BULLETIN

OF THE

MADRAS GOVERNMENT MUSEUM

EDITED BY THE SUPERINTENDENT

CATALOGUE OF VENETIAN COINS IN THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT MUSEUM

BY

T.G.ARAVAMUTHAN, M.A., B.L.,

Advocate, High Court of Judicature, and Curator, Numismatic Section
Government Museum, Madras

NEW SERIES - *General Section. Vol III. No. 4, 1952*

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S. RANGAMANI, I.A.S.
Principal Commissioner of Museums

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PREFACE

The findings of Venetian Coins as treasure-trove hoards in India attest the second phase of her commercial relations with European countries and provide new avenues to scholars to probe further on matters of cultural and commercial contacts among Asian and European countries. By 1938 the Government Museum Chennai possessed fourteen Venetian Gold Squirs". Thiru. T.G. Aravamuthan, M.A.B.L, a Madras High Court Lawyer and the Numismatic Curator of this Museum during 1930 had written a catalogue for these coins. As an eminent scholar of his field he had dealt at length on events related to the revival of the inflow of European gold coins, particularly the Venetian coins in India in 14-15th Centuries A.D. As such this work is much useful and informative not only to the Numismatists but also to all interested in socio-cultural studies. This work, which was published in 1938 as the Museum Bulletin soon went out of print.

Under the scheme of reprinting the old publications of this Museum, now this work has been reprinted.

Chennai - 8.
24.02.1999

S. Rangamani

(S. Rangamani, I.A.S.)

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CATALOGUE OF VENETIAN COINS IN THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT MUSEUM

The investigations embodied in this *Catalogue* are based mainly on the literature available at Madras. Further literature of any importance is not known to be available elsewhere in this country. It is hoped that the appearance of this study will induce others to gather and evaluate the extensive material that ought to be available in Italy.

OCCURRENCE OF VENETIAN COINS IN INDIA.

The Venetian coins in this Museum, now fourteen in number, are gold 'sequins'. Eleven of them were found in India as treasure trove. The Museum has also an imitation of a sequin.

The finds of these coins, in India, of which any information is available are the undermentioned :

1. At Broach,[1] a town in the Broach taluk of the Broach district of the Bombay province, in 1882.[2]

The hoard included thirty-three Venetian sequins, distributed as follows :

'2 of Bartolomeo Gradenigo, elected Doge A.D. 1339.
8 of Andrea Dandolo, elected Doge A.D. 1343.
3 of Giovani Dolfino, elected Doge A.D. 1356.
1 of Laurenzo Celsi, elected Doge A.D. 1361.
6 of Marco Cornaro, elected Doge A.D. 1365.
13 of Andrea Contarini, elected Doge A.D. 1368'.

'The sequins of the last named Doge show a very considerable falling off in workmanship. The name on some of them is Andr. Otarno, and on others Andr Otareno in badly formed letters. Perhaps the imitation of the Venetian ducat had already begun then'.[3]

'The hoard consisted of 448 entire and some pieces of gold coins, 4 small ingots of gold, and about 1,200 silver coins and pieces'. Besides Venetian sequins, it comprised 'coins of Genoa, ... , Egypt, Armenia, Persia and Delhi, and all, with the exception of one Khalif coin of a previous century, are of dates comprised within the period between A.H. 658 and 782, or A.D. 1260 and 1380'.[4]

'From all the coins being of so nearly the same age, although of such different countries,[5] we may conclude that the deposit was made soon after the date of the most recent one—

[1] In the compound of the Jamat Khana building of the Parsi Panchayat. O. Codrington, 339.

[2] When some 'labourers were digging a tank, the 'pick' of one of them 'struck against an old brass pot', which was found to contain the treasure. O. Codrington, 339.

[3] O. Codrington, 353.

[4] O. Codrington, 339.

[5] The mints from which the coins issued are mainly Eb Kahirah, Dimashk, Iskandereeyah, Yezd, Eydej, Sheeraz, Kehirah, Hamah, Trabalus, Cis, Kars, Delhi and Deogir, and probably Samarkand and Baghdad as well.

that is, towards the end of the fourteenth century; and from the description of the money, we may suppose that the owner was a merchant engaged in foreign trade with the West at Broach, then the great emporium for such traffic' on the west coast of India, 'his transactions being with Africa and Arabia on the one side and the interior of India on the other'.[1]

2. In the Malabar district[2] of the Madras province, in 1911–2.[3]

The coins, six in number, are sequins of the doges Carlo Ruzzini,[4] Francesco Loredan,[5] Alvise Mocenigo IV,[6] Paolo Renier[7] and Ludovico Manin.[8] This find covers therefore a range of about two-thirds of a century, from 1732 to 1797. All six are now in this Museum.

3. At Kelshi, a village in the Dapoli taluk of the Ratnagiri district of the Bombay province, in 1912.

Out of 76 gold coins recovered, eighteen were 'Venetian ducats', and the rest were of the Ottoman Sultans,[9] dating from 1519–20 to 1603–4. One of the sequins was received by this Museum as a gift:[10] it belongs to Pasquale Cicogna (1585–95).[11]

[1] O. Codrington, 339.

[2] The precise find place has not been noted.

[3] *MM.AR.*, 1911–2 : 4.

[4] No. 7 of this *Catalogue*.

[5] No. 8.

[6] No. 10.

[7] Nos. 13 and 14.

[8] No. 15.

[9] Through the courtesy of the Honorary Secretary of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society I am able to give further particulars about the other coins that went to make up this find.

Serial Number.	King.	Date. A.H.	Date. A.D.	Mint.	Number of Coins.
1	Suleiman	926	1519–20	Misr (Cairo)	7
2	Do.	926	1519–20	Constantinople	5
3	Do.	926	1519–20	Sanderah	1
4	Do.	926	1519–20	Halel (Aleppo)	1
5	Selim II	974	1566–7	Misr (Cairo)	1
6	Murad III	982	1574–5	Misr (Cairo)	9
7	Do.	982	1574–5	Trabolus	2
8	Do.	—	—	Misr (Cairo)	2
9	Do.	982	1574–5	Constantinople	1
10	Do.	982	1574–5	Sanderah	1
11	Do.	982	1574–5	Jezain (Algeria)	2
12	Do.	—	—	Constantinople	1
13	Muhammad III	1003	1594–5	Misr (Cairo)	5
14	Do.	—	—	Sanderah	1
15	Do.	—	—	Constantinople	1
16	Do.	—	—	Misr (Cairo)	1
17	Do.	—	—	Jezain (Algeria)	1
18	Ahmed	1012	1603–4	Misr (Cairo)	5
19	Do.	1012	1603–4	Halel (Aleppo)	1
20	Do.	1012	1603–4	Constantinople	3
21	Do.	1012	1603–4	Damask	2

Five other coins are stated to be 'not fit for numismatic purpose.'

[10] No. 5.

[11] *MM.AR.* 1913–4 :).

4. At Kunnattur in the Erode taluk of the Coimbatore district of the Madras province in 1935, while earth was being removed from the yard of a house in the village.[1]

The sequins numbered four; they belong to Francesco Donato,[2] Antonio Trevisan[3] and Francesco Venier,[4] and cover the period of just over a decade from 1545 to 1556. These four are now in the Museum. They were found along with ninety-three tiny gold coins known generally as Panams ('fanams') of the 'Vira-raya variety,' and with ten gold pieces, of which one alone bears the 'Gandabherunda' type, which enables us to attribute the coin to the Vijayanagara emperor Achyuta Raya (1530–42).[5]

The other coins noticed in the Catalogue, three in number, came from private collectors;[6] it is not likely that they came from treasure trove finds, for sequins are yet treasured up as heir-looms in the southern-most districts of the country.[7]

Some of the sequins catalogued here[8] show signs of having been bent: the reason is probably to be found in a passage of Tavernier in which he speaks of the care with which the money-changers of India tested coins: 'since some of the pieces are so well forged that they cannot detect them even after they have been in the fire, in order to discover such the changers take them one after the other to bend them, and by bending them they know if the coin is good, and they cut all those which are not.'[9]

Venetian sequins were procurable in Malabar in large numbers,[10] but they became rare as early as 1884 in south India.[11] They are still occasionally found in Travancore. 'The Venetian sequins popularly known as *Shanar Kasu* are to be met with in large numbers (in that state) and are in great demand for jewellery. They appear to have been current in the State once. Until lately the sequins found in the country were purchased by the Government and distributed to learned Pandits during the temple offerings'.[12]

[1] Accessions Register of this Museum, No. 442; *MM.AR.*, 1936: 4.

[2] No. 1 of this *Catalogue*. [3] Nos. 2 and 3. [4] No. 4.

[5] Bidie, 33; Hutzsch, 306; Smith, 324; Krishna, in *ASMys.* AR. 1930: 76–7. The others have been so badly struck that there are almost no impressions on them.

[6] One coin, No. 11 of this *Catalogue*, a sequin of Alvise Mocenigo IV (1763–79), came, in 1906–7, from Mr. Lionel Vibert, once a high official in the Madras province (*MM.AR.*, 1907: 6). Two others, Nos. 6 and 9 of this *Catalogue*, being issues of Giovanni Cornaro II (1709–22) and Francesco Loredan (1752–62) came, in 1924, in exchange from Rao Bahadur S. T. Srinivasa Gopala Chariar, Advocate, Madras (Accession Register, No. 81; *MM.AR.*, 1924: 4), who got them with the rest of the coin collection of the late Diwan Bahadur T. M. Rangachari, who, it is believed, obtained his specimens mainly in the taluks of Tirumangalam and Madura in the Madura district of the Madras province.

[7] A gold coin cut into three pieces, two of which were rolled up, was received in this Museum in 1934–5, and was tentatively noticed as a Venetian sequin (Accessions Register, No. 423; *MM.AR*, 1935: 7), but when the fragments were carefully unrolled, it was found that the coin had to be attributed to the Later Roman Empire.

[8] Nos. 1 to 4, 6, 9 and 11.

[9] Tavernier, i. 15.

[10] Elliot, 59.

[11] *MM.AR.*, 1884; 6.

[12] Nagam-Ayya, 174.

It is said that 'every Syrian Christian lady in Travancore, who can afford it, sports a necklace largely consisting of Venetian coins' and that 'practically every issue will be found among them, the coins being 'prized as religious medals' by the Syrian Christians for the reason that they bear the effigy of St. Mark.[1] A large collection of over 800 sequins formed part of the hoard of an ancient family of the Cochin state which has just been sold by the authorities of that state.

In 1882 it could be said that at Bombay 'the sequin still holds its own as the favourite coin for ornaments in this part of India', that 'a fine old one is much valued by the natives, and a greater proportion of the women, coolies and others, one sees in the streets of Bombay, have one or more rudely made and usually very thin imitations hung round the neck', and that 'they are still made in quantities in the city, a thin piece of gold being hammered between rudely cut iron dies of the shape of hammer heads'.[3]

They seem to have been procurable in north India till some years back. [3]

Sequins of a Doge of the last quarter of the fourteenth century and of various doges from 1523 have been found in Ceylon. Issues of the last four of the doges,—from 1752 to 1797,—seem to be the most common, mainly because of the official recognition given to them in 1782.[4]

A gold piece acquired recently by this Museum[5] from a gentleman of Cawnpore[6] is, on a casual view, indistinguishable from a sequin, except that it is much paler, the gold being

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[1] Information supplied by Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar in a kind letter to me. He says that he remembers having made a collection of them for the Trivandram Museum at the time of a visit paid to it by Lord Willingdon.

[2] O. Codrington, 353.

[3] Among the coins collected by P. C. Mukherji, who was for some time on special duty in the Archæological Survey of India about 1898, were two Venetian silver coins, 'on the whole of the same type'. One of them was 'of mere silver foil and excessively crude execution, with no apparent legends', and was 'probably a forgery'. The other, 'a silver ducat', was 'an exact counterpart of one published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vi. (3rd series), pl. v, fig. 98' (a ducat of Enrico Dandolo, 1192–1205), 'with the exception, however, that the name of the doge' was 'not Dandolo, but some other not quite legible name'. See Hoernle, 170.

[4] H. W. Codrington, 169, 262. He gives a list of the Doges whose sequins have been found in that island :

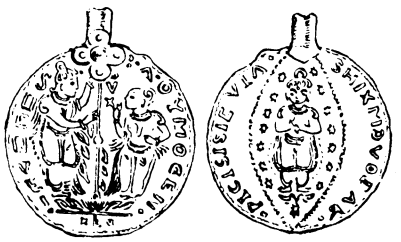
Antonio Venier	1382–1400.	Alvise Mocenigo	1722–1732.
Andrea Gritti	1523–1538.	Carlo Ruzzini	1732–1735.
Lorenzo Priuli	1556–1559.	Alvis Pisani	1735–1741.
Alvise Mocenigo	1570–1577.	Francesco Loredano	1752–1762.
Pasquale Cicogna	1585–1595.	Alvise Mocenigo IV	1763–1779.
Dominico Contarini	1659–1674.	Paolo Ranieri	1779–1789.
Giovanni Cornaro II ...	1709–1722.	Ludovico Manin	1789–1797.

He adds that ' a silver Marcello of Andrea Gritti,' weighing 67·7 grains, ' is also known.'

[5] No 12 of the *Catalogue* : Accessions Register No. 613. The sketch has been done by Mr. C. Sivaramamurti, a colleague.

[6] He says that he has seven more pieces exactly identical with this one, and that all have been in his family, a Muhammadan one, for some generations. They have all been furnished with loops so that they may be strung together into a necklace.

adulterated with an alloy : the breadth and the thickness are identical : the types and legends on obverse and reverse are remarkably similar : the general disposition of the components of the types remains unaltered. But, on closer inspection, the piece turns out to be an imitation. The legend on the obverse is curiously spelt and make no obvious sense, but it is clearly modelled on the legends on sequins of one of the Aloy Mocens. The legend on the reverse is spelt equally curiously and is meaningless. With a few gentle and nimble strokes the details of the figures of St. Mark and the Doge on the obverse are altered, so clearly and yet so deftly and so subtly, that the figure of the saint turns into that of a Hindu man and the figure of the doge becomes that of a Hindu woman, both of them draped as we see them in mediæval Hindu sculptures. The exergual area below saint and doge on a sequin is a blank, but on this piece it is filled in with a lotus in bloom, so that the man and the woman stand on the full-blown flower. This makes it obvious that the intention of the die-sinker was to represent a god and a goddess of the Hindu pantheon. On the reverse the figure of the Saviour is with equal dexterity fashioned into that of a Hindu devotee, standing straight with his hands brought together against his bosom in reverential salutation. The adaptation of the three figures would thus seem to have been designed on a plan : the intention was evidently to represent a god and his consort and a devotee of theirs. The divinities being shown with no more than a pair of arms to each of them, they could only be one of the few divine couples who, according to the canons of Hindu iconography, could be represented with but one pair of arms. Such a collocation is probable only if the group were of Rama and Sita, accompanied by that devotee *sans pareil*, Lakshmana. The probability is enhanced by the circumstance that the figure which we take to be Rama's has its left hand disposed in the manner in which he is represented as holding a bow,—that is, in the character of Kodanda-Rama. No bow, however, is seen on this piece, nor is the central line, which forms the shaft of the cross in the sequin, eliminated. The die-sinker must indeed have thought the shaft too important a feature in the obverse type of a sequin to be eliminated in an adaptation, and seems to have deemed it wise to retain it unaltered. None the less, so clever and so delicate is the adaptation that the types on either face could hardly, by themselves, be suspected to be mere adaptations. The idea of an adaptation came to the die-sinker probably from the doge being shown dwarfed by the towering figure of the saint : it seems to have recalled to his mind the convention observed in Hindu sculpture of fashioning the subsidiary figures in a group, especially the women, on a scale much smaller than that of the principal figure. The principal figures on the sequin being the Saviour and the saint, those on the imitation too had equally to be of religious characters. The need for close adherence to the original precluded the figures being endowed with the multiplicity of arms appropriate to most



representations of the divine in Hindu art. Thus, in the search for an appropriate group, the die-sinker would seem to have been led, almost inevitably, to the choice of that of Rama and his consort Sita and of their devotee, Lakshmana. The thorough understanding of the Hindu mind which the scheme of the adaptation speaks to and the great sympathy with which the lineaments of the figures have been drawn serve to establish that the die-sinker was no foreigner but a Hindu and that the imitation was fabricated in India itself. [1]

The gold coins of Venice were originally known as 'ducats', and later as 'sequins'. The name 'ducat' came presumably from the word *ducatus* found in the legend on the coins,—a legend which was adopted from the silver ducats issued first in 1140 by Roger II (1130–54) of Sicily, in which he incorporated a reference to a dedication of his duchy (*ducatus*) of Apulia to Christ, who, he believed, ruled over its distinies.[2] But, for shape, dimensions and purity, the Venetian ducats had for their model the florins of Florence which, though weighing no more than about 54 grains each, had a dignified appearance through the breadth of the pieces and the quality of the workmanship, and had a deservedly high repute for the purity of the metal of which they were fashioned. The Venetian ducat came in time to be called by the name 'zecchino' in Italian, from *zecca*, the mint from which the coin was issued. The word *zecca*, coming as it does from the Arabic word *sicca*, a coin-die, serves as a slight index to the extent of the commercial relations between the Venetian republic and the Muhammadan powers of those days. The word *Zecchino*, through anglicised variously as *zecchin* and *chequeen*, [3] was finally adopted in the French form, *sequin*.[4] The currency of the similar coins of Florence, Milan and Genoa led to these coins being distinguished as 'Venetians', and 'Venetianders' and 'Venetianos'.[5] The name *Śāṇārakkāśu*, 'the coin of the *Sanar*', (a person of the caste of toddy drawers), by which the Venetian sequin has been known in south India, is commonly believed to have been derived from the device on the sequin, 'the figure of the Doge, standing in front of St. Mark's cross, in which the native imagination sees the *Śāṇār* or toddy drawer preparing to climb the palmyra tree'.[6] A look at the coin type, however, suggests that this interpretation of the working of the 'native imagination' is rather fanciful. The vertical line in the centre dividing the type into two

[1] The Director of the Correr Museum at Venice to whom I sent a set of casts of this piece has kindly written to say that he believes the piece to be an imitation of sequins of Aloy Mocen, either III or IV, and that imitations of Venetian sequins are not unknown. The style of the figures in the types seems, however, to be earlier : it could be assigned to the days of the first or the second of the Aloy Mocens.

Hazlitt tells of 'Indian *contrefacons* which are said to have been treated as phallic symbols' (ii. 746).

[2] *Sit tibi, Christe, datus, quem tu regis, iste ducatus* : 'Let this duchy which thou rulest be dedicated to thee, O Christ'.

[3] The word became popular in Anglo-India in the form *Chick*.

[4] Hazlitt says that on the removal of the Venetian 'mint to the Giudecca, which in the Venetian dialect was called *Zecca*' (and *cecha* in Latin documents), 'the ducat was better known as the *zecchino*' (ii. 744).

[5] For instances of the use, see below, pp. 6, 9, 11, 13.

[6] Elliot, 59, *n.* 1.

halves terminates in a cross and exhibits no exeresecences that make it resemble a palm,—or even a tree. The figure of the doge stands clothed in a full robe : a toddy drawer takes care to limit his clothing to the barest, so that his clothes may not impede him in climbing the palm. The figure of St. Mark overshadows both the Cross and the doge ; it covers a half of the surface of the coin and towers almost as high as the Cross. What could be the strain of eccentricity in the 'native imagination' that could incline it to pay attention to the tiny figure of the doge, ignore altogether the very prominent figure of St. Mark and believe that a figure heavily encumbered by the flowing robes of the ducal office was properly accoutred for climbing a tree, and also forget that a palm has a thick tuft of spreading leaves ? A different derivation, if available, should be preferred. The Venetian sequin was known,—we have already seen,—as the 'Venetiano'. In Ceylon it went by the name of 'Vilisianu', an obvious corruption of 'Venetiano'.[1] In the south Indian languages too the name ' Venetiano ' should have been current, though with a phonetic modification or two. If the name got split into two halves, *Vene*-and-*tiano* , then the latter half, pronounced *Śāno* or *shāno*, would easily become *Śāṇār*— the Tamil word for toddy-drawers. This derivation looks more probable than the other,— even though it is now difficult to account for the dropping out of *Vene*, the first half of the name.[2]

A story seems to have been current, however, in the Tamil country, which told of how a toddy-drawer found the philosopher's stone and transmuted iron into gold, how when his secret was discovered the king of the land confiscated his great hoards and had him executed, and how, before he was led out to execution, he wrung from the king a promise that all the gold he had made should be minted into coins and that they should bear a ype showing a palm-tree and a toddy-drawer. [3] Assuming as the story does that the figure of the doge was that of a toddy-drawer and that the cross with the long shaft represents a palm-tree, it must have arisen at a time when, or in a place where, the significance of the name *Venetians* was not understood, and the name then commonly used had to be accounted for in ignorance of its origin. Had that origin been remembered, no one would have taken the doge to be a toddy-drawer nor the cross to be a palm. But when once the origin was forgotten, the name alone offered a clue. That name would not be treated as a corruption of a foreign word, for it did have a meaning in the language in which it had found a place. That name pointed to a toddy-drawer, and so a toddy-drawer had to be found on the coin. So forced, the lay mind becomes willing to clutch at anything and turn it into what it looks for. The toddy-drawer was found in the doge, for the obvious reason that the tiny figure

[1] See p. 11 below.

[2] *a*. Probably the first half was not pronounced as distinctly as the latter, which, on account of the two vowels in it might have attracted greater attention from Indians.

[3] Kindly communicated to me by Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, who says that he was told the story by his father when he was a child.

was found standing at the foot of a long vertical line ; the line could represent the trunk of a palm, and so the diminutive person standing at its foot could be none other than one who should be preparing to climb it. Once the suggestion of a palm-tree and a toddy-drawer obtruded itself, the lay mind began to cherish the suggestion and persuaded itself into believing that it was the correct explanation. A challenge to produce an alternative explanation could not have evoked a response, the true origin having been forgotten. Thus should the tradition connecting the coin with a toddy-drawer have come into vogue. Folk etymology lies often at the root of popular tradition.

ACCEPTANCE OF VENETIAN COINS IN INDIA.

Commercial relations between Europe and Asia were facilitated by the ease with which the coins of the various European states were accepted in all the countries of the east. The Roman coins were the first of the foreign coins to become popular all over India. The flow of Roman coins into India—specially gold—which started about the middle of the first century B.C., ceased practically about the sixth century A.D. For some centuries thereafter we have no testimony to the influx of European coins into India,[1] but from the fifteenth century we have ample evidence of the resumption of the flow. One of the reasons for European coins not reaching India in the intervening period was the displacement of gold by silver in the currencies of Europe. It was in the thirteenth century that Fredrick II of Sicily (1215–50)

[1] It is desirable that instances of the find in India of the European coins of this period should be carefully collected and studied.

The only recorded instance that I have so far come across, other than the Broach find of Venetian sequins referred to already, is the discovery of a treasure, in the Tinnevelly district of the Madras province, — the southernmost district of the country,— in December 1872, 'several feet beneath the surface', while workmen were engaged in cutting 'the southern channel leading from Pudugudi', at the point where the channel cut the road from Kayal to Kayalpattanam, in a place situated near the village of Ten-Tirupati or Ten-Tirupperai and described as 'the sandy tract between the coast and the large town of Alwar-Tirunagari, some fifteen miles from the mouth of the Tamraparni' and as being 'near an old avenue leading inland from what was once the city of Kayal'. The treasure was found in a copper pot of large size, 'capable of holding 6 Madras measures of grain', and it presumably occupied the pot to the full. Gold ingots and coins made up the treasure which was estimated to be worth, at rates then prevailing, a hundred thousand rupees. Only thirty-one of the coins were recovered : thirty were Muhammadan and one was European. The thirty coins bore legends in 'Arabic or Kufic' : the dates on twenty-one fell in the thirteenth century : the dates on the other nine were not deciphered beyond doubt, but none was 'apparently later than 1300' : some of them were older than 1236 : one of the coins bore 'the impress of the Muhammadan year 71', and 'another' bore 'the name of Sultan Saloudeen, who may be the Saladin of history'. The European coin has been variously attributed to 'Joanna of Castile, A.D. 1236' and to Peter of Aragon, 'it being after 1276', and is described as bearing a legend in 'Latin in Gothic character'. (See Caldwell, 287–8).

Another authority, who had the facts from the officer who secured the thirty-one coins, says that 'the vessel contained gold coins to the amount, it is believed, of *some thousands*' and that 'the lips of the mouth' of the 'large globular metal vessel' in which the coins were found 'had been turned down and beaten together so as to close the opening completely'. According to him the European coin in the find was a 'piece of Johanna of Naples (A.D. 1343–82)', and he adds that from the occurrence of this coin in this hoard 'it may be concluded that Spanish, Portuguese and Venetian broad pieces, such as were wont to be used in the old traffic with the east, were not wanting in the hoard'. (Walhouse, 215).

brought gold back as the basis of European currency systems. When a gold currency gradually re-established itself in Europe and political and economic conditions favoured the resumption of commercial intercourse between Europe and India, the gold coins of Venice were perhaps the earliest and the most important of the coins of Europe to come to India,—just as the Venetians were among the earliest and the most enterprising of Europeans to engage in trade with India in the middle ages. The issues of Muhammadan states such as Egypt, Arabia and Turkey, also furnished the currency necessary for the Indo-European commerce of this period. But gradually the Venetian sequins came so much into favour that Egypt and Turkey issued gold coins of the same weight as the sequin and the name 'Venetiander' was applied indifferently to the issues of the Christian and the Muhammadan powers.[1]

It should suffice to give a few references to the popularity of Venetian coins in the lands between Europe and India.

At Aden the customs duty in 1609 was paid in gold 'Chichins',[2] being brought there 'by the merchants which' came 'from Grand Cairo yearly',[3] and 'in great abundance'.[4] In 1615, 'the cheken of Venetia' was 'current in the kingdom of Persia and especially in Ispahan, the chiefest city'.[5] It was reported in 1629, that 'there comes also yearly from Grand Cairo to Mocha a land caphilo (caravan) of some 800 or 1,000 camels, who bring but little lading save merchants and their estates, which merchants bring great quantities of monies as rials of eight and checkeens of gold to buy commodities'.[6] In 1640, 'Venetianoes' were among the 'goods procurable in Basra'.[7] A small bag of 'chickeens' was expected to be useful at Gombroon in 1647.[8] Rials of eight and Abbasis being scarce there that year the factors had to inform the Surat factory that in part at least 'chickines must make up the sum' of 15,000 rials of eight which they had to send to Surat.[9] The Surat Council had, in 1660 to request Mocha to make remittances to Surat in gold 'chickeens'.[10] It was observed in 1664 that 'the name of a Frank so tickles' the people of Mosul 'that when any such fall into their hands they drain from him all that they can, imagining that Franks never travel but with purses full of chequins'.[11] In Persia the 'word *alton* which signifies *gold*' was 'commonly taken for a chequin'.[12] Persian pilgrims going on pilgrimage to Mecca paid in chequins for guards provided for them at Basra by the Pasha,[13] who made also payments in the same currency.[14] 'The ducket of Venice' was among the 'several sorts' of gold coins accepted at Mocha, in 1689.[15] The Governor of Jembo, the port of Medina, had to be given in 1700 a 'present' of 'one hundred Venetian chequeens'.[16]

[1] See below, pp.
[2] Jourdain, 70.
[3] Jourdain, 78.
[4] Jourdain 104.
[5] *Letters*, 1615, Foster, ed., 176.
[6] *EFI.* 1624–9, Foster, ed., 350.
[7] *EFI.* 1637–41, Foster, ed., 250.
[8] *EFI.* 1646–50, Foster, ed., 104.
[9] *EFI.* 1646–50, Foster, ed., 123.
[10] *EFI.*, 1655–60, Foster, ed., 211, *n.* 2.
[11] Thevenot,ii. 51.
[12] Thevenot, ii. 89.
[13] Thevenot, ii. 162.
[14] Thevenot, ii. 181.
[15] Ovington, 463.
[16] Daniel, 42.

As the merchants of Egypt, Arabia, Turkey, and Persia took a leading part in the conduct of the commerce of Europe with India and the countries beyond, the popularity of Venetian coins among them must have led to their being introduced into the Indian markets. The evidence from literary sources is fairly full and establishes conclusively the large part played by the sequins of Venice in promoting Indo-European commerce. Coins of other cities of Italy having been also occasionally received in India, the few references to them may also be noticed.

The earliest available testimony is that of Nicolo Conti, early in the fifteenth century, who found that 'in some parts of anterior India Venetian ducats' were 'in circulation'.[1]

When the Portuguese under Vasco da Gama reached Calicut in 1498, they found that at that place 'there also' circulate 'some Venetian and Genoese ducats'.[2] Three years later, the Portuguese commander, Cabral, found the gold coins of Venice at Calicut.[3] About 1502 Josephus Indus is said to have found the gold and silver coins minted by Venice held in great esteem at Calicut and to have taken to Venice a few old gold coins bearing some ancient image of a Venetian duke.[4]

Sequins of Venice were found hoarded in the treasury of the king of Ceylon when it was looted in 1551 by de Noronha, the Portuguese Viceroy in India.[5]

Caesar Fredricke (1563–81) saw 'the small barks (innumerable) come in and out' of the port of Cambay laden with 'diverse sorts' of merchandise, and among them were 'Chickinos which be pieces of gold worth seven shillings a piece sterling'.[6] He noted that ships coming from Mecca to Pegu brought 'cloth of wool, scarlets, velvets, opium, and chickienos, by which they lost'; they brought them 'because they have no other thing that it is good for Pegu but they seem not the loss of them, for that they make such great gain, of their commodities that they carry from thence out of that kingdom'.[7]

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[1] Conti, 30.

[2] So reported by Girolamo Sernigi, a Florentine merchant who was in business at Lisbon when Vasco da Gama's expedition returned to Portugal from India.

[3] *Copia de una Littera*, Burnell's reprint, 12, cited in Linschoten, 243, *n.* 1.

[4] '*Aurum Venetorum signatum: argentumque illie (in Calicut) esse eximio in præcio . . . Is ergo Josephus adivit Illustrissimos Dominos venetos et eis ostendit nonnullos antiquissimos aureos in quibus erat expressa veneti ducis perq' vetus imago*' : *Itinerarium Portugallensium*, (fo. Milan, 1508, f. lxxxvii), quoted by Burnell in Linschoten, i. 11, *n.* 1.

[5] Pieris, i. 117.

[6] Hakluyt, iii. 206.

[7] Hakluyt, iii. 251–2. Perhaps the loss referred to was a loss both on the sequins and on the other commodities brought to Pegu. Speaking of the Pegu trade with the rest of the Indies, Fredricke has stated earlier : 'In the Indies there is not any merchandise that is good to bring to Pegu, unless it be at some times by chance to bring opium of Cambay, and if he brings money he shall lose by it. Now the commodities that come from San Thome are the only merchandise for that place' (Hakluyt, iii. 250–1 ; see also M. W. Barret, in Hakluyt, iii. 346–7).

Three Englishmen who went to Ormus to engage in trade were seized by the Portuguese captain of the place and sent to Goa in 1584, for the Portuguese Viceroy to deal with them as he thought fit.[1] Among the belongings they brought with them was 'a bag wherein was forty thousand Veneseanders, each Veneseander being two pardaws'.[2]

At Goa there were numerous money-changers, about 1584, who dealt in Spanish 'Rials of eight', Persian larins and in 'yet other sorts of money called Pagodas, Venetianers and Santhones, which are gold, all which they do likewise buy and sell, so that there are many that do nothing else'. They came 'most commonly from the spirituality, who do secretly use it, by other men's means without any let or hindrance'.[3] The same writer speaking 'of the money, weight and measure of India and Goa', says that 'there is another kind of gold money, which is called Venetianders : some of Venice and some of Turkish coin'.[4]

While Venetian money did not 'run as current' at Ormuz in 1584, it being received, melted down and turned into larins, it seems to have been accepted by the money-changers of Balasore in Orissa.[5]

Venetian sequins were current in Ceylon in 1596, being known by the name of 'Vilisiyanu'. Two elephant loads of these coins, estimated to number about a hundred thousand, were captured in one of the battles in the Ceylonese wars of the Portguese, and so the name of 'Vilisianu ' came to be applied to the battle.[6]

Among 'the gold pieces' current in Goa about 1608 were 'the Venisiens'.[7]

The English merchants at Surat, receiving from London the silver and gold coins of some European countries for purposes of trade, in 1626, wrote back to say that the Venetian dollars, 'if full weight', yielded good return, and that 'checkeens', like 'all sorts of fine gold will yield answerable benefit, here, according to the fineness thereof, and the richer it is the more esteem and value it has'. So, they welcomed especially the gold, 'in which sort of specie', they added, ' you need not henceforth doubt to send large supply, for that it will generally yield about 6 per cent profit more' than the silver.[8]

An English merchant, at 'Vantapooly', near Bapatla, instructed another at Pentapoli, in 1632, to buy some cloth, paying for them in 'Venetianoes'.[9] He wrote again, in 1633, requesting him to procure what ducats or 'chickeenes' he could from local merchants,[10] stipulating that they should be 'weight and good'.[11]

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[1] Two of them were Newberry and Ralph Fitch, who have left behind accounts of their travels.

[2] The 'pardaw' is the 'Pratapa', a Vijayanagara gold coin, called so in those days : Linschoten, ii. 158–167.

[3] Linschoten, i. 186–7.

[4] Linschoten, i. 243.

[5] M. W. Barret, in Hakluyt, iii. 330, 332–3.

[6] Pieris, i. 298.

[7] Pyrard, ii. 69.

[8] *EFI.* 1624–9, Foster, ed., 155–6.

[9] *EFI.* 1630–3, Foster, ed., 231.

[10] 'Annanto' and 'Nyranna'.

[11] *EFI.* 1630–3, Foster, ed., 292.

Among the gold coins current in Gujarat, about 1631, were 'Venetians or ducats, which come from Venice or Turkey' and 'are worth usually 8½ or 9 Surat mahmudis'. The slight variation in value was due to the circumstance that money had not a uniform fixed value but fluctuated with the course of exchange. 'Many banyans do their business in this, and also many who understand how to make profit by exchange, buying silver and gold when they are cheapest on the arrival of the Dutch and English ships from Europe, and the Moslem ships from Aden and Persia, and then raising the rate when the coin is wanted for up-country.[1]

At Tatta, in Sindh, 'Venetians' were accepted in 1635;[2] so too at Surat, in 1636,[3] and they were expected to be received at Goa.[4]

When larins were 'taken in payment' in Persia or Arabia, it was found desirable that they should be changed for 'Venetians', which were obviously more popular at Surat,[5] though the 'chekeenes' at that place suffered sometimes from 'want of weight'.[6]

For the silk and the cotton goods in which Cambay merchants 'carried on an extensive business with Achin, Div, Goa, Mecca and Persia, about 1639, they obtained 'gold and silver in the form of ducats, sequins and rials'.[7]

In 1640, 'Venetians' were accepted at Bijapur,[8] and at Surat they were 'nine per cent dearer than at Raybag'.[9]

Taveriner, whose experience of India, acquired in extensive travels in the country between 1640 and 1667, was intimate, found that 'among the good gold coins which one may carry to India all the ducats of Germany, both those of princes and those of Imperial towns, as also the ducats of Poland, Hungary, Sweden and Denmark must be included, and all these kinds of ducats are taken at the same standard'. Venetian sequins had occupied place of pride, but they had fallen into disfavour recently. 'The golden ducats of Venice formerly passed as the best, and were each valued at four or five sols more than all the others ; but, since twelve years or thereabouts, it seems that they altered them, so that they are not valued now save at the same price as the others'.[10] That the debasement of the gold content of the sequin was the reason for its decline in popularity is clear from what he says further. 'If you take coined gold',—so his advice runs,—'the best pieces are rose nobles, old jacobuses, Albertuses, and other ancient pieces, both of Portugal, and other countries, and all sorts of gold coins which have been coined in the last century'.[11] The

[1] Van Twist, 73.
[2] *EFI.* 1634–6, Foster, ed., 134.
[3] *EFI.* 1634–6, Foster, ed., 167.
[4] *EFI.* 1634–6, Foster, ed., 159.
[5] *EFI.* 1634–6, Foster, ed., 186.
[6] *EFI.* 1634–6, Foster, ed., 214.
[7] Commissariat, 40–2.
[8] *EFI.* 1637–41, Foster, ed., 238.
[9] *EFI.* 1637–41, Foster, ed., 241.
[10] Tavernier, i. 14.
[11] Tavernier, i. 13.

marked preference for gold pieces that were 'old' or 'ancient' or of 'the last century' must be imputed to the debasement of coins contemporary with Tavernier. At any rate, so strongly was debasement suspected that the newer coins were accepted only after investigation, for Tavernier adds that 'it does not do to carry to India neither Louis d'or, Spanish nor Italian pistoles, nor other gold coins coined of late years, because there is too much to be lost by them'; for 'the Indians, who have no knowledge of them as yet, refine all, and it is upon this refining that they make their profit'.[1]

At Swally Marine, near Surat, and at Goa, it was possible, in 1641, to sell 'Venetians' and other foreign gold coins at a profit, which induced the factors of Swally Marine to write to England 'earnestly' begging for a larger remittance by the next ships to clear off their debts.[2]

A sum of 2000 'Venetians' was sent in 1642 from one part of the west coast of India to another for being invested.[3]

In 1643, 'rials of eight were worth at Goa eleven tangoes and chickeens nineteen; so there was a loss of at least 14 per cent on the latter at the price they cost in rials at Surat'.[4]

Scarcity of gold affected the price of Venetian coins at Swally Marine early in 1644, for the factors of that place wrote to England: 'Gold, since the Dutch have not these two or three late past years brought any from China, is again become well requested; in so much that the Venetian is worth 9 mahmudis and better, when formerly it has been sold for $8\frac{1}{2}$, 2, 3 or 4 pice over. And ratably hereto are all other gold coins valued. So that, if through the late enhancement of the Spanish moneys you be not fortunately so well provided, or that they turn not to so good account, you may supply that defect by sending forth some quantities of gold, which we doubt not but will prove more advantageous to you'.[5]

Two 'royal ships' which brought back from Mecca to Surat a number of high-placed lords and ladies of the Mogul court, 'besides faqirs', contained 'also much coin, chiefly Venetian, vulgarly called zequinhos'.[6]

Manucci noticed that in part payment for Indian goods 'there came Venetians, (a coin) and sequins (coins)' from the Persian coast.[7] In a tale that he tells, 'Venetians' were the coins in which a Portuguese merchant at Goa paid a young French doctor who had cured his daughter of an illness.[8]

An English merchant reporting on the trade of Cassim Bazaar in 1661 states that 'the commodities chiefly vendable' at that place were 'silver and gold', and that 'gold

[1] Tavernier, i. 22.
[2] *EFI.* 1642–5, Foster, ed., 17–8.
[3] *EFI.* 1642–5, Foster, ed., 64.
[4] *EFI.* 1642–5, Foster, ed., 107.
[5] *EFI.* 1642–5, Foster, ed., 145.
[6] Manucci, ii. 46.
[7] Manucci, ii. 418.
[8] Manucci, iii. 175.

either in coin, wedge or sand' was 'vendable at all times, there being much less difference in the price than in silver' which rose and fell 'a great deal more', and that 'the first of these three sorts'—coin—was 'most vendible to profit, whether 5, 10, 20 or 22s ps. or 8 Spanish Doubloons, or Venice Chequeens'.[1] The reason for the coin being more easily marketable than the wedge or the sand gold was that 'the coined gold of the sorts above mentioned' was generally known as to its fineness by all merchants without further trial than inspection as for its value'.[2]

Similarly, at Karwar, an English factory on the Malabar coast, ingots of gold were not quickly saleable in 1670, as the people there were not so well 'versed' in them as in coined gold.[3]

The 'Venetian Chequin', though ' rare' at Basra in 1665, had to be 'brought up.... by those who would travel into the Indies, or send money thither, etc'.[4]

When the English started a new factory at Cota Cuna in 1670, they had to agree with 'the Prince of Cannanore', described by them as 'the archest Malabar sophister that they had met with' till then, 'to a customs duty of two and a half per cent on all goods bought or sold' and also to 'an annual subsidy of 200 sequins'.[5] A consignment of a thousand sequins was taken in the same year from Calicut through 'all the thieves country' to Baliapatam.[6] Another consignment of gold sent to the same place the next year for the purchase of pepper was objected to as the people there, not being accustomed to it, would take it only at a great gain to themselves, and it was requested that future supplies might be of sequins.[7] 'No foreign currency was', in 1673, ' so acceptable on the Malabar coast as sequins'.[8]

Bombay needed gold in 1673, but a stock of sequins (worth Rs. 18,422) could not be sent from Surat as war and monsoon were both lowering.[9]

In 1674 it was decided to send £ 13,000 in sequins to the Malabar coast, 'if so much' could 'be got', although they were then 'very dear', for, 'nothing' got 'pepper more readily'.[10] In pursuance of the decision, a ship sailed from Swally to Baliapatam and Calicut carrying Rs. 12,000 and sequins worth Rs. 1,04,830, to purchase atleast 700 tons of pepper.[11] The next year an English ship brought to Calicut a cargo of 20,000 sequins, 'worth Rs. 82,999';[12] similarly 5,000 sequins came in 1677 to Calicut [13] and 12,000 sequins to 'the Malabar coast'.[14]

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[1] Wilson, i. 375.
[2] Wilson, i. 376.
[3] *EFI.*, Fawcett, ed., i. 308.
[4] Thevenot, ii. 158.
[5] *EFI.*, Fawcett, ed., i. 289–90.
[6] *EFI.*, Fawcett, ed., i. 290.
[7] *EFI.*, Fawcett, ed., i. 308.
[8] *EFI.*, Fawcett, ed., i. 322.
[9] *EFI.*, Fawcett, ed., i. 322.
[10] *EFI.*, Fawcett, ed., i. 238.
[11] *EFI.*, Fawcett, ed., i. 332.
[12] *EFI.*, Fawcett, ed., i. 343.
[13] *EFI.*, Fawcett, ed., i. 355.
[14] *EFI.*, Fawcett, ed., i. 360.

Between 1672 and 1681 the 'Venetian' was among the coins current in Goa.[1] The gold cruzado of Genoa was acceptable at Goa, about 1680.[2]

'Foreign coin is also current in the Mogul's country; as zecchines, by which there is much got, pieces of eight, Abassis of Persia, and other sorts; but more particularly in the ports, and places of trade'.[3]

Capt. A. Hamilton with a few friends had audience, near Tellicherry, in 1702, of 'Omiritree, successor to the eldest son of the Samorin..... who died in his voyage towards Mecca': each of them paid his 'compliment each with a zequeen in gold, and a few grains of rice laid on it'.[4]

'A Mogul ship coming from Mecca in 1703 was laden not only with merchandise and 'pious merchants returning home after a pilgrimage' but also with 'more than a million of rupees' worth of *patacas* and sequins'.[5]

In 1705, 'Venetians' were among the coins current at Anjengo, though 'Rupees' were the 'most current'.[6]

The 'returns' made 'to Fort St. George and other parts of India' from Basra, about 1705, were commonly 'made with' the coins known as Abbasis which were not, however, to be got 'without allowing 7 or 8 per cent for the difference in exchange'.[7] But Venetian sequins too were used for the purpose, and it is worth noting what is said of them. 'Next to these, chequeens are the most profitable, there are several sorts of them; but the Venetian is better than the rest by $1\frac{1}{2}$ or two per cent at Surat, and several parts on the Malabar Coast; whither vast quantities are sent every year. When a parcel of Venetian ducats are mixt with others, the whole goes by the name of Chequeens at Surat; but when they are separated, one sort is called Venetians, and all the others, Gubbers, indifferently'.[8]

About 1705, 'Venetians' were accepted at Surat, but at no settled rate.[9] At Goa too, 'chequeens' were available.[10]

At Tellicherry, it was noted that 'when bargains are made, as they usually are, for Chequeens, they are understood to be Ibraims, or pieces of gold of three Rupees each; not German or Venetian Ducates, as at Gombroon and Surat', and that 'the current coins are $5\frac{1}{2}$ Fanams of gold to one Rupee, three Rupees to one Chequeen, or Muggerbee, and four Rupees to one Gubber, German Ducat, or Venetian'.[11] At Calicut 'the prices of goods, viz., pepper on

[1] Fryer, ii. 127–8.
[2] Fryer, ii. 130.
[3] Careri, 241.
[4] Hamilton, 369. Hamilton's version of the legend of the 'Perumal' who went to Mecca is interesting.
[5] Manucci, iii. 489.
[6] Lockyer, 242.
[7] Lockyer, 275.
[8] Lockyer, 201.
[9] Lockyer, 262.
[10] Lockyer, 241–2.
[11] Lockyer, 269.

board', were '24 chequeens or Ibraims of 3 Rupees 12 Tare[1] each, according to the proportion betwixt Rupees 4 Fanams 2 Tare, and Chequeens of 13 Fanams 2 Tare, the rate they usually pass at'.[2] Another ratio was also known: one 'Venetian Ducat is 17 Fanams 8 Tare', and 'One Chequeen' is 13 Fanams 2 Tare'.[3]

Among the gold 'coins current' on the Bombay coast, were 'gold Moors, halves and quarters, the St. Thomay, Venetians and Gubers'.[4]

One of the terms of an agreement entered into in 1729 between the Princess of Attingah and the Chief of the English factory at Anjengo, and formally 'written in silver *olla* (palm-leaf)' was that 'from the year next ensuing.... the Company' would 'present yearly with 75 Venetians to the Princess'.[5]

Many varieties of ducats, including the Venetian, were current at Tuticorin and in the Dutch settlements of Malabar and Ceylon, but the ducats of Venice 'were the most valuable'.[6]

A few 'Venetians' were among the articles saved out of a ship wrecked on the east coast of India about 1744.[7]

When the English factors at Anjengo desired to enter into a contract in 1745 with some local merchants for the supply of cloth they offered them about 50,000 fanams,—'two-third of the money in rupees at $6\frac{3}{4}$ (fanams) each, and one-third in Venetians at 28 fanams each'.[8] A few months later, on the request of a firm of merchants at Cotata, the Anjengo factors sent 'a thousand Venetians and two thousand rupees to Cotata to be exchanged, as the time draws near for the northern merchants to come down with large sums of money to purchase cloth, which as it must be exchanged into fanams for that purpose must of course lower the exchange'.[9] The rates of exchange were liable to slight variations.[10]

Venetian ducats seem to have been available at Madras and Bombay in 1763.[11]

In considering proposals for a gold coinage for Bengal in 1766, it was assumed that 'Mohurs, Chequins, Nadarees, Gold Ingots, Dust &c.' would be brought to the treasury for being converted into gold coins.[12]

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[1] 'In accounts, 16 silver Tare are reckoned one Fanam' of gold, 'though there are but thirteen or fourteen current in the bazaar'; Lockyer, 280.

[2] Lockyer, 279. [3] Lockyer, 280. [4] Burnell, 111.

[5] Logan, 17. [6] Visscher, 81–2. [7] Dodwell, 454.

[8] *Ft. St. G. R.*: *Anjengo Consultations*, i. 1740–, 51.

[9] *Ft. St. G. R.*: *Anjengo Consultations*, i. (1744–7), 73, 74.

[10] In 1745, the Venetian exchanged for 28 to $28\frac{1}{2}$ fanams, (*Ft. St. G R.*: *Anjengo Consultations*, 1744–7 i. 73–74. Between May and July 1749, the variation was from 28 fanams 8 maganies to 28 fanams 12 maganies; *Ft. St. G. R.*: *Anjengo Consultations*, 1749–50, ii. B. 102, 135, 142, 147.

[11] Hunter, i. 473–4. [12] Long, i. 444.

About 1775, Venetian ducats were accepted ordinarily at Surat, 'but no one' was 'obliged to receive them in payment contrary to his inclination', and like 'all foreign gold coins' they were 'only taken according to their weight and intrinsic value', and their value was 'lowered or enhanced in proportion as more or less gold' was 'imported'.[1]

'A great number of Venetian sequins' were, perhaps often, 'brought to India from Egypt or Arabia, through the Red Sea', between 1776 and 1789, with the result that 'the value of them, or rather the course of exchange', fell 'on the coast of Malabar', and they were worth no more than three and three fourths or at most four rupees ; but if there be a scarcity of them', their value rose and they became 'worth four rupees and a quarter', though 'the relative value of gold and silver in India' was then ordinarily 'as ten or eleven to one'.[2]

The Roman *scudi* would seem to have been accepted in India about 1785.[2]

'Venetians' were among the coins held in reserve at the Madras mint, about 1793, so as to be 'issued from time to time to the Mint for restriking'.[3]

Even in 1821, Venetian sequins were acceptable at Cochin[4] and Goa.[5] So were the 'Venetians' at Tellicherry.[6]

ITALIANS IN INDIA.

The popularity of Venetian coins in India raises the problem whether the coins were brought to India by Venetians themselves or whether they passed through the hands of the numerous peoples inhabiting the intervening lands till at last they reached India. To return an answer to this question we have first to find out whether any Venetians came to India, and if so, the purposes for which they came. If citizens of Venice could be traced in India their advent would speak to the existence of circumstances that would have brought citizens of other Italian cities as well. Our anticipations are not belied and we do find other Italians too in India contemporaneously with the Venetians.[7]

[1] Stavorinus, iii. 8–9.

[2] Bartolomeo, 85.

[3] Love, iii. 423–4.

[4] Kelly, i. 104.

[5] Kelly, i. 106.

[6] Kelly, i. 120. Immediately below follows an entry : 'In paying for goods, 100 Venetians per 120 rupees'. Probably the word 'Rupees' which heads the column is not to be read with the figure '120' which appears in the column ; if so, the statement merely denotes that in making payment for goods 120 Venetians were to be taken as equivalent to 100, thus altering the price actually paid.

[7] The suggestion that some mounds known as 'Franguladibbalu' or 'Frangula dinne', near the coast at Chinna Ganjam, about 16 miles south-west of Bapatla, are the remains of a Venetian or Genoese colony was made in 1870 by J.AC. Boswell, the then administrative head of the district, on the authority of a 'Dunda Kaveli, describing the sea as having formerly extended (from Masulipatam) to the present town of Ganjam, and stating that as far back as A.D. 1224, some Frangula or European foreigners, probably Portuguese, carried on considerable traffic with Masulipatam for a time on the coast and raised a town called Frangalupatnam', and on the view of a writer in a newspaper, the 'Madras Mail', that the foreigners were probably Venetians or Genoese and not Portuguese. Boswell had heard of the discovery of old Italian coins in the district, but had not been able to trace any. (*IA.*, 1872, i. 186–7, 375. See also Sewell, i. 82, and *ASI.S.AR.*, 1888 July 14, page 16, para. 11).

The first Italian to reach India in the middle ages seems to be Marco Polo, the greatest of mediaeval travellers. During the period of his employment under Kublai Khan he appears to have been sent on a mission to the Indian seas, between about 1277 and 1286, and it is likely that he visited some of the states of south India.[1] Again, he had occasion to escort a Mongol bride for a Persian prince, from Chin-chen in Fokien to Persia, and after some detention in Sumatra, he had to spend some time in Ceylon and south India,—then known as Maabar—about 1293, and, perhaps, coasting along the west coast of India he reached Persia, having again familiarised himself with Indian countries.[2]

John of Montecorvino, an Italian who became the first Archbishop of Peking, passed through India, about 1292, in the course of a journey from Persia to China: he 'remained in the country of India, wherein stands the church of St. Thomas the Apostle, for thirteen months, and in that region baptized in different places about one hundred persons'. For companion in his journey he had 'Friar Nicholas of Pistoia', (near Florence), 'of the order of Preachers, who died there' (San Thome), 'and was buried in the church aforesaid'.[3]

Benedetto Vivaldo, a member of the family of Ugolino de Vivaldo who in 1291 had unsuccessfully sought a sea-route to India, seems to have reached India by the overland route from Lajazzo to Tabriz and Ormuz, about 1315.[4]

It appears that in 1315 the Genoese bank of Vivaldi had trading stations 'on the Gujarat and Malabar coast'.[5]

A young man of Genoa was at Tana in the island of Salsette, about 1321, and helped Friar Jordanus to remove from Tana to Sopara the bodies of four Francisan missionaries who had just achieved martyrdom there.[6] From Sopara or Surat the bones of the four brethren were taken towards China by Friar Odoric, a native of Friuli, who was in India about 1321, and visited important places like Tana, Surat, Pandarani, Cranganore, Ouilon, Ceylon, and San Thome (Madras).[7]

John de' Marignolli, a friar descended of one of the most notable families of Florence, went to the court of China as a papal legate and on his way back he stayed in India for one year and four months, between about 1346 and 1349, and for over fourteen months at 'a very noble city' called Columbum, 'where the whole world's pepper is produced',—a city in the kingdom of 'Mynibar'. He visited the church of St. Thomas in the province of 'Maabar'. He visited also 'a church of St. George' and 'adorned it with fine paintings and taught there the holy Law'. He 'erected a stone' as his 'land mark and memorial

[1] Polo, i. Intr. 22.
[2] Polo, 23.
[3] Yule, iii. 4–5, 58–70.
[4] Beazley, ii. 462, n. 2.
[5] E. Power, in Newton, 139–40.
[6] Jordanus, 6–7.
[7] Yule, ii. 11, 13–146.

. . . . . a marble pillar with a stone cross upon it' bearing the Pope's arms and his own engraved on it, 'with inscriptions both in Indian and Latin characters'. He was 'carried on the shoulders of the chiefs in a litter or palankin like Solomon's'. He accomplished 'many glorious works'; he 'experienced a distinct miracle twice over' in his 'own person'. In the course of a four days' stay, he derived from 'the Christians of St. Thomas' who were 'the masters of the public steel-yard' as 'a perquisite' of his 'office as Pope's legate, every month a hundred gold *fan*', and also 'a thousand' when he 'left'. The origin of this perquisite was that the king of the country had given 'St. Thomas a perpetual grant of the public steel-yard for pepper and all aromatic spices, and no one' dared 'take this privilege from the Christians but at the peril of death'. He took with him to Florence a 'chatyr' (*chhātra*), a thing which 'as all the Indians go naked, they are in the habit of carrying . . . like a little tent-roof on a cane handle which they open out at will as a protection against sun or rain'.[1] He makes mention also of a Brahman, then with him at Columbum, who, having belonged originally to a distant of part of India, had been 'taken by pirates and sold to a certain Genoese merchant', and 'had been baptized'.[2]

The testimony of Sir J. Mandeville is worth little, but that of the authorities which he used need not be discounted on the mere ground that they were drawn upon by him. Mandeville records that the enterprising Venetians and Genoese had reached India in pursuit of merchandise: 'Also men gon thorghe Ynde be many dyverse Contrees, to the grete See Occean. And after men fynden there an Ile, that is clept Crues: and thidre comen Marchantes of Venyse and Gene and of other Marches, for to byen Marchandyses'.[3] Probably this statement is based on authorities that were quite reliable and represents the state of knowledge in western Europe in 1370, the time about which Mandeville wrote.

Nicolo de' Conti, a Venetian of noble family who had spent his youth as a merchant at Damascus, 'departed thence with his merchandise in company with six hundred other merchants (who formed what is commonly called a caravan)' on an adventure which took him to India in the company of some Persian merchants, Cambay, Pacamuria and in the second quarter of the 15th century, Cambay, Pacamuria and Helly where 'grows ginger', the 'great city of Bizengalia', the 'very noble city of Pelagonda', the cities of 'Odeschiria and Cendergheria, where the red sandal wood grows', the seaport of Peudifetania, the 'maritime city which is named Malepur' where 'the body of St. Thomas lies honourably buried in a very large and beautiful church', and the city of Cahila 'where pearls are found' and the 'noble city called Coloen' in the province of 'Melibaria' in which they collect ginger,

[1] Yule, iii. 177–9, 191–2, 216–20, 249–5 4, 256–9.

[2] The father of this Brahman had himself been a navigator and had turned Christian.

[3] Mandeville, 167.

pepper, brazil wood and cinnamon', the 'city Cocym', Colanguria, Meliancota, Calicut,— 'a maritime city' and 'a noble emporium for all India'— and Cambay, were among the places he visited.[1]

About the last quarter of the same century, a Genoese merchant, Hieronimo di Santo Stefano, sailing from Aden in a ship 'fastened together with cords' and bearing sails 'made of cotton', reached Calicut in thirty-five days, where he stayed some time, and sailed for Ceylon, and 'departing thence after twelve days' came to a 'place called Coromandel' where he remained seven months. Setting sail 'in another ship, made after the fashion of the former, and after twenty days' he reached Pegu, in 'Lower India,' whence, after a stay of about a year, he sailed to Sumatra where he would have lost all his property owing to the operation of the local laws but for there having been 'a cadi in that place who was very friendly', who, having had 'some knowledge of the Italian language' was in a position to help him out of his difficulty. He 'set sail in a ship to return to Cambay', but was forced to halt for six months in the Maldives for want of favourable weather. Starting again, his ship encountered a storm and sank, but he was picked up and taken to Cambay, from where he managed to get back to his country, though not without passing through more of misfortunes.[2]

A knowledge of Genoese had by 1498 become probably useful to those engaged in the pursuit of Indo-European commerce. When Vasco da Gama 'discovered' India in that year he found at Calicut 'two Moors from Tunis who could speak Castilian and Genoese'.[3]

Ludovico di Varthema, a native of Bologna, reached Diu in Gujarat about 1504, coasted along the Persian Gulf, sailed back to India, and in 1505 and 1506 coasted along from the delta of the Indus to Goa, touching at Cambay, Chaul and Dabuli on the way, struck inland to Bijapur, came back to the coast, reaching Bathcal, went to Cantacola, Honavar and Mangalore, to Cannanore, marched inland again to Vijayanagar, travelled back to the Malabar coast, reaching Cannanore again, passed on to Dharmapatnam, Panadarani and Calicut, went to Quilon, Kayal and the Coromandel coast, stayed a little in Ceylon, and passed over to Pulicat on the Coromandel coast. From there he sailed to the eastern archipiago, only to come back, and then go to Quilon, Calicut and Cannanore and then to Cochin where he helped the Portuguese in an assault on Ponnani, and then left for Europe.[4]

At Calicut, Varthema found two Milanese, Ioan Maria and Piero Antonio, 'who had arrived from Portugal with the ships of the Portuguese, and had come to purchase jewels on the part of the king'. They had fled from the Portuguese, but only to fall into the hands

[1] Major, (60–1); Conti, 5–7, 17–20. A 'Venetian and a Milanese' are said to have 'crossed Persia and sailed from Ormuz to Cambay' in 1483 : (E.. Power, in Newton, 152, citing R. Grousset, *Hist. de l'Asie*, iii. 137).

[2] Stefano, 1–4. [3] Vasco, 48. [4] Varthema, 105–188, 259–88.

of the king of Calicut who 'had obliged them to make a great quantity of artillery against their will'. With Varthema's help they attempted to escape in 1506, but, being betrayed, they were slain.[1]

A Venetian was, about 1510, employed in the service of Adil Khan, the 'Lord' of Goa, and he had turned Muslim,—'Moor', as the term then was.[2]

Francisco Corvinel, a Florentine by birth, was appointed factor of Goa in 1510, by Afonso d' Alboquerque, then the Portuguese Viceroy in India.[3]

Italian friars in their travels passed through India, and the various religious orders settled in the country entertained them with a kindness that became proverbial.[4]

'For the space of eighteen years', from 1563 to 1581, Caesar Fredricke, a merchant of Venice, 'continually coasted and travelled, as it were, all the East Indies, and many other countries beyond the Indies'.[5] The difficulties he passed through in these years were sorely trying, but he attributed them all to his ill luck. He said : 'if there be any that hath any desire to go into those parts of India, let him not be astonished at the troubles that I have passed : because I was entangled in many things ; for that I went very poor from Venice with 1,200 ducats employed in merchandise.' Further, he fell ill and the caravan by which his goods were sent was plundered. With a few glasses which were his 'only stock' he 'adventured to go into the Indies', and 'with change and rechange, and by diligence' in the voyage, 'God did bless and help' him so that he 'got a good stock'.[6] His account of his career furnishes us with a very valuable manual on the trade of the east in his days.

A Venetian jeweller, Gasparo Balbi, journeyed in 1582 from Ormus to Goa, Cochin, Cannanore, Ceylon, Negapatam and St. Thomas Mount, and from there set sail for Pegu.[7]

To a Venetian who was in India sometime between 1583 and 1569, carrier pigeons were novelties, and 'for the strangeness thereof' he 'had brought of them with him into India'.[8]

Many were 'the Italians',—'that is to say, the Venetians',—who 'in Ormus, Goa and Malacca' had 'their factors' and trafficked there, about 1583, 'as well for stones and pearls as for other wares and spices of those countries' which from thence were 'carried overland into Venice'.[9] To Goa used to come 'Italians which daily traffic overland and use continual trade going and coming that way'.[10]

Letters from Venice to Goa do not seem to have been unusual.[11] In 1585 there came certain Italians by land into Goa, bringing news of the death of Pope Gregory XIII, and of the election of the new Pope called Sixtus.[12]

[1] Varthema, 260–74.
[2] Alboquerque, ii. 143–4, 146–7.
[3] Alboquerque, iii . 43.
[4] Manrique, i. 26.
[5] Hakluyt, iii. 198.
[6] Hakluyt, iii. 267.
[7] Purchas, x, 146.
[8] Linschoten, i. 51.
[9] Linschoten, ii. 159.
[10] Linschoten, ii. 167.
[11] Linschoten, ii. 175.
[12] Linschoten, ii. 176.

The missionary zeal of the Jesuits brought a number of Italians into India as it did Europeans of other nationalities as well. Within three years of the foundation of the Society of Jesus in 1539, its first emissary appeared in India in 1542 in the person of St. Francis Xavier. His example was followed by many, and, in 1580, the first Jesuit Mission started work in the territories of the Mogul, and at least for two centuries from then it included many Italians who toiled hard in its service

The leader of the first mission was Rudolf Aquaviva, son of an Italian duke and nephew of one who became the General of the Society. He reached Akbar's court in 1580 hoping to ensure the emperor's conversion, and, thereby, that of his people. He took part in the disputations which that emperor was accustomed to hold, but he could not turn him from the eclecticism which he professed. The mission withdrew in 1582, but Aquaviva stayed on in hope till 1583, when he too went back. Within a little while he went to Cuncolim in Salsette where he was killed by a mob. Beatified in 1893, he is now known as the Blessed Rudolf Aquaviva.

There were 'many in India', about 1588, of 'the Italians and Portigals' that had 'denied their faith, and become Mahometists'.[1]

'A Milanese gunner who died in Lahore in 1597' left 'all his books to the (Jesuit) fathers (of the Mission to the Mogul country), including some technical works on the founding of cannon and on siege operations'.[2]

Prince Selim, son of Akbar, seems to have had about him, about 1602, an Italian of the name of Giovanne Filippo who acted as agent to the Jesuit missionary, Father Jerome Xavier.[3]

When Goes, the Jesuit, passed through Lahore on his way to Tibet, in 1603, he stayed 'in the house of a Venetian named Ioao Galisco'.[4]

John Mildenhall, a London merchant, who was in India from 1603 to 1606, sought audience of the Great Mogul at Agra to represent that the 'Queen of England's most excellent Majesty' desired 'to have friendship with him, and as the Portugals and other Christians had trade with his Majesty, so her subjects also might have the same, with the like favours'. With considerable difficulty he obtained a grant of 'large priviledges' which he hoped would be 'to the profit' of his 'nation', returned homeward by way of Persia and wrote home that he would have come himself, 'save that there were two Italian merchants in Agra, that knew of all' his proceedings, whom he doubted, as he had good cause, 'least they would do' him 'some harm in Bagdad, or some other places ; they always being enemies to our nation, that they should find any new trade this way', as was well known.[5]

[1] Linschoten, ii. 199.
[2] Maclagan, 192.
[3] *JASB* (1896), lxv. 88, 91 ; cf. *ASBM*, v. 179.
[4] Payne, 130.
[5] Purchas, ii. 299–304.

A 'distinguished and learned Florentine, Joao Battista Vechiete', arrived in Agra in 1604, having travelled 'in many eastern lands, through Egypt, Mesopotamia and Persia'. He had collected many valuable translations of the various books of the Holy Bible into Arabic and Persian, and at Agra 'he copied' some of them 'which he had in Persian, but in Hebrew character and gave them' to the Jesuit missionaries there 'freshly copied into the Persian tongue and character'.[1] He had travelled twice in India and on this, the second occasion, he received a welcome from Akbar. His brother, Girolamo, was for some time with him at Agra, and in 1605 they went to Persia by way of Tatta.[2]

Some time before 1606, an Italian was in Sind, of whom we know very little except that he was respectable.[3]

A Venetian acted as cicerone to four Kafirs, or negroes, who, in 1607, journeyed from Goa to Lahore to play music in the church there.[4]

About 1608, there were at Goa 'some Germans and Flemings, a good number of Armenians, and some English' and 'a very few Castilians', besides the Portuguese, but there were 'a number of Venetians and other Italians, who' were 'the best received'.[5]

The provincial of the Jesuits of India, about 1609, was an Italian of the name of P. Albert Laertius.[6]

Venetians were found among the group of Europeans on horseback who joined the procession that followed the nephews of Jehangir when they went to their baptism as Christians at the hands of Father Xavier.[7]

Roberto de Nobili, an Italian related to two Popes and three Cardinals, founded in 1606 the Jesuit Mission to Madura, adopted an Indian mode of life, mastered Sanskrit, Tamil and Telugu, and presenting Christianity as the lost fourth Veda of the Hindus, effected a number of conversions, during a stay of about fifty years.

Bartolomeo Fontebona, an Italian lay brother, was at Goa, from about 1603, painting churches. In 1606 he was painting at San Thome, and in 1607 he went to the court of Venkata II, where he stayed till 1611 and executed a number of paintings, including a portrait of Venkata and a panel of the Blessed Virgin, and probably some indecent pictures. Sent on an infructuous expedition to Tibet, he died in 1626 at Hughli.[8]

It was a Venetian who acted as the caretaker of the Jesuit church at Lahore when the Lahore Mission was abandoned in 1614.[9]

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[1] *JASB.* (1896), lxv. 95.
[2] Maclagan, 211–2.
[3] Maclagan, citing Payne, 26.
[4] Guerriero, *Relacam*, iv. (in Payne, 36).
[5] Pyrard, ii. 36.
[6] Maclagan, 8.
[7] Maclagan, 73.
[8] Heras, i. 480, 488–93 and in *QJMS.*, xiv. 135–6
[9] Maclagan, 320.

Edward Terry, who followed Sir T. Roe, ambassador to the Mogul emperor, found in the Mogul court, about 1615, a 'Jesuit resident at the Court', of the name of Francisco Corfi, ... a Florentine by birth, ... who (if he were indeed what he seemed to be) was a man of a severe life, yet of a fair and affable disposition'. He says that 'he lived at that court as an agent for the Portuguese, and had not only free access unto that king', and had 'also encouragement and help by gifts'.[1] He found also some other Italians in the country; he says that 'the Jesuits' 'congregations there are very thin', consisting as they did, besides some 'European strangers which come thither, and some few others of the natives' who 'for want of means, which they give them, are contented to wear crucifixes', of 'some Italians which the Mogul entertains, by great pay given to them to cut his diamonds and other rich stones'.[2]

Sir T. Roe, the English ambassador to the Mogul emperor, had difficulty in 1616 in securing an interpreter, but found a temporary one in John Veronese, 'an Italian jeweller, a protestant, that useth much liberty with his tongue, and in whom the king takes often delight to hear him rail at the Jesuits and their factions'.[3] Later, when a servant of Roe ran away from him, this Italian harboured him.[4]

In 1617 Roe wrote from Mandu, in Central India, that he dined with 'an Italian that long has used Persia' and 'enquired' of him 'the estate of trade' in Persia.[5]

About 1619 there were 'some Venetians' engaged in trade at Surat who purchased some indigo from the English factors of Surat.[6]

Writing in 1621 from Agra to the English factors at Ispahan, William Bidduph sent his communication through 'two gentlemen, Venetians', who were not only not unknown to them but were also his 'ancient acquaintance', requesting that they may be well treated ; he added that they had 'showed much love to our nation to their powers'.[7]

Thomas Quince, who in 1621 was taking goods from Ahmadabad, was accompanied by 'Signor Sebastian the Venetian', whose goods, he thought, were mostly indigo.[8]

The English factors at Surat had in 1621, to report to London that some 'agate pictures' fell 'far short' of London's 'esteem of them, by reason of quantities brought in by the Venetians'. How keen the competition was is apparent from their complaint that 'those that are already sold of the said agate pictures produce but fifty per cent profit, whereas in times past such yielded three for one.'[9]

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[1] Terry, 422.
[2] Terry, 427.
[3] Roe, i. 142.
[4] Roe, i. 179.
[5] Roe, ii. 418.
[6] *EFI.* 1618–21, Foster, ed., 53.
[7] *EFI.* 1618–21, Foster, ed., 257.
[8] *EFI.* 1618–21, Foster, ed., 291.
[9] *EFI.* 1618–21, Foster, ed., 327.

A Roman of noble family, Pietro della Valle, who became a traveller, not because of the exigencies of trade or the necessities of service but merely for his own convenience, reached India in the course of his extensive travels, and stayed two years in the country (1623 and 1624), dividing his time between Surat, Cambay, Chawl, Broach, Ahmadabad, Nagar, Daman, Bassein, Honovar, Goa, Gersoppa, Ikkeri, Barcelor, Mangalore and Calicut. He found a Venetian merchant at Cambay,[1] and secured a letter of introduction to an Italian at Bassein, F. Antonio Albertino, who was Father Rector of the Jesuit College at that place.[2] He 'found in the College of Bassein F. Raolo Giovio, an Italian'.[3] At Goa he came across 'many Italian Fathers of which nation the Society' of Jesus made 'frequent use, especially in the missions of China, Japan, India and many other places of the East'.[4] Of these he mentions a few by name, F. Antonio Schipano and F. Vincengo Sorrentino of Ischia,[5] F. Christofero Boro, a Milanese, 'called Brono in India (not to offend the Portugal's ears with the word Boro, which in their language does not sound well), a great mathematician ; and another young Father, . . .F. Guiliano Baldinotti of Pistoia, designed for Japan, whither he went afterwards ; moreover, in the College, which is another church and a distinct Convent, F. Alessandro Leni, an ancient Roman . . . . . and F. Giacinto Franceschi, a Florentine ; . . . and F. Flaminio Carlo, of Otranto, Master in Divinity.' Further, 'of Friars' he found 'many Italians, namely in the College Friar Joseph Masagna, a famous spicerer and a man of much business in the Professed House, a Neapolitan, a Venetian, and a Tuscan, called Friar Bartolomeo Pontebuoni, a good painter, and also a man of much employment'.[6]

Italian missionaries kept coming in. 'Four Italian Bare-footed Carmelites' who had originally been 'sent by their Fathers at Rome into Persia' found it dangerous to stay there and so journeyed to India by way of Muscat. So many privations had they to endure that when they reached Goa in 1623, three of them died, and 'one alone, after a long and dangerous sickness, escaped'.[7]

Three Italians, Angelo Gradenigo, Bernardino Maffei and Jeronimo Veroneo, instituted, in 1628, a suit against a Portuguese for certain property. Gradenigo being, in return, charged with having married a Muslim girl according to Muslim rites, but on the sly, ran the risk of being executed, but, when he escaped that death, he threatened to turn a Muhammadan together with all his household, and he would have done so but for the dissuasions of his friends.[8]

[1] Della Valle, i. 116.
[2] Della Valle, i. 116.
[3] Della Valle, i. 139.
[4] Della Valle, i. 163.
[5] Della Valle, i. 159–60.
[6] Della Valle, i. 163.
[7] Della Valle, i. 172.
[8] Maclagan, 269.

Father Corsi, a Florentine, laboured in north India from 1599 to 1635, attaching himself to the Mogul court, and gained some influence over the emperors, and became 'a great column' of the Jesuit Mission.[1]

Among the 'three or four Christians' that in 1632 had 'pay from the Mogols' at Agra were 'Signior Angelo (a physician and serving Faujdar Khan)', and 'Signior Jeronimo Veroneo (a Venetian and a Goldsmith)'.[2] The first is perhaps the Angelo Gradenigo just mentioned. He was a Venetian and had been engaged in trade at Tatta when he was summoned by Jahangir to play on a 'monicordio'; subsequently, he employed him in his court as cook, and probably as maker of artillery.[3] The second is claimed by some authorities to have been the architect of the Taj Mahal. He was 'a man ransomed by the Portuguese', and he purchased the freedom of a number of persons[4] taken captive by the Mogul army when it besieged and took Hugli from the hands of the Portuguese in 1632.[5]

The ship by which the French traveller Thevenot sailed from Surat in 1635 had for its captain a native of Leghorn and also bore a sailor who was a Venetian.[6] The captain would sometimes 'challenge all the ship to fight him, when he came to Surat, adding that 'he was an Italian, yes that he was'.[7]

Father Castro, a native of Turin, was in north India from about 1610 to 1646, and for some years he was 'with the king, going with him every year and running about through his kingdom'.[8]

Stanilas Malpiqua, a Neapolitan Doctor of Law who entered the Society of Jesus, spent over forty years in India—from 1623 to 1676—mainly in Garhwar, and for some time in Tibet, and served as Provincial at Goa.[9] He was one of those whom, about 1656, the Mogul prince Dara, called the 'Infidel' for his catholic views, delighted to hear on matters religious.[10] He was able to secure the friendship of the king of Srinagar.[11]

Father Antonio Ceschi, a native of Borgo di Valsugana in the Trentino, was similarly employed from about 1645 to 1656 in Garhwal, and at Lahore and Delhi, and he took interest in mathematics and in Sanskrit.[12]

Niccolao Manucci, a native of Venice, ran away from home in 1653, when only fourteen years of age, wandered about in west Asia, reached India in 1656, went to Delhi, entered service as an artillery man under prince Dara Shukoh, Shah Jahan's eldest son, played an

[1] Maclagan, 75–6.
[2] Mundy, ii. 208.
[3] Mundy, ii. 208, n. 3.
[4] Manucci, i. 183.
[5] Campos, 128–40 ; Maclagan, 99–104.
[6] Thevenot, ii. 167, 179.
[7] Thevenot, 180.
[8] Maclagan, 76–7.
[9] Manucci, iv. 423–4.
[10] Manucci, i. 223.
[11] Manucci, i. 381.
[12] Maclagan, 107–8 ; Manucci, i. 381, n.1.

humble part in the military operations against Aurugazebe till Dara was completely routed, refused service under Aurangazebe, wandered on to the Sunderbans and back, professed medicine, became captain of artillery to Rajah Jai Singh of Amber, marched to the Dekhan, saw Sivaji in 1665, resigned and wandered again, escaped the Inquisition at Bassein, served for some time under a Mogul commandant, practised for some years at Lahore as a physician, moved to the neighbourhood of Bombay about 1677, speculated and lost his savings, went back to Delhi, became one of Shah Alam's physicians in 1678, travelled to the Dekhan and to Ujjain, came away to Goa, from where he was sent by the Portuguese to interview Sambhaji, was imprisoned by Shah Alam as a deserter, fled to Golkonda and Masulipatam, drifted to Pondichery where he married and, in 1686, settled at Madras. The English governors of Madras entrusted delicate negotiations to him, including an attempt to induce the Mogul general to raise the siege of Madras in 1702. He took part in ecclesiastical discussions for some time, moved to Pondicherry, obtained a grant from the Madras government of a house and garden in Madras in 1712, passed into oblivion, and died about 1720,[1] probably leaving a fortune of about 30,000 pagodas.[2]

A young lady of eighteen, Maria Veronea, 'who was the daughter of a European', was 'desirous of forming a close friendship with Manucci' in 1655, but he cites her as an example 'in order that every one who visits this country may guard himself against entering into certain kinds of friendship.'[3] If she was Italian is more than can be decided now, though the name is suggestive of her having been Italian in origin.

In 1667, a native of Milan, Friar Pheliciano de Santa Teresa, was the prior of the Carmes at Goa.[4]

About 1690 'a Genoese merchant called Jorge Bianco' had taken a loan from Manucci 'for trading in Pegu'.[5]

'They tell us'—some time before 1672—'that among' the 'thousand brass and iron pieces of great cannon' that were mounted on the walls and gates of Bijapur, there was 'one carrying no less than 540 pound weight of gunpowder, cast by a certain Italian, a native of Rome, who being questioned by one of the kings' commissioners concerning the money he had disbursed upon this account, threw him into the same hole where he had cast the cannon before'.[6]

'The Sieur Hortensio Borgio, a Venetian', was entrusted by the Mogul emperor with the task of cutting the diamond famous as the 'Great Mogul', but 'when it was cut he was reproached with having spoilt the stone, which ought to have retained a greater weight, and instead of paying him for his work, the king fined him ten thousand rupees, and would

[1] *IHRC.P.* (1925), viii. 175.
[2] Manucci, i. Intr. 67.
[3] Manucci, iii. 227–8.
[4] Manucci, iii. 172.
[5] Manucci, iii. 129.
[6] Baldaeus, 602.

have taken more if he had possessed it'.[1] That the royal reproach was justified is shown by the opinion expressed on an inspection of the gem by Tavernier, the well known jeweller and traveller, that Borgio 'was not a very accomplished diamond cutter', that if he 'had understood his trade well he would have been able to take a large piece from this stone without doing injury to the king, and without having had so much trouble grinding it', and that 'if this stone had been in Europe it would have been treated in a different manner, for some good pieces would have been taken from it, and it would have weighed more than it does, instead of which it has been all ground down'.[2] The Emperor's chagrin must have been all the keener for his having entrusted the work to a foreigner, of whose skill he could not have had much proof, in preference to the local cutters who, according to Tavernier, were scarcely inferior to Europeans in the art.[3] This Venetian, who was known also as Ortencio Bronzoni,[4] was 'married to one of his slaves, a Hindu by birth'.[5] Manucci says of him that he was 'well-known' and possessed of 'good credit' and generally 'esteemed', and yet charges him with having misappropriated a sum of one thousand rupees which he abstracted from a chest that had been confided to both of them.[6]

Aurangzebe, about 1665, 'wishing to create a war navy, to sweep the seas of the pirates and make himself powerful at sea', was advised that 'he was without the chief thing—that is to say, men to direct it', and 'ocular demonstration of the difficulties' was provided in some measure through this Venetian.[7]

When Manucci was at Aurangabad in 1679, 'there arrived a Venetian physician named Angelo Legrenzi', he 'having quitted the service of the Most Serene Republic, and at the age of thirty-five had set out in search of fresh fortunes'. Manucci was happy to meet Legrenzi, who, for his part, was much consoled, 'being aware of how rare it is to find Italians there, much less a Venetian'. Each of them, however, has a different tale to tell as to what followed. Manucci says that he introduced Legrenzi to Muhammad Muqim, chief physician to the king, but 'he was in too great a hurry to enter the prince's service and draw his pay', and 'as a proof of his ability, and that he was not a surgeon, but a physician, he prepared a pamphlet in which he discoursed on the four principal fevers', and presented it to the chief physican and explained its contents, but that his hopes were disappointed. Legrenzi, on the other hand, says that Manucci was anxious 'by whatever means he could to induce' him 'to rest beside him and supply him with a little light in medicine, devoid as he was of letters, and even any knowledge of the arts', and for that purpose proffered his 'recommendations and good offices with Shah Alam', but, he 'absolutely

[1] Tavernier, i. 396.
[2] Tavernier, i. 396.
[3] Tavernier, ii. 57–69, i. 396, *n.*2.
[4] Manucci, i. 238.
[5] Manucci, iii. 214.
[6] Manucci, iii. 286.
[7] Manucci, ii. 47.

refused to engage' himself 'outside his native land, having come to India to see the country and its chief sights'. On his return to his native city, he published, in 1705, a work dealing with his peregrinations in Asia, but the account it contains of his journey in India seems to embody much that is fictitious.[1]

Petro Paulo, a Neapolitan and nephew to Pope Innocent XII, who worked as a Carmelite friar in India, wrote in 1680 to Manucci, then at Aurangabad, 'without any beating about the bush', that he 'must speak to the king, Aurangzeb, and tell him to send an immediate order for the erection of a church at the port of Surat', and that 'he must also issue an order throughout his empire that missionaries should be admitted everywhere, and openly allowed to convert Mahomedans and Hindus' and threatened that 'if he raised objections to these demands he would force the king of Persia to declare war against India by land and sea' and that 'he would also take other measures by teaching a secret to the Mahrattahs', —he pretending that 'he knew about a matchlock that could be fired five to seven times after only once loading it, and whenever he chose to do so'. In 1696, he was made Archbishop of Ancyra, and becoming Vicar Apostolic of Malabar, 'obtained from the Dutch at Amsterdam a decree, in 1698, 'permitting a Bishop and twelve Carmelites, Italians, Germans, or Belgians to live in the territory, but not in the town of Cochin', for which, 'as an equivalent, the Dutch obtained from the Emperor Leopold I toleration for the Calvinist religion in Hungary'. He returned to Surat but died in 1701.[2]

Dr. Gemelli Careri, a Neapolitan, came to India in 1695 in the course of travels round the world, journeyed to some important cities and paid a visit to the court of Aurangzebe, and on his return to his country wrote a narrative of his voyage and incorporated in it an account of what he saw in India.[3] He makes mention of a few Italians, Carmelites[4] and members of other orders,[5] and also of one 'Francis Borgia, by extraction a Venetian, but born at Delhi, who was 'captain of the Christians there'.[6]

A Jesuit, 'Father Borghese, of the family of Prince Borghese in Rome' seems to have been, about 1700, 'confined forty days in the prison of Trichinopoly'.[7]

The opposition to the concessions allowed by Nobili and his successors in the Madura Mission to the susceptibilities of Hindus who became converts to Christianity having come to a head in the opening years of the eighteenth century, the Pope appointed an Italian, one of

[1] Manucci, i. (75–8), iv. 265–7.

[2] Manucci, iv. 112–3.

[3] Careri, 185-253. In describing 'the Pagod in the Island of Salzete', he says that 'tho' I have made much enquiry, I do not find that any Italian, or other European traveller has writ of it' (*Ib.* 193). This remark suggests that some atleast of the Italians who had been in India had written accounts of the country by the end of the seventeenth century, but very few of them seem to be known outside of Italy.

[4] Careri, 251.

[5] Careri, 253.

[6] Careri, 220.

[7] Manucci, iv. 17, 34

his domestic chaplains, the Cardinal de Tournon, to enquire into the matter. Investigating the problem at Pondicherry he drew up a decree in 1704, by which many of the concessions were swept aside. The Jesuits endeavoured hard to prevent the decree being worked.[1]

Ippolito Desideri, barely twenty-eight years old, appeared in Goa in 1713, and started from there on a journey to Tibet to evangelize that country ; he reached Lhassa in 1916, and stayed there till 1721, when he returned to India, and after a stay at Pondicherry, returned to Rome, in 1727.[2]

Constanzo Giuseppe Beschi, a native of the province of Venice, came to India in 1710, when thirty years of age, entered the Madura Mission the next year, became a profound Tamil scholar, composed numerous works in that language and laboured in the cause of Christianity, much in the manner of Nobili, till his death in 1747.[3]

By the first quarter of the eighteenth century it was becoming increasingly clear that the influx of Europeans into India would be steady and that all relations between Europe and India would be carried on through the medium of the peoples whose lands did not necessarily border on the Mediterranean. We may therefore omit further citations of references to the visits of Italians to this country.

While we have been able to collect references to numerous Italians having come to India, we know of no more than two Indians who visited Italy during the period we have passed in survey.[4] One is a servant of Della Valle, between whom and one of the Pope's servants, 'on the occasion of a procession taking place in the streets of Rome a quarrel arose . . . in the course of which the latter deprived the Indian of his sword, which he was about to break in two, when Della Valle, drawing his own sword, ran it through the man's body, killing him on the spot in the presence of the Pope'.[5] The other is a Christian who had served Father Antony de Andrade in his journey to Garhwal in 1624, and was taken to Rome in 1664 by Father Henry Roth, though he bad then grown very old.[6]

COMMERCIAL INTERCOURSE BETWEEN INDIA AND ITALY.

So often have the commercial relations between India and Europe been discussed that we need give here only one extract relating to the part therein played by Venice and we need draw attention to only a few unnoticed references to some of the minor commodities that were in demand at one end or the other.

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[1] Manucci, iv. 17, 34. [2] Maclagan, 359–62. [3] See Besse.

[4] The 'Indian' who was met in Italy by the writer who put together Nicolo Conti's account of his Indian travels (Conti, 33–4) seems to have been a Chinaman.

[5] Della Valle, i. Intr. 5.

[6] Kircher, *China Illustrata*, 49, quoted by Maclagan, 364.

Duarte Barbosa, a Portuguese writer who wrote from knowledge acquired during a stay in India, speaks thus of what he observed, about 1500, at Calicut: 'There are many other foreign Moors as well in the town of Calicut, who are called *Pardesis*, natives of divers lands, Arabs, Persians, Guzarates, Curasanes and Daquanis, who are settled here . . . . Here they took on board goods for every place, and every monsoon ten or fifteen of these ships sail for the Red Sea, Aden and Mecca, where they sold their goods at a profit, some to the merchants of Juda, who took them on thence in small vessels to Toro, and from Toro they would go to Cairo, and from Cairo to Alexandria, and thence to Venice, whence they came to our regions (Portugal). These goods were pepper (great store), ginger, cinnamon, cardamoms, myrobolans, tamarinds, canafistula, precious stones of every kind, seed pearls, musk, ambergris, rhubarb, aloes-wood, great store of cotton cloths, porcelains, and some of them took on at Juda copper, quicksilver, vermilion, coral, saffron, coloured velvets, rosewater, knives, coloured camlets, gold, silver, and many other things which they brought back for sale at Calecut'. [1]

Among the minor products of India that were greatly esteemed in Europe, about 1584, was the 'Cubebus', and the 'leaves' called Folium Indum, which the Indians call 'Tamalapatra' and 'the Latinists' call 'Malabatrium', were 'much brought' to Europe,—the latter, 'especially to Venice', being 'used to provoke urine, to strengthen the stomach and to help a stinking breath'.[2]

The goods found in the hold of 'the captain of Malacca . . . which came from Goa' in 1592 included 'Venice glasses' and 'certain papers full of false and counterfeit stones which an Italian brought from Venice to deceive the rude Indians withal'.[3]

The *toffas* of Venice—such as jewellery and fancy articles—were in demand, about 1625, 'many of the great lords of the Mogul's court asking for them'.[4] 'Handsome musket barrels, wrought with gold and set with agates of various colours, in which heads are carved', were also 'brought here overland by the Venetians'.[5]

In 1642, the English merchants at Swally Marine found it unprofitable to import sword blades except those of Germany and Genoa: they wrote that 'besides those the Moors term Alimony and Genoobee (which we construe of Allamine and Genoa), none are requested'.[6] In 1644 it was found that Genoa velvet,[7] 'if large and good, 20 or 30 bales may sell yearly', at Goa.[8]

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[1] Barbosa, ii., 75–7.

[2] Linschoten, ii. 130–1.

[3] E. Barker, in Hakluyt, iv. 251–2.

[4] Pelsaert, 25–6.

[5] Pelsaert, 26.

[6] *EFI.* 1642–5, Foster, ed., 18.

[7] The original reads 'pepper', but it has been surmised that it is perhaps a copyist's error for velvet; *EFI* 1642–5, Foster, ed., 227.

[8] *EFI.* 1642–5, Foster, ed., 227.

The ship in which Thevenot embarked at Basra for the Indies in 1665 carried 'some great Venetian looking glasses'.[1] About 1675, glass was 'dear' at Surat, 'and scarcely purchaseable unless by way of Stamboul, or Constantinople, from the Venetians', though some citizens had obtained from the Venetians 'some panes of painted glass in sashwindows'.[2] A chief of Bijapur is said to have worn a coat 'which was Venetian cloth of silk and silver'.[3]

A Madras merchant imported bugles from Venice in 1743.[4]

The enterprise of Indian merchants trading with Europe is spoken to by the observation of Mandelslo about 1638-39 that the Banya shroffs at Ahmadabad had their correspondents all over Asia and at Constantinopole and could easily issue bills of exchange on them so as to facilitate trade.[5]

CONTACT BETWEEN EAST AND WEST.

The intercourse between India and Europe was effectually checked by the phenomenal rise of the Muhammadan power which, by 650 A.D., held much of the land and the sea that lie between. For about six centuries thereafter the Muhammadans acted as intermediaries in the commerce that subsisted between the two regions, at least on the Asiatic and the African sides of the Mediterranean. Enterprising races such as the Arabs who had been active merchants in the days before their conversion to Muhammadanism found in the expanding political power of the Muhammadan states a further stimulus to commercial expansion, and they overran fresh areas and established themselves all over the shores of the east, as far as Japan. We have little or no satisfactory evidence of European attempts to keep in direct touch with India in this period, even though not for purposes of trade. The Nestorian missionaries who came from the Levant to the coasts of India to preach Christianity seem to have no title to be treated as representatives of Europe. The story of Sighelm and Aethelstan, West Saxons, having in 883 carried 'to Rome the alms which King Aelfred (of England) had vowed to send thither, and also to India, to St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew',[6] has little evidentiary value in view of the looseness of the application of the name 'India' in those days and of the uncertainty of the location of the shrine of St. Thomas. Similar uncertainty attaches to the reference to 'Indians' having, along with Persians, Assyrians, Zicci and others, served in the army of Thomas, the Byzantine rebel and usurper, about 1000 A.D.[7]

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[1] Thevenot, ii. 168. 'Some chests of glass in pieces', which too were part of the cargo, were in all probability Venetian.

[2] Fryer, i. 231

[3] Fryer, ii. 71.

[4] Dodwell, 382.

[5] Commissariat.

[6] *Cf.* William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ii. section 122.

[7] Beazley, ii., 512.

The Mediterranean ports continued to be the meeting-places of the Muhammadan and the European merchants where they exchanged the commodities of the east and the west. The Crusades which Europe sent against the Muhammadan states in and around the Holy Land from 1096 to 1367 had varying success as military expeditions, but, paradoxically, they served to bring Muhammadan and European merchants together more closely than before; mercantile intercourse improved in spite of political antagonism,— at least in certain areas such as the Red Sea. The Latins conquered and settled in Syria, and cities like Venice, Goa and Pisa planted colonies in ports like Acre, Beirut, Jaffa, Tyre and Ascalon: these provided bases from which European merchants could effect peaceful commercial penetration of the east. Venice was foremost among the European states to turn the Crusades to commercial advantage ; it transported men and material for the wars and provided fleets for sieges of ports, and in return obtained commercial privileges in the conquered areas. The Latin states which the Crusades founded and maintained in the Holy Land had, in virtue of their being located in the midst of powerful Mussalman powers, followed a policy of religious toleration. The Italian merchants followed this example. They were mindful of their interests as merchants and would not allow religion to interfere with trade. The Muhammadan states of Egypt and Syria were, on their part, quite alive to the importance of the extensive market that the lands north of the Mediterranean offered for the commodities of Asia. The Italians therefore sedulously cultivated the large trade they had been having for centuries with Egypt, and they entered into commercial pacts with Saladin in spite of his determined efforts to expel the Christian rulers of the Holy Land. Ecclesiastical denunciations did little to discourage relations fraught with no little profit. The frequent fluctuations in the interest of the European peoples in the fate of the Holy Land, the dissensions among the composite armies engaged in the Crusades, and the improbability of Europe being able to keep sending repeated reinforcements to a distant land to cope with the powerful enemy who lay all round that land, inclined the Italian cities, situated as they were close enough to Palestine to appraise the situation correctly, to adopt a policy of maintaining unimpaired the freedom of commercial intercourse. The commodities of the east flooded Europe ; new industries sprang up in Italy, such as the manufacture of glass in Venice, which had been learned in the factories of Tyre. The trade of the Italian cities increased so rapidly that considerable fleets were engaged in taking goods to and fro.

Italian merchants, never wanting in enterprise, were naturally not slow to go inland into Asia and establish warehouses further east than the Levant. The city of Pisa claims to have in 1175 engaged in an 'Indian voyage' by way of Egypt,[1] but the claim remains unproved because of the vagueness of the geographical connotation of the name 'India' when used by writers of those days. The statement that Frederick II, a Crusader, had grown so friendly

[1] Beazley, ii. 462.

with the Sultan of Egypt that, about 1240, German merchants were able to accompany Egyptians to the Indies,[1] need· necessarily mean no more than that the Germans reached Aden which was then a great market for Indian commodities.[2]

The Tartar occupation of west Asia, however, led to at least an administrative unification of central Asia, and the comparatively enlightened policy of the Tartar kings permitted European merchants and travellers to tread the age-old trade-ways of Asia— specially these that passed through Asia Minor and Persia,— as the Tartars had no objections to European merchants on the score of their religion. The antagonism between Tartar and Egyptian Muhammadan served to open to European merchants the route from the Levant to the Persian Gulf. The ease with which Marco Polo could complete an overland journey to China with a return journey from China to Malabar and thence to Persia at the close of the thirteenth century suggests that no insuperable difficulties need have presented themselves to European merchants reaching the Indian waters by way of Asia Minor and Persia. The equal ease with which John of Montecorvino could pass by sea from Persia to south India and thence to China, the probability of a Genoese merchant having been able to purchase an Indian as a slave and the evidence we have of the presence of Italians in India in 1321 suggest that, for about a century earlier, Italians had founded warehouses on the Arabian and the Persian shores and that they might have sailed the Indian seas in the company of Muhammadan merchants. They were, however, individual merchants anxious to go to the very sources of the merchandise they dealt in so that they might turn their experience to good profit, or were only missionaries carrying the glad tidings that was Christianity. They could have had no sorious thoughts of out-bidding the Arabs and other Muhammadans engaged in the commerce of the Indian seas; they had no base in Arabia or Persia from which they could expect the support essential to projects so ambitious.

The recognition that European merchants obtained from Muhammadan rulers and the co-operation which they were able to secure from Muhammadan merchants could not, in the nature of things, be either steady or hearty. Differences of religion, commercial rivalries and political antagonisms are factors that very often upset compacts based merely upon commercial convenience. A wave of fanaticism might break a period of political lassitude, or the bigotry of a dynasty might for a time divert the course of trade through the lands of another dynasty that was latitudinarian in temperament.

Nor were the Italian ports united in efforts to bring the trade of the east under Italian control. The jealousies between Genoa and Venice came to a head when, as a result of participation in the fourth Crusade, Venice was able in 1204 to acquire primacy in the Aegean. For about a hundred and seventy years the two cities struggled hard, but finally Venice won in 1380, and Genoa never recovered from the blow she received.

[1] Beazley, ii. 462.

[2] Beazley, ii. 461–2.

When the struggle was half-way through, and Genoa had, in 1284, defeated Pisa in spite of the aid it had obtained from Venice, a courageous fleet of two galleys sailed from Genoa in 1291 under the captaincy of Ugolino de Vivaldo with the definite aim of reaching India by an all-sea route so as to 'bring back useful things for trade' without having to depend on Arab or Venetian. The galleys passed the Straits of Gibralter and sailed down the coast of Morocco beyond Cape Nun ; all trace of them was lost thereafter, and even three years later the Genoese had but faint hopes of Ugolino's coming back alive. Ugolino's son, anxious about his father's fate, went again and again on distant quests but heard nothing of him.[1] Had Ugolino's attempt succeeded, the Genoese might have anticipated by about two centuries the achievements of the Portuguese in India and in the Indian waters.

Others, however, there were who had no faith in the possibility of a new route to India and were therefore keen on Europe undertaking a fresh Crusade for the purpose of obtaining control over the routes taken by the trade of the east. Raymond Lull, a Spanish missionary and scholar, pressed, from about 1288 to 1305, a proposal of which the main features were an attack on Muhammadan Spain and Africa, the recovery of the Holy Land, the prohibition of Christians having mercantile relations with Muhammadans, the maintenance of a police-patrol to enforce the prohibition against Christians, and the resort to Persia, in preference to Egypt, as the market for Indian trade.[2] Jacques de Molay, the last Grand Master of the Templars, emphasised, about 1306, the urgent need of suppressing the commerce of Latin Christendom with Islam.[3] These ideas were worked out in detail and presented with great force, from 1306 to 1321, by Marino Sanuto, a Venetian who stood to lose heavily by the progress of the Muhammadan power in the Levant. The Egyptian route to India having been interdicted to Europeans by the Sultan of Egypt, and the Tartars being willing to forget the Christianity of Europeans and to remember only that they were able merchants and being ready to allow them to pass through their territories to the shores of the Persian Gulf, and the Venetians having already acquired considerable influence along the route that passed through Persia, Sanuto pleaded strongly that European merchants should divert their trade with the east along the highways of Persia and other lands subject to the Tartars. He insisted that Christian merchants should break definitely with the Muhammadan merchants who kept to the Egyptian route, abandon all trade with and through the Muhammadan countries to the west of the Red Sea, and stop exporting to Egypt such essential commodities as provisions, precious metals and materials for weapons and ship-building. He proposed that a naval force should patrol the seas to enforce these restrictions and that any Christian monarch or merchant who transgressed should be punished with exemplary severity. He argued that the decline of Egypt that would inevitably follow would allow it to be easily attacked and subjugated. He believed that once Egypt was reduced, the other Muhammadan powers of the west would

[1] Beazley, iii. 411–6. [2] Beazley, iii. 310–1. [3] Beazley, iii. 310.

crumble down, and if the Holy Land was also taken,—as it could easily be when Egypt had been conquered,—the might of Muhammadanism would suffer a stunning blow and the Muhammadan rivals of Christian merchants would be reduced into petty traders. To complete the ruin of Muhammadan commerce and political dominion it was only necessary,—so he declared—to station a Christian navy in the Indian seas and to use it to reduce its islands and its shores to the yoke of European powers.[1]

Such were the projects of the protagonists of European commerce with the east. Sanuto recognised that the fortunes of European commerce with southern and eastern Asia depended on the establishment of a land base under European control near enough to the Arabian Sea and on the maintenance of a rigid control of the Indian seas. But Europe was torn by dissensions : the internal politics of the European countries left them little leisure to unite in any common cause. The latter phase of the bitter struggle between Genoa and Venice was in progress in the Mediterranean till 1380.

In the meanwhile the Tartars of west Asia having gradually become converts to Muhammadanism, turned bitterly anti-Christian. The Ottoman Turks conquered them, but they were not disposed to treat the Christians better. Their power was growing stronger both on land and sea. The continuance of the Venetian policy of preferring the profits of trade through the Muhammadan to the interests of the Christian powers against those of the Muhammadan is illustrative of the response of the European powers to the projects of Sanuto. About 1383 Venice seems to have been able to establish a consulate in Siam in the interests of her commerce.[2] Petrarch pictures thus the activity of Venetians in quest of eastern trade : 'Where the sea stops the sailors quit their ships and travel on to trade with India and China. They cross the Caucasus and the Ganges and reach the eastern ocean'.[3] Venice was not to blame : she could not oppose the Turk single-handed. She preferred profitable trade to disastrous war.

But the danger from the Turk kept growing : the Turkish navy menaced Venetian trade along the Levant and in the Aegean, compacts and treaties notwithstanding. Turkish ambitions were crowned with spectacular success when in 1453 Turkish arms reduced Constantinopole. Venice had more reason than ever to cling to the policy which she had formulated in the words, *Siamo Veneziani, poi Cristiani*, 'We are Venetians, then Christians'. The next year she promptly concluded a treaty by which she sought to ensure the continuance of the intercourse between the two powers, and confirmed it by another treaty in 1479 by which she purchased the privileges of trading with the east.

[1] Jordanus wrote, about 1323, that the Latins were being eagerly expected in India, and exclaimed : 'If our Lord the Pope would but establish a couple of galleys in this sea, what a gain it would be' : Yule, iii. 79–80.

[2] Yule, ii. 462 ; Hazlitt, i. 753.

[3] Quoted in A.W. Ward, ed., *Cambridge Modern History*, i. 265.

The character and the course of the Indian trade through Venice are instructive, especially as these did not change for a few centuries. India itself produced many commodities—muslins, diamonds, pearls and pepper, to mention only the more important ones—which were in great request in Europe, and these awaited the merchant at ports like Calicut, Surat or Tatta. But the Indian ports were also ports of call for the junks of China which, starting from Canton or other Chinese port, with cargoes of silk, musk and porcelain, proceeded to the ports in Indo-China to take in a cargo of timbers such as ebony, sailed to Java or Sumatra to load cloves and other spices, including pepper, crossed the Indian Ocean and came to Ceylon to take in pearl, cat's eyes and rubies, and anchored at Calicut. Very frequently the Chinese junks sailed only so far east as Malacca, and the ships of Arabs or Gujaratis met them in that port and transferred the merchandise of China into their holds. At Calicut the Chinese junks or the Arab and the Gujarat merchantmen that had sailed from the east met the Arab ships that had sailed east from the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf with the produce of Europe and western Asia. East and west having come together, a brisk exchange of goods took place, the west taking generally a much larger quantity of the products of south and east Asia than the east did of those of the west. India sent very much more to Europe than she had occasion to receive. The Arab and Gujarat ships on their return journey to the west took the route that was most convenient for the moment. Sometimes they sailed to Ormuz or further up to Basra. Or, they sailed to Aden, where, the goods being transhipped, were taken up the Red Sea by ship and across land by caravan. If they reached the banks of the Nile, they were despatched thence by boat or by canal and road. There were also overland routes starting from China which, being joined at Samarkand or Bokhara by the route from India through the Khyber Pass, proceeded across western Asia to the ports of the Levant.

Thus did eastern products reach the Mediterranean, debouching through the various ports that dotted the shores of that sea. From these ports the products of Asia were taken across to the European shores in the ships of the Italian cities, mainly Venice and Genoa. Turkish ships also carried these goods over, but that was occasionally and sparsely. The commodities of Asia, transported thus to the mouths of the various navigable rivers of which Europe has a number, were then taken inland by ship and barge. Or, carried on waggons or pack-horses filing slowly along roads or over passes and rivers, they reached every nook and every corner in Europe. From the fourteenth century the sea route to England and Flanders was favoured by Venetians with the result that ports like Bruges and Antwerp flourished at the expense of cities like Troyes and Frankfort-on-Main.

The quest for a sea route to India running round Africa was, however, taken up with ardour by the Portuguese nobleman, Henry the Navigator. Ancient accounts of exploration along the west coast of Africa—the circumnavigation of the continent from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean about 600 B.C., at the instance of Necho, king of Egypt, the sailing round

by Eudoxus in the days of Ptolemy Energetes, and the discovery of Sierra Leone, if not the Bight of Benin, by Hanno, a Carthaginian, about 520 B.C.—suggested to him the possibility of reaching India by going round Africa. Under his directions the route was opened up step by step : in 1434 Cape Bojador was doubled ; steady progress was made, year by year, till by 1446 a distance of 450 leagues beyond that Cape had been covered ; at his death in 1460 Sierra Leone was perhaps about to be reached. It is likely that Indians travelled in his ships and reached Portugal and were recipients of his hospitality.[1] In 1482, the mouth of the Congo was gained, and in 1488 the Cape of Good Hope was rounded. Ten years later, Vasco da Gama passed the Cape, sailed up the east coast of Africa, struck across the Arabian Sea and reached India.

This great achievement had the immediate effect of taking the highway of Indian and south Asiatic commerce along the Atlantic and of reducing the Mediterranean into a mere backwater.[2] Italy lost the special adavantage it had had in virtue of the geographical position which that peninsula occupies. She had taken full advantage of that position, and the great Asiatic commerce of Genoa and Venice had been the result. The Cape route effected a great change, and Venice realised at once that the great days of her commercial pre-eminence would soon come to a close. She was certain that the cargoes would be taken by the new route straight to Lisbon, where the Germans, Flemings and French would rush to buy them, prices being cheaper there than in Venice, as by the old route Venice had to pay large dues for transit through Syria and the lands of the Sultan of Egypt. Her anticipations proved correct, and, gradually, her trade with the east passed into the hands of the maritime nations of western Europe. She pleaded hard with the Turk for the digging of the Suez Canal but could not persuade him.[3] The Portuguese came into the Indian waters as zealous merchants and militant crusaders, and in a few years they converted the Arabian Sea into a Portuguese lake, establishing themselves along the coasts, routing the Egyptian and Arab fleets and wresting the Europeward trade from the Muhammadan merchants who had for centuries been the intermediaries. The plans of Marino Sanuto the Venetian bore ample fruit, but in circumstances that he had not dreamt of ; he sowed, but the harvest was reaped by the Portuguese.

So extensive and yet so close was the control exercised by the Venetian state over its commerce and its mercantile marine that Venice has often been compared to an East India

[1] E. Prestage, in Newton, 205.

[2] Possibly they were concerned in the efforts of the Turks to prevent the Portuguese establishing themselves in the Arabian Sea. See Hill, 24, in *IA.* (1923) iii.

[3] Indians too seem to have occasionally used the new route: 'two pirates, inhabitants of India and brothers who with a couple of large ships had for four years greatly infested the straits of Gibraltar and the neighbouring coasts of Africa' were attacked in 1519 off Ceuta and routed. (J. Osorio, *History of the Portuguese*, ii. 290, extracted from in *IA.*, 1919, xlviii. 161–2.)

Company. But organisation and enterprise could not avail against the natural advantages that Portugal obtained by the discovery of the Cape route. Venice could no longer look forward to a continuance of the great days of her commerce.

So quickly did the Portuguese lay their hold on the export trade of India and so firm was their grip that within a century the Venetian merchant, Caesar Fredericke, confessed that by the 'name of Portugales throughout all the Indies they call all the Christians that come out of the west, whether they be Italians, Frenchmen, or Almaines'.[1]

Other nations felt the need of routes that were not under Portuguese control: attempts were made to find a way to India along the Arctic ocean and by the shores of the Caspian Sea, and the great navigators of this age dared unknown perils for the untapped resources of the east. The attempts proved futile, but the Portuguese supremacy in the Indian seas was challenged by other European nations with such energy that within a century the Portuguese trade with the east was almost extinguished. The ports located on the Mediterranean lost their Indian trade to those situated on the Atlantic.

The material that we have before us is not adequate enough to help us to decide precisely the extent to which the commercial relations of India with Europe fluctuated in response to conditions in Europe and in India, throughout the centuries, but that the oscillations could not have been violent seems to be spoken to by three significant circumstances.

So late as 1648, 'the Genoese appear to have made an attempt to recover a portion at least of the Indo-European trade'. At the instance of a Dutchman, a Company of thirty private merchants, some Genoese and the others foreigners, obtaining permission from the Duke and the Senate of Genoa, equipped two large ships, ostensibly for discovering lands uninhabited or unexplored by Europeans and for participating in the commerce of the east, without prejudice to other nations, provided a cargo of knives, guns, gun-metal and other articles fit for barter, and despatched the ships on a voyage under the control of two men of Amsterdam, one as chief pilot and another as chief factor. The ships had Goa for their objective, but perverse winds drove them to Java, where the hostility of the Malays and the English and the high-handedness of the Dutch pilot led to their being taken prisoners by the Dutch General at Batavia, whereupon the Genoese could not but dispose of the vessels and the cargo.[2] Had Genoa been luckier in this expedition, it is not unlikely that her energy would have secured for her an appreciable share of the trade with India.

Even forty years later, when the English East India Company entered in 1688 into an agreement with 'the Armenian nation', represented by an Armenian merchant of Ispahan,

[1] Hakluyt, iii. 221.

[2] Danvers, 55–7 ; *EFI.* 1646–50, Foster, ed., 249, 260, 274.

for altering the course of trade,—the scheme being in essence one 'for carrying on a great part of the Armenian trade to India and Persia, and from thence to Europe, by way of England, which will redound greatly to his Majesty's advantage in his customs and to the increase of the English navigation', as the Armenians would thereby 'alter and invert the ancient course of their trade to and from Europe',— the Armenians compelled the English Company to agree to a provision that 'Venetian wares and merchandises may be shipped out permission free' and paying a low freight.[1]

A few Italian merchants seem to have attempted in 1704 to found a Company on the model of the various East India Companies of other European nations, utilising an opportune visit of a high Papal official to south India, one of the members of his suite having probaby been charged specially with the task of preparing the ground. Manucci, who was sought to be used for the purpose, gives an interesting account of the scheme.[2]

Be it known, then, in the first place (for it is a certainty), that the Abbe Francois de St. George, when he arrived at Madras, allowed it to be understood by his manner that his first and chief object (apart from his visitation) was the search for means of opening a negotiation for some places on the coast of Choromandal at which to establish a new company[3] of certain Italian merchants. These men desired to navigate the Indian seas and trade within the territories of the Mogul. The first step to be taken for this design was to secure a capable person of good position, who could solicit this urgent business at the court and obtain a farman from the king. Furnished with this document, the new Italian company would be able to trade and deal freely throughout that king's widely-spread and equally admirable empire. Above all was this help wanted in Gulkandah, in which place there are mines of precious diamonds, or to which the stones are easily brought by merchants, it being very near those mines.

He had recourse to me because I spoke the Persian and Hindustan languages perfectly, and had great influence among the Mahomedans coupled with long experience of them. I excused myself on account of old age, and because at present I had little intercourse with the king's court. Thus the Abate addressed himself to certain other persons. But as these affairs can only be prosecuted with exceeding slowness, and cannot be carried out except by the power of money, time (to which I now leave the question) will show hereafter the success of this first object, as to which up to the present nothing more is known.

The second matter, or what in the second place appeared essential to the Abate in order to give a happy start to his project, was to eject the Capuchins from Madras, and the Reverend Father Paulo de Saa from Cuddalore. The latter priest administered the two churches at that place as priest of the parish. He (Abate di San Giorgio) desired to substitute for these ecclesiastics other priests from Italy, who could gradually, quietly, and without scandal, set everything—or, at any rate, a good

[1] *IHRC.P.*(1925), viii. 202–3. [2] Manucci, iv. 5–7. [3] Was there an older Company ?

many things—in the position required for his trading venture. In this way, when the gentlemen—that is, the officials and directors of the new company—should arrive, they would find the bed ready made for them, and everything prepared for an immediate commencement of their trade. Having the assistance of the Italian fathers at the places designated, they would not fail in receiving reports and information about everything with greater ease ; and things being thus arranged, it was to be hoped that, with the good management that was assured, they would obtain from their dealings profits equivalent to their labours.

The scheme seems to have failed as much through the unsuitableness of the instruments chosen for its accomplishment as through the difficultics attendant upon an enterprise of a power that had become merely Mediterrancan.

Enterprising Italians still kept coming to India and still took a share in India's foreign trade, but the Italy that had been for centuries the sole mistress of Europe's trade with the east could find but little compensation or comfort in the success of a few humble sons of hers in the pursuit of a trade that for her had become inconsiderable.

INFLUX OF GOLD AND SILVER FROM THE WEST.

What was the function of the Venetian coins that flowed into India ? The evidence that we have shows that the influx started early in the fifteenth century and continued till the close of the eighteenth century when the Venetian Republic fell before Napoleon. During this period India has had many a well-regulated monetary system which has served adequately the needs of the country, and it has had no need to rely on the coinage of other countries to supplement its currency systems. The coins of the country were good enough as measures of value, means of payment, media of exchange and tabloids of wealth. The intrusion of foreign coins was necessary for none of these purposes. We have no ground for believing that Venetian sequins functioned as internal currency : on the other hand, the evidence is cogent that they were received at various ports as no better than commodities. They were bought and sold as articles of trade : if the gold was fine enough, they yielded 'answerable benefit'.[1] They were 'taken at the same standard' as 'the ducats of Poland, Hungary, Sweden and Denmark' ; indeed, 'all sorts of gold coins' were welcome, if only they were good.[2] The name 'Veneseander' was even wide enough to cover Turkish coins,[3] and the name 'sequin' was applied indifferently to the gold coins of Venice and other countries.[4] Coins of which the people had no experience were melted down and refined,[5] instead of being received as accepted currency. To the people of the country it was indifferent by what state the coins were issued ; that the coins were Polish, Swedish, Hungarian, French, Genoese, Venetian,

[1] See p. 11 above.
[2] See p. 12–13, above.
[3] See p. 11 above.
[4] See p. 11, 13, 15, above.
[5] See p. 13 above.

Turkish or Persian did not matter a whit : they were not being accepted as legal tender or as anything approaching such in character. The purer they were the more easily were they accepted, and the sequins of Venice, being of high purity, were received with readiness. If at inland centres of trade they were occasionally accepted, it was only because the coins were excellent as commodities,—the gold content being of great purity. If coins were preferred to bullion, it was due, not to any special status they had as currency but to their being more easily marketable on account of their being 'generally known' by merchants 'without further trial than inspection';[1] the lay man had not to be 'versed' for examining coined gold.[2]

The ease with which the sequins were accepted might also have been due in some measure to their having been struck on a weight standard (56 grains the piece) which corresponded very closely to that on which Hindu coins were struck (56.5 grains the piece). Indeed, it is possible that the standard was in a sense identical, for, if we allow for the little alloy that in those days was not of unusual occurrence in Hindu coins, the pure gold in each class of coins might really have been equal in weight. It is difficult, however, to be positive, owing to the lack of assays of Indian coins.

The occasional imitation of sequins in India does not show that they were prevalent as part of the internal currency. The contemporary Hindu issues were generally thick, and even dumpy ; the sequins were very broad in comparison. So, they were in great request for jewellery, an ancient, presistent and popular jewel in the country being a necklace of coins. A necklace of sequins shows off much better than one composed of the contemporary Hindu coins. The demand for broad coins for jewellery led to the sequins being imitated when they grew scarce.[3]

The function of Venetian coins when they reached Indian shores could therefore have been none other than that of extinguishing the debts incurred by foreign merchants through purchasing the products of the country : in brief, the coins were foreign commodities brought to this land and bartered, immediately or mediately, for its merchandise.

The phenomenon is understandable only if the foreign merchants did not, or could not, bring with them the goods of foreign lands to be bartered for the products of this country, or if such merchandise as they brought was inadequate to pay for what they took from this land. The coins should represent the difference between export and import : they were the means of redressing the balance of trade which had proved adverse to the foreigners.

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[1] See p. 14 above.

[2] See p. 14 above.

[3] Attention may be drawn here to the fabrication of imitations as late as 1873 : it was an issue of one of the Aloy Mocens, again, that was chosen for model. See *IA.* (1873), ii. 213–4, where an illustration of the die is also given. It is worth noting that the imitation was intended to be broader than the sequin.

The influx of Venetian coins into this country from the fourteenth century to the eighteenth should thus speak to the balance of the trade which the foreigners who brought these coins had with this country having been adverse to them throughout the centuries.

Many centuries earlier the complaint had been heard from the Romans that their trade with India was resulting in a heavy adverse balance, necessitating the sending of large quantities of Roman gold and silver to pay for the difference. Other nations too found that trade with India meant an adverse balance : India has always exported more than she has imported.

A Persian chronicler, writing in 1300, asserts, in a rhetorical passage, that 'the particles of the earth' of India 'are like rubies and pearls', and 'its treasuries and depositories are like oceans full of polished gems', and 'its light shedding recesses are all mines of coined gold'.[1] He assures the reader that this is no hyperbole and he abjures him, 'after a deep reflection on the matter', to 'ask his own heart whether since the days of Adam till the present, from east to west or from north to south, there has ever been a country, to which people export gold, silver, commodities, and curiosities, and from which, in exchange, they bring away only thorns, dregs, dust, pebbles, and various aromatic roots, and from which money has never been sent to any place for the purchase of goods.'[2]

Writing about 1348, Shahabu-d din of Damascus narrates a discussion on the truth of alchemy, in the course of which the protagonist of alchemy argued thus : 'You know very well the quantity of gold that is annually consumed in the fabrication of various articles and objects of many kinds. The mines are far from producing a quantity equal to that which is thus withdrawn. As regards India, I have calculated that for the last three thousand years that country has not exported gold into other countries, and whatever has entered it has never come out again. Merchants of all countries never cease to carry pure gold into India, and to bring in exchange commodities of herbs and gums. If gold were not produced in an artificial way it would altogether have disappeared'.[3] This complaint that India absorbed gold and never put it back into circulation is repeated three centuries later by Bernier. Shahabu-d din points out further that Indians 'will not take worked gold, either broken or in ingots, but in their fear of fraud refuse all but coined money'.[4]

In 1499 the followers of Vasco da Gama found that the people of Calicut, while they sold goods to the Portuguese, had no need of their merchandise : 'in payment they only take gold and silver'.[5]

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[1] Wassaf, 28–9.
[2] Wassaf, 30.
[3] Shahabu-d din Masalik, 583.
[4] Shahabu-d din Masalik, 584.
[5] Vasco, 130.

Pyrard, who was in India from 1607 to 1610, makes mention of the movement of bullion to the Indies by the European merchants and also suggests that there were cross-currents of bullion between country and country within the east itself, but his statements lack the precision that is necessary to determine how much of the precious metals, in his view, reached India, and how much was passed on to the countries round about and beyond. At one place, speaking of the ships fitted out from Portugal to the Indies, he says : 'The king of Spain sends out these ships, armed and equipped at his own expense, with his own goods, which consist of silver only. This he sends to help to pay the cost of the Indian Government, and to buy pepper. So, there is not a vessel that goes out but carries at the least 40,000 or 50,000 crowns in silver for him, besides the goods belonging to private passengers. This silver is profitable to him, for on reaching the Indies it goes up in price one-third above the value in Portugal'.[1] He adds, lower down : 'With regard to the goods exported by the Portuguese to the Indies for traffic there. . . . their king sends silver only : but the private merchants send (besides silver)' a number of articles in demand in the Indies.[2] But, at another place, he writes : 'The principal cargo carried from Goa to Macao is silver ; for in China silver is in great demand, and most of the silver that is taken from Europe by way of Ormus to the East Indies goes to China. So, too, that which comes from the direction of Japan, from the West Indies (by way of the South Sea), and from the Philippine Islands or Manillas, . . . as from Peru, New Spain, Mexico, Chili, and other places in those parts, insomuch that, as it is reckoned, there enters China every year more than seven millions worth of gold in silver. The Chinese, too, never let so much as a testoon go out again, for they melt all this silver into ingots, and keep all their treasure in silver, and not in gold, which is vastly common and cheap there'.[3] These remarks must be read in the light of the statement of Pyrard that at Goa silver was 'one third dearer than in Spain' and gold was 'worth much less. . . than in Spain'.[4] It becomes evident that the Chinese had a special *penchant* for silver, whereas gold was the metal that was fancied in India. Pyrard's statements, full in regard to silver, are extremely meagre about gold, and therefore are of no help in determining how much of gold and how much of silver flowed into India and remained in it.

Sir T. Roe's companion, Terry, wrote that the people of India said that 'they have silver mines too, which (if true) they need not open, being so enriched from other nations of Europe, and other parts, who yearly bring thither great quantities of silver to purchase their commodities'.[5] His comment is interesting : 'And this is the way to make any nation of the world rich, to bring, and leave silver in it, and to take away commodities : And, as all rivers run into the sea, so many silver streams into this monarchy, and there stay ; the people

[1] Pyrard, 193. [2] Pyrard, 211 ; see also, 175. [3] Pyrard, 174.

[4] Pyrard, 69. For some interesting comment on these disparities in prices, see the views of Adam Smith summarised lower down. It looks as if the king of Spain was so anxious to take advantage of the difference in the price-levels for silver and gold that he sent out silver for even meeting the cost of the administration of his Indian possessions.

[5] Terry, 112.

of any nation being there very welcome, that bring in their bullion, and carry away the other's merchandise ; but it is looked on as a crime that is not easily answered, to transport any quantity of silver thence'.[1] Silver is made special mention of here as in this period that metal had come to displace gold in a large measure as the medium of commerce.

It was noted in 1616 that the Portuguese trading from Ormus with 'Diulsinde' had to 'bring with them' not only 'Persian commodities' and 'pearl from Balsora' but 'also great store of rials of eight'.[2]

The English merchants who engaged in the trade with India were not slow to realize that the balance would be steadily adverse to them and that the result might be highly embarrassing to the English nation. In the bitter controversies that raged in England for two centuries over the monopoly enjoyed by the English East India Company, the drain of specie to India was among the most powerful and frequent of the arguments advanced by the opponents of the Company. One has only to turn to this class of polemical literature to find the argument developed often with force and point. The views of a few of these writers are, it will be found, given below.

One of the ablest of the English merchants, Sir T. Roe, ambassador to the Great Mogul, felt, in 1616, that the English trade with India 'must fall to ground by the weakness of its own legs', unless 'some new trade can be discovered from the east to serve' England, 'seeing our state (England) cannot bear the exportation of money'to India, and 'the king's mint. . . now cries like a hungry belly against this trade'. He found that 'the Parliament of England, which is the spirit and soul of England' adopted an attitude hostile to the export of silver for trade with India : 'For they consider not. that more profit came to the king's coffers by customs of East India goods than would arise by all the money that is transported ; but they regarded that so much money in England were more estimable than all that goods to the Commonwealth, for that whatsoever comes in by customs is the king's own and is paid by the money already in the land, but the silver that comes into the mint is as it were new begotton and added to the stock of the kingdom, and is the property of diverse men, being enfranchised and naturalized by the king's stamp and impression'.[3]

This view had its opponents, and the eastern trade of England roused considerable opposition on the score that England would be bled white by the 'drain' of gold and silver to India. The history of this controversy, though interesting, is too complicated to be gone into here.

By 1626, 'Portuguese, Moslems and Hindus' did 'all concur in putting the blame' for the collapse of the trade of the west coast of India on the English and the Dutch, saying that they 'were the scourges of the sea and of their prosperity'. The number of ships voyaging to Achin, Ormuz, Bantam, Macassar and 'those parts' had become considerably

[1] Terry, 112. [2] W. Payton, in Purchas, iv., 307. [3] Roe i. 164–6.

reduced in numbers, and even they brought back to India 'chiefly ducats', and only 'small quantities of merchandise'.[1] The Dutch merchants had then to 'import in large quantities' both 'gold and silver, coined and uncoined'.[2]

The extent to which foreign coins were imported to pay for Indian commodities has not been determined. An idea—though only a very rough one—could be obtained from some instances noted casually by Pieter van den Brooke, a Dutch factor at Surat. In 1624 a ship was 'rumoured' to have brought 'more than 2,500,000 rupees (of 24 stivers) in gold, silver and goods to Goa or to Goga, the port for Cambay'.[3] A month later, three ships arrived from Batavia 'bringing a rich cargo of spices and cash'.[4] The next year, three ships arrived from Mocha—two 'from Amsterdam' and one 'for account of Zeeland'—and 'the cargo was over 650,000 guilders, chiefly in gold and gold ducats, also Rix dollars, reals of eight, and Holland dollars, with little merchandise'.[5] In 1628, 'the king's ship returned from Mocha, with much gold and silver, said to be worth 1,200,000 guilders'.[6] Some six months later, 'a pinnace arrived from Batavia with 12 chests of Rix dollars and Holland crowns, worth altogether more than 200,000 guilders, which came exceedingly handy, for the factory was out of cash'.[7]

Describing the riches of the merchants of the country, Manrique says, about 1640, that 'in some' of the houses of the merchants he 'saw such vast sums of money piled up, that if they had been covered over they would have struck the ordinary gazer as being merely heaps of grain rather than piles of anything so unusual'.[8] Speaking particularly of the 'vast trade and commerce' of Dacca he says that 'these have raised the city to an eminence of wealth which is actually stupefying, especially when one sees and considers the large quantities of money which lie principally in the houses' of merchants, 'in such quantity indeed that, being difficult to count it used commonly to be weighed'.[9] Other travellers give similar pictures of the great wealth of many other cities of the country.

Writing about 1670, and attempting to show that 'the precious metals must abound in Hindusthan, although the country be destitute of mines',[10] Bernier goes fully into the problem of 'how it happens that . . this empire of the Mogul is such an abyss for gold and silver'.[11] He makes it clear that 'it should not escape notice that gold and silver, after circulating in every other quarter of the globe, come at length to be swallowed up, lost in some measure, in Hindusthan'.[12] He explains at length how this happens: 'Of the quantity drawn from America and dispersed among the European states a part finds its way through various channels', mainly as the result of international commerce, 'to Turkey . . . . and a part passes into Persia; . . . the productions of the Indies

[1] Pelsaert, 39–40.
[2] Pelsaert, 27, 42.
[3] *JIH.*, (1932), xi. 7.
[4] *JIH.*, (1932), xi. 7.
[5] *JIH.* (1932), xi. 14.
[6] *JIH.* (1932), xi. 213.
[7] *JIH.* (1932), xi. 216.
[8] Manrique, ii. 156.
[9] Manrique, i. 44.
[10] Bernier, 205.
[11] Bernier, 223.
[12] Bernier, 202.

are equally necessary to Turkey, Yemen, and Persia. Thus it happens that these countries are under the necessity of sending a portion of their silver and gold to Moka, . . . Basra and Bandar Abbas . . . , which . . . . is exported to Hindusthan by the vessels that arrive every year . . . laden with goods from that country. Let it also be borne in mind that all the Indian vessels, whether they belong to the Indians themselves, or to the Dutch, or English, or Portuguese, which every year carry cargoes of merchandise from Hindusthan to Pegu, Tenasserin (Lower Burma), Siam, Ceylon, Achin (Sumatra), Macassar, the Maldives, to Mozambique and other places, bringing back to Hindusthan from those countries a large quantity of the precious metals which share the fate of those brought from Mocha, Basra and Bandar Abbas. And in regard to the gold and silver which the Dutch draw from Japan, where there are mines, a part is, sooner or later, introduced into Hindusthan ; and whatever is brought directly by sea, either from Portugal or from France, seldom leaves the country, returns being made in merchandise '.[1] He draws up an inventory of the articles of which India is in need and which she imports from various parts of the world, but concludes that 'the importations of all these articles into Hindusthan does not, however, occasion the export of gold and silver, because the merchants who bring them find it advantageous to take back, in exchange, the productions of the country. Supplying itself with articles of foreign growth or manufacture does not, therefore prevent, Hindusthan from absorbing a large portion of the gold and silver of the world, admitted through a variety of channels, while there is scarcely an opening for its return'.[2]

The same view is expressed by another observer. Detailing the manner in which India secured its return for the merchandise it exported, Fryer says, in 1675, that 'the main is brought back in gold, silver and pearl, which does in a manner centre here'. He adds : 'For though it circulates all the world over, yet here it is hoarded, *Regis ad exemplum*, both by king and people, he having tanks thereof unsealed for many ages, and the gentiles hide it for eternity. So that though it be not of the growth of this country, yet the innate thrift of the gentiles, and the small occasion of foreign expenses, and this humour of laying up their talent in a napkin, buries the greatest part of the treasure of the world in India'.[3]

Writing of the resources of the Mogul empire, Careri, who was in India in 1695, says almost what Bernier had said some twenty years earlier : 'That the reader may form some idea of the wealth of this empire, he is to observe, that all the gold and the silver, which circulates throughout the world, at last centres here. It is well known that as much of it as comes out of America, after running through several kingdoms of Europe, goes partly into Turkey, for several sorts of commodities ; and part into Persia, by way of Smirna for silk. Now the Turks not being able to abstain from coffee, which comes from Hyeman, and Arabia Foelix ; nor Persia, Arabia, and the Turks themselves to go without the commodities of India, send vast quantities of money to Mocha on the Red Sea, near Babel Mandel ; to Bassora at the

[1] Bernier, 203. [2] Bernier, 203–4. [3] Fryer, i. 282–3.

bottom of the Persian gulph ; and to Bander Abassi and Gomeroon, which is afterwards sent over in ships to Indostan. Besides the Indian, Dutch, English, and Portuguese ships that every year carry the commodities of Indostan, to Pegu, Tanasseri, Siam, Ceylon, Achem, Macassar, the Maldive islands, Mozambique and other places, must of necessity convey much gold and silver thither, from those countries. All that the Dutch fetch from the mines in Japan, sooner or later, goes to Indostan ; and the goods carry'd hence into Europe, whether to France, England, or Portugal, are all purchas'd for ready money, which remains there'.[1]

It was noticed by Manucci that 'for the export of all' the merchandise of India, 'European and other traders' brought 'much silver to India'[2] and that 'the traders also bring much gold from China, from Achin . . . in the island of Sumatra' and 'also from the coast of Persia there came Venetians and sequins'.[3]

One of the principal arguments used against those who deplored the extent of England's trade with the east and the consequent drain of specie, was that in spite of the outflow, the trade was productive of considerable profit to the nation. A pamphleteer, writing in 1696, admitted that 'Europe draws from thence nothing of solid use ; materials to supply luxury, and only, perishable commodities, and sends thither, gold, and silver, which is there buried and never returns', and also that 'the silver and gold brought from America, the gold dust brought from Africa, and the silver produced from the European mines, in the two hundred years last past, has not amounted to less, in the whole than eight hundred millions', and that still 'there is no appearance of this immense sum in any country of Europe'. He agreed that allowance had to be made for the use the precious metals in the industrial arts and for waste and wear and the like ; none the less, no one was able to find 'what is become of eight hundred millions dug out of the earth, unless a hundred and fifty millions of it, be carried away and sunk in the East Indies'. But he argued that Europe would not desist from the trade, its peoples having 'tasted of this luxury' of eastern products, and that since all Europe would not consent to withdraw from this traffic with the east, 'it would be egregious folly' in the English to quit this trade, and leave it to any other nation'. He contended further that if the traffic 'be a burthen, it is not upon the one' part of Europe which was composed of England and Holland, 'but on the other nine parts', comprising the rest of Europe, 'so that if the East-India trade carry out the gold and silver from this side of the world,' tis truly and properly, at the cost, and expense, of France, Germany, Spain, and the northern kingdoms, who have little or no opportunities of trading thither'. He uttered a warning : 'And if we should come so to lose our hold in India, as not to trade thither at all, or but weakly and precariously. . . England will thereby lose half its foreign business'. To this warning he

[1] Careri, 234.

[2] For instance, 'the material part of the cargo' of a ship setting out from England in January 1718 was 'the foreign silver' to the weight of 109,000 oz. ; Temple, 175, in *IA.* (1932) lxi.

[3] Manucci, ii. 418.

added a prophecy: 'Whatever country can be in the full and undisputed possession of' the East India trade 'will give law to all the commercial world'.[1]

Montesquieu observed in 1748 that Europe carried on 'the trade of the Indies merely by means of the silver' which it exported, and he added that 'every nation that ever traded to the Indies has constantly carried bullion and brought merchandise in return'. He explained the phenomenon thus: 'It is nature itself that produces this effect. The Indians have their hearts adapted to their manner of living. Our luxury cannot be theirs; nor theirs our wants. Their climate demands and permits hardly anything which comes from ours. They go in a great measure naked; such clothes as they have the country itself furnishes; and their religion, which is deeply rooted, gives them an aversion for those things that serve for our nourishment. They want, therefore, nothing but our bullion to serve as the medium of value; and for this they give us merchandise in return, with which the frugality of the people and the nature of the country furnish them in great abundance. Those ancient authors who have mentioned the Indies describe them just as we now find them, as to their policy, customs, and manners. The Indies have ever been the same Indies they are at present; and in every period of time those who traded with that country carried specie thither and brought none in return'.[2]

Attempts have been made to measure the extent to which the precious metals flowed from Europe to India and the neighbouring countries in the periods when the various European trading Companies were busy. One of such attempts, made recently,[3] for periods between 1601 and 1758 is interesting, though the figures cannot in the nature of things point to the whole of the tale of the drain. The English East India Company's exports of bullion averaged £32,754 a year between 1601 and 1624,[4] and £215,000 a year between 1658 and 1682,[5] and £464,300 a year between 1698 and 1710.[6] The amount sent to the East, excluding China and Japan, was £563,025 a year between 1708 and 1757.[7]

A writer who as servant of the East India Company had acquired first-hand knowledge wrote in 1766: 'The East Indies is a bottomless pit for bullion, which can never circulate back to Europe; and when bullion fails that trade must cease'. He cited the authority of 'the Marquis Jerome Belloni, a celebrated merchant and banker at Rome' who held that it must be so if for no other reason than that immense gulf of passive commerce, wherein they are involved by means of the commodities which the Europeans import from those parts'. He proceeded; 'For, according to this author, not only the great quantities of jewels and manufactures, with the numberless liquors and species, the greatest part whereof the luxury and pride of men have raised to high prices, render that trade so exorbitant that the great advantage which the Europeans receive from America, and the great quantities of gold and

[1] Davenant, 12–22.
[2] Montesquieu, xxi. i.
[3] By Bal Krishna.
[4] Bal Krishna, 282.
[5] Bal Krishna, 121, 297.
[6] Bal Krishna, 124.
[7] Bal Krishna, 208–9.

silver, and other useful things, which are brought from thence, are not sufficient to compensate the loss sustained by that excessively expensive trade; but even the many commodities which come from the East Indies to Europe, and those inexpressibly vast sums of money, besides some few sorts of European commodities, which are exhausted by the importation of those East Indian goods, give just ground to make it a question, whether the money that is brought from America to Europe is more considerable, than that which is exported from Europe to the East Indies'.[1]

Attempting to explain how 'in the cargoes' of 'the greater part of European ships which sail to India, silver has generally been one of the most valuable articles' and how 'the precious metals are a commodity which it always has been, and still continues to be, extremely advantageous to carry from Europe to India', Adam Smith wrote in 1776 that the East Indies were an important 'market for the produce of the silver mines of America, and a market which, from the time of the first discovery of those mines has been continuously taking off a greater and a greater quantity of silver' and that it was due to 'the direct trade between America and the East Indies, which is carried on by the Acapulpo ships' being 'continually augmenting', and also 'the East India trade' of many European nations being similarly on the increase. Explaining how 'it is more advantageous too to carry silver thither than gold', he argued that 'in the East Indies, particularly in China and Hindusthan, the value of the precious metals, when the Europeans first began to trade to those countries, was much higher than in Europe' and 'still' continued 'to be so', and that 'the superabundance of food, of which they have the disposal, enables them to give a greater quantity of it for all those singular and rare productions which nature furnished but in very small quantities', that 'the money price of the greater part of manufactures' was naturally 'much lower in those great empires than it is anywhere in Europe' and that in China and India 'the proportion between fine silver and fine gold is but as ten, or at most as twelve, to one; whereas in Europe it is as fourteen or fifteen to one'.[2]

It was observed, about 1790, that 'there is no proportion . . . in the influx and eflux of money among the Indians and foreigners', the reasons being that 'the Indians sell a great deal and purchase little, consequently the balance is always in their favour', and 'little luxury and few wants render the inhabitants of a country opulent'.[3]

So long as Indian exports out-balanced the imports, the coins of other countries like Venice could not but 'drain' into India.[4]

[1] Grose, i. 324–5. [2] A. Smith, i. xi. [3] Bartolomeo, 87.

[4] Muhammadan coins, ranging in date from 698 to 1010 A.D., have been found in different parts of Europe. The significance of the finds has been summarised thus :

'The growing persistence, daring, and success of the Christian trader of the Crusading period corresponds to an ever-increasing weakness and decay of Moslem commerce, which, down to the close of the eleventh century, unquestionably controlled the purse-strings of the world. How great the mercantile ascendency of the Arabs must have been in the pre-Crusading time may be partly guessed from the amount, the diffusion, and the chronology of the Mohammedan coins which in our own day have been found buried in European hoards. These range

from A.D. 698 to 1010 ; they have been discovered in the neighbourhood of Kazan and Lake Ladoga, and in the valley of the Petchora, in the Crimea and the vicinity of Mainz and of Frankfort-on-Main, in Iceland and England, and in almost every part of the Baltic coasts, from the mouth of the Oder to the Gulf of Finland, from the ancient 'Jumna' to 'Aldeigiaborg'. In Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland, more than 13,000 pieces have been unearthed, and the vast majority of the finds have been within the borders of the modern Russian state, especially on the Upper and Middle Volga. As to this, we need only recall the early mediæval importance of Bolghar and the early Islamism of the Old Bulgarians of this region, who, according to Ibn Dasta, were paid in dirhems, and bought whatever they wanted with marten skins, constantly descending the Volga (a river-journey of two months) to trade at Itil or on the shores of the Caspian, and even making a regular business of caravan-trade with Khwarezm or Khiva. Through the medium, chiefly, of Arab merchants, Byzantine jewellery and money found its way to Bolghar, and Ibn Foslan observed the use of the same, not only among the Bulgarians but also among the less civilised and commercial Russians. The conversion of the Bulgars (or at least their de-Islamising by the Russian princes and others) in the eleventh century broke up a trade-route which had depended on the close connection of Bolghar with the Mohammedan world, and especially with the Central Asiatic and Persian lands from which come the vast majority of the Arab coins referred to. Rich Moslems seem to have had for many generations a peculiar weakness for the furs of the North, and to a less degree, for the amber of the Baltic; commerce as well as prosely-tism brought Arab wanderers into Mid-Russia; and if religion was the dominant interest with Ibn Foslan, mercantile conceptions seem to underlie the remarks of Masudi on the Ludaaneh, that 'largest tribe of Russians', whose trade, he declares, extended not only to Khazaria but also to the Bosphorus, the New and the Old Rome, and even Spain. Much of this commerce, if we regard it as authentic, must have passed through Moslem channels; but these were still the days of the cosmopolitan activity of Islam and the Arabs, whose simultaneous presence in Spain and the Narbonnese, in South Italy and in Sicily, in Korea and Japan, as well as on the Middle Volga, testified in the tenth century to a long-lost expansive and civilising force in the faith and system of Mohammed. During the 'Macedonian' revival of the Byzantine State a great increase of trade was recorded between Constantinople and the Moslem world, especially of Spain; it may also be noticed how close and active was the commercial intercourse between Spain and Egypt in the tenth century. Both were anti-Abbasside states, one Ommeyad, the other Fatimite; and Chasdai, the Hebrew minister of Abder Rahman III, not only worked for his own race and religion, but for his sovereign and the Western Caliphate; it was clearly in the interest of Cordova to cultivate friendship, and, if possible, alliance with Cairo on one side and Khazaria on the other. In this policy Constantinople formed an almost indispensable link; here was one of many reasons for the traditional amity of the Eastern Caesars and the princes of 'Magreb'.' (Beazley, ii. 462–4, *n.* 3.)

Hoards of Arab coins anterior to 1000 A.D. have been found at Visby in Gothland (Beazley, ii. 111, *n.* 1.). The finds of 'oriental, and especially of Arab coins in Germany' are of surprising amount, numbering many thousands of pieces (Beazley, i. 200), 'one example near Main yielding 15,000 pieces of money' (Beazley i., 402, *n* 1.).

Another summary and estimate may also be added :

'Unexpected evidence as to the extent of the fur trade between Muhammadan countries and the north of Europe before the beginning of the eleventh century, had been obtained from the enormous finds of Muhammadan coins in various parts of northern Europe, especially on the shores of the Baltic. These coins were obtained from Muhammadan traders in exchange for skins and furs, and some estimate may be formed of the development which this trade attained from the fact that upwards of ten millions of such coins have been discovered, and even these do not represent the total number once in circulation, because there is direct evidence that in some instances the discoverers of a hoard of precious coins have melted them down and such destruction has doubtless happened in cases that have escaped record. As many as ten or twelve thousand of such coins have been found in a single locality, and in Sweden alone there is a record of such finds in as many as 169 different places. How far north the Muhammadans went in search of furs it is difficult to determine, but the observation made by an Arab geographer that in emporia in which the Muhammadan traders purchased these wares, the night was shorter than an hour shows that some of them at least must have journeyed a very considerable distance to the north of their native country'. (T. W. Arnold, in Newton, 94–5).

The occurrence of Arab coins in Europe may possibly be explained to some extent on the hypothesis that they served as domestic currency. The eighth, ninth and tenth centuries fall in a period when currency systems in Europe had declined greatly and the current coins were too base in quality and too small in quantity to serve adequately the needs of trade. Coins of other countries might have been therefore imported by every country to function even as domestic currency. India, however, had native currency systems which were quite popular at the time when foreign coins were pouring in : the needs of domestic trade were amply met by the currencies of the country. Foreign coins had entry, therefore, as mere commodity, exchanged against goods.

CATALOGUE.

All the coins are of gold. Except on No. 12, which is an imitation, the types on the obverse and the reverse of the coins are constant. The legends also are practically constant: the principal variation occurs on the obverse, in the name of the Doge, which varies with the Doge in whose time the coin was issued. The variations are recorded under each coin.

Obverse: St. Mark handing the gonfalon to the Doge. **S. M. VENET.** (*Sanctus Marcus Venetus*, 'St. Mark of Venice'), starting at top on the left; **FRAN DONA** or other name of the Doge, starting at top on right; **DUX** ('Duke'), starting at top in the middle; the letters in each section run downward, one below the other.

Reverse: The Saviour, full length, with nimbus, and surrounded by stars, enclosed by an oval of dots. **SIT. T. XPE. DAT. Q. TV REGIS. ISTE. DVCA** (*Sit tibi, Christe, datus, quem tu regis, iste, ducatus*, 'Let this duchy which thou rulest be dedicated to thee, O Christ!')

So, in the Catalogue that follows, the name of the Doge alone as given on the coin is transcribed, except in the case of coin No. 12. The types and legends on No. 12 being different, they are described and transcribed in full.

The coins marked with an asterisk are illustrated in the accompanying Plate.

Number.	Weight.	Find-place, etc.	Doge's Name on Obverse: Remarks.
			FRANCESCO DONATO (1545–54)
1*	3·40 gm. (52·46 gr.)	Kunnattur.	**FRAN. DONA** *Obv.* VENETI *Rev.*.....DVC. The C is not clear. See p. 3.
			ANTONIO TREVISAN (1554)
2*	3·47 gm. (53·55 gr.)	Do.	**M. ANT. TRI** Cut at the edge. See p. 3.
3	3·44 gm. (53·08 gr.)	Do.	**M. ANT. TRI** *Rev.*.....DATV....DVC. See p. 3.
			FRANCESCO VENIER (1554–56)
4*	3·46 gm. (53·39 gr.)	Do.	**FRAN. VENE** *Rev.*.....DVCAT. Cut at the edge. See p. 3.
			PASQUALE CICOGNA (1585–95)
5*	3·45 gm. (53·24 gr.)	Kelshi.	**PASC. CICON** See p. 2.

Number.	Weight.	Find-place, etc.	Doge's Name on Obverse : Remarks.
			GIOVANNI CORNARO II (1709–22)
6*	2·33 gm. (35·95 gr.)	From private collection.	**IOAN. CORNEL.** This coin is worn exceedingly thin. See p. 3.
			CAROL RUZZINI (1732–35)
7*	3·44 gm. (53·08 gr.)	Malabar.	**CAROL. RUZINI.** See p. 2.
			FRANCESCO LOREDAN (1752–62)
8	3·44 gm. (53·08 gr.)	Do.	**FRANC. LAVRED.** See p. 2.
9*	3·46 gm. (53·39 gr.)	From private collection.	**FRANC. LAVRED.** See p. 3.
			ALVISE MOCENIGO IV (1763–79)
10*	3·49 gm. (53·85 gr.)	Malabar.	**ALOY. MOCEN.** See p. 2.
11	3·43 gm. (52·93 gr.)	From private collection.	**ALOY. MOCEN.** See p 3.
12	—	From a private collection at Cawnpore.	*Obv.* Rama and Sita (?) **SM[1]ENVEI**, to left ; [2]. **A.OYMOCEN**, to right ; **DVX**, along middle ; **XI[3]Ɑ**, in ex. *Rev.* Lakshmana (?) [?]**SIIIXMDVO CAИ.. PICISISICVI[4]A.** 1 May be **D**. 2 Probably a letter. 3May be continuation of shaft of gonfalon. 4May be **L** or **C**. Imitation. For a sketch of the piece, for a fuller description and for a discussion, see pp. 4–6.
			PAOLA RENIER (1779–89)
13	3·40 gm. (52·46 gr·)	Malabar.	**PAVL. RAINER.** See. p. 2.
14*	3·50 gm. (54·01 gr.)	Do.	**PAVL. RAINER.** See p. 2.
			LUDOVICO MANIN (1789–97)
15*	3·47 gm. (53 55 gr.)	Do.	**LVDO. MANIN.** See p. 2.

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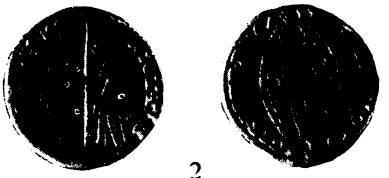

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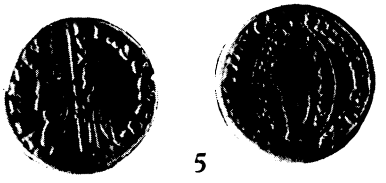

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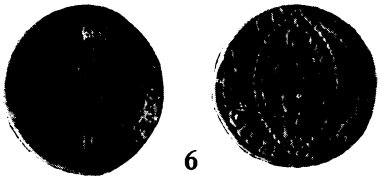

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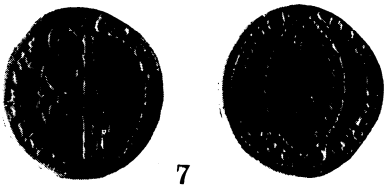

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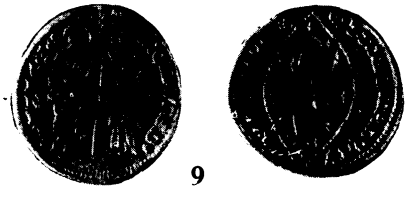

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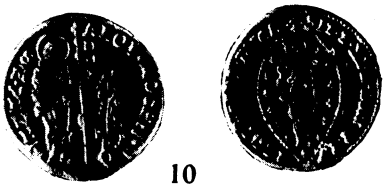

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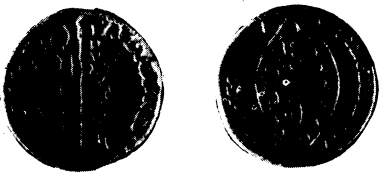

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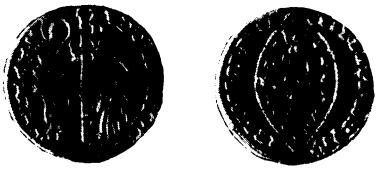

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VENETIAN COINS