifoire des Geltes, et pariculierement des Gaulois, et des Germains, Haye, 1750 , 2 tomes 12 mo . and Mallet in his Introduction à l'Hijt. de Dannemarc, 1755, 4to. and many others, who, as uftal with the run of writers, found it eafier to copy than to inveftigate. But as Cluverius is their guide, he may be confidered as the fole champion; for the learning of Keyfler and Mallet was fo minute as to amount to nothing: Pelloutier is learned, but is a great plagiary from Cluverius; and they all have not even argued the point, but taken it for granted. Far other was the practice of the moft learned and ingenious tranflator of Mallet into Englifh, who has altered his author fo far as infected with this grofs error, and has in an able preface fhewn that it is impoffible that the Germans could be Celts. But, tho he has demonftrated this fo fully that i might only refer to his work, yet he has not attended to the identity of the Scythians and Goths, nor laid open the real origin of the Germans. As i am glad of fuch able affiftance in this toilfome tafk, ithall give an abftract of his arguments, and add fome of my own.

He obferves that all the arguments of Cluverius and Pelloutier, (if they may be called arguments), fall under two heads, $Q$ uotations from the ancient Greek and Roman authors, and Etymologies of the

Chap. i. Sctithians or goths. 101 the names of perfons and places. The later he confiders firt; and well obferves that " arguments " derived from etymology are fo very uncertain and " precarious, that they can only amount to pre" fumptions at beft, and can never be oppofed tofo" lid pofitive proofs." At the end he gives fpecimens of Celtic etymology, from that infane work, the Memoires de la langue Celtique par M. Bullet. Befaņon, 1754, 3 vols, folio, from which it appears that a man muft be a lunatic who founds any thing upon a language fo loofe as to take any impreffion. Such are Northampton (North Hampton) from Nor, the mouth of a river, Tan a river, Ton habitation. Nortbill (North Hill) from Nor river, and Tyne habitation. Ringrvood from Ren a divifion, cw a river, and bed a foreft. Uxbridge (Oufe-bridge) from $u c$ wiver, and brig divifion. Ri/um teneatis? Let me add, that the Irifh, and Wetfh, and Armorican tongues, the only dialects of Celtic we have, (for the Highland Gaelic is but corrupted Irifh) are at this day, and from the earlieft MSS. remaining, one half Gothic: and a great part Latin, owing to the Romans living four centuries among the Welch, and the ufe of Latin in Ireland on the introduction of Chriftianity. The Gothic words are fo numerous, that Ihre calls the Celtic, fo reputed, a dialect of the Gothic; falfely, becaufe the grammar and ftructure, the foul of the language, are totally different : but thefe Gothic words proceeded from the Belga, Saxons, and Danes, being intermingled with the Wellh, and Irifh. For that thefe words did not pafs from Celtic into Gothic is clear, becaufe all the roots, branches, and relations of the words are found in the Gothic, but in Celtic only fingle detached words; as we wfe the French eclaircifement, but not eclairer, \&c. The few words peculiarly Celtic, and of which a Gloffary, by a perfon of complete fk ill in the Gothic, would be highly valuable, have fo many fignifications, that to found etymology on them is worle than madnefs.

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In the Irih one word has often ten, twenty, or thirty meanings; gal implies a franger, a native, milk, a warrior, zwite, a pledge, a conqueror, the belly of a trout, a wayer, \&c. This muft be the cafe in all favage tongues, which mult be poor and confured. But the Celtic, i will venture to fay, is of all favage languages the moft confured, as the Celts are of all favages the moft deficient in underftanding. Wifdom and ingenuity may be traced among the Samoieds, Laplanders, Negroes, \&c. but among the Celts, none of native growth. All etymology of names is folly; but Celtic etymology is theer frenzy. Enough of Celtic etymology ! let us leave it to candidates for bedlam, and go on.

As to the Qustations, i muft beg leave to differ from the learned Tranflator of Mallet, who puts a nlight value on them. Far from this, had the ancients been againft me, i would at once have acceded to their fentiments: for authorities are facts in history, and to argue againft them is to lofe labour, as we muft return to them at laft. But the learned Schoepflin has fo fully fhewn, in his Vindicie Celtice, that the ancients are pofitive againft the Germans being Celts, that he has left nothing to add. He fhews that Dio Caffivs, a writer of the moft furpicious character, as well known, and whofe accounts are often contradictory of Cæfar, Tacitus, Suetonius, and others the beft informed, is the only author who calls the Germans, Celts. And that againft Dio are Herodotus, Ariftotle, Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Dionyfius Halicarnaffzus, Strabo, Dionyfius Periegetes, Plutarch, Paufanias, Ptolemy, Athenæus, Stephanus Byzantinus; and all the Latin authors. Dio was indeed another Ephorus; for fuch writers will arife, and the ancients had ignorant and foolifh authors as well as we. Cæfar and Tacitus fo fully confute Dio in this, as in many other matters, that he is juftly regarded as an ignorant fabulift; and Lipfius has well obferved, that he muft beredd with extreme caution.
caution. Indeed Cerfar and Tacitus are fo direct againft the ideas of Cluverius and Pelloutier, that they are eternally oppofing their authority; whereas they are the very chief authors we can depend on: Cæfar having warred in Gaul and Germany; and Tacitus living, as Procurator Belgiag, upon the confines of Gaul and Germany.

The learned tranflator of Mallet next proceeds to pofitive proofs, that the Germans were not Celts, but differed from them widely in perfon, manners, laws, religion, and language.

In Perfon. From Tacitus in Agricola, cap. I1. who fays the inhabitants of Caledonia refembled the Germans in perfon, while the Britons next Gaul refembled the Gauls; that is, let me add, the fouth-weft Britons, who were Celts not Belgæ, refembled the oppofite Celtic Gauls.

In Manners. Among the Germans the hufband gave a dower to the wife. Tacit. Germ. c. 18. Among the Gauls, the wife to the hufband. Cæfar Bell. Gall. lib. VI. Add, that we learn from Ariftotle, Polit. Lib. II. c. 2. that the Celts were the only nation who defpifed women, as appears alfo from the Welfh and Irifh hiftories, and their prefent practice ; while the Germans, as Tacitus obferves, paid fuch refpect to the fex, as almoft to adore them.

In Laws. Among the Germans the meaneft peafant was independent and free. Tacit. Germ. pafim. Among the Celts, all fave the Druids and nobles (equites) were Raves. Czfar. Bell. Gall. \&ib. VI. Plebs pane fervorum babetur numero, \&c.

In Religion. Among the Germans no Druids, por tranfmigration of fouls.

In Language. This is the chief mark of diftinct rations; and the moft certain and unalterable. Cafar fays, that the Celts differed in language

[^55]from the Belga, who, he informs us, defcended from the Germans. Bell. Gall. lib. I. et II. And, lib. I. c. 47. he tells, that Arioviftus, a German prince, learned the Gallic by a long refidence in Gaul. Sueton. in Caligula, c. 47. fays, that emperor caufed Gauls to be taught German, to attend his mad triumph. See alfo Tacitus in Germania, $\mathrm{pa} / \mathrm{im}$; as where fpeaking of the Gothini, he fay's, Gothinos Gallica lingua coarguit non effe Germanos; ' their Gallic fpeech proves the Gothini not Germans.' The tranflator then fhews, that the German and Celtic tongues are as diftinct as the Englifh is from Wellh or Irifh; being radically different in conftruction, the effence of language. To the German, a dialect of the Gothic, belong the following: I. Teutonic, Tudeik, or old German. 1. Francic or Franco-Tudefk. 2. Swabian. 3. Swifs. 4. Saxon. 5. Englifh. 6. Dutch. $7 \cdot$ Frific. II. Scandinavian. 1. Danih. 2. Norwegian. 3. Icelandic. 4. Swedifh. 5. Broad Scotifh. To the Celtic belong, I. The old Celtic, quire loft. II. Old Britifh (or Cimbric). 1. Cornifh. 2. Armorican. 3. Wellh. IIl. Old Irifh. I. Manks. 2. Highland Erfe. 3. Irifh. The Lord's prayer is then given in all thefe tongues, which demonftrates at once that the whole German tongues are of the fame conftruction, and have many words in common; and the Celtic have the fame defcription, but totally differ from the German.

The tranflation of Mallet was publifhed in 1770 ; and in the fame year appeared at Paris a fecond and enlarged edition of Pelloutier's Hifoire des Celtes, in eight volumes 8vo. publifhed by M. de Chiniac. This edition i have perufed with great attention; and as very few ftudy fuch remote fubjects, and others may be milled by the falfe appearance of reading, and refearch, in that work, a hint or two fhall be given concerning it. It is a bad omen to fumble in the threfhold.

Chap. i. sctithians or goths. 105
Our author has not only ftumbled, but fallen headlong, for he thus begins his work. 'Les Celtes ont eté connus ancienncment fous le nom general de Scytbes. C'eft celui que les Grecs donnoient a tous les peuples qui babitoient le long du Danube, et ak dela de ce fleuve, jufques dans le fond du Nord.' Avtos s $4 \alpha$ ! He bas faid it! The very firft fentence is an utter falfehold and abfurdity; for all the ancients diftinguifh as widely as poifible between the Celts and Scytha, as the reader may long ere now have judged, placing the former in the weftern extremity of Europe, and bringing the later out of prefent Perfia. Now upon this radical error his whole work turns; and the confequence is, that it is a chaos of complete delufion from the firt page to the laft. M. Formey, whofe eloge of him is prefixt, tells us innocently, $p$. xxi, ' M. Pelloutier m'a dit qu'il avoit lu l'apres fouper, a peu pres comme on lit la Gazette, tous les auteurs dont on trouve la lifte a la tete de fon premier tome de l'Fiftoire des Ceites.' Every reader might have feen this: and it is to be fuppofed that he alfo wrote after fupper, for his work is certainly written between awake and arleep. Tho he has not redd above half what he ought ; and his conftant attention to his clerical duties prevented his reading, fave after fupper, when his mind was exhaufted to the dregs; yet he appears to have looked into the indexes of many books, and his filent fuppreffion of all the paiflages of the ancients concerning the Afratic origin of the Scythx cannot be excufed. His over-heated imagination faw the Celts every where; tho, if he could have underftood the firft page of Ceffar, he might have learned that in his time they held but one third part of Gaul. Weaknefs is excufable; but truth muft not be facrificed to falfehood: and his fuppreffion of all the evidence relating to the Scythæ is moft illaudablc. Indeed he always fupprefies what he cannot anfwer': a plan very eafy and otudier lHift. Tome V. p. 320,

## CHAPTERI.

The Germans were Scytba. FIRST GRAND
ARGUMENT : From Identity of Language.

THE opinions that the ancient Germans were Sarmatre, and that they were Celts, being Shewn to be erroneous, i proceed to eftablifh that they were Scythæ, who continued their progrefs from ancient Scythia, and their extended territories of Getia and Dacia into Germany, the bordering country. It muft here be premifed, that no author has fallen in my way who has entered into this. Cluverius, and his lateft followers, think the Germans Celts. The modeft and induftrious Boxhorn, and a few others, who put the Germans as Scythæ, have been fo ignorant as to take the 'Sarmatæ, Celts, and Huns, alfo for Scythæ. So that no folid fcience could ftand upon fuch vague premifes ${ }^{2}$. The Danifh and Norwegian, and Swedifh, antiquaries ufed to think that the Goths came ftrait from the Euxine to the Baltic; and that all the Gothic nations in Europe went from Scandinavia, as Jornandes bears, an author whom they formerly fought for as pro aris et focis. But

[^56] of late their whole ancient Eddas, Sagas, Chronicles, \&c. fhewing, on the contrary, that the Goths came to Scandinavia, not many centuries before Chrift, but mentioning no prior egreffion from it, their natural good fenfe has led them to pafs thefe ideas: but they have not treated on the German origins, while the German writers ftill generally follow Cluverius. Montefquieu, Gibbon, and other late eminent writers, difcufs not the fubject, but regard the Germans as aborigines.

The reader's whole attention is therefore requefted to the arguments for this grand point; which, as lucid order is ftudied in this little eflay as much as poffible, fhall now be arranged in numerical battalion, after a remark or two. By the Germans i mean, as the ancients did, the whole nations from the Danube on the South, up to the Northern ocean, or extremity of Scandinavia on the North; and from the Rhine, and German ocean on the Weft, to the river Chronus or Niemen on the Eaft. For tho the Viftula was generally put as the eaftern boundary of Germany, this was owing to the Venedi, and one or two other Sarmatic nations, being found between the Chronus and Viftula: but the whole Germani Tranfvifulani, or vaft divifion of Germans called Basternet, amounting, as Pliny ftates, to a fifth part of the Germans, were beyond the Viftula, in prefent Pruffia, Polachia, Mafovia, and Red Ruffia. So that the Chronus or Niemen was certainly the proper boundary between the Germans and Sarmata,' tho the fuperior courfe and fame of the Viftula made it the popular barrier. That the Scandinavians were Bafternæ, or Tranfviftular Germans, right reafon might inftruct us, had we not the pofitive authority of Strabo, with collateral proofs from Tacitus, Ptolemy, and others, as after explained. For this was the part of Germany which immediately led from the Euxine to Scandinavia; and the paflageto Sweden was not long;

Chap. ii. sctithans OR GOTHS. 109 and was divided by the iles of Gotland and Oeland. The reader muft alfo obferve, that tho my proofs that the Germans were Scythæ from Afia open a new field, yet heaven forbid that i fhould make a new hyporhefis in ancient hiftory! No. The trutb is always old. What fhall now be fhewn was originally well known, tho afterward loft. I do not difcover new opinions; but old facts, that were hid under the foil of error; when they are dug up, they will be found to evidence their antiquity by their fabric.

The learned and judicious Sheringham obferves, that there are three ways to judge of the origin of nations. I. From Relation of Speech. 2. From accounts preferved in Ancient Hiftory. 3 . From Similar Manners. But that the firft is the chief and moft certain of all arguments; Linguarume Cognatio cognationis gentium pracipuum, certiffimumque argunentum eft. This is indeed common fenfe, for if we found a people in Japan who fpoke French, they mult be of French origin ; and it : is one of thefe truths which cannot be contraverted. Language is a moft permanent matter; and not even total revolutions in nations can change it. A philofopher well told Auguftus, that it was not in his power to make one word a citizen of Rome. When a fpeech changes, it is in many centuries; and it only changes cloths, not body and fout. But not to infift on a point univerfally allowed, at can be proved that the language of the old Germans was Scythic, or (what has been infallibly above fhewn to be the fame) Gothic, by thefe following facts.

FIRST GRAND ARGUMENT. The old Gcrman and Scytbic one and the fame Speech. This may be proved as follows.

We have a venerable monument of the Scythic or Gothic language in the gofpels tranflated by Ulphilas, bifhop of the Goths, in Mxfia, in the year

## Ho DISSERTATIONONTHE PartII.

year $367{ }^{\text {b }}$. Thefe four gofpels, the remains of a tranlation of the Scriptures for the afe of his people, have been repeatedly publighed, fince the firft edition, by Junius, 1665 , 4to. down to that of Mr. Lye. Another fragment, containing part of the epifle to the Romans, has been lately difcovered in the library at Wolfenbuttle, and publifhed by Knitel, archdeacon of Wolfenbuttle. Other fragments of the Gothic language have alfo been found, of which fee Mr. Lye's notes to his edition of the Gothic gofpels. All thefe remains, as being Gothic, are Scythic, for it has been fully fhewn that Goths and Scytho were but fynonymous terms for one and the fame people.

The confonance of thefe Scythic remains with the old German is univerfally known. The Francic is a dialect of the Teutonic, Tudefque or Old German ; and the gofpels of Ulphilas bear fuch affinity to the Francic, of which fragments are preferved in the early French hiftorians and elfewhere, that De la Croze, and Michaelis, have pronounced thefe gofpels to be part of an old Francic verfion, tho Lye, Knitel, and others, have refuted that opinion from hiftory, and comparifon of the dialects. Schiltex, in his invaluable Thefaurus ${ }^{\text {c }}$, has given us many large monuments of the Tudefque, or Old German, from the feventh century downward, and it is clear that the Scythic of Ulphilas is the rame language. Wachter's learned Gloffary of the ancient German alfo certifies this point. And the fkilful Inre, after hefitating whether the gofpels of Ulphilas bear mof
${ }^{\text {b }}$ Socrates, IV. 33. Sozomen. VI. 37. Nicephor. XI. 48. Jornandes, c. 51. Ifidor. Chron. Goth. fub anmo zre Hifpan. 415. Roderic. Toletanus IT. I. Aays Gudilas epifcopus Gothorum literas eis tradidit, que in antiquis Hifpaniarum et Gatliarum tibnis adhuc hodie fuperfunt, et fpecialiter quare dicitur Toletana Scriptura.
© Schilteri The faurus Antiq. Teuton. Ohme, 1728, 3 vols. folio.

refem- dialect of the Gothic, gives it in favour of the former, adding that fome words, as might be expected, are neither found in the old German nor Scandinavian d. The Anglo-Saxon, as it is called, but which fhould be ftiled the Anglo-Belgic, is alfo known by all to be a venerable, and excellent dialect of the Tudefque: and it bears fuch intimate connections with the Scythic gorpels, that the noble work of Lye, the DiEiionarium Saaonico et Gothico Latinum, London, $\mathrm{I}^{772}$, 2 vols. folio, is built wholly upon their identity.

The Scandinavian, of which the oldef reliques are Iflandic, and begin with Arius Frodi, in the Eleventh century, is a dialect of the German. The remains we have in it are more modern by four centuries than thofe of the German, for nothing fhall be built on the Runic infcriptions;'and thofe Inlandic reliques are more polifhed, and the words more fhortened, (a grand mark of a polihhed tongue, as long words are of a rude and primitive one ${ }^{c}$ ) not only becaufe more modern than the German, but becaufe the Iflandic was refined by a long fucceffion of poets and hiftorians almoft worthy of Greece or Rome. Hence the Icelandic, being a more polifhed language than the German, has lefs affinity with the parent Gothic. The Swedifh is nearer related to the Icelandic than either the Danifh or Norwegian; the two later countries being under one monarch of German extract, and from the proximity of Denmark to Germany, many words have crept in. But that the Swedifh is the daughter of the Scythic of Ulphilas is amply known from lhre's work, the Gliffarium Suio-Golbicum. Nor is there occafion to infift upon

[^57]facts now fo univerfally certified as the identity of the Scythic or Gothic, preferved in Ulphilas and other ancient remains, with the German and Scandinavian tongues.

Even in the darker ages thefe facts were well known. Rodericus Toletanus fays, Teutonia, Dacia, Norvegia, Suecia, Flandria, et Anglia, unicam kabent linguam, licet idiomatibus dignofcantur: 'Germany, Denmark, Norway', Sweden, Flanders, and England, have all one fpeech, tho diftinguifhed by their idioms.' And Walafrid Strabo, who wrote under L.ouis the Pious Emperor of Germany about 820, obferves juftly, Gotbi, qui et Geta, eo tempere quo ad fidem Clrififi, licet non relio itinere, perdufit funt, in Giacorum provinciis commorantes, noftrum, id eft Theotifcum fermonem babuerunt r. 'the Goths, who were alfo called Getr, being in the provinces of the Greek empire (the Byzantine) at the time they were brought to the Chrittian faith, tho not by the right way, (they were all Arians as was Ulphilas their apoftle), had our language, that is the'Tudefque.' This fact Walafrid mult have feen from the traplation of Scripture by Ulphilas, mentioned by the ecclefiaftic hiftorians, and tamous from the firt over all chriitendom.

The modern German, a language fpoken in a far greater extent than any other of Europe, and now beginning to be much ftudied from the number of good books in it, refembles the Gothic gofpels, more than the prefent Danifh, Norwegian, or Swedifh; and has certainly more ancient famina. Its likenefs to the Afratic tongues; in harfnefs and inflexible thicknefs of found, is very apparent. In forin, ftructure, and in numerous words, it agrees with the Perfian, as all know ${ }^{8}$;
${ }^{f}$ De reb. Eccl. c. 7.
g Lipf. Cent. III. epift. 44. Scaliger. Burton de veteri lingua Perfica. Boxhorn. Praf. ad Orat. Dom. a Chamberlayne, \&cc. \&c. The learned Marihan juflly obferves, Scytbaf fuxt tamPerfa, quam Golbi, Germaniqus,
and Bufbequius fhews that the clowns of Crim Tartary, not Tartars, but remains of the old Scythæ, fpeak a language almoft German. Charlemagne was firft emperor of Germany. Before he conquered it, petty fates prevailed. Fragments of Tudefque or German of his age remain. The Francic and Saxon are dialects of it. The former is generally ftiled Franco-Tudefque : and the later fhould be called Saxo-Tudefque, being a different dialect from the Saxón of England, falfely fo called, for it was Belgic, and fpoken in England by three millions of people three hundred years before Cæfar. The Saxons and Angli never exceeded a hundred thoufand, and adopted the tongue of the inhabitants, which they called Saxon or Anglic, as their poffeffions lay, the former to the fouth, the later to the north. The Saxons conquered the Angli, and yet the later gave their name to the country ${ }^{\text {b }}$. Such was the effect of one book written by an Anglus, Beda's Hiforia Ecclefiaftica Gentis Anglorum. The Englifh is Belgic mixt with Roman, or, as now called, French. The Roman was never entirely fpoken in Britain as in Italy, Spain, Gaul. The Welfh tongue fufficiently hews this. Britain was a remote frontier; and the Romans who defended it keeped feparate from the people. In Spain and Gaul the inhabitants were wholly romanized; all were Romans. In Britain the Romans were folely the Roman legions. The inhabitants of Gaul, who all fpoke Roman, far outnumbering the Franci their conquerors, their tongue, tho fpoken of with contempt at firt, as the lingua Romana ruficia, prevailed over the Francic; and was called Roman, but now French. Such was alfo the very cafe in

[^58] overcame the rude Gothic, and is now the language. It muft alfo be remarked, that the ancient German has not the frnalleft fimilarity to the Celtic, or to the Sarmatic : and that the older it is the greater is the diftance ${ }^{i}$.

This argument, from identity of fpeech, is fo certain and conclufive, that, from it alone, we might invincibly infer that the Germans were a Scythic progeny: but to place fo important a point beyond a fhadow of doubt, even to the moft ignorant or prejudiced mind, let us proceed to other arguments.
${ }^{3}$ Mallet, London 1730 , vol. II. notes.

## CHAPTER III.

## The Germans were Scytbe. SECOND GRAND ARGUMENT: From the teflimonies of Ancient Autbors.

IN examining the origin of nations language is juftly efteemed an infallible criterion. But in all other ancient facts the authorities of ancient writers form the only evidence we can poflibly have. Without them we can know nothing of the fubject. Human affairs by no means proceed according to reafon, fpeculation, or philofophy; but depend on various contingencies, which can only be learned from ancient authors. It cannot therefore be too often repeated that authorities are facts in history. Lord Bacon introduced experimental philofophy againft theories of nature; and in hiftory theory is even more foolifh than in natural philofophy, feeing that nature has great laws, which hiftory has not. What we now call the philofophy of hiftory was introduced by Voltaire, and a few other ignorant theorifts, unacquainted with that great reading, upon which the experimental philofophy of hiftory muft ftand. For if we reafon upon falfehoods, our reafoning muft be falfe : and in ancient hiftory facts can only be found by the moft affiduous perufal of all the writers who fate thefe facts, or throw light on them. If we truft conjecture, or philofophical nonfenfe, there is no end; for a thoufand authors may give us a thoufand theories, and we muft return to the ancients at laft. The migrations of nations are alfo facts fo very ample, and ftriking, and leave fuch traces,
that
that even, the moft ignorant know them; as there is not a peafant in Europe who is to learn that the North Amcrican colonies went from Britain. When therefore ancient authors univerfally agree in fuch large facts, their teftimony is infallible, and prefents every evidence of hiftoric truth.

SECOND GRAND ARGUMENT. Tbe Germaus were Scytbe, from arcient autboritics.

The knowlege which the Greek and Roman authors, preceding Cæfar, had of Germany, was obfcure, and confined. About $45^{\circ}$ years before our æra, Herodotus, the earlieft writer who can afford us any intelligence on this fubject, thought that the Danube rofe near a town of the Celts called Pyrrhene, not far from the pillars of Hercules a that is, the Pyrenees in Spain. He alfo tells that the Eridanus, or Po, ran into the Northern ocean, in prefent Pruffia, where the amber always was, and is now alone found, an-idea which apparently arofe from this, that the amber was brought from Prufia overland to the mouth of the Po, there to be thipped for Greece. About 250 years before Chrift, Apollonius Rhodius affords equal marks of ignorançe in geography: For he makes the Argonauts, in their return, pafs from the Euxine up the Darube into the Cronian, or Baltic fea; thence into the Eridanus, or Po, which, with Herodotus, he fuppofed fell into the Baltic; a branch of which leads them into the Rhone; an arm of which later would have carried them weft to the great ocean, had not Juno-cried to them from the Hercynian rock, or Hercynian foreft in Germany ${ }^{\text {b }}$. This was the courfe of their voyage : and fuch was the ignorance of an exquifite and learned poet, who had Itudied and lived long at Alexandria, in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and had certainly the ufe of the largeft library of ançient times! Polybius, who wrote about 160

[^59]Chap. iii. SCYTHIANS OR GOTHS. in years before Chrift, fays in his third book, 'Al that country between the Tanais and Narbonne, to the north, is unknown to us, till by curious inveftigation we learn fomewhat concerning it. They therefore, who write or fpeak otherwife, are either ignorant, or fabulifts.' This reftriction includes all Germany, Scandinavia, Britain, and the moft of Gaul.

But this ignorance of the ancients related chiefly to the geography of thefe regions; for as to the great divifions of men who inhabited them, namely the Scythx and Celts, they were by no means ignorant. We knew that the Japanefe were a Chinefe colony, and that the Icelanders had paft from Norway, for centuries before we had any thing but fables, as to the geography of thele countries: and fuch was the cafe with the ancients. One navigation may difcover the name, language, and manners, of a diftant people : while to give an accurate geography of their country, whole centuries are required; efpecially in ancient ages, when voyages were only made by ignorant mariners and traders, for the mere fake of gain. The Phœenicians were fettled at Gades in Spain, and at Utica in Afric, about 1200 years before Chrift, or three hundred years before the building of Carthage, which laft was the foundation of a party who had fled to a well known fhore, and not an original trading colony. Gaul and Britain were certainly vifited by the Phœnicians, long before Germany and Scandinavia were at all known to the Greeks or Romans. But the Phœnicians, as Strabo tells us, carefully concealed all knowlege of thefe countries, left other nations might interfere in their trade. The ftory of the Phocnician fhip is well known, the mafter of which, obferving a Roman veffel following his tract in thefe feas, ran aground on purpofe, and thus wrecked his own fhip and the Roman that followed him. This act was deemed fo patriotic, that he was richly reI $3 \quad$ warded
warded by the fenate of Carthage. The part of Germany at the mouth of the Viftula, or prefent Pruffia, was certainly known to the Greeks before the time of Herodotus; and it was the country that fupplied all the amber in ancient times, as it does in the prefent. That Greek merchants travelled there, and had eftablifhed the mart for it, at the mouth of the Po, there is every reafon to believe. And if the natives brought it down to that mart, the merchants would equally learn their name, fituation, language, and manners. Herodotus mentions the Marus, or Moraw, of prefent Moravia, a river to the weft of the Viftula; and fays it rifes in the country of the Agathyrfi, whom Dionyfius and other geographers place on the north of Marus, up to the Baltic. The Eridanus of Herodotus may well be interpreted the Viftula; for there is no reafon why the Greeks fhould not have given the fame name to the two differentrivers, efpecially while their authors afford many examples of this kind. The defcription of Herodotus can alone apply to the Viftula, at whofe mouth only amber was and is found, and where the region of the Hy perboreans was, as he and other ancients ftate. And this commerce of amber feems to have opened the connection between the Hyperboreans and the Greeks, fo famous in antiquity. M. D' Anville has erred in placing the Hyperboreans in the north of European Ruffia, a region unknown to the ancients. Ptolemy, and Agathadæmon, who laid down his maps; making the Riphæan mountains run eaft and weft, at the fountain of the river Tanais: and it is only by ancient ideas that we muft eftimate ancient geography. The eaft of the Baltic was the Mare Cronium; the Great Northern, or Frozen, Ocean, was quite unknown to the ancients; and indeed how could they get at it, for of Scandinavia, as hewn in the laft chapter, they only knew as far as the Wener lake, and lake of Stockholm. But the Greeks know to a certainty,
3. That the Celts were in the weft of Europe, above Spain ; or in Gaul and Britain. 2. That in the North Weft of Europe, or in prefent Germany and Scandinavia, were the Scythr; and the CeltoScythe, or thofe Scythx in Gaul and Britain, who bordered on the Celts, as the Indo-Scythæ did on the Indi. 3. That the Sarmatæ were on the North of Greece, to the eaft of the Scythe of Germany. All which will clearly appear from the following authorities.

1. Herodotus places the Celts quite to the Weft, and the pillars of Herculés; whereas in his geography of Scythia, Book IV. ch. 99. et Seq. he evidently fuppofes that the Scythians fpred all over the North Weft of Europe, evento the Northern ocean, or Baltic. The Agathyrfi, and Geloni, he ranks among the Scythian nations, who united in the general league againft Darius, ch. 101. Now Dionyfius and Ptolemy place the Agathyrif and Geloni upon the Baltic fea. We learn from this that the ancient Greeks knew that the Scythe extended to the utmoft north-welt extremity of Europe, or up to Scandinavia.
2. Xenophon, who wrote about 380 years before Chrift, fays, in his Memorabilia Socratis, lib. II. §. Io. Ev $\delta=\pi \eta$ Evowith $\sum_{x u f x t ~} \mu v \nu$ acxoust; ' In Europe the Scythians bear fway :' fhewing that as the Perfians were the ruling people in Alia, fo were the Scythæ in Europe. Had the Scythians of Europe been regarded by Xenophon as confined to Ancient Scythia, he could not have given them this defcription; but he palpably undertood that they extended into the heart and furtheft parts of Europe, and bore univerfal fway in it.
3. Ariftotle, in Metcor. I. 13. fays, the Ifter, or Danube flowed from the Pyrenees, mountains of Celtica: and De Gen. An. II. 8. he fpeaks of the cold of Scythia, and adds that the country of the Celts, above Spain, (Kèrous rous ívisp $\tau \eta s$ IEnpores) is alfo cold. He, as well as Herodotus, knew that
the Celts were confined to Celtic Gaul, and to Britain, for he calls the tin which was brought from Britain, Celtic tin: tov wouroutspov tov Kentinoy
 Celtic tin melts much fooner than lead :' De Mir. Aufc.
4. In the next century, or about 250 years before Chrift, Pytheas, Xenophon Lampfacenus, and Timæus, authors quoted by Pliny, Nat. Hift. IV. 13. all fay that the ile Baltia, or Gleffaria, a peninfula of the Pruffian coaft, in which amber is found, ' lay oppofite to Scythia, diftant a day or two's fail.' Pliny quotes them feparately, and they vary in fome points, but all agree in this; which fhews to a certainty that the Greeks knew the Scythians to extend to Scandinavia, and over all the north of Germany, as before mentioned : while the Celts were confined to Celtic Gaul and Britain. My plan confines me, elfe i could convince every reader, that the Greeks, five centuries before Chrift, had far more accurate ideas of the Scythic and Celtic nations than Pelloutier, a writer of yefterday. But it is the property of an over heated imagination to raife fumes, and darken every fubject, while the limen ficcum, or dry light of judgement, penetrates and illuftrates all. Fancy blends: judgment difcriminates. Fancy finds fimilitudes; judgment diffimilitudes.

In the century following Polybius is the moft eminent writer, but his fubject extended to Gaul, not to Germany. Scymnus of Chios, an elegant geographer in verfe; who wrote, as Dodwell hhews, 127 years before Chrift, and addreffes his work to Nicomedes, king of Perganius; tho he quotes many authors, only fhews that the Greeks had made no greater progrefs in geography.
5. At length full day ariles upon the weft, and a diftant iplendor upon the North of Europe. Cæfar, who entered upon his province of Gaul 57 years before the Chriftian rera, from perfonal knowlege, enlarged by the cool penerration and
luminous comprehenfion of his great foul, was to be the fountain of this irradiation. From his admirable Commentaries on the Gallic War it is evident that the Celts, far from being, as Pelloutier idiotically fuppofes, fpred over all Europe, were in fact confined to one third of Gaul, as every fchool-boy knows who has redd the firft line of his work ${ }^{c}$. For the North eaft third was poffeffed by the Belgæ; who, as こæfar informs us, from the beft information, that of a neighbouring nation, were of Germanic origin; and their language, manners, and laws, were different from thofe of the Celts, as Cafar fhews, being palpably German. The Aquitani held the fouth-weft part of Gaul; and were alfo of different language, manners, and laws, from the other two; being Iberi who had paffed from Spain, to which they had come from Africa ${ }^{\text {cc. }}$. Strabo IV. p. 266. fays of the Aquitani, 'they refemble the Iberi more than the Galli (or Celts) of whom they have neither the form nor idiom.' Nay in their laft refuges, Britain and Ireland, the Celts were a vanquifhed and confined people. For the Belgæ, as Cæfar fhews, had all the fouth-eaft of prefent England; and the Piks, a Germano-Scandinavian people, as Tacitus and Beda prove, had all the

[^60]north of Scotland down to the friths of Clyde and Forth. In Ireland, it is clear from Ptolemy, that the Beigre held all the fouth-eaft parts, and that they had not proceeded from Britain, but from Belgic Gaul and Germany ; for of the Menapii and Cbauci, or Causi, we find no trace in Britain 'd, but have them in Ireland, and in Germany, and Belgic Gaul. But of this in the Enquiry into Scotilh hiftory, where it fhall be fhewn that the Belga were the ruling people in Ireland; and that the lrifh, or old Scotifh Royal ftem is really Belgic, or Gothic. Thefe Belga are the Fir Bolg of the Irifh Annals, with whom their real hiftory begins ; and fuch was their fuperiority that to this day Bolg in Irih implies a noble-man, and alfo a man of fience.

Even in the regions retained by the Celts, which were minute, they were mingled with German Goths; and their fpeech with German or Gothic words. The old Irifh grammarians, as Mr. O'Conor $^{c}$ tells, call their Gallic, or lrifh tongue, Berla Tebide, or a mixt language. The Welh, as all know, is, even in it's moft ancient remains, full of Danih and Englifh words. The Gallic, Celtic, or Irifh, of the Highlands of Scotland, is of all the Celtic dialects the moft corrupt, and mixt with Gothic; owing to the nerghbourhood of the Piks; and to the Norwegians holding the Hebudes and weftern coaft of Scotland, from the time of Harald Harfagre, or about 880, till i 266 , when regained by the Scots; but the Norwegians remained as principal tenants, and the chief familics in thefe parts are all Norwegian. So that in fact

[^61]Chap.iii. sctithians or goths. mb the Celtic, far from being a pure fpeech, is the moft mixt and corrupt in the world. For the Celts were fo inferior a people, being to the Scythæ as a negro to an European, that, as all hiftory fhews, to fee them, was to conquer them; and as they had no arts, nor inventions, of their own, they of courfe received innumerable words from other tongues. But the nomenclature of $a^{\prime}$ language is only it's drefs, while it's grammar forms the foul and body ; and the Celtic grammar is totally remote from that of all Gothic languages. So much fo that, by a mode, perhaps unknown to any other fpeech, they decline nouns beginning with labials, by altering the initials, as the Goths, Greeks, and Romans, altered the termination. Thus Mac is a fon; Mbic, (pronounce Wic) of a fon, \&c. Nay the pronotins alter the beginning of nouns, thus Pen, a bead; i, Ben, bis bead; i Pben, ber bead; y'm Mben, my bead. A ftrange and horrible abfurdity!'as it cancels every rule of language; and muft thew a confufed, and dark underftanding in the people who ufe it, nay even to fpeak it mult ex poff facto throw a mift over the mind. Yet is it much to be wifhed that profefforflips of the Celtic tongue were eftablifhed in our univerfities, that fuch remains as are of that fpeech might be explained and placedin a juft light. We naturally reverence what we do not knowf; and this may be called the Celtic century, for all Europe has been inundated with nonfenfe about the Celts. When we come to the truth about them, and Time always draws truth out of the well, the Celtic milt will vanilh, or become a mere cloud.

To return. Cæfar, by fhewing the Cclts to be confined to fuch fimall bounds, palpably marks that other nations had gained ground on them, fo as to confine them to fuch a contracted fpace. And in his fine defcription of the Germans in book VI. and in other paflages, he fhews them to
have totally differed from the Celts. What peo-' ple then were they? That they were not Sarmata, all know: and the only other people, whom the ancients know in the north-weft of Europe, were the Scythæ, as juft fhewn. It follows then that they were Scythx. The Greek authors had certainly acquired fome knowlege of Germany two centuries at leaft before Cafar, for he fays, book VI. Germania loca circum Hercyniam filvam, quam Eratofteni, et quibufdams Gracis, fama notanz efle video, quam illi Orcinian appellant, Volce Tecsofages occuparunt. And we fhall fee inftantly that Diodorus Siculus, one of the beft informed, and moft judicious of the Greek hiftorians, and who wrote after Cæfar's difcoveries, repeatedly calls all Germany, even to the furtheft weft and north, Scythia. It may be afked, why does not Cæfar call the country Scythia? Why this new appellation of Germany? Be it anfwered, that another country was peculiarly called Scythia, namely, Little or Ancient Scythia on the Euxine. And that tho the Greeks called all that trait, to which the Scythians extended, Scythia, yet thofe Scythian nations bore different names, as Thraces, Illyrians, \&c. Of courfe Cæfar, finding the Germans fo called by their countrymen of Belgic Gaul, gives them, moft properly, their 'pecific, and not generic name. Nor does Cæfar write as a geographer, but as a warrior: he fays not a word of their origin, \&c. but only defcribes their manners. Tacitus, in Germ. fpecially informs, that the name of Germans was a late one $z$.
6. Diodorus Siculus was cotemporary with Julius Cæfar, and profited by his difcoveries. He
g It is worth remark, that there was a Perfien people called 「ipuavo, Germans. Herod. I. 125. There was alfo a Greek one called Teutani, in Peloponnefus, Pliny III. 8. Steph. Byz. The fame Scythic feech produced the fame appellationa. people "who inhabit the inner parts above Marfeilles, and at the Alps, and on this fide the Pyrenees, are called Celts. But those who inhabit beyond the Celtic region, and the parts toward the south, and fituated on the ocean; and those toward the I Iercynian mountains, and all onward,
 tras) are called Gauls." Weffeling obferves, that this is falfe, becaufe the Romans called the Celts alfo Gauls. But Diodorus no doubt knowing that the Celts were not thofe Gauls celebrated in Raman hiftory, but quite a diftinct people, poffeffing the inner or further part of Gaul, he, with propriety, puts them as different nations. By the Celts Diodorus underftands thofe of Cæfar, extending from the north-weft extremity of the Alps above Marfeilles, into the inner parts of Gaul. Thofe beyond the Celts, to the fouth on the ocean, are the Aquitani. Thofe toward the Hercynian mountains, and onward to Scythia, are the Belgæ. His Scythia is palpably Germany : as it is in the following paflages. "They (the Gauls) are very fierce on the north, and bordering
 they are faid to devour men, as thofe Britons alfo do who inhabit Ireland." lib. V. p. 355 Again, fpeaking of amber he fays, it comes chiefly from an iland of Scythia, above Gaul, rus $\sum x \nu-$
 or Gleffaria, as the above quotations from Pliny fhew.
7. In the time of Tiberius, about 20 years after Chrift, lived Strabo. His valuable work is full of the Scythx; and he tells us, lib. XI. p. 507. ed. Cafaubon. Atrovilas $\mu$ sv $\delta_{\eta}$ rois wposbappois norwws
 7 7os $x$ Hacs, sरarouy. 'All the nations toward the northern parts, the ancient writers call Scythians, and Celto-

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Celto-Scythians.' ${ }^{\text {h }}$ Now tho in fpeaking of Afia, XI. 492, he fays, after Ephorus, that fome Sarmatæ there were Scythæ, yet in defcribing Europe he diftinguifhes between the Scythic and Sarmatic nations. Thus he fays, " above the Getæ, are the Tyrageta, and above thefe the Jazyges Sarmatr ;" and he tells us, lib. VII. that Homer, by his Hippomolgi and Galactophagi, Il. XIII. means the Scythæ and Sarmatr. So that by the Scythians he means not the Sarmatæ. In book I. he fays, the earth is divided into four parts, to the furtheft eaft the Indians dwell; to the furtheft fouth the Ethiops ; to the furtheft weft the Celts; to the furtheft north the Scythians. And Strabo knew that the Scythæ of Germany were the Getæ, for book VII. p. 294. he fays 'The Suevi hold the fouth fide of Germany which is beyond the Elbe. After them lyes the region of the Geta, narrow on the fouth toward the Ifter, and toward the Hercynian foreft, part of whofe mountains it comprehends, but extended largely to the north, even to the Tyragetæ.' By the Getæ Strabo palpably means all the Germans eaft of the Elbe, namely the Vandali, and Hermiones, and Bafterna, of Pliny, being three of his five grand divifions of the Germans : the Bafternæ actually ftretching eaft to the river Tyras, on which the Tyrageta dwelled. Strabo alfo, as thall be after fhewn, places Bafternæ in Scandinavia. Hence it is clear, that Strabo looked on thefe three grand divifions of the Germans as Geta, Scythians, or Goths; and of courfe would have regarded the others as fuch, had he learned, as we do from Tacitus, that the whole Germans to the furtheft extremity were all of one origin, language, and manners.
8. Niela wrote about the year 45. He diftinguifhes the Scychians and Sarmatæ, and gives a

[^62]feparate

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feparate chapter on each. In b. III. chap. 5 , he tells us that the northern Scythæ were called Belca, a name no where elfe to be found; and ch. 6. he tells us, Tbule Belcarum littori oppofita eff, - Thule is oppofite to the fhore of the Belcex.' So that in his opinion the Scythians held Scandinavia, oppofite to which Thule is placed by all the ancients.
9. Pliny, the natural hiftorian, wrote in Vefpafian's time, about 70 years after Chrift. In his fourth book, ch. 12, he tells us, that the Scythian nations, including the Sarmatæ, ftretched all along the north, and north-weft of the Danube; and then adds the following memorable and decifive fentence. Before reading it, let us recollect that Pliny prefixes to his immortal work the contents of each book; and a lift of the authors ufed in that book, from which it appears that his reading was, as his nephew informs us, infinite. No writer in all antiquity ever had fuch exuberance of information; and the queftion could not be fubmitted to a more able arbiter. Hear his verdict. Scytharum nomen useuequage transit in sarmatas, ateue germanos. nec alils prisca illa duravit appellatio, euam bui, extremi gentium. harum, ignoti prope ceteris mortalibus degunt. The name of Scythians is every where cbanged to that of Sarmate, and Germans. Nor has tbat ancient appellation continued, favc to the moft diftant of thefe two nations, who live almoft unknown to other mortals. The Sarmate, as above explained, were, by fome lefs informed ancients, regarded as a nation of the Scythæ; for before Ptolemy's time, who wrote near a century after Pliny, little intelligence had been got about the Sarmatr, a people who occupied a country as large as all the Scythian poffeffions put together. Their language was totally different, as the Slavonic is from the Gothic or Scythic of Ulphilas. But
fome Greek writers knowing that the Scythæ extended all over the north-weft of Europe, had confidered the Sarmatæ alfo as a Scythic nation. The name of Scythians, given to the Sarmatæ, was but a vulgar inaccuracy, as we term the Americans Weft-Indians. Diftant objects become indiftinet, and their appellations of courfe inaccurate. Yet, tho wrong in denominating the Sarmatæ Scythians, the ancients knew they were perfectly right in giving that name to the Germans, after they had difcovered that the Sarmate were quite a different race from the Scythians; feeing that the German language and manners proved them the fame people with the ancient Scythians on the Euxine. This is clear even from Strabo, who calls the Germans Getx, as juft fhewn; and from all the Greek writers after Ptolemy, who name the Germans Scythæ. For the whole German nations were called Scythians or Goths in the fourth century; as the vaft German divifion of the Vindili (or Vandali, as fome MSS.) of Pliny, the Suevi, Angli, Langobardi, of Tacitus, \&c. \&c. \&c. are uniformly called Scythians or Goths after that time. For that the Greeks denominated all thefe nations Scythians, whom the Latins called Goths, has been amply demonftrated in the beginning of this effay. The reader is requefted to attend to this important circumftance, for if he falls into the vulgar delufion of the Goths being a paltry tribe of Germany, or of Scandinavia, he will err prodigioully. The Latin name Goths, and Greek term Scytbians, belong to the whole barbaric nations from the Cafpian to the Adriatic, eaft and fouth, to the Britifh channel weft, and Scandinavia, and river Chronus or Niemen, north and north eaft. The Sarmatæ are by all writers after Ptolemy placed on the north-eaft of the Scythar, in prefent Poland and Ruffia; and marked as a feparate and peculiar, great people. It was from

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from the valt plains of Getia, Gothia, or Ancient Scythia, and of Germany, that the ruder Goths fpred over Europe, on the fall of the Roman empire; and not from the bleak and defert mountains of Scandinavia, or from one little diftrict in Germany, as childifhly dreamed.

To produce all the other ancient authorities, that the Germans were Scythæ, would fwell this tract to a folio volume; and what are given will, it is believed, fully fuffice. Tacitus thinks the Germans indigenes, for a reafon which has defervedly excited laughter, namely, that all the ancient migrations were by fea, not by land! As if the inhabitants of fuch a region as Germany could be tranfported by fea, like the little colonies of antiquity! He adds, that no nation would proceed from better climates to people fuch a country.; forgetting, as M. Brotier juftly remarks, that neceffity and fecurity are the parents of barbaric population. The Norwegians have peopled Iceland, and planted Greenland. But the miracles of Vefpafian, the tale of the phonix, and fuch remarks as thefe, only fhew that man is compofed of inconfiftency, and that the ftrongeft on fome occafions, are the weakeft on others : as the only fublime hiftorian who ever wrote could fometimes fink moft profoundly from his elevation. It can even be fhewn from Tacitus, that the Germans were Scythæ, for we have remains of the language of feveral nations he mentions in Germany, and thefe remains are Scythic or Gothic, as is the whole German language at this day. He himfelf, tho he diftinguifhes the German fpeech and manners from thofe of the Celts and Sarmatæ, in the moft direct terms, yet no where diftinguifhes them from thofe of the Daci, as he, with the Romans, calls thefe Getæ who bordered on Germany. It may be faid, the Getæ might be a German emigration, as well K as the contrary; but againft this are all the ancients, as every page of this work witneffes, for they all ftate the Scythians to have proceeded from the eaft to the weft; and the whole tenor of that progrefs is marked and diftinct, from Perfia to Britain.

CHAPTER

## CHAPTER IV.

## The Germans were Scytba: THIRD GRAND ARGUMENT: From Similar Manners.

IT muft be remarked, before proceeding to the third and laft clafs of arguments, namely, thofe arifing from fimilarity of manners, that it is, of all others, the moft uncertain. For fimilar ftages of fociety will produce like manners among all mankind. A fpecies of men, capable of the utmoft progrefs that fociety affords, will, in it's original ftate, be on a level with another fpecies, incapable of any progrefs at all. Did we fuppofe parallel cuftoms proofs of identic nations, the favages of North America are the fame with the ancient Germans defcribed by Tacitus. But as, on the other hand, diffimilar manners might argue againt the famenefs of nations, proofs fhall here be produced of perfect fimilarity in thofe of the fouthern Scythians, and thofe to the furtheft north of Germany and Scandinavia, after thus warning the reader not to rely too much on this point; which, were it fully proved, would prove nothing to a cool enquirer. But full and irrefragable arguments that the Germans were Scythæ or Goths, having already been fubmitted, this article may be confidered as only a diverfion after the tafk is done. Yet, as this is no work of amufement, let us pafs this relaxed part with a few hafty hints.

## THIRD GRAND ARGUMENT. The Germans were Scytha from fimilar Manners.

Herodotus, in his fourth book, ch. 59 to 82, gives us a long account of the manners of the Scythe ; and a peculiar happinefs feems to have attended this favoured nation, for Tacitus has defcribed thofe of their defcendants the Germans; fo that the cleareft fplendor is thrown on the fub-, ject. To run a parallel would fwell this efflay to a vaft fize, and they are fo like that they need only. be referred to. Wormius, Bartholin, and other northern antiquaries, have remarked, that the defcription given of the Scythæ by Herodotus, applies perfectly to the Goths of their country, even down to a late age. The chief difference arifes merely from a local circumftance. It is that the ancient Scythæ on the Euxine, defcribed by Herodotus, had found their fine breed of Perfian horfes thrive equally well in their fertile poffefions, on the temperate fhores of the Euxine; while, in Germany and Scandinavia, the cold was then too fevere for that fouthern race, and the indigenal breed was, as Tacitus ftates, very fmall. Hence the Ancient Scythæ were chiefly cavalry; while the Germans and Scandinavians had little or no cayalry. This difference was a neceffary effect of climate; and infers no diftinction in the people, any more than the different life led by the Britifh in the Eaft Indies, from what they ufe here, deftroys the identity of the people. In Iceland the Notwegians differed prodigioully in manners from thofe in Normandy; Calabria, or Sicily. But to inftance a few particulars of fimilar Manners in the Scythe and Germans.

1. Domeftic
2. Domefic Life. Both Scythæ and Germans lived by hunting, pafturage, and rapine ${ }^{2}$. Both had a few agricultural nations: but the tilled ground, as the paftoral, belonged to the community, or tribe ; and they quitted it at the year's end to move to another. Herodotus obferves that thefe Scythæ, who were agricultors, did not ufe the corn for bread, but parched it over the fire ; that is, as Pelloutier well explains, in order to ufe it in broth, and for ale : fo Tacitus of the Germans. They drank out of horns ${ }^{b}$, fo the Germans; or out of the fculls of enemies ${ }^{\text {e }}$, fo the Germans. Ale and meed were the drink of the Thracian Scythians d, and thofe of Scandinavia. Both drank thealths ; and drank before entering on bufrinefs ${ }^{\circ}$. Both nations burned their illuftrious elead, and buried their afhes in urns, under hillocs or tumuli i. Both went almoft naked, ufing only a fkin of fome wild beaft to cover them in winter. The chiefs and rich of both nations ufed a clofe tunic, and breerhes.:The Thracian Scythians pricked and ftained their bodies ${ }^{n}$; fo did nations in Germany ${ }^{i}$, nay, the Belga of Britain ${ }^{k}$, and the Piks of Norway and Scotland ${ }^{1}$.
a See Herodotus, lib. iv. and Tacitus in Germania, paffim.
b Xenophón, Exp. Cyri, lib. vi. et vii. Cxfar de Bell. Gall. vi. Fragm. Diodori Siculi in Excerpt. Valefii, p. 258. Tacit. Germ. Antiquarii Septent. Wormius, Battholin, \&\&c. Theopompus obferved that the kings of the Pxonians had of thofe horns which held three or four quarts. Athen, xi. p. 355. Pliny xi. 37. Athenæus, lib. iv. fays, that xpacos, pour nut $d_{y}$ ink, which properly fignifies born the liquor, came from the ancient Greeks their drinking in horns.
c This gratified both luxury and revenge. See a late example in Paul. Warnef.
${ }^{d}$ Medos. See Prifcus in Excerpt. p. 55 . .
e Xenophon, Exp. Cyri vi. \& vii. So the Perはans, Herodot. lib. i.
${ }^{f}$ Herodot. Tacit. \&e.
g Herodot. vii. 64. Tacit. in Germ. 8ce. The Tunic was the caracalla, which Dio fays was clofe as a corfelet.
${ }^{\text {h }}$ Herodot. v. Strabo, \&c. i The Arii, Tacit.

* Cefar de Bell. Gall.
${ }^{1}$ Herodian. Claudian. \&e

$$
\mathrm{K}_{3} \quad \text { 2. Reli- }
$$

2. Religion. Herodotus fays, v. 7. " All the kings and people of Thrace worlhip Mercury chiefly. They fwear by his name, and believe themfelves his progeny." The Greek and Roman writers applied the names of their own deities to thofe of barbaric nations, as the fmalleft attribute of the idol led them. If a rude image held a fcepter, it was Jupiter: if a purfe, Mercury; if a fword, Mars. Hence great confufion; for what denoted one attribute with the Greeks and Romans might, with the barbaric nations, mark quite another, as nothing admits of various interpretation more than fymbol. Tacitus fays of the Germans, credunt Tuiftonem deum terra editum et filium Mannum, originem gentis, conditorefque. Herodotus gives the god a Greek name, becaufe, in fome fymbol, he refembled Mercury. The Gothic hiftorians draw all their kings from Odin. Paulus Warnefridus Hift. Langob. fays Wodan, quem adjecta litera Gwodan dixerunt, ipfe eft qui apud Romanos Mercurius dicitur, et ab univerffs Germanice populis ut deus adoratur. But the Gothic mythology being only traditional, and no temples nor ftatues being found among them, till a late per riod, Odin became the god of war, and a fabulous hero, who, as the Sagas agree, led the Goths from Scythia on the Danafter, or Tyras, into Scandinavia. This fable fhews the univerfal tradition of their origin; but Odin was merely the name of a deity, or rather an epithet, and they who feak gravely of him as an hero are deceived. It was Odin, Mars, literally war, that opened their progrefs into the wilds of Scandinavia. The Gothic mythology has been weakly handled, but might, by a complete parallel, be thewn to be the ancient Grecian. The Greel, gods were the progeny of Cælus and Terra. Mapnus, or Man, was defcended of the gods, for in the hymns aferibed to Orpheus, the Greeks are called their progeny: and fo the Greek poet
quoted by Saint Paul, fays men are the offspring of Jove. The ancient Germans had alfo a Mars, and a Hercules, as Tacitus fays. The former, it is likely, was Odin, and Warnefrid may be miftaken : the later was Thor, famous in the Edda and Volufpa for his ftrength. But he was the Jupiter, or chief god, of northern mythology. In fact, even the Greek mythology is a mafs of confufion, as all traditional matters muft be, and the feveral mythologifts differ radically in the moft effential points : no wonder then that the Gothic is embarraffed. The fables of Tirefias, of Proteus, and other fmall Greek tales, may be traced in Gothic traditions ${ }^{\mathrm{m}}$. The Goths confulted the heart of victims; had oracles; had fibyls; had a Venus in Freya; a Neptune in Nocken; Parcx in the Valkyriar ${ }^{n}$. The Scythians worhipped Mars, whofe fymbol, for they had no images, was a pile of fwords. Herodotus IV. 59. fays, they believed the Earth wife of Jupiter. Tacitus tells that the Suevi worlhipped Hertha, or the Earth.
3. Government. Herodotus was unhappily no politician, and is quite mute concerning the government of the Scythæ. Nor do i find in all antiquity, any defcription of the Scythic conftitu-

[^63] tions, fo that the full light we receive from Tacitus concerning thofe of the Germans cannot be formally paralleled with thofe of their Scythic ancef? tors. The Greeks have been fhewn to be Scythæ ; let us therefore derive a few rays from them. Family government is always ariftocratic, of father and mother, as Locke fhews. But as a family differs widely from a community, and as the later is compofed of many of the former, the ariftocracy of family became inftantly democracy, by the fathers of families directing public affairs byjoint counfels. Thus it is demonftrable that demacracy is the moft ancient form of government, for the very idea of a king is unknown to early fociety. In war one leader was of neceffity chofen; and he, in many inftances, confirmed his power fo as to become a king. Had there been no wars, there would have been no kings : and the mythology of all kings being defcended of the god of war is plain truth. But it has not yet been remarked, that, in early fociety, even monarchy is democratical. The king is but one of the people. In the Greek heroic ages there were kings, becaufe there had been wars, yet the people was free even to licence. Dr. Gillies has, in the fecond chapter of his hiftory of Greece, made a formal parallel between the Greek government of thofe times, and that of the Germans, tho he furpected not the real caufe of that identity, namely, that they were all one people. He well obferves that in freedom of debate in the public affemblies, and the privileges of liberty being preferved to the meaneft fubject, and other points, there is a perfect refemblance. The only difference he marks is, that beauty of the Greek character, prieft and king being united in one perfon. Yet the earlieft Greeks had feparate priefts, and augurs, as the Germans; fo that this can hardly be called a difference. And among the Scandinavians in Iceland, the prieft was alfo the magiftrate, and offered facrifice in
the midft of the judicial circle of ftones before he fat to judge.

The. Feudal Syftem has been treated of by many writers, but fo uncommon a quality is penetration, that all of them to this day have confounded two grand divifions in it's hiftory, which are totally diffimilar. Thefe divifions are, i. The Feudal Syftem. 2. The Corrupted Feudal Syftem. The former extends from the earlieft account of time, thro the early hiftory of Greece and Rome, till the progrefs of fociety changed the manners of thefe nations: and thro the early hiftory of the Goths and Germans who overturned the Roman empire, down to the eleventh century. At this period commences the Corrupted Feudal Syftem, and lafts till the fifteenth century, when the Feudal Syftem began after it's corruption to diffolve quite away. The Corruption of the Feudal Syftem took place foon after the petty kingdoms of the former ages were united into great monarchies, as the heptarchies in England became fubject to our monarch; and fo in other countries. This corruption is no more the feudal fyltem than any other corruption is the fubftance preceding corruption, that is quite the reverfe: and yet, fuch is modern fuperficiality, that it has been termed The Feudal Syftem, $x a \tau \varepsilon \xi \circ x \eta \nu$; and all writers eftimate the Feudal Syftem by it's corruption only, juft as if we fhould judge of a republic by it's condition when changed into an ariftocracy! About the Eleventh century, by the change of fmall kingdoms into one great monarchy, and by a concatenation of other caufes, which it would require a volume to detail, the Feudal Syftem corrupted, (and corruptio optimi pel (ima) into a ftate of ariftocratic tyranny, and oppreffion. Before that period no fuch matter can be found. The greatelt caufe was, that nobility and eftates annexed were not hereditary till that time, fo that the great were kept in perpetual
awe; and that check was removed, before the ciries had attained fuch privileges and powers, as to balance the nobility. In Ancient Greece and Italy, confined fpots, cities were from the firt the grand receptacles of fociety. To the want of cities the fubjection of the people to their lords, and all the Corrupt Feudal Syftem is owing. To cities the ruin of that Corrupted Feudal Syftem (generally called the Feudal Syftem), is folely to be afcribed. Of the Corrupted Feudal Syftem nothing fhall be added here; as it commenced at a late period, and is foreign to my work ; fave one or two remarks on Chivalry, an inflitution quite mifundertood. It was fo heterogeneous to the Feudal Syftem, that, had the later lafted pure, chivalry would never have appeared. But as it is often fo decreed that, out of the corruption of a conftitution, a remedy for that corruption fprings, fuch was the cafe with chivalry, an inftitution which does honour to human nature. The knighthood was not hereditary, but an honour of perfonal worth. It's poffeffors were bound to help the oppreffed, and curb the tyrannic (pirit of the hereditary great, thofe giants of power, and of romance. Had the ridicule of Cervantes appeared three centuries fooner, we muft have branded him as the greateft enemy of fociety that ever wrote. As it is, a fenfible French writer ${ }^{\circ}$ well obferves, that it now begins to be queftioned whether his book be not worthy of execration. All profeffions have their foibles; but ridicule ought never to be exerted againft the benefit of- fociery. Cervantes envied the fuccefs of the romances; but ought not to have derided an inftitution fo beneficial, becaufe even fables concerning it had the fortune to delight his cotemporaries. But to give a remark

[^64]or two on the genuine Feudal Syftem which was purely democratic, as the corrupted was ariftocratic.
M. D'Hancarville ${ }^{9}$ rather fancifully dates the feudal fyftem from the firft Scythic empire, for Juttin fays, His igitur Afa per mille quingentos annos vectigalis fuit; ' Afia was tributary to them for one thoufand five hundred years :' and efpecially Afram perdomitam veeligalem fecere modico tributo, magis in titulum imperii quam in victoria premium. This laft paffage is a definition of homage: and the feudal fyftem was that of the Perfians, who were, and are, Scythx or Goths, as ancient authors, and their own fpeech, teltify. Xenophon ${ }^{9}$ tells us that, when the younger Cyrus came to Çilicia, he was met by Epyaxa, the beautiful wife of the fatrap, who, according to the cuftom of the eaft, prefented her acknowleged liegelord and fuperior with gold, filver, and other precious gifts. Indeed the feudal fyttem, about which fo much noife is made, is the natural fruit of conqueft, and is as old in the world as conqueft. A territory is acquired, and the ftate, or the general, beftows it on the leaders, and foldiers, on condition of military fervice, and of tokens acknowleging gratitude to the donors. It was known in the Greek heroic ages. It was known to Lycurgus, for all the lands of Sparta were held on military tenure. It was known to Romulus, when he regulated Rome. It was known to Auguftus, when he gave lands to his veterans, on condition that their fons fhould, at fifteen years of age, do military fervice. The reafon it did not preponderate and corrupt in Greece and Rome was, that it was ftifled by the neceffary effects of cities, as abovementioned. In Perfia, where there were no cities

[^65]of any power or privilege, it preponderated and corrupted at an early period.

The feudal fyftem, whether in its original democracy, or corrupted into ariftocracy, muft limit the power of kings; for men who hold their poffeffions on military fervice, muft, of courfe, have arms in their hands : and even in abfolute governments the foldiers are free, witnefs the pratorian bands and armies of imperial Rome, and the Turkifh janifaries. By the feudal fyftem every man held arms, and freedom, in his hands. Montefquieu has begun his account of the feudal fyltem with that of the ancient Germans, given by Tacitus; and prides himfelf in leaving off where others began. A writer more profound would leave off where Montefquieu begins.

The ideas of molt writers concerning the Englifh conftitution are extremely fhallow. It was not found, as Montefquieu ftates, in the woods of Germany. It peculiarly belongs to a paftoral ftate of fociety, as may be inferred from Montefquieu himfelf ${ }^{-r}$. The Scythic progrefs may almoft be traced by fimilar forms of government prevailing; and it might be argued from this, that it was the conftitution even of the firf Scythic empire. To England it mult have come with the Belgæ; for from Tacitus we know that it was that of all the Germans, and the Belgæ were Germans. It is found wherever the Goths went. In the woods of Germany every man had a voice in the general council'. This was when every man had no trade, fave that of foldier : but in a more advanced fate of fociety other occupations arofe, upon which men fubfinted, and could not neglect to attend to public, bufinefs. They therefore looked on the chiefs, who had nothing elfe to do, as their

[^66]natural reprefentatives, and left public bufinefs to them. During this ftage of fociety, the chiefs, and probi bomines, men of rank and character, were really regarded as reprefentatives of the community, as implied by the common form in old laws, et tota communitas regni noffri, for how could the community's confent be fpecified, fave by the peers and probi bomines, who reprefented them? When the Goths overturned the Roman empire, they had a nixt averfion to towns, as they had long after; and the towns were left in poffeffion of the old inhabitants, who could hold no part in the conftitution of the vietors. It is therefore ridiculous to fuppofe reprefentatives of towns. In a third, and laft ftage, difference of occupations had, by degrees, introduced trade; and trade introduced towns endued with privileges to protect it, or in other words, burghs. Thefe, we are told, were firft founded in Germany, in the tenth century. In other countries they are later. Under the Roman empire there were many privileged towns; but their privileges were annihilated by the conqueft of the Goths, who had brought from their woods a contempt and averfion for towns, as receptacles of vice and effeminacy. When in advanced fociety, the Gothic victors allowed privileged towns, or burghs, the nobles had great enmity to them, and conftant contefts with the citizens; becaufe, among other privileges, a flave who lived a year and day in a burgh, obtained his freedom, and the nobles thus loft many flaves. Thus arofe the firft difference of interefts between lords and commons; for before this the former had been regarded as natural reprefentatives of the latter. Other reprefentatives were of courfe neceffiary, and were conitituted accordingly.

This fecond ftage, when the peers reprefented the commons, has minfed fome, becaufe the privileges of the commons feem to them to have flept.

Mr. Hume, who knew nothing about Goths, nor the Gothic conftitution, and who is fo fhallow, that, far from reaching the bottom, he has not reached the bottom of the furface, but merely fkimmed it's top, obferves in his own Life, that it is ridiculous to look on the Englifh conftitution as a regular plan of liberty before the death of Charles I. A profound remark truly, and moft fagacious! Is it a regular plan now? Did regular plans of government ever exift, fave in Utopias? Have not all governments, fave defpotifm, been ever totally irregular? While a man has life, his pulfe muft be liable to irregularities; when he is dead, it is regular enough! Error muft attend free will; and irregularity free government : the more irregular, the more free, as in the Greek democracies. Strange that Mr. Hume fhould forget his own juft remark, "Where any power or prerogative is fully and undoubtedly eftablifhed, the exercife of it paffes for a thing of courfe, and readily efcapes the notice of hiftory and annals." Effays, Vol. I. p. 499. This was the cafe with the privileges of the commons during this obfcurer ftage. Mr. Hume's hiftory ftands folely upon a fyltem, and it is the only hiftory $i$ ever met with in whieh the evidences againft are utterly concealed, and paft over as nonexiftent. A whig hiftory would be as ridiculous as a tory one : the only poind in hiftory is to narrate facts, not to build fyftems, for human affairs are never fyftematic. Our old hiftorians, who knew nothing of whig or tory fyttem-building, knew the privileges of the commons well. Let us give one inftance, and that from the middle of that very period when the privileges of the commons are confidered as afleep. Roger Hoveden, who wrote about 1190, fays, that on the death of Edwy, king of the Weft Saxons, in 959, Edgar, king of Mercia, was elected by the Englifh people king of all Eng-
land, ab omini anglorum populo electus:. And he was the very firt king of all England; fo that his fucceffors muft abide by his title, and any other claim is that of ufurpation.

But, to refume a more immediate confideration of my prefent fubject, i hope to have fhewn from Similarity of Manners; from Ancient Authorities; and, above all, from that infallible argument, Identity of Language; that the whole German nations, from Getia and Dacia, to the extremity of Scandinavia, were Scythæ or Goths. And every reader, who has attended to the procefs, muft either deny the validity of arguments, univerfally allowed in other cafes to be incontrovertible, or. affent that
It is therefore Hiforic Truth, tbat the ancient Germans were all Scytbians or Gotbs.

A queftion remains, At what time the Scythic population may have reached the Rhine, and Northweft extremity of Scandinavia, the furtheft bounds of ancient Germany? Thrace, Afia Minor, Illyricum, Greece, were certainly peopled with Scythæ at leaft 1500 years before Chrift; Italy at leaft 1000 . Nationsthat fubfift by hunting and pafturage, as the barbaric Scythæ require a prodigious extent of territoryto afford means of fubfiftence; and their fpeedy progrefs and population we may judge of from thofe of the Tartars. But the German Scythe had their way to fight againft the northern Celts, a hardy race of men; and a vaft region to populate; fo that we may allow a very

[^67] confiderable period for their progrefs.' From Herodotus, and other ancients, it is certain that the Scythians poffeffed Germany, nay had driven the Celts to the furtheft weft of Gaul, at leaift 500 years before our æra. And there are reafons againft placing this event at a much remoter period; fo that this may fafely be confidered as being as near the æra as poffible in a cafe of this nature.

Before clofing this chapter, it is proper to add a few remarks on the migrations of Scythians from Germany, before the Chriftian epoch. Cæfar informs us, that the Belgæ, the greateft and moft valiant part of the Gauls, were Germans; and Strabo confirms this account. The whole Provincia Romanorum, or Gallia Braccata, was alfo poffeffed by Germans, as the name Braciata hews, for breeches were the peculiar badge of the Scythæ. Cæfar indeed inftructs us, that the Celts, or old Gauls, were bounded by the Seine on the north, and Garonne on the fouth. The learned and judicious Schoepflin a has fufficiently fhewn that the name of Celts was reftricted to the Gauls alone; but has unhappily forgotten that only one third part of the Gauls were Celts. Hence his account of the Celtic colonies, is radically erroneous; for all thefe colonies were of German Gauls. Indeed reafon might convince us, that it was impoffible for the Celts, who had been expelled and confined by the Belgæ, or Germans upon one fide, and by the Aquitani, or Iberi on the other, to fend out colonies among thofe very enemies whofe fuperior courage had vanquifhed them, and feized a great part of their territory. This could be put beyond doubt by a fpecial examination of thefe colonies, which, tho it have ample materials for,

[^68]yet i.am with reluctance obliged to fupprefs, as too large for the prefent defign.

But to give a few hints. The reader muft ever remember in this queftion, that the name of Celts was not only given peculiarly and properly to the real Celts, who, in Cæfar's time, were confined to one third part of Gaul; but was alfo given, laxly and improperly, by many ancient writers to all the Gauls. For as the Celts had anciently poffeffed all Gaul, their name was continued by fome, and by the diftant Greek writers, efpecially, to all the Gauls: tho the Belgæ, and Aquitani, the Galli Braccati, and others, or the far greater part of the Gauls, were not Celts, but expellers of the Celts. The cafe is the fame as that of the Englifh, who are called Britons, not as being old Britons, but as expellers of thofe Britons, and as living in Britain. So the Britifh of America are called Americans, not as being American favages, but as poffeffors of that country. Thus the Germans who had feized on moft of Gaul, and had come in place of the Celts, are called Gauls by the Romans; and Celts by many of the Greeks, and by fome Romans. The queftion aiways remains, which Gauls are meant by the former, and which Celts by the later.

The Celts who paffed into Spain were certainly of Gallia Braccata, which bordered on Spain; and not real old Celts, who, fo far from fending colonies into Spain, were driven from their fouthern territories by the Aquitani, a Spanifh people. Thefe Celfiberi and Celtici of Spain arethe only Gaulic colonies which obtain the appellation of Celts in Roman writers, who call the others Gauls. A fingularity which proceeded from this, that the Romans received their firt intelligence concerning Spain from the Greeks of Marfeilles, who called all the Gauls Celts : and thus retained the old name, by which they had found the people diftinguifhed by the Greeks, and perhaps by the Carthaginians.

The Belgæ of Britain and Ireland are out of all queftion; for it is known to a certainty that the Belgæ were not Celts but Germans.
The Gauls of Cifalpine Gaul, or of Italy, were infallibly German Gauls. The former region was called Gallia Togata, for it's poffeffors, from their neighbourhood with the civilized Etrufcans, and Greeks of Marfeilles, were the firf who were civilized, and abandoned their rude drefs for that of their polite neighbours: while their brethren further off retained the Gothic bracce, and gave name to Gallia Braccata. The Celts were remote from Cifalpıne Gaul ; while it was furrounded by Germans on the north, and by other Germans of Gallia Braccata on the weft. And that the Cifalpine Gauls were not old Celts who retained pofferfion of the country, is clear from Livy and Polybius, who relate their paffage into Italy; and the former dates it in the time of Tarquinius Prifcus, about the period of the foundation of Marfeilles by the Greeks : that is, about 589 years before Chrift by common accounts, but by Sir Ifaac Newton's rectified chronology of Rome about 500 . It is well known that the Roman hiftory, for the three or four firft centuries, is very uncertain, becaufe there were neither writers, nor records of any kind: and Livy, in relating this very remote event, gives it as a fory of yefterday, with all its circumftances, which fufficiently indicates that he ufed poetical and fabulous liberty here, as in all the ancient parts of his work. Hence we need only read this tale to deny faith to it's circumftances; tho the groundwork be confirmed by the grave teftimony of Polybius; and it is beyond doubt, from many concurring ancients, that the Cifatpine Gauls had paffed into Italy at a late period, and were not ancient inhabitants. But Livy in compofing his tale concerning an event 500 years old, and of which he could have no circumftantial evidence whatever, found that Polybius, a Greek writer, and perhaps other other Greeks of Marfeilles, called the Cifalpine Gauls, as they did all the Gauls, Celts. Hence, knowing alfo, as the paffage fhews, that the Celts of his time were but a third part of the Gauls, he underfood the Celts, laxiy fo called by the Greeks, to be the Celts proper; and has of courfe formally derived the Cifalpine Gauls from the Celts proper. Pelloutier draws the names given by Livy, Ambigatus, Bellovefus, Sigovefus, from the Tudefque or German Gothic. But, tho fuch etymology is uncertain, yet the frequency of fimilar names among the Germans deferves notice، The Ambi-variti were a Belgic tribe: Ambi-orix was prince of the Eburones, a Belgic people (and the rix is an infallibly Gothic termination, common to this day, Theodoric, Frederic, \&c. \&c.) The Bello-vaffi were a Belgic tribe, as were the Bellocaffi. Sege-ftes, Segi-merus, Segi-mundus, are German names in Tacitus. The manners of the Cifalpine Gauls, defrribed by Polybius, II. 4. are German. Diodorus Siculus diftinguifhes the Senones (who took Rome) from the Celts, and calls them Northern Gauls. They were of the Semnones of Germany.

The Gauls who long contended with the Germans in prowefs, and who fettled a colony or two in the fouth of Germany, were German Gauls. Cæfar tells us that the Belgæ were in continual war with the Germans, as indeed the German nations were among themfelves. The Helvetii, Boii, Tectofages, were German Gauls, who had warred with their anceftors, and fettled among them. The Germans of Southern Gaul being far fuperior in civilization to their progenitors, and refined by climate, neighbourhood, and commerce, were of courfe often fuperior in war; a circumftance which might have fimply arifen from better weapons. The Gallic colonies in Illyricum and Thrace are of the fame defcription. Livy (XL. 57.) tells, that the Scordifci and Taurifci were of one fpeech with

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the Bafternæ, and they were of courfe German Gauls.

That famous expedition, which founded the kingdom of Galatia in Afia Minor, was alfo of German Gauls. The people were Trocmi, Tectofages, and Toliftoboii : the leaders Lomnorius, and Lutarius; the later being the German name Lutharius or Lothaire. Saint Jerome " puts the German extraction of the Galatians beyond doubt, by telling us, from perfonal knov:lege, that their fpeech was the fame with that of Treveri or Triers in Germany, where he had ftudied. So much for the German-Gallic colonies, which the bounds of my defign forbid me to examine at due length ${ }^{\text {w }}$.

The Scythians or Goths who flew Cyrus, whom Alexander fhunned, and who were the terror of Pyrrhus ${ }^{x}$, were in their German feats equally formidable. Not the Samnians, not the Carthaginians, not the mingled nations of Spain, and of Gaul, nor even the Parthians themfelves, were fo dangerous to Roman power. Carbo, and Caffius, Scaurus Aurelius, and Servilius Cepio, and Marcus Manlius, with their nive confular armies, were all taken prifoners or flain by the Teutones and Cimbri, who had fled from the northern Germans. Julius declined the conteft with the Germans: Auguftus weeped the fate of Varus and his legions. Hardly could Drufus, and

[^69]Nero,

Chap. iv. scrthians or Gothe. 149
Nero, and Germanicus, defend this frontier of the empire, for this was the whole ambition of Rome. In later times they were triumphed over, but not conquered. Under their ancient name of Scythe or Goths, they were foon, by degrees, to feize on the whole weftern empire; nay to pour over the fertile coafts of Africa. The Vandali, whom Tacitus and Pliny found in the north of Germany, were to fight with Belifarius, in the plains of Numidia. The Suevi were to poffefs the fragrant fields of Spain. The Langobardi were to enjoy the orange groves of Italy. The Angli, whom Tacitus puts in a lift of names, were to give their name to a country eminent in arts and arms, in wifdom and liberty.

CHAPTER V.

The progrefs of the Scytbians into Scandinavia efpecially confdered.

$N$O much has been written, by many of the moft learned men whom Europe has produced, upon the imaginary egreffion of the Scythians or Goths from Scandinavia, that this part of my fubject well deferves a particular inveftigation. The Scythic or Gothic language, mythology, and manners, have alfo been fo much preferved in the wilds of Iceland, which was colonized from Norway in the Ninth century, and have been fo ably illuftrated by the erudition of different Scandinavian antiquaries, that the progrefs of the Scythx into Scandinavia becomes a fubject extremely curious and interefting. My particular view, which was to illuftrate the hiftory of the Piks, a people who proceeded from Norway to the north of Britain, about three centuries before Chrift, likewife concurs to draw my beft attention to this point, upon which i hope extenfive reading on the fubject, and fedulous and minute refearch, will enable me to throw new lights.

The reader will pleafe to recollect that, before our proofs that the Germans were Scythæ, the Basternee attracted attention, as a people fituated between the Getæ and the Germans. But this vaft race of men, called Bafternæ, not only reached down to the Alpes Bafernica, or Carpathian mountains, and the Danube, but alfo extended north to. that part of the Baltic where prefent Pruffia now lyes,

Chap. v. SCTTHIANS OR GOTHS. isi lyes, and which is neareft to the Euxine, the early feat of the Scythæ; the diftance beween the Baltic and Euxine feas, being only about 500 miles, little more than the breadth of the intermediate country of prefent Poland. Over this tract of ground, about 500 miles long, from the Danube to the Baltic, and about 150 miles broad from the weftern boundary of the Vittula, to the Chronus, and Boryftenes on the eaft, were fationed the great Basternic nations. For the Sarmate were not in pofleffion of Poland, till the German nations began to move into the Roman empire; and the river Nieper or Boryftenes, and Chronus now Niemen, were the proper bounds of ancient Sarmatia on the weft. The weft of Poland was a gradual acquifition of the Sarmatre, as the Scythre moved into the Roman empire : and in the fourth and fifth centuries, when the German Scythx were ftill moving into richer countries, the Sarmatians, or Slavi ${ }^{2}$, feized on Pomerania and Mecklenburg on the north; and Bohemia toward the fouth; which are held by mixt Sarmatians and Germans to this day. The grand diftinctions between the Sarmatians and Germans, as marked by the acute and tranfcendant mind of Tacitus, toward the clofe of his Germania, were that the Sarmatians lived always on horfeback; their families in cars, or fmall waggons; and wore flowing robes like the Parthians : while the Germans fought on foot,
a Slava, in the Slavonic, means glorious, noble; hence many Polih names as Ladi/aus, \&c. Procopius is, it is believed, the firft who mentions the Sclaveni, $\Sigma^{2} \lambda a 6 n v o$, or Slavons, II. ${ }_{5}{ }^{-}$ 1II. 33. in which laft paflage they make a great figure, paffing the Danube in crouds. It deferves efpecial remark that the Venedi or Wends have been, by tranflators of Noithern Sagas, and others, confounded with the Vandali, which laft are, it is thought, unknown to Northern writers. The Vans, Wends, Venedi, lay in Odin's fupposed way from the Euxine to the Baltic; the Vandals did not. This ftrange error has got eveninto a royal title, Gotborum et Vandalorum Rex (for Venedorum), a title equal to that of Rex Maris et Terra!

L 4
having
having few cavalry ; and had fixt huts; and a clofe drefs; but above all, quite a different language. He alfo afcribes naftineis to the Sarmatæ, tho of this the Germans had their fhare; as all uncivilized nations muft have; and the Celts in particu. lar were fo filthy that even their cleanlinefs was the extreme of naftinefs ${ }^{b}$. But the Sarmatians were a great and warlike nation; tho it appears, from the little mention of them in Greek and Roman hiftory, that they yielded much to the Scythians in arms; and, from all ancient accounts, were alfo inferior in wifdom, and fuch rude arts, as early fociety affords, tho the peafantry of Poland and Ruflia be remarkably fenfible and acute.

The Basterne, in this large extent of country, became fo remarkable to the ancients, that Strabo, book VII. p. 305, claffes them wich the enormous names of Scythe and Sarmate, faying that the Scythæ, Bafternæ, and Sarmatæ, beyond the Danube, gradually emigrated north. He alfo informs us that the Bafternæ were divided into four great nations, ATMONOI, $\Sigma I \Delta$ ONE $\Sigma$, IIE $\Upsilon$ KINOI, P $\omega$ Godavot; the Atmoni, Sitones, Pcukini, and Roxolani. Some of them, he obferves, remained ftill in Thrace, and their firt habitations; while others moved north. The Peukini, tho they fent out valt emigrations, form a remarkable inftance of thofe who remained. Let us briefly confider the Basterna, of whom the Peukini were a part, in order that the reader may fee the progreffive evidence of the ancients who have mentioned them concerning boih. The firit meation we find of the Bafferne in hiftory is on account of their affifting Perfeus, king of Macedon, againft the Romans, 166 years before Chriit. Polybius, who was cotemporary, mentions that Perfeus was aflifed with 10,000 Bafterna

[^70]and Gauls. Livy XL. 57. XLI, 19. mifunder* ftanding Polybius puts the Bafterne as Gauls; but fays that their fpeech was the fame with that of the Scordifci, who were German Gauls. Upon which Pellontier foolifhly concludes them Celts, quite forgetting that the Celts were not Gauls, but only a people of Gaul, and the moft diftant of all; the whole German Gauls being the people generally called Gauls by the ancients, and being the neareft to the fcene of action, and to Italy. Thofe French authors who finding the Celts peculiarly and originally in Gaul, and therefore fometimes called Gauls, as we call the Welch, Britons, becaufe they anciently poffeffed the whole country; and who from thence gratify their dreams of univerfal dominion, by wifhing to prove the whole of Europe Celtic, only fhew an ignorance and folly beyond all excefs. What fhould we fay of him, who, finding the Welch peculiarly called Britons, and that North America was peopled from Britain, fhould in fome future period, dream that all the Britih inhabitants of North America are Welch? This is exactly the very cafe.

To return to Perféus and the Bafternæ. Diodorus Siculus fays, Perfeus employed Gauls and Celts, not Bafternæ, if the excerpt be not erroneous. Appian in Macedonicis, p. 1223, calls thefe affiftants of Perfeus Geta: and Dion Caffius, who is indeed a contemptible and foolifh writer, yet, as he long commanded in Pannonia, was on the very confines of the fouthern Bafternæ, if not among them, and therefore in this one inflance may deferve fome credit, fays, lib. XXXVIII, that they were Scytba, $\tau_{\omega \nu} \sum x u \mathcal{L} \omega v$ тav Bastopyov; and lib. LI. Bastapice $\delta_{t} \sum_{z i l} \ell_{\alpha a t}$, Dion alfo informs us, lib. LI. p. $46 \mathrm{I}, 463$. that they lived in cars; that is like their neighbours the Sarmate: but as all the ancients diftinguifh them from the Sarmatæ, and Strabo, lib. VII. inclines to think them Ger- probably from fuperiority in cavalry: and that Dionyfius, who was of Corinth and wrote, as Dodivell fhews, about the year of Chrift 221, in in his Periegefis, after mentioning the Danube pouring it's five mouths around Peuké,
 puts the Bafternæ between the Getæ and Daci.


[^71]Strabo fays, that in his time, the Peukini, proper or parental, were that part of the Bafterna who lived in the large ile of Peuke in the Euxine fea, at the mouth of the Danube : and Ptolemy remarks the fame in his time; and it is likely their defcendants ftill retain their poffeffions in Piczina, the modern name of Peuke. Mela II. 7. calls Peuké an iland omnium notij/fma et maxima, the moft famous and largeft in thofe parts. The author of the Periplus Ponti Euxini fays it equals Rhodes in fize. Some think it named from шยvxท, picea, a pine tree, becaufe it was perhaps full of fuch; but it feems as probably to have taken it's name from the Piki a people beyond Colchis, and fubject to the Colchian kingdom ${ }^{\mathrm{c}}$; for the antients agree that a colony from Colchis fettled on the Ifter, in the time of the Arganauts, and it is moft likely that it was at its mouth. For tho Apollonius Rhodius book [V, and Juftin xxxii. 3. make the Iftri on the Adriatic that colony, which by their own accounts of the Colchians failing up the Danube to the Adriatic, is
horfeback, and returned to their cars, or little waggons, at night. Herodotus fays the fame of the Scythx, IV. 121. and Juftin. II. Baferna was Francic or Tudefque for a chariot, perhaps covered like a waggon, as we find the chariot of honour on medals of Faultina and others. See Gregor. Turon. III. 26. the word alfo occurs in Lampridius in Heliogab. Symmachus, and the Capitularia Reg. Franc. and Amm. Marcell. lib. XIV. Vopifcus in Probo, tells that Probus fettled no lefs than 100,000 Bafterne in Thrace. In 303 the Baiternze are laft fpoken of as a feparate people. Zozim. Orffus, Vifior, Eumen. Pan. Conft. The Gcpida of later ages feem the Gcloni of the former; and from their fituation mult have been Bafternx.
${ }^{\text {n }}$ Pliny VI. 7. where he treats of the Palus Mxotis, and nations around it, puts the Piki between the Mrotis and Ceraunian Mountains ; or in prefent Circaffia. Some editions read Pbycari : but Harduin gives us Pici, from four excellent MSS. 1. Reg. 2. Col. 3, 4. Chift.-Mela, I. 21, calls them Pbicores, Pbycari, Pbicores, Rici, are but different modifications of the fame name, as Pibti, Pbicbtiaic', Pibtar, Peobtar, are Cumraig and Saxon names of the Piks. Plautus, in Aulularia callls them Picos.
a complete impoffibility, yet Ovid, who lived at
Tomi clofe by the fpot, is an undoubted witnefs in our favour.

> Solus ad egreffus miffus feptemplicis Iftri, Parrhafiæ gelido virginis axe premor.
> Jazyges, et Colchi, Metercaque turba, Getæque, Danubii medis vix prohibentur aquis.
> Trif. lib. II. el. I.

The fazyges Eneocadla, as above fhewn, wére a fmall Sarmatic nation, who lived in peace and union among the Getæ, on the north of the Tyras, acting it is likely as cavalry in their armies; and it is probable it was of them that Ovid learned Sarmatic. The other nations were alfo north of the Danube, to the fouth of which Tomi, the place of Ovid's banifhment, ftood : and the Colchians here mentioned were, in all probability, the Peukini. For tho the Piki were properly one of the many Scythian tribes between Colchis and the Ceraunian mountains; yet being fubject to the great Colchian kingdom they were probably called Colchians, as foreigners call all the natives of Britain and Ireland, Englifh. But leaving this conjecture (for it is little better) to carry it's own weight with the reader, i fhall proceed to examine the progrefs of the Baiternæ.

The Peukini, or that Bafternic nation which emigrated from Peuké, feem to have in procefs of time tranfcended all the other Bafternic divifions in number. Infomuch that Pliny and Tacitus put the Bafternæe and Pcukini as names of the fame nation; tho Strabo, Ptolemy, and others, writing geography and of courfe more accurately in thefe points, put the Peukini as only one of the divifions of Bafternæ. The Roxolani Strabo put by miftake among the Bafternæ, for it is known to a certainty from Tacitus, Hif. lib. 1. (Roxolani Sarmatica gens, \&c.) and many others, that they were Sarmatie. Strabo's miftake arofe from the Roxolani being the next Sarmatic nation to the Bafterna.

The Roxolani were Ruffians; and that part of Poland on the weft, and far from Ruffia, called Red or Black Ruffia, took it's name from part of the Roxolani, that pierced to that corner, and fettled. Of the other divifions named by Strabo, the Atmoni, if i miftake not, fpreading weft along the Danube, became the fouthern Bafternæ, or thofe properly and abfolutely fo called by the ancients : while the Sitones ${ }^{\text {d }}$ proceeded northward with the Peukini till they arrived at the Baltic fea and Scandinavia. A progrefs which we are enabled to trace, as clearly as can be expected, after a remark or two on a few fouthern colonies of the Peukini.

Ancient geographers fpeak of different remains of the Peukini in Thrace. Such were the Peukefi, a people north of the Scordifci. Pliny III. 25, tells us, that Callimachus placed a people called Peuketi in Liburnia of Illyricum. In Italy directly on the oppofite fhore were the Pikeni: and further fouth, lay the large country of Peuketia, now Apulia, of which much may be found in Strabo. Pliny, III. 16. fays it was fo called from Peuketius brother of OEnotrus; and Dionyf. Hal. book 1. p. 10, it, ed. Hudfon, fays Oenotrus and Peuketius were the two firt leaders of colonies from Greece into Italy. It was the cuftom of the Greeks always to derive names of nations from ancient kings and chiefs. This was eafy etymology, and coft nothing, yet coft as much as etymology of names is worth. Thus the Lydians were from Lydus, the Myfians from Myfus, the Scythians from Scythes, the Celts from Celtes, \&c. \&c. \&c. and the Aborigines of the fouth weft fhore of Italy Oenotrians, from Oenotrus, who led them from Arcadia, and thofe of the eaft, Peuketii, from Peuketius his brother. The fact feems that thefe

[^72]aborigines were Oenotri from the Peloponnefus, who advanced from the fouth weft of Italy, . upward along the weft'thore; while the Peuketii feized on the eaft fide from the oppofite fhores of Illyricum, where we learn from Callimachus that a part remained. The Pikentii on the weft, as they bordered on old Peuketia, were as is likely of the fame origin. But thefe ideas are given as mere conjectures; and i now proceed to examine the northern progrefs of the Peukini and Sitones, which ftands upon quite other grounds.

It is allowed that the Peukini received their name, and proceeded, from the iland of Peuké (Пavzn) in the Euxine fea, at the mouth of the Danube, now Piczina, or Pics ile. This celebrated iland is finely defcribed by Apollonius Rhodius in his exquifite poem, The Argonautics, written about 250 years before Chrif. Thus the Peukini certainly came from the very heart of Getia, Dacia, and Mæfia ; and, if not originally a colony of Colchian Scythæ, certainly were a Scythic people, iffuing from the very heart of a country, which was in poffeffion of the Scythæ about 2000 years before Chrift. Jornandes, fpeaking of Galerius Maximinus Cxfar, ' Is ergo habens Gothos et Peucenos ab infula Peuce, quæ oftio Danubii Ponto mergentiadjacet ${ }^{\text {e }}$. Zozimus calls the Peukini, Peukai, Heveces. Ammianus Marcellinus names them Pikenfes, lib. XVII, as his Amicenfes feem the Atmoni of Strabo, both above Mrefia. He alfo calls them Peuki, lib. XXII. where he is fpeaking of Peuké. The ancient author of the Argonautics afcribed to Orpheus, calls the Peukini Paili, when he defcribes the Argonauts in their return failing up fome river, from the Palus Mæotis, to the Cronian fea, as he dreams; and ranges the Pacti with the Lelians, Scythians, Hyperboreans, Ripheans.

[^73]Let us now briefly confider the Northern Progrefs of the Sitones and Peukini, two grand Bafternic divifions. Strabo, who wrote about 20 years after our æra, is certainly well informed concerning the north of Germany, as the Greeks actually traded to Pruffia for amber. In particu lar the Eftii of prefent Pruffia, from whofe coafts the amber came, and where it is yet found in fuch quantities as to yield a large revenue, were in the confines of the Peukini and Sitones, or Bafternic nations on the Baltic, fo that the intelligence concerning countries fo near that to which the Greeks traded, may be regarded as fatisfactory. Now he tells us, book VII. p. 294, that " moft think the Bafternæ live beyond the Germans to the Northward, others that there is only ocean." That the later opinion was falfe need not be told: but that the former was true, namely that the Bafternæ poffeffed Scandinavia, is certain ; for Tacitus, who was procurator of Gallia Belgica and had of courfe all information relating to Germany, and it's neighbourhood, as his admirable Germania fhews, places the Sitones whom Strabo had mentioned as one of the three Bafternic nations in prefent Sweden, and finds part of the Peukini on the oppofite hore, while a part no doubt had paffed into Scandinavia with the Sitones their brethren. And it is evident that the Sitones, whom Ptolemy puts on the fouth of the Baltic between the Viader and Viftula, were a part of the Sitones who remained, while the reft paffed into Scandinavia : for migrations of nations were feldom, if ever, complete, a circumftance which enables us to trace their fteps.

The Peukini in particular, being the largeft and moft eminent part of the Bafternæ, as we may judge from their name being often extended to the whote of this vaft people, leave fuch traces behind them from Thrace to the Baltic, that we can fol low them ftep by ftep. This we are enabled to do
from the geography of Ptolemy, who wrote about 150 years after Chrift. As one or two Sarmatic tribes extended beyond the Chronus and Boryttenes, he improperly puts the Viftula as the boundary between the Germans, and Sarmatæ; tho Tacitus, who wrote about fifty years before, had fpecially mentioned German nations beyond the Viftula, and the vaft people of Peukini or Bafternæ in particular, whom Pliny puts as one fif rif part of the Germans. But Ptolemy living at the great diftance of Alexandria in Egypt, and probably not even undertanding Latin, feems never to have redd either Pliny or Tacitus; but puts his places according to the mapsand Itineraries of the generals, and to the Greek geographers. From the later in particular, who drew from the merchants of amber good intelligence as to the prefent rout, the informa-- tion feems derived which is to be found in his chapter of Sarmatia Europæa. In his time a part of the Peukini ftill poffeffed their original fettlement in Peuké; while we find another part far north of the Tyras, and above the Getæ: and the חevx Cos oph, or Pcukinian Mountains of Ptolemy are, as Cluverius juftly obferves, on the fouth welt of prefent Pruffia, near the head of the river Bog; that is within about fixty miles of the Baltic fea. Ptolemy places the Peukini on the north of the Bafternx : fo that of all the Bafternæ they were neareft to the Baltic. Andthat the Peukini actually reached to the Baltic, we know from Tacitus, who in the end of his Germania ranges them with the Venedi and Fenni, whom P'olemy places near the Viftula upon the Baltic. Tacitus alfo puts the Venedi between the Heukini and Fenni, fo that the Peukini muft have been on the fhore of the Baltic, on the caft fide of the mouth of the Viftula, or inprefent Pruffia: from which they extended foutb to their Bafternic brethren in the weftern part of prefent Hungary : a tract about 400 miles long, and from 100 to 150 broad. With fo large poffeffions it is no wonder
wonder that Pliny fhould pot the Peukini as a fifth part of the Germans; and that their name fhould be ufed as fynonymous with the Bafternæ.

Having thus fhewn that the two Bafternic nations of Peukini and Sitones extended to the Baltic; and that, as Tacitus and others fhew, and all modern geographers agree, a part of the Sitones remained in the neighbourhood of the Peukini, on the fouth fide of the Baltic, while the reft of the Sitones were in Scandinavia; and that Strabo mentions it as the moft general opinion in his time that the Bafternæ were beyond the Germans, or in Scandinavia; i believe it will be granted at once that it is mof likely that a part of the Peukini went to Scandinavia with their brethren the SitonesBut, before infifting on this, i fhall give the reader fome idea of what the Romans and Greeks knew of Scandinavia and the north of Germany.

About 250 years before Chrift, Pytheas and others, as we learn from Pliny, fpoke of an iland called Baltia in the Cronium mare, or Northern ocean, whence amber was brought. Herodotus had indeed mentioned this 450 years before Chrit. The name of the iland was palpably from the Baltic fea very anciently fo called; from the Gothic, or old German Belt, a gulf. Aınber was' never found in Scandinavia, but in Glefaria, a peninfula on the Pruffian coaft, which afterward received it's name from the appellation which Tacitus tells the Germans gave amber, namely Gles or Glafs, which it refembled. Baltia is therefore not Scandinavia but.Gleffaria. Pomponius Mela, who wrote about 45 years after Chrift, mentions the Codanus finus, and Codanovia, which is in all probability prefent Zeeland, an ile of the Suiones, in which the capital of Denmark ftands; and from whence Dania is by fome judged to be contracted. Pliny himfelf, who - wrote about 70 years after Chrift, is the firf who mentions Scandinavia, tho he tells us, IV. 16. that the iles of Scandia, Dumna, Bergi, and Nerigon,
fiad been noticed by others ${ }^{f}$. Dumna is by Ptolemy sanged among the Orkney3; Scandia may be Funen; and Bergi the country of Bergen in Norway, interfected from Sweden on the fouth by the Schager Rack, or wefterly divifion of the Baltic, foas to have: to thofe who knew only the fouthern coaft, the appearance of an ile. Pliny adds IV. 16. that Nefigon was the largeft of thefe iles: and as he fays hederives his information from various preceding authors fint qui et alia prodeunt, Scandiam, \&c. it is well: inferred by the northern antiquaries that Nerigon. had from later and better information been put for Bergi; but Pliny finding the fame country called by two names, thought them different iles: for Nerigon is furely Norway by it's moftancient, and yet indigenous. name Norigé, or the Northern kingdom. But ch. 27, he tells us from himfelf: that Scandinavia is an ile in the Sinus Codanus of undifcovered fize, and that the known parts are poffeffed by the Hilleviones in fixe hundred pagi, or diftricts. They are well thiought to be of Halland in the fouth-weft corner of Scandinavia.

Being now come to Tacitus, whofe Germania is fo important to modern hiftory, it will be proper to diwell a little upon the geography of that work, which is in many points grofly mifundertood; and efpecially that part which concerns our fubject, his defcription of the northern nations. Cluverius, who wrote near two centuries ago, is univerfally and blindly followed, while his faults are enormousHe was a man of laudable induftry; but of contracted and indiftinct judgment If errors be admitted into any branch of fcience, they commonly

[^74]Chap. iv. scithians ork goths. $\quad 163$
$\mathrm{r}_{\text {emain }}$ for centuries, owing to the indolence of mankind, who are ever ready to refign their minds to any guide, and would rather fleep and go wrong, than examine and go right; while in fact they have only to truft themelves more, and others lefs. Let us lay Tacitus before us, with a map of modern Germany; and put afide Cluverius, Cellarius, and the able D'Anville, who has fo often corrected their eaftern geography, but has trufted them with Germany, their own country, and thus left Europe in darknefs to enlighten Afia. Tacitus, after employing two thirds of his work in defcribing the manners of the Germans, paffes to a defcription of the nations; and firt mentions two colonies which had returned from Gaul into Germany, the Helvetii and Boii. He then putstne Vangiones, \&c. on the weft fide of the Rhine; and the Batavi in the ile formed by its outlets. Beyond the people between the head of the Danube, and the Rhine, he places the Catti, a large nation; and further up on the the Rhine the Ufipii, \&c.; next the Bructeri ; behind them, the Dulgibini; in front, the Frifii, who fpred along the north bank of the Rhine and the ocean : and among whom was the Zuyder Zee, ambiuntque immenfos infuper lacus, et Romanis claffibus navigatos. Tacitusadds, Hactenus in Occidentens Germaniam novimus. In Septentrionem ingenti fexu redit. - Thus far we know of the weft of Germany. It now returns to the north with a great bend; meaning that it's fhore, formerly weft, now fronts north, as it does at prefent Friezland and Groningen. Next is the very large nation of the Cbauci: then the Cberufci, and Fofi, the laft of whom are foolifhly taken for the Saxons by Cluverius, who forgot that the Saxons were an alliance of many nations which like the Franks and Allmans had taken one name. Here in a fpot which anfwers to the mouth of the Elbe, proximi Oceano, divelled the fmall and only remains of the Cimbri : parva nuns civitas. This payva civitas geographers fpread over allshelarge peninfula of Jutland, whichafter Ptolemy,
(who only puts a few Cimbri in it, and no lefs than Six German nations) they call the Cimbric Cherfonefus. It was doubtlefs once inhabited by the Cimbri, but théy were' reduced to a parvac civitas at its fouthweft corner, long before Roman geography commences.

Tacitus next proceeds to the Suevi, who, he tellsus, were not one nation, but many under one title, who held the greateft part of Germany, to wit, all from the Danube to the ocean fouth and north, and from the Elbe to the Viftula eaft and weft. The firft are the Semnones, a people of a hundred diftricts, who are rightly placed in Brandenburg. Proceeding to the north, as is clear from his expreffion when he paffes to the Hermunduri (ut quo modo paulo ante Rbenum, fic nunc Danubium fequar, for the Rhine runs north, the Danube eaft) next to the Semnones are the Langobardi, about prefent Lunenburg. Then follow no lefs than feven nations, all of whicls Cluverius has heaped upon one another in prefent Mecklenburg! The poor man forgot that the whole vaft peninfula of Jutland was juft in the road of Tacitus, as his text bears that he proceeds north; and that he adds beec quidem pars Suevorum in secretiora Germanice porrigitur, a defcription which can only apply to this valt and rich peninfula; and that the Cimbri with whom he fills that large Cherfonefe were, as Tacitus fays, only a finall ftate on the ocean near the Cherufci and Fofi, or at the mouth of the Elbe! Seven nations are piled upon one another in a fmall province; and a parva civitas is fpred over a territory 220 miles long, and from 63 to 95 broad! If this be not abfurdity, i know not what abfurdity is. But fuch is human fcience! Let us place thefe nations as Tacitus meaned, and all is well. The Rcudigni firt, and Aviones above them, in prefent Holftein; the Angli in Slefwick, where the fertile province of Anglen fpreads around Lunden it's ancient capital: the I'arimi above the Angli, for the river Warne is nothing:

Chap. v. SCYTHIANSOR GOTHS.: 165 nothing ; the Eudofes next; then the Suardones and Nuithones in prefent North Jutland, the later reaching to it's utmoft point where the promontory of Scagen braves the northern ocean. As to the Angli we are certain. The Suardones were perhaps the Swathedi, whom the Englifh hiftorians Henry of Huntingdon, Roger Hoveden, Matthew of Weftminfter, commemorate among the Danih invaders of England in the ninth and tenth centuries. The Nuithones are, as is likely, the Huitboni of Pontanus in his Defcriptio Dania, that is, the inhabitants of the furthelt point of Jutland, the Witland of Bleau's Atlas. The Eudofes are the Yeuton, or people of Yeutland, as the Danes pronounce Jutland, who feem to have been the largeft nation holding the middle of the Cherfonefe, and who now give a general name to the whole peninfula of Nortbern and Southern Jutland. Let me add, that it is impoffible that the whole of this peninfula, as nearer the Roman provinces of Upper and Lower Germany, fhould not have been far better known to the Romans, than the fouthern thores of the Baltic.

Accordingly we find Ptolemy, fifty years after Tacitus, places no lefs than fix nations in it, the Sigulones, Sabelingii, Cobandi, Cbali, Pbundufiii, Cbarudes, beifides the Saxons at it's fouth part : and the Cimbri, whom Ptolemy ignorantly places at it's northern extremity. Ignorantly, for no man can prefer Ptolemy's teftimony, who lived at Alexandria, to that of Tacitus, who lived in Belgic Gaul, and who exprefly puts the Cimbri on the reafide of the Fofi, at the mouth of the Elbe. The reader need not be told that the text of Ptolemy is, righrly deemed the moft corrupt of all antiquity ; as indeed a conftant feries of unknown names, and numbers, mult have been lyable to great vitiations of copiers. His account of the names of the German nations often differs from Tacitus; yet. Strabo confirms Tacitus, tho he wrote before him, Sor Strabo's work was not fo lyable to vitiation, M 3 being
being narrative, while Ptolemy's only contains geographic tables. The Phundufii feem the Eudofes; the Charudes, the Suardones: the others are yet more corrupt, for thofe given by Tacitus can be traced in the fpot, and in hiftory, but of thofe affigned by Ptolemy, not one. Yet Ptolemy places none of the nations above mentioned elfewhere, fave the Angili Suevi, and it is doubtful if thefe were the Angli ${ }^{g}$. Tacitus obferves of thefe nations that they are divided by rivers and woods; a defription moft applicable to Jutland, now fo well wooded, and interfected by fine ftreams. Perhaps it may be faid that Tacitus would have mentioned this great Cherfonefe expreflly, had he meant it; but it is doubtful if it was called a Cherfonef́, fave by Ptolemy only; and it's fize is $f_{0}$ great, that we fhould as well think of calling Ptolemy's Caledonia, bending to the eaft, a Cherfonefe of Britain. Nor does Tacitus name Scandinavia, tho he defrribes nations in it, as Chall prefently be feen.

Having thus proceeded to the utmof north of the weft parts of Germany, or thofe commencing from the Rhine as a boundary, Tacitus paffes to follow the Danube, as he fays, or an eaft courfe, and' places the nations regularly one after another as Cluverius well puts them in this tract. After mentioning the utmoft nations this way, Tacitus returns northward, telling that a large chain of mountains divides Suevia, that is a chain running north and fouth : beyond which are the Lygii confirting of mauy nations, the chief being the Arii, Helvecona, Manimi, Elyfii, Nabarvali. The Lygii are rightly put by Cluverius, in prefent Silefia. Above the L.ygii were the Gottbones rightly put in Pomerellia, at the mouth of the Viftula or Weiffel. Protinus deinde ab Oceano Rugii et Lemovii, ' next from thence on the ocean the Rugii,' rightly put in Rugen; 'and Lemovii,' whom
8 There Anglii of Ptolemy are corrupted from Angrii, or Angrivarii, placed by others juft where Ptolemy puts the Anglii6

Cluverius

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Cluverius makes the fame with the Heruli, and puts in Pomerania. But the account of Tacitus bears that the Lemovii were weft of the Rugii, for 'he is coming deinde from the Gotthones and Lygii; and Ptolemy expreflly fhews that three other nations dwelled in prefent Pomerania, namely the Ruticlij, Sideni, and Pharudini. So that the Lemovii were doubtlefs weft of the Rugii or Rugen, as the text of Tacitus bears, who feems to include the three other nations mentioned by Ptolemy in the general name of Gotthenes, and thos to extend them over Pomerania as well as Pomerellia. The Lemovii were of courfe in préfent Lubec and Wagerlant.

After this Tacitus proceeds to the Suiones; Suionum binc civitates ipfo in oceano, \&c. Modern geographers, following Cluverius, who is by no means accurate, have made the Suiones the prerent Swedes; and the northern antiquaries feem to allow this, tho to me nothing is more doubtful: For the Sitones, whom Tacitus puts beyond the Suiones, Suionibus Sitonum gentes continuantur; and, after defrribing them, fays, bic Suevia finis; and paffes to the Peukini, Venedi, and Fenni, feem to me infallibly the prefent Swedes: and the name bears more refemblance to Suitiod, the old name of Sweden. Whereas Suiones rerembles more Zee-woners, or dwellers in the fea, whence the noble and fertile iland, which forms the beft part of the Danilh domiqions, is nqw called Zeeland; the $S u$ appearing to be merely a Roman way of expreffing the German found of $Z$. In Knytlinga Saga, and other Icelandic books, Zeeland is called Sio-land, a rame preferving affinity with Suiones ; as Suiciod, the gld name of Swedes and Sweden, in thefe works, does with Sitones. Perhaps Sitones Sprung from Sieiuna, the old name of the chief civitas in Sweden, near Birca, as Adam

[^75]of Bremen and others teftify: Add to this, that only the moft fouthern part of Scandinavia was ever: known to the ancients; and the vaftWener Lake, in prefent Weftroguland, or as the Swedes affect to call it Weftrogothia, feems the utmoft bound of their real knowlege; they thinking that beyond was the Cronium Mare, or Frozen Ocean; the fea beyond the Suiones, mentioned by Tacitus, which was looked on as the end of the world. I have perufed, and re-perufed, with indefatigable and minute attention, all that the ancients have faid of Scandinavia, and am convinced that the narrower bounds we confine their knowlege of it to, we fhall be the nearer to the truth. The Suiones; after the moft mature confideration, appear to me infallibly the people of prefent Zeeland, and the iles around it, civitates in oceano, and 'part of the Danifh territory on the oppofite hore of the found, now Schonen, Halland, and Weftrogothia. For, can any man believe that Tacitus fhould pafs to Scandinavia, and take no notice of the noble and rich iland of Zeeland, and the large and fertile iles around it? fhould fly at once, as is dreamed, to prefent Norway and Sweden, of which he knew as much as he did of Greenland, as every one, the leaft verft in ancient geography, mult know? fhould join all Scandinavia, a country, when really known, as large as Gernany itfelf, to a few fmall ftates? Was Tacitus utterly abfurd, or are his commentators fo ?

After the Suiones, Tacitus paffes to the IIfii, who are rifhly enough, from fimilarity of names, placed in prefent Eftonia, tho Gleffaria, the iland of the 厓ii, is confeffed to be in prefent Pruffia, two hundred miles fouth-weft of Eftonia; ; and it is on the coaft of Pruffia alone, that fuch quantities of amber are found to this day. Eftonia confeffedly means merely caft country; and may be as late name, nothing being fo common as names of countries from the points in which they lye; as

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Aeffexia, or Effex in England, \&c. \&c. \& \&c. ${ }^{\text {K. The }}$ Æftii were certainly in the peninfula beyond prefent Dantzic, that is, as Tacitus defcribes, on the rigbt band as you failed up the Suevicum mare, or fouth part of the Baltic, that was on the north of the Suevi. And he mentions the Æftii before he paffes to the Sitones, or Swedes, of the oppofite fhore, and the Peukini, Venedi, and Fenni; beyond whom he had faintly heard of a people who were covered with fkins of beafts, and thence went for beafts with a human face.' The Fenni were infallibly, from the account of Tacitus, that they were divided from the Peukini, only by woods and hills, inhabited by Venedi, not the people of Finland, as dreamed, but the Fins, a great aboriginal people, of whom fee Mr. Tooke's Ruffia. The language of Lithuania, or the north of Poland, Samogitia, Courland, Eftonia, Livonia, is at this day Finnifh, not Slavonic. The Fenni of Tacitus were in Livonia and Eftonia. Ptolemy, book III. places Fenni at the Viftula.

From the Æftii Tacitus paffes to the Sitones,: or Swedes of Smaland, on the oppofite fhore: and as the Suiones were unqueftionably the people of prefent Zeeland and furrounding iles, with a fmall part of fouthern Scandinavia, along the weft fhore up to the Wener lake, fo the Sitones were only a. very fmall part of the Swedes, or Suitiod, namely, thofe of prefent Smaland and Eafter Gothia. Tacitus, tho he appears to have redd Pliny, from his copying that writer's account of the origin of amber, takes no notice of Scandinavia, but palpably implies it to be partly inhabited by the Șuiones and Sitones, and is univerfally fo under-

[^76]stood. The Hilleviones, and iles, mentioned by Pliny, as he had procured no intelligeuce of, he paffes in flence. If the reader will with thefe views read the work of Tacitus, he will find all clear. As commonly underfood, nothing but a confufion, unknown to the luminous mind of Tacitus, arifes. For he is fuppofed to pafs from the Lemovii about Lubec, up to Sweden, with Suio num bine civitates (whereas Zeeland is juft oppofite binc to the Lemovii as above placed); then flies back to the Eftii of Pruffia; then flies back $10 t 0$ calo to Norway, of whefe exiftence he knew nothing; then clofes a defcription of Norway with bie Suevia finis (his Suevi being but a divifion of Germans) ; then Gies back again to the Peukini and Venedi and Fenni, nations as remote from Norway as the fouth-eaft is from the north-wef. Take his text as here ftated; and all is clear, and accurate. He paffes from the Lemovii about Lubec to Zeeland ; thence to the 历efi poffeffors of Gleflaria an oppofite peninfula: then croffes the Baltic to the oppofite Swedes of Smaland; thence in a right line to the Peukini, Venedi, and Fenni. Add to this, that the remains of the Sitones in Ptolemy, scc. are exactly on the coaft oppofite to Smaland; and it is certainly more likely that they fhould move to the oppofite fhore, than into Norway, a country near 300 miles off, without leaving a trace behind. Thefe cogent reafons may, it is believed, for ever fix the Suiones in Zeeland, and circling iles, with Schonen, Halland, and Weftrogothia, their real civitates in oceano: and the Sitones, a part of the Suitiod, or Swedes, in the fouth-eaft corner of Sweden, now Smaland and Eaftergothia.

Ptolemy, who wrote about 150 years after Chrift, is the laft ancient worthy to be adduced concerning Scandinavia, for the fickly dreams of Jormandes and Procopius, the laft of whom was fo ignorant as to take Scandinavia for Thule, tho Pliny and Ptolemy 400 years before might have
told him quite the contrary, fhall be left to their deluded followers.
Nec pueri credunt, nifi qui nondum ære lavantur. fuv.
Ptolemy mentions four Scandias; three fmall, perhaps Funen, Zeeland, and Laland: and one large, or Scandinavia, which he defcribes, and Agathadæmon lays down in the map, as juft of a fize to reach to the Wener lake, as Ptolemy's latitucies and longitudes afcertain ${ }^{1}$. It is above mentioned that, beyond this, the ancients imagined there was only ocean, with a few iles in it, as Eningia a part of Finland, Bergi, Nerigon, all however quite unknown to Ptolemy. In the weft of Ptolemy's Scandinavia are the Cbadini; in the eaft the Pbavona, and Pbirafi; on the fouth the Guta, and Dauciones; in the middle the Levoni. Thefe names muft all have belonged to tribes fouth of the lake Wener. The Guta were furely the Gutones of Pliny, the Gothones of Tacitus, who had paffed from the oppofite fhore; and their country is now Eaftergothia, which Swedifh vifionaries imagine the Oftrogothia of the ancients, and Weftergothia the Vifogothia, tho Jornandes, the god of their idolatry, tells, cap. XIV. that thofe names originated from the pofition of the Goths on the Pontus Euxinus, or Euxine feam.

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## yr DISSERT゙ATION ONTHE PartII.

: After this we find little or nothing concerning Scandinavia, till the fixth century, when Jornandes was to tell his fables about it, knowing that it's diftance prevented detection. For tho he quotes Ablavius, who is thought by Grotius to be one living under Conflantius II. about the year 340, as mentioned by Ammianus, yet it is only after he defcribes the Goths as fettled in Liftleć Scythia; and we do not even know that Ablavius was not his cotemporary, and as ignorant as himfelf. Jomandes, and Procopius, who wrote at the fame time, mention the Dancs; and Scritfinni, or fwift Fins, which fhews that the fouth of Finland was now known. As to the poher nations placed in Scandinavia, by Jornandes and Procopius, allow: ing their exittence, they only belonged to the fouth parts. Eginhart, who wrote in the Ninth century, is the firft $i$ find, after the Sitones of Tacitus, who mentions the Sivedes: apd the Normans alfa began to be well known in this century, when Harold Harfagre rifing fifft fole king of Norway, expelled many petty princes, whe with their little armies took refuge in the Orkneys, and Iceland: and one of them Ganga Hrolf, or Rollo the Walker, was after fome abode in the Hebudes; to found the dukedom of Normandy.
.. Could reafon account for the ideas of folly, it were a matter of curiofity to enquire how Jornandes came to dream of all the nations in Europe proceeding from a diftant and unpopulous country, and to pafs Germany and Getia, or Little Scythia,

[^78]Chap. v: SCYTHIANS OR GOTHS. lis countries overflowing with population? It can only be faid that the Goths coming gradually from the north into the empire, it might naturally be imagined that the extreme north, or Scandinavia, was their point of progreffion: tho indeed it may be furpected that a love of the marvellous and falie, fo natural to man, might be the fole fpring of a fiction, fo oppofite to common fenfe, and to alk ancient authority.

Having thus hewn what the ancients knew of Scandinavia, let us confider the progrefs of the Scythians or Goths into it. We have already traced two Bafternic nations, the Sirones and Peukini, up to the hoores of the Baltic. On thefe fhores, clofe by them, we find the Gottbones, Guttones, or Cythones, as called by Tacitus, Pliny, Ptolemy. How this nation came to hold a name To near that of all the Goths, were difficult to fay, were not the name of Gut or Good given to ground, people, \&c. fuppofed the origin of the Scandinavian Gudke latinized Gothlandia: and our Gotthones probably took their name from the fame fountain, if not from Gote, a horfeman, for they bordered on the Bafternæ, who like the Sarmatie were mofly cavalry, and it is likely the Gothoneswere alfo caralry, and fo called by the other Germans who had little or none. We alfo find the Gothini a Gallic nation in the fouth of Germany; and, as Tacitus fays their fpeech was Gallic, they were provably an original Celtic tribe inhabiting a mountainous country, us the map of Cluverius thews, and allowed to dwell on condition of working the mines, and paying heavy tribute, as Tacius fays they did. Their name Gothini, being probably ironical, good people. Herodotus, book IV. places molt of his Scythians in Germany. The liter or Danube he calls the largeft river of Scythia. The Maris or Marus ran into the Ifter fiom the country of the Agathyrif, ch. 37. His Hyperborei are in Germany, for he makes their pretents to Delas come
come down to the Adriatic fea, and thence to Dodona. In ch. 21. he tells us, that beyond the Tanais are the Sarmata; and his Scythian nations are chiefly in Germany and Poland: ch. 23. he places far to the north fome Scythæ who revolted and left the reft. However this be, it is certain from Pliny, that the ancient Greeks extended Scythia even to the Baltic, where amber was alone found : and we learn from Strabo, that it was the general opinion that the Bafternæ (a Scythic divifion) held the parts beyond the Germans, or Scandinavia. The Gythones, or Gothones, Ptolemy places on the Baltic fhore, between the Sideni, or Sidones, and Peukini, two Bafternic nations; and it is moft likely that the Gythones were alfo Bafternæ. The Sidones, or Sitones, we find in the fouth of Sweden on the oppofite coaft ; and the Gythones, or Guttones, are furely the Gutæ, of the fouth of Scandinavia, as put by Ptolemy, who had paffed over to the ground formerly held by the Sitones on their moving northeaft : for on, as Grotius obferves, is merely the old German plural, which is fometimes given, fometimes omitted; thus Gutæ, Gutones; Burgundi, Burgundiones; Lugii, Lugiones, \&rc. \&c. \&c.

It is believed, that no one, the leaft verfed in the fubject, will object that the vayage from prefent Prafia to Scandinavia, was too far, for a people in the rudeft ftate of fociety. Some modern writers deny early population by fea; as Tacitus and other ancients reject progrefs by land. As the later forgot that men have feet, fo the former forget that they have hands. Sea, far from checking intercourfe, makes it eafier even to barbarians. Wherever men are found, canoes are found; even when huts, nay cloths are wanting. The Greenlanders and Fins navigate hundreds of miles: and no nation, however favage, has been difcovered in any maritime corner of the globe,
globe, that was a ftranger to navigation. In the South Seas Captain Cook found fmall iles 400, 500,600 miles from each other, peopled by the fame race of men, fpeaking the fame tongue.

We do not find any traces in Ptolemy, or elfewhere, of any nations paffing from the weft of Germany into Scandinavia, except perhaps the Leroni of Ptolemy's Scandinavia be the Lemovii of Tacitus in Lubec and Wagerland, where the paffage to Scandinavia is very eafy. But from the eaft, to which the Scychic progrefs was nearer and fpeedier, we find the Guta and Sitones had paffed : and Strabo expreffes it the general opinion that the Bafterna held Scandinavia. Thefe circumstances feem to evince, as clearly as the cafe will bear, that Scandinavia was peopled by the Bafternic nations on the eaft of Germany: and as their progrefs was as near from Little Scythia, the punctum faliens, to the extremity of Scandinavia, as was that of their brethren to the extremity of Germany, fo there is every reafon to conclude that Scandinavia was peopled with Scythians as foon as Germany. The Northern Fins, including Laplanders, feem: to have been infallibly aborigines of their country; for they are fo weak, fo peaceable, and their foil fo wretched, that they could have vanquifhed no nation, and no nation could envy them their poffeffions in climes beyond the folar road.

As we thus find that the Bafternæ, or thofe Germans who lived eaft of the Viftula, were the Scythic divifion that peopled Scandinavia, it can hardly be fuppofed that the Peukini, whofe name is put by Tacitus as fynonymous with Bafternæ, and whom we have traced up to the very fhore oppofite to Scandinavia, fhould have fent no colonies into it. On the contrary we have every reafon to believe that they were the firft Scythians who paffed into it ; and moving on in conftant progrefs, left room for their brethren the Sitones to follow; for we find the fteps of the Peukini in Prolemy from Peulié to the Tyras, from thence to the Peukinian Mountains

Mountains in Pruffian; in a dircet line ; while the Sitones moved round by the weftward, for in Ptolemy we find remains of them above the Quadi in the fouth-eaft of Germany ; and others, ftill further north-weft, on the Baltic fhore. 'The Peukini, on the contrary, never croffed the Vif tula, but proceeded ftrait on to the Baltic fhore. 'There they vanifh, while the Sitones are found in Scandinavia, on the oppofite coaft, which, it is furely reafonable to infer, arofe from the progrefs of the Peukini leaving that poffeffion open to the nation whofe population followed them. For as Strabo obferves the general opinion that the Bafternæ pofieffed Scandinavia, and the Peukini were the largeft and nobleft name of the Bafternæ, it feems likely that Strabo fhould efpecially refer to them; feeing that we can trace them to the oppolite coaft in fuch full population, as to leave their name to a chain of mountains: and that we know the Sitones another Bafternic divifion, whofe progrefs was infinitely flower, as more circulative, held a great part of fouthern Scandinavia. Thefe reafons appear to me fo clear and cogent, as fully to confirm the opinion of the ancients, as related by Strabo, that the Bafternic Germans peopled Scandinavia; and allo to infer, from every ground of cool probability, that the Poukini were the very firf Bafternat who paffed over, and proceeded north-weft till they emerged under the name of Pigi, the Pehtar, or Peobtar, or Pibtar, of the Saxon Chronicle, Pchiti of Witichind, and Pebts of ancient Scotifh poets, and modern natives of Scotland, and the north of England.

It is therefore Hiftoric Truth, that thofe German Scytbians, whbo peopled Scandinavia, zucre the Peukini and Sitones, two divifons of the Baflerna.

[^79]Chap. v. scythians orgoths. ijy
Before adding a hint or two on the Piks, who are referved for my Enquiry into Scotifb biftory prior to 1056, i muft remark that i do not build on the above progrefs of the Peukini, as it is fufficient for me to fhew from Tacitus and Beda that the Piks were German Scythians from Scandinavia, and to trace them from Norway to Scotland. Facts, and authorities which are facts in hiftory, are the fole grounds upon which a rational hiftorian can proceed. If he contradicts facts and authorities, he writes romance, not hiftory. In my laborious refearch into early Scotifh hiftory, i was fhocked to find that, inftead of a foundation, i hat not even good ground for a foundation, owing to the careleffnefs with which the origin of nations has been treated. The toil it has coft me to drain my ground of much watry falfehood, has been equal to that of building my fabric, as the reader may judge. I can fafely fay the truth has been my fole object; for my labour has been too great to wafte any part of it in a bauble of an hypothefis, which falls at the firt breath, while truth remains for ever. To proceed to a hint on the Piks, it was not to be fuppofed that the Northern hiftorians could be ignorant of a nation once fo celebrated, and who proceeded from Norway. Accordingly we find the vaft hiftory of Norway by Torfæus, compiled from Icelandic Sagas, \&c. quire full of them; but under a variation in the initial letter, the caufe of which muft be explained.

Grammarians obferve certain letters which are called labial becaufe pronounced by the lips: they are $b, f, m, p, v$; of thefe the $b, f, p, v$, put at the beginning of words, are pronounced almoft with the fame motion of the lips, and are thus often interchanged. In Roman infcriptions we find Bita for Vita; in Greek authors Biturius for Vituritus, \&c. \&c. \&c. In Spanih $\mathbf{V}$ is pronounced B. The F, or Greek digamma, was proncunced $V$, as all know. But the inter-
change of $P$, and $\gamma$, which alone concerns my prefent inveftigation, feems peculiar to the Germans, and Northern nations of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, for i cannot trace it in Italian, Spanifh, or French. Thus the Germans fay Vater for the Latin Pater; Picker is Icelandic for a Chipbuilder, from Vig, a ßip; \&c. \&c. The Saxons found the found of P and V fo fimilar, that they actually adopted the Roman letter $P$ to exprefs V , and W , a modification of V . Thus on coins of William I. and II. of England pilem is wilem; and the fame occurs in the earlieft Saxon coins and MSS, and in the printed Saxon at this day, as all know. Torfaus obferves, in his Series Regum Daxia, that the Vitta of the Saxon genealogifts is the Pitta of the Icelandic. I need not pæoduce more inflances, but refer the reader, if he wifhes for more, to the Glofarium Germanicuzz of Wachter; the Glofariunz Suio-Gotbicum (fhould be Suito-Gotbicum) of Ihre; and the Lexicon Iflandicum of Andreas. The phyfical reafon of the Northern nations ufing V for P , or pronouncing P as V , may be, that the cold contracts their organs, for V is only a tefs open pronounciation of P .

But in the prefent inftance there is no occafion to infift on labial changes, but barely to mention that in the Icelandic, or Old Scandinavian language, there is in fact no fuch letter as $P$; and in words of foreign extract the P is always pronounced $V$, and is from that caufe generally fo written. Thus papa, a prieft, is often written pava. In prefent Icelandic $\mathbf{P}$ is always founded V .

Of the ancient kingdom of $V_{I K A}{ }^{\circ}$, Torfæus is

[^80]full; and it is the Vicbia regnum of Olaus Magnus which he puts in the lift of the moft important kingdoms of Scandinavia. Its inhabitants were called Vikverar, men of Yik, the Pibtar of the Saxons. It was one of the kingdoms which was reduced by Harold Harfagre, in the ninth century, when he became firft king of all Norway. It extended, as Torfæus informs us, from the Icelandic writers, all over the fouth of Norway, around Opfloa, an ancient city near the new town Chriftiania, and oppofite the point of the Cimbric Cherfonefe. It was afterward the large province of Dalvika; and its eaft fide is ftill known in every map by the name of Vikfiden, or the fide of Vika, extending down to the north-weft outlet of the lake Wener. But of this more elfewhere. It fhall only be obferved in paffing, that this muft have been the very progrefs of the Peukini, if they preceded the Sitones, a part of whofe tribes lay continuous with the Suiones, near the Wener lake : tho, had i formed an hypothefis, i fhould have affented to Cluverius, and all the modern geographers, who place the Sitones in Norway ; as in that cafe to fuppofe the Peukini, their Bafternic brethren, in the fouth of the fame country, would have been more plaufible. But as facts are the fole fubject of my refearch, i fhall leave hypothefis to thofe who do not grudge to labour in vain; for an hypothefis only fands till another cancels it, while facts and authorities can never be overcome.

It may be proper, before concluding, briefly to confider the received opinions concerning the Scandinavian origins. Saxo Grammaticus has founded the Danifh monarchy in the perfon of a king Dan, more than a thoufand years before Chrift. Torfæus, from Icelandic Sagas', has Shewn, that Saxo's

[^81]fyftem, drawn from old fongs, is falfe; and that Skiold, fon of Odin, was the firf king of Denmark, a little before our æra. Mallet has, in his hiftory of Denmark, followed the plan of Torfæus; and as it is much more rational than Saxo's, it promifes to ftand as to fucceffion of kings; Torfæus founding on the fole authorities which remain; and it is not to be fuppofed that any future hiftorian thould be fo frantic as to contend againft his authorities, or that the public fhould approve fuch delufion. In Sweden, the tales of Joannes Magnus, the forger, have, for a century, been in utter contempt; and the hiftory refts upon an author of wonderful merit and judgment for his age, Snorro Sturlefon, who wrote in the thirteenth century, and whofe hiftory extends to two folio volumes, and alfo relates to Denmark and Norway. It is in the Icelandic tongue; but a Latin tranflation is given by Peringfkiold. He makes Odin cotemporary with Pompey, from whom he flies into the north; and fubduing Scandinavia, keeps Sweden for himfelf, and commences the line of kings. The Norwegian hiftory refts on the diligence of Torfæus, who from Icelandic chronicles, genealogies, \&c. concludes Odin to have come to Scandinavia in the time of Darius Hyftafpis, or about 520 years before Chrift. Some Northern antiquaries alfo finding in the Edda that Odin was put as the fupreme deity, and that a total uncertainty about his age prevailed in the old accounts, have imagined to themfelves another Odin, who lived about 1000 years before our æra; a mere arbitrary date, and which the formers of this fyftem had better bave put 500 years before Chrift, as Torfæus the moft diligent of Northern antiquaries has done. - Mallet, who has taken matters as he found them, fuppofes two Odins; and looks on the laft, who flourifhed in Pompey's time, as an Afiatic Magician ; nay he tells us fome belicve three Odins! Torfreus, we have feen, in

Chap. v. SCTTHIANS OR GOTHS. 18ı his Norwegian hiftory, infers him to have lived 500 years before Chrift, whom in his Serics Regum Danice he had thought lived only 50 !

O creas hominum mentes! O peCtora cæca!
Here is the fecret: odin never existed. The whole affair is an allegory. Torfæus, fo profoundly verled in the Icelandic monuments, tellis us they abound in allegory, infomuch that it is often impoffible to diftinguifh truth from falfehood in them. Strange that he did not fee that they all begin with allegorv! Not one of thefe Icelandic pieces, nor any monument whatever of Scandinavian hiftory, is older than the Eleventh century. What dependence then as to events happening before Chrift? Their chronology down to Harold Harfagre, or the end of the ninth century, is alfo quite confufed, infomuch that you will find one man cotemporary to three or four centuries.

The Later Edda, which was alfo compiled by Snorro in the thirteenth century, fully confirms the idea that Odin was never in life, but was merely the God of War. In this Edda Thor is the fon of Odin. Mallet well obferves that, thro this whole Edda, Odin the hero, who led the Goths from Afia, is confounded with Odin the God of War, or fupreme god of the Norwegians. True: yet is there no confufion. There was but one Odin, the god. The hero is a non-exiftence. The whole progrefs of the Goths from Afia under Odin is fo palpable and direct an allegory, that he muft have little penetration indeed who cannot pierce it. It was the God of War who conducted the Goths; literally, they fought their way againft the Cclts and Fins. But it may be faid, how then came Snor:o, (for on him the whole refts) to make Odin cotemporary with Pompey? Be it obferved on this, that Snorro lived at a late period, the end of the Thirteenth century, and that not an iota about Pompey could occur, till Chriftianity introduced

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Latin Learning in the 11th age. The fact is merely this. Snorro found even from his ffrange genealogy, that the earlieft kings of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, of whom tradition preferved the names, could not be dated further back than about 50 years before Chrift. Thefe kings, as ufual with even Greek and Roman genealogifts, when the name of their fathers was unknown to tradition, were called fons of fome God; and in the prefent cafe Odin the Alfader, and the Mars, was the common fire. Snorro, who, as appears from his work, was confiderably tinctured with Latin learning, never reflected that Odin could be only an allegorical father; but fimply believes him.a real human father; and finding his epoch according to his foolifh genealogy of Kings correfpond, in this view, with that of Pompey, thinks it a proper place to difplay his Latin, by connecting his hiftory with the Roman. His work is divided into various Sagas, or hiftoric romances; and as the Icelanders had Sagas on Alexander the Great, on Arthur, on Troy, \&c. it is likely they had one on Pompey; in which, as all chronology was confounded in thefe romances, Odin was brought in as fighting with him. Snorro probably had this faga before him, and fo gives the tale. But to fhew how very little Snorro can be relied on, we have only to reflect that, in the preface to the Edda, he makes Thor the founder of Troy, and Odin his defcendant in the 17th generation; that is, allowing 30 years as ufual for a generation, Odin lived 510 years after Thor, whom he makes Tros, from mere fimilarity of names. Now Tros lived, as chronologers mark, 1360 years before Chrift; of courfe Odin lived 850 years before Chrift, and yet was cotemporary to Pompey! No wonder that three Odins were neceffary ! In truth chronology, as might be expected, is utterly confounded in thofe romances called Sagas, infomuch that Torfæus once placed

King

Chap. v. SCTthians or goths. ${ }^{183}$
King Hrolf Krak 500 years before Chrift, and was afterward forced to put him 500 years after Chrift. The ftory of Odin flying from Pompey is a mere dream of fome filly Saga; and he who builds on it muft be weaker than a child. Such an event, as the migration of a whole nation from the Euxine to the Baltic, could never efcape the Greeks, who had numerous colonies on the Euxine, and who traded to the Baltic for amber. It is however remarkable that all Scandinavian Sagas mention Odin with his Scythians coming to Scandinavia, but not one hints that a fingle colony went from it to Scvthia; which is another argument againft the Goths proceeding from Scandinavia.

If the Northery antiquaries will therefore open their eyes, and fee at laft that all concerning Odin is a mere mythologic'allegory, they will do well. There was but one Odin, the God of War, who was cotemporary in all ages. The kings of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, nay the whole Anglo-Saxon kings, owned him as firft father. That is, they were entitled folely to martial prowefs for their thrones. As for the genealogy of Odin himfelf, in which we find him defcended from a line of anceftors, as Geta or the father of the Getæ, and Pitta or the father of the Piks, \&c. it is alfo allegorical, as much as the Theogonia of Hefiod, and the genealogies of Greek gods and heroes. Mere poetry all; and not hiftory. Odin's progrefs, as marked from the Northern hiftories, by Mallet, in his fourth chapter of the Introduction, was round by Germany, the Cimbric Cherfonefe, and Denmark, into Sweden. How could Mallet be fo much afleep, as to dream that this event which, according to him, happened in Cæfar's time, could be unknown to Cafar? That Odin fhould pierce thro all the hundred martial nations of Germany, and not leave a trace behind? Should vanquifh the Suevi, to whom, as their neighbours $\mathrm{N}_{4}$ faid,

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 faid, the Gods were not equal? One is fick of fuch folly; and to confute it is to debafe the human mind. The whole is unchronologic allegory. The Goths by war fubdued and peopled Scandinavia, an event that happened at leaft 500 years before Chrift; and was accomplifhed by different nations, under different leaders, but all 'under the guidance of Odin the god of war. Varro marks three divifions of antiquity, the dark, the mytbologic, the biforic. The Northern antiquaries to this day ; when fuch great writers as Schoening, Suhm the illuftrious patron of Danifh literature; Lagerbring the moft acute Swedifh hiftorian, rank among them; ftill confaund the mytbologic with the biftoric period. Odin is wholly a mythologic perfonage; and has nothing to do with hiftory, which only faintly dawns at the reigns of his" reputed fons, as the Roman does with Romulus fon of Mars. The tales about him, and 'his Afæ', are all poetical allegories; and have no more to do with hiftory than Greek mythology. If he ever exifted, it was in the firft Scythian empire, 3000 years before Chrift. Romulus was the fon of Mars, as the Northern kings of Odin : but no writer has been fo foolifh as to infer that Mars was the human father of Romulus, and reigned in Latium juft before him. The great good ienfe of the Scandinavian antiquaries has already led them to laugh at Jornandes: but one or two ftill dream of a migration of Goths to Scandinavia under one Odin, about 1000 years before Chrift; a fecond from it to Getia, about 300 years before Chrift ; and a return under another Odin 70 years before Chrift: So hard it is to eradicate prejudice !A philófophic differtation on Scandinavian Chronology is wanted; but philofophy has not yet reached Scandinavia; and it's beft writers are full of their domeftic tales, but frangers to Greek and Roman learning, and to the general hiftory of ancient Europe. Theirhiftories bear only 24 kings, . 1
(one
(one more or lefs,) from 70 years before Chrift to Ragnar Lodbrog, who flourifhed, as appears from Old Englih writers and other certain accounts, in 830 . But in the feries of Irifh, likifh, and Heptarchic kings of England, the kings reign but eleven years each at a medium ; and Sir Ifaac Newton has thewn that even in civilized kingdoms they reign but eighteen. Scandinavia was certainly_ more ferocious than moft other countries, and it's kings muft have reigned a fhorter, and not a longer, time than the kings in England, Scotland, and Ireland: accordingly moft of the early Swedifh and Danifh kings die violent deaths. Not more than eleven years can be allowed to each reign : and 264 years reckoned back from 830 give the year of Chritt 566 , for the commencement of the feries; and period of the mock Odin. The generations can never be compured by reigns of kings. All hiftory refufes this. Who can believe that the fons regularly fucceeded their fathers, and formed generationsby reigns? Snorro, \&c. are in this refpect more fabulous than Saxo. The generations are falle; tho the names may be genuine. But even fable ought to bear verifimilitude; and from the year 500 to 900 fhould be placed the Fabulous part of Danifh, Swedish, Norwegian hiftory. All before is dark, and loft even to table. The total filence of their writers concerning the progrets of the Jutes and Angles to England confirms this date, as well as the moft ceriain rules of chronology.

## Epochs of the Firf Gotbic Progrds over Europe.

ANCIENT Chronology has been ruined by attempting to force it to Scripture, which is furely no canon of chronology ; for the Septuagint, tranflated from MSS. far more ancient than any we have, differs from the prefent Hebrew no lefs than 576 years before Noah, and 880 from Noah to Abraham. The Greek Church, certainly as well inftructed as the Roman, dates the creation 5508 years before Chrift. Epiphanius, Auguttin, and other fathers, follow the Hebrew of their time, which agrees with the Septuagint. But Ancient Chronology ought only to be eftimated from ancient authors; and kept quite apart from fcriptural chronology. The date of the creation, \&ec. can never be decided, either from fcripture or otherwife; and fuch fpeculations are futile. In other points the authority of the learned U(her, now univerfally allowed the beft chronologer, is followed.

In adjufting ancient chronology, it muft ever be remembered that in tradition, as in common memory, great events, tho very remote, are, from the deep impreffion they make, apt to be blended with fmall recent incidents. Thus the firft Scythic Empire, the victories of Sefoftris, \&c. were great events preferved in the memory of many generations; but in the hiftoric page thefe great ancient events appear crouded, and immediately precede leffer incidents, which happened but eight centuries, or fo, before our æra. So in old age ary affecting incident of childhood appears but of yefterday; while all the intermediate paffages of youth, and maturity, have perifhed. Tradition, like memory, preferves Great matters, and Late matters, in the fame vivid manner; the former becaufe they have made deep impreffion ; the later becaufe the impreffion is recent.

The firft dawn of hiftory breaks with the Egyptian. Menes the firft king, after the gods and heroes, reigned about, Before Chrift

The Scythians, whom the dawn of hiftory difcovers in prefent Perfia, (Epiphan. Eufeb. Chron. Pafchal.) under their king Tanaus attack Vexores king of Egypt and conquer Afia, ( $\mathcal{F u f i n}$. ) 1500 years before Ninus, or about
(The Chinefe hiftory begins; and is continued in conftant and clear narration, as now allowed by the beft orientalifts

Ninus, firft monarch of the Affyrian Empire, for Belus was a god, (Baal, Bel,) his reputed father, as Mars of Romulus, and Odin of northern kings, eftablifhes that empire on the ruins of the Scythian. The Scythæ Nomades of the north of Perfia crofs the Araxes and Caucafus, and fettle around the Euxine (Herodot. Diod. Sic. \&c.) about

The Scythians begin fettlements in Thrace, Illyricum, Greece, and Afia Minor, about

The Scythians have completely peopled Thrace, Illyricum, Greece, and a great part of Afia Minor, about

Sefoftris king of Egypt attacks the Scythians of Colchis with a land army, and leaves a colony of Egyptians, afterward the famous Colchians. He alfo paffes thro Afia Minor, and attacks Thrace (Herodot. Diod. \&c.) about

The Scythians peopled Italy *, about - 1000
The Parental Scythians on the Euxine again hold the fupreme empire of Afia by vanquifhing the Medes; but only for 28 years (Herodot. \&c.)

The Scythians have peopled Germany and Scandinavia; and a Great part of Gaul, and Spain, about

The Belgr pafs into the fouth of Britain and of Ireland, about.
The Piks pafs into the north of Britain,

500 about

300
300

[^82]
## Epochs of the Second Gothic Progrefs from Getia and from Germany over Europe *.

The Rhine and the Danube had been appointed the boundiaries of the Roman empire by Auguftus; but Trajan was to extend them to their furtheft degree, by his conquefts in Afia, which were refigned by Hadrian. Yet an acquifition of Trajan beyond the Danube was more permanent, for

103 years After Chrift, he fubdued Dacia, and erected it into a Roman province; bounded on the north by the Tyras or Neifter, on the weft by the Tibifcus or Teyfs, on the fouth by the Danube, and on the eaft by the Euxine; and peopled it wholly with Roman fubjects; being a fpace about 1300 miles in circumference: but which feems to have been diminifhed by incurfions of the Daci and Sarmatr, even fo early as the time of Hadrian. The pillar of Trajan at Rome reprefents this conquef.
173. Marcus Antoninus repells the Quadi and Marcomanni $\dagger$.

Thefe tranfactions are the chief we find in Roman hiftory relating to the Goths or Germans, till the grand æra following.
250. The Getie or Parental Goths pafs the Tyras or Neitter into the province of Dacia, and ravaging it march on fouth over the Danube into Thrace. Thefe Goths did not come originally from Scandinavia, as moft foolifhly inferred from Jornandes, who fays no fuch thing, 'but that the ancient Scythians or Goths came from Scandinavia, and afterward conquered Afia and Vexores king of Egypt, events that happened about $3^{660}$ years before Chrift. This ridiculous and abfurd tale of Jornandes, tho narrated with fuch palpable hues of fable as cannot impofe on a child, and tho utterly contradieted by the confent of all the ancients, as

[^83]Shewn

Thewn above in the fecond chapter of this effay, has yet mifled all the greateft authors of Europe to this hour! The fat is, that thefe Goths who now poured into Dacia were the Getr, a people whom Darius found in the very country whence they now iffued 570 years before Chrift, as Herodotus fhews. They were, as above fully explained, the fame with the Scythr, as Jornandes alfo knew : and that the Scythx came from the fouthern parts of Afra, the reader has feen by the content of all antiquity. Soon after we find the Getæ, or Goths, laterly fo called, divided into Ofrogoths, or Eafern-Geta, and $V_{e}$ figetbs, or Weftern-Geta. The royalty of the Oftrogoths was, as Jornandes fhews, ch. 5. in the family of the Amali; and the neighbouring Scythic nations of the Alani, \&cc. \&cc. were generally fubject to the Oftrogoths. Weft of the Boriftencs were the Vefigoths, anciently the Tyragetx ftretching weftward even to the Bafternx, another tract of vaft extent. The royalty of the Vefigoths was in the family of the Balthi or B.uldi : Jorn. ch. 5. The progrefs of thefe two vaft nations of Oftrogoths and Vefigoths will be fhewn in the fequel. Thefe Goths, who pourcd into Dacia A. D. 250 , were palpably the Vefigoths or WefternGeta; for the Oftrogoths were remote from the Roman empire.
251. Decius is defeated and flain in Mxfia by the Vefigoths or Weftern Geta.
252. Gallus purchafes peace of the Goths by an annual tribute. They return to their own country.

About 2.60. The Chauci, Cherufci and Catti (including the fmaller nations Brugeri, Ufipii, Tengeri, Salii, - Anfivarit, Chamavi, Dulgibin, Chafuarii, Angrivarii) great nations of Germany, form a grand alliance under the name of Franci or $y$ ree-men; and burling thro Gaul, ravage Spain: and a part even paffes into Africa. All the above nations are efpecially named by various ancients as members of the Franci: fee Cluver. Germ, Ant. lib. III. where the authorities are produced.

About the fame time the Aamanni invade Italy and return laden with fpoil. This people confifted of feveral tribes of the vaft German nation of the Suevi whocoalefcing took the name of All -men or men of all tribes, as authors relate. Tho it feems likely the name rather implied their fupreme couraye, as whole men, full of virility.

About

About the fame time the Goths feize on the fmall kingdom of the Bofphorus Cimmerius, which had long fubfifted under Roman protection. As this petty kingdom was on the fouth point of the dominions of the Oftrogoths, while the Vefigoths were at a great diftance, there iscvery reafon to believe that the former are meant. After this they in one naval expedition take Trebifond, and ravage the Euxine hores; in a fecond moving weftward plander Bithynia; and in a third ravage Greece.
269. The Goths, with another naval armament, land in Macedonia. Claudius the emperor advancing, a great battle was fought at Naiffus in Dardania, and Claudius conquering obtained the furname of Gothicus.

About 272, Aurelian is forced to yield to the Goths the province of Dacia. The Vefigoths who extended all over the north and weft of Dacia are implied.

About the fame time the Alamanni invading Italy are defeated by Aurelian.
276. The Alani invading Pontus are defeated by Tacitus.
278. Probus builds a wall from the Rhine to the Danube, about 200 miles, to protect the empire from the German nations.
322. The Weftern Goths, no longer content with Dacia, pour into Illyricum. Conftantine I. repells them.
$33^{1}$. The Vandals who, finding Germany open by the frequent tranfitions of the Franks and Alamanni fouth-weft, had gradually fpred a part of their nation fouth-eaft, till it bordered on the Vefigoths, have many conflicts with the latter people. Conftantine I. again repelis the Goths; and conquers a few Sarmatians.
355. The Franks and Alamanni pafs the Rhine, and ravage Gaul. Julian conquers, and repells them.
365. The Alamanni again invade Gaul ; and are defeated.
367. Ulphilas, bifhop of thofe Goths who had formerly been allowed by Conftantine II. (Pbiloforg. lib. Il.) to fettle in Mxfia, tranflates the feriptures into Gothic, a part of which tranflation yet remains. Before the year 400 moft of the Gothic nations in the Roman empire, and on its frontiers, became Chriftians.
370. The Burgundians, a Vandalic race, who appeared under this name on the fouthweft of Germany, about preíent Alface, invade Gaul.

About the fame time the Saxons, alfo of Vandalic origin, and whom Ptolemy firft mentions on the mouth of the Elbe, ravage the fea-coafts of Gaul and Britain.

About this time alfo the Piks, a German-Gothic people of Scandinavia, who had fettled in prefent Scotland about three centuries before Chrift, ravage the north of Britain; as indeed Eumenius the panegyrift fays they had been accuftomed to do before the time of Julius Cæfar. Theodofius, the general of Valentinian, found the Piks, and their confederates the Scots, advanced even to London; whence he repelled them: and driving the Piks to their ancient poffeffions beyond the Clyde and Forth, gained the province which he salled Valentia.

About the fame time the great Hermanric, king of the Oftrogoths or Eaftern Getæ, and chief of the race of the Amali, extended his conquefts fo far and wide, that Jornandes compares him to Alexander. The Vefigothic kings were reduced to take the titles of Judges. The Heruli and the Venedi of Poland, and the Æftii of Pruffia, with many other nations, were all fubdued by him.

About 375 the Huns burft at once from Tartary upon the dominions of the Alani and Oftrogoths. As the appearance of this new people forms the greateft phanomenon in the hiftory of Europe, it will be proper to dwell a little on it. M. de Guignes has, from his knowlege of the Chinefe tongue, obliged the world with a complete hiftory of the Huns, in four large volumes : tho unhappily full of errors, becaufe M. de G. was not 1 killed in Greek and Roman hiftory and geography. The Huns are the Hiong-nou of the Chinefe, and their own Tartars: and originated from the north of China. Their wars with the Chinefe can be traced back to 200 years before our xra. About 87 years before Chrift, the Chinefe obtained a prodigious victory over them. The vaft Hunnic nations after this fell into civil wars. In procefs of time the numerous hordes that were vanquifhed moved weft in two divifions, one divifion fettled on the confines of Perfia, the other paffed north weft over the vaft river Volga, and poured into Europe in amazing numbers, which no valour cauld withftand. They firft encountered the Alani, whom they overpowered, but admitted as allies. They,
and the other Gothic nations, who even to the Cale? donian woods of thic Piks were of targe limbs, elegant and blooming features, and light hair, were aftonithed at the very forms of thefe new invaders, diftinguifhed by fquat limbs, flat nofes, broad faces, and fimall black eyes, datk hair, with little or no beard, as are indeed the prefent Tartars. The Oftrogoths yielded to the Hunnic fwarms, and were admitted allics on condition of fighting in their armies.
376. The Huns now conmanded by Balamir (as they were afterward by three others before the famous Attila) next entered the Vefigothic territory. The Vefigoths feeing all refiftance would be vain, againff fuch myriads, were forced to implnre the protection of the emperor Valens, who, with more genicrofity than policy, allowed them fettlements fouth of the Danube. Upon which near a million of the Vefigoths, including wives and children, paffed into the Roman territory of Mafia A remnant of the Oftrogoths alfo followed. The Goths being denied provifions revolt.
377 The Goths penetrate into Thrace.
378. On the 9th of Auguft was fought the famous battle of Hadrianople, in which Valens was defeated and flain by the Goths. Ammianus fays it was another Cannx. But the Goths, falling into inteftine divifions, were in the courfe of a dozen years repelled to Pannonia, and a colony of the Vefigoths was fettled in Thrace, while a few Oftrogoths were placed in Lydiz and Phrygia. An army of 40,000 Goths was retained for defence of the empire, and are remarkable in the Byzantine writers by the name of quabiea arof federati.

During the reft of the reign of Balamir, and thofe of his three fucceffors Octar, Roas, and Bleda, the Huns refted fatisfied with the territory thicy had gained, which extended to prefent Hungary • and Attila did not reign till 430 , or about 50 ycars after this. Vaft numbers of the Goths feem to have ravaged and feized on the provinces, from the fouth weft of Germany and Illyricum to Macedon.
395. The Goths unanimoufly rife under the command of the great Alaric. 396. Alaric ravages Grece.
${ }_{39} 8 . \mathrm{He}$ is chofen king of the Vefigoths. The Oftrogoths remained in the Hunnic territory as allies.

400-403. Alaric invades Italy, and is defeated by Stilicho who was himfelf a Vandalic Goth.
406. Radagaifus at the head of a large army of German nations, (Vandals, Suevi, and Burgundians), and Gothic auxiliaries, invades Italy. He is likewife defeated by Stilicho. The remains of his army ravage Gaul.
408. Alaric invades Italy. Rome is thrice befieged, and at length pillaged by him in 410 . The moderation of the Goths is highly praifed by feveral cotemporary writers. The monuments of art fuffered not from them ; but from time, and barbarous pontifs. In 410 Alaric dies.
412. Ataulphus, brother in law of Alaric, and his elected fucceffor, makes peace with the Romans; and marches into the fouth of Gaul, which the Vefigoths poffers for a long time.
415. The Suevi, Vandals, and Alani, having in 409 penetrated from the fouthweft of Germany into Gaul, which they ravaged, were afterward by Conftantine, brother in law of Honorius, forced to abandon Gaul, and pafs into Spain. Ataulphus, king of the Vefigoths, now led his forces againft them. The Vefigoths in three years conquer the invaders; and reftore Spain to the Romans. The Suevi and Vandals how. ever ftill retained Gallicia. The Vefigoths hold Aquitain.
420. The Franks, Burgundians, and Vefigoths, obtain a permanent feat and dominion in Gaul. The firft in Belgic Gaul on the north; the fecond in the Provincia Lugdunenfis, and prefent Burgundy, in the middle ; the laft in Narbonne, and Aquitain, on the fouth.
429. The Vandals of Spain pafs into Africa under Genferic their king: and eftab!ifh the Vandalic kingdom of Africa, whch under Genferic, Ungeric, Gundabund, Thrafamund, Hilderic, and Gilimer, lafted till 535, when Gilimer was vanquifhed by Belifarius, and the Vandalic empire ceafed in Africa, after 96 ycars of duration.
430. The great Attila, king of the Huns, begins to reign about this time. His chief fame fprung from the terror he fpred into the Roman empire; his conquefts have been ridiculounly magnified. On the authority of 2 vague expreffion of Jornandes, folus $S_{c j t h i c a ~ e t ~ G e r-~}^{\text {- }}$
manica regna poffedit *, fome hints of Prifcus, and the exaggerations of eaftern writers, repeated by M. de Guignes, it is faid that his power extended over all Germany, even into Scandinavia. But no German, or Scandinavian, author, or antiquary, fhews a fingle trace of this, and we know it to be falle from the names of the nations who followed Attila's ftandard. On the eaft the Oftrogoths obeyed him; and the Gepidæ, whofe king Ardaric was his faithfull counfellor; and the Heruli. On the weft, the Rugii and Thuringi are the only nations we find under his banner at Chalons, where his whole force was affembled; and they had both moved fouth long before, and bordered on Bohemia and Hungary. Attila's domains were vaft ; but he turned with fcorn from the barren north, while the fouth afforded every temptation; and we read of none of his conquefts to the north. The cool hiftorian will therefore reject the hyperboles of fancy and fear; and contract Attila's power in Germany to very narrow bounds. The palace and royal village of Attila, defcribed by Prifcus and Jornandes, ftood between the Danube and the Teyfs, in the plains of upper Hungary ; and he chofe that fpot that he might over-run the Romans, and command the fouth weft provinces of the empire.

At this time Theodoric reigned over the Vefigoths in Gaul; and Clodion, the firft king in real hiftory, over the Franks : of Pharamond no authentic trace can be found.
449. The Vitz or Jutes arrive in Britain. Mr. Gibbon is certainly right that they were not invited, as dreamed, but were northern rovers, allowed to fettle in Kent, on condition of lending affiftance againft the Piks and Scots. The weak manner in which the ancient hiftory of England has been treated, while by the labours of many learned men that of France and Germany is clear as day, has left confufion every where. The acquifitions of the Jutes, Saxons, Angli, are all huddled together by our fuperficial dablers! The futes feized a corner of Kent in 449 : they encreafed, and founded the kingdom of Kent about 460. In 477 the firft Saxons arrrived, and founded the kingdom of South

[^84]Saxons.

Saxons. In 495 the Weft Saxons arrived. The Eaft Saxons in 527. Hitherto there were no Angli in Britain. The firft Angli who arrived, came under Ida to Bernicia in 547. The Eaft Angles do not appear till 575. Mercia, which Beda fays was an Anglic kingdom; but feems to me a Frifian, as we know that the Frifi were of the nations who feized Britain tho omitted by Beda,- who was an Anglus, and gives that name moft improperly ; Mercia was founded in 585 . Let me alfo obferve on this great event, that the ideas received into Englifh hiftory concerning it are, in fome other refpects, miftaken. The Belgic Britons, as Germans, infallibly ufed the fame tongue with their neiw allies. The Wellh were, even in the time of Julius, confined to Wales and the north: they are his indigenes. The Welfh ufurp all the Belgic kings, with whom they have no more to do than with the Englifh. From Cunobelinus to Vortiger not a prince can be given to the Welch. The Belgic Britons no doubt amounted to three or four millions; all of whom were incorporated with their allies, who by all accounts were not numerous, tho warlike. The Belgæ were the Villani and Ilaves of the conquerors; and exceeding them in number, their feeech muft have prevailed as happened in Spain, Italy, and Gaul, where the lingua ruftica Romana obtained. Our old language thould be called Anglo-Belgic, not Anglo-Saxon. They who look on the. Welch as the only fpeech of the ancient Britons are widely miftaken : they were called Britons, as being the indigenes; while the Belgic name was loft in the heptarchic ftates. The Welch and Irifh tongues preferve that foul of language the grammar: but are fo mixt with Gothic, or German and Latin, that Ihre, not knowing the vaft difference of the grammar, pronounces what we call Celtic a dialect of the Gothic. In Gothic we have a monument of the fourth century, the gofpels of Ulphila, a book in which the meaning of every word is facred and marked. In Celtic we have no remain older than the eleventh century; and the interpretation is dubious. The Belgæ commanded both in Britain, and Ireland; and, being a later and far fuperior people, imparted innumerable words to the Celtic. They therefore who derive any Englifh words from Celtic only Shew a rifible ignorance : for the truth is, that the Celtic are derived from the Englifh.
451. Attila invades Gaul, and befieges Orleans. The grand battle of Chalons, the campi Catalaunici, is fought. This conflict, the moft prodigious and important ever joined in Europe, in any age, was between Attila, with his innumerable army of Huns, Gepidx, Oftrogoths, Rugii, Thuringi ; and on the other fide灰tius with Romans, Theodoric with Vefigoths, the Alani, Saxons, Franks, Burgundians, Armoricans,\&c. Attila is totally defeated and forced to retreat, leaving 150,000 of his army on the field, at the fmalleft computation. Had he conquered, all Europe would now have been Hunnigh, or Turkihh; inftead of Scythic, or Gothic: and from the polygamy, \&c. of the Huns; inimical to the Chriftian faith, it is likely (divine caufes apart) we had all.been Mahometans. So much may depend on one hour.
452. Attila returns upon Italy, but fpares Rome. He is again defeated by Torifmond, king of the Vefigoths: Jornandes, ch. 42 . He dies next year: and his vaft empire being divided among his difcordant fons falls at once, like a meteor that paffes over half the globe, then in an inftant vanifhes for ever.
453. Ardaric, king of the Oftrogoths, affifted by the Gepidæ, defeats the Huns, whom he had abandoned in Pannonia. The Gepidæ under Arcadic, feize the palace of Attila, and all Dacia. All Illyricum falls to the Oftrogoths. The remainder of the European Huns was but very fmall, (fee Jorn. ch. 53.) and afterward nearly extinguifhed by the Igours of Siberia. In Hungary there is not one Hun, tho the name Hunnivar (Jorn. c. 52.) arofe from the Huns. The Hungaric language is Finnifh; and the Hungarians proper are Igours, a Fimith people who fettled there in the Ninth century. See De Guignes, Peyffonnel, \&c.
455. Genferic king of the African Vandals takes Rome.
456. Theodoric king of the Vefigoths defeats the Suevi in Spain.

462-472. Euric, fucceffor. of Theodoric, makes conquefts in the northweft of Gaul. He fubdues all Spain, fave Gallicia which the Suevi held; and thus begins the Gothic empire in Spain, which lafted till $7!3$, when the Moors conquered the Goths, and maintained part of their Spanifh domain, till the end of the Fifteenth century. The prefent Spaniards are defcended of the Vefigoths, Romans, and Iberians. The Suevi
were united to the Gothic empire by Leovigild, abou ${ }^{\text {t }}$ 550.
475. Odoacer at the head of the Turcilingi, Scyrri, Heruli, aud other mixt Sarmatic and Gothic tribes, terminates the Roman empire in the weft : and reigns at Rome fourteen years.
490. Theodoric, the great king of the Oftrogoths in Pannonia, vanquifhes Odoacer, and rules Italy, which was now overwhelmed with Oftrogoths, of whom, Lombards, and the old inhabitants, the prefent Italians fpring.

490-508. The Franks under Clovis fubdue the Vefigoths in Gaul, and the Burgundians: an event with which properly commences the French kingdom.

The Lombards alfo deferve mention. Paulus Diaconus follows Jornandes, the idol of the middle ages, and brings them from Scandinavia. But we prefer Tacitus who finds them in the heart of Germany. Thence they moved fouthweft, till they fettled in Pannonia, about 400 years after Chrift, or as i rather fufpect after Attila's death, or about 453 , when the Gepidæ*, of whom ancient authors call the Longobardi a part, (Grotii Proleg.) feized Dacia. In Pannonia the Lombards remained till about 570 , when under Alboin they feized on the north of Italy; and after held almoft the whole, fave Rome and Ravenna, till 773, when Defiderius, the laft king, was vanquifihed by Charlemagne.

[^85]
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## Appendix.

## Pliny's Defcription of the Northern parts of Europe; with a tranflation, and remarks.

Hif. Nat. lib. IV. c. I3.

EXEUNDUM deinde eff, ut extera Europx dicantur ; tranfgreffifque Riphzos montes, litus oceani feptentrionalis, in lxva donec perveniatur Gades, legendum. Infulx complures fine nominibus eo fitu traduntur. Ex quibus, ante Scythiam que appellatur Raunomia*, unamabefle diei curfu, in quan veris tempore fluctibus electrum ejiciatur, Timæus prodidit. Reliqua litora incerta fignata fama. Septentrionalis Oceanus; Amalchum eum Hecateus appellat a Paropamifo amne qua Scythiam alluit, quod nomen ejus gentis lingua fignificat Congelatum. Philemon Morimarusam a Cimbris vocari, hoc eft Mortuum Mare, ufque ad promontorium Rubeas, ultra deinde Cronium. Xenophon Lampfacenus a litore Scytharum, tridui navigatione, infulam effe immenfe magnitudinis Baltiam tradit. Eamdem Pytheas Bassilam nominat. Feruntur et Oone in quibus ovis avium, et avenis, incolx vivant. Alix in quibus equinis pedibus homines nafcantur, Hippopodes appellati. Fanesiorum alix, in quibus nuda alioquin corpora pragrandes ipforum aures tota contegant.

Incipit deinde clarior aperiri fama ab gente ing envonum, quee eft prima inde Germanif. Sevo mons ibi ìmmenfus, nec Riphxis jugis minor, immanem ad Cimbrorym ufque Promontoriumefficit finum. qui Codanus vocatur, refertus infulis. Quarum clariffima Scanpinavia eft, incomperta magnitudinis; portionem tantum ejus quod fit notum Hillevionum cente

[^86]$\sin \cdot$
quingentis incolente pagis; quæ alterum orbem terrarum eam appellat. Nec eft minor opinione Eningia. Quidam hre habitari ad Viftulam ufque fluvium a Sarmatis, Venedis, Sciris, Hirris tradunt. Sinum Cylipenum vocari; et in oftio ejus infulam Latrin. Moxalterum finum Lagnum conterminum Cimbris. Promontorium Cimbrorum, excurrens in maria longe, peninfulam efficit quæ CARTR is appellatur. Tres et viginti inde insule Romanorum armis cognitz. Earum nobiliffimæ Burchana, Fabaria noftris dicta a frugis fimilitudine fponte provenientis. Item Glessaria a fuccino militize appellata; a barbaris Austrania; proterque Actania.

Toto autem hoc mari, ad Scaldim ufque fluvium, Germanicæ accolunt gentes, haud explicabili menfura, tam immodica prodentium difcordia eft. Graci et quidam noftri, xxv. M. paffuum oram Germanix tradiderunt. Agrippa cum Rhætia et Norico, longitudinem dexevi. millia paffuum, latitudinemexyviri. millium : Rhætiæ prope unius majore latitudine, fane circa exceflum ejus fubactæ. Nam Germania multis poftea annis, nec tota percognita eft. Si conjectare permittitur, haud multum oræ deerit Græcorum opinione, et longitudini ab Agrippa proditr.

Germanorum genera quinque. Vandili quorum pars Burgundiones, Varini, Carini, Guttones. Alterum genus Ingexvones, quorum pars Cimbri, Teutoni, ac Chaucorum gentes. Proximi autem Rheno Istevones, quorum pars Cimbri Mediterranci. Hermiones, quorum Suevi, Hermunduri, Chatti, Cherufci. Quinta pars Peucini Basternee, fupradictis contermina Dacis. Amnes clari in oceanum defluunt Guttalus, Viftillus five Viftula, Albis, Vifurgis, Amifius, Rhenus, Mofa. Introrfus vero, nullo inferius nobilitate, Hercynium jugum pratenditur.

## Translation.

After defcribing the Hellefpont, Maotis, Dacia, Sarmatia, Antient Scythia, and the iles in Pontus Euxinus, praceeding eaft from Spain; be paffes north to the Scytbic Ocean, and retul ns weft toward Spain.

We muft now depart thence to fpeak of the extrem: parts of Europe ; and, parfing the Riphæan mountains,
purfue the fhore of the Northern Ocean to the left, till we come to Gades. Many ilands without names are faid to be in that tract. Of which one oppofite to Scythia called Raunonia, is diftant a day's courfe, on which, in fpring, amber is caft up by the waves, as Timæus tells. The other fhores are marked by uncertain fame. The Northern ocean Hecatæus calls Amalchium, from the river Paropamifus, where it walhes Scythia: which name in the language of that people implies Congealed or Frozen. Philemon fays it is called Morimarufa, by the Cimbri, fignifying the Dead Sea, till it reaches the promontory Rubeas, and beyond that it is called Cronium. Xenophon of Lampfacus relates that, three days fail from the coaft of the Scythians, there is an iland of immenfe fize, called Baltia. Pytheas terms the fame iland Bafilia. The Oonæ are alfo fpoken of, in which the natives live on eggs of birds, and on oats. Others in which are men born with horfes feet, and thence named Hippopodes. Others of the Fanefii, whofe otherwife naked bodies are covered with their valt cars.

Thence clearer accounts begin with the nation of Ingrvones, the firft on that fide of Germany. There Sevo, an immenfe range of mountains, nor lefs than the Riphæan, forms a great bay even to the Cimbric Promontory, which bay is termed Codanus and is full of ilands. Of which the moft famous is Scandinavia of undifcovered greatnefs; the Hilleviones in five hundred diftricts inhabiting the only part known, who call it another world. Nor is Eningia lefs in opinion. Some relate that thofe tracts even to the river Viftula are inhabited by the Sarmatr, Venedi, Sciri, and Hirri : and that the bay is called Cylipenum, and an ile in it's mouth Latris. Then another bay, called Lagnus, adjacent to the Cimbri. The Cimbric Promontory running far into the fea, forms a peninfula, called Cartris. Thence are Twenty-three iles, known to the Roman arms. The nobleft of them are Burchana, called Fabaria by our peoplc, from a fpontaneous fruit in the fhape of a bean. Alfo Gleffaria, fo called by our foldiers, from it's amber, but by the barbarians Auftrania; and likewíe Actania.

Along this whole fea, even to the river Scaldis the Gicrman nations dwell, in a face not explicable, the difcordance of accounts being to immoderate. The Greeks,

Greeks, and fome of us, have related the borders of Germany to be of Twenty-five Hundred miles. Agrippa, including Rhrtia and Noricum, puts it's length at 696 miles, it's breadth at 248 , the breadth of Rhatia almoft alone, (fubdued about the time of Agrippa's death) being greater than that of Germany [on the South]. For Germany was not known many years after, nor is yet thoroughly fo. If conjecture may be allowed, there will not be much wanting of its circumference in the opinion of the Greeks, and of it's length as given by Agrippa.

There are Five divifions of Germans. The Vandili, of whom a part are the Burgundiones, Varini, Carini, Guttones. Another Divifion is the Ingævones, of whom are the Cimbri, Teutoni, and nations of Chauci. Neareft the Rhine are the Iftevones, of whom the inland Cimbri form a part. The Hermiones of whom are the Suevi, Hermunduri, Chatti, Cherufci. The Fifth Part is formed by the Peukini Bafternæ, bordering on the Daci abovementioned. Famous rivers flowing into the ocean are the Guttalus, the Viftillus or Viftula, the Albis, Vifurgis, Amifius, Rhenus, Mofa. In the inner parts the Hercynian mountains extend, inferior to none in fame.
[Pliny then defcribes Batavia, Britain, Gaul, \&c.]

## Lib. VI. c. 14.

Nunc, omnibus que funt interiora Afix dietis, Ripheos montes tranfcendat animus, dextraque litori Oceani incedat. Tribus hic e partibus cali alluens Afiam, Scythicus a Septentrione, ab oriente Eous, a meridie Indicus vocatur ; varieque, per finus et accolas, in complura nomina dividitur. Verum Afix queque magna portio appofita feptentrioni, injuria fideris rigentis, vaftas folitudines habet. Ab extremo aquilone ad initium orientis xftivi Scythe funt. Extra eos, ultraque aquilonis initia, Hyperboreos aliqui pofuere; pluribus in Europa dietis. Primum inde nofcitur promontorium Celticx Lytarmis, fluvius Carambucis, ubi laffata cum fiderum vi RIPH原保 montium deficiunt juga. Ibique Arimpheos quofdam accepimus, haud difirimilem Hyperboreis gentem. . . . Ultra eos plane jam Scythat, Cimmerit, Cissianthi, Georg1, et Amazonum gens. Hac ufque ad Cafpium et Hyrcanium mare. Nam et erumpit e Scythico oceano in averfa Afix. . . . Irrumpit autem arctis faucibus in longitudinem fpatiofis.

## Translation.

In defcribing Afia, after Cappadocia, Armenia, Albania, lberia, and iles in Pontus, be proceeds to the Nations on the Scytbic"Ocean.

Now, having defcribed the inner parts of Afia, my mind paffes the Riphran mountains, and traces the ihore of the Ocean on the right hand. Which wafhing Afia on three points of heaven, is called Scythic on the north ; Eoan on the eaft ; Indian on the fouth; and is varioufly divided into many leffer names from it's bays, and the inhabitants of it's Shores. But a great portion of Afia expofed to the north, by the injury of a rigid ftar, has vaft folitudes. From the extreme north toward the north-eaft are Scythr. Without them, and beyond the beginnings of the north, fome place the Hyperborei, whom more afcribe to Europe. Thence firt is known the pronontory of Celtica Lytarmis, and the river Carambucis, where, burdened with the force of the ftars, the chain of Riphrean mountains fails. There we have reports of Arimphxi, a nation not diffimilar to the Hyperborei . . . . Beyond them (on the right, or eaft) are the Scythæ, Cimmerii, Ciffianthi, Georgi, and Amazons. Thefe reach to the Cafpian and Hyrcanian fea. For it burfts out of the Scythic ocean into the back parts of Afia . . . It burfts in by narrow mouths but of great length.
?He then defcribes the Cafpian, Media, Hyrcania, and nations on Eoan Oceaṇ, Seres, \&xc.]

## Remarks.

Pliny's geography of the north is here given, as the moft full and curious of all antiquity. It is furprifing that Pliny's whole geography has not been printed feparate, as far fuperior to that of Mela and others. ludeed an edition of Pliny by a fociety of literati is much wanted ; for Harduin, the lateft editor, was of all mien the moft unfit for the tak, being rath and wronghacaded to a monftrous degree.
' he bounds of ancient knowlege on the Weft and South are fixtand clear. On the Eaft D'Anville has
fully fettled it, as in the map attending this work. But the Northern, the moft important of all to the hiftory of Europe, D'Anville leaves as Cluverius ignorantly puts it; and has thus left a prodigious takk to fucceeding geographers.

The Riphæan mountains of Pliny (as of Ptolemy) palpably run from Eaft to Weft *, as he paffes them to go to the Scythic Ocean. It is clear from Ptolemy, that they ran along the head of Tanais; and are often named with Tanais by the ancients, for by all ancient accounts the Tanais rofe in them. No fuch mountains exift in Poland, or Ruffia. But this is nothing to the matter. The queftion is what the ancients thought. And it is clear that they often confounded a Foreft with a chain of Mountains, as Pliny here does the Hercynian Foreft. No wonder then that in civilized times no fuch Mountains, otherwife Forefts, are to be found. The Riphæan Foreft, i am convinced, was that now called Volkonki, ftill 150 miles long from the weft, to Mofoow on the eaft. It is alfo a range of fmall hills. See Coxe's Travels.

Timæus, as we learn from other paffages of Pliny, called this ile oppofite Raunonia by the name Baltia. It is therefore a flip of Pliny when he puts this among the namelefs iles.

What river the ancients called Paropamifus is doubtful. There was a mountain and region Paropamifus, at the head of the Indus. The Amalchian was evidently the eaftern part of the Scythic Ocean. Prefent Sarafu, or fome other river running north on the eaft of the Calpian, may be Paropamifus.

The Cimbri, all know, were on the weft of the Baltic, a part of the fuppofed Scythic Ocean of the ancients. The promontory Rubeas feems to me that on the weft of the mouth of the river Rubo, or Dwina, being the northern point of prefent Courland. Cluverius, who puts it in the north of Lapland, Thews Atrange ignorance. The ancients knew no more of Lapland than of America: and were never further north than Shetland (the real ancient 'Thule, as D' Anville fhews) and the fouth parts of Scandinavia. The Cronian

[^87]feems here the north-eaft part of the Baltic: but other ancients fuppofed the Cronian to extend over all the north parts of their Scandinavia $\dagger$.

As Pliny tells us repeatedly in other places that Baltia, or Bafilia, was the ile where only amber was found, it is clearly Gleffaria of Pruffia, not Scandinavia. The iles Oonæ, \&c. all grant to be thofe of Oefel, \&c. at the mouth of the Finnifh gulf. I he fables arofe from fome ftrange peculiarity of drefs.

Pliny then comes weft to Germany, and tells us that the Ingrevones are the firft German people on that fide. A ftrong proof of his own affertion, that Germany was then little known. For Tacitus found the Bafternæ on that fide, as did Ptolemy. The Ingævones, according to Pliny's own account, were the Chauci, \&c. who were all on the weft, not the eaft, fo that he errs toto calo. Indeed Pliny may be excufed if, as Tacitus fays, the Ingævones were all thofe on the ocean, fo as to include the Northern or Scythic Ocean.

Cluverius is fo utterly foolifh as to put the Sevo Mons of Pliny in Norway; in which childifh blunder he is blindly followed, as ufual, by Cellarius, and by D' Anville, which laft has not examined one tittle of the ancient geography of Germany, tho the moft important of all to the hiftory of Europe. Pliny's Sevo Mons is actually that chain between Pruffia and Silefia, called Afciburgius Mons by Ptolemy, and now Zottenberg. This is clear from Pliny's words. He mentions the Scythic Ocean, then comes weft to the Baltic, and ile Baltia or Gleflaria, a peninfula of prefent Pruffia; then fpeaks of the Hitpopsdum in/ula, by all granted to be Oefel and Dego at the mouth of the Dwina. 'Thence a clearer account begins to be opened from the nation of Ingævones, the firft of Germany on that fide. There the jmmenfe mountains of Sevo, not lefs than the Riphæan, form a valt bay even to the promontory of the Cimbri, which bay is called Codanus and is full of iles. Of which iles Scandinavia is of unknown fize,' \&c. Nothing can be more clear than this, and the ftupidity of Cluverius is amazing. Had the Sevo Mons been in Norway, as he lays it down, it would have formed a

[^88]Arait with the Promontorium Cimbrorum, or north point of Jutland; and not a bay, as Pliny fates. And how a range of mountains in Scandinavia could form that bay -in which Scandinavia ftood, is left to thofe verfant in folecifms to decide. We muft ever eftimate ancient geography by ancient opinions. Pliny thought that the Sevo Mons reached up from the mountains north of prefent Bohemia to that great promontory north of Dantzick (called Refebout and Heel, if i miftake not,) and formed the Sinus Codanus extending thence to the north point of Jutland; and which is at prefent a great bay; being the whole fouth part of the Baltic; which, from Dantzick, runs north, and not weft as before. In the map of modern Germany by Cluverius, this chain of mountains is fully marked, from the eaft of Bohemia and Silefia up to the Refehout. Tacitus mentions this Sevo Mons, tho he gives not the name, as dividing the Suevi from north to fouth. Solinus gives the Sevo Mons as Pliny, and puts it among the Ingævones, to whom he alfo affigns the Viftula, fo that the cafe is clear. Tacitus, who was far better informed than Pliny, fhows that Pliny's ftatement of the Ingrvoncs is right here, tho erroneous afterward, for that name included all the nations on the Baltic; and the Vandiii of Pliny were Ingævones. Moft ancients regarded the Viftula as the eaftern bound of Germany, and the Bafternæ as a German nation out of Germany; fo that the Sevo Mons, as running along the Vifftula, was on the eaftern extremity of Germany, as Pliny ftates.

The Scandinavia of Pliny is the larger Scandia of Ptolemy, not reaching beyond the Wener Lake, as before explained. The Hilleviones were in Haland (Hyl or Hal Mons, Ifl.) The 'other world', here applied to Scandinavia, is alfo by Pliny ufed in fpeaking of Taprobana, or Ceylon, fo that it's weight can be eftimated. Eningia may be the fouth part of Finland, perhaps by the ancients believed another ile in the Scythic Ucean. The Venedi were Sarmate beyond the Viftula : beyond them Tacitus found the Fins: and the Scirri and Hirri feem Fimmifh nations, noted in later Roman hiftory, for the fouthern Fins were not unwarlike. Lithuania is held by them, and they feized on part of Hungary. The Scirri and Hirri were on the Finnifh gulf; and known in the Ninth century, as appears from the Peri-
plus of Ohter and Wulfitan. The Hirri gave name to Irland, or Virland in Icelandic accounts, now Reval. Sciring/beal, or the rock or town of the Scirri, feems to have been prefent Kronftadt, oppofite Peterburg *.

The gulf Cylipenus is apparently that of Finland; Lagnus another name for the fouth of the Baltic or Codanus. Pliny having various authors before him was confounded with various names for the fame fubject. Cartris is Wend-fylfel on the north of Jutland, a peninfula fo called from Wend (our Kent or Cant) a point or head-land. Burchana is Funen, or Zeeland, iles of the Suiones.

Pliny's Divifions of Germans are not unexceptionable. The Vandili were by his own account Ingævones, as above fhewn. Of them the Varini were quite on the Weft, next the Angli, as perfectly known from Tacitus, and the Leges Warinorum et Anglorum fill extant, and publifhed by Leibnitz. The other three were all together, quite on the eaft. So that Pliny's accuracy is not great. The Cimbri, Teutoni, Chauci, were all on the weftern ocean; yet Pliny had placed the Ingrevones on the eaft! The Iftrvones were really next the Rhine; but Tacitus found no Cimbri Mediterranci there. The other two divifions are right. But Tacitus is the author to be depended on, as to Germany : Pliny's defcription is however valuable.

The Second Extract from lib. VI. c. 14. rather concerns the north of Europe than of Afia. The Tanais or Don was the ancient, as the modern, boundary of Afia and Europe. But on the north moderns have extended it to the Uralian Mountains, along the river Oby; while the ancients brought it much farther weft, following the Tanais, which runs fouth-eaft. The eaft end of the Gulf of Finland was of courfe the ancient boundary between Afia and Europe. Herc then Pliny begins and gocs to the eaft, along the fhores of a nonexiftent ocean, the Scythic, till he comes to the river Volga; which, with many of the ancients, he thought

[^89]was an inlet between the Scythic Ocean and Cafpian fea* Thus all the nations and places here mentioned are to be fought for in the fouth-weft of prefent Ruffia. The Scythæ are about Smolenzko: the Hyperborei he retracts, as by other ancients they are placed in prefent Pruffia. Lytarmis which, like his Tabis beyond the Seres in Afia, is a non-exiftent promontory * of mere fable, he puts about prefent Mofcow: as were the Arimphæi. Carambucis feems the river Sura. The other nations lay on the Volga down to the Cafpian. The Georgi and Amazons, as well known, were between the Tanais and Volga, above the Alani. The opinion of a Scythic ocean feems to have prevailed in the Eleventh century, for Adam of Bremen fays people could fail from the Baltic down to Greece. It feems alfo the Ocean of Darknefs in Eaftern writings. I know not if it's exiftence was not believed in Europe till the Sixteenth century.

[^90]
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[^0]:    * The name Tartar, as vague with us as Indian, is in fact of finall extent. It is not more ancient than the 12 th centurry ; and was originally that of a fmall nation conquered by the Monguls under Zenghizcan; but by a caprice ufual in names is given by us to almoft half of Afia! The Ußeks are now the chief Tartar nation. The Kalmucs are not Tartars, but Monguls, a vaft people of a different language. The Turks are of the fame race with the Huns; Monguls, not Tartars, according to De Guigncs. The Tungufians, another vaft people, are quite diftinct from the Tartars. On the eaft of the Lena the nations are from America, and differ from all the other Afiatics, as the rev. Mr. Tooke thews in his Ruffia. See De Guignes Hifl. des Huns; Tooke's Ruflia; D'Anvilli, Geographie, ac.

[^1]:    * The Count du Buat forcibly expreffes this in his firft fentence, 'Les anciens peuples de l'Europe que nous appellons Barbares et qui font nos Peres.' Hif. Anc. des Peuples de
    

[^2]:    * Thefe, and many fimilar paffages, may be found in the Prolegomena to Grotii Hift. Gotb. Single fentences of Idatius, of Victor Vitenfis, of the mock Hift. Arcana given to Procopius, weigh nothing againft the number of fuperior witneffes in favour of the Goths. The Romans often fhed more blood in one war than the Goths in conquering the Roman empire. Rude conquerors, tho ever fo few and merciful, always introduce their laws and manners: but the language of Italy, France, Spain, which is mere Latin corrupted by time, fufficiently fhews that very few of the old inhabitants perifhed. The defolation of fome parts of Italy was owing to the feat of empire being removed to Conftantinople, and the fenators abandoning their Italian villas in order to be near the court. So much in anfwer to a refpectable writer, Dr. Rubertfon, who in his View of Society prefixt to the hiffory of $\mathrm{Ch} . \mathrm{V}$. has fallen into miftakes on this fubject.

[^3]:    ${ }^{2}$ Dio apud Jornand, de rebus Get. c. 5. Herodot.IV. 46. Strabo, lib. Vil.

[^4]:    ${ }^{2}$ De Gent. Angl. Orig. c. g.

    - Prafat. ad Gloffar, Suio-Goth.

[^5]:    d efchylus, who flourifhed about fifty years before Herodotus, is perhaps the firft who mentions the Scythx:
    
    They are the Galactophagi, or Milk-eaters, i. c. Paftoral people of Homer; as his Hippomolgi are the Sarmatx. Iliad diii. init, and Strabo. Hefiod has Galactophagi.

[^6]:    e Hift. Norveg. lib. I. Goté in Icelandic is a borfo, or horfemaz; Gloffar. Edde Sxmund. Gaia is a wanderer.

[^7]:    f In Germania Antiq. 1616. fol.
    s He was born at Dantzick, in the heart of the country of the Gothones. Dantijunm . . . . Cluverii nof!ri patria. Buno not. ad Cluv. Geograph.
    ${ }^{-}$Praf. ad Collectr. Hift. Goth. 1655. 8 vo.

    - Cluverius fays it is called Gudfee, and Gudland, and Gulland, from the goornefs of the foil. But in Icelandic Sagas it is Gotaland, or Gautaland, terra equorum, and was probably fo called from its horfes, as was the ille Gotland. Ptolemy places Gutre in Scandinavia, oppofite the Gutones of Pruffia, from whom they feem to have iprung. See Part II. The firit author Grotius quotes for the name of Gotland in Sweden, is Earon Herberftein, ante gn annos!
    * Mem. de l'Acad. des Infcr. Tome xxp.

[^8]:    ${ }^{1}$ So puerile an argument deferves not confutation : elfe, by collecting all the scythic and Gothic names, $i$ am convinced it would be feen that manv are fimilar to the German, and Scandinavian and later Gothic. Thomyris, almoft the firft Scythic name in hiftory, probably b-longs to the Gothic names beginning in Tho or Thee, as Theodoric, Theodahat, \&c. and ending in ric. But names change thro length of time, as language always does, even among barbarians: and the names are fo extremely various, that hardly two fimilar can be found, fo that M. D'A's argument is a merc ©phifn. Verelius, a better judge, fays, the old Scythic mames in Trogus, and
     Upjal, 16664. 8io.

[^9]:    m In Excerpt. Legat. Valefii. Paris, 1634. 4to. n Ibid.

    - De rebus Get. et De Regn. Succ.

[^10]:    p Steph. Byz. ⿸ffchylus in Porfis calls him Merdis, whom Herodotus and Ariftotle call Smerdis. The Alpes Cottize Procopius ftyles $\sum$ xouliar; Lycophron, v. 1361, calls the Alps, इa入тเผ. See Bryant's Analylis, vol. II!. p. 146.

    Wormias Ser. Reg. Dan. procuces thefe lines of an old Latin poem on Holgar king of Denmark, in which Gytbi, Gotbi, Gutbe, are fynonymous.

    > Gytharum hic fplendor, Gotborkm ioboles, Armis eft domitor Getha Eidelis.

[^11]:    ${ }^{2}$ De reb. Get. c. 24- De Hunnoram execranda origine. Speceis pavenda nibridine, fed velut quædam (fi dici tas eft) deformis offa, non facies: habenfque magis puncta quam lumina, E゚c.

[^12]:    b Strabo, lib. vii. p. 302, informs us, that Ephorus called the Sarmatre a Scythic nation; and he it was who mined Strabo. Ephorus was an author of the moft inaccurate and fabuious defeription; and has mifled Dionyfius of Halicar* naflus conceraing the Pelafgi. Seneca, Nat. Queft. vii. 14. Says, Epborus mn religiofigma fidei, Seppe dccipit. He feems to have gloried in contraditing Herodotus, a writer whofe information was wonderful, and moftly derived from travelling; fo that tho now and then fabulows in hiftory, every day gives frefh proofs of his veracity in deferibing countries and manners. Heradotus had been in Scythia beyond the Danube and Earyftenes. Book iv. c, 81.

[^13]:    c See the paffage produced afterward.
    d Still greater errors may be found in fuch late writers, as to diftant nations. Agathias, lib. v, fa,s 'the Burgundians, - 2 Hunnic nation!'

[^14]:    ${ }^{5}$ Macpherfon.
    \& Gibbon, Richardfoa, \&c. \&c.
    C 2
    requeited

[^15]:    : Lib.iv. c. z3, 24 i iv. 59 , \&cc.
    Twenty

[^16]:    $\mathbf{k}$ He was an Alarus. Ihre, præf. ad Gloff. Suio-Goth.
    ${ }^{1}$ Sed, ut non mentiar, ad triduanam lectionem, difpenfatoris ejus beneficio, libios ipfos antehac relegi; quorum, quamvis verba non recolo, fenfum tamen, et res actas, credo me integre tenere : ad quas nonnulla ex hiftoricis Grecis et Latinis addidi convenientia; initium, finemque, et plura in medio, mea dictione permifcens. Praf. For the fettlement of the Scythre on the Euxine he quotes old fongs, and Ablavius, who is thought by Grotius to have written under Conftantius II. and was certainly a Jate author, For the Scythæ coming from Scandinavia, he cites no authority; and it was apparently put mea dicione, that is, upon his own dreams. Bayer, in Difert. de Cimmeriis has ridiculed this mock emigration of the Goths from Scandinavia; and jufly afks how Ablavius or Jornandes could know any thing of the matter ?

[^17]:    ${ }^{\text {ra }}$ Adam Bremen. Hift. Ecclef, cap. De Situ Danix.
    ${ }^{n}$ The name is thus fpelt to avoid the double meaning of the word Pifti, or Picts as we tranflate it ; and in conformity with the origin of the people who were Piki or Peukeni, (fee Part II.) and the name of their country in Norway, which in the Scandinavian and Icelandic hiftories, \&c. is called Pika, pronounced and Spelt Vika, for they have no P, and pronounce $P$ as $V$. But of this in Part 11. and in the Enquiry into Scotib Hifary.

[^18]:    $\therefore$ Hif, lib.I. c. 1. lib. II, c. 3.

[^19]:    p Strabo may alfo be adduced, who, lib. xi. p. 507, fays, " neither the ancient affairs of the Perfians, Medes, Syrians, nor Scythians, have much credit in hiftory." The enumeration of empires is here palpably retrograde : the moft modern being put firft.

[^20]:    9 Horace defcribes them as Tacitus does the Germans;
    Campeffres melius Scythe,
    (Quorum plauftra vagas'rite trahunt domos) Vivunt, et rigidi Geta; Immetata quibus jugera, liberas Fruges et Cererem ferunt; Nec cultura placet loggior annua, Ode 24, lib. III.

[^21]:    ${ }^{1}$ The lateft and beft Natural Philofophers pronounce the flood impoffible; athd their reafons, grounded on mathematical truth and the immutable laws of nature, have my full affent. The Jews believed the earth a vaft plain, and that the tain came from a collection of waters above the firmament, (Gonef. I. 7.) at the earth floated on another mafs of waters ; (Gm. VII. .11.) both of which were opened at the deluge. As fuch waters are now mathematically known not to exift; and the earth is found fpherical; the effect muft ceafe with the caufe. M. de Buffon has menn that all the earth was at firft under fea. And the opinion of a deluge, which Grotius (De Verit. Rel.Cbrift.) fhews to have been common to moft nations, certainly arofe from the Thells found even on the tops of mountains.

[^22]:    ${ }^{b}$ Herodot. lib. I. and IV. Diod. Sic. lib. II. \&cc. It is remarkable that the fmall kingdom of the Bopliorus long maintained itfelf in the farme natural fortification. See a map of the Bofphorus Cimmerius in Peyfonel.

[^23]:    c Colchis received a colony of Egyptians about 1480 years before Chrift; and Herodotus tells us, that the fpeech and manners of the Colchians were Egyptian. The gold mines of Colchis no doubt attracted the Egypuans, as they had done the Argonauts. They are fill very rich. See Peyfonel, p. 69.
    ${ }^{\text {d }}$ Apud. Eureb. prap. Evang. lib. ix. c. 4 I.
    e In Ibericis, i. e. Hifpanicis, init.

[^24]:    e Lib.II. c. 1. 3. he adds the Parthi; but that the Parrthians were Sarmatz is clear from the other ancients; and efpecially from their long and loofe drefs mentioned by Tacitus, Herodian, \&c. The Sarmate had indeed been called Scythre by fome of the ancients. That the Medes were Sarmatx, we know pofitively from Solinus : but fome others have foolimly called the Sarmata Medes, as if a large barbaric nationtrould spring from a fmall refined one!

[^25]:    f Perfe qui funt originitus Scythx. Ammian. Marcelin. lib. xxxi. and Tertullian de Pallio, c. 2. The prefent Perfian, tho mixt with fome Arabic, is actually a dialect of the Gothic, as Scaliger, Lipfius, Boxhorn, and our Burton, whofe book was re-printed at Lubec, ${ }^{1720}$, have fhewn. It has auxiliary verbs, and other radical marks of its Gothic origin, unknown to other Eaftern tongues, befides a verbage moftly Gothic, the Far $\sqrt{2}$ is meant; the Pcblavi which was fpoken in Media and Parthia, was furely Sarmatic; but has been long fince difcouraged and loff. See Richardfon's Differtation prefixed to his Perfian and Arabic Dictionary, who however, as well as the moft learned Jones, forgets the fimilarity of the Perfian and Gothic.
    8 Vefte deftinguuntur non fluitante, ficut Sarmata ac Partbi. Tac. in Germania. The Perfian bracce, or breecbes, are mentioned by Ovid. in Trift. thofe of the Sacx, by Herod. lib. vii.
    

[^26]:    * The seres were a Grand Race of men, now thofe of Tibett, Siam, \&c. ufing a peculiar language. Ptoleny's Serica is as large as both scythias intra et extra Imaum. See a defcription of Bucharia in that interefting work, which opens as it were a new world to our eyes, Rufia, by Mr. Tooke, 4 vols. 8 vo. London, ${ }^{1780}$.

    It is remarkable that in Scythia intra et extra Imaum were Cbate (Catti) Safones (Saxones) Syebi (Suevi) Tectofuces (TeEtofages) Iote (lutes) a town Menapia, all coinciding with German names, and which could only fpring from identic language. But nuthing-is founded on this.

[^27]:    ${ }^{h}$ Mem. de l'Acad. des Infer. Tome xxxii.
    ${ }^{\text {i }}$ In his defcription ot Siberia, a prolix and weak work, of which a tranflation appeared at London, $1738,4 \%$.
    ${ }^{\mathrm{k}}$ M. de Guignes attempts to flew (Mcm. des Infir. Tome xxix.) that the Chinefe are an Egyptian colony. It feems certain that the old Egyptian letters and the Chinefe are of the fame innumerable kind, and originally hieroglyphic. But we are not to believe that what one nation has invented may not be invented by another, in a timilar fate of fociety; and no two countries can have more refemblance as to agriculture, $\$ \mathrm{kc}$. than thofe of the old Fgyptians, and the Chinefe. But their languages and features fhew them quite diftinct nations: not to mention their religious opinions, buildings, \&c.

[^28]:    = See a defcription and maps of this fertile and populous country in Peyfonnel. In the Lower Empire there was an Epifopus Scytbire, and an Epicopous Gotbia: the former was of Scythia Pontica, whofe capital was Tomi: the latter feems to have been of Crim Tartary. See Chryfoft. Epif. 14, ad Olympiad. Orofus fays ' Alania eft in medio; Dacia ' ubi et Gothia; deinde Germania,' Lib. I. c. 2. fo alfo Жthicus. Ammian. Marc. lib. 30. 'metus totius Gothix Thracias - perrumpentis ;' in all which paffages Gothia is Getia. When Rubruquis was fent to the Chan of the Mogols by St. Louis, and traverfed Crim Tartary, in 1253, he found Goths Speaking the Gothic tongue approaching to the German. Collection de Gerberon, p. 9. Svo. Barbaro in 1440, (Ramuf, vol. II). and Matthias de Michou 1521, (Ge/ner, in Mitbrid.) witnefs their obferving the fame. Grotius fays, 'Et quid mireris funt nunc quoque ad eandem Mxotin iidem Gothí; et, ut mores linguamque, fic et nomen per tot frecula retinent. Quanquam enim Bufbequius, qui in illis locis nor fuit, dubitat Gotthi fint an Saxones, certos nos fecit is qui in illis vixit regionibus, Jofaphat Barbarus, nobilis Venetus; et Gotthos ipfos a fernet dici, et terram vocari Gotthiam. Is Capitaneatus Gotthia dicitur in publicis monumentis tabularii Genuenfis tefte Petro Baptifto Burgo.' Prafat. ad Hifforic. Gotth. Nay the Oriens Cbrifianus gives the fubfcription of a bifhop in 1721, Metropolita Gotbiac et Capha. Gaffa is in the Crimea, which was long held by the Genoefe. Crim is Cimmerius fhortened : the town Cimmerium is called F.fil Crim, or Old Crim, by the Tartars.

[^29]:    bropertius calls the Getæ wintry:
    Hibernique Geız; piAloque Britapnia curru.

[^30]:    c Hift. Nat. VI. 13.
    d Mela I. 2. Solin. cap. 21 .

    - Ephor. ap. Strabon. Plin. Hift. Nat. in Italia. S ius Ital. X11. 131 .
    © Geograph. Antiq. Tom. I. in Campania.
    E Ulyffippo, or Lifbon, is by Solinus, and many other ancients, faid to have been founded by Ulyffes.
    ${ }^{n}$ Tacitus in Germania mentions the tradition that Ulyffes had vifited the weft of Germany, and built Afciburg on the Rhine; and a Northern antiquary has hence dreamed that Ulyffes was Odin. Solinus, cap. 25. fays Ulyffes had been in Caledonia the north of Britain, in quo recefy Uly $\mathrm{fem}_{\mathrm{e}}$ Caledomier appulfum manifefat ara Gracis litcris inferipta voto. If we truft the defeription of Procopius, Scotland was the real infernal region of the ancients, to which the fouls of the dead paffed

[^31]:    k See the defcriptions of the Hebrides by Martin, Macaulay, \&c.
    ${ }^{1}$ Llo d, Archrol. Brit. Praf.
    ${ }^{m}$ Perhaps from proceeding in troops, Cymmar, focius, fodalis. Cymmod concordia, Cymmrodedd concordia: or from their afo, fuming new poffeffions, Cymmeryd, capere, accipere : or a namc of bonour, Cymineryd, dignitas, eftimatio, Cymmeradisy, zfin matus. The words from Davis' Dict. Kimb.
    n Lib. II. et JV.

    - In Meteorol.-De gen. animal. lib. II. c 8.-De mirabil. aufcult.-De Mundo. Ii modo Ariftotelis fit.
    - De bello Gall. paffim.

[^32]:    ${ }^{5}$ Herodo:. lib. IV. et alii.

    - In Mario.

[^33]:    - Cafar de bello Gall.
    u Ibid.
    v Plut. in Mario.
    wib. IV. See D'Anville's Memoir on Scythia. Acad. des Infcr. Tome XXXV.
    
    
    y Lib. İV.

[^34]:    ${ }^{z}$ Jufin. lib. IX. c. 2. This very country Ovid defcribes as poffeft by the Scythx, whom he in other paffages calls Getr. It was the Scythia Pontica of Confantine I. and its bifhops were called of Sythia, and fo appear in many councils. See Peyflonnel Olferve. fur les pruples ba: b. de l'Euxine. In all ages of antiquity Scythe and Gieice are fynonymous as to identity of people. Scylax fays $\mu i \neq \delta_{\varepsilon} \Theta_{\zeta} \alpha \times \eta \nu$ Exv4zu :9ros. Mela, ' His [Scythis] Thracia proxima eft.'

[^35]:    z See Bartoli's Colonna Trajana.
    a The Daci, as is clear from Pliny, was but a name for the fouth-weft fart of the Getx. Strabo fays they were one people with the Getre, and fpoke the felf-tame tongue as the Geta and Thracians. See Part II.-Statius, Sylva 2. lib. I. calis Mars Geticus naritis of Venus: and Thrace is by all the poets affigned to this God. Lib. II. Sylva 2. 1peaking of Orpheus who refided in Thrace, as all know, he puts Nec pĺctro Geticas movolis arnos.

[^36]:    b See Ptolemy, Cluverius, Cellarius.
    ${ }^{c}$ Lib. VIL. p. 303.

[^37]:    ${ }^{d}$ See Part II.
    e Praf. ad Gloff. Suio Goth.
    ${ }^{5}$ See alfo Euitath. in locum.
    E Herodot. lib. VII. Strabo, lib. XIV, the latter, lib. VII. p. 295. tells us that the Miyfi of Alia came from thofe of Thrace; and gives us the names of many other nations in Afia of Thracian origin.

[^38]:    ${ }^{\text {; }}$ Hiif. des peuples de l'Europe. Tome I. II.

[^39]:    * Callimachus (apud Strabo. lib. V.) has $\mathrm{T}_{\text {fasuos, }}$ which alfo occurs in a piece afcribed to Ariftotle. The former was of Cyrene, and it is likely bore no good will to the old Greeks. The later cannot be depended on. The Arundelian marbles bear $\mathrm{r}_{\mathrm{fax}} \times \mathrm{o}$, a fufpicious circumftance. Lycophron, i believe, alfo ufes this ne:v term. But thefe exceptions amount to nothing, and it is juft to fay that all the Greek writers are flrangers to this name. There was a town called Graia in Bootia, Homer II. B. Strabo, lib. 3. and the land about it was called Terra Graca, Thucyd. apud Steph. but it would be ridiculous to fuppofe this village afforded the Romans a name for the country.

[^40]:    1 Herodotus, lib. VI. c. i38, mentions the difputes between the Athenians and the Pelafgi living at Mount Hymettus and in Lemnos.
    m By M. Geinoz, Mem, des Infer. Tome XIV.
    peatedly

[^41]:    - Tome XXIII.

    Tome XIV. $\quad$ Tome XXI.
    : There is room to believe that thefe, and many ancient: and moderns, have confounded the $A$-gos Pela/gicum, in Pelafgia of Theffaly, with the Argos in Peloponnefus. The former, i am convinced, was the ancient kingdom of Argos. See Homer's Iliad II. The anciept kingdom of Sicyon, as ftated by Eufebius, is a vifion unknown to earlier writers. Danaus, an Egyptian, founded the kingdom of Argos in Peloponnefus after the termination of the old kingdom of Argos in Pelafgia.-

[^42]:    - To derive Latin words from Celtic is a fure mark of a Celtic underftanding, which always judges by the inverfe ratio of reafon, for the words paffed into Welfh from the Romans; and into Irifh from Chriftianity, whofe offices and prayers, \&cc. were all Latin. The roots are all in the Latin, not in the Celtic.

[^43]:    : It is to the lyes of our Celtic neighbours, that we are indebted for the fables of Englifh hiftory down to within thefe thirty years, and the almoft total perdition of the hiftory of Scotland and Ireland. Geofrey of Monmouth, moft of the Irim hiftorians, and the Highland bards, and fenachies of Scotland, fhew that falfehood is the natural product of the Celtic,mind: and the cafe is the fame to this day. No reprobation can be too fevere for thefe frontlefs impoftors: and to fay that in writer is a Celt, is to fay, that he is a ftranger to truth, modefty, and morality. Diodorus Siculus, lib. V: p. 354, remarks the cloudy fpecch, and intellect, fynecdochic phrafe, and hyperbolic pride, of the old Celts. Their idiotic credulity was derided by the Roman poet,

    Et tumidus Galla credulitate fruas.
    Silius Italicus obférves,
    Vaniloquom Celtx genus.
    characters of nations change; characters of favage races sever.

[^44]:    ${ }^{n}$ Juftin, lib. IX. c. 2. Strabo p. 752.
    *See Saxo, lib. HII. p. 41, 46. in the Edda Thor, from his ufing a car, is called Aukutbor. The Normans ufed cars in the fiege of Paris. Du Cange Script. Norm. p. 39-
    ${ }^{w}$ Frifch Hift. Ling. Slavonicx, 4 to; 5 parts; Berolini, $1727^{1734}$. Ludolfi Grammatica Ruffica, Oxem. 1696,
    8ve

[^45]:    - Lib. 1. p. 3. The Greek infruments of mufic were from the Scythx, and fome of them had Scythic names. Strabo X: 470, 471 . Pollux IV. 9, 10. The Three Modes were from the Scythx. Athen. XIV. 5. Pollux, IV. 9, 10. Pliny, VII. 56. The Phrygian and Lydian were of Scythic origin; and Pliny there fays, that Thamyris of Thrace was author of the Doric mode.

[^46]:    - De lingua Hellenift.
    ${ }^{2}$ In praf. ad Evangel. Goth.
    y De vet. Lingua Ànglicana.
    ${ }^{2}$ In pref. ad Gloff. Suio-Goth. See alfo Wallis Gram. Angl.
    a De ratione communi omnium linguarum. The German is, at this day, declined as the Greek.

[^47]:    b Diodorus Sic. lib. HII. and Paufan. in Altic. fhew, that the Greeks had letters before Cadmus; and that the Pelafgic. or real ancient Greek alphabet, differed from the Phonician, An antiquary will find refemblances in things wholly uniike: but the ancient Greek alphabet is not Phoenician. The invention of letters, foridiculoully difcuffed, is the moft timple poffible: and at leaft a dozen nations have all invented letters. It is the common ufe of letters that attends civilized iociety. The invention may belong to the rudeft. Plato witneffes that the Scy thx had letters ; and the Pelafgic or Greek were furely Scythic. Of scythic letters fee alfo Eultathius in II. §.

    - So Dionyf. Pcrieg. v. 234.

[^48]:    ${ }^{4}$ midacyor Aexades Herodot. VII. See alfo Paufan. in Arcad. and Cumberland, Orig. Gent.

[^49]:    －Suidas fays，that Pindar wrote in Doric，which opinion has been echoed by rote as ufual．The author，not trufting his own judgement，zonfulted one of our beft Greek fcholars， who agreed with him，that Pindar writes in 庈olic，the lan－ guage of his country．Pindar calls his poetry Daric，（ $\Delta$ opera ¢ояки $\sqrt{\gamma}$ Olymp．I．\＆c．）but in other places calls it 生olic
     Pindar writes in Eolic，grammatically ipeaking；that is，in Doric or AEDlic．
    ${ }^{i}$ This is no new difcovery．The learned Lancelot，the firft who，removing many difficulties of foolifh erudition， gave us a Greek grammar，built on the plain fimplicity of good fenfe，tells us，that there are but two Greek dialects， the Attic and Doric．Strabo，lib．VIII．init．had long ago faid the fame thing．All the author pretends to have difcovered is that a larguage cannot be a dialict of ifielf．In that mafs of folly and inaccuracy，which we call literature，and which ftands as much in need of a reform as the chriftian religion in the time of Luther，it is not philofophy that is wanted，but common fenfe．Men of learning generally leave common fenfe at their fludy door；and argue upon learning，not upon common femfe．Others regard literature as a profound thing to be be－ lieved；not as what it really is，a matter of fevere difcuffion for every man＇s judgment ；and fheer folly if not reducible to plain fenfe．Human icience is but a fmall affair，but the learned make it look big by placing it in darknefs；and la－ bour ali they can to obicure it，while a wife man will ever． fludy to make it clear，fimple，and little．

[^50]:    \& The Roman $c$ being the Greek $x$, and ever pronounced fo, it is put $k$ in thefe proper names for the fake of the Englina reader.

[^51]:    h Pliny fays the Umbri were the moft ancient people in Italy, for a laughable reafon: "Umbrotum gens antiquiffima Italix exiftimatur ut quos Ombrios a Gracis putent dictos quod inundatione terrarum imbribus fuperfuiffent!" Solinus fays that one Bocchus thought the Umbri the offspring of the Gauls. He muft mean the later Umbri; for it is clear from Pliny that the old Umbrifar preceded the Gauls.
    ; Sec Olivieri della fondazione di Pefaro. Si aggimnfe una lettera del medefimo al Signor abbate Barthelemy, Efa. Pefarn 1757. folio. Pafferii de re nummaria Etrufcorum Differtatio, 1767 , fal. and others.
    $k$ It is very remarkable, that fome remains of Celts ftill furvive among the Alps, for the Lingua Waldenfis, of which a dpecimen is given in Chamberlayne's Oratio Dominica, is perfect Gaelic of Ireland; a ingularity which has efcaped the notice of antiquarics.

[^52]:    a Tacitus thinks the Germans Indigenes, becaufe no nation could people Germany by fea; forgetting that it might be peopled by the much more eafy method of a progreffion by land. That they were not indigenes this whole differtation fhews.

[^53]:    - It is thought that fome friend has furnifhed Mr. M. with his quotations ; and it is hardly poffible otherwife to account

[^54]:    c So flightly that they make no more figure than any onc of tuenty Gothic nations. Quidquid inter Alpes et Pyrenauin, quod oceano et Rheno includitur, Vandalus, Quadus, Sarmata, Alani, Gepides, Heruli, Saxones, Burgundiones, et (O lugenda refpublica!) hoites Pannoni vaftaverunt. Hieron. Epif. ad Ageruntiam. His enim adfuere auxiliares Franci, Sarmata, Latiani, Burgundiones, Saxones, Riparioli, \&c. Jornand, fub an. 45 .

[^55]:    - Vita Taciti, operib. praf. ex Plidii Hill. Nat, ni fallor. , H 4 from

[^56]:    ${ }^{2}$ Brotier, in his excellent edition of Tacitus, Paris, 177 r , 4 volumes, 4 to, fays the Germsus were Sejthix. But whoth did be mean by Sytha?

[^57]:    - In Differt. de Evangel. Gothic. Vide etiam Differt. de veteri lingua Danica apud Gunlaugi Vermilinguis et Rafnis poetze Sagan. Haunia, 1775, 410.
    a See Mr. Ľorne Tooke's fenfible and ingenious Ertaa Mrzpoitris.

[^58]:    ${ }^{h}$ The kingdom of the Weft Saxons fubdued the reft. D'Anville in his Etats formes en Europe apres la chute de l'empire Romain en occident, Paris 1771, 4 to, wonders that the name of the vanquifhed Angli remained to the country : but names are merely accidental.

[^59]:    : Lib. II.
    ${ }^{6}$ Argonaut. IV. 290. 640.

[^60]:    - Gallia eft omnis divifa in partes tres. Quarum unam incolunt Belga; aliam Aquitani; tertiam qui iplorum lingua Celta, noftra Galli appellantur. Hi omnes lingua, inftitutis, legibus, inter fe differunt. Bell. Gall. lib. I. intt.
    cc The Iberian language furvives in the Cantabric and Bafque. The old Mauric is little known, and few fpecimens have been publifhed: there is a differtation on it at the end of Chamberlayne's Oratio Dominica (De lingua Shilhenfi); and forme information may be found in Shaw's Travels. It is yet fpoken by the Kabyles, or Mountaneer Clans (Kalyllab, Arab. Clans) in Mauritania; and is called the Sbowiab, or Stillab, being quite different from the Arabic, the general fpeech of the country. Thefe Kabyles have, to this day, the manners defcribed by Salluft. They are divided into clans, as the Fins, Lapianders, Celts, and other radical favages, who are incapable of progrefs in fociety; for clans are peculiar to favage fociety, and vanih at the firft ray of induftry and civilization.

[^61]:    d There was a imall enien called Menapia in Wales, juft opponte to the poople Menapii in Ireland, and apparently founded by them. But we find no Menapii in Wales; the people, in whofe territory Menapia ftcod, were the Dimeti, a tribe of the Silures, or Celts of Wales. See Ptolemy and Richard.
    e In his publication of O'Flaherty's Vindication of Ogygia, Dublin, 1775 , 8.0. praf. p. xxxii.

[^62]:    ${ }^{\text {h }}$ Strabe fays, lib. I. that the names Celtiberi and Celtofeythes 'comprehended, thro ignorance, diftinct and feparate nations under one term.'

[^63]:    ${ }^{m}$ Olaus Magn. lib. iii. Torf. Hift. Norv. lib. i.
    ${ }^{n}$ See Bartholin, Wormius, Mallet, \&c. Jofur was a name for the Supreme Being, as Forve. Dryads, Satyrs, and the whole beings of Greek and Roman fuperftition, may be found in the Scandinavian creed. Superfition is rooted and permanent. Fairies, and the other fcenery of romance, were not brought into Europe by the Crufades, as fuperficiasly imagined; but belong to Icelandic fagas, written before the Crulades. Tournaments exifted in all ages of the Goths. The Ludus Trojanus of the Romans was of them. Ifodor. Chron. Goth. mentions them as the favorite diverfions of the Goths. See Procop. iii. Ennod. paneg. Scc. A fragment of Varro fhews them known to the Germans and German Gauls. In the Edda daily tourneys to outrance are the amufement of the gods. The Greeks had tournaments, and armed danees; as were the Salian Armiluftria of Rome. Varro de Ling. Lat. V. 49.

[^64]:    - M. Le Grand, in his curious and amufing Fabliaux ou Contes du xii, a du xiii..Sicsie (trauflated into modern French) Paris 178 ! , 5 vols. 12 mm .

[^65]:    P Recherches fur les arts de la Grece, Londres, 1785 , 2 tomes, 4 .
    ${ }^{9}$ De Exped. Cyri, lib. I.

[^66]:    ${ }^{r}$ Efprit des Loix, liv. xxx.

    - De minoribus rebus principes confultant: de majoribus omnes. Tacit. Germ.

[^67]:    ${ }^{\text {r }}$ Rex etiam Wefffaxonum Edwius, quatuor annis regni fui peractis, defunctus Wiatonix, in novo monatterio eft fepultus: cujus regnum fuus germanus, rex Mercenfium Edgarus, ab omni Anglorum populo electus fufcepit, divifaque regna in unum copulavit. Hoveden an. 959. p. 244. apud Scriptores pof Bedam, Londini, 1596 , fil. Hoveden thought this event fo important, as to mark it by many epochs.

[^68]:    "In his Vindicire Celticice, Argent. 1754, 4to. a pamphlet which may be regarded as a model for enquiries of the kind: the whole authorities are given in chronclogic order; and yet the work is brief, as well as accurate, and complete.

[^69]:    ${ }^{v}$ In pref. Epift. i. ad Galat.
    w As in America the Europeans not only have vaft diftinct poffeffions, but alfo towns and fettlements among the favages, fuch we may judge was the cafe with the Scythians among the Celts. In Celtic Ganl efpecially many Belgic tribes and towns may be found; and it may be inferred that the Celtic parts of Britain and Ireland were in the fane predicament. Strabo, lib. IV. fays that the Veneti on the extreme weftern fhore of Celtic Gaul were Belge. 'They were famous for naval power and refiftance to Cafar, whom fee.
    x Modo antem Getrilli, qui et nunc Gothi, quos Alexander evitandos pronunciavit, Pyrrhus exhorruit, \&c. Orof. I. 16. Part of the above paragraph is tranflated from Tacitus, Germania.

[^70]:    ${ }^{b}$ Straho, lib. III. p. 164, fays, that the Celts waflied their body, and cleanfed their teeth, with urine; and that it was kept long in ciferns to give it more flrength.

[^71]:    f Pliny IV. 13. Tacitus in Germ. Leibnitz well obferves on the later, 'Sed cum ipfe Tacitus fubjiciat Peucinns fermone referre Germanos, quæftio ab ipfomet decifa eft. Unde enim illis fermo Germanicus nifi ab origine Germanica ?' Apud! Tac. Germ. a Dithmar, p. 296.

    E The Bafterna lived in cars, that is their wives and children did always, while the men roved about on foot, or on horfeback,

[^72]:    ${ }^{d}$ A part of the Sithones remained beneath the ile of Peuke, on the weft of the Euxine. - Ponticum litus Sithonia gens obtinet, que nato ibi Orpheo vate decus addidit nomini.' Solip. c. 16. Virgil has Sithenias nives; Oyid Sithonium aquiloncm.

[^73]:    - Marfigli, in his magnificent account of the Danube, doesnot go fo far eaft as Peuke, which is in the Turkilh, not the German, territory.

[^74]:    ${ }^{£}$ He alfo names Eminzia, which fome would rafhly alter to Finingia, but was in all likelihood the fouth part of Finland, and taken by the ancients for another ile in the Great Northern Ocean. Pliny fays, Scandinavia and Eningia were thought other worlds by the inhabitarts: but he ufes the fame: extravagant hyperbole in fpeaking of Taprobane, or Ceylon ! VI. 24

[^75]:    i The learned Huet, Commerce des Anc. rightly faw that the Suiones muft be on the weff, from the acoount of Tacitus; put he errs in placing them in Norway.

[^76]:    k In the Periplus Wuiflani of king Alfred, publinhed in the book of Arius De IJandia, edit. Buffai, Haunia, ${ }^{1733}$, 4 too, and elfewhere, we are told, 'the Viftula is a very large river, and near, it ly Witland, and Vandalia. Witland belongs to the Efti.' It is hence clear that the Effi of Alfred's time were thofe of Tacitus, on the mouth of the Viftula, and far remote from Eftonia.

[^77]:    ${ }^{1}$ The fouthern part of Scandinavia is called Skani in the old Icelandic MSS. and it is fill Scania. Hence in all appearance the Roman Scandia.
    m Ablavius enim hiftoricus refert quía ibi fuper limbum Ponti, ubi eos diximus in Scythia commanere, pars eurum qui orientalem plagam tenebant. . . . . dicti funt Oitrogothx ; refidui vero Vefigothe in parte occidua. Jorn. de reb. geft. Get. c. 14.

    Tho Grotius feems to quote Baron Herberfein among the earlieft writers, for the name Gothland in Sweden, yet that thame is mentioned by Adam of Bremen about 1080: and it is highly probable, that the Guse of Ptolemy were thofe very people by moderns latinized Gothi. The real indigenal name is Gyllen, Oefergyllen, Weffergyllen. But writers of the middle ages were fond of approximating old names to modern ones: thus they calied the Danes, Dgri; Norway, Noricum; the \%:

    Swedes

[^78]:    Swedes Sucvi : and fome Scandinavian writers of laft century, as ! yfcander and Wornius, call Scanen, scythia. but the antiquity of the very names Oirrogothia, Weftrogothia, if you will, is out of all quetion. Certain it is, that the OnfroFothi and Vifegothi of Roman hiftory came not from that little corner of Sweden, any more than the Franks, Lombards, Heruli, Saxons, went from Scandinavia, as Scandinavian writers drean. Tantus a nor patric! But falfe hiffory, inftead of honouring, difyraces a country; and it is ever feen that the moft infignificant contries are the moft full of falfe honours. The Northern kingdoms need not fuch fame.

[^79]:    ${ }^{n}$ Paulus Diaconus I, 11, 12. mentions that when the Lombards came to Mauringa, they encountered the Af: Pitti or Noble Pitti, for fo As inplies in Gothic.

[^80]:    - Perhaps it may be thought that the .kingdom Vit was fo called from Vik, a baven. But Torfaus and Olaus call it $V$ icha as often as.Vik; and the former does not imply a haven. Nor could all the fouth of Norway receive fo vague a name as The Hnwen. It is a proper name, as diftinct from Vik a haven, as Scot is from foot and lot. (Skot, qectigal. Ill.)

    Verelius

[^81]:    Verelius in his Index Ling. Scytb-Scand. fays Pickkkur is circumcurfitator, 'a wanderer.' The Pcusini Bafterna were fuch compared to the Germans; and this may be the origin of the name.

[^82]:    * The later and extended Romans were a mixture of various Gorhic nations, Gauls, Illyrians, Germans, \&c. ufing the Latin congue, and ferving in the Roman armies, or having the privilege of Roman citizens, which Auguftus extended over the empire.

[^83]:    Mr. Gibbon is hre often followed; fometimes corrected by collation with his authorities.

    + The Pillar of Antoninus is that of Pius; and only has an engrased bale of an apotheofis and trophes. Vignulii Columna Antuini Pii, Roma 1705, 4 to.

[^84]:    *     * In like manner Eufebius, in Chron. fays that Conftantine I. sonquered all Scytbia! And Jornand. c. 23, of Hermanric 'omnil ufque Scythiax, et Germanix, nationibus, ac fi propriis laboribus, imperavit !' It is from detail, and not from vague expreffions, we muff judge of hiftory.

[^85]:    * The Gepide are fingular in hiftory; and fpecial differtations on them, and other Bafternic nations, would be interefting. The Geloni are as often mentioned by Claudian, along with the Geta, as are the Gepidæ by Jornandes and Procopius : and the geographic fituation allotted to them by thofe writers leaves no room to doubt that they were the fame people; and a part of the Bafterne.

[^86]:    * Alia ed. pro Raunonia unam legunt Bannomanna.

[^87]:    * So Juftin "Scythia, in orientem porreटta, clauditur ab uno latere Ponto, et ab altero Montibus Riphæis; a tergo Afia, et Tanai flumine." lit. II. Thus the Riphean Mountains ran parallel to the Euxine.

[^88]:    $\dagger$ The Oceanus Dexcalecionius i :, by Piolemy, accounted an extestion of the Baltic, or Sarmaticus, $\Delta$ exxivdobin zi xat Eaqualixu. vii. 5. and he fays exprefoly, i. 3, that it was on the Nortb (agxilxys) o! Britain.

[^89]:    * Mr. Forfcr, in Barrington's Orofius, followed alfo by Mr. B. in his Mifcellanies, errs to grofsly as to take Ohter's Irland for Scotland I Irland was on Ohter's right hand, not on leaving Norway, but as he approakhed Sciringtheal. There are noiles on the fouth of Scotland; the iles between Irland and 'this land'. are thofe of Oefel, \&c. The fea fouth of Sciringtheal is the Finnifh gulf, to which Gotland is oppofite, as Obter lays. But compare the pafige; and fee Virland in the maps to Suorro, Kavnire, 177 j , \&e.

[^90]:    * The Greek $a_{f f} \alpha$, however, and Latin promontorium, alfo fignify merely the fummit, or the termination, of a chain of mountains.

