

# Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland

<http://journals.cambridge.org/JRA>

Additional services for *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland*:

Email alerts: [Click here](#)

Subscriptions: [Click here](#)

Commercial reprints: [Click here](#)

Terms of use : [Click here](#)



---

## Art. X.—On the Indian Embassies to Rome, from the Reign of Claudius to the Death of Justinian—continued from p. 298 of the XIXth Vol., Journ. R.A.S

O. de B. Priaulx

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland / Volume 20 / January 1863, pp 269 - 312  
DOI: 10.1017/S0035869X00165293, Published online: 14 March 2011

**Link to this article:** [http://journals.cambridge.org/abstract\\_S0035869X00165293](http://journals.cambridge.org/abstract_S0035869X00165293)

### How to cite this article:

O. de B. Priaulx (1863). Art. X.—On the Indian Embassies to Rome, from the Reign of Claudius to the Death of Justinian—continued from p. 298 of the XIXth Vol., Journ. R.A.S. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland, 20, pp 269-312  
doi:10.1017/S0035869X00165293

**Request Permissions :** [Click here](#)

CAMBRIDGE JOURNALS

ART. X.—*On the Indian Embassies to Rome, from the Reign of Claudius to the Death of Justinian—continued from p. 298 of the XIXth Vol., Journ. R.A.S.* By O. DE B. PRIAULX, Esq.

[Read 17th November, 1862.]

AFTER the fall of Palmyra and the many disasters which about this time overwhelmed Alexandria, the far East ceased to occupy the Roman mind or much place in Roman literature. India and the name of Buddha are however to be met with in Christian controversial writings of the third and fourth centuries directed against the Manichæan heresy. They occur, in Archelaus' account of his disputation with the hæresiarch Manes held at Charra in Mesopotamia<sup>1</sup> (A.D. 275-9), in the Catachyses of Cyril of Jerusalem (A.D. 361), and in the Heresies of Epiphanius (A.D. 375), which all trace back the Manichæan doctrine to one Scythianus and his disciple Terebinthus, whom they connect with India in this wise. Scythianus, of Scythian descent, though by birth a Saracen of the Saracens of Palestine and thus familiar with the Greek language and literature,<sup>2</sup> was a contemporary of the Apostles, and a merchant engaged in the India trade. In the course of his business he had several times visited India; and while there, being a man of an inquiring mind and great natural parts,<sup>3</sup> had made himself acquainted with the Indian philosophy.<sup>4</sup> In his maturer years, having now amassed great wealth, while returning homeward through the Thebais, he fell in, at Hypsele,<sup>5</sup> with an Egyptian slave

<sup>1</sup> Vide Archelai et Manetis Disputatio: ed. Zacagnii, 1 p., 93-4 pp. This work, written originally in Syriac, I refer to, because it is Cyril's and Epiphanius's authority for their notices of Scythianus. Cyril says this heresy sprang up in the reign of Probus (A.D. 276-82), Catechesis, vi., 20.

<sup>2</sup> ἀπο τῆς Σαρακηνῆς ὀρμωμένου κατὰ δὲ τὰ τεύματα τῆς Παλαιστίνης, τουτίστι ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ, ἀνατραφέντος· οὗτος Σκυθίανος ἐν τοῖς προειρημένοις τοποῖς παιδευθεὶς τὴν Ἑλληνῶν γλῶσσαν ἔτι τὴν τῶν γραμμάτων παιδείαν· Epiphanius. Ad. Hæreses, L. II., 86, 1§, 618 p., I. v.

<sup>3</sup> "Valde dives ingenio et opibus, sicut hi qui sciebant eum per traditionem nobis quoque testificati sunt." Archelaus, ib.

<sup>4</sup> Epiphanius, who writes with theological bitterness throughout, alone alludes to his Indian acquirements, but makes him little better than an Indian juggler: καὶ γὰρ ἔτι γοῆς ἦν ἀπο τῆς τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἔτι Αἰγυπτῶν καὶ ἐθνομυθῶν σοφίας, ib., 3§.

<sup>5</sup> πλοῦτος πολλῶν ἐπαρθεὶς ἔτι κτημασὶν ἡδυσμάτων ἔτι τοῖς ἀλλοῖς τοῖς ἀπο τῆς Ἰνδίας, ἔτι ἐλθὼν περὶ τὴν Θηβαίδα εἰς Ὑψήλην. Epiph., ib., 2 §.

girl, whom he bought and married, and who persuaded him to settle in Alexandria.<sup>1</sup> Here he applied himself to the study of and mastered the Egyptian learning,<sup>2</sup> and here formed those peculiar opinions which, with the assistance of his one disciple and slave Terebinthus, he embodied in four books,<sup>3</sup> the source of all Manichæan doctrine. Here, too, he heard of the Jewish Scriptures; and wishing to converse with the Jewish doctors,<sup>4</sup> he set forth with Terebinthus for Jerusalem, and in Jerusalem met, and in a scornful and self-willed spirit disputed, with the Apostles of Christ; and there, after a short time, died.<sup>5</sup> At his death, Terebinthus either inherited or seized upon his books and other wealth, and hurrying to Babylon, proclaimed himself learned in the wisdom of Egypt.<sup>6</sup> He also took the name of Buddha (*Βουδδας*, Buddas), and gave out that he was born of a virgin, and had been brought up on the mountains by an angel.<sup>7</sup> Some twenty years after the death of

<sup>1</sup> "Quæ eum suavit habitare in Ægypto magis quam in desertis." Archelaus, *ib.*, and Cyril, C. vi. c. xxii., *την Αλιξανδρειαν οικησας*, he thus locates him in Alexandria. *ib.*, 184 p., I. Reischl., ed.

<sup>2</sup> "In quâ provinciâ cum . . . habitaret, Egyptiorum sapientiam didicisset." Archelaus, *ib.*

<sup>3</sup> Epiphanius, 2 § *ib.* and Cyril assert that Scythianus wrote these books, Archelaus, on the other hand, that Terebinthus was their author. These books *Mysteriorum, Capitolorum, Evangelium*, (*ου χριστου πραξεις περιεχουσαν*, Cyril, *ib.*) et novissimum omnium *Thesaurum* appellavit." Archelaus, *ib.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ἐπιδη δὲ ἀκηκοὶ πῶς οἱ Προφῆται ἐδὲ νόμος περὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου συστάσεως*, &c. Epiphanius, *ib.* 3 §: "Placuit Scythiano discurre in Judæam, ut ibi congregaretur cum omnibus quicunque ibi videbantur doctores." Archelaus, *ib.* Cyril merely mentions that he went to Judæa and polluted the country by his presence: *ἐλυμνησθῆται τὴν χώραν*, *ib.*

<sup>5</sup> Epiphanius will have it that he fell from the house-top and so died—the death also of Terebinthus. Archelaus merely says that arrived in Judea he died; and Cyril, that he died of a disease sent by the Lord, *τον νοση θανατωσας ὁ Κυριος*, *ib.*

<sup>6</sup> Terebinthus dicens omni se sapientia Ægyptiorum repletum et vocari non jam Terebinthum sed alium Buddam nomine, sibi que hoc nomen impositum, ex quâdam autem virgine natum se esse, sicut et ab Angelo in montibus nutritum. Archelaus, 97 p. Epiphanius asserts that he took the name of Buddha, *να μη καταφωρος γενηται*, *ib.* Cyril, omitting the virgin birth, that he took it because he was known, and condemned in Judæa for his doctrine, *ib.* 23 §. But Petrus Siculus, A. D. 790, and Photius, 890, give further details: 'Ο μὲν Σκυθιανὸς ἐτολμησῆ Πατέρα ἑαυτὸν οἰομασαὶ ὁ δὲ Βουδδας υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐ Πατρὸς, ἐκ παρθενου δὲ γεγεννησθαι ἐ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἀνατρεφῆσθαι. 'Οθεν ἐ δωδεκα μαθητὰς ὁ ἀντὶ χριστος τῆς πλανῆς κηρυκὰς ἀπεστειλεν. Reischl., note to Cyril, *ib.*

<sup>7</sup> Besides this Buddha, Terebinthus, there is a second Buddas, Baddas, or Addas, one of the twelve disciples of Manes, who preached his doctrine in Syria; and a third Bud or Buddas Periodeutes, who lived A. D. 570: "Christianorum in Persidi finitimisque Indiarum regionibus curam gerens. Sermonem Indicium coluisse dicitur, ex quo librum Calilagh et Damnagh (*Kalilah va Dimna, de bonis*

Epiphanius, Hieronymus (A.D. 420) incidentally notices the manner of Buddha's birth. Having enlarged on the honour in which virginity has been ever held, and how to preserve it some women have died; or how, to avenge its enforced loss, others have killed either themselves or their ravishers; he goes on to say, that among the Gymnosophists, there is a tradition, that Buddha, the founder of their philosophy, was born from the side of a virgin.<sup>1</sup>

Of these writers Hieronymus is the only one who directly refers to the Indian Buddha, and of ancient writers is the first who correctly narrates the manner of Buddha's birth; and yet his notice of him is by no means so full and satisfactory as that of Clemens, written some two centuries before. For Clemens described Buddha as a man and moral lawgiver, and as a man raised to deity by his own supreme majesty and the reverence of his followers; shortly indeed, but how truthfully and characteristically! when compared with Hieronymus, who knows him as the founder of the Gymnosophists, *i.e.*, of the Hindu philosophy, which is as much as if a Hindu should see in Mahomet the author of the Western religions.

Again, Hieronymus gives Buddha a virgin mother. But a virgin mother is unknown to the Buddhist books of India and Ceylon, and belongs—derived perhaps from some Chinese or Christian source—to the bastard creed of the Buddhists of Tartary.<sup>2</sup> Under any

moribus et apta conditione animi.—Geldemeister de Rebus Ind., 104 p.) Syriace reddidit." Asseman. Bib. Orientalis, III. 219, but as the work had been already translated into Persian by order of Ghardes (A.D. 531-579) "Syriacam versionem proxime post Persicam fecit Bud Periodentes." Asseman. *ib.*, 222 p.

<sup>1</sup> "Contra Jovianum Epistolæ, Pt. I., Tr. II., c. 26: "Apud Gymnosophistas inde quasi per manus hujus opinionis traditur auctoritas, quod Buddam principem dogmatis eorum e latere suo virgo generavit."

<sup>2</sup> According to the Nepalese "Neither Adi Buddha nor any of the Panchæ Buddha Dhyani . . . were ever conceived in mortal womb, nor had they father or mother, but *certain persons of mortal mould* have attained to such excellence . . . as to have been gifted with divine wisdom . . . and these were . . . Sakya Sinha," Hodgson, *Buddhist Rel.*, 68 p. And the Tibetan books from the Sanskrit, among the qualities required of the mother of Buddha place this one: "elle n'a pas encore enfanté," to which Foucaux appends this note: "Mais il n'est pas dit qu'elle sera vierge." *Hist. de Bouddha, tr. de Foucaux.* The Singhalese: "Our Vanquisher was the son of Suddhadana and Maya," Mahawanso, Turner, p. 9, Upham, 25 p. Indeed the Virgin mother seems strange to the Indian mind, vide Birth of Parasu-Rama, Maurice, *Ant. Ind.*, II. 93, and of Chrishna, Harivansa, Lect. 59, Langlois. According to the Mongols "Sou-dadani . . . epousa Maha-mai, qui, *quoique vierge*, conçut par l'influence divine un fils le 15 du dernier mois d'été," Klaproth, *Mem. sur l'Asie*, II., 61 p. Whether, however, the Tartars borrowed the idea from the Christians or it is original among them may be a question. For I find among the Mongols that

circumstances, this dogma of Tartar Buddhism<sup>1</sup> could scarcely have reached Hieronymus; and he here writes, it may be presumed, on the authority of Archelaus or Epiphanius, and confounds through ignorance the Manichæan with the Indian Buddha.

With regard to the Buddha of Archelaus, Cyril, and Epiphanius, when we remember the many points of at least superficial resemblance between Buddhism and Christianity, and the proselytising spirit of both religions, we may well wonder that so few of the early Christian fathers have known the name of Buddha; and that of these few, Archelaus and his copyists have so little appreciated its religious significance, that they speak of it merely as of a name assumed by Terebinthus, and so assumed, Epiphanius asserts, because it is the Assyrian equivalent of the Greek word Terebinthus.<sup>2</sup> They in fact connect the Manichæan heresy with India,<sup>3</sup> not through the name of Buddha, but through Scythianus and his Indian travels and familiarity with Indian learning.

But if the Indian Buddha was unknown to Archelaus, he certainly was not unknown to the disciple and successor of Scythianus, who took his name; probably, because it was symbolical of his own mission, and of himself as destined to inaugurate a new era in the history of mankind; and because by it he connected his own system of religion, which was eclectic and conciliatory, with the religions of the East. But, this notwithstanding, Manichæism, the Gnostic perhaps excepted, is that scheme of Christianity with which the Buddhist faith has the least affinity. For the Manichæan was an essentially speculative, metaphysical creed, or rather a philosophy from and to which a religion and morality were derived and attached, and of which Manes was but the author

Alankava, the ancestress of three great Tartar tribes, after a certain night vision, "se trouva fort surprise de cette apparition; mais elle le fut beaucoup plus, lorsqu'elle aperçut qu'elle était grosse sans qu'elle eut connu aucun homme." Alankava. *Dict. Orient.*, D'Herbelot. And of the great Lao Tseu, who is somewhat anterior to Buddha, the Chinese believe that his mother conceived him impressed "de la vertu vivifiante du Ciel et de la Terre," Mailla, *Hist. de la Chine*, xiii., 571 p.

<sup>1</sup> Indeed I suspect that the Tartars were not at this time Buddhists, for of the Buddhist faith Klaproth writes, "qu'elle n'a commencé à se répandre au nord de l'Hindoustan que 60 A.D.; et beaucoup plus tard (the 7th century id., 88 p.), dans le Tibet et dans les autres contrées de l'Asie Centrale," U. S., 93 p.

<sup>2</sup> *Τερριβινθου . . . μετονομασθεντος Βουδδα κατα την Ασσυριων γλωσσαν*, Epiph., *ib.*

<sup>3</sup> "Error quoque Indicus Manetem tenuit qui duo pugnancia Numina introduxit," Ephrem Syrus from Assemann, though as Assemann very justly observes the two hostile deities are evidence not of an Indian but a Zendian origin.

and expounder. Buddhism, on the other hand, spite of its real atheism and its Nirvana, is a religion eminently practical, formal, and ritual, of which Buddha is the great central sun, and his example, wisdom, and precepts, the world wherein his followers live, move, and have their being.<sup>1</sup>

The next incidental notice of India belonging to these times is to be found in Damascius' Life of Isidorus, preserved by Photius.<sup>2</sup> It is an account of some Brahmans who visited Alexandria, and lodged in the house of Severus, Consul A.D. 470. They lived, we are told, very reputably, after the manner of their people. They frequented neither the public baths nor any of the city sights, but kept within doors as much as they could. They ate palms and rice, and drank water. They were not mountain Brahmans, nor yet common Indian folk, but something between both, just agents for the Brahmans in the city, and for the city with the Brahmans. What they reported of the Brahmans quite tallied with all one reads about them: as that, by their prayers, they can bring down rain, and avert famine and pestilence, and other incurable ills.<sup>3</sup> They told also of the one-footed men, and the great seven-headed serpent, and other strange marvels.

I suspect that the prophetic and supernatural powers of the Brahmans were greater on the shores of the Mediterranean than on the banks of the Ganges. The one-footed men were a favourite Hindu myth, and known in Europe from the days of Ctesias. The seven-headed serpent may be referred either to that king of the Nagas, who with his seven folds covered the body of Buddha, and shielded him with his crests, or to the seven-headed serpent on which Vishnu reposes.<sup>4</sup> But whatever the tales of these men, the question arises,

<sup>1</sup> See, however, Lassen, Ind. Alterthumsk., III., 406 p., who finds traces of the influence of Buddhism in the religion of Manes. 1st. In the two opposite principles of Manichæism. 2nd. In its account of the world's origin. 3rd. In the laws which it supposes determine the several existences of individual souls in their progress towards final emancipation; and 4th. In its final destruction of the world. But without denying that these dogmas may have been borrowed from Buddhism, it must be allowed that they may just as probably be the result of independent thought applied to the great problems of which they are supposed to be the solution.

<sup>2</sup> Vide Photii Bib., ed. Schotti, 1042 p.: *ηκον δε προς τον Σεβηρον ε Βραχμαναι κατα την Αλεξανδρειαν, και εδεξατο σφας οικη ιδιω, etc.* This visit must have taken place, therefore, before Severus took up his residence in Rome, and before his consulship.

<sup>3</sup> So Onesecritus: *εφη δαυτους ε των περι φυσιν πολλα εξετασαι ε προσημασιων ομβρων, αυχμων, νοσων*, Strabo, xv., I., 65, and Dio Crystostom, Oratio xlix.

<sup>4</sup> Hist. du Bouddha, Foncaux trans., 354 p. And compare Vishnu Purana,

why came they to Alexandria? They were not merchants, or they would have been found in its markets; and they travelled neither for their own instruction nor for that of others, or they would have mixed with the world, and not avoided the haunts of men. Whatever might be their object, they so lived that they could learn nothing, teach nothing.

Of direct notices of India subsequent to the fall of Palmyra, I find a short one in a Description of the Whole World, extant only in Latin translations, but originally written in Greek about A.D. 350, and seemingly by some eclectic in religion. In the farthest East, it places the Eden of Moses, and the sources of that great river, which, dividing itself into four branches, is severally known as the Geon, Phison, Tigris, and Euphrates. Here dwell—and we are referred to the authority of some unnamed historian<sup>1</sup>—the Carmani, a good and pious people, who know neither moral nor physical ill. They all live to the age of 120, and no father ever sees his children die.<sup>2</sup> They drink wild honey and pepper, and they eat a bread and use a fire both which daily come down from heaven; and the fire is so hot, that it would burn them up did they not run and hide themselves in the river until it returned to its own place. They wear garments of a stuff that scarcely ever soils, and then recovers all its freshness on being passed through fire. Next them, to the west, are the Brahmans. Like the Carmani, they are subject to no king, and live happily, sharing something of their neighbours' felicity. Their food is fruits, pepper, and honey. Then follow five other nations, and we arrive at the greater India, whence comes silk (or wheat), with all other necessaries, and the Indians live happily, and in a country large and fertile. Next to India Major is a land which is rich in everything. Its inhabitants are skilled in war and the arts, and aid the people of India Minor in their wars with the Persians. After these comes India Minor, subject to India Major; it has numberless herds of elephants, which are exported to Persia.

by Wilson, 205, where Ananta is described with a thousand heads, with the plate in Moor's Pantheon, representing Vishnu on the seven-headed "Ananta contemplating the creation, with Brahma on a lotos springing from his navel to perform it," Plate 7.

<sup>1</sup> "Et hæc quidem de prædictis gentibus historicus ait," Juretianns Geographicus, *Descriptio totius Orbis*, 21§, 516 p., II., *Geog. Græci. Minores*.

<sup>2</sup> Their great age the Carmani share with others: "Cyrnos Indorum genus Isigonus annis 140 vivere. Item Ethiopas Macrobius et Seras existimat," *Plin., Hist. Nat.*, vii., 2; *Strabo*, xv., 15. But their other blessings, that they die each in his turn and know no ills, are their own.

Though our author parades the authorities he has consulted from Moses and Berosus to Thucydides and Josephus, his work, which is rather a popular description of the world than a scientific geography, is interesting only when it treats of those countries and places, as Syria and its cities, with which he was himself acquainted. Of the far East his account is especially meagre, and would be worthless, but that it serves to show how necessary is commercial intercourse to keep alive our knowledge of other and distant countries; and how very soon after that intercourse had ceased, India again faded away into the land of myth and fable.

Some few years later (A.D. 360-70) and Avienus published a Latin hexametrical version of Dionysius Periegetes' Geographical Poem of the World. And though he nowhere shows any extraordinary regard for his text, and never stops at any alteration of it to suit his own taste or the views of his age, I observe that he scrupulously follows it in everything relating to India.

I will but mention Dracontius (died A.D. 450) and Avitus A.D. 490, who the one in his *Carmen de Deo*, speaks of India in connexion with spices—

*India tunc primum generans pigmenta per herbas  
Eduxit sub sole novo. i., 176.*

and with precious stones and ivory—

*India cum gemmis et eburnea monstra minatur. 307*

while the other, in his *Poem de Mosai. Hist. Gestis*, glorifies the Indians because they receive the first rays of the sun,<sup>1</sup> and describes them as black, and with their hair bound back off the forehead;<sup>2</sup> and who both—like the author of the *Description of the Whole World* quoted above—place India to the west of Eden, whence the rivers bring down all sorts of precious stones to us common mortals.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>

. . . . "Ubi solis abortu

*Vicinos nascens aurora repercutit Indos," 196, l.*

borrowed probably from Avienus "*primam coquit hanc radiis sol," 1308, and Dionysius Periegetes, 1110.*

<sup>2</sup>

*Cæsaries incompta riget quæ crine supino*

*Stringitur ut refugo careat frons nuda capillo."*

<sup>3</sup> "*Est locus in terrâ diffundens quatuor amnes," Dracont, 178.* The Ganges, one of these, brings down all sorts of precious stones.—So Eudoxus presents to *Euergetes* from India aromatics and precious stones: *ὡν τους μεν καταφερουσιν δι ποταμοι μετα των ψηφων.* Strabo, II. III., 81 p.

*"Hic fons perspicuo resplendens gurgite surgit,*

*Eductum leni fontis de vertice flumen*

*Quatuor in largos confestim scinditur amnes."*—Avitus, I.

They add nothing to our knowledge of India, and merely illustrate the common-place axiom, that in an intellectually inferior age fables and myths were preferred to truth, and the most wonderful tales to the best ascertained facts.

To this age, the 5th century, also probably belongs Hierocles. Of his work, *Philistores*, but a very few fragments have been preserved; and of these two relate to India, and imply that India he had himself visited, and in India travelled. The first from Stephanos of Byzantium, under *Brachmanes*, is to this effect:—“After this I thought it worth my while to go and visit the Brahman caste.<sup>1</sup> The men are philosophers dear to the gods, and especially devoted to the sun. They abstain from all flesh meats, and live out in the open air, and honour truth. Their dress is made of the soft and skinlike (*δερματώδη*) fibres of stones, which they weave into a stuff that no fire burns, or water cleanses. When their clothes get soiled or dirty, they are thrown into a blazing fire, and come out quite white and bright.” The second from the *Chiliads* of Tzetzes (*VII. Hist.*, 144 to 716): “Then,” he says, “I came to a country very dry and burnt up by the sun. And all about this desert I saw men naked and houseless, and of these some shaded their faces with their ears, and the rest of their bodies with their feet raised in the air. Of these men Strabo has a notice, as also of the no-heads, and ten-heads, and four-hands-and-feet men, but none of them did I ever see, quoth Hierocles.”

Hierocles' account of the Brahmans is so modest, and his explanation of the one-footed men of Strabo so natural, that his narrative might easily be accepted as the genuine production of one who had visited India; but, first, for the asbestos stuff in which his Brahmans are clothed, and which we have no reason to believe they ever wore, but which, as it was an Indian manufacture,<sup>2</sup> and rare and valuable, he perhaps substituted for the wonderful earth-wool<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *ἔθνος*, but having before us the opinions of his predecessors about the Brahmans, I suspect we should translate “nation.”

<sup>2</sup> “*Inventum jam est quod ignibus non absumeretur . . . ardentisque in focus convivorum ex eo vidimus mappas, sordibus exustis splendescentes igni magis quam possent aquis . . . Nascitur in desertis adustusque Sole Indiæ, ubi non cadunt imbres inter diras serpentes; assuescitque vivere ardendo, rarum inventu, difficile textu propter brevitatem. Rufus color.*” *Pliny. xix., 4.* Strabo however speaks of it as a product of Eubœa, and in his time also used for napkins: *ἐν δὲ τῇ Καρυστῷ ἢ ἡ λιθος φυεταὶ ἢ ξαινομένη ἢ ὑφαινομένη ὥστε τὰ ὑφὴ χειρομακτρά γίνεσθαι, ρυπωθέντα δέεις φλόγα βαλλέσθαι ἢ ἀποκαθαίρεσθαι, x., I. B., p. 383.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ἡ δὲ ἕλη τῆς εσθητός, εριον αυτοφύες ἢ γῆ φυεὶ, λευκὸν μὲν ὡσπερ τὸ Παμ-*

Philostratus imagined for them; and, secondly, for the monsters he so carelessly attributes to Strabo—and of which, so far as I know, Strabo is innocent—had Hierocles but told of them as of something he had seen or heard of, these ten-headed and four-hand-and-footed men would have been identified with the statues of Ravana and Ardhavan,<sup>1</sup> and adduced as an evidence of a visit to India. As it is, we know him as an untrustworthy writer, and we have only his own word for it that he was ever there.

We have next an account of India<sup>2</sup> written at the close of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century, and drawn up apparently at the request either of Palladius or of Lausius, to whom Palladius inscribed his *Historia Lausiaca*. Its writer states that he went to India with Moses, Bishop of Adule; but found the heat such, the coldest water being set boiling in a few minutes,<sup>3</sup> that he very quickly returned. He had little to say of his own knowledge; but in the course of his travels he had fallen in with, and heard a good deal about India from a scholar of the Thebaid, a lawyer, who, disgusted with his profession, had thrown it up, and set out to see the world, and more especially the land of the Brahmans. He recounted, that in the company of a priest he took ship in the Red Sea for the Bay of Adule. Here he landed and went to visit the city, and pushed on inland as far as Auxume,<sup>4</sup> where he met with some Indian,

*ῥυλων, μαλακωτερον δε τικτει, ἢ δε πιμελη δια ελαιου απ' αυτου λειβεται. Τουθ' ιεραν ισθητα ποιουνται, κ̄ ει τις ετερος παρα τους Ινδους τουτους ανασπων αυτο, ου μεθιται ἡ γη του εριου. Philost., Apoll. Vita, III., xv., 54 p.*

<sup>1</sup> Vide Plates 54 and 24, Moor's Hindoo Pantheon.

<sup>2</sup> Of this tract there are two versions, a Greek addressed to some eminent personage not named, and a Latin attributed to Ambrosius, and addressed to Palladius. In the Greek version the author himself visits India; in the Latin it is his brother, Musseus Dolenorum Episcopus, who traverses Serica, where are the trees that give out not leaves but very fine wool, and where he sees the stone columns raised to Alexander, and reaches at length Ariana, which he finds burnt up by the heat, and so hot that water is seen boiling in the vessels that hold it, and who then gives up his journey and returns to Europe. In this first part I have preferred the Greek, but I oftener follow the Latin version as the more full and intelligible.

<sup>3</sup> Ctesias of the Indian sea: *το δε ανω αυτης . . . θερμον ειναι ωστε μη ιχθυν ζηναι. Photius Bib., 144 p.* Strabo, of the heat in India says, lizards crossing the road are burnt up, and that water quickly warms, 730 p. This, however, may have been an extravagant mode of speech merely, for Sidonius, almost a cotemporary of Palladius, when urging his friend Donatius to leave the city, says "*jam non solum calet unda sed coquitur.*" *Epist. II., 2.*

<sup>4</sup> I here follow neither the Greek nor Latin version. The Greek: *διαπλευσας μετα πρισβυτερον ταυτην θαλασσαν κατελαβε πρωτον Αδουλιν ειτα την Αυξουμην εν ὃ ην βασιλικος των Ινδων, vii. Pseudo-Callisthenes, Müller, 102 p. and*

*i.e.* Arab, merchants about to proceed for India: he joined them, and together they crossed the Ocean. After several days' voyage they reached Muziris, the chief port on this side the Ganges, and the residence of a petty Indian rajah. At Muziris our traveller stayed some time, and occupied himself in studying the soil and climate of the place, and the customs and manners of its inhabitants. He also made inquiries about Ceylon, and the best mode of getting there; but did not care to undertake the voyage when he heard of the dangers of the Singhalese Channel, of the thousand isles, the Maniolai, which impede its navigation, and the load-stone rocks<sup>1</sup> which bring disaster and wreck on all iron-bound ships. They told him however of this island, of its happy climate,<sup>2</sup> and its long-lived inhabitants, of its four satrapies, and its great king,<sup>3</sup> of whom the petty sovereigns of the coast were but the governors. He knew, too, of its great trade, and its markets thronged with merchants from Ethiopia, Persia, and Auxume (Latin version only); of its five great navigable rivers,<sup>4</sup> and perpetual fruit-bearing trees, palms, cocoa, and smaller aromatic nuts. And he had heard how its sheep

afterwards *Απο της Ανεξουμης ευρων τινας πλοιαριω διαβαινοντας Ινδους εμποριας χαριν, επειραθην ενδοτερον απελθειν*, viii., 103 p. The Latin: "In rubio mari navim ascendens navigavit primo sinum Adulicum et Adulitarum oppidum vidit, mox Aromata promontorium et Troglodytarum emporium penetravit; hinc et Auxumitarum loca attigit, unde solvens . . . Muzirim pervenit, ib. 103. The Greek version is evidently defective, for it never brings our scholar to India at all, while the Latin traces out an itinerary confused and improbable. For after leaving Adule our traveller makes for Aromata, the most eastern point of Africa, and the emporium of the Troglodytes; but—"Aduliton . . . maximum hic emporium Troglod. etiam Ethiopum;" (Plin., iv., 34.)—or suppose it some port in the Aualitic Bay, still he is always retracing his steps till he comes to Auxume, an inland town (*εισητηκειαι την Αδουλιν της Ανεξουμης πεντεκαιδακα ημερων οδος*. Nonnosus, 480 p., *Hist. Bizant.*), whence he sets sail for India.

<sup>1</sup> Ptolemy knows of the Maniolai and the loadstone rocks, but limits their number to ten, and throws them forward some degrees east of Ceylon, vii., 2, 21 p.; and before Ceylon places a group of 1378 small islands, vii., 4, 213 p. And Masudi, who had traversed this sea, says that on it iron nails were not applicable for ships, its waters so wasted them, 374 p.

<sup>2</sup> So Fa-hian: "Ce pays est tempéré, on n'y connaît pas la différence del'hiver et de l'été. Les herbes et les arbres sont toujours verdoyants. L'ensemencement des champs est suivant la volonté des gens." *Tr. de Rémusat*, c. xxxvii., 332 p.

<sup>3</sup> "Huic quatuor moderantur . . . satrapes, inter quos unus est maximus cui . . . cæteri obediunt." Latin version. These satrapies would be those of Jafna, Malaya, Rohuna, with that of Anarajapura as the chief.

<sup>4</sup> Ptolemy likewise gives five rivers to Ceylon, ut sup. The Soana, Ayanos, Baracos, Ganges, and Phasis, and after him Marcianus Heracleensis *Geog. Minor*, Didot, 534 p.

were covered, not with wool, but hair, gave much milk, and had broad tails; and how their skins were prettily worked up into stuffs, the only clothing of the inhabitants, who also on feast-days ate both mutton and goat's flesh, though commonly milk, rice, and fruit only.

And the scholar further said: "I tried to penetrate into the interior of their country, and got as far as the Besadæ, a people with large heads and long untrimmed hair, dwarfish and feeble, but active and good climbers, and who occupy themselves with gathering the pepper from the low and stunted trees on which it grows. They seized on me; and their king, the consumption of whose palace was one measure of corn a year (*sic.*), whence got I know not, gave me as slave to a baker. With him I stayed six years, and in this time learned their language, and a good deal about the neighbouring nations. At length the great king of Ceylon<sup>1</sup> heard of me, and out of respect for the Roman name and fear of the Roman power, ordered me to be set free, and severely punished the petty rajah who had enslaved me."

Of the Brahmans, this scholar reported that they were not a society like our monks, but a race, born<sup>2</sup> Brahmans. They lived, he said, near the Ganges, and in a state of nature. They went naked,

<sup>1</sup> This tract is imperfect. The Greek version sends our traveller direct from Auxume into the interior of Africa, where he was not likely to hear anything about the Brahmans; the Latin, on the other hand, after saying every thing to dissuade him from the voyage to Ceylon, suddenly and without a hint that he had left Muziris, sets him down in the midst of its angry and excited population. But it is rarely consistent with itself. For 1st, it describes Ceylon on hearsay as an island of the blest, "in quâ sunt illi quibus Beatorum nomen est," and seems to countenance that description, and yet the people our scholar falls among he found a weak, hideous, and inhospitable race. 2nd, It speaks of pepper as the chief produce of the island: "piper ibi nascitur in magnâque colligitur copiâ;" but though pepper certainly grows in Ceylon it is not and never has been among its staple productions (Ptolemy, viii., 212 p.) nor to gather it the occupation of its people. But from their name and description, Sir E. Tennent (Ceylon) has identified the Besadæ with the Singhalese Veddahs. Let me observe that the name is unknown to the Latin version and belongs to the Greek, which expressly states that our scholar never went to Ceylon: ου γαρ δεδυνηται ουδ' αυτος εις την νησον εισελθειν, liv., III., vii., ib., and appears there in several shapes as Thebaida, Bethiads, and Bethsads. 2ndly, that the Besadæ are in Ptolemy a people living in the extreme North of India. 3rdly, that the Besaidæ, except in those great features common to ill-fed barbarous races, bear no resemblance to any Singhalese people. For though, like the Veddahs they are puny, ill shaped live in caves, and recognize a domestic chief, the Veddahs, unlike them, have no king living in a palace, no political existence, and no arts such as the existence of a baker implies.

<sup>2</sup> Vide from Bardesanes, Jour. Rl. As. Soc., xix. 280 p.

wandering in the woods, and sleeping on leaves. They had no domestic animals, tilled no land, and were without iron, or house, or fire, or bread, or wine; but then they breathed a pleasant, healthful air, wonderfully clear. They worshipped God, and had no slight, though not a thorough, knowledge of the ways of Providence. They prayed always, turning but not superstitiously to the East. They ate whatever came to hand, nuts and wild herbs; and drank water. Their wives, located on the other side of the Ganges, they visited during July and August,<sup>1</sup> their coldest months, and remained with them forty days.<sup>2</sup> But as soon as the wife had borne her husband two children, or after five years if she were barren, the Brahman ceased to have intercourse with her.<sup>3</sup>

The Ganges is infested with the Odonto, a fearful monster, but which disappears during the Brahman pairing months; and by serpents seventy cubits long. The ants are in these parts a palm, and the scorpions a cubit, in length; and hence the difficulty of getting there. The tract then concludes with a series of letters, which purport to have passed between Dandamis, the chief of the Brahmans, and Alexander the Great, and which might have been written anywhere, and by anybody, except one who had learned to think or was accustomed to command.\*

<sup>1</sup> "In India . . . December, January, and February are their warmest months; our summer being their winter; July and August are their winter." Masoudi's Meadows of Gold, 344 p.

<sup>2</sup> Among the Buddhists: "Quand venait la saison des pluies . . . les Religieux pouvaient cesser la vie vagabonde des mendiants. Il leur était permis de se retirer dans des demeures fixes. Cela s'appelait séjourner pendant la Varcha: c'est-à-dire, pendant les quatre mois que dure la saison pluvieuse." Burnouf, Hist. du Boudd., 285 p. The rainy season, however, is not the same on the East and West of the Ghauts.

<sup>3</sup> Suidas, s. v. Βραχμανες, has, with a slight alteration, copied this account of the Brahmans. He says "they are a most pious people (εθνος), without possessions, and living in an island of the ocean given them by God; that Alexander came there and erected a pillar (the bronze pillar of Philostratus, As. Jour., xviii., 83 p.) with the inscription 'I the great king Alexander came thus far; that the Makrobioi live here to 150, the air is so pure . . . The men thus dwell in the parts adjoining the ocean, but the women beyond the Ganges, to whom they pass over in the months of July, &c.'" The island of the Indian Makrobioi is probably borrowed from the Atlantic Erythia, where dwelt the Ethiopian Makrobioi according to Eustatius. Com. in Dion. Per., 558§, 325 p., II., Geog. Min.

ητοι μιν γαιουσι βοοτροφον αμφ' Ερυθιαν

Μακροβιων υιης αμυμονες, δι ποθ' ικουτο

Γηρνονος μετα ποτμον αγηνορος. Diony. Perieget., 558, &c., ib.

\* Of cotemporaries of Palladius, who in their works have noticed India, I pass over Marcianus Heracleensis (A.D. 401), who as a geographer had necessarily much

Our author's account of his own experience of India, its great heat, is so absurdly impossible, that we lose all faith in his veracity. I believe neither in his own story, nor in that of his travelled lawyer, who seems to me introduced merely to give reality and interest to the narrative. In the narrative itself we first hear of the loadstone rocks, though still attached to the Maniolai, as guarding the coasts of Ceylon. These rocks, which the voyages of Sinbad have since made so famous, probably owed their origin to some Arab merchant, some Scythianus, who thus amused the imaginations of his wondering customers, and at the same time fenced round with terror the trading grounds whence he obtained his most precious wares. Here, too, we read of a Singhalese Empire, with dominions extending far into the interior of India, and here only; for the Singhalese annals show us Ceylon ever open to Tamil inroads, sometimes subdued, or at best struggling for independence, and at other time prosperous and powerful, but never even then claiming rule over any part of India.<sup>1</sup> And here, also, we have an account of the Brahman marriage, which, though in one particular, divorce for barrenness, not altogether incorrect, is, as a whole, quite opposed as well to all we know of Brahman habits, as to that ideal of Brahman life on which the Laws of Menu so willingly dwell.<sup>2</sup>

to say about it, but who as the mere copyist of Ptolemy principally, and occasionally of other writers (Geog. Græc., Min. Pf., 133 p., I. ed. Didot, conf. Lassen, u. s., 288, III.), added nothing to the existing knowledge of India: and Justin, Hist. Philip. (Smith's Biog. Dict., s. v., and de *Ætat. Justini* and *Testimenta*, Valpy's Delphin ed.), to whom we are indebted for much of the little we know of the Greek rule in Bactria and India, but whose history, as an epitome of that of Trognus Pompeius, belongs really to the Augustan age.

<sup>1</sup> This tract was written about A.D. 400. If the scholar ever existed, he must have travelled and obtained his knowledge of Ceylon some time in the last half of the fourth century, during the reigns of either Buddha Da'sa, from 389 to 368 A.D., or of Upatissa II., A.D. 368-410. From the *Mahawanso*, 237-9 pp., and the *Rajavali*, 241-2 pp., we gather, that Ceylon was at this time in a flourishing condition, but nothing which can lead us to suppose that its kings held dominion in India. Fa-hian also was in Ceylon about A.D. 410, and his description of the island quite corroborates the statements of its Sacred Books. *Fæ-kour-ki*, xxxviii., 9. Upham's *Sacred Books of Ceylon*, l. c., and Turnour's *Appendix to the Mahawanso*, 72 p.

<sup>2</sup> For the marriage duties and the respect due to women, v. Menu III., 45-8 and 55-62. For the marriage duties of women, *ib.* 153, 160, and ix. 74. The ideal of marriage: "Then only is a man perfect when he consists of three persons united, his wife, himself, and his son, and thus learned Brahmins have announced this maxim—The husband is even one person with his wife," *ib.* 45. Consequent upon this "A barren wife may be superseded by another in the 9th year, she whose children are all dead in the 10th, she who brings forth only daughters in the 11th," *ib.* 81.

About this same time (A.D. 360-420), appeared the *Dionysiaca*, a poem in 48 books, written by Nonnos, of Panopolis in Egypt, to celebrate the triumphs of Bacchus, and his conquest of India. The first eight books tell of Cadmus, and the loves of Jupiter, and the jealousy of Juno. The 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th recount the birth and education of Bacchus, and his love for, and grief at the death of, the youthful satyr Ampelos;<sup>1</sup> and how Ampelos was then changed into a vine, and how of the grapes Bacchus made wine, and drank it, and threw off his old sorrow.<sup>2</sup> In the 13th book Iris<sup>3</sup> from Jove calls on Bacchus to drive the lawless Indians from Asia, and by great deeds and labours to gain a place in Olympus. It then enumerates the Centaurs, Satyrs, Cyclops, and peoples which gather round the Bacchic standard. In the 14th and 15th books Bacchus is in Bithynia, near the lake Astracis,<sup>4</sup> and he then and there changes its waters into wine, encounters and makes drunk and captive an Indian army under Astrais (αστηρ); and afterwards, 17th book, marches into Syria and defeats another and more powerful one, commanded by the son-in-law of Deriades<sup>5</sup> the Indian king,

<sup>1</sup> Οὐδε ἔκαλλος ἔλειπε, ἢ εἰ θανεν' ὡς Σατυρος δὲ  
κειτο νεκρῶ, γέλωντι πανεικελὸς, διάπερ αἰεὶ  
χέλεισιν ἀφθογοῖσι χεῶν μελιῶν αἰοῖν. xi., 250.

<sup>2</sup> . . . . προτερας δ' ἔριψε μεριμνας  
φάρμακον ἠβητηρος ἐχψν εὐδομῶ σπωρην. 290, xii.

<sup>3</sup> He sends Iris to bid him—

οφρα δικης ἀδιδακτον ὑπερφιαλων γενος Ἰνδων  
Ασιδος ἐξίλασειεν. 5, xiii.

But unlike the Iris of Homer, who always strictly delivers her message, she somewhat varies it, and bids him—

εὐσειβης ἀδιδακτον αἰστωσαι γενος Ἰνδων.

<sup>4</sup> ὁ περὶ Νικομαδεῖαν κόλπος Ἀσταχῆος καλεῖται. Strabo, xii., 43. Nonnos, ed. de Marcellus, N. N., 100, xiv., 7, xv.

<sup>5</sup> Δημιόδης, from δηρις, strife, says Nonnos. The name is probably borrowed from the Bassaricus of Dionysius, for Eustatius in his Comm. on the *Periegesis* (806 v., 332 p., II., Geog. Græc. Min.) observes that the Erythrean king was Deriades, an Erythrean τῷ γενεῖ, but who went to India and bravely opposed Bacchus. And then if Dionysius, as Müller is inclined to think, lived in the first century, it may possibly be either a translation or adaptation of the Sanskrit Duryodhana, from “dur,” bad, and “yodha,” strife, as Professor Wilson, in a paper on the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnos, *As. Res.*, xvii., suggests, and may have become known in Greece through the Greeks who had visited India, or the Hindus who visited Alexandria. Or as Duryodhana is the oldest of the Kaurava princes and one of the heroes of the *Mahabharata*, his name and some notion of the Epic may (spite of Strabo’s hint to the contrary, L. xv., 3) have been transmitted to Greece by the Bactrian Greeks, whose relations with India were many and intimate. But in this case one name only in that poem, and not the greatest nor the easiest fitted to Grecian lips, has, though all disfigured, found a place in Grecian literature.

Orontes,<sup>1</sup> who in despair kills himself, and gives his name to the neighbouring river, ever since called the Orontes. After this battle, Blemmys, king of the Erythræan Indians, and subject to Deriades, submits to Bacchus, and settles with his people in Ethiopia.<sup>2</sup> The 18th book shows us Staphylos, the Assyrian monarch, with Methe and Botrus, his wife and son, doing honour to and feasting Bacchus in their palace, whence, after a drunken bout, Bacchus goes on his way Indiaward, and at the same time despatches a herald to Deriades, threatening war, unless his gifts and orgies be accepted. The 19th book relates the death of Staphylos, and the games held in his honour. In the 20th, Bacchus reaches Arabia, but in the forest of Nyssa, all unguarded and defenceless, is set upon by Lycurgus, and takes refuge in the Red Sea. The 21st book tells of his ambassador's reception at the Indian court, and of the scorn with which Deriades rejects the proffered gift of Bacchus. "He cares for no son of Jove," he says, "his sword and his buckler are his wine and drink, and his gods earth and water."<sup>3</sup> Bacchus learns this answer while frolicking with the mountain nymphs.<sup>4</sup> He prepares for war, and calls on the Arab Rhadamanes to equip a fleet, and attack the Indians by sea. He himself, with his army, passes over the Caucasus.<sup>5</sup> In the 22nd book we have the first battle on Indian ground. Near the Hydaspes, in a thick forest, an Indian army

<sup>1</sup> Orontes, Greek form of the Persian Arvanda, from "arvat," flowing, Lassen, III., 147, or of the Egyptian Anrata. Rougé, tr. of a poem on the exploits of Rameses by Pentaour. Of this river, both Wilson, u. s., 610 p., and Lassen observe that in the belief of Syria, confirmed by the oracle of Klaros, it took its name from an Indian chief who died there, and whose coffin and bones, indicating a height of 11 cubits, were found when the Romans diverted or canalized the river. Pausanias, viii., 2, 3, and see Strabo, xvi. II. 7, 639 p.

<sup>2</sup> Eustatius, u. s., either on the authority of Nonnos or the Bassarics, gives them the same origin: Βλεμμυες ὀντω καλουμενοι απο Βλεμμου τινος, ὃς ἠποστρατηγων τῆ βασιλει Δηριαδῶ κατα Διονυσου συνεπολεμισε. (Copt. 220 v., 255 p., ib.)

<sup>3</sup> . . . . . Δηριαδης γαρ  
 ου μαθεν ουρακιων μακαρων χορον, ουδε γεραιρει  
 Ηελιον και Ζηνα  
 . . . . .  
 οινος εμος πελεν εγχος· ὁ δ' αὐ ποτος εστι βοιη. 255.

μοννοι εμε γεγασσι θεοι ε Γαια ε Υδωρ. 261, xxi.

<sup>4</sup> . . . . . ορειασι μιγνυτο Νυμφαις. 277, xxi.

<sup>5</sup> The passage scarce occupies three lines—

και ταχυς ηλασε διφρον Εωιον εις κλιμα γαιης  
 . . . . . αμφι δε πετρην

Καυκασιην λοφοεντα διαστειχων κενωνα . . .

Ἡωη παραμεβε πεζαν. 307, xxi.

under Thoreus lies in ambush, but is betrayed to Bacchus, who by a pretended flight draws them out into the open and completely routs them, and then crosses the river to combat with Deriades. Deriades, by the advice of Thoreus, retreats on his elephants within the city walls. Attis, on the part of Rhea, presents Bacchus with arms forged by Vulcan, and foretels that not till the seventh year shall he destroy the Indian capital.<sup>1</sup> In the meanwhile Deriades, at the treacherous instigation of Minerva, marshals his hosts, and the 26th book gives the names of the cities, islands, and peoples, with their chiefs, which form his army. And on the contents of this book, as specially occupied with India, we shall dwell at some length. At the summons of Deriades came Agraios (*αγρα*, the chase), and Phlegios (*φλεγω*, to burn), the two sons of Eulæus (river, Ulaï, ? Marcellus), and with them those who dwell in Kusa<sup>2</sup> and Bagia, near the broad muddy waters of the Indian Zorambo; the people, too, of the well-turretted Rhodoe, the craggy Propanisos, and the isle Gerion,<sup>3</sup> where not the mothers, but the fathers, suckle their children. There, too, were found the inhabitants of the lofty Sesindos and of Gazos,<sup>4</sup> girt about with impregnable linen-woven bulwarks. Near them were ranged the brave Dardæ,<sup>5</sup> and the Prasian force, with the gold-covered tribes of the Sarangi, who live on vegetables, and grind them down instead of corn. Then came the curly-haired Zabians with their wise ruler Stassanor; then Morrheus<sup>6</sup> and his father Didnasos, eager to avenge the death of

<sup>1</sup> ου γαρ πριν πολέμου τέλος εσσεται, εισοκε χαρμης  
εκτον αναπληρωσων ετος τετραζυγες Ὀραι.

εσσομενψ δε

εβδοματψ λυκαβαντι διαρραισεις πολιν Ινδων. 363-7, xxv.

<sup>2</sup> Those who would identify the different places in the text I refer to M. de Marcellus' notes to the 26th Book of his edition of Nonnos. They will at the same time see how he has accommodated, and I think not unfairly, the names to the Geographies of Ptolemy, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Γηρειαν, Ροδοην τε και οι λεινοτειχεια Γαζον. Stephan, Byzant., s. v. Γαζος from the 3rd Book of the Bassariks of Dionysius.

<sup>4</sup> This description of Gazos is borrowed from the *Βασσαρικα* of Dionysius (n. 12, xxvi. B. de Marcellus), and from the same source he probably took his account of Gercion and the Sarangii, for Nonnos is of those poets who repeat but do not invent. Stephanos Byzantinus by the way, always quotes Dionysius Periegetes as a historical authority, e.g., s. v. Βρεμεις and Γαζος.

<sup>5</sup> Δαρδαι Ινδικον εθνος ὑπο Δηριαδη πολεμησαν Διονυσψ, ως Λιονυσιος εν γ' Βασσαρικων, Steph., s. v. Δαρδας.

<sup>6</sup> Lassen, u. s., derives Morrheus from *μωρρηα*, the material of the vasa murrhina. Prof. W. H. Wilson, ib., suggests Maha, rajah. Neither derivation seems

Orontes. Now followed the many-languaged Indians from well-built sunny Æthra, and they who hold the jungles (*λασιωνα*) of Asene and the reedy Andonides, the burning Nicæa, the calm Malana, and the water-girt plains of Patalene. Next them marched the serried ranks (*πυκιναι*) of the Dosareans, and the hairy-breasted Sabaroi, and near them the Ouatecetoi,\* who sleep lying on their long ears, with their chiefs Phringos, Aspetos, Tanyclos, Hippouros, and Egretios. Tectaphus also was there at the head of his Bolingians,<sup>1</sup> Tectaphus, whom, when in prison, his daughter suckled and saved from death. From the earth's extremity, Giglon, Thoureux, and Hippalmas brought up the Arachotes and the Drangiai, who cover with dust<sup>2</sup> those whom the sword has slain. Habraatos led on the archers. Shamed by the loss of his hair, a disgrace among the Indians, which had been cut off by order of Deriades, he came on slowly and perforce, with hate in his heart. He commanded the savage Scyths, the brave Ariainoi, the Zoaroi, the Arenoi, the Caspeiri,<sup>3</sup> the Arbians of the Hysparos, and the Arsanians whose women are wondrously skilled in weaving. Near them were ranged the Cirradioi, used to naval warfare but in boats of skins. Their chiefs were Thyamis and Olkaros, sons of Tharseros the rower. Under Phylites, son of Hipparios, came a swarm of men from Arizanteia, where a certain bushy tree from its green leaves distils sweet honey,<sup>4</sup> while from its branches the Horion<sup>5</sup> pours forth a song like the swan's for melody,

to me satisfactory,—the first strange and far-fetched, the second scarcely applicable, for Morrheus is no rajah, a soldier of fortune merely, though of high birth, an autocthon : *ηλιβατου Τυφωνος εχων αυτοχθονα φυλην.* 177, xxxiv.

\* So Scylax. Tzetzes Chil., vii. Hist., 144, 635 l.

<sup>1</sup> *Και τότε Βωλιγγησι μετ' ανδρασι Τεκταφος ωρτο.* Bassar., Dionys., Stephanos Byz., s. v., Βωλιγγα.

<sup>2</sup> "The Dandis and Dasmamis Sectaries of Siva . . . put their dead into coffins and bury them, or commit them to some sacred stream." H. H. Wilson, Religious Sects of the Hindus, As. Res., xvii., 176 : and in a note : "In the South the ascetic followers of Siva and Vishnu bury their dead (Dubois), so do the Vaishnava (Varangis ?), and Sanyasis in the North of India" (see Ward), all the castes in the South that wear the Lingam, ib.

<sup>3</sup> *εν δε τε Κασπειροι ποσι κλειτοι, εν δ' Αριηνοι.* Stephanos, s. v., Κασπειρος, from the Bassar. Dionys.

<sup>4</sup> *Εστι δε και δενδρα παρ' αυτοις μελι ποιουντα ανευ ζωνων.* Strabo, xv., l., 20, Geog. Min. Græc., 620 p., ii.

<sup>5</sup> Clitarchus, quoted by Strabo, speaking of the movable aviaries belonging to the Indian kings, says that they are filled with large leaved trees, on the branches of which are perched all sorts of tame birds, and that of these the finest songster is the horion, the most beautiful the catreus : *ων ευφωνοτατον μεν . . . τον φριωνα, λαμπροτατον δε κατα οψιν και πλειστην εχοντα ποικιλιαν τον κατρεα,* xv., l., 690 p.

and the yellow purple-winged Catreus utters its shrill cry, prophetic of rain. Then followed the Sibai, the people of Hydera, and the Carmanian hosts, with their leaders, Kolkaros and Astrais, the sons of Lógos. The 300 isles at the mouths of the Indus sent their contingent under Ripsasos, a giant in stature (*εχων ινδαλμια Γυγαντων*, 248 v.) Aretos, too, with his five sons born deaf and dumb, obeyed the call of Deriades. With them were ranged the shield-bearing warriors of Pyle, Kólalla and Goryandos: then, under Phylates marched on those who dwell in the woody Osthe, mother of elephants, and with them their neighbours from Euthydimeia, speaking another tongue. The Derbicei, the Ethiopians, the Sacæ, the Bactrians, and the Blemyes, also joined the army of Deriades.

The contest then begins. The Gods, as was their wont, take each his side. Jupiter, Apollo, Vulcan, and Minerva, declare for the Bassarids; Juno, with Mars, Ceres, and Neptune for Deriades and his Indians, and from no interested motives, for throughout Deriades stoutly disavows all allegiance to them. The fight is carried on with various fortune. Now, the Indians flee before Bacchus and his crew aided by the gods; and now, headed by Mars, Morrheus, and Deriades, or Deriades' wife and daughters, and befriended by the stratagems of Juno,<sup>1</sup> they drive him from the field. At length night intervenes (XXXVII.), and Greeks and Indians bury their dead: the Greeks with funeral piles and games, the Indians with tearless eyes, for for them death but frees the soul from earthly chains, and sends it back to its old starting point, to run afresh life's circle of change.\*

Six years have now passed away, and Rhea has long ago announced that the 7th year and a naval battle shall put an end to the war. The Rhadamanes arrive with their ships. Deriades collects his fleet, and goes forth to meet them.<sup>3</sup> The fight is long and doubtful,

<sup>1</sup> Juno drives Bacchus mad. Eustatius in his Commentary on Dionysius 976 v., alludes to this madness, probably from the Bassarics: *Μαινεται Διονυσος Ἡρας προνοιᾷ*. Geog. Min., II., 386 p. It is also mentioned by Pseudo Plutarchus, de Fluv. et Mont. Nom., Geog. Min. Græc., II., 663 p.

<sup>2</sup> *ομμασιν ακλαντοισιν εταρχυσαντο θανοντας  
δια βιου βροτεου γαιηια δεσμα φυγοντας  
ψυχης πεμπομενης ὄθεν ηλυθε, κυκλαδι σειρη  
νυσαν ες αρχαιην.* xxxvii., 3 v.v.

<sup>3</sup> Deriades, xxxvi. B., speaks of the Rhadamanes as ship-builders:  
*εισαιω Ραδαμανας, ὅτι δρυτομφ τινι τεχνη  
νυας ετεχνησαντο φυγοπτολεμψ Διονυσψ.* 414 v.v.

but boasts of Indian skill on the sea:

. . . . . *Ινδοι γαρ εθημονες εισι κυδοιμου  
ειναλιου, και μαλλον αριστευουσι δαλασση  
η χθονι δηριωντες.* 465 v.v.

till at length the Cabeirian Eurymedon sends a fire ship into the midst of the Indians, and a general conflagration ensues. Deriades (XL B., 75) escapes, renews the contest on land, and engages in a single combat with Bacchus; but, affrighted by the presence of Minerva,<sup>1</sup> he flies towards the Hydaspes, and, struck by the thyrsus of Bacchus, falls and dies in the river. The city and India submit to the conqueror; and Bacchus, having raised a monument to those of his troops who have perished, distributes the spoils among the survivors, and then returns to Lydia. The remaining eight books tell of the loves, and wars, and vengeance of Bacchus, and the poem concludes with his apotheosis.<sup>2</sup>

Notwithstanding the probability that through the Bactrian Greeks some knowledge of the Hindu Epics may have reached Greece and our author, I am inclined to think that they were wholly unknown to him.

I. Because his poem speaks of an Indian Empire, and therefore presupposes Indian conquests, extending to the shores of the Mediterranean and Red Seas, while the Indian books show us the tide of Indian domination rolling ever South and East, and if Westward,<sup>3</sup> never passing the Indus.

II. Because, though the names of the Indian cities and peoples in the Dionysiacs, as edited by the Comte de Marcellus, pretty fairly correspond with those given by Ptolemy, Pliny, and Strabo, and are thus accounted for, the names of its Indian chiefs are, with but few exceptions, as Morrheus, Orontes, &c., purely Greek.

III. Because his Indian facts, manners, and customs are few, and are:

1st. Such as were, long before his time, well known to the Roman world; as when he tells of the tearless eyes with which the Indians bury their dead, and shows them worshipping earth, water, and the sun, and marshalling their elephants for war, and calling their Brahmans to counsel, or employing them as physicians.<sup>4</sup>

1

Αθηνη

δαιμονι βοτρυνεντι παριστατο· δερκομενουδε  
δειματι θεσπεσιω λυτο γυννατα Δηριαδης. XL., 74.

2

και θεος αμπελοις, πατριων αιθεραβαινων  
πατρι συν ευωδινη μιης εψανσε τραπέζης,  
και βροτην μετα δαιτα, μετα προτερην χυσιν οινου  
ουρανιον πιε νεκταρ αρειοτεροισι κυπελλοις  
συνθηρονος Απολλωνι, συνεστιος υiei Μαιης. XLVIII.

<sup>3</sup> But compare Gildemeister, *Scrip. Arab. de Rebus Indicis*, 2, 8, 9 p.

<sup>4</sup> And the Brahmans heal the wound with magic chaunt, just as in Homer, when Morrheus is wounded:

Ἔφρα μιν ενθειον ἔλκος, ὃ μιν λαχε, δαιμονιη χειρ

2ndly. Such as were not so well known, but for which authority may be found in the Indian books: as when Deriades, by depriving Habraatos of his hair, disgraces him—thus Vasichta punishes the Sacas by cutting off the half of their hair, and the Yavanas by shaving their heads:<sup>1</sup> and chooses two soldiers of fortune<sup>2</sup> for his sons-in-law—thus their fathers give Sita and Draupati, the one to the strongest, the other to the most skilful, bowman: and as when Morrheus neglects and deserts his wife, daughter of Deriades, for a Bacchante—and thus the Hindu Theatre<sup>3</sup> affords more than one example of kings and Brahmans in love with women other than their wives, as in the Toy-cart, the Necklace, the Statue,<sup>4</sup> &c. But, however warranted by Indian custom, these several acts, as presented by Nonnos, scarcely associate themselves with Hindu life, certainly not more than the name of Deriades with that of Duryodhana, though they sufficiently remind us of the Greeks of the Lower Empire.<sup>5</sup>

3rdly. Such as are unsupported by Hindu authority. Thus Deriades shows himself skilled in the niceties of Greek mythology, and his wife and daughter, Bacchanal-like, rush to the battle;<sup>6</sup> and as if India were deficient in wonders, the fathers in Gereion suckle their children, and Gazos is impregnable with its cotton bulwarks.

λυσιπονου Βραχμηνος ακεσσατο Φοιβαδι τεχνη,  
θεσπειου μαγον υμνον υποτροζοντος αιδη. XXXIX., 369.

<sup>1</sup> Harivansa, I., 68 p. Langlois, tr., Or. Tr. Fund; and Wilson, Hindu Theatre, 332, II.

<sup>2</sup> Of Morrheus—

νυμφιος ακτημων, αρετη δ'εκτησατο νυμφην. xxxiv., 163.

And when he married his daughters, all gifts

Δηριαδης απειπε· η εγρεμοθοισι μαχηταις

Θυγατερων εξευξεν αδωροδοκους υμεναιους. ib., 169, 170.

<sup>3</sup> Wilson's Hindu Theatre, 326 and 364 pp., II.

<sup>4</sup> See the several plays in Wilson's Hindu Theatre, and some observations of Wilson's on the plurality of wives among the Hindus, II., 359.

<sup>5</sup> I do not, however, know that this inappreciation of Indian life is an evidence of Nonnos's ignorance of the Hindu books, but of his want of imagination. With some play of fancy and the faculty of verse, Nonnos is essentially without the poet's power. His personages are all conventional, and I suspect that no knowledge of India, not even had he trudged through it on foot, would have made them more Indian, more real, and more lifelike.

<sup>6</sup> In the Hanuman Nataka, nevertheless, the wife of Ravana, to animate his drooping courage, offers

“If you command. By your side I march

Fearless to fight, for I too am a Kshetrya.” Hind. Theat., II., 371 p.

The Topographia Christiana (A.D. 535) next claims our attention. Its author, Cosmas, who had been a merchant, and who as a merchant had travelled over the greater part of the then known world, betook himself in his latter years to a monastery, and there, though weak of sight and ailing in body, and not regularly educated,<sup>1</sup> set himself in this work to prove, that our world was no sphere, but a solid plane.<sup>2</sup> He describes it, and illustrates this and indeed all his descriptions by drawings,<sup>3</sup> as a parallelogram lying lengthways east and west, and sloping up very gradually from its base, but more gradually on its south and west, than on its north and east sides, into a huge conical mountain, round which sun and moon run their courses, and bring with them day and night.<sup>4</sup> All about this great mass of earth<sup>5</sup> he places an impassable ocean, communicating with it by four gulfs, the Mediterranean, Arabic, Persian, and Caspian Seas,<sup>6</sup> but eternally separating it from a transoceanic land, where was and is Eden, the happy birthplace of our race, and whence rise sheer up those mighty walls which arch themselves into the firmament above us. Written with such a theme, enforced by many quotations from Scripture misunderstood, and the authority of fathers and philosophers, worthless on this point, the Topographia Christiana is but dull reading, and would long since have been forgotten, had it not here and there been lighted up by some sketch of Cosmas's own travels, some notice of what had fallen either under his own observation or that of others trustworthy and competent witnesses, and always told with a simplicity and guarded truthfulness which place him in the first rank of those who know how to speak of what they have seen, and repeat what they have heard, just as seen and heard, without exaggeration and without ornament.

Cosmas had a personal knowledge of three of the four inland seas—the Caspian<sup>7</sup> he had not visited. As an occasional resident

<sup>1</sup> *αθρωνων ημων τυγχανοντων τω τε σωματι, ταις τε οψεισι . . . πιεζομενων —αλλως τε και της εξωθεν εγκυκλιου παιδιας λειπομενων εβ ρητορικης τεχνης ημοιρουνητων.* Lib. II., 124 p. Montfaucon, *Nova Collectio Patrum*.

<sup>2</sup> Vide Prolog., p. 114.

<sup>3</sup> Vide the Plates at the beginning of Montfaucon's *Nova Collectio Patrum*, Pl. I.

<sup>4</sup> Vide 133-4 pp., ib.

<sup>5</sup> The length he computes to be of 400 mansions of 30 miles each, its breadth of about 200, vide 138 p.

<sup>6</sup> Lib. iv., 188 p., and 186-7 pp., and 132 p. : *εισι δε εν ταυτη τη γη εισβαλλοντες εκ του Ωκεανου . . . κολποι τεσσαρες . . . ουτοι γαρ μονοι οι κολποι πλεονται' αδυνατος υπαρχοντος του Ωκεανου πλεεσθαι.* 132 p.

<sup>7</sup> *εμποριος γαρ χαριν επλευσα τους τρεις καλπους τουτους, τον τε κατα την*

at Alexandria (124 p.), he knew the Mediterranean well. He had sailed down the Red Sea from Ela and Alexandria to Adule;<sup>1</sup> he had passed the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, and had been within sight of, though he did not land at, the Island of Socotora;<sup>2</sup> and thence, if he ever visited India, had stretched across the main to Ceylon and the Malabar Coast, or, coasting and trading along the eastern shores of Arabia, had made for the Persian Gulf and the emporia of the Indus. Once, too, the ship in which he sailed was on the very verge of the great ocean, and then the flocks of birds hovering about, the thick mists, and the swell of meeting currents<sup>3</sup> warned sailors and passengers of their danger, and their remonstrances induced the pilot to change his course.<sup>4</sup> On the continent he had crossed the Desert of Sinai on foot;<sup>5</sup> he was well known at Adule;<sup>6</sup> he had visited Auxume;<sup>7</sup> and indeed had travelled over the greater part of Egypt and Ethiopia and the countries bordering on the

*Ρωμανίαν . . . ἔκ ἀπο τῶν οἰκουμένων δεῖη καὶ πλεοντῶν τοὺς τοποὺς ἀκριβῶς μῆμαθηκῶς*, 132 p.

<sup>1</sup> Adule ἐνθα ἔκ τὴν ἐμπορίαν ποιούμεθα ὀίον ἀπο Ἀλεξανδρείας ἔκ ἀπο Ἐλα ἐμπορευόμενοι, 140 p.

<sup>2</sup> Dioscorides ἤν νησον παρεπλευσαμεν οὐ κατηλθονδε ἐν αὐτῇ, 179 p.

<sup>3</sup> Masoudi, in his *Meadows of Gold*, says of the sea of Zanj "I have often been at sea, as in the Chinese Sea, the Caspian, the Red Sea. I have encountered many perils, but I have found the sea of Zanj the most dangerous of all." 263 p. See also from Albyrouny, by Reinaud, *Journal Asiatique*, Sept.-Oct., 1844, 237-8 pp. But as indicative of the superior experience and enterprise of his age, compare with Cosmas the description of the same sea by the author of the *Periplus*; he points out its dangers at certain seasons because open to the south wind; and also how the danger may be foreseen by the turbid colour of the sea, and how all then make for the shelter of the great promontory Tabor, 128, I., 266 p., *Geog. Min. Græc.*

<sup>4</sup> Ἐν ὁἷς ποτε πλευσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἐσωτερὰν Ἰνδίαν (ἐν τῇ Ταβροπάνῃ, ἐν τῇ ἐσωτερῇ Ἰνδία ἐνθα τὸ Ἰνδικὸν πελαγὸς ἐστὶ, 178 p.), καὶ ὑπερβαντες μικρῶς πρὸς τὴν Βαρβαρίαν ἐνθα περαιτέρω τὸ Ζυγγίον τυγχάνει· οὕτω γὰρ καλοῦσι τὸ στομα τοῦ Ὀκεανοῦ ἐκεῖ ἐθεωροῦν μὲν εἰς τὰ δεξιά, εἰσερχομένων ἡμῶν, πλῆθος πετεινῶν . . . ἃ καλοῦσι σουσά . . . ὥστε δεῖλιάν παντάς, καὶ ἐλεγον τῇ κυβερνήτῃ, ἀπῶσε τὴν ναῦν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερά εἰς τὸν κολπὸν, 132-3 pp. Ἄν Βαρβαρία κυκλοῦται ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀκεανοῦ ἐκ δεξιῶν, 137 p. Ἄν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀζωμῆως εἰς ἀκρῶν τῆς Διβανωτσοφορῶν νῆς τῆς καλουμένης Βαρβαρίας, ἥτις καὶ παρακεῖται τῇ Ὀκεανῇ, 138 p. The recommendation to the steersman would, therefore, it seems have driven them further out to sea, unless we suppose that they were just doubling the promontorium Aromata, when it would bring them nearer to the Arabian coast.

<sup>5</sup> Ὡς αὐτὸς ἐγὼ πεζούσας τοὺς τοποὺς μαρτυρῶ. Of the desert of Sinal, 205 p.

<sup>6</sup> Here Elesboas commissioned him to copy the inscription on the throne of Ptolemy, 141 p.

<sup>7</sup> ἐξ ὧν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν θεασαμεθα ἐπὶ τὰ μερῇ Ἀζωμῆως ἐν τῇ Αἰθιοπία, 264 p.

Arabian Gulf; and had moreover written an account of them which unfortunately has not come down to us.<sup>1</sup>

But Cosmas, a merchant and a traveller, mixed much with other merchants and travellers: and while his simple and genial nature won their confidence, his curious and enquiring mind drew from them all they had to tell of or had seen in other lands that was worthy of note. With their information he corrected or confirmed his own impressions and enlarged and completed his knowledge. In this way he first heard from Patricius of the dangers of the Zingian Ocean,<sup>2</sup> and in this way learned the adventures of Sopater; and in this way, by going among the slaves<sup>3</sup> of the merchants at Adule and questioning them about their people and country, he was able to speak to the correctness of the inscription on Ptolemy's chair.

As a merchant engaged in the Eastern trade, Cosmas was interested in and well acquainted with everything relating to it. He has accordingly noticed the principal ports at which it was carried on, together with the kinds of goods which each port specially supplied. He speaks of China, the country of silk, as lying to the left as you enter the Indian Sea in the furthest East and on the very borders of the habitable world, and yet not so far but that in its cities might occasionally be seen some Western merchant lured thither by the hope of gain.<sup>4</sup> Adjoining China<sup>5</sup> to the West was the clove region; then came Caber and next Marallo, famed, the one for its alabandenum, the other for its shells. With Marallo Ceylon seems to have been in communication, as it certainly was with the five pepper marts of Male, Pudopatana, Nalopatana and

<sup>1</sup> Vide Prologos II. I have noticed only those places which Cosmas positively states he had visited, but he insinuates a much wider range of travel. Thus measuring the earth's breadth from the Hyperborean lands to Sasus, he says there are but 200 mansions: *ακριβως γαρ επισταμενοι, ε ου πολυ διαμαρτανουτες της αληθειας, τα μεν πλειυσαντες ε οδευσαντες τα δακριβως μεμαθηκως κατεγραψαμεν*, 144 p.

<sup>2</sup> *ταυτα δε παραλαβων εκ του θεου ανδρου . . . ητοι ε αυτης της πειρας εσημηνα*, 132 p.

<sup>3</sup> Captain Burton describes the trade at Zanzibar as in the hands of Arab merchants, who bring with them a train of native porters, some of them as many as 200.

<sup>4</sup> *αυτη δε η χωρα του μεταξιου εστιν εν τη εσωτερη παντων Ινδια κατα το αριστερον μερος εισιοντων του Ινδικου πελαγους*, and a little before, *ει γαρ τινες δια μεταξην εις τα εσχατα της γης εμποριας οικτρας χαριν ουκ οκνουσι διελθειν*, 137 p.

<sup>5</sup> For this account of the countries and ports of the East trading with Ceylon, vide 337-8 pp.

Salopatana, Mangarouth<sup>1</sup> and Purti, and the other ports further Northward on the Western coast of the Indian Peninsula, as Sibor and Calliana<sup>2</sup> a place of great trade where ships might load with copper, sesamine wood, and clothing stuffs, Orrhotha<sup>3</sup> and Sindus, which last exported musk and androstachys. These Indian marts forwarded their wares to a great emporium situated on the southern coast of Ceylon, where they exchanged them for the silk, cloves, aloes, tsandana, and other merchandise which came from China and the countries lying eastward, or for Roman gold<sup>4</sup> and the manufactures of the West. In its ports<sup>5</sup> you might see ships freighted for, or coming from, Persia, Æthiopia, and every part of India, and in its markets you met with men of all nations, Indians, Persians, Homerites, and merchants of Adule. Answering to this great commercial city of the East was Adule in the West, situated some two miles inland<sup>6</sup> on the southern shore and at no great distance from the mouth of the Arabian Gulf. It was in direct and frequent communication with India. The merchants of Æla and Alexandria thronged to its markets; for there they found, besides the rich productions of the East, slaves, spices, emeralds,<sup>7</sup> and ivory, from Ethiopia and Barbaria.

Besides the sea route from China to the Persian Gulf, Cosmas speaks also of another and a shorter road<sup>8</sup> which led through Juvia,<sup>9</sup> India, and Bactria to the eastern confines of Persia, 150 stations, and thence through Nisibis, 80 stations, to Seleucia, 13 stations further on, and each station he computes at about 30 miles. That this road was much frequented may be gathered

<sup>1</sup> "Mangarat, urbs inter Malabaricas maxima regi gentili obediens." Gelde-meister de rebus Indic., 184 p.

<sup>2</sup> Calliana: Lassen, Kaljant; Hippoeura on the mainland, somewhat to the north-west of Bombay.

<sup>3</sup> Orrhotha, Soratha, Surat.

<sup>4</sup> To the universal use of Roman gold Cosmas testifies: *εν τῷ νομισματι αυτων (Ρωμαιων) εμπορευονται παντα τα εθνη . . . θαυμαζομενον παρα παντος ανθρωπου . . . ετερα βασιλεια ουκ υπαρχει το τοιουτο*, 148 p.

<sup>5</sup> Ibn Batoutah similarly speaks of Calicut, the great emporium of his day. "Un des grands ports du Malabar. Les gens de la Chine, de Java, de Ceylon, des Maldives, du Yaman, et du Fars s'y rendent, et les trafiquants de diverses régions s'y réunissent. Son port est au nombre des plus grands du monde," *iv.*, 89. Dufremery, tr.

<sup>6</sup> Vide 140 p. and 338 p.

<sup>7</sup> Vide 339 p.

<sup>8</sup> *διατεμνει ἴσων πολλὰ διαστήματα ὁ δὲ δια τῆσιόδου ἐρχομένουσ ἀπο Τζιντζας ἐπι Περσιδα, ὅθεν ἕ πληθος μεταξίν αι ἐπι την Περσιδα εὐρσκεται*, 138 p. B.

<sup>9</sup> *ib.* "Vaticanus autem Ουννια secundâ manu." Note.

from the quantities of silk always to be found in Persia and which it brought there; but that it was used only by Persian, and not by Roman merchants,\* I presume from the exaggerated length attributed to it by Cosmas, and his generally vague account of it.<sup>1</sup>

He speaks of Ceylon as situated in the Indian Sea beyond the pepper country midway between China and the Persian Gulf,<sup>2</sup> and as lying in the midst of a cluster of islands which all are covered with cocoanut trees<sup>3</sup> and have springs of fresh water. On the authority of the natives he gives it a length and breadth of about 200 miles each, and states that it is divided into two hostile kingdoms. Of these the country of the Hyacinth has many temples, and one with a pinnacle which is surmounted by a hyacinth the size they say of a fir cone, of a blood red colour, and so bright that when the sun shines upon it, it is a wondrous sight.<sup>4</sup> The other kingdom occupies the rest of the island, and is celebrated for its harbour and much frequented markets. The king is not of the same race as the people.

In Cosmas's time India seems to have been parcelled out into many petty sovereignties; for besides these two kings of Ceylon he knows of a king of Malabar, and kings of Calliena, Sindus, &c., but

\* Ammianus Marcellinus seems to intimate that in his time this road was travelled by Roman merchants: "Præter quorum radices et vicium quem Lithinon pyrgon appellat iter longissimum mercatoribus petitum ad Seras subinde com-meantibus," 335 p.

<sup>1</sup> Nisibis and Pekin are on the 37th and 40th parallels of north latitude respectively, and the one on the 41st, the other on the 117th parallels of longitude; there are consequently 76 degrees of longitude between them. But according to Cosmas there are 230 stations of 30 miles each, or 6,900 miles. In the same way between Seleucia and Nisibis he places 13 stations, or 390 miles, whereas there are in fact but 4 degrees of latitude. Might then these *μοναι απο μιλιον λ' be απο μιλιον κ'* of 20 miles, which would pretty fairly give the real distance?

<sup>2</sup> "L'île de Kalah," Point de Galle, "qui est située à mi-chemin entre les terres de la Chine et le pays des Arabes." Relation Arabes, 93 p. It was then the centre of traffic both from and for Arabia, 94 id.

<sup>3</sup> *αργελλια* (336 p., Cosmas). The narikala of the Hindus, and the nardgyl of the Arabs. LVII. Discours Prel. Rel. Arabes; and for an account of the islands, id., p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> H'ouen-Thsang (A.D. 648, some century after Cosmas) thus: "À côté du palais du roi s'élève le Vihara de la dent de Bouddha . . . Sur le sommet du Vihara on a élevé une flèche surmontée d'une pierre d'une grande valeur, appelée rubis. Cette pierre précieuse répand constamment un éclat resplendissant. Le jour et la nuit en regardant dans le lointain, on croit voir une étoile lumineuse," II., 141 p. Fa-hian, however, who was at Ceylon, A.D. 410: "Dans la ville on a encore construit un édifice pour un dent de Foe. Il est entièrement fait avec les sept choses précieuses," 333 p. Fa-hian thus mentions this Vihara, and, as if only lately built, but says nothing of the hyacinth, probably placed there subsequently to his time, v. Marco Polo, 449, Société Geog., ed.

all these rajahs seem to have acknowledged the supremacy of, and paid tribute to, Gollas, king of the White Huns,<sup>1</sup> a white people settled in the northern parts of India. Of this Gollas he relates that besides a large force of cavalry he could bring into the field 2,000 elephants, and that his armies were so large that once when besieging an inland town defended by a water fosse, his men, horse and elephants, first drank up the water, and then marched into the place dryshod.<sup>2</sup>

He speaks of elephants as of part of the state of an Indian monarch, and of the petty rajahs of the sea-board as keeping some five, some six, hundred elephants, and of the King of Ceylon as having moreover a stud of horses which came from Persia and were admitted into his ports duty free.<sup>3</sup> His elephants he bought and paid for according to their size at from 50 to 100 golden pieces<sup>4</sup> each, and sometimes even more. They were broken in for riding and were sometimes pitted to fight against one another; but with their trunks only, a barrier raised breast high preventing them from coming to closer quarters. The Indian elephants he observes have no tusks and are tamable at any age, while those of Ethiopia to be tamed must be caught young.<sup>5</sup>

As a Christian he naturally observed, and as a monk willingly recorded, the state of Christianity in the East. In Ceylon there was a Christian church of Persian residents, with a priest and deacons and other ecclesiastical officers,<sup>6</sup> all from Persia. At Male, Calliena, a bishop's see, and the Island of Dioscorides<sup>7</sup> (Socotora),

<sup>1</sup> Το Ουννων των Ερβαλιτων εθνος, οϋσπερ λευκουσ ονομαζουσι. Procopius, de Bell. Pers., I. III., 15 p. Ερβαλιται δε Ουννικον μιν εθνος εισι κ̄ ονομαζονται . . . . μονοι δε οϋτοι λευκοι τε τα σωματα κ̄ ουκ αμορφοι τας οψεις εισιν, 16 p., id. The valley of the Indus seems to have been occupied by a Tartar tribe, even in the first century of our æra. Ptolemy calls the lower Indus Indo-Scyth. Reinaud, Mem. sur l'Inde, 81 p. and 104 p.

<sup>2</sup> Cosmas Indicopleustes. Montfaucon, Nova Coll. Patrum, I., 338 p.

<sup>3</sup> Τουσ δε ιππουσ απο Περσιδος φερουσιν αυτησ, κ̄ αγοραζει κ̄ τιμα ατελειαν τουσ φεροντασ, 339 p. This importation of horses into India, and from Persia, continues to this day, and is frequently alluded to by Ibn Batoutah, those from Fars were preferred, 372-3 pp., II., but they were then subject to a duty of seven silver dinars each horse, ib., 374 p.

<sup>4</sup> νομισματα, 339 p. The word used by Sopater in the preceding page, consequently a gold coin, see Embassy to Ceylon. Procopius observes that neither the Persian king, nor indeed any barbarian sovereign, places his effigy on his coins, II., 417.

<sup>5</sup> 339 p., u. s., and compare 141 p., with regard to the Ethiopian elephants from the inscription at Adule.

<sup>6</sup> και πασαν την εκκλησιαστικην λειτουργιαν, 337 p., u. s.

<sup>7</sup> So also the Relations Arabes of Socotera : " La plupart de ses habitants sont Chrétiens . . . . Alexandre y envoya une colonie de Grecs . . . . ils embrassèrent

were Christian communities, also dependent on Persia for their ministers, and subject to the Persian metropolitan; and this, though in the case of Socotora, the inhabitants, colonists from the time of the Ptolemies, were Greeks and spoke Greek. In Bactria too, and among the Huns and other Indians, and indeed throughout the known world,<sup>1</sup> were numberless churches, bishops, and multitudes of Christians, with many martyrs, monks, and hermits.

He describes and gives drawings of some of the animals and plants of Ethiopia and India. In general he closes his descriptions<sup>2</sup> by stating, either that he has himself seen what he has been just describing and where and how he saw it, or if he have not seen it, what personal knowledge he has of it. Thus, to his notice of the rhinoceros he adds, that he saw one in Ethiopia and was pretty near it; to that of the Charelephus, that he had both seen it and eaten its flesh; to that of the hippopotamus, that he had not seen it, but had bought and sold its teeth: and to that of the unicorn, that he had only seen a statue of one in brass standing in the four-turretted palace in Ethiopia; but when he comes to speak of the *bos agrestis*, the *moschos*, and the pepper<sup>3</sup> and cocoanut trees, animals and plants belonging to India, he does not even hint at any personal knowledge of them, and I ask myself—Was Cosmas ever in India?

When his ship was nearly carried away into the Great Ocean, Cosmas was then bound for Inner India; and as he calls Taprobane an island of Inner India, by Inner India I presume that, unlike the ecclesiastical writers of his age, he intends not Ethiopia and Arabia

la religion Chrétienne. Les restes de ces Grecs se sont maintenues jusqu'aujourd'hui, bien que dans l'île il se soit conservé des hommes d'une autre race," 139 p., and see also note, 217-59 pp., II. v., where Reinaud refers to both Cosmas and the Periplus of the Erythræan Sea; see also Marco Polo, 702 p., Maraden's ed.

<sup>1</sup> Cosmas goes through the several nations in detail; but having to do only with India I omit particulars. I observe, however, that he gives no Christians to China, though Masoudi says of Canton, in the 10th century: "the town is inhabited by Moslims, Christians, Jews, and Magians, besides the Chinese." Meadows of Gold, 324, I. In the space of three centuries then Mahomenadanism had penetrated to China. At the same rate of progress Christianity should have been known there in the 6th century.

<sup>2</sup> For these descriptions vide 344-5 pp., and the drawings at the beginning of II. v. Montfaucon's *Nova Coll. Patrum*.

<sup>3</sup> He describes the pepper tree as a sort of vine, very unlike the pepper trees I have seen at Palermo. He probably means the betel. "The betel is a species of pepper, the fruit grows on a vine, and the leaves are employed to wrap up the areca-nut." Heeren, *Hist. Res.*, II., 294. "The betel is found in the two Indian peninsulas, Malabar and Arracan," *id.*, 295.

Felix, but the Indian Peninsula.<sup>1</sup> Again, in another place, after having spoken of Ceylon, and alluded to the principal marts of India, to the White Huns settled on its northern frontier and the lucrative commerce the Ethiopians carry on with them in emeralds,<sup>2</sup> he adds "and all these things I know partly of my own knowledge and partly from what I have learned by diligent inquiry made at no great distance from the places themselves." But this surely is no evidence of India visited, at least not such evidence as is before us of his having been at Auxume, where at mid-day with his own eyes he saw the shadows falling south; at Adule, where at the request of Elesboas, he copied the inscription on Ptolemy's chair;<sup>3</sup> or in Sinai, which he trudged through on foot listening to the Jews as they read for him the Hebrew letters sculptured on its boulders.<sup>4</sup> So, notwithstanding that he passed the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb and lay off the Island of Socotora; notwithstanding his name of Indicopleustes and his vague assertions; and, more than all, notwithstanding his narrative, which is sober as fact and commonplace as reality, I cannot help doubting that he ever was in India.

On a review of these notices of India, it seems: 1st. That for nearly a century after the fall of Palmyra no important mention of India was made by any Greek or Latin writer whatever. 2ndly. That the accounts of India which then and afterwards appeared, whether in Travels, Geographies, Histories, or Poems, those in the Topographia Christiana excepted, were all in the main made up of extracts from the writings of previous ages and added nothing to our knowledge of India. 3rdly. That of such writings, they in general preferred, not those which recorded the best authenticated facts,<sup>5</sup> but those which worked most on the imagination; and they indeed heightened their effect by new matter of the same character. 4thly. That they gradually took rank with, and

<sup>1</sup> See supra, note 4, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> 339 p. "Autrefois on portait dans l'Inde l'émeraude qui vient d'Égypte" (Rel. Arabes ?), 153, I., 232, II.

<sup>3</sup> For Auxume, 264 p. Adule, 144 p., id.

<sup>4</sup> ὅθεν ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐρημῇ τοῦ Σιναίου οὐροῦ ἐν πασαις ταῖς καταπαυσεῖσι παντὰς τοὺς λίθους τῶν αὐτοῦ, τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ὀρεῶν ἀποκλωμμένους γεγραμμένους γραμμασι . . . Ἑβραϊκοῖς, ἃ τίνα ἢ τινες Ἰουδαῖοι ἀναγνόντες διηγούντο ἡμῖν, λεγόντες γεγραφθαι . . . ὁὕτως, ἀπερὶς τοῦ δε, ἐκ φυλῆς τῆς δε, εἰεὶ τῷδε, μῆνι τῷδε, καθά και παρ ἡμῖν πολλακίς τινες ἐν ταῖς ξενίαις γραφουσιν, 205 p. Does he allude to the Nabathæan inscriptions: "qui couvrent les parois des rochers de la presqu'île du mont Sinai." Reinaud, Mem. sur la Mèrène, 12 p., tirage à part; and for these inscriptions, Journal Asiatique, Jan. and Feb., 1859.

<sup>5</sup> The description of India in Ammianus Marcellinus must be excepted from this censure, v.

even displaced the more critical studies of Strabo, Arrian, Ptolemy, &c. Thus the *Periegesis* of Dionysius, on which Eustatius wrote a commentary, and the *Geography* of the anonymous writer who, so far as I know, first gave locality to Eden, were honoured by Latin translations, and, judging from the currency their fictions obtained, became the text books of after ages. Thus, too, the *Bassarika* of Dionysius, for Indian countries and towns, is more frequently referred to by Stephanos Byzantinus, than either Strabo or Arrian; and thus the *Apollonius* of Philostratus becomes an authority for Suidas,<sup>1</sup> and the *Theban Scholasticus* for both Suidas and Cedrenus, who borrow from him their accounts of the Brahmins,<sup>2</sup> to which Cedrenus adds some particulars drawn, partly from the anonymous *Geography* probably, partly from the *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, and partly from some other writer whom I am unable to identify. 5thly. That of Eastern travellers in the 4th or 5th centuries many were priests: as we may surmise from the number of Christian churches in India, which were all subject to the Persian metropolitan,<sup>3</sup> and all received their ecclesiastical ministers from Persia, or sent them there for education and ordination: and as we gather from the frequent mention of priests in the travels of those ages. Thus the author of the *Tract* inscribed to Palladius,<sup>4</sup> and the *Theban Scholasticus* visit India in company, the one of the Bishop of Adule, the other of a priest. And Cosmas travels on one occasion with Thomas of Edessa, afterwards metropolitan of Persia, and Patricius of the Abrahamitic order; and himself in his latter years becomes a monk, as also Monas,<sup>5</sup> who assisted him in copying the Inscription on the throne of Ptolemy. 6thly. That notwithstanding the religious spirit which evidently animated the travel writers of these times, their accounts of other and far countries are, contrary to what one might have expected, singularly silent on the subject of the religions of the people they visited. I have already expressed my surprise, that

<sup>1</sup> Vide sub vocibus Poros, et Brahmins. Suidas.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Comp.*, 267-8, I. v., Bonn. Here the description of the Brahmins is from Palladius; of the *Macrobioi* from the *Geography*; the story of Candace from the *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, III., 23; but whence Alexander's visit to Britain?

<sup>3</sup> Jesujabus of Adiabene, Patriarch A.D. 650 (*Asseman*, III., 313 p.), thus remonstrates with Simeon, Primate of Persia: "At in vestra regione ex quo ab *Eccles. canon.* defecistis interrupta est ab Indiae populis Sacerdotalis successio: nec India solum qua a maritimis reg. Pers. finibus usque ad Colon spatio 1200 parasangs extenditur, sed et ipsa Pers. regio . . . in tenebris jacet." *Asseman*, *Bib. Or.*, III., 131.

<sup>4</sup> Palladius was himself a great traveller, vide *Hist. Lausiaca*, 1027 p., as indeed were the monks and priests of these ages, *ib. passim*.

<sup>5</sup> He entered the monastery of Raithu, *Elim*. Cosmas, 195 p.

the earlier Christian fathers, who, to win the attention of the sleeping nations, called up from their tombs the forgotten creeds of Chaldæa and Phœnicia, Assyria and Egypt, should never have appealed to the living faith of Buddha. Its ritual was not unlike the Christian. Like Christianity, it rejected the claims of race and country, and in itself found another and stronger bond of brotherhood. Like Christianity, it was a religion Catholic and apostolic, and to attest its truth, not a few had died the martyr's death. It was, besides, the creed of an ancient race; around and about it was a mystery which startled the self-sufficiency of the Greek, and awakened to curiosity even Roman indifference. It was eminently fitted to elucidate Christian doctrines, and therefore to draw to itself the attention of Christian writers,<sup>1</sup> and yet the name of Buddha stands a phantom in their pages. But then few were the Hindus who visited the Roman world, and all as merchants lived buying and selling, though not all were Buddhists. And if, here and there, one more earnestly religious than his fellows was eager to preach his law, whom could he address, and where find an interpreter for thoughts so far out of the range of the ordinary Greek intellect? Allow, however, that he had studied and mastered the Greek language. Among his auditory, the merchants with whom he traded, the few men of letters, if any, who sought his society, that a Christian, one of a small community, should have been found, is an accident scarcely to be expected, and the silence of the fathers is in some measure intelligible. But now that we have a Christian church at Ceylon, and Christians who are daily witnesses of the ceremonial of Buddhist worship, who have heard of Buddha's life, and miracles, and mission, and have visited the monasteries where his followers retire to a life of prayer and self-denial, I cannot understand how it is that no word relating to this wide-spread faith has reached the ears of Cosmas, or has attracted the notice of Syrian bishops, and that these ages are worse informed on Buddhism than was that of Clemens Alexandrinus.

<sup>1</sup> Buddhism and Buddhist practises attracted the attention of the earliest travellers of our age. Vide Carpinus, in Hakluyt, 64, I. Rubruquius, 118, 127-8 ib., Marco Polo, 47 p., S. G. ed., and a summary of what was known of Buddhism in his own time in Maffei, *Hist. Indic.*, 169 p., 12mo. Marco Polo too has given an account of Buddha, 449-50 pp., u. s., with some errors, no doubt, but wonderfully correct and detailed when compared with the short notices in Greek writers. But still none of these early travellers, I am bound to say, connect, or see any similarity between the Buddhist and Christian services. Marco Polo only observes of Buddha "*si fuisset Christianus fuisset apud Deum maximus factus,*" *ibid.*

We will now trace the changes which took place in the commercial relations of Rome and India. When Palmyra fell, Alexandria did not, as might have been expected, inherit its Indian trade, and the wealth and power that trade brought with it. For when Palmyra fell, Alexandria was suffering from civil war, recent siege and capture. Its citizens had been given up to plunder and put to the sword, and Bruchium, its noblest quarter, razed to the ground.<sup>1</sup> It was overwhelmed by its own disasters, and in no condition to engage in distant and costly ventures. But when Palmyra fell, the fleets, Arab and Indian, which fed its markets, did not perish in its fall. The ships and crews lived still, the populations to whose wants they ministered<sup>2</sup> had not disappeared. The old demand existed. For a moment the course of trade is disturbed. A great mart has been destroyed, and others must be found or created to take its place. At first, probably, the merchant fleets, as was their wont, made for Vologicerta, and there delivered their cargoes, which perhaps found a way up the right bank of the Euphrates to Apamea, and thence to Antioch and the cities of Syria. But the cost of transit and the want of a back freight must very soon have closed up this route, in so far at least as it was the route to the Syrian sea-board, though, doubtless, the river remained always the great highway for the supply of Mesopotamia and the neighbouring states. And now it was that the Arabs and Indians probably began to frequent the ports which, unknown to Strabo and Pliny, studded, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, the Persian Gulf;<sup>3</sup> hither they brought the products of the East, and hence shipped horses, for which they found a ready sale among the kings and nobles of India and Ceylon. And now, too, it was that the Arabs turned their attention to the Red Sea route,<sup>4</sup> once in the hands of the Alexandrian merchants, but now neglected. In a deep bay on the western shores of the Arabian Gulf,<sup>5</sup> the first, after having entered the straits, which afforded shelter and a safe anchorage, they

<sup>1</sup> See from Ammianus Marcel. and Eusebius, notes, 297 p., xix. v., Jour. Rl. As. Soc.

<sup>2</sup> Appian thus describes the Palmyrenes: *Ρωμαίων ἔ Παρθυαίων ὄντες ἐφορῶσι, ἐς ἑκατέρους ἐπιδηξίως εἶχον' ἐμποροὶ γὰρ ὄντες, κομιζοῦσι μὲν ἐκ Περσῶν τὰ Ἰνδικὰ ἔ Αραβικά, διατιθένται δ' ἐν τῇ Ρωμαίων, de Bel. Civil., v. ix.*

<sup>3</sup> "Cujus sinus per oras omnes oppidorum est densitas et vicorum, naviumque crebri decursus," xxiii., 6, 11.

<sup>4</sup> It had been known from old time. Agatharcides (2nd cent. B.C.) speaks of the native boats which from the Fortunate Islands (probably Socotora) traded with Pattala, on the Indus. De Mari Eryth., 103 §. Muller, Geog. Min., J, 191 p.

<sup>5</sup> *ἐμποριον νομιμον κειμενον ἐν κόλπῳ βαθει . . . ἀπο σταδεων εικοσι τῆς θαλασσης ἐστιν ἡ Ἀδουλις κωμη συμμετρος. Periplus, 45§, or 4§.*

found Adule, the chief port of Ethiopia, though in the time of the Periplus only a village. They saw that access to it both from East and West was easy, that it lay beyond the confines, and was not subject to the fiscal regulations of the Roman Empire; that its mixed population, of which the Arab race formed no inconsiderable part, was friendly and eager to forward their views. On Adule, then, they fixed as the depôt for their trade, and soon raised it from a village and petty port, to be one of the world's great centres of commerce.

But under the immediate successors of Aurelian (died A.D. 275), the Roman Empire was in so disturbed a state, and under Diocletian (A.D. 283-304) Alexandria suffered so fearfully for its recognition of Achilleus, that its merchants were probably compelled, and not disinclined, to leave the whole Indian trade in the hands of the Arabs, who had always been, not only carriers by land and sea, but traders also, as the story of Scythianus proves; and who, as they travelled from city to city, carried their wares<sup>1</sup> with them, and wherever they stopped exposed them for sale and thus supplied the immediate wants of the neighbourhood and the tradesmen of the district. But with the restoration of order, during the long reign of Constantine, the Roman merchant grew wealthy and enterprising; he extended the sphere of his operations, and though, partly from inability to compete with the cheaply built but well manned craft of the Arabs, and partly from long disuse and consequent ignorance of the Indian seas, he does not seem to have again ventured his ships upon them, yet he gradually recovered his old position in the Arabian Gulf, and at least shared in its trade from Adule homeward.<sup>2</sup> To Adule he himself resorted, and at Adule, through his agents,<sup>3</sup> managed his dealings with the East, leaving to the Arabs, and perhaps the Indians, all the risks and profits of the ocean voyage.

<sup>1</sup> The wealth of Scythianus, when it came into the hands of Manes, consisted χρυσου ἢ ἀργυρου ἢ αρωματων ἢ ἀλλων (Epiphanius a. Manichæ, 617, l.) showing that Scythianus's journey to Jerusalem, if undertaken primarily in the interest of truth, was not without some commercial object.

<sup>2</sup> Both by his ships on the Red Sea and his fleets of boats on the Nile. Of Roman ships on the Red Sea we know from Cosmas and Procopius (de Bello Pers., I., 19, 101 p.) Of the traffic on the Nile we may get some notion from the ruse employed by Athanasius to escape from his pursuers (Photius, Hoeschiel, 1448 p.) and more directly from the wealth Palladius gives an Alexandrian merchant, ἀνδρα εὐλαβην ἢ φιλοχριστον, δυο μυριαδας χρυσινων πραγματευομενον μετα ἑκατον πλοιων εκ της ανωτερας θηβαιδος κατιοντα. LXV., Hist. Lausiaca.

<sup>3</sup> I conclude this from a passage in Procopius, already cited in part. Telling of the slaves and adventurers left behind him by Hellestheaus, on his return from the conquest of the Homerites, he says οὗτος ὁ λεως συν ἑτεροις τισιν Εσμιφαιφ

But that Roman intercourse with India was indirect and kept up by Arab vessels is so contrary to received opinion, that I will now cite and examine the few events and notices bearing on the Indian trade which are to be met with in ancient writers. And,

I. The embassy to Julian<sup>1</sup> (A.D. 361) is scarcely conceivable, unless during his reign, or rather that of Constantine, some and probably a commercial intercourse existed between India and the Roman Empire.<sup>2</sup> But as for such an embassy, the presence at the Singhalese Court of any enterprising Roman merchant, a Sopater, and who like Sopater may have reached Ceylon in an Adulitan ship, would fully account,—and indeed its Serendivi so much more akin to the Serendib of the Arabs than the Salike of Ptolemy smacks of Arab companionship, and must have filtered through Arab lips—I cannot look upon it as indicative of an intercourse either direct or frequent.

II. Epiphanius (about A.D. 375) gives some few details relating to this trade. In his story of Scythianus he speaks of the Roman ports of entry in the Red Sea, Cēla, the Alah of Solomon, Castron Clysmatos,<sup>3</sup> and Berenice, and observes that through Berenice Indian wares are distributed over the Thebaid, and by the Nile are carried down to Alexandria and the land of Egypt, and to Pelusium, and thus passing by sea into different cities, *πατριδας*,<sup>4</sup> the merchants

*τω βασιλει επανασταντες αυτον μεν εν τινι των εκεινη φρουριων καθειρξαν, ετερονδε Όμεριταις βασιλεα κατεστησαντο Αβραμον μεν ονομα' ο δε Αβραμος ουτος χριστιανος μεν ην, δουλός δε Ρωμαιου ανδρος, εν πολει Αιθιοπων Αδουλιδι επι τη κατα θαλασσαν εργασια διατριβην εχοντος, Id. I. 20, p. 105. And that commercial agents were of old date may be shown from Relations Arabes, I., 68.*

<sup>1</sup> Vide Journ. As. Soc., xix., 274 p.

<sup>2</sup> In a Geographical Tract, Totius Orbis Descriptio, translated from the Greek and written A.D. 350-3, Geog. Minor., II., 520, it is said of Alexandria: "Hæc cum Indis et Barbaris negotia gerit merito; aromata et diversas species pretiosas omnibus regionibus mittit." But another version, ib., "supra caput enim habens Thebaidis Indorum genus et accipiens omnia præstat omnibus"—thus showing that although dealing in Indian wares its Indians were only Ethiopians.

<sup>3</sup> So called because here the Israelites crossed over the Red Sea. Cosmas, Montfaucon, Col. Non. Pat., 194 p.

<sup>4</sup> Όρμοι γαρ της Ερυθρης θαλασσης διαφοροι, επι τα στομα της Ρωμανιας διακεκριμενοι, ο μεν εις επι την Αιαν . . . ο δε ετερος επι το Καστρον Κλυσματος· αλλως δε ανωτατω επι την Βερνικην καλουμενην, δι' ης Βερνικης καλουμενης επι την Θηβαιδα φερονται ετα απο της Ινδικης ερχομενα ειδη εκεισε τη Θηβαιδι διαχυνεται, ε επι την Αλεξανδρειαν δια του . . . Νειλου ε επι πασαν των Αιγυπτων γην, ε επι το Πελουσιον φερεται, ε οτως εις τας αλλας πατριδας δια θαλασσης διερχομενοι οι απο της Ινδικης επι την Ρωμανιαν εμπορευονται. Epiphanius, a. Hæres., XLVI., 618 p., I.

from India import their goods into the Roman territory. From this passage, written at the close of the 4th century, it appears :

1st. That Epiphanius speaks of Indian goods as then imported by sea and through one port, Berenice, into the Roman Empire.

2ndly. That he uses the same terms<sup>1</sup> to designate both the imported goods and the importing merchants, and thus possibly intimates that like the goods the merchants also were "Indian," *i.e.*, Arabs of either Ethiopia or Eastern Arabia, the Indians of the ecclesiastical writers of this age. Indeed one might ask whether it was not owing to their association with Indian wares that these peoples came to be themselves known as Indians.

3rdly. That he makes no mention of Adule. But Adule, however closely connected with the ocean trade between Rome and India, was really an Ethiopic city, and could therefore scarcely find a place in this itinerary which begins with the Roman ports of entry.

III. The presence at Alexandria (some time before A.D. 470) of those Hindus whom Severus lodged in his house.<sup>2</sup> I have already remarked on the inexplicable proceedings of these travellers who, as they were neither merchants nor public officers, could only have travelled for amusement or instruction, and who took every precaution against either.<sup>3</sup> I would now direct attention to the character as well of Severus who received, as of Damascius who has recorded their visit. Both clung to the old superstition: and the one was supposed to favour its re-establishment by his personal influence and the other by his writings, the very dotage of "Platonic Paganism."<sup>4</sup> Both were credulous: and as Severus would without examination and only too eagerly have welcomed as guests any men calling themselves Hindus with whom he became acquainted, so Damascius would have noticed a visit of any reputed Hindu, whether made or not, if said to be made to such a man. The visit is open to suspicion.

IV. The Indian Embassy to Justinian. Malalas notices two

<sup>1</sup> *τα απο της Ινδικης ερχομενα ειδη and διερχομενοι δι απο της Ινδικης.* The lighter and more precious wares are expressed by the word *ειδη*, as spices, pearls, &c. It corresponds with the "notions" of American commerce.

<sup>2</sup> Vide *supra*, p.

<sup>3</sup> Many an English traveller might be cited whose habits abroad very much resemble those of Damascius' Hindus. But then we travel for fashion's sake a good deal, because we must; but a Hindu who leaves his country travels because he has in him the spirit of travel; he travels as Mungo Park did, Belzoni, Burkhardt, and many others, impelled by the strong desire to see strange men and strange lands.

<sup>4</sup> See Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, c. xxxvi., sub an. 468, and the extracts from Damascius, in Photius *Bibliotheca*, 1042 p.

Indian Embassies, either of which may possibly be Hindu. The first reached Constantinople with its gifts the same year (A.D. 530) that John of Cappadocia was made Prætorian Præfect; the second with an elephant about the time (A.D. 552) that Narses was sent into Italy against the Goths.<sup>1</sup> Now with regard to the first of these Embassies, as in Malalas the Ethiopians and Eastern Arabs are called Indians,<sup>2</sup> the question arises whether this Embassy does not properly belong to some one or other of these peoples; and to answer it we must enter into some detail. From Malalas and Procopius<sup>3</sup> we gather: that there were seven Indian kingdoms, three Homerite, and four Ethiopian; that the Ethiopians occupied the regions lying eastwards and extending to the ocean, and carried on a great trade from Auxume with Rome through the Homerite country; that some time prior<sup>4</sup> to A.D. 529, Dimnos the Homerite king, who with many of his people was of the Jewish persuasion, seized upon some Roman merchants while traversing his dominions in pursuit of their business, confiscated their goods, and put them to death, in retaliation, as he pretended, for the continued persecutions to which Jews were subjected in the Roman states; that the Auxumitan trade with Rome was in consequence interrupted, and that the Auxumitan king, aggrieved by the injury to himself and the wrongful death of his allies, invaded and subdued the Homerites, and in fulfilment of a vow contingent on his success declared himself a Christian. To this Ethiopian sovereign or rather his successor, called Elesboas by Malalas, Hellesthæus<sup>5</sup> by Procopius, on the breaking out of the Persian War (A.D. 529), Justinian sent an embassy, and adjured him by their common faith, to invade the Persian territory, and breaking off all commercial relations with the Persians to send ships to those Indian ports where silk was to be found, and there purchase it, and thence by way of the Homerite country and down the Nile and through Egypt, to

<sup>1</sup> V. from Malalas, note 4, 274 p., xix., Journ. As. Soc., and Malalas, 484 p.: *Ἰνδικτιωνος ἐγ' πρεσβευτης Ἰνδῶν κατεπεμθη μετα ἐξ ελεφαντος ἐν Κωνσταν :*

<sup>2</sup> Malalas, u. s., and 457 p.; also Asseman, Bib. Orient., IV., 452-3 pp.

<sup>3</sup> Malalas, 483 p. Procopius, de Bello Pers., 104 p. The division of the Indians into kingdoms belongs to Malalas; the slaughter of the Roman merchants and its cause and consequences to both.

<sup>4</sup> In A.D. 524, vide Asseman, u. s., I., 365, note.

<sup>5</sup> The converted king Malalas calls Andas, 434 p. Theophanes Adad; Aidog, Asseman, u. s., I., 359, notes 5 and 6. The king of the Embassy, Cosmas, like Malalas, knows as Elesboas. The ambassador I should have thought was Nonnosus, who left an account of his embassy, and from the ambassador, whoever he was (Procopius calls him Julianus), Malalas derived his information, 457-8 pp., ib.

import it into Alexandria; and as an inducement to attempt this enterprize he held out to him the prospect of a monopoly and the hopes of great profits. But Procopius observes that, though the Ethiopians promised and exerted themselves, they failed to gain a footing in the silk trade: for they found the ground already occupied by Persian merchants who everywhere forestalled them in the Indian markets.<sup>1</sup> And Malalas concludes his account of this negotiation by stating that Elesboas in return sent an Indian ambassador with letters, *σακρας*, and gifts to the Roman Emperor. Is then our Indian Embassy the same as this one from Elesboas?<sup>2</sup> and does its first mention refer to its departure from Auxume, its second to its arrival in Constantinople? Or is it to be referred to some one of the Pseudo-Indian kingdoms? Or though unrecorded by any other writer, is it really Hindu? Who shall tell? With regard to the second Embassy: it is noticed by both Theophanes and Cedrenus,<sup>3</sup> but noticed seemingly not because it was any strange sight in Constantinople, but because its elephant, a native of Africa as of India, broke loose and did much mischief. However this may be, a Hindu Embassy in Constantinople was no improbable event, for after Elesboas had, at the instance of Justinian, ineffectually attempted to open up the trade with India, would he not naturally bring over and forward to the Roman Court some native Indians, ambassadors or others, as the surest evidence he could

<sup>1</sup> *τοῖς τε Αἰθιοψί τὴν μεταξὺν ὠνεῖσθαι πρὸς τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἀδύνατον ἦν. ἐπεὶ αἱ δὲ διὰ Περσῶν ἐμποροὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοῖς ὁμοῖς γενομένοι (ὄν δὲ πρῶτα αἱ τῶν Ἰνδῶν νῆες καταρῶσιν, ἅτε χωρὰν προσοικοντες τὴν ὁμορῶν) ἅπαντα ὠνεῖσθαι τὰ φορτὰ εἰωθασί.* Procopius, u. s., 106 p.

<sup>2</sup> Elesboas having received and entertained Justinian's Embassy, *κατεπεμψε δὲ σακρας διὰ Ἰνδῶν πρεσβυτερον δὲ δῶρα τῶ βασιλεὶ Ρωμαίων.* Malalas, 459 p., and afterwards 477 p., incidentally mentions the Embassy we have been examining: *ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ δὲ πρεσβυτῆς Ἰνδῶν μετὰ δῶρων κατεπεμβῆθη ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, δὲ αὐτῇ τῷ χρόνῳ Ἰωαννῆς ὁ Καππαδοξὸς ἐγένετο ἐπαρχὸς πραιτωρίων.*

<sup>3</sup> The chronology of these times is loose and uncertain. According to Theophanes (Chron. I., 346-7), the christianization of Auxume, and the events which led to it, occurred A.D. 535, and the Embassy with the elephant, A.D. 542. Cedrenus refers it to A.D. 550. Taking then the dates assigned by Malalas, A.D. 530 for our first, A.D. 552 for the second, Embassy, and it is clear that the first Embassy follows too closely on the alliance and engagements of Elesboas, while between these and the second there is too great an interval, to admit of the reasons I have adduced for either one of these Embassies being Hindu. Of Theophanes' dates (he lived early part of 9th century) I scarcely like to speak—the first is so manifestly wrong. But if we take A.D. 542 for the date of the Elephant Embassy, and A.D. 533, Gibbon's, for that of Justinian's to Auxume, then these reasons would be pertinent enough.

give of his good faith and zeal in carrying out his part of the treaty? One of these embassies may be Indian, but it is no proof of any direct intercourse with India. Indeed the whole narrative rather intimates that Roman enterprize extended no further than Auxume, and that all trade beyond was in the hands of some other people.

V. The introduction of the silk-worm into the Roman Empire. According to Procopius,<sup>1</sup> it happened in this way. Aware of the interest Justinian took in the silk trade, some monks from India who had lived long in Serinda (Theophanes<sup>2</sup> says it was a Persian), brought over in a reed (*εν ναρθηκι*) silk-worm's eggs, taught the Romans how to treat them, and by acclimatizing the worm to make themselves in the article of silk independent of the Persians and other people. I incline to think that the monks were Persians; for India was under the Persian metropolitan, and its churches, as we learn from Cosmas, were served by priests from Persia; and a Persian Christian would be more Christian than Persian, and more likely to benefit his co-religionists than his countrymen. But let the monks be Romans, and Romans we know did occasionally visit and sojourn in India, and their introduction of the silk-worm is no evidence of any ocean trade with India.

VI. A passage in Procopius which intimates that Roman ships frequented the seas in which were found the loadstone rocks. This passage I will quote at length and examine. After having described the Arabian Gulf from Cēla, and told of its islands and the Saracens and Homerites on its Eastern coast, and alluded to the many other peoples living inland up to the very borders of the cannibal Saracens, beyond whom he places the Indians, "but of the Indians leaves others to speak at their discretion,"<sup>3</sup> Procopius returns to Boulīka of the Homerites, and notices the calm sea and easy transit thence to Adule. He then proceeds to treat of Ethiopia, but first touches on the peculiarly constructed boats used by the Indians, *εν Ινδοις*, and on this sea. "They are not," he observes, "painted

<sup>1</sup> Υπο τούτον τον χρονον τινες μοναχων εξ Ινδων ήκοντες γνοντες τε ως Ιουστινιανω δια σπουδης ειη μηκει προς Περσων την μεταξαν ωνισθαι Ρωμαιους, &c. De Bel. Goth., 546 p.

<sup>2</sup> την των σκωληκων γενεσιν ανηρ Περσης . . . εν Βυζαντιω υπεδειξεν ουτος εκ Σηρων . . . το σπερμα των σκωληκων εν ναρθηκι λαβων μεχρι Βυζαντιου διεσωσατο, &c. Excerpta Theoph. Hist., 484 p., lived close of 6th century. The seed was brought overland, as the French, to avoid the tropical heats, are now sending it.—Times, May 12, 1863.

<sup>3</sup> οι δε Όμηριται ουτοι εν χωρα τη επεκεινα ωκνηται προς τη της θαλασσης γωνι, υπερ τε αυτους αλλα εθνη πολλα, μεχρι ες τους ανθρωποφαγους Σαρακηνους, ιδρυσθαι φασι μεθ' ους δε τα γεινη των Ινδων εστιν. αλλα τούτων μεν περι λεγετω εκαστος ως πη αυτη βουλομενω εστιν. De Bello Pers., 100 p.

over with tar or anything else, nor are their planks made fast to one another by iron nails, but with knotted ropes, *βροχοις*, and this not as is generally supposed, because there are in these seas rocks which attract iron (*for the Roman ships from Œla, though iron-fastened, suffer nothing of the sort*), but because the Indians and Ethiopians neither have any iron nor are able to buy any from the Romans who are forbidden to sell it them on pain of death. Such is the state of things about the so-called Red Sea and the coasts on each side of it."<sup>1</sup> On this passage I will observe—

1st. That as long as it treats of the shores of the Arabian Gulf, where the Romans traded, its language is clear and definite enough, but as vague when it comes to speak of the inland peoples, of whom very evidently Procopius had been able to obtain very imperfect information.

2ndly. That the Indoi with whom the Ethiopians and the Persians seem to have had commercial dealings must have been the inhabitants of a country without iron, and not therefore of India celebrated of old time<sup>2</sup> for its steel, but very possibly of Arabia,<sup>3</sup> into which in the age of the Periplus iron, and sometimes from India, was regularly imported, and the boats of which<sup>4</sup> quite answered to the description of Procopius. And

3rdly. That the last paragraph indicates that Procopius confines his observations to that part of the Red Sea which is inclosed by coasts on either side, the Arabian Gulf, and that consequently the loadstone rocks referred to are not those on the Singhalese coast, but loadstone rocks in or near the Arabian Gulf.

VII. We have Chinese authority that a great trade between Rome and India existed in the 6th century of our era. Ma-touan-

<sup>1</sup> *τα μεν ουν αμφι τη ερυθρα θαλασση ε, χορα η αυτης εφ εκατερα εστι ταυτη πη εχει*, *ib.*, 102 p.

<sup>2</sup> Ctesias, p. 80, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Of Arabia or Arabians settled in Ethiopia. Elsewhere Procopius speaks of Ethiopia as India: *Νειλος μεν . . . εξ Ινδων επ Αιγυπτου φερομενος*, &c. *De Œdificiis*, vi. I., 331 p., III.

<sup>4</sup> "Les vaisseaux Arabes n'approchaient pas pour la force des vaisseaux Chinois (Ibn Batutah mans each junk with 1,000 men, 600 sailors and 400 soldiers, *iv.*, 91, French tr.) . . . construits en général en bois et sans mélange de fer, ils tiraient très-peu d'eau . . . Les Arabes employaient . . . dans leurs constructions navales des cocotiers, et ces planches étaient liées entre elles avec des chevilles de bois." *And Rel. Arabes*, *Dis. Prel.*, 56 p. "Il n'y a que les navires de Siraf dont les pièces sont cousues ensemble," *ib.*, I., 91 p.; but Ibn Batutah: "C'est avec des cordes de ce genre que sont cousues les *navires de l'Inde* et du Yaman," and he adduces as a reason why iron is not used, the rocky bottom of the Indian sea against which iron-bound vessels break to pieces. *iv.*, 121.

lin, born A.D. 1317, in his *Researches into Antiquity*, briefly affirms "that India (A.D. 500-16) carries on a considerable commerce by sea with Ta-Tsin, the Roman Empire, and the Ansi or Asæ, the Syrians";<sup>1</sup> and the Kou-kin-tou-chou (Ancient and Modern Times), having alluded to the commerce of India with the West, states that the Roman trade with India is principally by sea, and that by sea the Romans carry off the valuable products of India, as coral, amber, gold, sapphires, mother of pearl, pearls, and other inferior stones, odoriferous plants, and compounds by concoction and distillation of odoriferous plants, and then adds that from these compounds they extract the finest qualities for cosmetics, and afterwards sell the residue to the merchants of other countries.<sup>2</sup> We observe—

1st. That silk is not included in the list of Indian merchandize (the *εἶδη* of Epiphanius) sent to the Roman Empire by sea.

2ndly. That this trade by sea necessarily presumes that the goods exported from India were known to be so exported either on Roman account or for the Roman market, but not that they were exported in Roman ships. We have seen that Roman merchants sometimes visited India, that in India Roman money was current, and the Roman Empire known and respected, and we may fairly suppose that that Empire, its trade, and its wants and their supply, were often subject of talk in the Indian<sup>3</sup> ports, and would

<sup>1</sup> Vide Chinese account of India, from Ma-touan-lin, tr. by Pauthier, *Asiatique Journal*, May to August, 1836, 213-7 pp. For the date of Ma-touan-lin's birth, v. his *Life*, Rémusat, *Nouv. Mélanges Asiat.*, II., 168, where Rémusat compares Ma-touan-lin's great work to the *Mém. de l'Académ. des Inscriptions*, and observes that De Guignes in his *Hist. des Huns*, and the Jesuit missionaries in their several works, owe to it much of their knowledge of China and Chinese literature.

<sup>2</sup> Also tr. by Pauthier, *Journal Asiatique*, Oct. and Nov., 1839, 278, 339-93 pp. This account seemingly refers to India in the early part of the 6th century (ib., 274 p.); but it then goes back to speak of the relations which had before existed between Rome and China; how that (A.D. 166) Antin, Antoninus, sent an embassy through Tonquin with presents, and how the Romans in the interest of their commerce travelled as far as Pegu, Cochin China, and Tonquin; and how a Roman merchant, one Lun (A.D. 222-278), came to Tonquin, and was sent on by its Governor to the Emperor, and in answer to the Emperor's questions told of the ways and manners of his country. As Lun and his doings close this short summary of Roman relations with China, I conclude that he was one of the merchants mentioned above, and that they, like him, belong to the period ending A.D. 278, when Roman commerce with the East most flourished,—and as with one unimportant exception no further notice is taken of the Roman Empire, I presume that after this time its commerce with these distant regions entirely ceased.

<sup>3</sup> When in Bochara (A.D. 1250), Marco Polo meets the ambassadors of Kublai

certainly become known to the Chinese traders there, and would as certainly be spoken of by them on their return home, and would thus find their way into the works of Chinese geographers and historians.

But in order that we may not reason on to a foregone conclusion, hurrying over or explaining away the events and authorities which make against us, we will for a moment suppose that they sufficiently establish the fact of an ocean trade between Rome and India—and then as from the age of the Ptolemies (ending B.C. 46) to that of Firmus (A.D. 273), we know through Strabo, Pliny, the Periplus, Ptolemy, and Vopiscus, that Alexandrian ships sailed for India; we have to show why it is that after that time, though we read of Romans, lawyers, priests, and merchants, who travelled thither, and all seemingly through Adule, and one of them certainly in an Adulitan craft, we read of none who went in a Roman ship. How, too, is it, we will be asked, if Roman ships thus crossed the Indian Ocean, that neither they nor their crews are seen among the vessels and peoples which, according to Cosmas, crowd the port and thoroughfares of the great Singhalese mart? How, that the Christians of Socotora, an island of Greek colonists,<sup>1</sup> and right in the course of Alexandrian ships en route for India, were subject not to the Greek but the Persian metropolitan? And when Justinian, as Procopius relates, sought to re-establish the silk trade and to wrest it from the hands of the Persians, how is it that he applied, not to his own merchants of Alexandria, whose services he might have commanded, and whom, had they had ships in those seas, he would have wished to encourage, but to the Ethiopian Arabs, whom to the detriment of his own subjects he tempted with the hopes of a monopoly? Again on this supposition, how account for it, that the loadstone rocks, those myths of Roman geography, which in Ptolemy's time, the flourishing days of Roman commerce, lay some degrees eastward of Ceylon, appear A.D. 400 barring its western approach, and A.D. 560 have advanced up to

Khan; they press him to visit their master: "eo quod nullum *latinum* usquam viderat, quamvis videre multum affectarat," c. II. And Maffei (Hist. Ind., L. iv.) observes of the Byzantine Turks that in the 15th century the Indian kings called them "corruptâ Græcâ voce Rumos quasi Romanos." But while this indicates that the memory of Rome survived among the Hindus, it is no evidence of any commerce between the peoples, no more evidence than is the mention of an Indian princess in the romance of (Peredur?) of a knowledge of India among the Cambrian bards.

<sup>1</sup> Speaking of the inhabitants, the Periplus: εἰσι δὲ ἐπιξένοι ἔπιμικτοὶ Ἀραβῶν ἔτι Ἰνδῶν ἔτι Ἑλλήνων τῶν πρὸς ἐργασίαν ἐκπλεόντων, 308, 281 p.

the very mouth of the Arabian Gulf?<sup>1</sup> Surely an ocean trade with India is, all things considered, all but impossible.

But to return to the loadstone rocks. As in an age little observant of the laws and phenomena of nature, lands unknown save by report and unexplored are ever, according to their surroundings, invested either with mythic terrors or mythic beauties; and conversely, as all lands in the conception of which the mythic predominates are lands which lie outside the sphere of knowledge, and consequently of intercourse, of the people who so conceive of them; it follows that these rocks at the very least indicate the extreme limits of Roman enterprize, and the several changes in their position, changes ever bringing them nearer to the Roman Empire, the ever narrowing range of Roman enterprize in their direction. Their changes of position, therefore, confirm our view of the Roman maritime trade.

But though there is no evidence to show that at this period Roman ships navigated the Indian seas, we know that Indian goods still found their way to Constantinople, and from both Greek and Arab writers, that Arab vessels were employed in the Indian trade. So early as the age of the Ptolemies, Agatharchides<sup>2</sup> (B.C. 146) notices a trade between Aden and the Indus, and carried on in native boats, *εμπορικας των προσχωριων σχεδιας*. The Periplus (A.D. 89-90) speaks (26 §) of Arabia Eudæmon, Aden, as the great entrepôt of Indian commerce in the olden time, before Alexandrian ships ventured across the ocean; and describes Muza, Mokha, as a busy sea-port full of sea-faring men, shipmasters, and sailors, and as trading with Barygaza in its own craft.<sup>3</sup> And lastly, Cosmas (A.D. 535), among the merchant ships to be seen at Ceylon, mentions those of Adule and the Homerites. Arab writers also allude to this branch of Arabian enterprize. Thus Haji Khalfa,<sup>4</sup> in

<sup>1</sup> See supra, p., and the Pseudo-Callisthenes, III., vii., 103 p., Didot, and Procopius, sup., 38 p. For Ptolemy's Manioloï Geog. Lib. vii., c. II., p.

<sup>2</sup> De Mari Erythræo, 103 c., 191 p., II., Geog. Græci Min., ed. Müller.

<sup>3</sup> *το μεν όλον Αραβων ναυκληρικων ανθρωπων ε̄ ναυτικων πλεοναζει ε̄ τοις απ̄ εμποριας πραγμασι κινειταῑ συγχρωνται γαρ τη του περαν εργασῑ ε̄ Βαρυγαζων ιδιοις εξαρισμοις.* 21§, 274 p., I., ib.

<sup>4</sup> "Ad qualemq. historię Arabum et Persarum inquit Hemdani notitiam sibi parandam nemo nisi per Arabes pervenire potest . . . Peragrabant enim terras mercatus causâ, ita ut cognitionem populorum sibi compararent. Pari modo qui Hizam incolebant Persarum historiam, Homeritarumq. bella et eorum per terras expeditiones cognoscebant. Alii qui in Syriâ versabantur, res Roman. Israel. et Græc. tradiderunt. Ab iis qui in insulis Bahrain et terram Ommân condeserant historiam Sindorum, Hindorum et Persarum accepimus. Qui

his sketch of the ante-Islamic times, tells of the old Arabs: how they travelled over the world as merchants and brought home with them a large knowledge of the peoples they had visited: and how to the Islanders of Bahrain, and to the inhabitants of Omman, his age owed its histories of Sinds, Hindus, and Persians. And thus, though Masoudi<sup>1</sup> implies that in the early part of the 7th century the Indian and Chinese trade with Babylon was principally in the hands of the Indians and Chinese, yet have we every reason to believe from the *Relation des Voyages Arabes*, of the 9th century, that it was shared in by the Arabs whose *entrepôt* was Khanfou.<sup>2</sup>

But what in the meanwhile had become of the overland trade with India? When in the second half of the 3rd century, and after nearly 300 years of Parthian rule, the Sassanidæ reasserted the Persian supremacy over the peoples of Central Asia, taught by the misfortunes and fall of their predecessors, which they might not unfairly trace to a partiality for western civilization,<sup>3</sup> they eschewed Greek and Roman manners, literature, and philosophy. They besides restored and reformed the national faith, the religion of Ormuzd. They cherished old national traditions. They boasted themselves lineal descendants of the old Persian kings,<sup>4</sup> and stood forward as the champions of the national greatness. Their first communication with Rome was a threatening demand for all those countries which, long incorporated with the Roman Empire, had in old time been subject to the Persian dominion.<sup>5</sup> For a moment it seemed as though

*denique, in Yemana habitabant cognitionem horum popul. omnium consecuti sunt, utpote regum errorum (Sayya'ret) umbra tecti.*" Haji Khalfa, tr. Flügel, I., 76, Or. Tr. Fund.

<sup>1</sup> "The Euphrates fell at that time (the time of Omar, died, A.D. 644) into the Abyssinian Sea, at a place . . . now called en-Najaf; for the sea comes up to this place, and thither resorted the ships of China and India, destined for the kings of El-Hirah," 246 p., Sprenger's tr. But Reinaud, who by the way has no great confidence in Sprenger's accuracy, refers these observations to the 5th century. The passage is alluded to in a previous note, 295 p., Vol. xix., *Jour. Rl. As. Soc.*, but incorrectly.

<sup>2</sup> *Relations Arabes*, 12 p., which gives an interesting account of the dangers and mishaps to which the merchant was liable, and which, p. 68, shows the commerce with China falling away, and why. In Ibn Batutah's time, in so far as the Chinese seas were concerned, "On n'y voyage qu'avec des vaisseaux Chinois," iv., 91; but of these the sailors were often Arabs—thus the intendant of the junk in which Ibn sailed was Suleiman Assafady, id., 94; and one of the men was from Hormuz, 96; and I think the marines were from Abyssinia.

<sup>3</sup> V. Tacitus, *Annal.*, L. II., c. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Reinaud, sur la *Mésène*, 13 p., tirage à part.

<sup>5</sup> Ἀραξέρξης γὰρ τε Περσῆς τοὺς τε Παρθοὺς . . . νικῆσας . . . στρατευ-  
ματι τε πολλῶ . . . ἐ τῆ Συρίᾳ ἐφείδρευσας, ἐ ἀπειλῶν ἀνακτῆσθαι πάντα, φσ

by force of arms they would have made good their claim, but their barbaric pride proved their overthrow; and after they had spurned his friendship,<sup>1</sup> they were compelled to abate their pretensions in the presence of the victorious Odenatus, and subsequently to buy a peace of Diocletian by a cession of Mesopotamia and the eastern borders of the Tigris. Thus stayed in their career of conquest and even despoiled of their fairest provinces, they directed their attention to the consolidation of their power and the development of the resources of their kingdom. They anticipated and enforced that cruel policy which in later years was advocated by and has since borne the name of Machiavelli. Under one pretext and another, and sometimes by force of arms, they got within their hands and pitilessly ordered to death the petty kings who owned indeed their supremacy, but whose sway was really despotic and allegiance merely nominal.<sup>2</sup> To the hitherto divided members of their Empire they gave unity of will and purpose. They made it one State, of which they were the presiding and ruling mind. To educate and enlarge the views of their subjects, they did not, like their predecessors, study Greek and speak Greek, but they collected and translated the masterpieces of Hindu literature and Greek philosophy,<sup>3</sup> and thus nationalized them. They encouraged commerce. So early as the 4th century of our era, they entered into commercial relations with China, which they cultivated in the early part of the 6th by frequent embassies.<sup>4</sup> We hear, too, of their ambassadors in Ceylon, and with Ceylon and the East they

ἔ προσηκοντα δι εκ προγονων, ὅσα ποτε δι παλαι Περσαι μεχρι της Ἑλληνικης θαλασσης εσχον, &c. Dio Cassius: ἑ Ξιφιλινον, 80, 3 c.

<sup>1</sup> Sapor, who followed out the policy of his father, and forbade the use of the Greek letters in Armenia, and promised to make Merugan its king if he would bring it to the worship of Ormuzd (Moses Khorene, II., 83-4 pp., tr.), ordered his servants to throw into the river the rich gifts, *μεγαλοπρεπη δωρα*, of Odenatus, and tore up his supplicatory letters, *γραμματα δεησεως δυναμιν εχοντα*, and trod them under foot, and asked, "Who and what he was who dared thus address his Lord." "Let him come and with bound hands prostrate himself before me unless he is prepared to die, and all his race with him." Petri Patricii Hist., 134 p., Byzant. Hist.

<sup>2</sup> V. Reinaud, u. s., 46-7 pp.

<sup>3</sup> E. G. of Hindu literature, the Pancha-Tantra.—Assemann, Bib. Orient., III., 222. Plato and Aristotle, of Greek philosophers, &c.,—as we may gather from Agathias, II., 28 c., 126 p.

<sup>4</sup> "On a eu des rapports avec la Perse au temps de la seconde dynastie des Wei" (à la fin du 4ième siècle). Rémusat, N. Rel. As., I., 248. "Ce royaume, A.D. 518-19, payait un tribut consistant en marchandises du pays," 251 p., ib. "Le Roi, A.D. 555, fit offrir de nouveaux présents," 252 p.

carried on a large ocean traffic, as the many flourishing emporia in the Persian Gulf sufficiently indicate, and as Cosmas distinctly affirms. The old overland route to India, also, comparatively neglected in the great days of Palmyra and during the troubled reigns of the last Parthian kings, regained under their fostering care its old importance, and became the great high-road over which silk was brought to Europe. And such was the justice of their rule,<sup>1</sup> and such the protection and facilities they afforded the merchant, that silk worth in Aurelian's time its weight in gold, and a luxury of the rich and noble, was in the reign of Julian sold at a price which brought it within every man's reach.<sup>2</sup> By their treaties with Jovian (A.D. 363) and with the second Theodosius, they not only recovered the provinces they had lost, but acquired also, with a not unimportant cante of the Roman territory, a portion of the much coveted kingdom of Armenia.<sup>3</sup> The overland route was now wholly in their hands, the Persian Gulf also was theirs, and when towards the close of Justinian's reign Khosroes Nushirwan<sup>4</sup> overran Arabia, and gave a king to the Homerites, they may be said to have held the Red Sea and the keys of all the roads from India to the West.

<sup>1</sup> Agathias, II. L., 30 c., 131 p., though he speaks of the high opinion held of the Persian rule to refute it.

<sup>2</sup> Of Aurelian's time, Vopiscus: "libra enim auri tunc libra serica fuit." Hist. Aug., II., 187. Ammianus Marcellinus observes of the Seres: "conficiunt sericum, ad usum ante hac nobilium, nunc etiam infimorum sine ullâ discretione proficiens." Hist., xxiii., 6.

<sup>3</sup> The hundred years truce between Theodosius and Bahram concluded A.D. 422. Gibbon, iv., 310 p. The final incorporation of Armenia as Pers-Armenia with the Persian Empire took place at the commencement of the 4th century, *ib.*, 212.

<sup>4</sup> V. d'Herbelot, *Bib. Orientale*, s. v., but Theophanes (Hist., 485 p.) seems to place this event in the reign of Justin, *Excerpt. Hist.*, 485 p. *Corpus Byz. Hist.*