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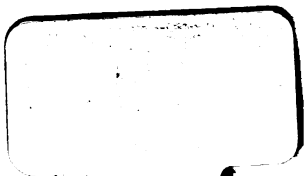
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# INDIA AND THE WEST IN OLD DAYS

BY

PROFESSOR ALBRECHT WEBER.



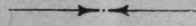
TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

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## INDIA AND THE WEST IN OLD DAYS.

by Professor Albrecht Weber.

Translated by Emily Hawtrey, Edited by Robert Sewell, M.C.S., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S.

[The following is a translation of an article by Professor Weber, written in 1853. It has never yet been published in English. My attention was directed to it in the summer of last year by Dr. R. Rost with reference to an article read by me before the Royal Asiatic Society, and published in the Journal of that Society for July 1886, (Vol. XVIII., Part III., p. 364), "*On early Buddhist Symbolism.*" The subject is one that has been attracting some attention; Mr Murray Aynsley has written on it in the *Indian Antiquary*, and in the last issue of the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal (April 1887, Vol. XIX., Part II.) Mr. Frederick Pincof, M.R.A.S., has continued the discussion in reply to my article. On the Continent Professors West and Darmesteter have also taken up the subject. Shortly stated my belief is that the three chief Buddhist sacred symbols, the *dharma chakra*, the *trisula*, and the *svastika*, are nothing more or less than old-world sun-symbols, imported into India from the West during the days when intercommunication between India and Western nations was more widely extended than is generally supposed. Being personally unacquainted with German, I had no opportunity of learning Professor Weber's views on the subject of the relations between India and the Empires of Europe and Western Asia till long after my article was published, and it was very satisfactory to find, on perusing my sister's translation, that my own crude notions were so substantially in accord with the deductions of that celebrated scholar. This article was published with three others in 1857 under the general title of "*Indische Skizzen*" (Berlin), but only the first of the four was translated, and Professor Weber has expressed to me his satisfaction that the present one should be rendered into English even after the lapse of so many years. He adds "They are all, of course, at present somewhat "old-fashioned and require a retraction, as many statements have received mean-while *better* foundation; but on the whole I trust the *Indische Skizzen* are on a "level with the present state of science, and it is a pity that they have for 33 years "been accessible only to the German-reading Public. My best thanks therefore "for your highly welcome intention."

I have omitted certain passages—some because they were unnecessary for present argument,—some because they are written to prove what has long ago been accepted by all scholars, and recapitulation is unnecessary. The footnotes are mine—(R. S.) ]

It is an old complaint that India has no historical records, and were it not that two new branches of study have lately given fresh impetus to the investigation of its past, we should have to depend solely on uncertain native chronology for information on the subject.

Of these two branches, the first concerns the connection between India and other countries, and the second the coinage and inscriptions of Indian Kings. With regard to the latter very surprising results have been furnished by the researches of late years. It is



true that the deciphering and explanation of inscriptions by Pandits for the use of English travellers, unsupported by true facsimiles, are often matters of doubt, and to be accepted with caution\* ; but the inferences to be drawn from the character of the writing and language, as well as from coins, seals, and emblems, afford clear and reliable indications as to the dates of past history. The number of these evidences is so great, that, if they were sufficiently published, it might be possible to produce—if not a complete history of India from the 2nd century A. D., the period of the Gupta dynasty—at least that of the most important dynasties in the various provinces of India, especially the Dekhan, which suffered least from the Muhammadan rage for destruction. The results hitherto arrived at respecting the period previous to A. D. 100 are described with great accuracy in the second part of Lassen's *Study of Indian Antiquities* (1852), a notable work to which we shall have to refer frequently later on ; meantime we have to represent briefly the present state of investigation as regards the connection of India with foreign countries, and to show the reciprocal effects of this connection.

As for Egypt, whose monuments prove it to be the oldest civilized country in the world, it has long been a favourite theory that there was a very close and influential intercourse between that country and India, and that either the one country or the other must have been instrumental in bringing this about. But a strong argument is often raised against this in the fact that neither the Egyptians nor the Indians were at so early a date a maritime people, and consequently, from the great distance between the two countries, so close a connection would have been quite impossible†. Now it is to be observed that at the beginning of the 2nd millennium B. C. the Aryan-Indians were probably not yet inhabitants of India at all, but were still dwelling in their primitive dwellings in Upper Iran, or had but lately begun their migration to the banks of the Indus.

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\* This has of course been remedied to a considerable extent in late years, and thanks to Fleet, Burgess and others, knowledge has greatly advanced since 1853, the date of this paper. The appointment of Dr. Hultzsch as Epigrapher to the Government of Madras augurs well for the future.

† We have a great deal yet to learn about the inhabitants of Southern and Western India previous to the tenth century, A. D. Is it so clear that they were *not* a maritime people? The coins of the Ândhras (Roughly, B. C. 30 to A. D. 430) shew a two-masted ship as one of the devices of that dynasty, while there seems to have been close communication between Rome and Western India during the most palmy days of the great Empire. The inhabitants were not, of course, Aryans.

The nicest calculation hitherto made as to the date of the Vedas (and even this has been made at random) is about 1400 B. C., at which epoch the Aryans had actually colonized the Panjab, and were gradually beginning to spread themselves over the rest of India. If it is really the case that woollen goods dyed with indigo, Indian muslins, and Chinese porcelain have been found in the tombs of the 18th Dynasty (which professedly ceased to reign in 1476 B. C.), it could only have occurred through ancient commercial transactions with Central Asia (indeed this is the only possible way to account for the Chinese porcelain) or else through maritime trade of the Phœnicians with the Indian coasts.\* It is said that the latter carried on this trade during their former sojourn on the Persian Gulf and that only after their migration to Phœnicia did they take the route of the Red Sea.† It is by this latter route that in 1000 B. C. we first receive authentic intelligence of a settlement on the western shores of India of Aryan-speaking tribes.

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\* Sir Gardner Wilkinson's estimate of the dates of the XVIIIth Dynasty, (*Ancient Egyptians*, II. 34,) is that it began in B. C. 1575 with the Theban Amosis (Chebron. Ames.) "the new king who knew not Joseph" (*Exod.* i. 8), and ended with Amenophis (the Pthahmen or Menepthah of the monuments) in B. C. 1289. Indigo is grown in modern Egypt, but was not known there at the time of Pliny, at least so it is inferred from the fact that, while he alludes to 98 other cultivated products, he makes no mention of indigo. Wilkinson mentions in a footnote that cloths are found dyed with indigo, and apparently for that reason alone includes it in his list of products grown by the Egyptians (*Op. Cit.* II. 402—3, 404—413).

As to Chinese porcelain Wilkinson describes several small vases as having been found. He says that he himself has seen several. He mentions the existence, known to him, of six others, and gives illustrations of seven. They were about two inches high, with a flower on one side and a Chinese inscription on the other. But he writes very doubtfully about them, and his doubts have been since proved to be reasonable. The inscriptions consist of quotations from Chinese writers of the 7th, 8th and 9th centuries A. D., and it was discovered that the bottles were never found in the tombs at all, but were bought from Arabs, who themselves confessed that the vases came from Qous, Keft, and Cosseir, depôts of commerce with India on the Red Sea.

† Sir Henry Rawlinson has pointed out that the early Chaldean inscriptions make frequent mention of the "Ships of Ur," and imply that they navigated to considerable distances. It is not improbable that these ships carried gold from India. Gold could be obtained from both Africa and India, and it was lavishly used in decoration (Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, i. 101—2). The Phœnicians also traded with India by sea. Bawlinson (*Sixth Oriental Monarchy* p. 33) points out that for ten centuries prior to the reign of Selenkos Nikator, from a date, that is, as early as the beginning of Assyrian ascendancy, the precious metals and the most valuable kinds of merchandise had been flowing from every quarter into the region governed by that monarch. Gold, tin, silks, pearls, spices, and other articles of commerce had been passing into it from India since the foundation of the first Assyrian Empire in the fourteenth century B. C.

From Ophir—*i. e.*, according to Lassen the Land of the Abhira at the mouths of the Indus—they brought wares in Solomon's ships which could only, from the evidence of the names, have been brought from India, by such native commerce as they carried on either inland or along the coasts of Malabar, *viz.*, gold and silver, precious stones, sandalwood, ivory, apes, and peacocks.

The Books of Kings and Chronicles do not give Hebrew names for these objects, at least the word for "ape" (*koph*), goes back distinctly to the Sanskrit *kapi*. It is not safe to assert anything definitely for the present as to the others, but *shen habbim* has been thought to mean elephants' teeth, the Sanskrit *ibha* with the Hebrew article prefixed. Apart, however, from the diversity of sounds the *ibha* of ancient times\* did not signify "elephant" (see Roth on the *Nirukti*,† p. 79). In *tukhiim* (peacocks) has been found the Sanskrit *çikkin* with the Western Dekhan pronunciation of the "ç" as "t," but it is not clear how the Abhira came to use the word with the Dekhan pronunciation, and, besides, the meaning of "peacock" for *çikkin* has only lately been discovered. The same may be said for *almugim* or *algumim* under which name sandal is said to be concealed by the Dekhanish pronunciation *valgum*. As to other articles of commerce mentioned in the Bible, without reference to Ophir, Lassen explains *bdolach* in the Books of Moses to mean the same as *mada*, *moschus*, presupposing also *madalaka* to be the *ahalim* of the fourth book of Moses, and *aguru* to be *agallochum*. Further, in the Song of Solomon, he makes *nerd* out of *narada*, Indian spikenard, and lastly *karpas*, in the Book of Esther, out of *karpāsa*, cotton.

The explanation of *bdolach* suffers however from the awkward circumstance that the word *madalaka* is a mere supposition, although there can be no doubt about the formation of the word. The connection between *ahalim* and *aguru* does not appear (according to the latest authority) to be contradictory. Finally the words *nerd* and *karpas* belong more probably to the Persian than to the Phœnician period, just as *kunkuma*, saffron, is the identical *karkom* of the Song of Solomon, which, according to Hippo-

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\* The Vedic meaning of the word *ibha* was a household, family, servants, dependants; according to Sāyana "fearless power." (Monier Williams, *Sans. Dict.*)

† The *Nirukti*, or "interpretation," is an early Sanskrit work of which Yaska is supposed to be the author. It is a commentary on one of the *Nighantus*, and consists of twelve books. Professor Weber, in his *History of Indian Literature*, says that it is in this work that we find the first general notion of grammar.

crates, became later the Greek *πικερί*, pepper, *pippali*. The Homeric word *κασσίτερος* (tin, *kastūra*) should be reckoned amongst the Indian words brought by Phœnician ships to the lands of the West; unless indeed it was derived originally from a Greek word (is not its formation from *κασσιδρηρος* within the bounds of possibility?), and introduced into Sanskrit at the time of Alexander, as Pott has rightly conjectured to be the case with *kastûri*, (moschus), from *καστώρειον*, (castor.)

Besides, putting aside the Phœnicians, there was very ancient connection between India and Babylonia both by sea and land; a connection not merely restricted to commerce like that with the Phœnicians, but one which seems to have exerted a direct influence over them. (I should not like to ascribe—as has frequently been done—the story of the Flood and the idea of the four ages of the world to this influence, because, together with the Isles of the Blessed, these are undoubtedly to be regarded as the common property of the ancient Semitic and Indogermanic races, brought by the Aryans into India.) It appears that the whole character of Indian Astrology (it can hardly be called Astronomy) was purely Chaldaic before its contact with the Greeks. We can hardly believe that the Aryans in their wanderings towards India were the first to invent the twenty-seven or twenty-eight Lunar Mansions, as we find no trace of them in the older portions of the *Riksamhitâ*; and as to the idea that they were of Chinese origin that must be at once abandoned as impossible.\* On the other hand it is difficult to conceive that the Babylonians and Indians could have developed the same peculiar classification if they had been entirely independent of each other. The only possible conclusion is that the one race taught the other. And to this naturally the Babylonians alone can lay claim, as we already meet with mention of the Lunar Mansions in the Bible (מְנִלוֹת ii. Kings, 23—5) where neither Indian nor Chinese influence can be apprehended.

With regard to the philosophical conceptions of Cosmogony, Atomy, and Natural Science, the connection between the Indians and Chaldæans is clearly perceptible, as von Eckstein has shown (in his *Indian Studies* ii, 369 ff.), but the question is one not so much of ideas introduced into India as of influence exercised

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\* They are enumerated singly in the *Taittiriya-Samhitâ*, and the order in which they there occur is one that must necessarily have been established somewhere between 1472 and 536 B. C. (Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, p. 30.)

over the Indians ; and the exercise of such an influence is clearly seen when we consider the striking harmony between the Indian and Greek philosophers, proving in the most natural manner that the Chaldæans were the teachers of both parties.

The origin of Indian writing may also certainly be traced to the Semitic—and probably to the Chaldæan—races.

\*                    \*                    \*                    \*                    \*

The connection between India and the Iranian tribes—the ancient co-ancestors and immediate neighbours of the Indians—was always very close, however much checked by the religious schism which probably brought about their mutual separation and the abandonment of their former common habitations.

\*                    \*                    \*                    \*                    \*

Commerce was carried on exclusively by land, and Herodotus especially makes mention of Indian hounds amongst the Persians, and of *σινδών* (i.e., coming from Sindh) woven materials. Indian steel was also in much request. Ktesias received a sword of this metal as a present from Artaxerxes.

The first official contact of India with Persian rulers took place under Darius, the son of Hystaspes, whose general Scylax sailed down the Indus from *Κασπαπόρος*, Kāçyakapura, to the sea and brought those countries under subjection in the year 509 B. C. \* In his cuneiform inscriptions, therefore, *Gadāra*, (Gandhāra) and, the *Hidu* or *Sindhu*, inhabitants of the banks of the Indus, are represented as tributary to him. Both tribes fought, according to Herodotus, in the army of Xerxes against the Greeks ; † and this was the first time that they came into contact with the latter, whom they had learnt from the Persians to call *Yavana* (Ionians.) Under the successors of Xerxes these tribes seem to have freed themselves from the Persian sway as in the army of Darius Codomanus only a

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\* The date is, I believe, still not firmly established, but it must have been between B. C. 515 and 509 (Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, III. 430, n 7).

† I am not clear as to which two tribes the learned writer is referring to. The "Gandari" fought under Xerxes, and are specially mentioned with the Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, and Daddiæ, as having the equipment of the Baktrians. This is interesting because when they were driven out of India by the Yueh-chi about the 1st century A. D. the inhabitants of Gandhāra fled to the Arghandab (Sir Henry Rawlinson's *Pers : Vocab* : p. 127) and settled in a country which, as well as its chief town, is still called *Candahar*. The other tribe referred to must be those called by Herodotus "Indians". They wore "cotton dresses, and carried bows of cane, and arrows also of cane with iron at the point". These were probably inhabitants of the Panjab and Sind Valley. (Rawlinson's *Anc. Mon.*, IV. 219.)

small number of Indian auxiliaries appears ; this time however with fifteen war-elephants, the first occurrence of such a thing in history.

It was Alexander the Macedonian who first brought India into a lasting union with the West and created a mutual intercourse between the two, compared with which their former relationship was quite inferior ; for whereas hitherto the land of the Indus had been the goal of foreign merchants or princes a more or less direct traffic now began all over the rest of India. The two great exploits which brought this about were his conquest of the Panjab and his building of the city of Alexandria. It is difficult to say which of the two was of the most importance, indeed the effect of the building of Alexandria was apparent for three hundred years after his date.

It appears that although Ptolemy II. had desired to promote direct business communication with India (commerce was carried on during the whole of this time chiefly by land) this intercourse grew into greater importance only after Egypt became a province of the Roman Cæsars.\* The conquests of Alexander on the other hand exerted a perceptible influence, inasmuch as a distinct Grecian sovereignty was established over the conquered districts. It is true that Seleucus relinquished the Eastern portion of his realm to the Indian King (Ξανδροχίπτος) Chandragupta for which he received five hundred war-elephants ; but by this time a direct traffic must have been partially established between the court of the Seleucidæ and that of (Παλιπότρα) Pataliputra by mutual presents and embassies ; and this was renewed in the year 216 B. C. by the treaty between Antiochus the Great and the Indian King (Σαυβαγασήνος) Saubhagasena. The Grecian power was again greatly strengthened after Diodorus, the Satrap of Baktria, (about 250 B. C.) had broken loose from the supremacy of the Seleucidæ and had established an independent Græco-Baktrian Kingdom. Demetrius, one of his successors, extended his dominion beyond the Indus as far as the Hydaspes, and perhaps even over Mâlava and Gujarat (Δαρικη) about 205 B. C. †

Eukratides (about 165 B. C.) first made use of the Greek as well as the Aryan writing and language on his coins. The kingdom was now split up into several portions, of which those on the West soon fell a prey to the Parthians (140 B. C.); but to the East, on the side of India, Menander (about 144 B. C.) extended his conquests as far as the Jumna and raised the Grecian power to fresh

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\* B. C. 30.

† These dates are not quite in accordance with those now accepted.

splendour. Under his successors, however, the dominion of Greece was limited to the Panjab, and finally to Cabul, although their Indian vassals in Surâshtra still recognized their authority by placing the name on their coins until about the year 85 B. C., when the encroaching power of the Indo-Scythians completely annihilated it.

The influence exercised over India by an uninterrupted intercourse of two hundred years with the Greeks has hitherto been much undervalued, and an erroneous idea has arisen that the Indian people always held themselves scornfully aloof from anything foreign. This idea is quite correct as to recent times since the Moslem conquest, and also as to the uncouth, primitive inhabitants of India in old days ; but in regard to a higher cultus than their own (or one similar to it) the Indians did not cut themselves off at all, for even at a very early period they proved themselves readily accessible to it. Hence we find that just at this epoch Buddhism was flourishing at its height, recognizing no nationality and no "caste" distinctions, offering to all mankind equal rights, and beginning to establish mission-stations in the west of Asia. We also find a strong counterinfluence of Indian civilization upon the Greeks, inasmuch as the conception of barbarism held by the latter failed to be realized on a closer acquaintance with the Indians, and they learnt to recognize in them a loftiness of mind which inspired their respect. The self-immolation (by fire) of the widow of Keteus, the similar death of the widow of Kalanos, and (under Augustus) the widow of another Brahman from Barygaza, aroused the universal astonishment and admiration of the Gymnosophists. Those Greeks who settled in the Indian dominions after the downfall of their independence raised themselves in the estimation of the other inhabitants of the country, \* compared with whom indeed they were in a very great minority.

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To these statements we must add the traditions held by the Indians themselves of their connection with the Greeks. Alexander's name has entirely disappeared ; the only mention of it (and even this is an uncertainty) occurs in the celebrated inscription of Dêvânâmpiya Piyadâsi, which is found on the rocks at Kapurdigiri, Girnâr, Dhauli, etc., belonging to the year B. C. 253, the tenth year of the reign of the Buddhist King Asoka, nephew of Chandragupta. There

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\* See below, (p. 14) note on life of Apollonius of Tyana by Philostratus.

we find mentioned with oriental eloquence Antiyoka (Antiochus) King of the Yavana, Turamaya (Ptolemy), Antigona (Antigonus) Maga (Magas), and Alikasunari, . . . . . It is the last name which is said to mean Alexander, but the whole passage is much mutilated and very probably has not been correctly read.\*

According to Lassen it is probable that the Demetrius mentioned in the Mahābhārata under the name of Dattāmitra (the name has no real meaning in Sanskrit and was most likely only an imitation of the Greek) as a brave king of the Yavana and Sauvira, is identical with the king who built the town of Demetrius, called by the Scholiast (Pānini iv, 2, 76), "Sauvira town Dattāmitrī." Its position however in Arachosia does not quite agree with this view. The powerful Kālayavana ("black Yavana") whose combat with Krishna is mentioned in the Mahābhārata, is placed by Wilson in the Græco-Baktrian period. Menander, who is also called on his coins "Menada," "Minanda," is probably identical with Melinda the Yavana king of Sagala (σαγγαλα, Çākala) who is described in the records of the southern Buddhists as imbued with an earnest zeal for Buddhism. The Buddhist veneration for relics is also to be recognized in Plutarch's account of a contention over the remains of the corpse of Menander. The inscriptions of Piyadāsi, as well as the legend of the southern Buddhists, distinctly assert that the Yavana favoured Buddhism (Lassen ii, 236). The words "Yavanamunda" and "Kambojamunda" in the Ganamayūravayansaka may also refer to this; and the adjectival signification "bald-headed" may be intended as a mockery of the two nations for their Buddhist system of mendicancy, or at least may refer to it.

The question is whether by the name "Yavana" we are to understand the Greeks, or the Indoscythians who succeeded them. The latter view seems improbable, and we shall not be far wrong if we identify the king's name "Basili" in the legend of the Northern Buddhists with the title βασιλευς. Schlieffner, the author of this supposition, further adds that the Buddha Amitābha, said to dwell in the fabulous western country of Sukhāvātī, is closely connected with Amyntas, a predecessor of Menander, whose name is found on coins. If on the coins of both kings, Amyntas and Menander, no Buddhist emblems but only purely Hebrew ones are to be found, that can hardly be considered proof to the contrary, as on the one

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\* The reference is now believed to be to Alexander II. of Epirus, not to the great conqueror.



hand, these princes would hardly have gone so openly over to the side of Buddhism and so estranged themselves entirely from their own countrymen, and on the other, coinage was always the business of the Greeks—a circumstance which must not be over-looked. It is highly probable too that the Buddhist missionaries, spurred on by their fresh religious zeal, had by this time spread themselves over the Iranian districts to the West, although distinct proof of this is lacking.

The next indication of Greek influence over the Indians is supplied by the information that *Ἀμιτροχάρης*, Amitraghatâ,\* the son of Chandragupta, wished to purchase from Antiochus an eloquent Sophist, showing that he desired to acquire a knowledge of the Greek philosophy, a respect for which and for Hellenic manners and customs had probably been inspired by the long residence of Megasthenes at the court of Chandragupta. We must also attribute to the gracefulness of Hellenic civilization the fact that the Indian kings, whose custom it was to be served by girls as their exclusive attendants—a custom testified to by Megasthenes and confirmed by the code of Manu and by the *Mahâbhârata*, in which girls were frequently mentioned as presents from tributary kings—after the destruction of the Greek empire employed often Grecian maidens (*Yavanî*). This is referred to in the later Indian dramas as a traditional custom; and though not authenticated, it is easy to believe that it may have been the means of introducing a considerable Greek element. As for the supposition that the performance of Greek dramas in the courts of Greek kings awakened the spirit of imitation in the Indians and thus became a primary cause of the rise of the Indian drama, no direct authority can be given; but the historical probability is undeniable, since the oldest existing Indian drama was originated at a much later period than the Greek, and in Ujjain, the part of Western India most exposed to Greek influence. No doubt this was also greatly assisted by the rising opulence brought about by a lively commerce, in consequence of which arts and sciences began to flourish rapidly.

Lassen infers that the first knowledge of the seven planets came to the Indians through the Greeks† in their diplomatic relations with the Seleucidæ in Babylon, as their first appearance as seven points

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\* This is the same as Bindusara, to whom Daimachos was sent as ambassador by Antiochus, successor of Seleukos. (Date about 280 B.C.)

† Probably through the Chaldæans direct.

or dots (the only way in which they could be described) occurs on the coins of the Indian Satraps reigning in Gujarát under the Greek kings. If it were so (and the extreme peculiarity of the Indian names for the stars makes it still a doubtful question), other astronomical affinities would also be observable.

The architecture of Greece exercised a decided influence upon that of the North-Western Provinces of India governed by Greek kings. It soon rose to an eminence peculiarly its own, and was further accelerated by the Buddhist zeal for building Topes and Temples.

The art of coinage was totally unknown in India before the arrival of the Greeks, and after their artists had ceased to practise it was only maintained by a slavish imitation of the Greek types, and without attaining any artistic perfection. The use of stamped weights instead of coins has not however been without result.

The expression "Yavanâni" for the alphabet, which Pânini explains to mean the writing of the Yavana, may perhaps only mean Aryan writing as used on the inscriptions of Piyadâsi and on the coins of the Greek kings, not because it was invented by the Yavana but because it was used in the districts governed by the Yavana and seen on their coins. It may however, as I prefer to think, mean simply the Greek writing itself. The title "thatega" springing from *στρατηγός* was only preserved for a short time; the word "dramma," however, for *δραχμή* was entirely incorporated with the Sanskrit language. "Dinara," derived from the Latin "denarius," and "thateri" mentioned by Ibn Haukal, may be recognized either as *στατήριος* or *τετρά* (*δραχμή*).

With reference to the influence of Alexandria we have already observed that it only reached its fullest development when Egypt came under Roman dominion. Hitherto maritime trade with India was in the hands of the Semitic tribes who lived on the shores of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf:\* but it seems now certain that the Indians navigated this sea independently. There are several important passages in the Buddhist Sutras and in the Mahâbhârata which may be quoted in support of this. From Ceylon especially, journeys in the interest of trade similar to those of the Buddhist missions were undertaken to further India and the neighbouring islands, leading in course of time to their colonization. But besides these journeys colonies must have been formed in the

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\* Ships of Ur.

West and in Arabia. Strabo\* mentions an hereditary caste-division in Arabia Felix, as well as a community of property and women in the several families, which corresponds exactly with the peculiar customs of the Nairs in Malabar, and Ptolemy even mentions a town there with the Sanskrit name *Nagara*. According to Agatharchides (about 120 B. C.) a chief place of meeting for the merchant ships—especially for those coming from the harbour built by Alexander at the mouth of the Indus—was in the Islands at the entrance of the Arabian Gulf. There seems to have been an Indian settlement there also, as the name “happy islands” *Dioskorida*, is—with much probability—said to be derived from the Sanskrit words *dība* (*dvīpa*) *Sukhatara*, or, as it should rightly be, *Sukhataradvīpa*. In reference to this, besides the present name *Diu Socotora*, von Bahlen mentions the circumstance that the Christian missionary Theophilus, who was a native of *Δίβου* (*dvīpa*), was called an *Indian*. The corruption of the name by the Greeks can be easily accounted for by the resemblance of the sound to their name *Dioskuri*. Two other Indian words of Semitic origin may also testify to a direct intercourse between the Indians and the Semitic tribes, viz: *kramelaka*, “the camel,” (connected with the root *kram* “to step,”) and *makarata*, “emerald,” the Hebrew *bareget* from the root *baraq* “to shine,” from which word also the Greek word may previously have arisen.

The great extension of the trade between Alexandria and India under the Roman Cæsars even in the time of Pliny is to be ascribed to two causes; first, the discovery by Hippalus, under Augustus, of the trade-winds whereby navigation was much facilitated, and secondly, the fact that land-traffic was much impeded by the wars with the Parthians. Strabo reports that about 120 ships passed yearly out of the Red Sea to India, a number which was still further increased later on. Pliny complains bitterly of the immense sums of money (50 millions of *sestertii* yearly) exported by these ships, the Indian wares being in many instances paid for in coin, as few other equivalents were acceptable. A clear proof of this is still given by the numerous discoveries of Roman gold coins (*dināra* = denarius) on the west coast of India, where lay the most important centres of this commerce, such as Ozene, Barygaza, Baithana, Tagara, &c. : and Ceylon and the Eastern Coast

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\* “His date is about A. D. 20. Malayalam history, such as it is, relates that Cherman Perumal, one of the ancient sovereigns, went to Jeddah and died there.”

of India were also frequently visited by bold merchants. Even before the time of Diodorus (that is to say before the beginning of the Christian Era) trade had advanced as far as Further India and the Indian Archipelago; this we deduce from the fact that the Aryan cultus had already obtained a footing there. Were all other information lacking, the language on both sides would furnish us with the best description of the merchandise brought there for barter. In western countries Indian words are to be met with, such as malabathrum, *tamâlapatra*; sacharum, *çarkarâ*; ginger, *çringavera*; (cinnamon, *khinnavâri* ?); sulphur, *çulvâri*; opal, *upala*; sandal, *uchandana*; camphor, *karpura*; *μύσχος*, *muscka*, musk; *βήρυλλος* (*βήλυρος*), beryl; *vaidûrya*; *χόστος*, *kushtha*. There are some foreign words in the Indian language, as *Καστώρειον*, *kastûrî*, and possibly *Κασσίτερος*, *kastîra*, as well as the name of Yavana, which is frequently used in describing the goods; for instance *Yavana-priya* (dear to the Yavana) black pepper, *Yavaneshta* (desired by the Yavana) lead, *Yâvana* incense.

This lively trade continued till the Byzantine period, and an accurate description of Ceylon and the Western Coast at that time is given by the Egyptian monk Kosmas (called "Indikopleustes") at the beginning of the 6th Century; the Monk himself being indebted for the description to an Alexandrian Merchant, Sopatros. An unbroken intercourse lasted for five hundred years, during which time Indian merchants and travellers, and possibly also Buddhist missionaries, came frequently to Alexandria; this was not merely due to commerce but had literary and religious aims as well.

Let us now see what may be considered to have been borrowed from the Indians. The Greek animal-fables which dated from a far more remote period were greatly enriched at that time by India; and the representations on Egyptian monuments—the name of Æsop according to Welcher, is taken from *Αἰθίοψ*—show Egypt to have been their source. The complete identity of many fables by Babruis (*e. g.*, 32, 36, 95, 101, 115) with those of India proves this. The composition of the Dionysiæ by Nonnus seems to have taken place under the influence of a direct acquaintance with the Indian Epos, and the spread of the Dionysian collection of songs was materially aided by this connection. Both points are however unimportant compared with the immense influence which the close intercourse between India and Alexandria, just at that time, had upon the formation of new Platonic and Gnostic doctrines derived from

corresponding Indian ones. This took place chiefly in Alexandria. Here was originated the doctrine of Emanation and of Demiurgas, which is mainly pantheistic, as well as the dual opposition between God and the world. From this doctrine arose the longings for liberation from this world, the stern mortification of the body which had for its object the removal of bodily hindrances from the mind by deadening the senses, the falling into devotional trances in order to attain even in this life to a direct communion with God, the production of supernatural powers, the division of mankind into πνευματικοί, ψυχικοί, δλικοί, corresponding with the three Indian *guna*, and finally the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul, which although in existence before was only now brought into actual use. Von Bardesanes is notorious for his entire dependence upon Indian doctrines. Scythianus, the predecessor of Mani, is accused by Epiphanius and Eusebius of introducing from India books of magic and heretical views. Baur has proved in detail the great importance of the name and doctrine of Buddha in the Manichæan system: though in this latter case the introduction was probably not made through Alexandria but from the Panjab through Persia. Finally it is well known that the similarity between the Buddhist and Christian rituals gave occasion in the Middle Ages to the legends of Prester John. This resemblance is so important that it would be difficult not to admit a connection between the two countries, *e. g.*, the system of convents and monasteries, the celibacy of the clergy, the worship of relics, the building of church towers (reminding us of Buddhist Topes), the use of bells, rosaries, and the tonsure, besides many other things. Hardy's valuable work on *Eastern Monachism*, (London, 1850) is of the highest interest with reference to this subject. Either at the same period or possibly somewhat later (about the 3rd Century) Christianity exercised a far more important influence on India than we have hitherto been inclined to accept.

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The high esteem in which Greek science generally was held at this time by the Indians is proved in some degree by the Greek authority Philostratus, who wrote in the 2nd Century A.D. a biography of Apollonius of Tyana; and although his assertions on other subjects must not be received without caution, this can hardly be a pure invention.\* The following facts completely harmonize

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\* The work is now generally supposed to be historically valueless. It is possible that Apollonius travelled to India about the year 40 A. D., but it is almost certain

with it as they all point to a flourishing study of the Greek language on the part of the Indians, and to direct translations made from Greek into Sanskrit. The Indian astronomers always spoke of the Yavana as their teachers. In the *Mahâbhârata* the Asura Maya is spoken of as the first astronomer, and as having received his instruction from the Sun-god himself; according to later tradition, however, he is said to have come from Romakapura, *i. e.*, from the western country Rûm: we can scarcely err then if we find in his name a Brahmin rendering of Tura Maya, the form occurring in the inscription of Piyadâsi, where the name of Ptolemaios is also given in the Indian form. The astronomer and geographer introduced to us by the *Mahâbhârata* is therefore the Greek Ptolemaios. Amongst the five Siddhântas which are held to treat of the most ancient Indian astronomical systems, the name of the *Romakasiddhânta* shows it to be of Greek origin; and we have the statement of Albîrûnî that the second, *Paulîcasiddhânta* was composed by Paulus ul Yûnânî, Paul the Greek, from which we may conclude (though the work itself is lost) that it was an Indian imitation of the *Εισαγωγή* of Paulus Alexandrinus (end of the 4th Century). What renders this conclusion almost a certainty is the fact that the Greek names of the planets and the signs of the zodiac, and a great number of technical terms used in the *Εισαγωγή* are found adopted by Indian writers; although of course we cannot assert positively that these names were first made known to Indians by the *Εισαγωγή*. The words are as follows: *δρικâna*, δέκανος; *liptâ*, λεπτή; *anaphâ*, ἀναφή; *sunaphâ*, συναφή; *duradhara*, δορυφόρια; *kema-*

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that this "Life," which never made its appearance till it was presented to the Empress Julia Domna, wife of Severus (A. D. 222—235) was a fabrication based on the information recorded by previous writers. As such, however, it has an importance of its own which must not be lost sight of. The author of such a work is more careful than even a *bonâ fide* traveller to write nothing that will not be believed. He may exaggerate accepted fallacies, but only because they are accepted. From this point of view his assertions that travellers from Babylon were constantly finding their way to Northern India and being hospitably entertained and rewarded by the king of Takshasilâ (*Takila*); that the monarch conversed with Apollonius in Greek, and told Apollonius that the Brahmans held the Greeks in peculiar respect; and that a certain uneducated prince who insulted Apollonius and afterwards apologized, did so on the ground that he had been misled by Egyptian travellers who lauded their own nation at the expense of the Greeks, calling the latter the scum of the earth,—these statements are peculiarly interesting. They shew that the author conceived that he would best impose upon the credulity of his age by accepting a very close and frequent intercommunication between India, Babylon, and Egypt, before and up to the date of Apollonius as in the regular nature of things. Had there been no such intercommunication he would not have written those passages.

druma (for kremaduma), *χρηματισμός*; *veçi*, *φάσις*; kendra, *κέντρον*; âpok-lima, *ἀποκλίμα*; panaphara, *επαναφορά*; trikona, *τριγωνος*; hibuka, *ὀπογειον*; jamitra, *διαμετρον*; dyutam, *δυτον*; meshûrana, *μεσουρανῆμα*. These words refer mostly to astrological matters and they contain everything which was lacking to the Indians and which was necessary to their scientific treatment of astronomy, in the division of the heavens into the signs of the zodiac, and into decimals and degrees.

It has long been a strongly contested question whether the Indians received their knowledge of the signs of the zodiac from the Greeks: Lassen asserts that it was from the Chaldæans. The only objection to the Greek origin however lies in the difference between their figures and the Indian, and this is worthless, since this difference arose quite gradually in India, whilst in the most ancient passage in which a description of them is found there is no single point in which they differ from the Greek; nay rather they seem to be slavishly imitated. The Indians made use of the Greek mode with the happiest result. It partly rectified their order of the moon-phases which on account of their transposition of the constellations no longer tallied with reality. The new order is now headed by the two constellations *Āçvini* and *Bharani*, instead of beginning with *Kritikā*, so that it corresponds with that of the Zodiac. On some points of astronomical science the Indians seem to have gone even further than the Greeks. One of their best astronomers, *Āryabhatta*, probably a contemporary or immediate successor of *Puliça*, penetrated as far as the western hemisphere, and his name, under the corrupted form of *Ardubarius*, is mentioned in the *Chronicon Paschale*. \* \* \* \* \*

The Indo-Scythians or Tartar-Thibet tribes took possession of Northern India and the surrounding districts about the first century B. C. and, after driving out the Greek rulers, held their ground by continuous wars with the western kings of Persia (*Arsacidæ* and *Sassanidæ*) and with eastern princes, as well as with stragglers of their own race from the north, for six consecutive centuries, with varied changes in the ruling families and various interruptions in the extension of their power. *Kanishka*, one of their most powerful princes (he reigned till 40 A.D.) ruled over *Kabul*, *Peshawur*, *Tokhâristân*, *Little Thibet*, *Kashmir*, the *Panjab*, *Gujarât*, and *Mâlava* as far as *Barygaza*. After his death this great kingdom was broken up, for soon afterwards (in the time of the *Periplus*) we find the *Parthians* masters of the Indo-Scythian capital of *Minnagara* on the *Lower Indus*: but their rule could only

have been of short duration, since, quite early in the second century (according to Ptolemy) the realm of the Indo-Scythians extended over the southern portion of the Panjab as far as the peninsular of Gujarât. After some time they ceased to rule over Kashmir, Kabul and the Northern Provinces, until the beginning of the 4th century when—strengthened by a close alliance with the White Huns—they again spread themselves over Kashmir and the North-West of India, where Kosmas describes them as flourishing in great prosperity in the 6th century. At the close of this century the power of the Sassanid Nûschirvan and subsequently that of the Turks brought about the downfall of their kingdom. Of this long dominion of the Tartar tribes we have direct confirmation in the native records and a detailed description in the *Râjataranginî* (the chronicle of Kashmir) as well as some laconic remarks in the *Purânas* in which they are called by different names, Çaka, Turushka, Tukhâra, Bhautta, Hûna, Hârahûna. The Indian Çaka era (78 A.D.) dates from a traditional victory of the Indians over one of their mightiest princes.

The effect of this dominion of the Yueh-chi (as Chinese historians call these tribes) over Western India was discovered by the researches of V. de St Martin. It appears almost certain that the so-called Jâts—who form the chief population of Lower Râjasthân and the Panjab, as well as the agricultural districts of Sindh and the greater part of the western banks of the Indus—are the descendants of those Yueh-chi. Important as this may be with regard to the respective provinces, we cannot imagine any great influence which the dominion of such a foreign race could have had over the rest of India, since those tribes could only have received culture from the Indians and not imparted it, by reason of the crudeness of their civilization. India therefore became of the utmost importance to them; they accepted and became the protectors of the Buddhist religion, and introduced the Iranian sun-cultus into India.

Buddhism originated in Magadha in Eastern India and quickly reached a widespread prosperity, which was possibly accelerated by the anti-Aryan element existing amongst the still powerful inhabitants of Magadha, a country beyond the pale of Aryan civilization. In Central India however the power of the Brahmans and the influence of caste was in full sway, and a strong opposition to Buddhist doctrine was speedily formed. The succeeding dynasty of Açoka attempting to further it by force was destroyed, and the princely Brahman families of Sunga and Kânva



reigned for 150 years (from about 178-23, B.C.). Pushpamitra the founder of the first of these families, carried on (according to the legends of the Northern Buddhists in the *Açokâvadâna*) a cruel and bloody persecution of the Buddhists, but met with a successful resistance in Çâkala, the western part of his realm. This circumstance seems to be connected with the Brahman legend that Pushpamitra fought on the right bank of the Sindhu with the Yavana—inasmuch as the Greek kings—to whom the territory of Çâkala really belonged—had shown themselves favourable to Buddhism. The Brahmans never attained to such exclusive power in the north-west portion of India as in Hindustan itself; and it was in the nature of things that this should be so, as Buddhism met with less resistance and a readier acceptance amongst a people oppressed by their native rulers and willing to join themselves to strangers whose mission-work formed a striking feature of their religion. Buddhism moreover makes no difference whatever between Aryans and foreigners, but preaches its Gospel to all men and to all castes without distinction. The Greek princes, influenced by their own peculiar civilization, did not directly become converts, but were urged by political reasons to tolerate the religion of these strangers who were as highly esteemed by them as by the natives, and this circumstance was highly favourable to Buddhism under their successors, the Indo-Scythian princes. These rough, uncultivated tribes—amongst whom an established cultus had not yet taken root—seized upon Buddhism with the earnestness and fervour natural in such a case, and their hearty zeal for the faith afforded such extensive and solid support to Buddhism that it soon became the national religion of nearly all the Tartar tribes, and has remained so ever since.

Under Kanishka's rule the third great Buddhist synod took place in Kashmir, and the canon of the sacred writings of the Northern Buddhists was drawn up in its present order. It is a question also whether the great favour in which the masses of the people held this religion was not the chief reason why it attained to fresh prosperity just at that time in other parts of India also, and that it was maintained for so long a time without being forced to yield to the influence of the Brahmans. One circumstance shows this very clearly, *viz.*, that after every successful repulsion of foreign power by native princes there was a distinct advance of Brahmanism, and shortly after the suppression of Buddhism all foreign rule seems to have been exterminated and Brahmanism

appears as the national religion. Another circumstance is the fact of the introduction of the Iranian sun-cultus into India, which took place more or less directly under the protection of the Indo-Scythians, aided by Buddhist tolerance, which gave liberty to all sects. This form of religion was distinctly supported by some of their princes, amongst others, as related in the chronicle of Kashmir, by Mihirakula, a successor of Kanishka, who is also mentioned by Hiuen Tshang (a Chinese traveller in the beginning of the 7th century) as a king who had reigned several centuries previously in Sagala (*i.e.* Σαγγελα, Çákala.) The coins of the ancient Indo-Scythian Princes bear both Greek and Persian as well as Buddhist and Brahman emblems, and as Christianity may also have had some passing success there must then have been a confusion of different religious forms much resembling that in Alexandria.

India, as has been said, adopted the worship of one of the Persian divinities Mithra, the sun-god, whose worship spread over all the West. This has however been questioned, seeing that the Indians had held the sun in veneration many years before, but the *form* it now assumed differed materially from the former worship; it is a foreign branch grafted on to the native stem, without the previous existence of which such a transplantation would hardly have been possible. It was a revival of an old cultus of their own, brought about by a priestly caste which the Brahmans acknowledged as closely allied to their own. The following are proofs of the Persian origin of this newly flourishing sun-cultus on the banks of the Indus and in the other western provinces of India, especially in Hindustan: (1) the word *Mihira*, derived from the Persian *mīhr*, which afterwards frequently occurs under the forms of Mihirakula, Mihiridatta, Padmamihira, Varâhamihira: (2) the name for the sun-priests, handed down to us by the astronomer Varâhamihira in his astrological *samhita* as Magas, *i.e.* Μαγοί (Magi): (3) the directions given by the same astronomer of the way in which the sun-god was to be represented, *viz.*, "veiled from the foot to the breast in the fashion of the northern races (that is with a skirt) covered with a cloak, a kind of crown on his head (*mukuta*) surrounded by a halo of rays, adorned with a pendant chain of pearls and ear-rings, and holding in each hand a lotus flower," just like the statue of the Mithra Helios on the coins of Kanishka (*see* Lassen ii, 837—39). To these must be added the positive assertion which appears in the Bhavishyapurâna that Sâmba, a son of Krishna, founded a temple of the sun and a city Sâmbapura, as a thank offering after he had made

a pilgrimage from Dvârakâ to Mitravana near the Chandra-bhâgâ (the present Chenab) and had been healed there from leprosy through the favour of the sun-god. He sent for eighteen Maga (Magi) families from Çakadvîpa to officiate in the temple. The detailed description given of the Magi leaves no doubt as to who they were, but the question is whether their migration took place before or after the flight of the Parsis from Islam to Gujarat, which occurred in the 8th century (some say the 10th century.) The latter appears to be proved by the fact that Sâmba gave to the Magi families women of a tribe or family resident in Dvârakâ, which latter place is situated in Gujarât. It is sufficient to show that the legend as it appears in the Bhavishyapurâna refers to that time.

At the beginning of the 7th century as we learn from the mouth of the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tshang, a gigantic temple of the sun existed in Me-ou-lo-san-pou-lo, *i.e.* the present Multan on the Chenab, to which pilgrimages were made by natives from various parts of India. This testimony is confirmed by Albîrûnî four centuries later, who says that Multan bore the names Hansapura, Bhagapura, Sâmbapura, that a festival was yearly celebrated there to the honour of the sun-god under the name of Sâmbapurayâtrâ, and that his priests were called Magi, like the followers of Zoroaster. Alkindi also asserts, in the fragment of his work known to us as *Kitâb al fihrist*, that in the middle of the 9th century sun-worship was flourishing in India. The founding of temples to the sun in Kashmir is frequently mentioned in the *Râjataranginî*, and besides this it is alleged that one of these temples was endowed with the whole district of Kânyakubja (Kanauj). Perhaps this may be what Hiuen Tshang alludes to. In the *Ayin Akbari* a temple of the sun is spoken of as founded in Kattak in the year 866 by Purushottama.

Some further results were also achieved by the connection between India and Persia during this and the following period. The Parthians (1st century before and 1st century after Christ) were frequently brought into contact with the Indo-Scythians, and in the second half of the first century, they even entered the Panjab itself. This is mentioned in the *Periplus of the Red Sea*, and also in Indian legends on the coins of the Arsacidæ Vonones, Vologeses, and Pakores. In the inscription of the Mâlava king Samudragupta reference is made to Artaxerxes I. (the founder of the Sassanid dynasty, about 226 B. C.) receiving presents and amongst them some Yavanî girls from a Daivaputra Shâhi Shâhânsâhi, "divinely-born king of kings."

The important influence which Buddhism exercised upon the doctrine of Manu is easily to be explained by the great prosperity to which it attained under the Yueh-chi princes, whose dominions extended for a time over a great part of the Eastern Persian provinces. This was assisted by the extensive commerce carried on under the Sassanidæ, which was so important that Hiuen Tshang declares that many Buddhist monasteries and Brahman temples existed in the chief centres of Persian merchandise, founded and supported by the Indians who came to trade and remained to form a kind of colony, just like the present Bani-ans. On the other hand Kosmas asserts that the Persians were the chief merchants of the Indian Seas, and it is even said that Nûshîrvan the Great undertook an expedition to Ceylon. Whether this is a fable or not, the sovereignty at any rate of the Sassanidæ over the land of the Indus as reported by Firdusi is confirmed both by coins discovered there, bearing Sanskrit and Pahlavî legends, and by the use of war-elephants in the army of Nûshîrvân. He also was the medium by which the Indian book of Fables *Pañchatantra* was translated into Pahlavî under the title of the Fables of Bidpay, or Pilpay. The original of the tales known to us as the "thousand and one nights," and translated out of the Persian into Arabic later on, had already been brought into Persia from India. Chess also, invented in India, was introduced in the same way. It is related of Behram V. that he travelled to India in disguise and imported musicians and singers from thence. It has been presumed with some likelihood that Indian medical and astronomical science had already found acceptance in the Persian Academies, and particularly in that of Jondi-Shapûr, in reference to which the remarkable passage of Ammianus Marcellinus (23-6) is to be noticed. The Persian division of the world into seven Keshvars for instance, the mountain Tireh in the centre of the world, and the neighbouring mountain Alborz (in the *Bundahish*, ch. xi, xii,) correspond exactly with the Indian Dvîpa-system, and with the position of the mountains Meru and Lokâloka. It is now questionable however whether the Dvîpa system itself—first mentioned in the *Nrisinhapûrvatâpaniyopanishad* i, 2 ; v, 2 (*Saptadvîpâvatî-prithvî*), and in the *Mahâbhârata* vi, 155,—is of Indian origin, or whether it was first brought into India by the Chaldæans in the Seleucidan era, at the same time as the seven planets, and the seven days of the week : in which latter case it is more probable that the Persians also received theirs from the Chaldæans. No

other traces are to be found at that time of a Persian connection besides those above mentioned, and the frequent mention of the Pârada, Pahlava, Pâraçika, or Pârasika as warriors taking part in the wars of the Indian princes. But in later times some such traces do appear. When the Arabs in their fanatical rage drove out the votaries of the Parsi religion from their homes, a great number of them fled to India; one portion settled down as a special community in Gujarât, where the name of the present Bombay (Mumbaditha) still reminds us of Pumbaditha a chief seat of Jewish-Persian learning in Mesopotamia; others however were scattered over the rest of India and were adopted by the Brahmans as brethren partaking of the same rights, under the name of çâkadvi-piya from çâkadvîpa. No special consequence of this is noticeable except that they may have assisted here and there in the revival of the worship of the sun-god: and that those families who reckoned themselves amongst the Brahmans distinguished themselves by their spiritual activity.

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Let us now pass on to the Arabs. We have already spoken of the commercial transactions and probable establishment of Indian colonies in Arabia Felix in the time of Ptolemy; the Arabic language itself bears traces of this. The initial N for S shows connection with the Persians; they called steel *muhannad*, i.e., "of Indian workmanship;" and also frequently employed as a girl's name the word *hind*, "female Indian," and the verb *namada*, "to inspire with violent love," derived from it. The scantier the sources of information in præ-Muhammadan times, the richer flows the stream afterwards. As early as the year 712 the land of the Indus (Sindh) was conquered by the Kaliphs, and together with the intermediate provinces remained for the next 300 years in undisturbed possession of the Arabs and in constant direct communication with the chief places of the realm, so that in the year 767 we find Indian troops fighting in the war against the Byzantines. The traffic of Bagdad and Bosrah along the Indian coasts, and even as far as Further India *viâ* Ceylon, soon grew to be of immense importance, as the Arabs trod in the footsteps of their Persian predecessors. They also succeeded in establishing regular colonies under their own jurisdiction. Mention is frequently made at this time of the Yavana (as the Moslems were afterwards called) and Kâlayavana, as enterprising merchants. From the Persians—their first masters in learning—the Arabs further learnt to esteem Indian

wisdom very highly, and Indian works in the Pahlavī language were translated into Arabic under the Sassanidæ, and fresh Indian, Persian, and Arabic translations were made. Of these the earliest were Indian fables and fairy stories which from the time of Muhammad had charmed the Arabs. Then in the middle of the 8th century the fables of Pilpay were published under the name of *Kalīla va Dimna*, and the story of Sindbad (Σινδβάς) or the seven wise men: both these have been since translated into almost all European and Western-Asiatic languages, and have become the property of all classes. Besides these, a number of other similar translations are mentioned by the Arabian literary historians, which have not been preserved in their original (Indian) language. To these belong the "thousand and one nights" which in their present form only betray their Indian origin in a few particulars. Through these translations, and through the stories related by crusaders and pilgrims returning home from the East, the whole Indian magic and fairy world in their principal characters have taken root in Western countries. "Fork-cap," "Seven-leagued boots," "Magic looking-glass," "Little table, deck thyself," "Fortunatus's purse," the "Magic-flower" (test of fidelity) the "Magic salve" are all of genuine Indian origin; even witchcraft itself, as developed here in the 13th and 14th centuries finds a complete parallel in the Indian Çākinī, Dakinī, Yoginī.

It is natural that such an exact likeness should exist, as these writings belong principally to Kashmir, a country in close contact with the Muhammadans, while India had much influence over Western countries, through the medium of the Arabs, in arithmetic, astronomy, astrology, and medical science. In all these branches the Indians were the teachers of the Arabs, just as these again were the instructors of the western countries. Arabic arithmetic and astronomy in their oldest phase are founded on purely Indian principles. What we call Arabic figures the Arabs themselves call Indian figures, and they are in fact the initial letters slightly altered of Sanskrit words meaning "one" etc. to "nine." The 0 (nought) is the initial letter of the word *çūnya*, empty. It is only since the 9th century that these signs have been known to the Arabs, and a considerable time elapsed before they did away with the alphabetical numerals they had formerly been in the habit of using. In the Qurân (Sur. 10. 5) the signs of the zodiac and the phases of the moon appear under the Greek name *burj* (πύργος); it is nevertheless the same form under which these two divisions of the heavens

appear in Arabic astronomy, and is evidently taken from the Indian. And as the other slighter modifications which the Greek signs of the zodiac gradually experienced in India became merged, so the phases were produced not in their old Chaldaic order but in their new Indian rotation beginning with *Açvinî*. The planets, too, appear in their Indian order of nine, having added the head and tail of the Dragon (representing the sun and moon) to the other seven. We know that in Muhammad's time the Arabic physician Hareth, after having finished his studies in the Persian academy of Jondi-Shahpur, went to India and on his return settled himself in Arabia Felix in a medical school. From the close connection also between medicine and astrology at that time we may suppose that the foundation of Arabic astronomy was due to Indian influence. We are accurately informed that this influence began in the year 772, when an Indian came to Bagdad, bringing the knowledge of the "*Sindhind*" i.e., Siddhânta, originated by the Indian king "Phîghar (?)" He drew up a sketch of this scheme which was translated into Arabic by order of the Kaliph. Amongst other things, the reckoning of the *kardajât*, i.e. *kramajyâ* ("sinus rectus") was taught in it most minutely. It was therefore of genuine, scientific, trigonometrical character. Various works were afterwards written in explanation of it, and later on the  $\mu\epsilon\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\eta$  of Ptolemy was translated to harmonize or solve mutual discrepancies. Muhammad ben Musa, the author of one of these works, was the man who taught the Arabs Indian arithmetic after the system of Brahmagupta. We are indebted to Alkindi for several writings on Indian astronomy which he partly drew up from the reports of one of the travellers sent by the Government to India. Altonâkhî also travelled to India and brought back many important astronomical observations. Katkah (or Kankah?), an Indian astronomer—who, according to Albîrûnî is said to have lived at the court of Haroun-al-Raschîd—wrote several works on astronomical and medical subjects. These were translated into Arabic, as also were several works on astronomy and horoscopes.

Abundant traces of this Indian influence appear in Latin translations of Arabic astronomers, in which Indians are frequently mentioned, and especially Kankaraf Indus, who is probably the same as Katkah, or Kankah. In these there occurs the adaptation of the Sanskrit word *uchcha*, high, (from the high position of the planets) in the rather indistinct form of *aux*, genitive *augis*. Finally there is frequent mention of the central point of the earth, Arim,

(Arin) identical with the Indian town Ujjayinî through which the first Indian meridian passes: its Arabic name *Uzain* having been changed by the vowel-less and undotted handwriting (omitting the dot over the Z) into the form *Arin*. Albîrûnî, who seems to have acquired very accurate knowledge of Indian astronomy and science, was born in India at Bîrûn a town in the Arabic province of Sindh. He spent a considerable time in the suite of Mahmud of Ghazni, and possessed an excellent knowledge of Sanskrit. His observations upon India in his *Târikkh al Hind*, composed in 1034, are quite invaluable to us. He translated a few fragments of Euclid and Almagest into Sanskrit, and also the *Laghujâtaka* a short treatise upon horoscopes by Varâhamihira, from Sanskrit into Arabic, besides a great number of isolated pieces from the *Samhitâ* an astrological book of instruction.

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Other Indian writings have been mentioned besides as translated into Arabic at this time, e.g. a book on music entitled *Biyâphar*, fruit of wisdom, i.e. *Vidyâphala*, several astronomical books, as well as others on the art of explaining dreams, on the doctrine of foretelling from the involuntary spasmodic motions of the limbs, on the art of fortune-reading from the hands, feet, and forehead. From these we may safely conclude that Indian witchcraft, magic, and necromancy must also have added their contingent.

Arabic philosophy doubtless owed somewhat to India, although I can only bring forward one work in proof of it, viz: a book on the definitions of Indian logic of the older Islam period; but there are many details in the doctrine of Sufi (as perfected in the 12th century) which correspond with the Indian *Sânkhya* and *Yoga* systems. This correspondence cannot be explained merely as the result of observations of Parsis or Buddhists, it betokens quite a special point of union. Albîrûnî informs us that he himself translated into Arabic the *Sânkhya* instruction-book of Kapila, and the book of Patañjali which treats of the liberation of the soul from the fetters of the body, (i.e. the *Yoga* system). We can easily understand that these became the principal books of the doctrine of Sufi and were followed by many other translations. This is proved by the existence of a document introduced into Arabic by the Persians in the 12th century, called the *Anbratkund* "source of the water of life," i.e., *amritakunda*, treating of the *Yoga* doctrine.

In the course of time further translations into Arabic ceased, and Sanskrit works were henceforth only rendered into Persian.



This is explained by the fact that Arabia ceased to be the guide of Islam, and that other Persian-Turkish-Tartar tribes, whose court language was Persian, took its place. During the terrible five centuries endured by India—from the first incursion of Mahmud of Ghazni to the founding of the dynasty of the so-called Great Mogul—nothing at all was done, as may be readily conceived, in the way of Persian translations from Sanskrit. Almost the only ray of light in the horrible darkness of that period of devastation is afforded by the fifty-two years glorious reign of Zain-ul-âb-ed-dîn in Kashmir (about 1408–60); this country enjoying the greatest quietness on account of its protected position. Jainollâbhaddîna, as he is called by his Indian biographer, caused translations to be made of many works from Sanskrit into Persian and *vice versâ*; as for instance the *Râjataranginî*, the *Vrihatkathâ*, some Purânas, chronicles and others; but all traces of these disappeared in the subsequent destruction of the empire. Only under Akbar the Great (1556–1605) and his wise minister Faizi was leisure again found for literary works, when the *Mahâbhârata*, the *Râjataranginî*, the *Lilâvati*, and other works were again translated into Persian. It was Akbar who conceived the idea of uniting in one general deistic religion Moslems, Parsis, Hindus and Christians, an idea which produced many contemporary sects and works. Under his successors also many books were translated into Persian, especially the fifty-two chief *Upanishads* for his great grandson Dâra Shakoh (1658) whose tutor Bâbu Lâl founded a deistic sect named after himself.

Besides these translations, which restored new life to the doctrine of Sufi, Indian ideas exercised a manifold influence over Persian literature at the courts of the princes. Not a few Indians who had been converted to Muhammadanism or who had been educated as Moslems wrote in the Persian language, and Indian talent shews itself conspicuous in contrast with the worthlessness of most Persian historical works at that time.

When considering the gradual spread of the Moslem dominion over India (from the beginning of the 11th century), and the repeated incursions of the Moguls, we are shocked to see the devastation of the country and the spiritual decay of the inhabitants. The complete overthrow and disruption of state affairs and of the relations between man and man, the fanatical persecution of the Hindu religion, and the enforced conversions to Islamism, were the principal causes of the almost entire withdrawal of the Brahman element from Hindustan. They (the Brahmans) emigrated to the Dekhan

which became at this time the chief seat of Indian literature ; most of the *Purânas* were composed here. Conversely, wherever a district maintained itself free and independent the position of the Brahmins as the native representatives of divinity, which had been greatly lowered by Buddhism and the scepticism of earlier times, was once more restored to its former lustre. The spiritual energy of the people was completely broken, and they became the prey of superstition in a more gross and demoralizing form than has ever been known. It is wonderful indeed (and we can only ascribe it to the superiority of the Indian mind) that such idolatry was not more fatal to them. In those districts which were entirely occupied by Moslems, and in which, after the first cloud of persecution was dispersed, peaceful possession of property was once more enjoyed,—as far as the incursions of the Moguls permitted—the monotheistic influence of Islâm asserted itself gradually in such a manner that deistic sects were formed with the distinct purpose of uniting the Moslems with the Hindus in the faith of one God. This first took place after the middle of the 15th century with the sects of the Kâbir-panth and Sikhs, and has latterly been followed by many others. I have already spoken of the exertions of Akbar in this respect.\*

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\* The rest of the essay is devoted to more modern times, Portuguese colonies and the like.











