



or fortresses has been changed, according to the prevailing interests of the day, or the caprice of conquerors.

The whole western face of the peninsula, from Cambay to Cape Comorin, is nearly equal to fifteen degrees of latitude. This extensive tract appears upon the map divided into six provinces, or districts, under the names of Cambay or Guzerat, the Concan, the Dekhan, Canara, Malabar, and Travancore¹¹¹. Correspondent to these, we have in the *Periplus* the province of Barugāza, the *Lárikè* of Ptolemy, equivalent to Guzerat; *Ariakè*¹¹² to Concan, or the Pirate Coast, between Bombay and Goa; *Limúrikè* to Canara, between Goa and Malabar; the Kingdom of Pandion, answering to the upper part of Malabar, including Calicut and Cochin; *Paralia* to Travancore, as far as Cape Comorin; and the Pearl Fishery, extending from Comorin to the Islands of Rami-ceram and Manar. The limits of these will appear distinctly in the prosecution of our inquiry; and if we fix the boundary of *Lárikè* at the Tapti, and include the modern Dekhan of the coast within the confines of *Ariakè*, our ancient geography will prove consistent with the modern division of the provinces. For, notwithstanding the fluctuations of power, or the change of masters, these are marked by characteristics that seem indelible. The only difference is, that the *Periplus* has no specific district equivalent to the Dekhan, but uses that term, in its general acceptance, as it is employed at the present day, embracing the provinces of the peninsula in contra-distinction to Hindostan.

¹¹¹ Travancore, though a kingdom of itself, is generally included in Malabar, as well as Calicut and Cochin.

¹¹² *Αριακή*, *Λιμυρική*, *Κοττοραρική*, are all adjectives with γῆ implied; but *Aria*, *Limyra*,

or *Cottonara*, do not occur in the form of substantives throughout the work. I conclude that *Papikè*, the correspondent name to *Diu Head*, is an adjective likewise.

The



The Periplus seems to apply the name of Barugáza to the province as well as to the port; and this possibly, because at that time it was subject to Minnagar; but Ptolemy calls it Larikè, and makes it part of the kingdom of Ozène, with the other towns or places on the River Namadus or Nerbudda; and as long as there was a regular Hindoo power at Ougein, that city seems to be the natural metropolis of the country. With equal propriety, the Tágara of Ptolemy and the Periplus, is connected with the Pirate Coast, both comprehended in the province of Ariakè, and both subject to Baleokoorus, whose capital was at Hippokoorá, supposed by D'Anville¹¹¹ to be the Balhara¹¹² of Al Edrissi¹¹³. His title was King of Kings, and he was connected with another prince or rajah at Baithana, called Siropolémus¹¹⁴, whom Lieut. Wilford¹¹⁵ makes the Salibaham of the Hindoos, and his metropolis, Pattán. I am not sufficiently informed, to confirm or invalidate these opinions; but I find that the Balahara¹¹⁶ of Al Edrissi resided at Naherwalleh¹¹⁷, the ancient capital of Guzerat, prior to Amedabad; and if so, Ptolemy would have placed Hippokoorá¹¹⁸ in Larikè, and not in Ariakè, where it now

¹¹¹ *Antiq. de l'Inde*, p. 93.

¹¹² Paolino places the Balahara in Concan (Kemkem), on the authority of Renaudot's Arabians. Balhara, he says, is Balia Raja, Great King; but if in Concan, he is certainly not the Balhara of Al Edrissi. He adds, "Se D'Anville avesse fatto il viaggio dell'India, prima di scrivere la sua Antichità del India, non avrebbe commessi tanti spropositi nei suoi libri." P. 98. He treats none of us who write at home with greater civility. Hippokoorá, the capital of Baleokoorus in Ptolemy, is in Concan, or what in his map answers to Concan, and not to Guzerat.

¹¹³ P. 62.

¹¹⁴ Sri, or Shri, is an inferior title of respect,

like our *Sir* or *Mr.* See inscription at Tanna. *As. Researches*, vol. i. p. 367. Lond. ed.

¹¹⁵ *Dissertation on Tágara*, p. 373.

¹¹⁶ See Bayer, *Hist. Reg. Bañ.* p. 29. who cites several Oriental authorities, but determines nothing.

¹¹⁷ Nahrora, Nahrwara, Nahrwallah.

¹¹⁸ Hippokoorá, compared with the relative situation of places round it, might lead us to something not very distant from Poona, the present seat of the Mahratta government, were it not on a river that comes into the Western Sea. Poona is above the Ghauts, about 100 miles S.E. from Bombay; and there is no river, on this part of the coast, that comes from the other side of the Ghauts.

stands



stands in his geography. But I am persuaded that both Ptolemy and the Periplûs agree in the general division and relation of Larikè and Ariakè, and differ only in the appellations they have adopted. The names of places, rivers, mountains, and provinces, in Ptolemy, are as astonishing as his errors in position, longitude, and latitude, are manifest. His positions, however, are for the most part relatively right, though they are essentially wrong; and the errors of his longitude, in which he is principally mistaken, must have arisen from his manner of acquiring information—by interrogating the merchants and mariners at Alexandria, whose reports were from memory, and not from journals. But it is evident, that many of these must have penetrated far inland, otherwise he could not have left us the great outline of truths which is still manifest in his works, and which makes us forgive all his particular errors, in consideration of the general and important information that we obtain.

VIII. I am now to enter upon the description of this coast, incidentally traced by Hardouin, Robertson, Rennell, Paolino, and many others; but where no one has regularly gone before me, through the whole extent, except d'Anville. His conclusions I shall be compelled to question, but it will not be done without diffidence on my part, and without due respect to his learning and abilities; for d'Anville is the first writer, properly speaking, who has taught us to investigate the geography of the ancients, by tracing the characters of different coasts and countries as they exist at present: to him we look up, as to a master in this branch of the science; and even where his errors are demonstrable, we cannot but respect the extent of his learning, experience, and information.



At the commencement of our inquiry, the first information we receive from the Periplus is, that the extent of the coast from Barugáza to Limúrikè is seven thousand stadia, or seven hundred miles; but as this would carry us, at one step, to Mount d'Illi¹²¹, it is rejected by Rennell, d'Anville, and I believe all the writers who have examined the subject. The commencement of Limúrikè, our author has placed at Naðora, Tyndis, and Muzíris. And as it will hereafter appear that these places must be near the northern limit of Canara, and that therefore we have every reason to conclude Limúrikè has nearly the same limit as that province, we cannot take off less than two hundred from the seven hundred miles, to preserve the proportion of the coast. This is one reason, among others, which may induce a doubt, whether or not the writer of the Periplus performed this part of the voyage himself.

The first places mentioned, upon leaving Barugáza, are

*Akabároos*¹²², *Oópara*, and *Kalliena*.

In

¹²¹ In consideration of this circumstance, and my general dependance on the measures of the Periplus, I was originally disposed to consider Ariakè as comprehending the whole coast, from the Tapti to Mount d'Illi; and if the Province of Limúrikè were to commence at that cape, the islands off the coast of Limúrikè, that produce the tortoise-shell, according to the Periplus, and which may be well assumed for the Lack Dives, correspond better with a Limúrikè south of d'Illi, than north. But the strong ground that Rennell has taken for assigning Nelkunda to Neli-ceram; the circumstances at that place according so essentially with the ancient account; the division between Limúrikè and the Kingdom of Pan-

dion, that is, Canara and Malabar; added to the correspondence of the islands on the coast, made me prefer the arrangement which I have adopted. The detail of this will be explained at large as we proceed.

¹²² It is not affectation, or a love of singularity, that induces me to assume the Greek kappa, rather than the c of the Latins, or the English diphthong oo, for the Greek oo; but a hope that the true sound, and true orthography, may direct the eye or the ear of modern travellers, or voyagers, to the discovery of ancient names. The distortion of European names by Oriental writers is astonishing to us; and our mode of expressing Oriental sounds, received by the ear, must be equally offensive



In regard to Kalliena, all suffrages¹²³ are united to fix it in the neighbourhood of Bombay; for Bombay is upon an island, close to which, on the main, was an ancient city called Gallian. The ruins of Gallian still remain, and are noticed by Fryer¹²⁴ in 1675, as the most glorious ruins in the Dekhan the Mahomedans ever had to deplore. His account proves it to have been a city of the Hindoos, and its situation commanding Basseen, Salfet, and Bombay, gives it a pre-eminence as a mart of commerce in all ages.

But if we have so much concurrent testimony for fixing Kalliena near Bombay, we have almost two hundred miles of coast on which we are to look for the other two places named; and if Oópara be the Soopara of Ptolemy, as is generally allowed, it must be a place¹²⁵ of some note¹²⁶; for Subara is joined with the mention of Cambay, in the middle ages, by Al Edriffi. It is supposed, by d'Anville, to answer to the Sefareh el Hende of the Oriental geographers, in contradistinction to the Sefareh el Zinge on the coast of Africa, which is the Sofala of the Portuguese; and these two Sofalas, one in India, and the other in Zanguebar, are supposed to be in constant habits of mutual commerce and correspondence, by means of the alternate monsoons.

An intercourse of this kind between Guzerat, and the coast of Africa, I have mentioned in the former part¹²⁷ of this work, which

to their perceptions. Ebn Haukal writes Sakaliah, Akrites, and Kibres, p. 53. which would certainly require some attention of the mind before a common reader would discover that they are Sicilia, Creta, and Cyprus.

¹²³ Orme, Rennell, Robertson, d'Anville, &c. Cosmas has Caranja in the harbour of Bombay.

¹²⁴ Orme, Hist. Fragments, note 30.

¹²⁵ It was the see of a bishop, as early as the sixth century. Καὶ τὴν Καλλιάναν δὲ τὴν καλεωμένην καὶ Ἐπίσκοπος ἦν ἀπὸ Περσίδος χειροτονή-
μενος. Cosmas Paolino 100. That is, from Mosul of Marco Polo. Lib. i. c. 6.

¹²⁶ Supura signifies a splendid city. A. Hamilton.

¹²⁷ Pages 145, 146. 253.



the *Periplus* describes as previous to the voyages of the Greeks in the Indian Ocean, and totally unconnected with them; conducted by native merchants on both sides, or by Arabs, who were carriers for both. On this latter point there can hardly be a doubt, when we find that the vessels employed in this trade sometimes discharged part of their lading in Zanguebar, and proceeded afterwards to Arabia; and when we learn from the same work, that most of the settlers on that coast were Arabs, and several of the places subject to the different sheiks of Arabia, as they are at this day. These are the large vessels from India, which Agatharchides describes as early as the time of Philadelphus, found by the Greeks in the ports of Arabia; and from which they obtained all the commodities of the East before they went to India themselves. This commerce we may carry back to the ages long antecedent to history, and conclude, that as the monsoon must be known to the inhabitants of both coasts from the time they were inhabited, so must the communication have been opened from the earliest period in which mariners ventured to commit themselves to the ocean.

It is almost superfluous to add, that the Sefarch both of Africa and India has been converted into the Ophir of Solomon, as it has suited the hypothesis of different authors, to carry his fleets to the east or to the south; and fortunately, both opinions may be maintained or combated, without danger of controverting the authority of scripture.

After all these various particulars, which are left to the discretion of the reader, there does appear something of importance in the circumstance of Sooppara continuing a place of note, from the age of Ptolemy and the *Periplus* to the time of Cosmas and

Al



Al Edrissi¹²⁸; and it seems not impossible to determine its situation, by observing that Ptolemy places it on the north of the first great river south of his Namadus, or Nerbudda: this river must be the Tapti, and the place north of the Tapti must be Swalley, or some place near it; in the front of which lies the road of Surat. How d'Anville could carry this down to Sifferdam¹²⁹, seventy miles south of Bombay, when he unites in supposing Kalliena and Bombay to be the same, is inconceivable; but as he places his Sefarch el Hinde there also, the resemblance of a name has made him disregard the arrangement of his author: but if the author has any meaning, Soopara must lie between Baroache and Bombay, and most probably in the vicinity of Surat. Surat itself is said to be a modern¹³⁰ city; but a mart in its neighbourhood must always have commanded a great access to the interior, as the Tapti extends upwards, from the sea, full four hundred miles, and communicates by its branches with a variety of districts which are rich and flourishing. It is this circumstance which has made Surat superior in commerce to Baroache, for these three last centuries, as being easier of approach; and whatever city supplied its place on the Tapti must have partaken of these advantages, and such apparently was the Soopara, or Oopara, of the ancients. It is very remarkable, that Rennell has an Oolpar a little to the north-east of Swalley, in his corrected Map of India; but as he does not mention it in his Memoir, I cannot discover whether it is ancient or modern—a city or a village. I build little upon similarity of names; but as many gentlemen, now in England,

¹²⁸ By the repeated mention of Subara with Cambay in Al Edrissi, I had hoped to connect it with the Suppara of Ptolemy; but I think he means to place it north of Baroache, which he calls Beruh; if so, it will not answer our

purpose. But I cannot always follow his wanderings.

¹²⁹ *Antiq. de l'Inde*, p. 104.

¹³⁰ Which is proved by Capt. Hamilton, in his *Account of the East Indies*, vol. i. p. 144.



have been resident at Surat, if any thing should have occurred to their observation, they will be gratified by the introduction of this name to their recollection.

For Akabaroos I can find no representative: it may be fixed any where between Baroache and Surat; but as there is a small stream called Kim, by Orme, in the intermediate space, it is here that it should be looked for, were there any thing to direct our inquiries. But this place was apparently seldom frequented, and therefore it is not to be expected that much information should be left us by a merchant of Alexandria.

To return to Kalliena, the last name of the three mentioned. I join most readily in opinion with those who have preceded me in the inquiry; and consider the tablets discovered at Tana in Salfet, as a most valuable monument¹³¹ for connecting the government at Tagara with the district on the coast. It is foreign to this work to enter into the present state of Bombay, under the power of the English; but as the first factory of our countrymen was established at Surat, it is interesting to observe how the acquisition of Bombay has enabled them to extend their influence over Surat, Baroache, and Cambay; to occupy the commerce of Guzerat, and to possess the power of dominion in those marts, where the Romans enjoyed only the privileges of merchants.

In the age of the Periplus, Kalliena was little frequented: in the reign of a former sovereign, styled Saragan, it had been an established port of commerce; but Sandanes¹³², his successor, admitted

¹³¹ These tablets, containing a grant of land, have been mentioned before; and if the manner of writing Tagara be literal, the evidence is complete.

¹³² Al Edrissi preserves the name of Sandan

applied to a mart five stations, or 150 miles, below Subara. The situation is not amiss; but whether it has any allusion to the name of a rajah or sovereign, is wholly dubious.



none of the vessels that came from Egypt; and if any entered the harbour by accident, or stress of weather, he immediately put a guard on board, and compelled them to go to Barugáza. This circumstance, Lieut. Wilford observes, favours strongly of an improper conduct in the traders, or might arise from the jealousy of a native power. The Romans shewed their influence, by erecting a temple to Augustus at Muziris; and if we suppose an attempt of this kind made at Kalliena, it bears a resemblance to the encroachment of Europeans on the natives, as well as the intrusions of the Arabs and Mahomedans. If we could have connected these governors, or rajahs, of the coast, with Mambarus, the sovereign of Ariakè, or fixed the residence of Mambarus at Tágara, Plithana, or Hippocoora, our picture would be complete; but on these points the Periplus is silent.

The ports or marts in succession ¹³³ below Kalliena are

Semulla, Mandágora, Palaipatmai, Melizéigara, Tóparon of the Buzantians, Turannos-boas, the Islands Séfekréienai, the Island of the Aigidii, the Island of the Káinetai (in these places are the Pirates); and, after these, Leukè, or the White Island.

How this enumeration can have misled those who have preceded me in the inquiry, I cannot say; but to my apprehension we have the Pirate Coast, between Bombay and Goa, as manifestly delineated as we could require, and to that district our attention must be confined. On the primary point, indeed, of a coast infested by pirates, there is little difference of opinion; Ptolemy and Pliny are both in harmony with the Periplus, and modern writers are generally agreed;

¹³³ *Μετὰ δὲ Κανδλίαν.*

for

for pirates there have been in all ages, as they are here described, till the Severndroog of Angria was taken by the English in 1765. But when we have obtained the coast, why any one should travel out of it to find modern names correspondent to those of our author, is not easily reconciled to the canons of geography. All these names are given as what our seamen would call *country* ports, frequented¹²⁴ only by the natives; and whether we can find representatives for them or not, is of no great importance, if we can mark the limits of the provinces; to effect which, the modern divisions of the country may be of great assistance. Orme¹²⁵ has observed, that the Mahratta language is spoken from Bardez, or Goa, to the Tapti; and these very limits I would assign to the Ariakè of the Periplus. It is well known, that the division of provinces often survives the revolutions of empire: the habits of the natives, and the boundaries of nature, are not always subject to the vicissitudes of conquest; and as the Tapti was the probable limit between the government of Minnagar and that of Mambarus, on the north; so on the south, there is a natural boundary between Goa and Canara; where we are also to look for the termination of Ariakè, and the commencement of the Limúrikè of the Periplus.

For the situation of the few correspondent places, which I shall propose for the consideration of the reader, if the proofs should not amount to conviction, I shall at least do no violence to my author, or his text: I leave every thing free for discussion, as I find it; and even if my deductions should be erroneous, they will affect my own

¹²⁴ Μῦρῶ δὲ Καλλιῖνας ἄλλὰς ἐμπορίας τοπικά. Rendered by Hudson, Post Callienam alia sunt emporia vernacula, quibus regionis incolæ tantum utuntur; and I conclude it is the true

meaning, illustrated by καὶ ὡς τόπος, which immediately follows; and also by τοπικά πλοῖα. P. 34.

¹²⁵ Histor. Fragn. p. 57.



arrangement only, and mislead no one who is disposed to prosecute farther inquiries on the subject.

D'Anville has transferred the four first names of the catalogue from Ariakè to Barugáza, or Guzerat; knowingly and designedly¹³⁶ rejecting the order of the journal, and placing Semulla at Sumnaut Pagoda, Mandagora at Mangherour, Palaipatmai at Patan, and Byzantian at Bisantagan; now, reckoning only from Bombay, this is a displacement of an hundred and fifty miles; while Fra Paolino, who corrects d'Anville, and contemns all writers who have not been in India, carries Mandagora to Mangalor in Canara, and Palaipatmai to Baleapatna near Tellicheri, and Kalliena to Calanapuri¹³⁷ near Mangaloor. There is only seven hundred miles difference in the disposal of these names respectively; and a work which can admit of this latitude of interpretation, is either not worthy of a comment, or the different commentators must have preferred their own systems to all the evidence of their author.

To a common inquirer, the language of the *Periplus* is perfectly consistent; and if a resemblance of names has misled men of superior information, it ought to set others more especially on their guard to follow the arrangement of the work which they have undertaken to explain, and not to erect systems of their own, which can be supported only by a perversion of the text.

The Pirate Coast was not formerly, and is not now, so totally inhospitable as to exclude all intercourse: the Portuguese had settle-

¹³⁶ Il ne faut point avoir égard à ce qu'on lit *ensuite* comme par forme de transition *μὲν δὲ*. *Antiq. de l'Inde*, p. 101.

¹³⁷ P. 100. Upon the whole of this there is only one question to propose: Does not

Paolino allow Aigidii to be the Angedives? p. 101.; and if he does, did he ever ask himself the question, whether those ports are placed to the north, or the south, of Aigidii, in the *Periplus*?



ments at Daman and Basseen, north of Bombay, as well as at Choul and Dabul, to the south; and it is a conjecture highly probable, that the Zizêrus of Pliny, and the Meli-Zeigara of the Periplus, were at ¹³⁸ Siddee-Zyghur ¹³⁹, about an hundred and forty miles south of Bombay. Pliny ¹⁴⁰ informs us, that the fleet which left Egypt early ¹⁴¹ in July reached Okêlis in thirty days; and then employed forty more, in crossing the ocean with the monsoon to the shores of India. The point where they left the coast of Arabia, was Syágros, or Fartaque; and the port they directed their course to, was Zizêrus. This had been the usual track, but was not a safe one, because of the pirates which infested the coast, and which made it necessary for the ships not to sail without a body of archers on board; for this reason they had been latterly obliged to change their direction to Muziris, though it was a more inconvenient place to receive their lading, and still not safe from the attempts of the pirates in the neighbourhood. In the first instance, the pirates were on the coast;

¹³⁸ Major Rennell has a Sedashygar below Goa; it is written Sudash-gur in the Oriental Navigator, p. 220. It is the fort of Carwar, and totally distinct from Siddee-Zyghur near Rajapore, described in the Oriental Navigator, p. 215. This fort of Rennell's is situated on a high point of land, and being remarkably white, becomes very conspicuous at sea. If the point of land had been said to be white instead of the fort, I should have concluded that I had found the Leukê, or White Island, of the Periplus.

¹³⁹ Zyghur probably takes the addition of Siddee from the Siddees, a mixed breed of Abyssinians, Natives, and Caffres, established in Vissapoor, and masters of a fleet upon the coast, employed by Aurungzebe against Se-

vagee. Orme says, they were a bold, ferocious race, and excelled all the navigators of India. Hist. Fragments, p. 81. But Cape Siddee is likewise written Cape Zeyd, and Cape Z. Zyghur, however, may be a place of modern date; I can find no other proof of its antiquity than what is here given, and therefore propose the whole with great hesitation.—It is written Jaigur in Moore's Narrative, pp. 2. 9. and Jaighur, by the same author. Gur, or ghur, is a fort; what is Zy? or Jai? or Zeid?

¹⁴⁰ Lib. vi. c. 23.

¹⁴¹ Ante ortum canis. Pliny.—Salmasius says, the Romans reckoned the 19th of July as the rising of the Dog Star. 1188.



in the second, in the neighbourhood. This exactly agrees with the *Periplûs*, which places Muziris, not in Ariakè, but Limúrikè; and when we come to Muziris, we shall find a farther correspondence that appears conclusive.

I wish to build no more on this conjecture than it will bear; but as I have found the utter impossibility of assigning positions to the places named in the *Periplûs*, and pretend to nothing more than prescribing limits to the province, even a conjecture of probability is worth something on a barren subject; and to another, which must follow it, I attach no greater importance.

Ptolemy has the Semulla, Balepatna, Byzantium, Mandágora, and Melizigêris⁴², of the *Periplûs*, all upon the Pirate Coast; and on that coast, therefore, they undoubtedly existed, and not in Guzerat, where D'Anville has placed them, or in Malabar, whither they are carried by Paolino. That good Carmelite informs us, that Balepatna⁴³ signifies *a great city*; it is no great force, therefore, put upon this interpretation, to make it *the great city*, the capital, or the residence of a sovereign. And on this coast we have two Rajapoors, meaning, literally, the City of the Rajah. The most northerly of these, called Dunda Rajapoor, does not disagree with the Balepatna of Ptolemy. The distortion of his maps, however, does not allow us to speak with precision on the subject; but if his Semulla be St. John's Point (which it is more like than any thing else), his Bale-

⁴² Melizigêris, in Ptolemy, is an island, the Meli-zeigara of the *Periplûs* on the continent, and the Zizêris or Zizêrus of Pliny is a river and a port. The islands of Ptolemy are in such disorder on the coast of Gadrosia, and in the Red Sed, that there is nothing extra-

ordinary in their misplacement on the coast of India. His *Ægidium* is carried down to Ceylon.

⁴³ So Belia-puttun, great *puttun*, town or city. Moor's Narrative of Little's Detachment, p. 497.



patna lies somewhat short of two degrees lower down than his Semulla, and Dunda Rajapoor lies nearly at the same distance from St. John's. If I gain nothing by advancing these conjectures, I at least do no prejudice to my author; for his Palai-patnai is subsequent to Kalliena, and his arrangement is not disordered by the present supposition.

But where there is so little certainty attainable, it will be some pleasure to rest at last upon a point that presents us something like truth. This, I am persuaded, I have found in the islands that terminate Ariakè—the Concam of the moderns, the Kemkem of the Arabian geographers, and the Pirate Coast of all. I assume, then, the Sefekréienai of the Periplus for the Burnt Islands, or Vingorla Rocks of the Charts; and the two islands of the Aigidii and Kainítai, for Goa and Murmagon. Kainítai is said to lie close to the Chersonefe¹⁴⁴; and one only Chersonefe I find on the whole coast, which is Salcer, surrounded almost by the Sound of Goa, and the River Nerengal, and so conspicuous, that it may be considered as a certain proof of a position not to be resisted. It is true that the Angedives are not forty miles from Goa; and the resemblance of Aigidii to Angedives, has induced a general belief that they are the same; but the mention of two islands distinctly, and the vicinity of the Chersonefe¹⁴⁵, preponderate against all similarity of names; and the boundary of the two provinces, which immediately ensues, added to the previous circumstances, makes the evidence complete.

¹⁴⁴ Κατὰ τὴν λεγόμενὴν Χερσόνησον.

¹⁴⁵ The appearance of a Chersonefe is not so manifest in Rennell's Map, as in that of Orme; but the point off which the Angedives lie, cannot in any sense be deemed a Cher-

sonese, but a promontory only. Should I be mistaken, it is an error only of forty miles—moderate enough in comparison of seven hundred.

The



The Burnt ¹⁴⁶ Islands, or Vingorla ¹⁴⁷ Rocks, are a cluster not ¹⁴⁸ very well known, till lately, in lat. $15^{\circ} 52' 30''$. They lie six or seven miles off shore, on a tract inhabited by a piratical tribe called Mulwaans, and are reckoned twenty ¹⁴⁹ in number, seven of which are small islets, while many of the others are barely visible at high water; and there is a good channel between them and the main. The bare mention of such a group in the plural, with their relative situation in regard to the Islands of the Aigidii and the Kainîtai, seems to qualify them for the representatives of the Burnt Islands; while the Pirates, in their vicinity, adds to the resemblance. Their distance from Goa is little more than thirty miles, and no other Island intervenes.

It is only the two islands of the Aigidii and the Kainîtai that I assign to Goa; that is, Aigidii ¹⁵⁰ to Goa, and Kainîtai to Mur-

¹⁴⁶ The text is Τυραννὸς ὄρεος. Εἶτα Ἐνδοκρίεσσι λεγόμενοι νῆσοι, καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἀγιδίων, καὶ ἡ τῶν Καίνιταιν κατὰ τὴν λεγομένην Χερσόνησον, καὶ ὅς τις τύπος ὡς Πειρατῶν. Καὶ μετὰ πύυτην Λευκὴ νῆσος.

It seems as manifest here that ἡ τῶν Ἀγιδίων, and ἡ τῶν Καίνιταιν, are joined, as that Λευκὴ is distinguished separately by μετὰ ταύτην. D'Anville interprets Ἀγιδίων *hirorum*, and not without probability; for goats were placed on uninhabited islands by ancient as well as modern navigators; but I have not found the diminutive Ἀγιδίων from ἀῖξ. Dive, an island, is written Διὸν by Cosmas, and Ἀγὸς διὸν, or Ἀγιδιὸν, would be literally Goat Island.

¹⁴⁷ Sefekréienai, as I understand from Mr. Hamilton, signifies black rabbits. The caprice shewn by seamen in the names they assign to places, may excuse the introduction of the term. Whether the islets themselves lie crouching like these animals, or whether rabbits have been deposited here like goats on other uninhabited spots, for the use of navi-

gators, I have no means of ascertaining; but as trivial a circumstance as this may, some time or other, lead to the discovery of truth. The natives of the coast, no doubt, have a name for them: the title we give them is derived only from their vicinity to Vingorla, on the continent.

¹⁴⁸ Rennell's Memoir, p. 31.

¹⁴⁹ In the Oriental Navigator, p. 217. But there are seven principal rocks, or islets, in C. Huddart's Chart, by Mr. Dalrymple. There are also plans of Vingorla and Sinderdroog, the residence of the Mulwaans or pirates of Melundy, among Mr. Dalrymple's drafts of places on the coast of Malabar.

¹⁵⁰ Aigidii, or Aigidia, comes so near Angedive, that it is assumed by almost every writer on the subject; and if it had preceded the Cherfonefe, instead of following it, would have been conclusive. But the point off which the Ange-dive lies, would, I think, be called a Cherfonefe by no ancient author.

magon.



magon; for Leukè, or the White Island, is separated from them by the text, and I have little hesitation in carrying it to Angedive. This disposition would account for all the islands upon this part of the coast, and place them in a relative situation perfectly consistent with the Journal. Kainítai cannot be questioned, if its vicinity to the Chersonese be considered; but the assumption of Leukè for the Angedive I would leave to the determination of any Navigator acquainted with the coast, who could ascertain whether it has any appearance of whiteness¹⁵¹ to distinguish it from other Islands.

The Angedives signify five islands; and Ptolemy has a Heptanesia, or group of seven islands, intended to represent this cluster, but so misplaced, as not to admit of any conclusion from it. One of these only is inhabited and fortified¹⁵² by the Portuguese, who have a garrison here composed of malefactors exiled from Goa; the others, whether more or less than the numbers which give it different names, are only islets or rocks. The passage between the principal island and the main is clear; and this affords it a prominence, which may have entitled it to the notice of the Periplus.

In the Sound of Goa, there is one principal island on which the city itself stands, with others so small, that they are little noticed: all which had afforded a place of refuge for such Mahomedans as had been driven from the Hindoo ports or cities on the continent, before the arrival of the Portuguese. Here the Mahomedans of the peninsula collected, who intended to embark for Judda, and perform their pilgrimage to Mecca. This alone was sufficient to make it a

¹⁵¹ I have myself found no white island nearer than the Sacrifice Rock near Calicut, which is 270 miles from C. Ramas. That rock is white with the mute of birds, but it

with the part of the coast where we now are. Capt. H. Cornwall's Remarks, p. 26. mention this whiteness, as I am informed.

¹⁵² Oriental Navigator, p. 221. It is a mile long, but not so much broad.

port



port of importance; and the more so, as we may conclude that the Hindoos had no influence and no share in the government; for the Mahomedans had established themselves here, as the fugitives on the coast of the Hadriatick had done on the islands which now compose the city of Venice; and they seem, like them, to have formed a community, which was distinguished by the name of Tricurii, or the Thirty Villages. The Portuguese, from their first arrival, had conceived a design of occupying this position: they first built a fort¹⁵³ on Angedive, and in 1510 Goa itself was taken by Albuquerque; it was recovered again by the Mahomedans the same year, and finally retaken by Albuquerque in 1511. Under his auspices, it became the head and centre of all the Portuguese settlements in India; and is still in their possession, after a period of three hundred years.

D'Anville is disposed to place Goa at Nelkunda; that is, at the southern, instead of the northern boundary of Limúrikè; but he is not satisfied with his own supposition, and abandons it. He fixes, likewise, Aigidii at the Angedives; to which Paolino assents, without reflecting that there must be two islands together, connected with a group preceding and a single island following. These circumstances cannot accord with the system they have adopted; but are perfectly consistent with the *Periplus*, and the disposition I have assumed. I have no predilection to this arrangement, because it is my own; but I have tried the Journal by the best charts I have of the coast, and can find no points, either to the north or to the south, which will correspond; and therefore conclude, that by this every thing is done for obtaining the truth that the text will admit.

¹⁵³ Almeyda, according to D'Anville (*Antiq. de l'Inde*, 110.), laid the foundation of a fort.

But



But the division of the provinces remains still to be considered; and the termination of Concan is fixed by our charts at Cape Ramas, about two-and-twenty miles south of Goa; near which is Carwar, once an English factory in the territories of the Soonda Rajah; and the jurisdiction of this prince is said by Capt. Hamilton to extend from Cape Ramas, about fifteen leagues along the coast to Meerzee, or Meerzaw. This tract, including the Angedive and the cape off which it lies, I should wish to comprehend within the limits of the ancient Ariakè, and I think the modern boundaries favour the conclusion; for the kingdom of Canara does not commence but at the termination¹⁵⁴ of Soonda; and though I cannot ascertain that the coast, north of Goa, called the Dekan, or south of it, called Soonda, are considered as parts of Concan; yet it is very clear, that the limit of Soonda and Canara is at Meerzee. At Meerzee, therefore, I assume the boundary between Ariakè and Limúrikè, guided by the Leukè of the Periplus, as the last place mentioned in Ariakè, and by Naoora, as the first place mentioned in Limúrikè. This assumption, if correct, will reconcile the positions on the whole coast, from Goa to Cape Comorin; and if erroneous, confines the error within the distance between Murmagon and the Angedive: an error, at the utmost, of forty¹⁵⁵ miles; moderate in comparison of the disagreements between d'Anville and Paolino; and causing no disorder in the arrangement of the provinces, but such as may be remedied by the most transient reference to the map.

The province of Ariakè was under the government of Mámbarus,

¹⁵⁴ See De la Rochette's Map of Hindostan, Fragments, p. 73.

which agrees with C. Hamilton, and Hamilton remained some time at Carwar. See vol. i. ¹⁵⁵ Rennell makes it fifty miles, De la Rochette thirty-five, and Orme the same number.

and



and Limúrikè, which we now enter upon, was subject to Kepróbotas, comprehending the modern kingdom of Canara, and terminating on the south with the kingdom of Pandíon, which answers to the Malabar of the present day. The ports of this province will be treated of in their regular order; but before we descend to particulars, let us survey these four divisions of the coast, as they stand in the *Periplus*, corresponding with the present distinctions of the provinces; let us add the possibility of assigning the respective limits in both instances, and then ask ourselves, whether this is not a more rational way of interpreting our author, than by searching for a resemblance of names, which has misled so great a geographer as d'Anville; and in which, if it were reasonable to indulge, many new similarities might be discovered, that have not yet occurred to any one that has prosecuted the inquiry.

The province of Barugáza, answering to Guzerat, under the power of Minnagar, commencing at the Indus and terminating at the Tapti, is the first. The second is Ariakè, subject to Mámbarus; a sovereign whom we might compare to Sevagi, or a Mahratta power of the present day; bordering north on Guzerat, and south on Canara; of the same extent as the Pirate Coast, and distinguished at this day as fixing the same boundary to the Mahratta language, as to the province, ancient and modern. Limúrikè is the third, with its northern confine at Cape Ramas, and its southern previous to Nelkunda; corresponding with Canara, which commences at the same point¹⁵⁴, and has its southern limit at Decla. And lastly, the kingdom of Pandíon as a fourth division, equivalent to Malabar Proper, succeeded by Paralia and Cómari, and terminating with the Pearl Fishery and Ceylon. Let us, I say, contemplate

¹⁵⁴ Orme, *Hist. Frag.* p. 73.



this general picture of the whole coast, from the Indus to the southern cape of the peninsula; a space comprehending fourteen hundred miles, through the whole of which the ancient divisions are found consistent with those of the present day; and we cannot, under all these circumstances, fail to acknowledge the information of our author, and the importance of the work he has left for our instruction.

After this comprehensive view, the contention which may arise about the appropriation of individual names to particular ports, towns, or stations, is a matter of very inferior consideration: my conjectures or assertions may be disputed as well as those of others, who have trod the same ground; but till the great outline which I have traced can be obliterated, the service rendered to the science must be acknowledged.

Many of the gentlemen now in India are possessed of minds illuminated by education, and stimulated with a desire of enlarging the bounds of science, or assisting the inquiries of literature: these, in their respective situations, must have acquired a local knowledge, which cannot be obtained by those who draw their information from written evidence alone. To such men as these I have made a constant appeal, and submit the deductions I have traced to their correction; particular errors there may be, but by the general division of the provinces, I leave a guide to all that may be disposed to further these inquiries, and a rule for rectifying every thing in which I may have been mistaken. Still the investigation should be made, not by those, like Fra Paolino, who drew every thing to Malabar, because he had resided thirteen years in the province, but by men of enlarged mind and general information, qualified, like Capt. Wilford, with classical learning, and a knowledge of the native language;



guage; enabled to direct their view to ages past as well as present; and possessed of comprehensive faculties, which can embrace the general state of India, as well as the particular province in which they happen to have been employed. From men of this stamp I shall experience every indulgence; and if they should acknowledge that light has been thrown upon one of the most obscure objects of inquiry left for our discussion by the ancients, I shall rest satisfied with the result of my labours.

IX. LIMÚRIKÈ.

How d'Anville could be persuaded that this province was the representative of Concan, is inexplicable; for Pliny, whom he chiefly follows, says expressly, that Muziris was not on the Pirate Coast, but in its neighbourhood only; and the Pirate Coast is as clearly defined by all our ancient authorities, as by the modern accounts. Cape Ramas, as its northern boundary, and Nelkunda, in the territory of Pandion, as its southern limit, mark the confines so precisely consistent with Canara, that we cannot be mistaken. These likewise are the limits of the language¹⁵⁵ at the present day, which is a distinct dialect from that of Malabar on the south, or the Mahratta language on the north; and this is a characteristic less fluctuating than any division of the country that conquest might produce.

The ancient kingdom of Canara embraced a large part of the peninsula, the capital of which was Bejapoor¹⁵⁶; but the modern

¹⁵⁵ La lingua Canara, che corre nel regno di Canara dal monte d'Illy fino a Goa. Paolino, p. 262. of the dialects have no v, and others no b; j and z are likewise perpetually interchanged or confounded.

¹⁵⁶ Commonly written Viziapoor. Several



district of that name was chiefly on the coast, with its capital above the Ghauts. It was an independent state or kingdom, till it was reduced by Hyder Ali in 1765; and it was at that time governed by a queen¹⁵⁷, who had driven out the rajah, a child of nine years old, in favour of her brother. Under pretence of assisting the deprived rajah, Hyder entered the country, laid siege to Bednoor and took it, and, in a very short time after, sent the queen with her brother, and the young rajah, into confinement in one of his hill forts near Bangaloor. Bednoor, the capital, is rendered famous by the defeat and death of the unfortunate General Matthews in 1783; and was considered by Tippoo Sultan as a fortress of sufficient strength to confide to it a very large portion of his treasures. The conquest of Canara gave Hyder and his son a communication with the coast, and opened the way for farther incursions to the south, which were prosecuted to the devastation of Calicut and Cochin, and directed against Travancoor, when they were fortunately checked by the assistance of the English. Tippoo Sultan had likewise the ambition to become a maritime power: he built a frigate, and fitted out a fleet of the country vessels of war, with which he undertook an expedition to the Maldives, and added to his titles, that of Lord of the Thousand¹⁵⁸ Islands. Had he succeeded in his designs, he would have extended his dominions from Myfore to Cape Comorin, and extinguished the last remains of Hindoo government in the peninsula, except the Mahrattas.

This short recapitulation is not foreign to our subject; for though we hear much in history of the mild and gentle spirit of the Hindoos,

¹⁵⁷ It was regularly governed by a queen. ¹⁵⁸ The natives style their sovereign, King C. Hamilton's Account of East Indies, vol. i. of 12,000 Islands. Harris, vol. i. 677. P. 279.

they



they were as much enamoured of conquest as the Mahomedans; and in the age of the *Periplus*, a king of Mádura, (the sovereign of ¹⁵⁹Pandi-Mándala, the Pandíon of the ancients,) had extended his power from the eastern to the western side of the peninsula, and was master of Malabar when the fleets from Egypt first visited the coast. The king ¹⁶⁰of Limúrikè, and the king of the country south of that province, that is Pandíon, are said both to have their residence inland by our author; and Pliny adds, that Pandíon lived *far* inland, at the city of Modúsa, which Ptolemy calls Modóora, the metropolis of Pandíon. The conjecture, perhaps, will not be admitted; but it seems as if the power of Pandíon had been superseded in Malabar, between the age of the *Periplus* and Ptolemy; for Ptolemy reckons Aii next to Limúrikè on the south, and takes no notice of Pandíon till he is past Cape Comorin, and comes actually to Mádura, on the eastern side of the peninsula. Not that his east and west are on the two faces of the angle, for they are on a line; but he is relatively right, though essentially mistaken.

In the limits of Limúrikè, Ptolemy is nearly in correspondence with our author; for he commences with Tundis, omitting Naoora, and finishes with Bécare, which is close to Nelkunda, and Nelkunda in both is the first port of Malabar. Ptolemy, indeed, preserves many names more ¹⁶¹than the *Periplus*; for he seems, upon all occasions, to insert every name he could collect, and the merchant

¹⁵⁹ The natives, I am informed, still distinguish themselves by the name of Pandi or Pandoo.

¹⁶⁰ The king of Canara might live above the Ghauts, as well as the queen that Hyder destroyed by the capture of Bednore.

¹⁶¹ Many more appear in Capt. Hamilton's account than we have occasion to notice at

present. C. Hamilton throughout considers Canara as the richest country of the coast; but plundered by the Mahrattas, Malabars, and Arabs. Such a work as the *Oriental Navigator* must notice every place; a merchant, only those where he traded. This is exactly the difference between Ptolemy and the *Periplus*.

specifies



specifies those only that were frequented for the purposes of commerce. He has only three in this province—Naoora, Tundis, and Mooziris; all distinctly marked as subject to Kepróbotas, and in a different district from Nelkunda, which was in the kingdom of Pandion.

It is remarkable, that not one of these three places is accompanied with any local circumstances sufficient to determine their position; but Mooziris is five hundred stadia south of Tundis, and Nelkunda at the same distance south from Mooziris. If therefore we could fix Nelkunda, though in a different province¹⁶², we ought to measure back these twice five hundred stadia, as the only means of direction that we possess.

The following arrangement, therefore, I offer, with all the diffidence that the obscurity of the Journal demands: I have persuaded myself that it is correct; but I should not be surprized if my deductions should appear inconclusive to others. I have followed the only clew I could discover; and if any one, who has paid attention to the subject, should find better ground to stand on, I shall readily relinquish my own, and yield to superior information.

For the position of Nelkunda, I am obliged to Major Rennell, who is the first geographer, as far as I have learnt, who has fixed it at Nelisuram. That he is correct in this, I am persuaded, admits not of presumptive proof only, but demonstration:

For we may first observe, that Nelisuram is not only a mart itself, but gives name to a district. This district is not in Canara, but

¹⁶² Nelliceram is in a different province, for p. 289. who makes Decully, or Dekla, the the boundary wall is at Dekla. De la Ro. limit.
chette.—See also Capt. Hamilton, vol. i.



Malabar: the frontier of Malabar, the boundary wall¹⁶¹ which runs from the sea to the foot of the Ghauts, is at Dekly, or Dekully, immediately north of Nelisuram. This wall is still visible; and this in a peculiar manner makes it correspond with Nelkunda, which was the first port in the kingdom of Pandion.

2. A second proof may be derived from the name itself, which Orme writes Nella-feram. Nella, according to Paolino¹⁶², signifies *rice*, and Ceram a *country*; and if Nella-ceram be the country¹⁶³, of Nella, Nel-kunda must be the fort of Nella, resembling Gol-conda, Inna-conda, or¹⁶⁴ Conda-poor, on this identical coast of Canara.

3. But the last and best testimony is that of Major Rennell himself¹⁶⁵, who mentions "a large river, named Cangerecora, whose course is from the N. E. and which falls in about four miles to the north of Mount Dilla; previous to which its course is parallel to the sea-coast for about eleven miles¹⁶⁶, being separated only by a spit of land. The forts of Nelisuram, Ramdilly, and Matte-loy, are situated on this river, which is joined by several others that descend from the Ghaut mountains, which in this part approach within twenty-two miles of the coast. I cannot help con-

¹⁶¹ Orme. D'Anville, *Antiq. de l'Inde*, p. 112.—"The coast of Canara extends to Declah, eight or nine leagues north of Dilly." P. 220. 223. *Oriental Navigator*.

¹⁶² P. 170.

¹⁶³ Batecola, between Onoor and Barceloor, has the same meaning. Bate or Pate rice—Colou country. Vossius ad Mel. lib. iii. 7.

¹⁶⁴ I have been treated with severity by the Orientalists for encroaching on their province; but in India, every name of a place is significant; and perhaps in every other country, if we could trace the language which first assigned them their respective titles. In this

instance, however, the etymology is not mine, but deduced from an Oriental Grammarian, and I am only accountable for the deduction. I ought to add, that, according to his mode of interpretation, Coonda-poor is identically Castleton.

¹⁶⁵ Memoir, p. 28.

¹⁶⁶ Capt. Hamilton calls it a fine, deep river, which keeps its course along shore eight leagues, at a bow-shot distance. It disembogues itself by the foot of Mount Dilly, over rocks and sands, in a channel half a league broad. Vol. i. p. 290.

"fidering



"fidering this Nelisuram, which is fituated twelve miles up the river, as the place meant by Nelcynda or Melcynda, by Pliny, and Ptolemy—a place visited by the Egyptian and Roman ships."

Let us then obferve, that the Nelkunda of the Periplus lies actually the fame twelve miles up the river; and after this ask, whether all thefe circumftances can be accidental? for if the correſpondence is evident, it is but reaſonable to aſſume this proof as a demonſtration.

It is with the moſt anxious ſolicitude that I have concentrated all theſe peculiarities to a point; becauſe I ſhall want all the authority of ſo able a geographer, to ſupport the concluſion I ſhall draw from his premiſes; and though he ſupplies me with a baſis, I am not certain that he will be pleaſed with the ſuperſtructure I ſhall raiſe on his foundation; for, grant that Nelkunda is Neli-ceram (which from every kind of evidence I am perſuaded that it is), and it will immediately follow, that Onoor¹⁶⁹, Barceloor, and Mangaloor, are the

NAOORA, TUNDIS, AND MOOZIRIS, OF THE PERIPLUS.

Theſe are the only places mentioned in Limúrikè; they are the principal places of Canara to this day. Naoora is the firſt port of Limúrikè, as Onoor is of Canara; and Mooziris¹⁷⁰ ſo precisely the laſt,

¹⁶⁹ The Engliſh generally write and pronounce Onoor, Mangalore, &c.; but Paolino ſays, *ur* ſignifies *borgo*, a town, and the Italian *ur* is the Engliſh *oor*.

¹⁷⁰ Coſmas informs us, that Mangaruth [Mangaloor] was, in the ſixth century, one of the principal ports for the exportation of pepper. The mention of this article is an acquiſition of evidence; but the aſcertaining the

antiquity of the name, as far back as the ſixth century, is ſtill more in our favour. See Coſmas in Thevenot, p. 3. & Nova Collectio Patrum, in fine. Mangaloor is pronounced Mungloor by the natives, according to Capt. Moor, Narrative, p. 471. A and u are perpetually interchanged in Perſic and Arabic. Paolino informs us, that Mangul-ur ſignifies the *Town of Felicity*, and Mangula-puri, as it



last, that we have been obliged to encroach upon the succeeding province before we could discover it. But the discovery will be now complete; for the Periplus places Mooziris fifty miles north of Nelkunda, Tundis fifty miles north of Mooziris, and, if we assume a third fifty north to Naoora, we have the whole three ports as precisely as we can open the compasses. I request the reader to refer this inquiry to the maps of Rennell, de la Rochette, d'Anville, or any other rather than my own, to remove all suspicion of accommodation, and to assure himself of the certainty, not upon my assertion, but his own conviction. It is true that I am directed to Onoor, in some degree, by its similarity in sound to Naoora, but much more strongly by considering that Naoora is the first port in Limúrikè, as Capt. Hamilton writes that "Onoar" is the northernmost port of Canara." And if these three ports are established by a reference to Nelkunda, some credit is due to a discussion which ascertains the position of MOOZIRIS¹⁷¹; a point on which all are at a loss, and no two geographers¹⁷² fully agreed.

There is a river at each of these ports, and in them the whole trade of the country has in all ages been carried on. The former wealth of the province is still evident, from the remains of tanks,

is sometimes called, *the City of Felicity*: Tippoo changed it to Jumulabad, *the Abode of Elegance*; and if future writers were to adopt the last change, Mangalore might be hereafter as difficult to discover in Jumulabad, as it has hitherto been in Mooziris.

¹⁷¹ Vol. i. p. 275.

¹⁷² The relative importance of Mangalore, in modern times, qualifies it for Mooziris above any other place in Canara. "Mangalore is the greatest mart for trade in all the Canara

dominions: it has the conveniency of a river, produced by three that come into it by different ways, from the south, the east, and the north. . . those three rivers join about a mile from the sea, and at Mangalore disembogue at one mouth." Capt. Hamilton, vol. i. p. 282.

¹⁷³ Mooziris is fixed at Mirzeou by Rennell, at Vizindroog by d'Anville, at Calicut by Hardouin and Mercator, and left undetermined by Robertson and Paolino.

pagodas, and public buildings, still existing. Of Naoora¹⁷⁴, indeed, no particulars are mentioned except its name; but Tundis¹⁷⁵ is said to be a village in the kingdom of Kepróbotas; Mooziris was under the same sovereign; and here, it is added, that there was a great resort of the native vessels from Ariakè or Concan, as well as of the Greek fleets from Egypt. Another particular recorded is [that the coast was so near a right line] that whether you measured the distance between Tundis and Mooziris from river to river, or from the passage by sea, the distance was equal. The same circumstance is repeated in regard to the distance from Mooziris to Nelkunda: it is five hundred stadia, says our author, or fifty miles, whether you measure by land or sea, or by the space between the two rivers.

Pliny¹⁷⁶ does not mention a river at Mooziris, but observes, that it was no desirable place of trade, not only on account of the pirates in the neighbourhood, but because the ships rode at a distance from the shore in the open sea, and boats were employed for the conveyance of their lading, both on the delivery and the reception. The merchants had therefore tried a more convenient port, called Necanydon, where they obtained pepper from a district called Cót-

¹⁷⁴ The text stands thus:

Εἶτα Νάορα καὶ Τυνδὶς τὰ πρῶτα ἐμπορία τῆς
Λιμερικῆς, καὶ μετὰ ταύτας Μιζίρις . . . βασιλείας;
δ' ἴσιν ἡ μὲν Τυνδὶς Κεπρόβοτας . . . ἡ δὲ Μιζίρις
βασιλείας μὲν τῆς αὐτῆς . . . καὶ αὐτὴ δὲ πρὸς ποτα-
μὸν, ἀπέχουσα ἀπὸ μὲν Τυνδῆος, διὰ τὸ ποταμὸν, καὶ
διὰ θαλάσσης, ἑκατὸν πεντακοσίαις, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς [πο-
ταμῆς] καὶ αὐτῆς ἵκοιτο.

Where I insert ποταμῶν, Salmastius reads ἡ-
πόριον; and he has placed Tundis at the mouth
of the river of Mooziris; but where can we
find a river navigable for fifty miles on this
coast? which must be the case if Tundis is

the road, and Mooziris the mart, fifty miles
up the stream. Plin. Exer. p. 1185. Moo-
ziris may easily lie two miles from the river.
This measurement by the rivers induces Pao-
linó to carry these three ports to the inlets
between Calicut and Cochín. This suppo-
sition has some weight.

¹⁷⁵ D'Anville fixes Tundis at Danda-Raja-
poor in Concan.

¹⁷⁶ The text of Pliny is very corrupt. The
expression is, gentis Necanydon, the country
of the Necanides; but the mention of Becare
with it proves it to be Nelkunda.

tona.



tona. This is the pepper of Cottonára mentioned in the *Periplûs*, and assigned by every writer to the province of Canara. There is, upon the whole, no essential difference in the two accounts, except the mention of pirates by Pliny, not noticed in the *Journal*; but unless Hydras could be discovered, we cannot ascertain their position: it is supposed to be the Nitria of Ptolemy, the last place upon his Pirate Coast; and though that is not *near* Mangaloor, doubtless the pirates roved on the coast of Canara in former ages, as they do now, and pirates there have been at d'Illi and the Angedive, as well as in Concan.

Mooziris is written Modiris, Moodiris, Moondiris, Zmiris, and Zymiris, by different authors, which might lead some inquirer, on the spot, to farther discovery. Both the *Periplûs* and Pliny certainly consider it as an inferior port to Nelkunda; for no account of the imports or exports is given here, but at Nelkunda a copious catalogue. That Mooziris continued a place of resort in later times, we may conclude from the Peutingerian Tables, which place there a temple of Augustus, that is, of the emperor of Rome; for at the date of the tables, in the time of Theodosius, every emperor was Augustus; and that the Greeks or Romans should have a temple here, is no more extraordinary than that the Christians should have churches in Travancoor, or that the Arabs should have established their superstition in Ceylon, which Pliny assures us was true.

Dodwell has built some arguments on this circumstance, and on the names of the kings, which are the same in Ptolemy, Pliny, and the *Periplûs*, in order to bring down the date of this work to the time of Commodus and Verus. But Paolino affords a solution of this difficulty, which is perfectly satisfactory if his etymology be



true; for, he observes that Kepróbotas is written Celébothras and Ceróbothrus; and he informs us that Ceram signifies a *country*, *region*, or *province*, and botti, a *governor*; so that Cerambotti is as manifestly the *head* or *sovereign* of a *province*, as Ceram-perumal is *king of the country*, compounded of Ceram, a *country*, perum¹⁷⁷ *great*, and aal *personage*, the great *personage* or *sovereign* of the kingdom. And as Ceramperumal was the founder of the kingdom of Malabar in the year 907¹⁷⁸ of our era, there is much probability in this interpretation. If this etymology be admitted, it accounts for the name of Ceróbothrus in Limúrikè, and that of Pandíon in Malabar, not only in the different ages of Pliny, Ptolemy, and our author, but for as long a period as these divisions of the country continued undisturbed; for Mádura is still known in India as having the ancient title of Pandi Mándala, *the kingdom of Pandi*, or the Pandoos; and Pandavais the founder of the sovereignty, according to the Bramins. Pliny¹⁷⁹ therefore was mistaken, in assuming a general title for a proper name, as well as Ptolemy, and the author of the Periplus.

X. KINGDOM OF PANDÍON, OR MALABAR.

THE native appellation of Malabar, we are informed by Paolino, is Kerula Ragiam, the Kingdom of Kerula, or Malayalam, the *Mountain Country*, derived from the Ghauts which bound it inland, and are visible from a great distance at sea. He adds, that Malan-

¹⁷⁷ Governor Duncan joins in this interpretation of Perumal. *As. Res.* vol. v. It is a curious and valuable paper.

¹⁷⁸ There is another date 805. D'Anville, 114.

¹⁷⁹ Regnabat ibi, cum hac proderem, Celebothras. *Plin.* vi. 23.



gara is an Indian term corrupted into Malabar, and ought not to be deduced from the Arabic mala, a *mountain*, and bahr, a *coast*. It is not necessary to assent to this; because, when the Europeans first visited India, after the discovery of Gama, they derived their information from the Arabs, and consequently adopted their terms. At that time Calicut was the grand mart of the Oriental world; for here the trade from China and Malacca met the Arabs and Persians, who brought the produce of their own countries, as well as several articles which they procured from Europe; and though some Arabian vessels penetrated to Malacca, or even China, and some Chinese merchants, as it is said, extended ¹⁸⁰ their voyage to Arabia, or to Keish and Shiraff, in the Gulph of Persia, the general point of intercourse was Calicut. When the Portuguese reached the eastern coast of Africa, they were directed neither to Surat or Barroache, but to this city; and here they found the Arabs settled in the country so powerful and numerous, as to obstruct their commerce, and traverse all the plans they had conceived. According to Barthema ¹⁸¹, there were not less than fifteen thousand of them settled in this place only, besides numerous bodies of them on the coast, in Ceylon, and in Coromandel.

The influence they had in the country may be calculated, not only from this instance, but from the revenue their commercial transactions produced; from their readiness to engage in all the services of war, policy, and government; from the spirit of adventure which appears in all their conduct; and above all, from the

¹⁸⁰ This opinion is founded on the report of Renaudot's Arabs, and will be considered hereafter.

¹⁸¹ The evidence for their power and num-

ber is also very clear from M. Polo, and their employments in trade and war. See Lib. iii. Ceylon, and p. 54.

desire



desire of extending their religion, as well as promoting their individual interest. The character under which Paolino describes them at the present hour, would probably have suited them in every age:—"They"¹⁸² are a robust race, wearing their beards long and "their hair neglected; their complexion is dark, and their clothing consists of nothing more than a shirt and trowsers of cotton. "They are active and laborious; seldom appearing in the streets "but in a body, and always armed. They sleep in tents or booths, "dress their victuals in the open air, and work, during the night, "by the light of the moon. They assist one another in lading and "unlading their ships, and they drink plentifully of toddy and "arrack. Upon receiving the least affront, the revenge is common to all." Their trade is still considerable¹⁸³ both at Cochin and Calicut; for not less than an hundred ships are employed in this trade, from Maskat, Moka, and Judda; and the commodities they purchase are of a better quality¹⁸⁴ than those obtained by the Europeans; because the Europeans, either by their power, or by contract, have bound the native government to furnish them with pepper and other articles at a regulated price.

The Chinese no longer frequented the port of Calicut when the Portuguese arrived in India: they had been ill-treated by the Zamorin, probably at the instigation of the Arabs, and for the same reason which excited their jealousy of the Europeans; and after a fruitless attempt to revenge themselves, the Chinese ships came no longer to Malabar¹⁸⁵, but to Maliapatam only in Narfinga, on the coast of Coromandel.

¹⁸² Paolino, p. 84.

¹⁸³ Paolino says, they make two voyages in a year; but I do not understand how this can

be, if they sail with the monsoon.

¹⁸⁴ Caesar Frederick in Hacklitt, p. 223.

¹⁸⁵ Barthema in Grynæus & Ramusio.

Now



Now this trade with the countries farther to the east, and the interest which the Arabs had in the communication, is in full correspondence with the account of Pliny ¹⁸⁶ in the first century, with Ptolemy in the second, with that of Cosmas in the sixth, with the Journal of the Arabs (published by Renaudot) in the ninth, with the experience of Marco Polo in the thirteenth, and with Nicola di Conti, sixty years previous to the arrival of the Portugueze in India.

It appears from Pliny, that the Arabs were so numerous in Ceylon, as to have occupied the country below the Ghauts, like the modern Europeans; for their superstition had prevailed over that of the natives on the coast. He adds, that the Seres ¹⁸⁷ were known in that island by means of the intercourse which commerce produced; and that the father of the rajah who came upon an embassy to Claudius, had been in their country. (Something like this will appear hereafter in the Periplus.) And that a regular communication was open between India and Malacca, there can be no doubt; because Ptolemy has fixed a port on the coast of Coromandel, from which the fleets sailed which went to Chrusè, or the Golden Chersonese. Here we may fix the limit of ancient geography; and whether we chuse to carry this trade to China, as some have supposed from the name of Sinæ Thinæ, and Seres, or whether we fix it at the peninsula of Malacca, it is in effect the same; for in that peninsula there have been, in different ages, the kingdoms of Tonquin, Cochin China, Pegu, Siam, and Ava; all partaking of Chinese manners, habits, and customs, and all furnishing, in some degree, the commodities we now pro-

¹⁸⁶ Lib. vi. cap. 22.

¹⁸⁷ Pliny says, moreover, *Seras ab ipsis aspicì*; as if the coast of the Seres were in sight. But Salmasius proposes reading, *ultra*

montes Emodos Seras quoque ab ipsis aspicì, notos etiam commercio; meaning that the Ceylonefe went by land into Tartary, and so to China.



cure in China. How the report of these countries, indeterminate as it was, reached Greece so early as the age of Eratosthenes¹⁸⁸, is a great problem, not easy to resolve; but that in later times some merchants had been induced, by interest or curiosity, either to attempt the voyage, or to sail on board the native ships, is highly probable. That all knowledge, however, beyond Ceylon was doubtful and obscure, is undeniable; for here the marvellous commences, which is constantly the attendant upon ignorance; and in whatever author it is found, we may be assured he has no certain information on which he can depend.

Within the limits of Ceylon all the general concerns of commerce were certainly confined, in the age when the *Periplus* was written; and whatever might be the extended attempts of the Arabs, very few of the vessels from Egypt ever reached that island. Nelkunda was the Calicut of their day; and standing in the same country, and affording the same commodities, they procured here for the market of Alexandria the drugs, spices, and other precious commodities, which have ever been in request throughout Europe.

At Nelkunda let us now pause, written Melênda¹⁸⁹ by Ptolemy, Melkunda by his commentators, Necanidon by Pliny, Neakyndon by Hardouin, and Nincilda in the *Peutingerian*¹⁹⁰ Tables. It is said to

¹⁸⁸ If Eratosthenes derived all his knowledge from Timosthenes, as Marcian informs us; Timosthenes, who was sent down the coast of Africa by Philadelphus, must have acquired his information either there or from Arabia. But the Thinae are mentioned in Aristotle's *Treatise de Mundo*; and if that work be really Aristotle's, it proves that the Golden Chersonese had been heard of in the time of Alexander.

¹⁸⁹ D'Anville has found an Ophir in Arabia,

connected with a Sefareh el Zinge on the coast of Africa, and a Sefareh el Hinde in India. Would not the same speculation discover a Melinda on the coast of Africa, and a Melênda in Malabar?

¹⁹⁰ It is a very singular circumstance, that the *Peutingerian* Tables should have the same names as the *Periplus* on this coast, but reverse them; for as they run Tundis, Muziris, Nelkunda, in the Journal, they stand Nelkunda, Tyndis, and Muziris, in the Tables, with



to be the same as Becarè, by Pliny, and near Barákè, or Ela-Barákè, by the Periplùs. That is, Barákè is a village at the mouth of the river, which, joined with Ela, cannot fail to remind us of Eli, as it is written by Marco Polo¹⁹¹, the d'Illi, or d'Illa, of our modern charts. D'Illi is one of the most conspicuous points on the coast, and, as far as I can discover by the maps, the only remarkable mountain close to the shore. This I had supposed to be called Mount Purrrhus in the Journal; but if Purrrhus is to be interpreted as a Greek term, it signifies the *Ruddy Mountain*¹⁹²; and I have since learnt, that d'Illi has not this appearance, but that there are heights both to the north and south, which still bear the title of Red Cliffs, and which will be noticed in their proper place. The mouth of the Nelisuram river, or Cangerecora, at Ramdilli, is placed by Rennell almost close to the mountain; and ¹⁹³Ram-d'Illi¹⁹⁴ again contains the name of Ela, and is manifestly the Ela-Barákè of the Journal.

At Barákè the vessels rode till their lading was brought down from Nelkunda. It seems by the text as if the navigation of the river were safe, and that the ships went up to the city to deliver their cargo, and then came down to Barákè to receive their lading

with Blinks, a corrupt reading for the Elanki of Ptolemy, and Colchi Sindorum, for the Kolkhi of both. There is mention likewise of a temple of Augustus, or the Roman emperor, and a lake at Muziris. These circumstances, however erroneously stated, still tend to prove the continuance of this commerce, from the time of Claudius to Theodosius—a space of above three hundred years; and a probability that the Roman merchants had settled a factory at Muziris, as they would scarcely

have built a temple there, without some sort of residence in the country.

¹⁹¹ It is written Eli, and d'Eli, in Bergeron's translation; Deli, in Ramusio.

¹⁹² Τὸ Περρὺον Ὀρος.

¹⁹³ Ram is a common adjunct, signifying ; as, Ram-Rajah.

¹⁹⁴ D'Illi is the orthography of Paolino; Dilla, of Rennell; Deli, Dehli, and Delee, are found in different charts; and Eli, in Marco Polo.

in return; if so, it is a presumption that they returned deeper laden than they arrived, as most vessels from Europe do at the present day. But there is some confusion in the text, and one corruption¹⁹⁵ at least: in modern¹⁹⁶ accounts, the river itself is described as large and deep, but obstructed at its mouth by shoals and sand-banks. The approach to this coast likewise is discoverable, as well as that of Guzerat, by the appearance of snakes upon the surface of the sea, which are black, shorter than those before mentioned, more like serpents¹⁹⁷ about the head, and with eyes of the colour of blood. This is a circumstance confirmed by Paolino, who lived thirteen years in the country, and who accounts for it by supposing that they are washed down by the rivers in the time of the rainy season.

The port of Barākē, or Nelkunda, is much frequented on account of the pepper and betel which may be procured there in great quantities¹⁹⁸. The principal Imports are,

Χρήματα πλείστα,	-	-	Great quantities of specie.
Χρυσόλιθα,	-	-	Topazes.
Ίματισμός απλῆς ἔ πολλῆς,	-	-	A small assortment of plain Cloth.
Πολύμιτα,	-	-	Rich cloths, of different colours?
Στίμμη,	-	-	Stibium for colouring the eyes.
Κοράλλιον,	-	-	Coral.
Ὑαλος ¹⁹⁹ ἀργή,	-	-	White glass.
Χαλκός,	-	-	Brass.

¹⁹⁵ Διὰ δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν ὡλεματα καὶ διαπύλαις ἔχον διαφρεῖς. It does not appear what ought to be substituted for ὡλεματα.

¹⁹⁶ In Capt. Hamilton; and it is remarkable that Marco Polo says, the ships of Mangi (China) that came here, loaded in eight days, or earlier, if they could, on account of the danger of the anchorage. Lib. iii. c. 26.

¹⁹⁷ Ὅφεις . . . δρακοντεῖς τὴν κεφαλὴν. What is the distinction between ὅφεις and δράκοντες? It seems here, crested.

¹⁹⁸ Διὰ τὸν ὄγκον καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πιπέριος καὶ τῶν μαλάκας.

¹⁹⁹ Rendered by Hudson, Vitreum rude; but ἀργή, white, is added to it, to distinguish it from vitrum in general, which was blue.

Κασσίτερος,



Κασσίτερος,	-	-	-	Tin.
Μόλυβδος,	-	-	-	Lead.
Οἶνος ὃ πολὺς,	-	-	-	A small quantity of wine ²⁰⁰ ; but as profitable as at Barugáza.
Σανδαράκη,	-	-	-	Cinnabar.
Αρσενικόν,	-	-	-	Orpiment.
Σῖτος ὅσος ἀρκέσει τοῖς περὶ τὸ ναυκλήριον,	-	-	-	Corn, only for the use of the ship's company. The merchants do not sell it.

The Exports are,

Πέπερι²⁰¹ μονογενῶς ἐν ἐνὶ τόπῳ PEPPER, in great quantity, which
τέτῳ γεννώμενον²⁰² πολὺ καὶ grows only in this one place,
λεγόμενον Κοττοναρικόν, - and which is called the Pepper
of Cottonara.

Μαργαρίτης ἱκανὸς καὶ διάφορος, Pearls, in quantity and quality
superior to others.

Ἐλέφας, - - - - - Ivory.

Ὀθόνια Σηρικὰ, - - - - - Fine silks.

Νάρδος²⁰³ ἢ γαπανικὴ, - - - - - Gapanick spikenard: it is usually
read Gangetick.

Μαλὰβαθρον, - - - - - Betel.

ἐκ τῶν ἑσῶ τόπων,

from the countries farther
to the east.

²⁰⁰ Σῶσει δι' τοσῶτον ὅσον ἐν Βαρυγάζαις. Hudson has omitted this. The meaning here given is conjectural.

²⁰¹ Pepper, from the wealth it brings into the country, in Sanscrit is called, *the Splendour of Cities*. Paolino, p. 356.

²⁰² I think γεννώμενον implies, the native growth of the country: it may signify only,

procurable there.

²⁰³ Νάρδος ἢ γαπανικὴ. There can be little doubt of the corruption here; because, at p. 36. the author himself writes Γαγγητικὴ Νάρδος, the spikenard procured at the Ganges; and there it is still procurable from Thibet, according to Sir Wm. Jones and Dr. Roxburgh. Asiatick Researches.



Λιθία διαφανής παντόια,	-	All sorts of transparent or precious stones.
Ἀδάμας, - - - -	-	Diamonds.
Ἰάκινθος, - - - -	-	Jacinths. Amethysts.
Χελώνη ²⁰⁴ ἢ τε Χρυσονητιωτικὴ καὶ ἡ περὶ τὰς νήσους θηρευομένη τὰς προκειμένας αὐτῆς τῆς Λιμυρικῆς, - - - -	-	Tortoise-shell, from the Golden Islands (or Maldives?); and another sort, which is taken in the islands which lie off the coast of Limúrikè (the Lackdives).

The particulars of these cargoes suggest some reflections of curiosity; for the bullion or specie employed in the purchase of the native commodities, has formed a subject of complaint in all ages, as if Europe were exhausted of the precious metals, and all the riches of the world absorbed by Oriental commerce: the fact is true, that this trade cannot be carried on without bullion; for all the revenues of the country, now in the hands of the East India Company, are not sufficient to cover the investments annually made. Still Europe²⁰⁵ is not exhausted, but increasing daily in wealth and power, compared with the other quarters of the world, and never can be, till the industry promoted by this commerce, and by commerce in general, shall be annihilated.

Tin is another of the articles enumerated; and if we find this produce of Britain conveyed to Malabar in the earliest period that history can reach, we find the spices of Malabar in Britain, in an age when the course of the communication with India was probably as little known as the existence of America. The venerable

²⁰⁴ Salmasius supposes *Χρυσονητιωτικὴν* to refer to Khruac, the Golden Island, or Chersonese, India Trade, vol. i. in Ava.

²⁰⁵ See Harris's Discourses on the East.



Bede²⁰⁶, who died in the year 735, was possessed of pepper, cinnamon, and frankincense. Did no one ever ask the question, how, in that age, these luxuries had been conveyed to Britain, or were treasured in a cell at Weirmouth?

But the particular most worthy of remark, is the mention of fine filks [*ὀθόνια Σηρικὰ*]; for othonion is any web of a fine fabric, and as applied to cotton signifies muslin; but its usage in this passage, joined with *Sericon*, plainly indicates the manufacture of the Seres, which is silk. It is mentioned only at this port, and particularly distinguished as not being a native commodity, but brought hither from the countries farther²⁰⁷ to the east. This is a sufficient proof that Nelkunda was in that age, what Calicut was in later times—the central mart between the countries east and west of Cape Comorin; and we want no other evidence to prove, that the intercourse between India and the countries beyond the Bay of Bengal, was open in that age, and probably many ages prior, as well as in the time of Ptolemy. That the fleets which went to Chrusè, or the Golden Chersonese, would find the silks of China in that market, is readily admitted; but that the Seres were still farther east, is manifest, from the map of Ptolemy, as well as from Pliny, who calls them the most eastern nation of the world. Now that the ancients always meant China Proper by the term Seres, however obscure their notions of it were, seems to admit of proof. Silk came into the Roman world usually by the route of Tartary, the Caspian, and the Euxine sea; and when Justinian procured the silk-worm, he procured it by this northern channel. This communication however,

²⁰⁶ Bedæ Opera, p. 793. Appendix, and began to reign in 872.
p. 808. Alfred, who is said to have sent ²⁰⁷ *Φίρικαι ἐκ τῶν ἰσὺ τούτων ἐς ἀνατολήν.*
Sighelm, bishop of Shirbourne, to Malabar,



on the north, could not be opened with the nations of the Golden Chersonese, with Ava, Pegu, or Siam, but is expressly marked as formed immediately with the Seres themselves. The point fixed for the meeting of the traders from the west with those of the Seres, was in Tartary, and farther to the ²⁰⁶ north-east than the sources of the Ganges; and this point, fix it where we please, is perfectly in correspondence with the Kiachta of our own days, where the commodities of the Chinese and Russian empires are exchanged. The jealousy of the Seres in regard to strangers, remarked by Pliny ²⁰⁹, is perfectly characteristic of the Chinese in all ages; and whether the communication took place near the Chinese frontier, or in any place nearer to the west, it equally proves that there were Seres on the north, as well as the south; and that there was one communication opened by the intervention of Tartary, and another by sea, through the means of the nations in the Golden Chersonese. We shall find some intimation of this commerce on the north (wild and fabulous as the account is) at the conclusion of the Periplus, and in the catalogue of articles now under consideration, the communication by sea is equally manifest. Whether this intercourse by sea was direct, or only by the intervention of the nations of the Chersonese, is another question; but on this subject more will be said in its proper place. It seems natural, however, to suppose, that there always was a Malacca, or some port that represented it, where the trade from China met the merchants from India; as the commerce of India met the traders of Arabia and Persia at Calicut, or some port on the coast of Malabar. In this state of things,

²⁰⁸ Ptolemy, VIIth Table of Asia.

²⁰⁹ Pliny mentions this twice; lib. vi. c. 17. and cap. 2, 3. In the first, it is the commu-

nication by land; in the second, it is from the information of a native of Ceylon.



the Portuguese found the commerce of the Oriental world; and in a state very similar, it seems to have existed in the age of the Periplus. This affords us a rational account of the introduction of silk²¹⁰ into Europe, both by land and sea; and thus by tracing the commodities appropriate to particular nations, or climates, we obtain a clue to guide us through the intricacies of the obscurest ages.

One circumstance respecting the Malá bathrum, which I have supposed to be the Betel, remains still to be considered: it is said to be brought here from the countries farther²¹¹ east, and not to be a native commodity. Pepper, and pearls, and ivory, and spikenard²¹², are likewise said to²¹³ be brought here, as well as silk; all which contribute to prove this port to be the representative of Calicut in that day, and Pandion to have enjoyed all the revenues arising from the commerce of India and Europe. Could it then be proved that the hundred and twenty ships which Strabo saw²¹⁴ at Berenikè, actually reached India by a coasting voyage before the monsoon was discovered, we can see a reciprocity of interests, which might very easily induce Pandion to send an embassy to Augustus. Another Indian embassy is said, by Strabo, to have been sent to the same emperor by Porus; and this Porus is supposed, in Indian history, to be the sovereign of Agimere—the Rana, or principal of the Raj-

²¹⁰ Silk was not a native commodity or manufacture of India in the 16th century; it still came from China. Cæf. Frederick, Purchas, vol. iii. p. 1708.

²¹¹ 'Εκ τῶν ἑστώ τέρων. Again, I have no doubt but that the sense here given is the right one.

²¹² The Areka nut is mentioned as an export at Cananoor, the next port by Cæf.

Frederick, p. 1707. Purchas, vol. iii.—a fruit the bigness of a nutmeg, which they eat with the leaf, called Betle. And lime of oyster-shells, pepper, cardomum, and ginger, are also mentioned. Within land is the Kingdom of Pepper.

²¹³ Φιπερος.

²¹⁴ Strabo, lib. xv. p. 686.



pout²¹⁵ rajahs. Now, were it possible to connect his interests with those of Guzerat, we might prove, that the trade carried on at Barugáza and Nelkunda was of such importance, as to make an intercourse necessary between these two Indian potentates and the emperor of Rome. If an Indian history of these early times should ever be obtained that possessed a degree of consistence or probability, some light might be thrown on this subject; at present it is mere conjecture and speculation.

I cannot quit the contemplation of this catalogue, however, without adverting to the last article on the list, which is the tortoise-shell procured from the Golden Isles, and the isles that lie off the coast of Limúrikè. The first, if not the Maldives, are Khrusè; but the latter are the Lackdives: both are still famous for producing the best tortoise-shell, and particularly the black sort²¹⁶, the finest in the world, which is found only here, or at the Philippines, and obtains an higher price than any that is procured elsewhere. But if the Maldives are dubious, the Lackdives do actually lie off the coast of Canara or Limúrikè; for though the bulk of them is to the southward, the²¹⁷ northernmost of the group is nearly in the latitude of Mangaloor; and the market where the tortoise-shell was procured, was Nelkunda. This one circumstance might have convinced d'Anville, if he had attended to it, that Limúrikè must be Canara, and could not correspond with Concan; for there are no islands on that coast, where any quantity of tortoise-shell could be obtained, sufficient to be considered as an article of general commerce.

²¹⁵ Rennell's Mem. last ed. p. 230.

²¹⁷ See Rennell's corrected Map, and d'An-

²¹⁶ Harris, vol. i. p. 716. Purchas, vol. iii. ville's.



This extent and value of the cargoes at Nelkunda, either carried out or brought home, is of greater amount than we have found at any other port, and more circumstantial than at any other except Barugáza. This appears correspondent to the course of the trade at present, but still more to the early commerce of the English, when their original factories were at Surat and Tellicheri. At Surat they obtained muslins, chintz, and cottons; and at Tellicheri, pepper and cardamums: for though the Portuguese multiplied their forts and settlements, the different productions of the north and south, on this western coast of the peninsula, were obtainable with sufficient facility at these two points. In conformity with this system we find, that throughout the whole which the *Periplus* mentions of India, we have a catalogue of the imports and exports only at the two ports of Barugáza and Nelkunda, and there seems to be a distinction fixed between the articles appropriate to each. Fine muslins, and ordinary cottons, are the principal commodities of the first; tortoise-shell, pearls, precious stones, silks, and above all, pepper²¹⁸, seem to have been procurable only at the latter. This pepper is said to be brought to this port from Cottonara, generally supposed to be the province of Canara²¹⁹, in the neighbourhood of Nelkunda, and famous²²⁰ to this hour for producing the best pepper²²¹ in the world, except that of Sumatra.

The

²¹⁸ The long pepper mentioned at Barugáza is an ordinary and inferior spice, more hot and pungent, with less flavour.

²¹⁹ Eli, Deli, or d'Illi, was the port frequented by the Chinese for pepper in M. Polo's time. Lib. iii. c. 26.

²²⁰ In the Sunda Rajah's country, adjoining to Canara, is the best pepper in India. Capt. Hamilton's Acc. of E. India, vol. iii. p. 260.

²²¹ Al Edrissi mentions pepper as growing only in Culam-meli (an island below Subara), and at Candaria, and Gerabtan. What Gerabtan is, I know not; but Candaria may mean the kingdom of Canara, p. 61.; because he says afterwards, it is near the mouth of a river in Manibar—Malabar, p. 65.; but it is not precise. Al Edrissi derives this from the Arabs of Renaudot, p. 9. p. 16. where it is written Kaucam-mali, and Kamkam; the same as Kemkem,



The pre-eminence of these two ports will account for the little which is said of the others by the author, and why he has left us so few characters by which we may distinguish one from another, so as to assign them proper positions on the coast. They seem to have been little visited for the purposes of commerce; and if they were touched at only from necessity, the stay there was short, and the observations transient; but the distinction of the provinces is clear, and if it has been found possible to give these from the testimony of our author, with so much precision as to prevent future deception, we shall not hereafter see the same place assigned to Guzerat by one author, and to Malabar by another; one of whom must be in an error of seven hundred miles. In limiting the provinces, and marking a few of the principal marts, all has been done that could be expected by those who are acquainted with the work; and if conjecture has never been resorted to, but where proof was unattainable, blame ought not to attach, because the discussion of impossibilities has been declined. I have said that it was dubious whether the author himself had ever been farther than Barugáza; but so many corroborating circumstances have come out in tracing the account of Nelkunda, that I would now rather fix the limit of his voyage at this port. Farther than Ceylon he *certainly* was not; and whether the fleets from Egypt ever reached that island previous to the embassy from the king of that country to Claudius, is highly problematical. Individuals possibly might have been there upon an adventure, but the amplifications of Pliny and Ptolemy manifestly

Kemkem, or Concam; and Kaucan-mali is therefore Concan of Mala-bar, adopting Malabar for the whole coast, as is still in usage. But if Al Edrisi has not copied from others, M. Polo mentions Coulam, or Covalam, with the same pre-eminence. See *infra*.

bespeak



CSL

bespeak an ignorance of the truth in their age; and if the voyage was not regularly performed, the knowledge of individuals was either not reported, or not believed.

XI. HIPPALUS AND THE MONSOON.

THERE is an additional reason for believing that the regular course of trade terminated at Nelkunda, which is, the introduction of the discovery of the monsoon by Hippalus at this place. And for this place I have reserved the discussion of that subject, because, though I shall continue my inquiries as far as Ceylon, I am persuaded that the author of the *Periplus* went no farther than this port.

The history of this I shall give as nearly as possible in the words of the author:

“ The whole navigation, such as it has been described from
“ Aden²²² and Kanè [to the ports of India], was performed formerly
“ in small vessels, by adhering to the shore, and following the in-
“ dentures of the coast; but Hippalus was the pilot who first disco-
“ vered the direct course across the ocean, by observing the position
“ of the ports, and the general appearance²²³ of the sea; for at the
“ season when the annual winds, peculiar to our climate²²⁴, settle
“ in

²²² Arabia Felix.

²²³ Σχήμα.

²²⁴ Ἀφ' ἧ καὶ τοπικῶς ἐκ τῆς Ὀκεανῆς φουστάντων τῶν κατὰ καιρὸν τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν Ἑτησιῶν, ἐν τῇ Ἰνδικῇ Πελάγει Διέσπιντος φάνταται.

Some doubt will remain whether this passage is accurately rendered; for the antecedent to ἁφ' ἧ is not clear; and the term Ὀκεανῆς may be thought improperly applied to the Mediterranean; but it seems used in opposition to

Πελάγος, and by being joined with the Etesians that blow [παρ' ἡμῶν] in our country, all ambiguity is removed. I will not vouch for the Greek of our author, in the usage of Ὀκεανῆς, because I think his language frequently incorrect, or his text corrupt; but the general sense of the passage is sufficiently clear. The Etesian winds blow during the summer months in Egypt; and the south-westerly monsoon, in the Indian Ocean, is in its full vigour dur-



" in the north, and blow for a continuance upon our coast from
 " the Mediterranean; in the Indian Ocean the wind is constantly
 " to the south-west; and this wind has in those seas obtained the
 " name of Hippalus, from the pilot who first attempted the passage
 " by means of it to the East.

" From the period of that discovery to the present time, vessels
 " bound to India take their departure, either from Kanè on the
 " Arabian, or from Cape Arômata [Gardejan] on the African side.
 " From these points they stretch out into the open sea at once,
 " leaving all the windings of the gulphs and bays at a distance, and
 " make directly for their several destinations on the coast of India.
 " Those²²⁵ that are intended for Limúrikè waiting²²⁶ some time
 " before they fail; but those that are destined for Barugáza or
 " Scindi, seldom more than three days."

This account naturally excites a curiosity in the mind to inquire,
 how it should happen, that the Monsoons should have been noticed
 by Nearchus, and that from the time of his voyage, for three hun-

ing June, July, August, and September. If then we suppose the author to be a native, or a resident at Alexandria, the Etesians *παρ' ἡμῶν*, represent the effect of them where we live, and *ποταμὸς φυσῶντων*, the blowing of the winds which we locally experience. I render *ἀπ' ἧς* from the time or season, common both to the Etesians and Monsoons; and I do not join *φαίνονται* to *προσσημαζέσθαι*, with Salmasius, though I suppose that a connecting particle is wanting. See Plin. Exercit. 1186.

²²⁵ Καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν περιηγητὰς πρὸς ἰδίαν ὁρμήν, ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ὑφ' ἧν διὰ τῆς ἑξῆς γῆς παρακλίσει τὸς περιηγητὰς ὁδόντες.

The general sense of this passage is clear; for *ὑφ' ἧς*, and *ἐφ' ἧς*, are used by this author to express sailing in the open sea; but

how to understand *διὰ τῆς ἑξῆς γῆς* is dubious. —Hudson renders it, *ex regione excelsi per terram externam supradictos sinus prætervehuntur*; where *per terram externam* is quite as unintelligible as *διὰ τῆς ἑξῆς γῆς*, and *ex regione excelsi* certainly does not express the meaning of the author.

²²⁶ *Παρακλίσσεις*, if it be not a corruption, has no sense in the lexicons which can apply to this passage. The meaning by the context is plain; but how to elicit it from this word, I know not. Hudson has very wisely omitted it.

A learned friend renders *Παρακλίσσεις*, with *their heads to the sea*; ready to sail, but not failing.

dred



CSL

dred years, no one should have attempted a direct course, till Hippalus ventured to commit himself to the ocean. It has been sufficiently proved, that a communication was open between India and Arabia previous to the age of Alexander; and it is impossible to conceive, that those who lived either in India or Arabia, should not have observed the regular change of seasons and of winds, which recurred every year, and of which, if they were mariners, they could not fail to have taken advantage, every voyage they performed. It is likewise certain, that vessels frequenting either coast would accidentally be caught by either monsoon, and driven across the open sea to the opposite shore, if they happened to be a few days too early, or too late, in the season, for the voyage in which they were engaged. That this had happened, and that there was a direct passage by the monsoons in use between the opposite continents before the Greeks adopted it, has already been noticed from the *Periplus*, and fully proved. But in almost all discoveries, the previous obstacle is minute, and the removal of it accidental: thus it is, we may suppose, that the few vessels which did find their way to India from the ports of Egypt by adhering to the coast, from the beginning, failed with the monsoon, both outward and homeward bound; but still followed the track which had been pointed out by Nearchus; and it was necessary for an Hippalus to arise, before it should be known, that the winds were as regular and determinate in the open sea, as upon the coast. The *Periplus* assigns the merit of the discovery to the observation of Hippalus himself; but there is nothing unreasonable in supposing, that if he frequented these seas as a pilot or a merchant, he had met with Indian or Arabian traders, who made their voyages in a more compendious manner than



than the Greeks; and that he collected information from them, which he had both the prudence and courage to adopt. Columbus owed much to his own nautical experience and fortitude; but he was not without obligations to the Portuguese also, who had been resolving the great problems in the art of navigation, for almost a century previous to his expedition.

But the discovery of the monsoon once made, could never afterwards be neglected; and the use made of it by the fleets from Egypt is fully detailed, and much in the same manner by Pliny and the *Periplus*. The course of the trade from Alexandria to Berenikè, and the progress of the voyage from Berenikè to Okêlis and Kanè, have already been sufficiently described²²⁷; but there are some farther circumstances connected with this, which cannot be suppressed without prejudice to the object in view. For Okêlis is mentioned by both authors²²⁸ as the better port to remain at; which is evidently consistent, because it is sheltered from the adverse²²⁹ monsoon; and the passage of thirty days to Okêlis, and forty to the coast of India, is a proportion so striking, that it could be derived from no other source but evidence of the most authentic nature. For the first distance is only about four hundred and eighty miles, and the second near nineteen hundred, and yet that there should be only ten days difference in the longer part of the voyage, is peculiarly appropriate to the two different seas in which the navigation was to be per-

²²⁷ P. 70. et seq.

²²⁸ Plin. lib. vi. c. 23.

²²⁹ The Immaum finding Aden to lie inconvenient for the trade of the Red Sea, because of the fresh winds usually blowing at its mouth in both easterly and westerly monsoons,

made him remove the trade about 15 leagues within its mouth, to a fishing-town called Mocha. Capt. Hamilton's Acc. of the E. Indies, vol. i. p. 19. That is, it is safer riding within the straits than without.

formed.



formed. The vessels destined for India left Berenikè about the middle of July, or earlier, if they were to go farther than Barugáza. The passage down the gulph was tedious; for though the wind was favourable, the shoals, islands, and rocks, in their course, required caution, and compelled them to anchor every night; but when the straits were passed, and a vessel was once within the influence of the monsoon, she had nothing to impede her course from Babel-mandeb to Guzerat; consequently, forty days allotted to her passage is neither disproportionate to her course down the Red Sea, nor too short²³⁰ a space for performing a voyage of nineteen hundred miles to India, notwithstanding the same run at present seldom exceeds fifteen. It seems at first sight a contradiction, that vessels which were to have the longer voyage to Malabar, should remain longer at Okêlis than those which were destined only for Scindi. or Guzerat; but this likewise depends upon a circumstance peculiar to the monsoon upon the coast of India, which appears never to have been noticed by those who have undertaken to comment on the *Periplus*.

It is sufficiently known, that the commencement and termination of the two different monsoons are subject to considerable fluctuation; so that though we say these winds are alternate, six months each way, we ought to subtract one month from the beginning and ending of each, which are not only fluctuating, but tempestuous. If then we examine the south-westerly or summer monsoon²³¹ in this respect, and consider May as the month in which it commences,

²³⁰ Nineteen hundred miles in forty days, gives rather more than forty-seven miles a day; but the day's sail of an ancient vessel was 500 stadia, or fifty miles; and the course of a *νοξήλατος* double: so that they must in this passage have sailed with great caution. But the Arabs, in the ninth century, employed

thirty days from Maskat; whence we may conclude, they had not much improved upon the Greeks. See the Arabs of Renaudot.— This run should properly be taken at Gardafan.

²³¹ The whole of this is from the *Oriental Navigator*, p. 211.

it



it is not finally settled till the beginning of June, a little earlier or later, according to the full or change of the moon²³²; and still it is to be observed, that during June and July "the weather is so bad, " that navigation is in some degree impracticable." In August it is more moderate, and in September the weather is still fairer; and though there may be an apprehension of storms, "you have often " fair weather for several days together," which continues, though liable to the same interruptions, till the middle of October.

This is the peculiar circumstance appropriate to the navigation of the ancients; for if we suppose a vessel to leave Berenikè on the 10th of July, and to arrive at Okêlis the 9th of August; after continuing there a week, ten days, or a fortnight, she will reach Muziris or Nelkunda, at latest, on the 1st of October; that is, at the very time when she has reason to expect the best weather of the season.

There is another singularity applicable to those vessels which are destined for Scindi and Barugâza, and which stay only three days at Okêlis or Cape Gardafan; this is, that the south-west monsoon sets in "earlier to the northward of Surat," than on the coast to the southward. Whether this circumstance is connected with their voyage, we have no data to determine; but if the monsoon commences here earlier, it is consequently settled earlier than in Malabar.

After thus conducting our fleet to the shores of India, it remains next to consider their voyage homeward-bound. And here we are informed by Pliny²³³, that they continued on the coast from the latter end of September, or beginning of October, to the early part

²³² The first new moon in September is called St. Anthony's Moon, and considered as the commencement of the N.E. monsoon.—C. Hamilton, vol. i. p. 255.

²³³ Lib. vi. c. 23.



of Tybi, or December. This allows two months, at least, for the disposal of their cargo, and taking in their lading in exchange. But the latest time of leaving the coast is within the first six days of Machiris; that is, before the ides of January, or the 13th of that month. Now it is very remarkable, that the original order for the fleets of Portugal was subject to the same regulation; for if they did not sail before the 8th²³⁴ of December, they were detained till the first week of the succeeding month. The reason for this, though not mentioned, is doubtless the change of the moon in both instances, at which time there are usually some stronger gales; and in this we have one more evidence of the same operations of nature producing the same effects in all ages.

Pliny styles the south-west monsoon, Favonius (which the Periplus calls Libo-Notus), and the north-east, Vulturnus; about which there is much learned disquisition in Salmasius. But we are now too well acquainted with these seas, to have a doubt remaining on the winds that were intended; and we conclude, that as the same causes have operated in all ages, they blew two thousand years ago as they blow at the present day. Not that they are fixed to a single point of the compass, but that north-east and south-west are their general direction. It is added by Pliny, that upon reaching the Red Sea, they found a south or south-west wind, which conveyed them to Berenikè, and enabled them to conclude their voyage in less than the compass of a year. This, likewise, is consistent with experience; for the winds in the Gulph of Arabia are almost constantly north and north-west, except for fifty days, when they are called the Gumseen²³⁵ winds, and prevail from the middle of March;

²³⁴ Caesar Frederick in Purchas, iii. p. 1708. tember.

who likewise mentions their arrival in Sep- ²³⁵ Written Khâmfin.



during that period coming regularly from the south. If therefore we suppose a vessel to leave the coast of India between the 8th and 13th of January, forty days employed upon her return would bring her to Kané, Aden, or Gardéfán, towards the end of February. At any of these ports she might wait, so as to be prepared to take advantage of the Gumseen wind in the middle of March; and when she was once within the straits, this wind would serve her for fifty days to convey her to Bereniké, to Myos Hormus, or even to Arsinoë, the representative of the modern Suez. Thus, by embracing the opportunities which the regular seasons in the different seas afford, the whole voyage outward and homeward-bound would be performed with a wind constantly in her favour.

The next point to be considered is, the departure of this fleet from Okélis, Kané, or Cape Arômata. The two last are more particularly intimated by the Periplus; and Syagros, or Fartaque, by Pliny⁴⁶. In this the merchant is most probably the more correct of the two; for, as we may conclude that he performed the voyage himself, so is Arômata, or Cape Gardéfán, the point that divides the limit of the monsoon on the coast of Africa: for, on the authority of Beaulieu, we learn, that he passed from winter, storm, and tempest, to calm and summer, in an instant, on doubling this promontory. Here then was the point where their course was open before them, from one continent to the other; and when they were once at sea, there was nothing to change the direction of the wind till they reached the shores of India. On their return from India, they ran down their longitude first to the coast of Africa, tending to an

⁴⁶ Pliny says, it was 1333 miles from Syagros to Pátala; which is not very distant from truth, for it is in a right line near 1200 miles.



object of magnitude which they could not miss or overrun; and then made good their latitude by coming up northward to the coast of Barbaria and the Red Sea. In effecting this we may conclude, that they directed their course, as nearly as they could calculate, to Arômata; but Ptolemy informs us, they sometimes got to the southward of it, and were carried much lower down than they wished; and sometimes we know that they came intentionally to Rhapta, Opône, and other marts on the coast of Africa, and proceeded afterwards to Arabia, or the Red Sea, according to their destination, interest, or convenience.

The commerce of the Arabians has arrested our attention throughout the whole progress of our inquiry, from the first mention of their imports in scripture, to the accounts of the present day. Their connections with the countries in their neighbourhood is equally obvious: in Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Persis, Mesopotamia, and on the Tigris, we find them noticed by Pliny²²⁷; in India, by Agatharchides, and almost every subsequent geographer; in Africa, they are spread at this day from the Red Sea across the whole continent to Senegal; and in the Eastern Ocean they are found upon every coast, and almost upon every island. But general as the extension of their name and nation may have been, when we refer to their own accounts, nothing is more obscure²²⁸—nothing less satisfactory. The information to be collected from the little tract of the *Periplus* is a picture of geography, in comparison of the two Arabian narratives published by Renaudot, of Ebn Haukal, or Al Edrissi; besides all the fabulous and the marvellous which we have to remove. Still

²²⁷ Lib. xii. 17.

²²⁸ They are obscure, not only from the want of longitude, latitude, and the direction

of the coasts, but likewise from their adopting names that are neither native or classical, but terms of their own language and usage.



there are some particulars in these authors already noticed, which are worthy of attention; and something in the Arabians of Renaudot peculiarly connected with the object of our inquiry; for the general fact, that the Indian commerce had settled at Siraf in the ninth century, is a revolution of importance.

Siraf²³⁹ is upon the same coast in the Gulph of Persia as the modern Gomroon, and held the same rank at that time as Keish in the thirteenth century, and Ormus of a later date. The merchants of Siraf, in that age, evidently performed the voyage to China, and Chinese ships are mentioned at Siraf; but a closer examination has induced me to believe²⁴⁰ that they were not Chinese, but vessels employed by the Siraf merchants in the trade to China. The trade from this port, however it extended farther to the east, certainly met the Chinese fleets on the coast of Malabar; for there it is mentioned, that the Chinese paid a duty of a thousand²⁴¹ drams, while other vessels paid no more than from one dinar to ten.

But the ships that sailed from Siraf went first to Mascot in Arabia, for the same reason that the fleets from Egypt took their departure from Kanè and Arômarà; that is, because they obtained the monsoon the moment they were under sail. The Arab has fortunately preserved this circumstance; for he says, "from Mascot to Kaucam-

²³⁹ It is written Shiraff, Sharraf, and, by M'Cler, Charrack, pronounced Sharrack.

²⁴⁰ In the port of London, a China ship is a ship destined for China; and in this sense, perhaps, the Arab says, that most of the Chinese ships take in their cargo at Siraf. He describes their passage down the gulph to Mascot; and upon mentioning the straits at Mussendon, he adds, "after we are clear of these rocks, we steer for Oman and Mascot." I conclude

from this, that the narrator actually sailed himself on board a Siraf ship for China, and in that sense called it a Chinese ship. P. 8. Eng. ed. I do not, however, think this proof so conclusive, as utterly to deny the navigation of the Chinese west of Malabar.

²⁴¹ Two Arabs. P. 9. Eng. ed. The sum is too small to be credible; 10,000 dinars are equal to 17. 17s. 6d. De Sacy, p. 332.