CHAPTER - IV

THE POST MAURYAN PERIOD

(A) THE BACTRIANS OF WESTERN INDIA:

The peaceful policy followed by Asoka Maurya after his war with Kalinga and his acceptance of Buddhism had already made the mighty Mauryan Empire militarily timid towards the end of Asoka's rule encouraging the Governors of the frontier provinces of his far flung Empire to assert their independence. But Buddhism and the inherent strength of the political and administrative structure of the Mauryas continued to hold the Empire together till Asoka's death in about 236 B.C., after which it was divided into two, one ruled by Dasaratha with its capital at Pataliputra and the other by Samprati, with its capital at Ujjain, the all important market town in Western Malwa, which connected the Western Coast ports, including Broach, to the east-west Pataliputra-Takshashila road in the Gangetic plains in the north and to the Mahishmati-Paithan road, to the Deccan in the south. The links of Ujjain and Broach having been firmly established during Asoka's rule, it is likely that the port was within the territories ruled by Samprati till the Bactrians overwhelmed Western India.

But Kashmir under Jaluka and Gandhara under Virasena, which together controlled the Kabul-Swat-Taxila route, had
asserted their independence and Antiochus the Great had renewed the Seleucid alliance with Subhaga-Sena of Gandhara by 206 B.C.,\(^1\) only three decades after Asoka's death. The links of the Ganges Plain with the Persian-Afghanistan Plateau was thus broken. Broach which was connected to the Great Hindustan Road to Persia, through Ujjain found itself deprived of its land connections with West Asia. But the Gangetic Plain being landlocked without an outlet, Broach became a target of attack from the Powers that were thrusting into India through the north western mountain wall.

But the Seleucids were weak and could not keep the Bactrians under control. Situated in the fertile valley between the Hindu Kush and the Oxus and commanding the trade routes from the Mediterranean to Central Asia, China and India, through Balkh (Bactria.), the Bactrians were a commercially important people even under the Achaemenians, who had recruited them into their army and allowed them to trade in the urban areas of their vast Empire.\(^2\) The Seleucids who succeeded the Achaemenians were forced to recognise the independence of the Bactrian Governor Diodotus in 200 B.C., which paved the way for the Bactrian invasion of India.\(^3\) Under Demetrius I they succeeded in extending their sway over South Afghanistan (Arachosia) and Makran (Gedrosia). But the more important trade route to India lay through Kapisa and Gandhara. Demetrius II was more ambitious and crossed into the Punjab and made his way down to the Indus Delta and Cutch.
He seems to have held the Swat Valley (which controlled the natural route to Takshashila), the Hazara District and the Punjab up to the river Ravi. Appolodotus and Menander who succeeded Demetrius II consolidated the Bactrian territories in India. They extended their power up to the Jamuna in the east and established themselves firmly at Mathura. They seem to have invaded Saketa (Oudh) and Panchala (Ganga-Yamuna Doab). Pataliputra itself was threatened by the Bactrians according to the reports of Patanjali. At the height of their power, the Bactrians seem to have held the middle Indus Basin (up to Mathura), Sind, Cutch, Saurashtra and parts of Mainland Gujarat. The evidence of Greek (Bactrian) rule in north-western India is mainly based on the discovery of their coins which were found in Mathura, Delhi, Kabul and Broach. This has led to the conclusion that Broach at this time was a Bactrian port and that the Bactrians held the entire North Western India and parts of the Afghanistan Plateau.

But the Bactrians of India did not have a free hand to extend their sway either to the Persian-Afghanistan Plateau or to the Indian Plains without being challenged by other dynasties equally ambitious to control the commerce of the Indian Ocean, once commanded by the Mauryans.

In their own homeland the Bactrians were facing internecine wars. The House of Eukratides challenged Demetrius of the House of Euthydemis. Eukratides seized Seistan, Arachosia, Aria and Bactria beyond the frontiers of India. Soon
Kapisa and Alexandria (Herat) fell to him. Appolodotus, the successor of Demetrius II is said to have died fighting Eukratides. But Eukratides himself was challenged in the Persian-Afghanistan Plateau when the weak Seleucids were overthrown by the Parthians. Mithradates I succeeded in bringing under control the Saka-Scythian tribes who, driven from their Central Asian homes by the Yuechchis, poured into the Parthian territories. Mithradates used the military strength of the Saka-Scythians against Eukratides. The latter lost all his West Asian lands and his life in 169 B.C. When Meander came into possession of the Indian territories of the Bactrians, in 162 B.C. the challenge of the rival house of Eukratides had ceased but Mithradates I (171 - 138 B.C.), the Parthian ruler was a power to be reckoned with. There is record that he captured the all important market town of Takshashila which gave access to the Indian Plains.

The Parthians and the rival Bactrian faction were not the only powers that harassed the Bactrian House in India. They were challenged in their eastward expansion in the Indian Plains by Pushyamitra Sunga of Pataliputra and Kharavela of Kalinga.

Brihadrata, the last of the Mauryan kings in Pataliputra, was driven to take up a stand against the Bactrians. Patanjali reports that the outlying territories of the Magadhan Kingdom, Saketa, Panchala, Madhyamika and Pataliputra itself were
threatened by the Yavanas (as the Greeks were known in Indian History). Brithadrata was militarily weak and the challenge was taken up by his Commander-in-Chief, Pushyamitra, who founded the Sunga dynasty in Pataliputra in 185 B.C. He seems to have halted the Greeks at Madhyamika (Nagari) and rescued the capital, Pataliputra.\(^{(7)}\)

In the meanwhile Kharavela of Kalinga also prepared to fight the Bactrians, indirectly helping Pushyamitra, although he considered him his enemy. Kharavela pushed back Demetrius, and the Bactrians had to flee from Mathura in 175 B.C.\(^{(8)}\) But his death in 169 B.C. left the Bactrians free to re-establish themselves at least up to Mathura, because Menander, who was their ruler in 162 B.C., seems to have been in possession of it. Pushyamitra however, held them in check beyond Mathura. The eastern frontier of the Bactrians was therefore a fluid one, depending on the strength of the westward thrust of Magadha and Kalinga, both of which were ruled by ambitious and militarily strong kings at this time. The threat from Kalinga ceased with the death of Kharavela, but Pushyamitra Sunga continued to rule till 148 B.C., about which time the last of the Bactrian rulers of India also died. Pushyamitra was therefore a contemporary of all the three great Bactrian rulers of India, Demetrius II, Appolodotus and Menander.

After the death of Kharavela, Pushyamitra felt secure to embark on a policy of expansion. A Mauryan resurrection in
Vidarbha (Berar) turned him to the south-west. Vidarbha controlled the Nagpur-Nasik route to the West Coast ports. With the Mathura route blocked by the Bactrians and the Ujjain route of doubtful value to Magadha, Pushyamitra's ambitions led him to Vidarbha. The Vidarbha campaign of Pushyamitra, conducted by his son Agnimitra, and immortalised in Kalidasa's Malavikagnimitra, demarcated the south western limits of the Magadhan Kingdom. But the campaign brought him into a headlong clash with the Satavahanas of the Deccan.

The Satavahanas (Andhras) were a quite powerful people even at the height of the Mauryan Empire. It was Bindusara (298-274 B.C.), who succeeded in bringing the scattered Andhra groups under the Mauryan suzerainty. But Simuka (271-248 B.C.) was able to unite the powerful Andhra families and induce them to acknowledge his leadership. However, he accepted Asoka as the Sovereign ruler. The Nasik Cave Inscription suggests that under Simuka and Kanha, Nasik was the north western most limit of the Satavahana kingdom. After the death of Asoka and between 230 B.C. and 194 B.C. the Satavahanas consolidated their power in the Deccan. In 184 B.C. when Satakarni II ascended the throne he decided upon a policy of expansion. The Mauryan Empire had tottered both in Pataliputra and Ujjain. The Sungas under Pushyamitra had firm control over Magadha. Kharavela of Kalinga was a strong foe on his eastern frontier and the Bactrians were pouring into the north west plains of
India across the mountain barriers. They were already in possession of the Punjab, Sind, Cutch, Saurashtra and were threatening to invade Magadha. Satakarni's greatest danger was on his north western frontier, where his territories abutted on the Bactrian possessions. The country between the Bactrians and the Satavahanas was difficult mountain country. The Bactrians' general thrust was through plains and river valleys. Sheltered behind the mountain barrier, Satakarni could hold the Bactrians in check at least temporarily. But Satakarni was quite aware that the Bactrians would seek to capture the important port of Broach and that the Nerbada Valley would give them access to the Deccan. For the first twenty years of his reign however, Satakarni was content to be a spectator and not get involved in a war with powerful foes. He decided that the eastward expansion of the Bactrians across the Yamuna-Ganga Doab would bring them into conflict with both Pushyamitra and Kharavela, and that, he could safely build up his strength against the Bactrians on his north-western border which was crucial significance to him. His hope was justified when Kharavela forced back the Bactrians from Mathura in 175 B.C. and Pushyamitra proved a powerful check on their eastward thrust beyond Mathura and Madhyamika (Nagari 80 miles north-west of Ujjain). Between 184 B.C. and 165 B.C. Satakarni consolidated his power in the Deccan. But he embarked on a policy of expansion after the death of Kharavela in 169 B.C. He decided to take Kalinga before Pushyamitra could
strengthen himself militarily on his south and eastern frontier. Kalinga proved a great military asset to him and he became more confident of his capacity to expand his kingdom. Gradually he brought West Malwa (Avanti) with the important market town of Ujjain, under his control. His conquest of East Malwa (Vidisa) with Vidisa as its capital, had to await the death of Pushyamitra in 148 B.C. Satakarni survived Pushyamitra by 19 years, during which period, it looked as though the Satavahanas were the only power in India, with which the Bactrians had to contend. Satakarni's rule of 56 years was a continuous success. The Kingdom of Malwa, both east and west, the Kingdom of Kalinga and the extensive Dakhinapata acknowledged his sovereignty. But he died in 128 B.C., 20 years after the last of the great Bactrian rulers of India (Menander 162 B.C. to 148 B.C.) died.

The political situation in Central and West Asia and India during the period when Bactrian supremacy was at its height (from Demetrius II to Menander) was therefore not conducive to the Bactrians to command a monopoly of the trade of India either by land or sea, which the Mauryan Empire enjoyed. Bactria, Takshashila and Ujjain, three of the well-known market centres which controlled the trade of Broach with West Asia, China (by land) and the Mediterranean cities were outside their control. Mathura was their eastern most limit but its links with Ujjain and Pataliputra were broken with the rise of the Sungas and the Satavahanas. The North-East
and the Deccan lay beyond Bactrian command. By sea they seem to have had the use of only the Saurashtra coastal route to Cutch and Sind and the Makran Coast route to the Red sea. The Mesopotamian area was overrun by the Parthians before Demetrius II could establish himself in the Punjab. It is also doubtful whether Broach was a Bactrian port right through the period of their supremacy in India. Demetrius I did not possess any part of the Indian plains. Demetrius II held only the Punjab, Sind and Cutch. By this time the rival House of Eukratides had already deprived the Bactrians of India of their homeland territories. Seistan, Arachosia, Aria and Bactria had fallen to Eukratides. The land routes to China and to the Mediterranean were blocked by rival factions. By the time Appolodotus assumed authority over the Indian territories of the Bactrians. Mithradates I, the Parthian Emperor was in possession of Takshashila and the land routes through Gandhara and the Swat Valley. The Takshashila route to Central Asia and the West, and the Ujjain route to the Deccan in the south and the territories beyond Mathura in the east were not at the disposal of the Bactrians. The two Bactrian rulers who perhaps held sway over Broach were Appolodotus and Menander. Their authority was limited to Saurashtra, Cutch and Sind in the west and up to Mathura in the East. Broach as a Bactrian port, therefore, had a truncated hinterland, much more limited than the one she commanded under the Mauryans.
Tarn is of the opinion that Appolodotus was ruler of Barygaza and that the Bactrians, in his time, reached up to Surat on mainland Gujarat. The Periplus refers to the old military camps, shrines, walls, forts and wells in Broach as evidence of Bactrian rule in that port. Coins of Appolodotus and Menander have also been discovered in Broach.

It is not surprising if the major flow of the trade of Broach under Appolodotus and Menander was through Saurashtra to Cutch and Roruka in Sind. Another difficult route was through Patan and Minnagara (Sind) to Patala on the Indus Delta. A third route, by which the trade of Broach was conducted was through Jullundur, Sialkot, Taxila and Purushapura to Kabul. But this route was not always at the disposal of the Bactrians of India. The Gandharan rulers, the Seleucids, the house of Eukratides and Mitradates I, the Parthian ruler, were in turn in control of this route at one time or other during the period of the Bactrian supremacy in India. Blocked in the north and east, Broach was forced to turn to Saurashtra, Cutch and Sind all of which were under Bactrian rule and conduct its sea trade with Egypt and the Arabian Coast along the Makran Coast.

Besides the land routes to Saurashtra, Cutch and Sind, the Bactrians also maintained a coastal sea route along the Saurashtra-Cutch and Sind coast which linked Broach with the ports of Somnath Patan, Mangrol, Dwaraka and Patala. Important
interior towns, like Girinagara and Patan had adequate contact with the coastal and sea route. The connections of Broach with Saurashtra, Cutch and Sind were very close at this time.

The age long contacts of Broach with the Red Sea ports and Egypt were now maintained partially by the Bactrians along the Makran and Arabian coast. Although the Monsoons were not yet known to the Greeks, the Indians, Arabs, Ethiopians and the Egyptians were quite familiar with the changing winds of the Arabian Sea and could sail out of sight of land. Tarn says that most of the trade of Broach was conducted in Indian ships.

Egypt at this time was ruled by the Ptolemies who were also considered to be of Greek origin. The Ptolemies established themselves in Egypt almost at the same time as the Mauryans in India and the Seleucids in the Mesopotamian Valley. They continued to rule Egypt till 31 B.C. The Bactrians of India, being of Greek origin had no difficulty in re-establishing the contacts of Broach with Ptolemaic Egypt.

Tarn says that ships laden with Indian goods sailed west beyond Sind, followed the Gedrosian Coast (Makran coast) as Nearchus had done, called at Patala on the way, and continued along the Arabian coast. (13) Warmington also confirms that, from the time of Nearchus to that of the Roman Emperor Tiberius (14 A.D.- 37 A.D.), ships went from the mouth of the Indus to the Gedrosian coast and from thence to the
Asiatic coast of Carmania and Arabia to Ras Musandum or Ras al Hadd (on the eastern tip of the Arabian coast) and reached Eudaemon, a very early port, perhaps, the Eden of Ezekiel, known to Ptolemaic as well as to Roman Egypt. It was from Eudaemon that goods were transhipped to the Mediterranean markets. From the mouth of the Red Sea there was a regular trade route across the Tigre Highlands of Ethiopia to the Atbara tributary of the Nile. Meroe the old market town of Ptolemy II stood at the confluences of the Atbara and the Blue Nile. But Meroe was now able to draw the resources of the Negro country through the many natural rift valley routes of Africa. The routes from southern Africa converged on Meroe. Besides, Meroe was connected through the Abyssinian route to Eudaemon and by the old trade routes to Myos Hormos and Berenice, all of which had an extensive trade with India and with the coasts of Arabia and East Africa. The Abyssinians were originally of Hamitic stock, like the Egyptians, and as such contact with Egypt through Abyssinia was not difficult. Meroe was a suitable connecting link between the Red sea ports and Nile. Further north, near the town of Aswan the Nile went through a narrow gorge and Meroe was connected to Aswan which was also a great market centre of Egypt. Aswan was on the frontier of Egypt and it was a distributing centre for the goods that came from India and the Arabian coasts. The Kingdom of Egypt at this time stretched only from the Nile Delta to Aswan. The rivalry of the Arabs and the Indians in
the Red Sea trade drove the Bactrians to seek the Ethiopian route to Egypt and the Nile and from thence to the Mediterranean.

Myos Hormos of Ptolemy Philadelphus, continued its trade with India as Mussel Harbour. It was six or seven days journey from the Nile and the old desert route connected it with the highway to Alexandria. Mussel Harbour continued to be considered a safer port than Arsinoe (near modern Suez) which, even though nearer to the Egyptian capital, was difficult of access because of the bad passage through the Gulf of Suez. Vessels bound for India left Mussel Harbour in July and if they cleared the Red Sea before the beginning of September, they had the Monsoon winds to carry them across the Arabian Sea to Broach and other west coast ports. Ships left Mussel Harbour for the ports of the coasts of Africa and Arabia about Autumn Equinox, when the north west wind, then prevailing, carried them quickly to the mouth of the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden. (16)

Berenice, another port of Ptolemy Philadelphus and of the Romans later, continued its extensive trade with India and Broach. Its natural harbour, even though small, was suitable for the Indian and Egyptian ships. A road existed from the time of Ptolemy II, connecting Berenice with the Nile waterway.
Ptolemais, also established by Ptolemy Philadelphus, but which was all but eclipsed by Myos Hormos and Berenice during the period of the Mauryan trade with the Ptolemies, was used for the Bactrian trade of India with Egypt. The desert road which connected it to Meroe and from thence to Aswan on the Nile was again opened up for the trade of the Bactrians. Ptolemais commanded this old trade route from the Red Sea to the Nile which terminated at Meroe.\(^{(17)}\) Its hinterland was very rich in many products like ivory, elephants etc. Another Egyptian port of Ptolemy Philadelphus, which continued its trade with the Bactrians of Broach, was Adulis (Massowa on the Eretrean coast). It was of great commercial importance not only to Egypt but also to Sudan and Abyssinia for which it was a natural outlet.\(^{(18)}\)

It is obvious that Broach as a Bactrian port maintained close links with the Ptolemaic ports of Egypt. Egypt, in turn, had a trade with the coasts and interior of southern Africa. Rhapta, some distance from Zanzibar, was the last settlement on the African coast visited by Egyptian ships at this time.\(^{(19)}\) Both the Arabs and the Indians were also active in this trade.

Along the Arabian coast also, the physical features, the currents and winds and the richness of the country in frankincense, together with the fact that it was an alternate outlet from the Mediterranean coast to the Arabian Sea and that the Arabians who lived on the coast were commercially always active, allowed the Bactrians of Broach to carry on some trade with that coast.
During the period of the Bactrians in Western India, the Frankincense Country upto Masira, was held by the Aethiopians (Ethiopians). They seem to have had under their control Kuria Muria Isles, Socotra and Masira, all strategically situated to control the trade route from Western India to Ethiopia. The Ethiopians, being friendly with the Bactrians, there is reason to believe that their ports on the Arabian coast were open to the Bactrians. The coastal route from Broach went along the Dhofar and Hadramaut coast to Socotra and Ethiopia from where goods were carried by land to the Nile and to Alexandria. Socotra was an important centre of international trade where Arabs, Ethiopians and Indians particularly those from the Gulf of Cambay and the Gulf of Cutch met and exchanged goods.

Tarn also mentions the trade of India with Seleucia in the Mesopotamian Valley (Persian Gulf). Particularly between 175 B.C. and 150 B.C. "The outburst of prosperity in the city is attested by the heavy increase in the output of its Mint." The period, he says, coincides with the Bactrian supremacy in India. Since the Bactrians are supposed to have held also Broach, it may be assumed that Broach took part in the Persian Gulf trade and the trade with Seleucia. But the land flanking the Persian Gulf was in turmoil because of the rivalry of the house of Eukratides, the rise of the Parthians and the Saka-Scythian tribes. It is more likely that the major
flow of the trade of Broach, when the Badtrians held it, was through Sind to the Arabian coast, Ethiopia, Egypt and the Red Sea ports.

Much of the Bactrian trade with the Arabian Sea ports and the Red Sea ports seems to have survived mainly because of the strength of the trade of the Western India ports with these areas established at an earlier period. It was a traditional trade which political up-heavals could only partially disturb.

The products which entered the trade of Broach was limited to those of its hinterland and foreland. The hinterland of Broach was truncated. She was cut off from Ujjain and Madhyamika and could not get the muslins, pearls, hard, sugar, oil etc. which came to it through Ujjain. The Takasha-shila route to Central Asia, was also cut off from the Mathura Road and products from the Himalayan regions like saffron, wool, fur etc. ceased to flow to Broach for export. The products of the Deccan were now directed more and more to the ports of Kalleina and Sopara which were safer for the Satavahana trade.

Tarn says that the silk trade of the Bactrians with China continued. Silk and jade from China and silk and scallop shell from Japan entered Barygaza. He also mentions a pepper trade with Malabar. Since the land route to China through Central Asia was more or less closed to the Bactrians
of India it is possible that Bactrians received the commodi-
ties of the Far East through the Malabar or Konkan ports and
and that Broach maintained its links with these ports by sea.
References:

(A) THE BACTRIANS OF WESTERN INDIA:

(1) a. V.A. Smith, The Early History of India, (Oxford) 1924, pp.236-237. Controversies regarding dates in Indian History are not considered for obvious reasons. The more accepted dates are passed.

(2) a. V.A. Smith, op.cit., p.234.
   b. R. Thapar, op.cit., p.94.
   c. W.W. Tarn, The Greeks of Bactria and India, (Cambridge) 1938. For a full history of the Bactrians of India from Demetrius to Menander - see Chapter IV to VII.

(3) a. V.A. Smith, op.cit., p.236.
   b. The Periplus, op.cit., p.184. According to the Periplus the independence of Bactria under the Greeks was finally recognised in 208 B.C.

(4) a. V.A. Smith, op.cit., p.237.
   b. R. Thapar, op.cit., pp.94-95.
   c. G. Yazdani, op.cit., p.115.

   b. R. Thapar, op.cit., p.95.
   c. G. Yazdani, op.cit., p.115.
(6) a. R. Thapar, op.cit., p.35.
   c. G. Yazdani, op.cit., p.115. Footnote. (1)

   c. Edited by R.C. Mazumdar, and A.D. Pusalkar, The Age of Imperial Unity (History and Culture of the People of India), Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan) 1960, p.96.

(8) a. Age of Imperial Unity, op.cit., p.214.

(9) a. G. Yazdani, op.cit., p.117.
   b. Age of Imperial Unity, op.cit., p.96.


(14) E.H. Warrington, The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India, (Cambridge) 1928, pp.44-45.

(15) The Periplus, op.cit., p.57.

(16) The Periplus, op.cit., p.52.

(17) The Periplus, op.cit., p.60.

(18) The Periplus, op.cit., p.60.
Whatever the extent of the Bactrian rule in India their supremacy was short lived and confined to the period of Appolodotus and Menander. Menander became a Buddhist (Milinda of the Indian History). He is reported to have died sometime between 150 B.C. and 145 B.C. Right through his life therefore he had to contend with the Parthian-Scythian (Saka) supremacy beyond the frontiers of India, that of Pushyamitra Sunga in Pataliputra and of Satakarni II in Ujjain and the Deccan. After Menander's death a period of Regency was set up when his minor son Strato assumed authority over the Bactrian territories of India. The weakness of the Regency brought Heliocles, the son of the rival house of Bukratides, on the Indian scene. He seized Gandhara and Takashashila. Menander's dominions broke up and Saurashtra, Sind and Cutch had to fend for themselves. Broach at this time must have been deprived of even the limited hinterland it enjoyed under the Bactrians. Heliocles was succeeded by Antialkidas in 130 B.C. But neither he nor his predecessor had any control of the Indian plains or the West Asian routes to India.

The Bactrian resurrection under the House of Bukratides was only a dying effort to re-establish authority. Mithradates I (171-138 B.C.), the Parthian ruler, proved too strong for the
Bactrians. He conquered Taxila and controlled the route to the Hindustan Plains. However, the short lived Bactrian supremacy in India and their direct participation in the Indian Ocean trade with Egypt and Arabia paved the way for Roman expansion to West Asia.

Rome was a Mediterranean Power. Even while the Mauryan Power was at its height in India, Rome had defeated the Greeks of the Eastern Mediterranean (260 B.C. - 230 B.C.) and inherited the sea power of the Greeks. The conquest of Carthage, situated strategically to command the Sicilian Channel in the Mediterranean, enabled the Romans to extend their sway over the West Mediterranean. The Mediterranean became a Roman Sea. With their control of the Mediterranean trade it was only natural that the Romans should seek to conquer West Asia and Egypt, both of which linked the Mediterranean with the Arabian Sea, giving access to the coveted trade of the Indian Ocean. By 189 B.C. Rome gained a footing in Lydia (Asia Minor) and gained control of the Dardanelles-Bosporus route (Black Sea) to the grain rich land of the Steppes. The control of the Black Sea route increased the commercial strength of Rome. Rome followed up her victory and advanced to the Levant (the Mediterranean coast of the Arabian Peninsula) which was the terminus for all the trade routes from Central Asia, the Persian-Afghanistan-Plateau and the Mesopotamian Valley through the Fertile Crescent. The conquest of the Levant by
Rome was a great economic loss to the Powers that ruled West Asian lands as their links with the Mediterranean were blocked.

But Rome could not expand beyond the coasts of the Levant without being challenged by other powers. The weak Seleucids were overpowered by the Parthians under Mithradates I. Finding Rome a greater threat, he and his successors concentrated their military strength on their Western Frontier. Between the Romans and the Parthians there developed a frontier Roman defence line extending from the highland masses of Nisibin through Jebel Sinjar and across the deserts to Hauran and Jebel Druse. It was marked by Roman fortresses and signal stations throughout its length. These fulfilled the dual role of military bases during times of war with Parthia and that of trade depots to exchange goods during more peaceful times. More particularly it marked the westernmost limit for East-West trade between Parthia and Rome and between the Saka-Scythian dynasties of the subcontinent and the Mediterranean, through land. The early Saka-Scythian rulers of India and their Kshatrapas in the different provinces maintained close links with their overlords, the Parthians, and benefited by the Parthian control of the trade routes to the East. It was the dependence of Rome on Parthia for its trade with the East that prompted her to seek an alternate sea route to the Arabian Sea. It was the same motive that
prompted Portugal to discover the Cape of Good Hope route, some 15 centuries later, when the Arab-Muslims blocked the trade across West Asia and Egypt, that forced Rome in the 1st century B.C. to conquer Egypt. The trade of Rome with the East was freed of Parthian dependence and the land routes when Ptolemaic Egypt fell to Rome in 31 B.C. But till Hippalus, a Greek merchant of Egypt, discovered that the Indians and Arabs used the changing Monsoons to propel their ships to and fro, Roman ships clung to the coast from Eudaemon on the Arabian coast to Barbaricum on the mouth of the Indus. In the 1st century A.D., with the discovery of the Monsoon, Roman ships began to strike across the sea, out of sight of land. The swing of Roman trade from the coastal north to the Western Coast ports across the sea had a deep impact on the trade of Broach.

The rise of Rome kept Parthia engaged on the Levant coast. She therefore lost control of her eastern frontiers. The Sakas poured into Parthia by 128 B.C. They were a turbulent people and were a great trouble to Mithradates I (171-138 B.C.), Phrates (138-128 B.C.) and Arthabanus I (128-123 B.C.). Mithradates II (123-88 B.C.) was able to hold them back mainly because the Yucchchis were threatening them in their homelands in Central Asia. Thus diverted, the Saka-Scythians poured into India through the Quetta-Bolan passage, and established a kingdom in the Lower Indus, Patalene (Patala), Cutch and Saurashtra. The Parthian power began to
decline after the death of Mithradates II in 88 B.C. which left
the Saka-Scythians free to move up the Indus under the leader­
ship of Maues by 80 B.C. He took possession of the Indus Basin
up to Jhelum and controlled most of the territories once ruled
by the Bactrians of India. Gandhara, with its control point
Takshashila, and West Punjab with another important strategic
point, Sakala, came under his sway. But the Parthians under
Vonones still held Seistan and Arachosia which blocked the
Quetta-Bolan passage to Persia for the Saka-Scythians. Both
the Parthian and the Saka-Scythians adopted the title of King
of Kings at this time and both had Pallava-Saka names that it
is difficult to distinguish them as two separate dynasties or
discover the relationship between the two. They seem to have
merged into one group at the time Azes I succeeded to both
the Pallava and Saka territories. He extended his authority
upto Mathura and is said to be the founder of the Vikram\text{\textsubscript}Era in
India starting from 58 B.C. Almost all lands from the
Euphrates to the Yamuna passed into the hands of Azes.\textsuperscript{4} He
and his successors ruled as the suzerian power while their vast
Empire including the Indian domains were ruled by their
Kshatrapas (Satraps). These Kshatrapas exercised almost
sovereign powers in their own territories. The best known
Kshatrapa families of India were those of Takashashila,Mathura,
Saurashtra and Malwa. When Rome reached Egypt, the Pallava-
Saka-Scythians were in control in north-west India and the
Persian-Afghanistan Plateau.
The Pallava-Saka-Scythians were in turn overwhelmed by the Yuechhis. Kadphesus I (48 A.D. - 78 A.D.) succeeded in bringing the Yuechchi clans together. By the middle of the 1st century A.D. the entire north-west India and the Persian-Afghanistan Plateau lay open to successive migrations of the Parthians, Saka-Scythians and the Yuechhis. Kadphesus I succeeded in taking Kabul the control point on the Takshashila route to India. He moved to Kashmir through the Swat-Chitral-Khyber routes. To facilitate his trade he struck coins in imitation of the Roman coins. But the coins of Kadphesus II (78 A.D. to 120 A.D.) were similar to those of India. The conquests of Kadphesus I and II brought the Saka-Scythian-Yuechhis to the Indus Basin. The connection of Kanishka of the Kushana Dynasty in India (who succeeded Kadphesus II) with the Yuechhis, Saka-Scythians and the Parthians is not known. The date of his accession also is doubtful varying from 78 A.D. to 144 A.D. Whether the Kushanas were an offshoot of the Parthians, Scythian-Sakas or Yuechhis, they were certainly of Central Asian origin. Kanishka died fighting the Chinese in Central Asia. An era starting with 78 A.D. is known as the Sakas era in Indian history. If the earlier date of Kanishka is accepted he must be of Saka-Scythian origin. In any case, there is reason to believe that the Kushanas were quite friendly with the Pallava (Parthian)-Saka-Scythians of West Asia and trade between them flourished during this time.
Whatever the origin and date of the Kushanas of India, Kanishka's Empire reached up to Kasi-Sarnath in the east, the Afghanistan Plateau in the West, Khotan in the north and Sanchi in the South. His Central Asian connection and his hold on the trade routes through the Chitral-Swat Valleys swung the trade of the Gangetic Valley to West Asia, the Aralo-Caspian region and China through the passes across the north Western mountain barrier. Broach once again proved to be the nearest sea outlet for the landlocked kingdom of the Gangetic plain. The military thrust of the Kushanas was therefore, to the Cutch-Gujarat coasts. The fact that Kanishka, like the Bactrian king, Menander, before him, became a Buddhist, made him acceptable to many of the nations outside his kingdom which professed the religion by now, making commercial contacts on a friendly basis easier. Kanishka's successors ruled for 150 years but by that time they had ceased to be a Gangetic Power. Rajataragini mentions that Huvishka and Vasudeva were successors of Kanishka in Kashmir. By the time, of Vasudeva the Kushanas had become Hinduised.

The Saka-Scythian conquest of the north west forced the Andhras of the Deccan to keep well south of the Narbada-Tapti valleys. After the death of Satakarni II in 128 B.C. The Andhra rulers did not entertain any thought of expansion similar to his for nearly 100 years. With the reign of Apilka (110 - 98 B.C.) the Andhra power began to decline till they
were reduced to a mere Deccan Power. They lost Vidisa, Malwa and all their northern provinces. But their Deccan provinces remained intact for 55 years after Apilaka. Kuntala (52-44 B.C.) ruled over the "country from Bhima to Krishna which also included Kolhapur and other southern Maratha states such as Miraj, Belgaum, Dharwar and parts of Hyderabad-Mysore and north Kanara." The Andhras were able to retain their hold over such a large territory in the Deccan, even during their declining days, because there was no other power to challenge them in the south.

But the elimination of other powers from the Indian Scene did not bring any relief to the Satavahanas. When Pulamayi I ascended the throne in 43 B.C. (?) the political situation in was the same as that during Satakarni II's time. Instead of the Bactrians pouring into India from the north west, there were the Saka-Scythian-Pallavas who dominated the land. Malwa and the Andhra lands of Central India had fallen into the hands of the foreigners.

But in the north east there was no great power to challenge Pulamayi. The Sunga power had declined after Pushyamitra and his son Agnimitra. They were overthrown in 73 B.C. by the Kanvas, but Vasudeva of the Kanva dynasty could not control the Sunga territories. By the time Narayana Kanva ascended the throne in 38 B.C. Pulamayi I, the Andhra ruler, had formally established himself in the Deccan. The
Kanvas were weak and the Saka-Scythian threat from the northwest was serious. The fall of Magadha was imminent. Pulamayi was determined that it should not surrender to the foreigner. He struck Magadha in 28 B.C. and defeated the Kanvas. He followed up his victories with the conquest of Avanti (West Malwa) and Akara (East Malwa) and stemmed the progress of the Saka-Scythians. He ushered in a second era of Andhra expansion in the strategic area of Malwa. But it lasted only till his death.

Pulamayi's successes proved to be his weakness. He had a far flung empire with inconvenient elongations into Magadha, Central India and in parts of the Deccan which he found difficult to defend. The Sakas forced out of Malwa became turbulent and restless on his frontiers. For a time it looked as through the Satavahanas had to bear the full brunt or the Saka invasion. The Saka-Scythians were in full control of Takshashila, Mathura, Cutch and Saurashtra and their thrust was to Malwa and the Gujarat coasts. The integrity of the western dominions of the Sakas and the Satrapy of Mathura were threatened by Pulamayi. The Sakas took up the challenge seriously. Pulamayi I survived the Andhra-Saka war only for five years. He died in 19 B.C. leaving the Western Kshatrapas of the Sakas free to recapture the dominions earlier wrested by the Satavahanas. Pulamayi was succeeded by a line of rulers none of whom could challenge the might of the Saka Kshatrapas.
But the Andhras continued to maintain their Deccan dominions intact.

The early Kshatrapas of Western India were perhaps vassals of the Pallava (Parthian)-Saka. Bhumaka (70 A.D. - 90 A.D.) considered himself subject to Kadphisus. He held in Satrapy Gujarat, Saurashtra and Malwa. But the area included in Gujarat at this time did not confirm to that of present day Gujarat. Gujarat was divided into three, Saurashtra, Anarta and Lata. Saurashtra had definite sea boundaries on three sides and except for its north eastern frontiers, which merged with mainland Gujarat, it was comparatively a stable unit. The boundaries of Anarta coincided roughly with that of north Gujarat with Mount Abu in the north, the Rann of Cutch in the west, Malwa in the east and hardly upto Ahmedabad in the south. Lata roughly corresponded to South Gujarat, but parts of it were included in Aparantaka, the coast between the Mahi and Goa, whenever a powerful Deccan ruler extended his sway to the coast. The boundary of Lata shifted between the Mahi and the Narbada in the south and the Mahi and the Sabarmati in the north. The territory between the Mahi and the Narbada had a name of its own suggestive of the importance of Broach at the time. It was called Barukachcha Samaheya and its people Mahi Thirtha Nivasin and it had an individuality of its own, distinct from that of Lata and Aparantaka. Perhaps Broach was left to fend for itself
(including Ajmer) to present Bombay in the south and from Malwa in the east to the Arabian Sea in the West. Usabdhata or Ushavadatta his son-in-law, who was governor of Nasik, is said to have made a donation of land to the Brahmins of Broach and also constructed a ferry across the Tapi (12) to strengthen the coastal route up to Surat. It is also reported that when Nabhovahana (Nahapana) was ruling in Broach, the Satavahanas held Paithan. Nahapanas territories in the South, therefore, must have been limited to the coastal areas. The capture of the coast by Nahapana, with its important ports, made clashes with the Satavahanas inevitable. The Satavahanas were also anxious to reach out to the western coast as their kingdom now stretched across the Plateau. The struggle of the coastal kingdom of Nahapana and the Plateau kingdom of the Satavahanas for the possession of the lucrative port of Broach is recorded in Jain literature. The wealth of Nahapana's kingdom was derived from its sea borne trade and there is every reason to believe that the trade of many of the famous western coast ports including that of Broach was in his possession. Broach however being on the frontiers of the two kingdoms was a target of attack. The rivalry between the two enabled Broach at times to defy both and assume independence and draw strength from its trade. But the unsettled conditions had an impact on its trade and the extent and location of its hinterland from where it drew its sustenance for its overseas trade with the Red-Sea - Persian Gulf region and
the Far East. The early Kshatrapas, Bhumaka and Nahapana, maintained friendly relations with the Kushanās of the Gangetic plain whose connections stretched up to Central Asia. They had also under their control the Malwa corridor, the vital link between Gujarat and the Gangetic plain. The Dholka-Varamgam-Wadhwan route and their possession of Saurashtra gave them access to the Arabian Sea coast. The coastal route to the Konkan gave them control over the approaches to the upper Konkan ports. Broach as a port of the Nahapana kingdom had every opportunity to extend its hinterland from the Persian-Afghanistan plateau and Central Asia in the north west to Malwa and Kasi in the north east. But its southern hinterland was limited by the Satavahanas on the Deccan plateau, although Nahapana's control of Nasik and the Bombay coast placed him in a position to command, at least partially, the resources of the Deccan plateau. But the major land connections of Broach at this time was towards the north, and north-west and up to Kasi in the north-east, the limits of the Kushana kingdom in the Gangetic plain.

Both Bhumaka and Nahapana knew that the prosperity of their kingdom depended on trade. They strengthened the trade routes and widened the hinterland of their ports and market towns. They built ferries across rivers and maintained sailing boats and caravans for inland and river traffic. They constructed wells, without any levy of tax, on the trade routes
for the use of the travellers. The Sakas, Parthians and the Indo-Greeks settled in many of the trading centres including Broach and improved their trade. Taxila, Mathura, Mandasaur, Ujjain, Kashi, Minnagara, Patala, Mahishmati, Burhanpur and Paithan were some of the great interior market towns on which converged the trade routes. Beyond the subcontinent Sactria (Balkh) controlled the trade routes from the Mediterranean through the Fertile Crescent and those to China and India. The major ports of the time received goods from all these collecting and trading centres and exported them to the various countries across the seas.

Broach, being one of the best equipped ports at the time, was connected to all the important towns of the interior by a well laid out transport system.

The Broach-Kathiawar-Cutch route to Sind and from thence to the Thar desert ran along the broad coastal plain from Broach to the Mahi from where it traversed through the Dholka-Viramgam gap to north Saurashtra, Cutch and thence to Minnagara and Patala in Sind. The journey across the sandy terrain was cumbersome but camels, for which Sind was well known, provided a means of transport. Sind was at this time quite a good source of cotton and other products like myrrh, horses and camels. Situated between the Afghanistan-Persian Plateau and the Gujarat plains it had both a land trade and a coastal trade with the Gujarat ports.
The route to Rajasthan was also in part through sandy terrain. It ran from Broach to Mandasaur and Jetpur (near Chittorgarh) on the Malwa plateau and turning west reached Minnagar in Sind. Goods came to Sind from the Punjab, Baluchistan, Rajasthan and the Persian-Afghanistan plateau. Myrrh, lycium, spikenard and honey came from the Punjab and Baluchistan, camels and horses from Rajasthan and horses and silk from Persia.

A third route ran from Broach along the Narbada valley to Mahishmati in the east from where it took advantage of the Dhar-Indore gap in the Vindhyas to reach the well-known trading and market town of Ujjain. Ujjain at this time was a great collecting centre for the goods of the east Gangetic Valley towns, the sub-Himalayan regions, the Indus plains, Malwa-Rajasthan and the Deccan Plateau. Through Ujjain Broach was connected to the Indo-Gangetic Plain.

Kasi was rich in muslin and silk. Tamralipti produced an inferior quality of pearls, Bengal and the forests of the east Gangetic plain were rich sources of ivory and rhinoceros horn, while the more open plains produced spikenard and lycium. Nepal sent lycium and musk to Ujjain while Kashmir was well known for its fur and woolen cloth. Punjab sent honey, lycium and spikenard. From Panna (north east Vindhyas) came diamonds, while Ujjain itself was rich in the supplies
of cotton, cotton cloth and nard oil (ozaenite of the Romans). Ujjain was one of the major route centres of the Malwa Plateau and its connection to Broach through Mahishmati and the Narbada enabled Broach to receive the commodities of a wide hinterland. Traffic on this route was very heavy.

The fourth route connected Broach with the Deccan Plateau and the important market town of Paithan. Mahishmati guarded this route as well as the northern route through Indore. From Mahishmati it turned south crossing the Narbada and passing through the Burhanpur gap in the Satpura, reached Paithan and Tagara. The route was connected to Masulipatam by an east west road from Paithan. Another branch of this route reached Vinukonda near modern Hyderabad. The Mahishmati-Burhanpur-Junnar corridor was the gateway to the Deccan Plateau. Through this natural route flowed the wealth of the Deccan to the Narbada and Broach and other ports of Gujarat. Nasik, which was also in the possession of Nahapana, guarded the Trimbak pass which gave access to the upper Konkan Coast (Bombay coast) and to the important ports of Kalleina and Sopara. During their declining days, the Andhras do not seem to have had control of even these ports and Nahapana is said to have extended his authority over this coast as well.

The Deccan Plateau was rich in cotton and cotton cloth of special varieties different from that of Gujarat. Tagara was the source of supply for onyx. The Krishna Valley was rich
in corundum (a rough stone used for grinding purposes and a transparent cleavage variety used as gems). Masulipatam was well known for its muslins. From the Mysore Plateau, Tamil Nadu and Kerala came pepper, ginger, cinnamon and cardamom. The Mysore region also produced tempered steel from the Bababudan iron ore. It was rich in sandalwood, teak, rose wood, ebony and other valuable timber. Much of this timber went to Broach by sea as transport by land was costly and cumbersome. Mysore was also rich in ivory.

A fifth route serving Broach was the coastal route from Kalleina, Sopara and beyond. Both Kalleina and Sopara had access to the Deccan Plateau through Nanaghat. It was a rugged, difficult narrow, steep road that could be used only by ponies. Carts and caravans had to seek alternate routes. But the Nanaghat route gave direct access to Tagara and Paithan, both important market towns on the Deccan Plateau. Kalleina and Sopara were more favourably situated with regard to the Deccan, than Broach. The route to Broach was longer. If Nahapana had control of these ports, it is quite likely that, much of the products of the Deccan went through these ports as before. Both these ports seem to have rivalled Broach in drawing to themselves the products of the Deccan, whether they were in the possession of Nahapana or the Andhras. But some of the products which came by this route to Broach were, teak from the Satpuras, and agate, onyx, sardonyx and carnelian from the Rajpipla mines. These regions were further to the north and physically situated nearer to Broach.
Besides these land routes, Broach was connected by two coastal sea routes to the ports of the west coast. One was from Broach westwards across the Gulf to the Saurashtra coast. Skirting the coast it reached Dwarka and from thence to Barbaricum, on the mouth of the Indus, to which came Roman ships from the Egyptian and Arabian ports. Patala and Roruka in Sind were also accessible by sea. The route however was considered risky because it was infested with pirates. Sind was rich in cotton and myrrh (the latter she received from the Arabian coasts). Its market towns attracted lycium, spikenard and honey from the Punjab and Baluchistan. Kathiawad also was rich in cotton, rice, ghee, gingelly oil, teak wood and other products so that the ships plying along the coastal route could pick up cargo on the way and deposit the products from Broach at any of the ports.

The second coastal sea route from Broach was to the south to Kalleina and Sopara and beyond right up to the Malabar ports. Along this route came rose wood, ebony, teak, sandalwood, pepper, ginger, cardamom, cinnamon, pearls (from the Gulf of Mannar) precious stones, coral, tortoise shells (from Lakshadweep), ivory etc. and some of the products which came to the Malabar and Konkan ports from the Far East. This route was also infested with pirates particularly off the coast of Ratnagiri and Karnataka. Whether Broach was able to take advantage of all these natural routes converging on it and draw to it the resources of these regions for its overseas
trade with the Persian Gulf-Red Sea ports, Africa and the Far East, depended very much on her political affinities and the alliances she maintained with the neighbouring kingdoms.

The force of her past trade with these regions stood her in good stead to continue her commercial contacts with them to some extent even during periods of political turmoil. She had the facilities of a good port which enabled her to draw to itself the goods of a wide region independent of political support. The segregation of functions in the hands of particular sections in society also permitted the merchant class to continue their profession without disturbance, to a certain extent regardless of administrative and political changes.14

It can be said for certain that at least during Nahapana's rule the Western Kshatrapas held Broach. The Andhras had retreated to the Plateau after Pulamayi's death and for the next hundred years or so remained confined to the Plateau. They seem to have lost control of even their exclusive ports, Kelleina and Sopara as Nahapana is reported to have extended his sway as far as modern Bombay. He is credited with having conquered the Malwa Corridor, the vital link between the Gujarat coast and the Gangetic plain so that the Andhras after Pulamayi I held no part of Central India. Nahapana was also friendly with the Saka-Scythians who held the north, at least up to the east Gangetic Plain, and the Takshasila and the Helmund routes to West Asia. Rome had
already conquered Egypt and established sea contact with
India. Broach as a port of the early Western Kshatrapas had
the opportunity of drawing to it a large share of the trade
of India.

The sea contact of Rome with the Indian ports is said to
have been at its zenith in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D.
The Periplus also says that Namadgos (Nambanus) identified
as Nahapana, was ruler of Broach. (15) However, in the reports
of their trade with India, the Andhras figure more prominently
than the Western Kshatrapas or the Kingdom of Namadgos. It is
obvious that after the death of Nahapana the Andhras asserted
themselves once again and gained control of the western coast
up to Broach.

The Periplus mentions that Broach was one of the major
ports of international trade but that sailing up to Broach
was not easy. The Periplus (whose date varies from 80 A.D.
to 247 A.D.) says that the Gulf of Cambay was called the Gulf
of Barygaza, and that Barygaza was the chief port of the Gulf.
The Gulf was exposed to the violence of the winds and tides.
Only sailors well acquainted with the winds, tides and the
shifting shoals in the navigation channels, could make it to
the port safely. Sailors going up to Broach had first to go
to Piram, off Gogha, on the Saurashtra coast, then strike
north-east till the island was scarcely visible in the
horizon, and sail across the Gulf to the mouth of the Narbada.
The passage from Piram to Broach was difficult because the coasts of Broach, being very low, came into view only as one approached it. There was no guiding natural landmark on the coast like a hill or promontory. The entrance to the river Narbada was also risky because it was impeded by shoals and sandy islands. But the Government, says the Periplus, took great trouble to send well manned ships called Trappaga and Kotimba to guide ships going to Broach.\(^{(16)}\) The pilot ship went as far as the entrance to the Gulf, somewhere about Veraval, and took charge of the incoming ships and helped the crew to keep clear of the shoals. It towed them from station to station along the coast. These stations, where ships could anchor, were found all along the coast of the Gulf of Barygaza. The ships left the stations at high tide and stopped at ebb tide at a convenient station. The extraordinary strength of the tides and bores in the Gulf of Barygaza was such, according to the Periplus, that "all of a sudden the land is turned into sea and sea into land. On the advent of the tides, the rivers rush into their channels and a whole body of the sea is driven up against their natural course exposing the boats going unto Barygaza to great risks. During High Springs the fury of the tides is so great that no anchor could hold against it. Large vessels caught in the tides are driven out of their course and wrecked and small vessels often get lost."\(^{(17)}\)

Even during the centuries when the fame of Broach reached the entire western world, sailing up to Broach was considered
risky. It was its location in relation to the ports of the Red Sea, Persian Gulf, the Arabian and the African coast that enabled, not only Broach but also the other western coast ports of Gujarat, which succeeded it, to maintain sea contacts with a wide foreland. The vigour of its mercantile community permitted these ports to carry on a trade even with the lands of the Far East and compete with the ports of the east coast of India which were better situated for trade with these regions. The period between 200 B.C. to 300 A.D. was politically bewildering but the one factor which gave it continuity and consistency was trade. Through all the political confusion, the mercantile community continued to grow in strength.

The period of the rise of the mercantile community started with the stable administration of the Mauryans. But the occupation of the north west of India by foreigners, first the Bactrians, and later the Sakas and the Kushanas, was helpful to the trading class since the territories which were hitherto untapped came into the service of the merchants. The Bactrians encouraged contacts with the Mediterranean and the Sakas, the Parthians and the Kushanas brought Central Asia within the reach of the mercantile community of India. This in turn led to close contacts with China by land.(18)

The rise of Rome in the west and their insatiable demand for the eastern luxuries, spices and precious stones were incentives to the Indian merchants to sail to the Far East.
That the merchants prospered right through this period is evident from the many donations they made to charities supported by them.

Guilds of the Mauryan period continued to be an important factor in urban life. They organised production and trade. As the power of the Guilds grew, almost all the artisans joined them, as competition by individuals against the Guilds became difficult. The membership of the Guilds gave the merchants social status and security. The increasing demand for particular products necessitated organisation and speed in production and despatch. Most of the crafts had their own Guilds. They were registered locally with the permission of the local authorities and they required their permission to change their location. The Guilds were very large and some of them owned a large number of boats. They had fixed rules to safeguard the interests of their members. The Guilds had their own courts to control the behaviour of the members. Some of these Guilds became so strong that they even aspired to political importance, as the Nasik Inscription suggests. Even Kings invested money in Guilds and commerce was one of the important activities of rulers. The Guild also acted as bankers, financiers and trustees which were generally the function of Sreshtins. But with the spread of money economy, banking became important. From the Mauryan period onwards the minting of coins of the Persian type became common. The Bactrians and the Kushanas also minted their own coins. The Roman trade with
India brought Roman coins. The barter system and the use of cowries as money were not conducive to investment as was the case with money. With the money economy came usury which was accepted as part of banking. The general rate of interest continued to be 15%. Money lent for sea trade was charged a higher interest. But the barter system continued, even after the money economy was established particularly in the rural areas. With the expansion of commerce, weights and measures became increasingly detailed and complex. The Mauryans had paid great attention to these. But the effect of foreign influence, and that of the Deccan, was evident during the post-Mauryan period.

On the whole, trade continued without break, right from the end of the Mauryan period to about the Gupta period, although politically it was a period of doubtful stability. But there was a shift of trade from one port to another depending on their political affinity and administrative stability. Broach, as a Nahapana port, had probably to share its trade with Kalleina and Sopara which were also in his possession. He had also several of the Saurashtra ports under his control, which could take the goods coming from West Asia, Egypt and Africa. But Broach had a more favourable situation with regard to the hinterland. It was the nearest outlet for the Malwa Plateau and the Gangetic plain.
References:

(8) THE EARLY KRASHTRAPA-KUSHANA PERIOD
(*KSAHTRAPA NAJAPA) AND THE RISE OF
ROME IN THE WEST:

(1) a. E.J. Rapson, op.cit., p.498 and Footnote (1) and also
p.502.
   b. R. Thapar, op.cit., p.95.
(2) a. E.J. Rapson, op.cit., p.401 and p.500.
   b. R. Thapar, op.cit., p.95.
(4) a. V.A. Smith, op.cit., p.244.
   b. R. Thapar, op.cit., p.96.
   c. E.J. Rapson, op.cit., p.500 and p.515. See also p.139.
      and foot note-1. Vikrama Era is said to start in
      57 B.C. On p.443 the Malvas are said to be the founders
      of the Vikrama Era.
   d. The dates of the Parthian Kings, Mithradates I to
      Mithradates II are as given in Rapson, op.cit., p.512.
(5) R. Thapar, op.cit., p.97. See previous page and
Rapson's date of the Vikrama Era as 57 B.C. Kanishka's
date is given as 78 A.D. in Rapson, op.cit., p.201 and
his era as 78 A.D., p.526.
(7) a. The Age of Imperial Unity, op.cit., p.200. The dates
   of the early Andhra Kings are controversial.


    b. G. Yazdani, op.cit., p.124. The date of Pulami is as given in Yazdani, p. 112.


(11) Min-nagar is the name given to several cities in India. The name means the city of the "Mins", the name by which the Sakas were known in India (The Periplus, op.cit., p.180).

a. The Periplus says that "before Barbaricum (on the mouth of Indus) is a small island and behind it is the Metropolis of Scythia, Min-nagara". (Periplus, op.cit., p.37). The Min-nagara may be identified as Patala in Sind, Periplus, op.cit., p.166.

b. Vincent Smith identifies Min-nagar as Bahmanabad about six miles west of Mansurah (The Periplus, op.cit., p.166. This is also the Sind Min-nagar).

c. Vincent Smith also identifies Min-nagara as Nagari or Madhyamika, 11 miles north of Chitor (Periplus, op.cit., p.180) and the capital of Nahapana (Minnagara),
as Mandasaur in accordance with the latitude and longitude given by Ptolemy (V.A. Smith, the Early History of India (Oxford) 1924, p.221. Foot note-1).

d) Mc Crindle and Fabricus places Min-nagara in Kathiawar but the text indicates Mainland Gujarat because it says that cotton cloth was brought down from Min-nagara to Barygaza by river - (Periplus, Op.cit., p.180).


It is quite obvious that as the Sakas moved into the Indian territories they established towns and gave it up the name of the city of the Mins. The capital of Nahapana (considering the extent of his kingdom) must have been the Min-nagara identified as Mandasaur, Dohad or Madhyamika, most probably the 1st as it is in accordance with the latitude and longitude of Ptolemy.


Barygaza is mentioned as a port of the Saka rival of the Andhra King Sundara Satakarni. The Saka rival could only be Nahapana.


During the period of Nahapana, the economic life of the Satavahanas was completely disorganised. As the pressure of the Western Kshatrapas on their north western frontiers increased with the activities of Nahapana and his immediate successors, even the ports of Kalleina and Sopara were closed to Satavahanas. (1)

But the Andhra (Satavahana) power revived under Gautamiputra Sri Satakarni. He ushered in the third and the last phase of Andhra ascendency in the northern territories of Central India and Malwa, after Satakarni II and Pulamayi I. Gautamiputra Sri Satakarni's (Satakarni III) dates are rather confusing but since his son Vasishtaputra Sri Pulamayi (Pulamayi II) was married to Rudradamanan's daughter to patch up the quarrels between the Western Kshatrapas and the Andhras, it can be at least concluded that Rudradaman and the Andhra Kings Satakarni III and Pulamayi II reigned about the same time.

Gautamiputra Sri Satakarni and Vasishtaputra Sri Pulamayi had to contend with the might of the Western Kshatrapas but in the north the Scythian-Saka power was declining. Gautamiputra took Nasik and Karle on his north western frontiers, which had been wrested from the Satavahanas by Nahapana. (2) But he was not satisfied with small gains. He wanted to re-establish Andhra authority over the territories in Central
India which his predecessors Satakarni II and Pulamayi I wielded. He conquered Asika (Rishika, probably the land between the Krishna and Godavari), Asaka (South east province of old Hyderabad State and the Godavari District), Mulaka (the district round Paithan), Saurashtra (Southern Kathiawad), Kukura (probably a portion of Eastern Rajasthan), Aparantaka (Northern Konkan and Northern Maharashtra including Nasik and Karle Districts), Anupa (a district in the upper Narbada with Mahishmati as the capital), Vidarbha (Berar), Akara (Eastern Malwa with Vidisa as the capital), Avanti (Western Malwa with Ujjain as the capital), Vindhya (Eastern Vindhyas), Achivala (Vindhyas south of Malwa), Pariyatra (Aravalli and western Vindhyas), Sahya (Western Ghats), Kanhagiri (Kanheri), Siritana (Sri Sails), Malaya (Western Ghats to the north of the Nilgiris), Mahendra (Eastern Ghats between the Mahanadi and the Godavari) and Chakora (unidentified). Gautamiputra is said to have destroyed the power of the Kshatriyas, Sakas, Parthians and the Kshatrapas. The Andhra Kingdom now stretched from coast to coast in the Deccan and from Saurashtra to Malwa. But the glory of the Satavahanas lasted only till his death, when the Western Kshatrapas re-asserted themselves under Rudradaman and his successors. Vasishṭputra Śri Pulamayi, although lucky to have inherited such a vast Empire, could not hold it. His marriage with Rduraman's daughter did not eliminate Kshatrapa assaults on his territory. Vasishṭaputra seems to have lost the vital Malwa Corridor and Ujjain.
All the territories conquered by his father in Central India and Rajashthan were lost by the Satavahanas. The discovery of Kshatrapa coins in Gujarat, Cutch, East and West Malwa and Saurashtra and the Andhau Inscription of Rudradaman (130 A.D.) confirm the expansion of the Western Kshatrapas at the expense of the Andhras. Yagna Sri who succeeded Pulamayi II is said to have been a usurper. He lost Nasik and Aparantaka. Rudradaman was therefore in control of most of the territories which were with Kshatrapa Nahapana. He had possession of the Mathura-Ujjain-Broach route. But the relationship of the Ujjain branch of the Kshatrapas with the Indo-Scythian kingdoms of the Gangetic-Punjab plain and the Parthians across the mountain wall was not as cordial as that of Nahapana. Broach, during the height of Roman contacts with India, as recorded in the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, seems to have changed hands from the early Kshatrapas to the Satavahanas and then again to the Kshatrapas and later to the Abhiras (195-262 A.D.). The Abhiras established themselves on the coastal territories and in Nasik, when the Andhras retreated to the plateau and the Kshatrapa power declined. The Periplus is a record of the Roman trade with the Indian ports and the East. It reached its zenith about the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. after the conquest of Egypt by Rome in 31 B.C. and the discovery of the use of the changing Monsoons in the Arabian Sea for striking across the open seas. This discovery freed the Romans from clinging to the coastal route along the
Arabian coast to Makran and Barbaricum on the Indus mouth where the Indo-Scythians were a menace. In the Roman trade with India, the Satavahanas figure more prominently than the Kshatrapas. The ports of the south, as far as the Malabar coast, seem to have played a more important role than Broach in the Roman trade with India.

**COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRY UNDER THE SATAVAHANAS:**

The Satavahanas held Broach during Gautamiputra's time. The administration of commerce and industry under the Satavahanas was of a very high order and their maritime contacts are mentioned in all the records of the period. The Guilds (Srenis) were prevalent in the Deccan also. The Nasik-Junnar Inscriptions mention Odyantrikas (makers of hydraulic engines), Tilapisakas (oil makers), Kularikas (Potters) etc. The Sreni Dharma, although only based on custom and tradition, had the force of law. It served craft and trade in various ways.

The Periplus mentions that the Satavahana ports, both on the east and west coast, were well peopled and very prosperous but that the inland country was less known. But even the Romans knew of the great market towns of Paithan and Tagara in the interior. There were also other market centres such as Junnar, Valajyanti, Nasik etc. in the western borderland of the Deccan Plateau from where goods flowed to Paithan and Broach. The trade of the Satavahana ports was therefore
sustained by a rich hinterland. The Periplus says that goods were brought to Broach through Paithan on which converged many routes of the Deccan and Central India. Great quantities of carnelians, common cloth and mallow cloth from Tagara and all kinds of locally made goods from different centres came to Broach for export. (9a) Fleet mentions two east-west roads, the first starting from Masulipatam and the other from Vinukonda, both joining about 25 miles south east of Hyderabad and proceeding to Ter (Tagara), Paithan and Daulatabad to Markinda (Ajanta Hills). Here he says, the main difficulties began, the journey of a hundred miles across the western Ghats to Broach. (10) It was an old route re-activated with the commercial and territorial expansion of the Andhras. From Paithan the route went through the Nanaghat pass. According to the Nasik Inscription, Junnar, guarding the Nanaghat pass, came under the control of the Andhras. (11) There was also another route to Broach which went from Paithan to Mahishmati and the Narbada Valley. Paithan was also connected to the Satavahana ports of Kalleina and Sopara by a direct route through Nanaghat. Kalleina and Sopara were nearer to Paithan than Broach and handled a large part of the export-import trade of the Andhra Kingdom. According to the Periplus and Rapson Paithan was one of the oldest cities of the Deccan. The Pithalkara Caves dated 2nd century B.C. refer to the merchants of Pratishthana (Paithan) and the missionaries sent by Asoka to the town. (12) Its long-standing outlet were Kalleina and Sopara.
Besides the well established ports of the Andhras on the west coast, Broach had also to compete with some of the eastern coast ports of the Andhras. The Amravati Inscription mentions several market towns and ports in the eastern sector of the Andhra Kingdom such as Kevurura, Vijayapura, Kodura, Kontakossyla, Koodoira (Gudur) and Allosygyne (in the Maisala (Masalia) region between the deltas of the Godavari and Krishna). Although the Periplus mentions only the ports further south such as Camara (on the mouth of the Kaveri), Sopatma (identified as Madras) and Poduca (probably Pondicherry or Pulicat), none of which was in Andhra territory, it is obvious that the possession of the Krishna-Godavari Delta territory placed the Andhras in an advantageous position with regard to the Far Eastern trade and that products from the Plateau flowed also to the eastern coast ports. The Andhra Kingdom had several ports at their disposal. Broach was on the frontiers of the Andhra Kingdom and very often its trade was disturbed by thrusts from the powers that ruled Gujarat and Malwa, both of which looked to Broach as an outlet for their maritime contacts. Kalleina and Sopara in the west and the Krishna-Godavari delta in the east were within the limits of Andhra proper for a considerable length of time while Broach was in an extended territory, and as such the Andhra trade of Broach was subject to political pressures.

Coinage and money economy, which is as important as communications, for the stability of trade were more sparingly
used in the Andhra Kingdom than in the Kushana-Kshatrapa Kingdoms. The Andhra coins were made of lead, copper, silver and potin and had no great claims to artistic merit. The Ujjain symbol was used in some of their coins denoting that it was in their possession at least for some time, probably during Gautamiputra's reign. The use of the Ujjain symbol is also suggestive of the continued importance of that town as a vital link between the Gangetic plain and the west coast ports. Some of the Andhra coins also show influences of Bactrian coins in weight and size. Gautamiputra restruck many of the Nahapana coins to increase his trade. Definite ratios were maintained between the different coins, but the ratio tended to be more variable in the Andhra Kingdom than in the Kushana and Kshatrapa Kingdoms, so that the merchants of Andhra preferred to trade by barter. The changing value of the Andhra coins somewhat checked the spread of money economy in the kingdom whereas it spread rapidly in the northern kingdoms. But there is no denying the fact that the use of coinage did promote Andhra trade at this time. The Karshapanas of the Andhras were of gold, silver, copper and lead, weighing one Karsha or 16 Mashas. The official rate of one Masha changed with the metal used being 1.83 Ratis for gold, 2 Ratis for silver and 5 Ratis for copper. But in the Andhra Kingdom the official rate was difficult to maintain because of the great demand for gold and silver for purposes other than coinage.
As commerce expanded many old industries of the Deccan were re-activated. Gold industry itself revived. It was one of the oldest industries of the Deccan. Marshall believes that the gold ornaments found in Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro were from the Deccan. Gold was mined at several places in the Deccan. Hatti, Wondapalli and Maski, all in the Raichur Doab, are cited as centres of gold industry. The industry seems to have received a boost during the Mauryan period because a rock edict of Asoka refers to the gold industry of Maski. During Gautamiputra's reign gold ornaments became very much the fashion and gold seems to have been imported. Coins of gold and silver were often melted down to make ornaments and other objects of art. Maski was apparently the most important centre of gold industry. Finds at Kondapur included gold ornaments of very fine workmanship. Gold flowers and jewels were found at Bhattiprolu. At Amaravati a casket of pure gold was found, shaped like a stupa with an umbrella on top. It was from the Satavahana ports and from Ceylon, that Rome got most of their jewels and other articles of luxury. The Arabs and Egyptians were middlemen in this trade in the beginning, but the Indians also entered the trade later.

Industries other than gold flourished in the Andhra Kingdom. Excavations at Paithan, Maski, Kondapur, Bhattiprolu and Amaravati all show the quality of the workmanship attained by the craftsmen and jewellers in the Satavahana Empire.
Paithan yielded beads of burnt clay, lapis lazuli, agate, crystal and carnelian, terracotta figurines and moulds, pottery, utensils, shell ornaments etc. Similar objects as well as beads of onyx, ruby, amethyst and garnet were unearthed at Maski. The finds at Kondapur included terracotta figurines, ornaments of precious stones, copper, ivory, shell, baked clay and a hoard of potin and lead coins of the Satavahanas. Bhattiprolu yielded, besides gold, beryl and crystal caskets containing precious stones, jewels, beads and trisulas and coins. All these bear eloquent witness to the craftsmanship of the Andhras. Ivory, agates, carnelians and other things coming from various parts are mentioned as exports of Broach at this time. But gold itself was imported along with other metals like lead, copper, tin and silver.\(^{(22)}\)

But the Andhras began to retreat to the Plateau after the death of Gautamiputra. The marriage connections of his son, Sri Pulamayi II, with the Kshatrapas did not really secure him the Andhra throne. Yagna Sri is said to have usurped the throne from Pulamayi and he was determined to carry on his wars with the Kshatrapas. Pulamayi, ousted from his own dominions, is said to have been given the Central Indian possessions of the Kshatrapas, as deputy.\(^{(23)}\) But the Deccan, under Yagna Sri, was in no mood to accommodate the Kshatrapas. Roman trade with India had already swung to the south and the Andhras were in a position to make the best out of this trade even though they were politically on the decline.
Rudradaman of the Kshatrapa dynasty had however plenty of land to conquer in Central India and Western India. The Saka-Scythian dynasties of the Gangetic plain had broken up into small chieftainships. Clan wars and internecine clashes made Rudradaman's expansion into Central India easy. Having established himself in Western India and gained control of the major outlet of commerce namely Broach, he discovered the importance of the Malwa corridor to the trade of his kingdom. The Deccan, which was now out of bounds for Broach, the port had of necessity to establish its previous contacts with Malwa. Rudradaman extended his authority over Malwa and seems to have controlled the strategic market town of Ujjain. Beyond Ujjain however, he could not penetrate. The Ganges plain and the link between Ujjain and the great Pataliputra-Taxila Hindustan Road of the Mauryas was outside his domain. But the Gangetic plain being landlocked without access to the Gujarat Coast, the control of Malwa gave the Kshatrapas an advantageous position in the trade of the Gangetic plain. Wars of the Scythians on the borders and the rivalry of the Romans and the Parthians were fast making the land routes through Bactria and Taxila of doubtful value to the Gangetic Plain so that the necessity to find a sea outlet through the Kshatrapa Kingdom became imminent. That the Kshatrapas retained control over Malwa till the late 4th century A.D., even after the Guptas appeared in the Gangetic plain, is proved by the grandeur of the Stupa at Devni Mori.
Brock, as a port of the later Kshatrapas, therefore had at least access to Malwa. The products of the Gangetic plain did flow through Ujjain to Brock as there was no great political power in the north.

The Kshatrapas retained certain commercial relations with the Scythian-Parthians. The Parthians were anxious to extend their influence to the Gujarat coast because of the Roman rivalry in the Arabian Sea trade. The Romans were fast diverting their trade to the southern ports of India. The alliance of the Parthians and the Kshatrapas became necessary to retain between themselves at least part of the eastern trade.

The Periplus mentions the Kshatrapas only in passing. The Romans do not seem to have had any close commercial relationship with the Kshatrapa Kingdom, although goods from Rome did flow into the Kingdom either through Barbaricum and Fatale or through Sopara and the Western Coast ports of the south. Brock, however, continued its maritime trade by sheer force of tradition and established contacts with the ports of the Horn of Africa, the Red Sea ports and the ports of the Persian Gulf and the Arabian coasts. Brock merchants had often to divert their trade to suitable ports because of the Andhra and Roman trade. But the luxury goods of India, particularly cotton and silk cloth, agates and carnelians, perfumes, ointments and spices were in great demand in Rome.
and Broach was in a position to receive the goods from, not only the administrative limits of the Kshatrapa kingdom, but also from beyond, up to the foothills of the Himalayas and to the south up to the Deccan, by the enterprise of its commercial community. The Periplus itself gives a list of the commodities exported from and imported to Broach during the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D., the routes frequented by the Indian traders and the mode by which Indian commodities reached the ports of Roman Egypt. The Romans had to pay for these luxuries in gold which was a very valuable import of Broach not only during the period of Andhra supremacy but also during the Kshatrapa period.

Towards the end of the 2nd century (195 A.D.) the Abhiras seem to have taken over Broach and it remained in their possession till 262 A.D. They also gained control of Nasik. But they were not politically powerful.
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References:

(C) The Satavahanas and the Later Western Kshatrapas.
   The Climax of Roman Trade with India.

(1) a. The Periplus, op.cit., p.198.


(3) a. Age of Imperial Unity, op.cit., p.201.
     c. R. Thapar, op.cit., p.102 and footnote.

     b. G. Yazdani, p.128.

     c. G. Yazdani, op.cit., p.128.

     b. Rapson, op.cit., p.479.
     c. Age of Imperial Unity, op.cit., pp.184-85.

(7) G. Yazdani, op.cit., p.130.

(9) G. Yazdani, op.cit., p.138.
(9a) a. The Periplus, op.cit., p.43.
(10) a. The Periplus, op.cit., p.196.
(12a) G. Yazdani, op.cit., p.138.
(14) a. K. Gopalachari, Early History of the Andhra country,
     (University of Madras) 1976, p.117.
     c. G. Yazdani, op.cit., p.139.
(15) a. R. Thapar, op.cit., p.113.
     b. G. Yazdani, op.cit., p.139.
(16) a. G. Yazdani, op.cit., p.139.
     on p.117.
(18) a. Age of Imperial Unity, op.cit., pp.531-32.
     b. G. Yazdani, op.cit., p.139.
(19) G. Yazdani, op.cit., p.139.
(20) G. Yazdani, op.cit., pp. 139-40.
(21) G. Yazdani, op.cit., p. 139.
(22) G. Yazdani, op.cit., pp. 143-44.
(23) G. Yazdani, op.cit., p. 129.
    c. Age of Imperial Unity, op.cit., pp. 184-85.
    d. E. Rapson, op.cit., p. 479.
    e. G. Yazdani, op.cit., p. 128.

(25) Archaeological Excavations carried out at Devni More by the Department of Archaeology, M.S.U., Baroda.

(26) a. Age of Imperial Unity, op.cit., p. 221-223.
    b. G. Yazdani, op.cit., p. 130.
The trade of Broach and other ports of India continued whether the Ptolemies, Bactrians or the Romans held the vital Red Sea routes, or the Persians or the Parthians held the Persian Gulf and the Fertile Crescent routes. Certain diversions of the trade took place with regard to the ports visited by Indian ships as a consequence of political rivalry but goods from India continued to supply the markets of the west in return for gold and metal, as long as there was a demand for them. The demand in Rome for eastern luxuries only increased with the expansion of the Empire and the extravagance of its nobility and warring class. Direct contact of Rome by sea was established with the Roman conquest of Egypt. The discovery of the Monsoon freed Roman trade with India from the coastal route along Arabia, Makran and Sind, where the Parthians proved a menace.

The Periplus mentions Namadios (Nahapana) and the Andhras. That the trade of Rome with India was accelerated in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. is proved by the large number of Roman coins excavated, but the larger finds are in southern India which has led to the conclusion that the Roman trade was mainly with the Andhras, Cheras, Cholas and Kā Pandyas. The coins of Tiberius (14 A.D. - 37 A.D.), Caligula (37-41 A.D.), Claudius (41-54 A.D.) and Nero (54-68 A.D.),
corresponding to the early Kshatrapa-Kushana period in the north, are numerous. The coins of Vespasian (69-79 A.D.) and Titus (79-81 A.D.) are very few. Those of Domitian (81-96 A.D.), Nerva (96-98 A.D.), Trajan (98-117 A.D.) and Hadrian (117-138 A.D.) are also quite frequent. Then comes a break under Marcus Aurelius (161-169 and 169-180 A.D.) and Commodius (180-192 A.D.) which may be supplied by further finds. (1) The Roman Empire began to decline after Marcus Aurelius although decay was evident as far back as the reigns of Tiberius and Nero. Alexander Severus (222-235 A.D.) was the last of the great Roman Emperors. In the 3rd century A.D. the Empire split into two, the Western with its capital at Rome and the Eastern with its capital at Byzantium (Constantinople or Istanbul) which later came to be known as the Byzantine Empire. Byzantium on the Dardanelles-Bosporus was always a connecting link between Asia and Europe. Under Emperor Constantine the Eastern Roman Empire became Christian but gradually ceased to be Roman. It was the Eastern Empire, as the days of the Greek period, that was the more dynamic of the two and which carried on the trade with the East after the 3rd century A.D. because of its favourable location with regard to the long standing trade centres of Asia Minor, the Levant, the Fertile Crescent, Egypt, the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.

The Parthian Empire which had for several centuries withstood the pressures and commercial rivalries of the
Romans also collapsed about the same time. Artabanus III was the last Parthian Emperor (215-226 A.D.) before the Sassanids overran West Asia. (2)

The Roman Empire's trade with India was, however, at its height in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. Broach itself changed hands several times during this period. Her fate and her commercial links with the outside world was closely linked with the policies and alliances of the Bactrians, the early Kshatrapas (Nahapana), the Andhras (Satavahana) and the later Kshatrapas (Chashtanas of Ujjain), all of whom held Broach for a longer or shorter period during these two centuries. It was also dependent on the policies of Rome in Egypt and the discovery of the Monsoons by Hippalus in the 1st century A.D., on the commercial attitudes and rivalries of the Arabs in the Frankincense Country and on the policies of the Parthians in the Persian Gulf area.

Rome had the use of all the Ptolemaic ports of the Red Sea, namely Myos Hormos, Berenice and Ptolemais, after Egypt fell to Rome in 31 B.C. The stimulus to Roman trade came during the period of Augustus (39 B.C. to 14 A.D.) and it increased with the discovery of the Monsoons. The Roman policy was also to free its trade from the dependence on the Arabs, by establishing direct contacts with India. It was a continuation of the policy of the Ptolemies. The Red Sea ports of Egypt were therefore once more to play a key role in the
overseas trade of the Western Coast ports of India. Strabo mentions that in his days he saw 120 ships sailing from Myos Hormos to India. "It was by the sea, and after Claudius (41-54 A.D.) by open sea, that the bulk of the trade of the Indian ports was carried to Alexandria". The carriers of this trade were the Greeks of Egypt. They dealt in Indian commodities, a trade which had sprung up with the Ptolemies. But the discovery of the Monsoons permitted the direct contact of the Egyptian merchants, across open sea, to the West Coast ports of the south so that the major flow of Roman trade was to the southern kingdoms rather than to Gujarat. However, when Broach was held by the Andhras during Gautamiputra’s reign, its trade with Roman Egypt was linked up with that of their other ports, Kalleina and Sopara. But during the period when it was a port of Nahapana and the Chāstanas of Ujjain (later Kṣatrapas) its links with the ports of Roman Egypt was not as strong as those with the Parthian ports and market towns by land and sea. Broach had a changing commercial pattern during the two centuries when the Roman trade of Egypt with India was considered to be at its height. The Roman trade swung to the southern ports with the political changes in Western India. This is proved not only by numismatic evidences, but also by literary evidences. The Tamil poet Nakkirar speaks of the Yavanas (Greeks of Egypt) who brought wine, brass lead, glass etc. and exchanged them for pepper, betel, ivory, pearls and fine muslins.
During the period from Augustus Caesar to Nero, that is from 39 B.C. to 68 A.D. and after the fall of Egypt to Rome in 31 B.C., Rome had control over the trade routes to the East through the Red Sea. The demand for eastern luxuries also rose in Rome. Precious stones and pearls, silks, muslins and cotton, aromatics, incense, spices, ginger etc. were highly priced in Rome which gave a boost to the Eastern trade. Broach also figures as an exporter of muslin and cotton cloth, silk, pepper, aromatics, precious stones etc. at this time.

After 68 A.D. the trade of Roman Egypt with India and the East began to decline. Roman contacts with India revived slightly only about 217 A.D. during the period of Caracalla and it was stepped up after the Byzantine Empire was established. The coins of this period (68 A.D. to 217 A.D.) are mostly found in the cotton growing districts and they are small in number so that the conclusion has been drawn that trade in luxury products such as spices, precious stones etc. had largely ceased and that there was only a limited trade in cotton fabrics. By the time of Caracalla, Rome was in confusion and tastes of the people had changed with incessant pressures from outside and within the Empire.

When the trade revived under the Byzantine Empire about 217 A.D., pepper and spices were the major items of export from India, while the demand for cotton and precious stones declined. But Pliny (1st century A.D.) referred to India
as the "sole mother of precious stones, the great producer of the most costly gems." According to the Periplus Broach was the principal distributing centre of Western India. Goods came to Broach from Paithan and Tagara for export. The items mentioned are onyx, ordinary cotton, muslins, mallow cloth, etc. The Periplus also noticed Indian ships in the Arabian and Persian ports. It says that the merchants round Barygaza traded with the Arabs for gums and incense and with the African coast for gold, with Malabar and Ceylon for pepper, cinnamon and thus completed the navigation of the entire Indian Ocean. The most frequented trade routes were those from Myos Hormos and Berenice to Muza (south of Mokha) and to Ccealis at the entrance to the Red Sea. The route then followed the Arabian coast as far as Cana passing through Eudaemon, which was a great centre of Indian trade. From Cana, one route went to the Indus, and thence to Barygaza, and the other to the Malabar Coast. On the whole the fact that Rome held one of the major trade routes between East and West after she came into possession of Egypt, made her friendship of utmost importance to the dynasties that ruled in Bactria and the Indus Valley as well as in the other parts of the sub-continent and West Asia whether they were the Sakas, Parthians, Kushanas, Kshatrapas or Andhras. The trade was of importance to Rome also.

The Eastern trade of India and that of Broach also thrived during this period with the increasing demand for
eastern luxuries in Rome, many of which came from the Far East. The caravan routes between India and China across Central Asia ceased to be of any great importance in the Roman trade because of the Parthian domination in the region. But it continued to be of importance to the trade of Broach, particularly during the period of the early Kshatrapas (Nahapana). But the sea trade with the Far East assumed greater importance with the political disturbance in West Asia. China had extended to the coast by the 1st century A.D. and gained access to the south China Sea. Its influence extended up to Hanoi, Tonkin and Hue. The Funan Kingdom (Mekong Delta) the Kingdom of the Chams, (South Vietnam), Champa etc. continued their vigorous trade with Broach and India. Malaya, Java, Sumatra etc. had immense resources which could be tapped for the overseas trade of Broach with the West. Broach traders seem to have taken a leading role in distributing the commodities of the Far East to the Western Markets. The story of a merchant called Khegas or Khegan mentioned in the Periplus was an Indian from Barygaza who was cremated at Athens according to the custom of his country. Many embassies were sent from India to the East to improve trade relations and their frequency increased in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. The merchants brought presents to the Roman and Byzantine Emperors and they included many goods from the Far East. Throughout the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. embassies from Indian sovereigns came to the court of
Hoti (89-105 A.D.) and that of Hiwanfci (158-59 A.D.) bringing merchandise as tribute. Under Rudradaman (143-158 A.D.), when the Western Kshatrapas were challenging the might of the Andhras, Indians from Sindhu brought presents by sea to China. Chinese Annals also refer to the trade of Ceylon with China by sea. That Broach merchants had a share in this Far Eastern trade is supported by the various references to Broach and its immense trade in a variety of goods in both Roman and Chinese Annals.
References:

(D) ROMAN TRADE WITH INDIA DURING THE ANDHRA-KSHATRAPA PERIOD 1st and 2nd CENTURIES A.D.

(1) The Periplus, op.cit., pp.219-220.
See also the list of Roman Emperors on p.110.

(2) The Periplus, op.cit., p.110.
See the list of Parthian Emperors and the end of the dynasty in 226 A.D. with Artabanus III (215-226 A.D.)

(3) Oliver Thomson, History of Ancient Geography, (Cambridge) 1948, p.298.

(4) a. V. Kanakasabhapathy Pillai, The Tamils Eighteen Hundred years Ago as quoted in R.K. Mookerji, op.cit., p.85.


(8) a. The Periplus, op.cit., p.43.

(9) a. The Periplus, op.cit., p.42.

TRADE OF BARYGANA DURING THE ROMAN ASCENDENCY
1st AND 2nd CENTURIES A.D.
THE EXPORT TRADE OF BROACH.

It has already been mentioned that the commercial contacts of Rome with India and the East reached its height with Rome's conquest of Egypt in 31 B.C. and the discovery of the Monsoons by Hippalus, the Greek, in the 1st century A.D. First gave Roman-Egypt control over one of the major sea routes to the East while the other freed it of its dependence on the coastal sea route to Barbaricum at the Indus mouth and the rivalry of the Arabs and the Parthians who held sway in the Frankincense Country and the Persian Gulf region. But the availability of the facilities offered by the Monsoon winds in the Arabian Sea, swung the trade of Roman more and more to the southern ports of India. Western and Northern India, under the Kushanas and the early Kashatrapas, were more allied with the Parthian rulers of West Asia than with Rome. Indeed they, like the Parthians, resisted the entry of Rome in the Eastern trade and jealously clung to the trade routes outside the control of Rome.

The beginnings of Roman trade with India and her direct sea contacts with its ports were established during the period of the Kushanas in the north and that of Nahapana in Western India later. The Periplus mentions Nahapana, as the ruler of Broach and Western India. But Nahapana's rule over Broach was
shortlived. It was taken over by the Andhras and by the later Kshatrapas (the Chashtanas of Ujjain) of Western India successively and finally by the Abhiras. The division of Society into functional groups and the long standing trade of Broach enabled it to carry on its trade regardless of the activities of the warring clans. Sometimes the wars even stimulated trade in certain commodities.

The Periplus gives a detailed account of the imports and exports of Broach during the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. The hinterland from which Broach drew the commodities for its export trade can be analysed from the area of their procurement and production. The commodities of its export came from as far as the Himalayan region, Kashmir, Gandhara, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, Baluchistan, Sind, Punjab, the Gangetic plain, Rajasthan, Assam and Bengal in the north to as far south as the Deccan Plateau, Malabar and the Coromandel. Its commercial activities reached beyond the mountain wall in the north west to Afghanistan and the Persian Plateau particularly when the ruling dynasties of Western India (Nahapana's Kingdom) were in alliance with the Kshatrapas of Mathura and Taxila and the Parthian rulers of West Asia. Broach had the opportunity to extend its hinterland more effectively towards the Deccan when it was in the possession of the Andhras. As a port of the later Western Kshatrapas its hinterland did not extend beyond Malwa but the well-established trade of Broach, through Ujjain (the Malwa corridor), with the Gangetic plain and its
connections with the Taxila-Pataliputra Grand-Trunk Road of the Mauryas permitted it to get the commodities of these areas to some extent even during the days of political unrest.

Of the exports of Broach, the Periplus mentions spikenard, costus, bdellium, lycium, long pepper, white and black pepper, ivory, agates and carnelians, cotton cloth of all kinds, fine muslin, mallow cloth, silks, yarn and other things coming from various ports.

Spikenard one of the exports of Broach came from the sub-Himalayan region of Garhwal, Nepal and Sikkim. It was a perennial herb which yielded essential oil. The smallest leaf was the most valuable, selling at 75 dinarii per pound in Rome, according to Pliny. An alabaster box of ointment of spikenard cost 300 dinarii in Rome. The Indians used it as an aromatic and in the preparation of medicinal oils for darkening hair.

Spikenard was used in the making of ointments, much valued in India and Persia since ancient times. Its use spread to Rome with her trade contacts. Pliny gives the details of the preparation of these fragrant ointments. Three materials, oils or juices, solids and colouring materials went into the making of ointments. Among the oils were oil of roses, sweet rush, sweet calamus, myrtle, cypress,
pomegranate rind, saffron, lilies, fenugreek, myrrh, cassia, nard and cinnamon. Myrrh could be used by itself in ointments without oil. Amongst the solids were included amomum, nard, myrrh, costus, balsam marjoram, etc. The usual materials for colouring were cinnabar and alkanet. Resin and gum were used to fix the odour. The regal ointments made for the Parthian kings included amongst other things, myrobalans, costus, cinnamon, cardamom, spikenard, myrrh, saffron, lotus, honey, wine etc. Thus several items were required in the manufacture of ointments. Broach being an exporter of spikenard, nard etc. must have also manufactured ointments.

Nard, which was also exported from Broach, was the root of the ginger grass and a native of Western Punjab, Baluchistan and Persia. It gave an oil which was used in Rome medically and in the making of perfumes. It was also used as an astringent in ointments.

Spikenard and nard also came to Broach from Poclais the western capital of Gandhara, 17 miles north east of Peshawar, from Paropanises or the Hindu Kush country, from the Cobolitic country or the Kabul Valley and from the city of Kasyap not far from Attock.

Costus, another export of Broach was the root of a tall perennial grass growing in the open slopes of the vale of Kashmir. It was cut into small pieces and sent to Rome and
China. The price of costus in Rome was 5 dinarii a pound. The Romans used it as a cooking spice and also in perfumes. In Kashmir it was used by the shawl merchants to protect the fabric from moths.

Bdellium, another commodity exported from Broach, was a product of North Western India and of the hills stretching from the Hindu Kush to the Arabian Sea. It was also a native of Baluchistan, Arabia and East Africa. The Hindu Kush was accessible to Takshashila through the Swat-Chitral valleys and Kabul. But bdellium began to come to Broach from the Persian Gulf ports of Ommana and from Babylon when the land route through Taxila went out of control of the rulers of Broach. It was then re-exported from Broach.

Lycium, which was an export of Broach, came from the Himalayan region. A yellow dye was prepared from its roots and stems. From the fruit, stem and root-bark was made an astrigent medicine. The stem and root, both very bitter were pounded and boiled for three days in a copper vessel, sieved, boiled again to the thickness of honey and mixed with various bitter extracts, olive oil and ox-gall. The froth of the decoction was used in a composition for the eyes and the rest as a face cosmetic, for the cure of coughs and diseases of the throat, for the gums and sores and for dressing open wounds. Many empty pots of lycium were found in the ruins of Pompeii and Herculanium.
Ivory was one of the most valuable commodities. But Broach seems to have got its ivory from East Africa. It appears as a commercial article of Egypt as early as 2500 B.C. The antiquity of India's trade in ivory with Africa is mentioned in the Puranas. In the trade of the Biblical Ophir, Lassen mentions ivory. The word Ophir, according to Lassen, comes from the Sanskrit word Kapi meaning ivory. The land of Ophir (Abiria) was, according to him, perhaps the northern end of Gujarat. Every one, including kings, merchant princes and the ordinary commercial class took part in the trade or backed it up with capital. They had their own boats and the Indian merchants are known to have sailed from port to port, collecting and depositing cargo and returning home after months in the sea. They took all kinds of cargo from India and traded for ivory, slaves, corals, hides, honey, antelope horns and gums on the east coast of Africa. The Arabs also took part in this trade. The Roman ships did not penetrate far beyond Mosyllum (Ras Hantara). The Indians set out for the African coast in December, visited the ports of the Horn of Africa and East Africa, sailing down the coast, then taking advantage of the currents went as far as the ports of Madagascar and returned to Beira (near Sofala). After April, they ran upto the Red sea, departed from there in August to the Muscat coast, returned to the Indian ports, went down the coast to as far as Malabar and even further to the Far East. Ivory which
came to Broach for export seems to have come mainly from the ports of the Horn of Africa and probably also from the Malabar-Kanara coasts and from north Gujarat.

Agates and carnelians were almost a local product of Broach. They had an extensive market in Rome and China. The murrhine cups and vases of Rome were of agate and carnelian and Rome knew of them as exports of the ports of the Gulf of Cambay. The stones came chiefly from the Rajpipla mines. They were used in the making of ornaments, decorative articles, seals, charms, pestle and mortar for pounding medicinal herbs etc. One of Nero's murrhine basins was valued at 300,000 sesterces and another cup at a million sesterces. Pliny believed that the agates and murrhine cups came from Parthia and Carmania. Before the Romans gained control of Egypt and the Red Sea route to India, they were dependent on Parthia for their eastern luxuries(10) and considered their territories as the source area.

Pepper, another valuable export of Broach, were of three varieties white, black and long pepper. White and black pepper were cultivated in the hot damp climates of Travancore and Malabar. They also came from the Spice Islands of the Far East. Roman expansion to the Levant coast and Egypt acquainted them with the profits of the pepper trade. They made every effort to divert the pepper trade to the Red Sea ports and bypass the Parthian and the Arabian ports. The
Roman trade in pepper increased with their conquest of Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt. But most of it went from the Malabar and Kanarese ports of Muziris, Nelcynda and Tyndis. Broach merchants also had a share in it because of the huge profits it fetched during the period of Roman commercial contacts with India. It was one of the most important articles of trade between India and Rome, supplying 3/4 of the total bulk of the west bound cargo. Romans began to use it profusely in cooking and its price went up to 3 dinnarii per pound in Rome. It was considered a precious enough commodity to be offered to the Church (when the Eastern Roman Empire became Christian). Pepper figured in treaties as well. The terms offered to raise the siege of Rome was 3000 lbs. of pepper.\(^{(11)}\)

Cotton cloth of all kinds were traditional items of export from Broach. Indians were making cloth before the dawn of history. Fine muslins were in great demand in Rome and they fetched a high price. The monache cloth was singularly fine, while mallow cloth was coarse and dyed purple.\(^{(12)}\) The test of the fineness of cloth was either by passing a 1 x 20 yards piece through a finger-ring or by its weight in proportion to the size and number of threads. A piece of muslin, one yard wide and 10 yards long, took 5 months to weave and it could be woven only during the rainy season when the moisture would prevent the threads from breaking.\(^{(13)}\) These
silk at this time was through Turkistan (Samarkhand, Bokhara) to Bactria in the Parthian Empire. From the Yellow River Basin in China it followed two routes. One was through Khotan, which was very rich in jade. The Chinese preferred this route because they could procure jade on the way. From Khotan and Yarkhand, the route went over the Pamirs, westward to Bactria, along the Oxus. This route was in use till about 75 A.D. Broach got its silk at this time from Bactria by land. The second route was through Samarkhand southwards to Bactria and from thence to Merv. A variant of this route was through Bokhara and Tibet. It was in use till about the end of the 1st century A.D.

From Bactria the routes branched, one going westward to the Euphrates and the other to Bamian in Afghanistan. From Bamian it continued to the Kabul Valley through Chitral-Swat and reached Taxila. The Taxila-Pataliputra route made the silk available to the Ganges Valley. Barygaza was connected to this route through Ujjain and Mathura. The control of Ujjain was therefore very important to the silk trade of Broach. But as political situation deteriorated in the north west and Broach lost its links with Mathura, Taxila, Bamian and Bactria, the silk began to be diverted to India through other routes. The demand for silk in Rome increased and there was great profit in the trade. The route through Tibet, which was not very important, began to be vitalised.
Silk was imported to the Gangetic Valley from China from very early times through the Brahmaputra Valley, Assam and Eastern Bengal. (15) It also came through the Chumbi Valley to Sikkim. There was a route through Nepal to the Ganges Valley and another along the Sutlej through Gartok to upper India. But all these routes were through difficult mountain country and through tribal areas and were considered dangerous and risky. There was only a trickling of the silk trade through these routes when the Bactria-Bamian-Taxila route was open to the Ganges plains. But all these difficult routes began to be increasingly used when Rome continued to demand more silk and the supply through Bactria and Taxila began to be erratic because of the political policies of the Parthians and the rivalry of Rome in the trade of the East. The cultivation of native varieties like Tszr and Moga was also stimulated to meet the increasing demand in Rome. Since the period of Augustus Caesar silk had become the fashion in Rome and it fetched a very high price. During Marcus Aurelius' reign (161-180 A.D.) silk was sold in Rome for its weight in gold. (16) But, by then Parthia intervened between Rome and China. The diversion of the silk trade from the Parthian territory to the Ganges Plain through difficult but nevertheless long standing routes, was one of the characteristic features of its trade during the period of Roman contact with the east. It gained momentum in the 2nd century A.D. when the dynastis of Western India lost control and even the
use of the Bactrian route. Ujjain however continued as a control point for Broach on the silk route in India and a bone of contention between the Andhras and Kshatrapas. The Andhras lost it after the death of Gautamiputra, but the Kshatrapas controlled it even after Rudradaman.

The flow of silk, precious stones and cloth to Rome was so great that Pliny said "in no year does India drain us of less than 550,000,000 Sesterces, giving back her own wares which are sold to us at 100 times their first cost."(17) The main cause of the successive deflation of the Roman currency, was due to the extravagant imports of eastern luxuries.

The products of the export trade of Broach in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. seem to have come from as far north as the sub-Himalayan regions, Gandhara, the Hindu Kush country, Kabul and Bactria and from the southern Kingdoms of the Cheras, Cholas and Pandyas, from Baluchistan and Makran in the west to Assam and the Khasi Hills in the east. Beyond the limits of India Broach seems to have had contacts with Afghanistan, the Persian Gulf, the Arabian coasts, Egypt, Ethiopia, the Horn of Africa and East Africa, both in its import trade and export trade. This pattern of trade was mainly due to the barter system of old, which money economy did not completely wipe out and to the fact that merchants, travelled far and wide to procure the goods of trade. Under an organised
Government the merchants had the facilities of Guilds behind them, royal patronage and safety of traffic, facilities at ports and a communication system which encouraged trade. But even when political organisations reached a low level, individual merchants had still the drive and the capital to carry on the trade through well established routes or to maintain it by diverting it through less famous routes to avoid harassment from enemies. No country made any effort to monopolise the trade and control the trade routes as the Europeans did later.
References:

TRADE OF BARYGASA DURING THE ROMAN ASCENDENCY
1st and 2nd CENTURIES A.D.

The Export Trade of Broach

(1) a. The Periplus, op.cit., pp.188-89.

(2) The Periplus, op.cit., p.112.

(3) a. The Periplus, op.cit., p.170.
    b. Oliver Thomson, History of Ancient Geography
       (Cambridge) 1948, p.300.

(4) a. The Periplus, op.cit., p.42. See also pp.183-184, and p.189.


(6) a. The Periplus, op.cit., pp.163-64.

(7) a. The Periplus, op.cit., p.169.

(8) a. The Periplus, op.cit., p.61 and p.175.

(9) a. The Periplus, op.cit., p.88.

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   c. Oliver Thomson, op.cit., p.300.

   c. R.K. Mookerji, op.cit., p.86.


   c. Oliver Thomson, op.cit., p.300.

(15) a. The Periplus, op.cit., p.264.


   b. Oliver Thomson, op.cit., p.300.
Of the imports of Barygaza which figure prominently in the Roman records are wine, copper, lead, zinc, gold, and silver coins, precious stones like topaz and emeralds, coral, flint glass, bright coloured girdles, commodities for the manufacture of ointments and perfumes, detergents, astringents and medicines, such as storax, sweet clover, myrrh, realgar, antimony, etc. costly vessels of silver, singing boys, and beautiful women. (1)

Of the wines the Italian wine was popular and preferred to other wines. Wine was originally a product of Asia Minor, Syria and later of Greece. The Greeks seem to have carried it to France and the Phoenicians to Spain. In Italy, wine came to be known only with the establishment of the Roman Republic. Viticulture was introduced into Italy when the Roman Empire captured the wine producing countries. For the monopoly of the wine trade and its manufacture in Italy, Rome began to restrict the import of wine to Italy. Viticulture was confined to certain provinces of the Republic. At the time of its import to India, a highly flavoured wine, with myrrh and cinnamon, salt and other products from the East was very popular. The Italian wine came to Broach through Egypt,
Somali and Abyssinia to the Arabian coasts and from thence to the coast of India because the land routes were controlled by the Parthians. The grape wine of Yemen and the date-wine of the Persian Gulf also found their way to Broach along with Roman wine.

The Laodicean wine came from the Syrian coast. Its hills were covered with wine and sweet rush (used in wine making). Latakia, south of Antioch, was well known for its wine trade. Till the Parthians became a menace in the region stretching from the Kuria-Muria Islands to Ras Hadd on the eastern most corner of Arabia, this wine used to come through south Arabia.

Wine came to Broach from the Persian Gulf port of Ommana as well. But this was date wine from the Persian Gulf and grape wine from Oman, both considered inferior to Roman and Laodicean wine. The Persian Gulf ports had close trade links with the western coast ports of India right through the days of the Persian and Mauryan Empires. The land trade of Gujarat and its ports were also oriented towards the Mediterranean across Taxila, the Afghanistan-Persian Plateau, the Fertile Crescent and from thence to the Levant. In the early 1st century the Parthians were in control of this land route and Rome was dependent on Parthia for its eastern trade. But when Rome took over Egypt, much of its eastern trade was diverted to the sea and Parthia's profits on a
transit trade began to decline. The Parthian drive to the sea
and the capture of the Persian Gulf and East Arabian Coast
ports gave her a comparatively advantageous position to
challenge the trade of the Romans across the Arabian Sea.
Ommana, Apologus, Gerrha, and Moscha (Oman Moscha) fell to the
Parthians. The Persian Gulf ports were nearer to the ports of
the west coast of India than the Red Sea ports and the Parthi-
ans were quite anxious to capture their trade.

Although Barygaza was an exporter of copper in the
earlier days and Rajputana, Garhwal, Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan
are cited as sources of supply for the export trade of Broach
in copper, it figures as an importer of copper in the 1st and
2nd centuries A.D. The direct contacts of Rome with India,
gave the latter access to the European mines. Copper seems
to have come from Europe to Broach through Cana, Makran Coast,
and Barbaricum. Later it seems to have come via the Konkan
ports. Pliny says that copper came to Barygaza from Carmania
and that it was re-exported to the Persian Gulf. Copper
and other metals like gold, silver, lead, zinc and tin were
in great demand in India mainly for purposes of coinage. The
Indians used an alloy of copper and lead for their coins.
Pliny says that India exchanged precious stones and pearls for
metal. Rome also found that metal of all kinds were a
suitable commodity of export to pay for the extravagant
importation of luxuries from the east which could not be met by adequate production of other commodities in the Roman Empire. Persia and Egypt also required copper, mainly for coinage.

Lead imported to Barygaza were of two kinds, the black and the white. The former lead, and the latter tin. Lead came from Cantabra (Spain), Lusitania and Britain, all of which were under Roman control. The Santaresian mines of Lusitania were farmed by Rome for 250,000 dinarii a year to step up the production of lead. A large quantity of the lead went into the making of the Saka and Andhra coins. An alloy of lead and tin, made into thin foils, was used in the making of mirrors, while thin plates of lead worn next to the skin was supposed to have a beneficent effect in tropical climates. It was used in the making of containers to keep water cool. In the preparation of medicines, lead was used mixed with grease and wine. It could be used for the treatment of ulcers, burns etc. and for eye preparations.

Tin which came to Barygaza was mined in Galicia and Cornwall. The Phoenician traders found it on the Black Sea coast changing hands from tribe to tribe. Tin made its appearance in the Mediterranean after the Phoenicians came to Syria. Soon the Spanish and Cornwall mines were discovered. The trade was monopolised by the Phoenicians for a long time. But Romans trailed Phoenician ships to find out the source
of the metal,(8) When they conquered Galicia and Cornwall they were able to control its trade. According to Pliny the Romans had only a vague understanding of the metal.(9) The Indians used it mainly to harden copper. In the 1st and 2nd centuries Rome had access to the large tin mines of Europe. Along with other metals she exported it to India and Barygaza.

Other metals imported were gold and silver mainly in the form of coins. The Roman dinarii and aureus were current throughout Western India. It was the drain of specie from Rome to the East that was the main cause of the degradation of the Roman currency. Rome began to use silver for currency (coinage) in 272 B.C. when the rich silver mines came into her possession after the sack of Tarentum. In 146 B.C. gold coinage came into use in Rome after the destruction of Carthage and Corinth. In 47 B.C., with the success of Caesar, gold became plentiful in Rome. Under Claudius, (41-54 A.D.) the open sea route to India was opened. After him came Nero whose reign was marked by every form of wastefulness and extravagance for which Rome had to pay dearly with her specie according to Pliny. The gold aureus was exported in large quantities to India and became the basis of exchange so that Roman supply was exhausted.(10)

Topaz, seems to have been imported to Broach from the Island of Ophiodes, situated south of Berenice. Romans had no great knowledge of precious stones and used the word
chrysolites for true topaz. The topaz of India was either chrysolites or yellow saphire. Topaz which was imported to Broach was the true topaz of the Red Sea.\(^{(11)}\)

Emeralds were also sent from the Roman port of Berenice to Broach along with topaz. But there is no mention of it in the Periplus. Probably the Romans themselves did not take part in the emerald trade of Berenice with India because there was a great demand for it in Rome itself. The Indian trade was also not very profitable because the emeralds had to compete with the Indian beryls in the market and they fetched lesser price than in Rome.\(^{(12)}\)

The red coral was another precious import of Barygaza. It was a product of the Mediterranean and one of the principal assets of the Roman Empire in its trade with the East. Before corals found a huge market in India, it had a good market in Gaul where it was used to ornament sword hilts, helmets, shields etc. The Periplus says that there was a scarcity of corals in Gaul when the Indian demand increased and Rome diverted most of it to India through their Red Sea ports. The main coral fisheries were in Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica off Naples, Leghorn and Catalonia, the Balearic Islands, the coasts of Tunis, Algeria and Morocco. All these lands were under the control of the Roman Empire. The black coral however was found in the Red Sea in abundance and along the Arabian coast but these were not as valuable as the deep red ones (Corallum Rubrum).
In India coral was held in high esteem. It was preferred some times to precious stones because of its colour. It was also cheaper than precious stones. The Indians believed that coral had sacred properties and as such it was used as charms and as protection against the evil eye.\(^{(1)}\)

Glass, the manufacture of which was a very old industry in India and Egypt, was however imported to Broach at this time. Pliny refers to the glass made in India as being superior to those made elsewhere because it was made with pounded crystals. The Indians could make coloured glass which he says could not be distinguished from precious stones.\(^{(2)}\) The Phoenicians learnt to make glass much later. The sands of river Belus was a suitable raw material for the Phoenician glass industry and it has been assumed that because of this natural facility, glass making originated in Phoenicia. The Phoenician glass was inferior to Indian glass. But it is the Phoenicians who introduced glass making into Italy. They even began to imitate the agate cups of the Cambay region\(^{(3)}\) in glass when the Romans paid a fortune for these murrhine vases and cups (agate). The Venetian glass which is valued highly today is believed to have originated with the Phoenicians in Roman times.

The bright coloured girdles which came to Broach were mostly for the use of the tribal people, particularly the Bhils and for the labourers who worked in the carnelian
mines. They came from the ports of Adulis (Massawa) Elephant River (Ras el Filuk West of Guardafui), Opone (Ras Hafun south of Guardafui) and Muza (Mokha on the Arabian coast of the Red Sea).

A large number of commodities used in the making of ointments, perfumes, cosmetics, detergents, astringents, and medicines were imported to Broach. Of these storax, sweet clover, realgar, antimony, myrrh and ointments are mentioned.

Storax was imported to Broach in the form of solids, (a resin which resembled benzoin, and used in incense) and as liquid storax. Storax was made by mixing the fragrant juice of many trees. Glaser is of the opinion that it was produced in Suho (Petra), but most probably Petra was only the point of shipment of the commodity to Broach and to other Indian ports as well as to the Chinese ports. The liquid storax was the sap of a tree which was a native of southwest Asia. Broach perhaps imported it from Cana on the Arabian Coast. It was used in making incense, to cure bronchial disorders etc. In the Frankincense Country, it was used to protect the incense gatherers from snakes. (17)

Sweet clover came to Broach mainly for its medicinal value and for its use in the making of perfumes. Its smell and flower resembled that of saffron. Applied with the yolks of eggs or linseed, it cured eye diseases. Mixed with rose oil,
it cured pains in the head and with rosin wine, it relieved pain in the ears, cured swellings, eruptions etc. Sweet clover came from Campania (Italy), Cape Sunium (Greece) and Chalcidice and Crete. In Greece and Rome, besides its use in medicines and perfumes, they also used it for the crown and laurels given in games and for the crown for the gods (chaplets).\(^{18}\)

Myrrh was a product of the Frankincense Country (south Arabia). It was a gum from the bark of a tree and gathered along with Frankincense from very early times and sent to Egypt, India, the Hebrew country and as far as China. Egyptians used it for fumigation and for embalming, as well as in medicines and perfumes.\(^{19}\) The country where frankincense and myrrh were produced was always a bone of contention between the dynasties that ruled in Egypt and those of West Asia and Asia Minor. Myrrh and frankincense, like the textiles of India, were key commodities of ancient trade and could be exchanged for any product. The control of the Frankincense Country ensured a monopoly of the trade of the Arabian Sea. Myrrh came mainly from the Arabian ports of Muza and Cana. Muza was favourably situated to trade with the Roman ports of Myos Hormos and Berenice and with Ocelis, the terminus of Indian shipping. Behind Muza and Cana stretched the Frankincense and Myrrh Country.

Ointments were made of several ingredients and they were extensively used in India, Persia, Egypt and China. India also
made perfumes and medicinal ointments. But the ointments imported to Broach at this time were special varieties from the Persian Gulf, Arabia and Egypt.

Realgar (red sulphide of arsenic) was another import of Broach. It came from Carmania, but the point of shipment to Broach and other Indian ports was most probably Ommana on the Persian Gulf. It was used as a detergent and astringent, as a corrosive and for heating. But its main use was as an antiseptic. It cured coughs when burnt with resin and the smoke inhaled. (20)

Antimony, one of the imports of Broach, was sulphide ore, stibnite. The ore was found in eastern Arabia and Carmania and brought to the ports by the Asiatics to be shipped. It was used in ointments and eye tinctures (kohl) both in India and Egypt. But its principal use was in medicines. Pounded with frankincense and gum it was made into medicinal ointments for the eyes, for burns etc. Broach, as one of the major city and centre of trade, was also a manufacturing centre, and the ointments were produced in the city as well. (21)

Amongst the imports of Broach, listed in the Periplus, mention is made of the presents that were brought for the kings, costly vessels of silver, singing boys, beautiful maidens for the harem, choicest perfumes and ointments and inferior cloth. (22)
The imports of Broach came from a wide foreland including Egypt, East Africa, the Arabian Coast and the Persian Gulf. The Chinese silk came mainly by land. Along the coasts of India, Broach had at least trade with Konkan and Malabar ports. Her merchants also seem to have travelled along the coast to the ports of the Pandyas and Cholas and to the ports of Orissa and Bengal and from thence to Burma and the Far East.
References:

TRADE OF BARYGAZA DURING ROMAN ASCENDENCY
1st and 2nd CENTURIES A.D.

The Import Trade of Barygaza

(1) a. The Periplus, op.cit., p.42 and p.287.

(2) The Periplus, op.cit., p.76-77. See also p.42.

(3) a. The Periplus, op.cit., p.36, p.151, pp.157-159.
   b. Moti Chandra refers to the big ships which sailed from Barygaza to Ommana, and Apologus, p.114 and 119.

(4) a. The Periplus, op.cit., p.36 and p.151.


(6) The Periplus, op.cit., p.221.

(7) a. The Periplus, op.cit., p.190

(8) a. The Periplus, op.cit., pp.77-78.


(10) a. The Periplus, op.cit., pp.219-220.

This is crude glass flint glass which is mentioned as an import of Broach. It perhaps came from the Berber Country or from Egypt. Egypt sent flint glass to the Berber Country (Periplus, p.24). It is also mentioned as an import of the port of Avalites (Periplus, p.25) from where Broach might have got its flint glass.

See also Periplus, op.cit., p.42 and p.68.


(15) The Periplus, op.cit., p.68.


b. Moti Chandra, op.cit., p.116, mentions precious ointments Myrrh used by itself without oil formed as ointment. It was one of the principal components used in the making of ointments also (Periplus, op.cit., p.112).
(21) a. The Periplus, op.cit., p.192.
(22) a. The Periplus, op.cit., p.287.
THE MAJOR PORTS WITH WHICH BROACH TRADED IN THE 
1st and 2nd CENTURIES A.D., DURING THE ROMAN 
ASCENDENCY IN EGYPT:

(a) THE RED SEA, AFRICAN AND ARABIAN PORTS:

The Conquest of Ptolemaic Egypt by Rome in 31 B.C. 
made the Nile route and the Red Sea route more important for 
Roman trade with the East than the land route across the 
Fertile Crescent, Bactria, Bamian and Taxila, where the 
Syrians, Arabs or the Parthians held sway. But India's trade 
with the West and the Mediterranean sought all channels of 
exit during the days of Arab-Roman and Roman-Parthian rivalry 
in the eastern trade. It was the rivalry of the Sabaeans and 
the Homerites of Asir and Yemen (Southern Arabian coast) who 
united under one ruler in 115 B.C. and held Eduaemon, that 
prompted the Ptolemies to keep open the sea route to India. 
It was the same rivalry coupled with that of the less 
important intermediary, the Kingdom of Hadramaut, that 
prompted Rome, in the first decades of the Empire, to struggle 
for a direct contact with India. (1) Before the Romans 
discovered the Monsoons, which was kept a secret by the 
Sabaean-Homerites of Yemen and Gerrhaaens of the Persian 
Gulf, from the Greek merchants of Roman Egypt, the usual 
route taken by them was from the Red Sea ports of Egypt to 
Ocelis or Cana, and from thence, along the Arabian and Makran 
coast to Barbaricum (Barbaricon) on the Indus mouth. With the 
discovery of the Monsoons, and the rivalry of the Arabs and
the Saka-Scythians (Parthians) in West Asia, a shorter and safer route became possible for the traders of Roman Egypt. Their ships sailed directly from Ocelis to Sigerus (probably Rajapur on the Konkan coast). In the third stage, the Egyptian traders discovered a still shorter route from Ocelis to the Malabar ports of Muziris (Oranganore), Tyndis (Perhaps Ponnani) and Nelcynda (very near Kottayam) all of which were rich in pepper and the priced wares which came from Ceylon, Burma and the Far East. The great demand for eastern luxuries in Rome made the Broach merchants maintain close commercial links with the Konkan and Malabar ports, as well as directly with the Far East.

Alexandria, on the Delta of the Nile, was the premier port of Roman Egypt in the Mediterranean. From Alexandria their ships sailed to Juliopolis, situated two miles down the Nile. From thence they travelled to Coptos perched on a canal on the Nile, a distance of 308 miles, which they made with the help of the changing Etesian wind of the Mediterranean blowing down the Nile, providing their ships with the necessary tail wind. From Coptos, the journey to the Red Sea ports of Myos Hormos and Berenice was across deserts and had to be accomplished on camel backs. Berenice was 257 miles from Coptos and the journey took 11 or 12 days. Myos Hormos was six or seven days journey from Coptos. The greater part of the journey was done at night to avoid the heat of the day. The Roman Emperors renovated the old Hydreumas (watering
places) of Ptolemy Philadelphus and set up guards to protect them. Some of them, caravanserais, which could accommodate 2000 people at a time. (5)

Another feature of the Egyptian trade with India during the Roman ascendancy was, that Rome had very little land links with the East. In the early days of the Empire, Indian wares which reached Rome were obtained by the Egyptians from the Arabians of Yemen and Asir. They had under their control Eudaemon which was a prosperous meeting place of the Arabs, Indians and the Greek-Egyptians. The Yemeni Arabs built up a prosperous trade with India. Their capital was Marib and their chief mart, Arabia Eudaemon. It was the only shoal-free harbour between Egypt and the Indus. Their activities on the sea trade with India were checked only by Ptolemy I and III who tried to bypass them and establish direct contact with India. In about 115 B.C. the Sabaeans and the Homerites joined together under one king and, along with the kingdom of Hadramaut, controlled the entire south west coast of Arabia from Yemen to Cana and beyond. Their importance to the trade of Rome with India at the beginning of the Empire is revealed in the frequency with which Indians and Arabians are coupled together in Augustine Annals. Rome's knowledge of Sabaeans was also vague. It was the Sabaeans-Homerites and Hadramaut that passed oriental wares to Rome. The Nebataean Arabs, later created a barrier between the Romans and their direct trade with
India, tapping steadily the trade of both Syria and Egypt. They held the Sinai Peninsula and the north western corner of Arabia, extended their influence down the Red Sea to as far as Leuce Come (El Haura), and to the north east to the borders of Syria and Arabia to the Euphrates. They became immensely wealthy with their caravan trade with the Persian Gulf, with the Sabaeans, with Hadramaut, and with Egypt. Their geographical position gave them great advantages. Their capital was Petra where roads to Hebron ad Jerusalem branched off from a track leading from Aqaba to Bostra, Damascus, Palmyra and other Syrian centres. There were also short tracks to Gaza, and Arsinoe. Great routes ran from Petra to the Persian Gulf (Charax Spasini and Gerrha) and to Eudaemon, Leuce Come and Hadramaut. All these routes carried Indian wares to Aelana (Aqaba). During the time of Strabo, the camel traffic between Petra and Eudaemon and Leuce Come reached large dimensions. Almost the whole traffic was conducted without touching Egypt, which was perpetually a rival in commerce, but all goods could be had at Arsinoe, Myos Hormos and Berenice. (6)

Rome was able to gradually control the activities of the Nebateen Arabs in the Red Sea Region, probably with the approval of Petra, because to the Nebateans also, the transit trade between India, the Frankincense Country and Rome, was of the utmost importance to maintain their economic prosperity.
During the earlier and greater part of the Roman ascendency in the Eastern trade, it was Berenice and Myos Hormos, that dominated the trade of Roman Egypt with India. From the period of Nero to Vespasian (54 to 79 A.D.) Berenice surpassed Myos Hormos. But Strabo noticed a bar at Berenice which, in his time was quite impassable at low water. Violent winds and dangerous rocks impeded the passage to Berenice. Myos Hormos was in good repute according to Strabo. The Roman ships were also taking new designs by the 1st century A.D. The single sail was modified by increasing the height of the mast and a triangular top sail had come into existence. At the end of the 2nd century A.D., a sloping foremast was added. These improvements gradually made larger vessels possible. Berenice had only a small harbour. The rough weather and the shoaling up of its channels made Myos Hormos the only important port, trading with India between 115 and 145 A.D. Both, Berenice and Myos Hormos, were designated ports. Trade was limited to designated ports where officials collected and levied dues. Ships from Myos Hormos left for India and Ceylon some time in July and if they cleared the Red Sea by September, they had the Monsoons blowing right behind them, to carry them across the ocean. The distance from Myos Hormos to Broach was 2820 miles and from Berenice, 2760 miles. Strabo says that the greater part of the Eastern trade of Rome was through Myos Hormos or Berenice and across desert roads to
Coptos and from thence up the Nile to Alexandria. Large Roman vessels also reached Myos Hormos from Mosyllum. The need for large vessels was felt at Mosyllum (Mosyllon) because of the rising demand in Rome for eastern luxuries such as cinnamon, gems, pearls, precious stones, incense, perfume, ivory etc.\(^{(17)}\)

Ptolemais was another port which came into Roman possession with the conquest of Egypt. But Ptolemais had lost its importance with the decline of Meroe and the increasing use of the Myos Hormos-Coptos and Berenice-Coptos routes.\(^{(18)}\) The Ptolemais-Meroe-route became neglected. Meroe however continued as the capital of the Nubian Kingdom until after a few years of the Periplus, but it was exhausted by the continued attacks from the desert tribes and the Negroes of Sudan, that it ceased to be an effective link between the port and Nile. Pliny notes that when Emperor Nero sent his Embassy in 67 A.D. there was hardly any trace of Meroe except a few wretched huts.\(^{(19)}\) The main exports of Ptolemais were ivory and tortoise shell.\(^{(20)}\) Ivory is an article of Roman trade frequently mentioned in the Periplus. From the time of Tiberius (14-17 A.D.) the demand for ivory increased continuously in Rome. It is reported that Gaius provided his horses with an ivory stable and that Seneca possessed 500 tripod tables with ivory legs. Nero (54-68 A.D.) used ivory profusely in his palace. In Nero's time the African supply of ivory was more important than the Indian supply. But the increasing
demand caused the depletion of the African supply. In Pliny's time ivory supply to Rome, except that from India, was failing. Explorations were taken to south Africa in search of new sources of ivory but African supply was able to supplant Indian supply only in the 6th century A.D. In the period under consideration therefore India was the main source of ivory for the Roman market. It was sent both by land and sea routes. Although the centre of its trade was Adulis by this time, Ptolemais, being a port of some note also received the ivory. The material came from Barygaza, Muziris and Nelcynda. Crissa had the best Indian ivory. Ivory is also mentioned as a product of Malacca with which Broach had close trade links at this time. Ptolemais itself was situated near the Nubian forest which was rich in elephants, but according to Pliny the African supplies were getting depleted in his time and Ptolemais and the Somali ports must have got their ivory from India, which was the only source of ivory at this time. Ptolemais however was not a very important port of Roman Egypt. Berenice in the early part of the 1st century, and Myos Hormos in the latter part of the 1st century and part of the 2nd century, dominated the Eastern trade of Rome, while the Adulis-Axum trade route became important for Roman trade with India, after the Axumites, established themselves in the Tigre Highlands and gained control of the port of Adulis. Ptolemais further had no good harbour and only small boats could anchor at its
open roadstead.\textsuperscript{(24)} At a time when the eastern trade of Rome was increasing in volume and frequency, Ptolemais, with its indifferent connections to the Nile could not compete with Myos Hormos and Berenice or later with Adulis.

Adulis was a port where the Ptolemies had established a permanent trading colony to facilitate direct trade with the east. The Somali trade of the Cambay Indians was one of long standing. During the Roman period however the harbour at Adulis had deteriorated. Ships bound for Adulis had to anchor at Mountain Island, 200 stadia out into the sea from Adulis harbour. But the shores of the mainland closed in on two sides of the Island,\textsuperscript{(25)} making access to the new anchorage easy. With the rivalry of the Arabians of Yemen and Hadramaut, who had commanding position at Ocelis, Muza and Cana, together with the shoaling up of the navigation channels in the Red Sea leading to Myos Hormos and Berenice, the merchants of Egypt began to use Adulis, from where they took to Ocelis for watering, Socotra, Cana, Moscha, Barbaricum and Broach.\textsuperscript{(26)} The Ethiopians, who were forced out of the Hadramaut-Yemen coast by the Arabians, found themselves dispossessed of their lucrative trade with the East. They migrated to the Tigre Highlands in Abyssinia and there established the city of Oppidum Sacae which soon became the city of Axum. Roman Egypt was already in search of a new route to India to bypass the Arabians. The Ethiopians were
also anxious to re-establish themselves in the eastern trade. Axum lay across the natural trade routes from the Western coast of India to Egypt. In the 1st century when Ptolemy wrote, the Auxumites had subjugated the chiefs of Adulis and gained access to the sea. Indians traded in their own ships with all the ports of Africa and Arabia. In conjunction with the Arabians and the Greeks they traded with the ports of north east Africa. But their trade with the Somali port of Adulis was only with the sanction of the Auxumites and the Arabians. (27) The large ships that Barygaza sent to the Persian Gulf ports also made their way to the ports of north east Africa and Adulis.

The Auxumites, before they were converted into Christianity in 330 A.D., were very strongly influenced by Buddhism, (28) which paved the way for closer commercial contacts with India. Pliny's mention that Barygaza at this time was the sole port of Western India, has even led to the conclusion that it was an Ethiopian port. (29) But Broach during the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. was a possession of the early Kshatrapas, Andhras or the later Western Kshatrapas. Adulis became one of the main outlets of Roman Egypt mainly because of Arab rivalry in the Red sea and the shoaling up of the channels to their Red Sea ports. Somali traders (Africans and Arabians) and the traders of Western India (Gulf of Cambay) began to unite with the Auxumites for
trading with Roman Egypt. Auxumites had several trade secrets with the Arabians and the chiefs of the independent ports of the Somali coast, in order to keep the Indian trade with Egypt in their hands. Indians were persuaded not to go far into Egypt or beyond Ocelis (controlling the straits of Babel Mandeb). The Axum route became the main channel through which Indian wares passed into Roman Egypt. Situated high on the Tigre hills it could also control the activities of Berbers of the Plains. Roman Egypt saw the necessity to ally with the Auxumites to keep open the land route from the Nile, through Coloe and Axum to Adulis and the other ports on the Horn of Africa. Coloe, a market town in the interior, and five days journey from Adulis, soon began to take over the functions of Coptos on the Myos Hormos-Beranice routes to the Nile. The Auxumites controlled this land route and the trade of India with Alexandria. That the Axum route had become important to Roman Egypt, is revealed by the effort made by Trajan (98-117 A.D.) to maintain the watering place along this route and the canal in good repair. It became more and more important as the trade of Myos Hormos with India began to decline towards the middle of the 2nd century. By the 2nd century the larger part of the trade of India and Barukachcha sought the Axum route to Egypt. Ujjain, Barukachcha, Axum and Alexandria were in close communication in the latter part of the 1st century and the
2nd century. For the next six centuries Axum maintained its alliance with Rome, and later, its successor in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Byzantine Empire. It twice over ran the southern Arabian coasts to gain complete control of the eastern trade. Its expansion was checked only in the 7th century with the rise of Islam in Arabia. Axum's links with the Mediterranean were through Alexandria. Arsinoe had declined due to the receding of the Gulf of Suez and the silting of the navigation channels, but, having been a great commercial centre at one time, it continued as a manufacturing town, particularly known for its textiles which were exported to Broach.

Other ports on the Somali Coast and the Horn of Africa also had close trade links with Broach and the ports of the Gulf of Cambay. According to Pliny the trade of Barygaza was concentrated at the north east coast of Africa and South coast of Arabia. Broach, he says was the chief centre of commerce. Broach merchants visited Avalites (Zeila), Guardafui, Malao (identified more commonly as Berbera, but also by some as Bulhar), Mundus (identified as Bandar Hais as the most likely port but also as Berbera by some), Mosyllum (identified as Ras Hantara as the more probable, but also as Ras Khasmir) and Cape Elephant (Ras el Fil or Filouk or Ras Hadadeh, the first being more likely).
Situated near Babel Mandeb at the entrance to the Red Sea, where the Arabian Sea (Gulf of Aden) becomes narrowest, Avalites had a very commanding position. It was a Berber market town and under an independent chief. Across the narrow gulf of Avalites was the important Arab port of Ocelis, beyond which Indian shipping in the Red Sea was not permitted. Ocelis and Avalites together controlled the narrow strait of Bebel Mandeb although this was an attribute which could be applied to all ports around the Gulf of Aden, provided other conditions were also favourable. The Berbers were in the habit of crossing the Gulf of Avalites in their small rafts taking with them spices, ivory, tortoise shells, myrrh etc. to Muza and Ocelis. They had many trade understandings with both the Arabs and the Auxumites, who between them controlled the Indian trade with the Red Sea and Roman Egypt. Indians were allowed to trade freely at Avalites. It also traded freely with the Arab ports of Cana and Masira. But Avalites had no good harbour. Vessels of more than 250 tons had to anchor one mile away from the landing place, which was only an open roadstead. The passage through the Gulf of Avalites was beset with rushing currents and strong winds, which blew down the adjacent mountains. The harbour itself was open to the terrible north wind and the gales which blew from the west and south. During the high tides Avalites became almost an island while the low tide (ebb) left a sandy flat, extending for half a mile seaward from the town, making
the harbour quite unapproachable. The entrance to the anchorage was difficult after dark, because of the dangerous reefs and coraline bottom. But the coast and the hinterland were very rich in corals, hides, honey, pearls, gums, ivory, etc. all of which were highly sought after commodities in the commerce of the period. Indians and the enterprising merchants of Broach found it a convenient port of call for exchange of goods particularly because Indian shipping was stopped at Ocelis. From Avalites they could contact the Ethiopian port of Adulis, since the activities of the Barbers were under control of the Auxumites. Adulis and the Ethiopian market town of Axum were in close communication with Roman Egypt. Burton says that, even during his time the natives of Avalites carried on a trade with the Arabians, and the Cambay Indians, and that the ships which traded with Avalites were manned by Rajput and Hindu pilots. But the caravan trade of Avalites was taken over by Berbera (Malao) because of the rivalry between the chieftains of the two ports.

Guardafui (Cape of Spices or Ras Asir) was another port with which Indians traded freely. According to Pliny the trade of the Cambay Indians was centred at Guardafui. Of the Cambay Gulf ports, Broach was the chief port. The Africans, Arabians and the Cambay Indians had several trade pacts with the Auxumites in the Somali trade, which were
held secret, from Roman Egypt. Warmington and Glaser are of the opinion that Hippalas (himself a merchant of Roman Egypt) took off from Guardafui, in the company of Indians and discovered the Monsoons. (49) Roman Egypt, through its alliance with Axum, was trying to establish direct contact with India bypassing the restrictions placed by the Arabs. Guardafui, like Avalites, was outside the control of the Red Sea and anyone could trade there. (50) The East coast of Africa with its trade in gold, ivory, ostrich feathers and oil, the shores of the Arabian Gulf which produced the valuable frankincense and myrrh, and the Cambay ports (including Broach) with its trade in cloth, precious stones, timber and spices, particularly cinnamon, used Guardafui or Socotra which carried the wares to the Nile and the Mediterranean on an understanding with Axum. Gerrha and Obollah (Persian Gulf ports) Palmyra and Petra, Sabatha and Mar'aiba were all partners in this trade system at one time or other, their main aim being to keep the rich eastern trade in their own hands and to prevent the Romans from establishing direct contacts with India. (51) Frankincense and myrrh from Arabia, cloaks from Arsinoe, drinking cups, tin, copper, iron, gold and silver coins, flint glass, wine etc. found their way to Broach from Rome, the Levant and Syria, partly through Guardafui. (52) Its trade was open to all who might seek it. Strabo mentions that the frankincense which Guardafui exported to Broach and India, perhaps came from its own hinterland.
He says that agricultural products were regularly shipped to this ports from the ports of the Gulf of Cambay and that vessels from India exchanged goods at Guardafui, and proceeded along the east coast of Africa, but that, mostly they went to Ocelis. The Indians traded in their own ships.

Malao, further west of Guardafui, was also under an independent chief. It was the centre of caravan trade, and goods came to it from the interior of Africa. It had a good anchorage, sheltered by a spit. Indians preferred Malao to Mundus because the people were quite peaceful. Malao held periodical fairs even up to the 19th century to which came merchants from the Arabian coast, Muscat, Behrein, Bussoria and the western coast of India according to Burton. Indian macir (an aromatic bark) and Indian copal, described as a dye by Pliny, and as an exudation of a wood like myrrh, by Dioscorides, used in incense making, and cinnamon, came to Malao along with tunics and cloaks from Arsinoe, drinking cups, sheets of copper, iron, gold and silver coin. It re-exported macir and copal to Arabia. Its other exports were frankincense, harder cinnamon, myrrh and, rarely, slaves. Broach exchanged cloth, wheat, ghee, gingelly oil, sugar, sashes, etc. for cassia, frankincense, myrrh, gold and silver coin etc. at Malao. According to the Periplus cassia was a product of Malao itself. The Romans could not distinguish between cassia and cinnamon, and Malao perhaps exported to
Broach cassia and not cinnamon. Cinnamon had a great market in Rome, and most probably, was an export of Broach to Malao. Cinnamon sold at 1500 dinarii a pound at Rome while cassia was sold at 50 dinarii a pound. (56)

Mundus, like the other ports of the Horn of Africa and Somali coast, attracted Indian shipping. It was also an independent port. It was two or three days journey from Malao and a safe place for ships to lie at anchor because of a small protecting island. It is probably modern Bundar Hais but Glaser would identify it as Berbera. The description of an island close to the shore identifies it however as Bandar Hais. The Arab and Somali tribes brought their goods to Mundus. (57) But the people here were quarrelsome (58) so that Indians preferred Malao and Guardafui. But they did visit Mundus as well. The exports and imports of Mundus were the same as those of Malao which reveal its contacts with India and the West Coast ports. One of its main exports was Mocrutu, a high grade frankincense (59) which was one of the imports of Broach at this time.

Mosyllum is identified as Ras Hantara, while Glaser prefers Ras Khasmir. (60) It was two days sail from Mundus, but it had a bad anchorage. A great quantity of cinnamon was shipped from this place. (61) The best cinnamon according to the Romans was the mossylitic of Mosyllum, but they called
cassia. It was very costly in Rome. Pliny says that it was brought from Aethiopia (Ethiopia) "and was brought over vast tracts of sea" to Ocalis. This is an indication that cinnamon came from India, being a native of that country as well as that of Tibet, Burma and China. The Periplus says that it came from Somaliland but it does not grow there, nor does it have the soil and climatic conditions for its cultivation. Strabo says that it came from the interior, Cinnamon was one of the major exports of the Indian ports but the Periplus mentions it as exports of Malao, Mundus, Mosyllum and Guardafui, indicating that Romans got it from these ports but probably knew that they were only centres of transhipment. It is reported that Mosyllum felt the need for larger ships because of the increase in demand for eastern luxuries in Rome, particularly cinnamon,\(^{(62)}\) which was used as an incense and as flavour in oils and salves. Mosyllum also traded in fragrant gums, ivory, myrrh in small quantities, spices, tortoise shells and frankincense,\(^{(63)}\) all articles which entered the trade of Broach. Mosyllum like the other ports of the Horn of Africa, which had close trade connections with India, maintained links with Alexandria, Syria and the Levant. It received the cloth of Arsinoe, drinking cups, flint, glass, silver plate etc. as at Mundus and Malao. The Romans do not seem to have had any knowledge of the African coast beyond Mosyllum because Pliny believed that the Atlantic Ocean began here.
It was also the limit of the eastward expansion of the Ptolemies. Romans however mention Zanzibar. Perhaps they knew of that port from the Arabs and the Indians.

Cape Elephant, identified as Ras el Fil or Filouk or Ras Hadadeh, was 40 miles west of Cape Guardafui and two days journey from Mosyllum. Situated on a promontory, 800 feet above sea level and provided with a small river which emptied into the Gulf, it had a commanding position and a suitable anchorage where the coast receded into a bay. In the region of Aqanae (Bandar Ululah) was produced the best frankincense in great quantity. Even as late as the 17th century Captain Saris noted that Indian ships from the Gulf of Cambay touched at Cape Elephant on their way to Mocha and that they brought with them all sorts of gums. The trade of the ports of the Gulf of Cambay with those of Africa therefore seems to have been a continuous one. During the period of the Periplus, however, Broach was one of the major ports on the Gulf of Cambay.

Opone is identified as Ras Hafun, and was situated 90 miles south of Guardafui. The trade of the Indian ships at Opone was the same in the 1st and 2nd as it was in later centuries. Crutenden writing in 1848 and quoting Burton says that the place was deserted from April to early October. When the season changed the tribes from the interior moved towards the coast and set up huts for the traders visiting the coast.
The first to come were those from the ports of Yemen, anxious to purchase goods before the vessels from the Gulf of Cambay came. They were followed by the merchants from Muscat, Sur, Ras el Khyma, Bahrein Bassora etc. Lastly came the Banian traders from the west coast of India "with a formidable row of empty ghee jars" and positioned themselves into a permanent position in the harbour. With their superior capital, cunning and influence they could easily compete with the others.

During the height of the season it was a confusion of languages. Disputes rose daily between tribes which were settled by the spear and the dagger at a safe distance from the town, so that the fair was not disturbed. Long strings of camels arrived day and night escorted generally by women until at a distance from the town. Here the Somali merchant met the merchants from Bassora, Bagdad the Banians of the west coast of India and others. The Indian merchants kept to their boats and exhibited only small portions of their wares at a time.

At the end of March the fair came to an end and crafts of all kinds laden with cinnamon, tortoise shell and slaves left in parties of three and four for their homeward journey. By the 1st week of April the place was again deserted. It was a long established trade which existed in the same pattern in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. and probably even before.

The commodities brought by the Indians were rice, sesame oil, clarified butter, cotton and Indian cloth, honey etc. Opone
was a favourite port of the Indian because of its physical facilities which were better than those of Guardafui. It was sheltered from the storms peculiar to Guardafui. Ships destined for Guardafui had often to take shelter at the Bay of Tabae which was only 300 stadia from Opone.\(^7\) Beyond Opone the trade was controlled by Muza.\(^2\)

From the ports of the Horn of Africa, the Indian ships sailed down the coasts of East Africa. The Arab strength at Muza and Ocelis and the Roman dues at the Red Sea ports, made the Indians go to the ports of the Horn of Africa and the East Coast ports of Africa. This was also a trade which existed 2000 years before the Romans appeared in Egypt. It was further strengthened as the Indians were ousted from the Red Sea trade. These ports were also in the hands of local chiefs. Arabs traded with these ports along with the Indians but they could not control the trade as at Ocelis and Muza. That Arabs and Indians visited the coasts of Africa upto Zululand, Swaziland and Rhodesia and up to Port Beira if not beyond, is proved by the discovery of ancient temples by Carl Mauch in 1871, the structures of which resembled closely those of Arabia.\(^3\) The very configuration of the land masses round about the Arabian sea and the very favourable Monsoon winds made contacts between the Indian, Arab and African coasts inevitable even at a time when technical skills were at a low ebb.
Of the ports of the east coast of Africa, mentioned in the Periplus, are Menuthias (Zanzibar) and Rhapta, some miles south of Zanzibar (probably Kilwa). Beyond Opone the shores of Africa trend more towards the south. This coast had no harbours but there were many places where ships could anchor. Menuthias was several days journey from, and the main port of call after Opone. It was an island situated 300 stadia from the coast with many kinds of birds, tortoise and crocodiles.\(^{(74)}\)

The Arabs divided the Courses of Azania into two sections, Serapion (probably Mogadishu) and Nicon (Barawa). The Periplus says that the whole coast upto about 10\(^{\circ}\) south was under some sort of a subjection to Arabia. In the time of the Periplus this right of the Arabs was so ancient as to be beyond the explanation of the merchants. The coast was frequented by the Arab ships and their captains knew harbours well, they spoke the language of the natives and inter-married with them. Prevented by a superior force from going northwards, but useful to them commercially, the Arabs found themselves free to exploit Africa, south of Egypt.\(^{(75)}\) But the tribes and the chiefs along the coast actually functioned as independent chiefs trading with both Indians and Arabs. The appearance of palm oil in Zanzibar (Menuthias) is confirmation that Indians traded there. Its other imports were lances made at Muza, hatchets, daggers and awls, glass, wine and wheat for distribution amongst the savages.\(^{(76)}\) Of these wheat seems to have come to East Africa from India although it was not
considered as a wheat country at this time. Not only east Africa but Arabia and Socotra also got Indian Wheat.\(^{(78)}\)
The Periplus mentions that Gujarat was a fertile country producing cotton, horses, cattle, sheep and grain.\(^{(79)}\)
Glass also must have gone from India, because, according to the Periplus, the glass industry originated in India. The Indians also knew the art of colouring crystal and imitating precious stones.\(^{(80)}\)
The main exports of Menuthias were ivory in great quantity. Rhinoceros horns, tortoise shells and a little palm oil, all items of the trade of Broach.

Rhapta was two days journey from Menuthias, and it was the last market town of Azania.\(^{(81)}\) It was rich in ivory and tortoise shells. It was also under some sort of subjection to the Arabs but functioned independently. Many ships came from Muza to Rhapta. Its trade followed the same pattern as that of Menuthias.

Along the Arabian coast there were several ports with which Indians traded. Navigation was dangerous along the whole coast of Arabia. Beyond Burnt Island, (Jebel Tair, situated in the direct course from Berenice to Muza) the coast was without harbours and good anchorages, foul and inaccessible, because of the breakers, and terrible in every way, till Muza was reached. Muza was a designated port of the Arabs and a busy commercial centre. The Periplus says that it was crowded with Arab ship-owners and sea-faring men,
all busy with the affairs of commerce. It had a great trade with Barygaza, but it sent its own ships there. (82)

According to Pliny and Ptolemy, the market town of Muza was some miles inland and the port was Masala. But during the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. the port and town had merged to form one big commercial centre. Muza was connected to Saphar which had displaced Marib, the old market town and capital of the Sabaeans. Saphar, situated on the road to Sa'ana, was in the hands of the Homerites, a younger branch of the Sabaeans. Muza had thus access to the rich Frankincense Country. The control of the Sa'ana-Saphar route and their understanding with the Homerites and the Sabaeans enabled Muza to control the caravan trade of the Frankincense Country to the north and the shipping routes to and from the southeast coast of Arabia. Muza thus remained an exclusively Arab port with a wide stretch of Frankincense Country behind it. Muza imported muslins, sashes, purple cloth, fragrant ointments, wine, wheat, sweet rush, gold, silver and copper vessels and all things that came from Roman Egypt and the Mediterranean and sent them to Ocelis, their own port, to be distributed to other ports including Barygaza. Indian ships were not allowed to go beyond Ocelis. Muza merchants went to Barygaza and took whatever they thought fit back to Muza. They also got Indian goods at Ocelis and Cana. This pattern of trade was an Arab bid to control the trade of Rome and India at the Strait of Babel Mandeb. Beyond Opone...
all trade up to Muza was controlled by the Arabs which necessitated the diversion of Roman trade through Axum. Rome was able to ignore the Arab trade of Muza with India after it established contacts with Axum. Pliny does not even mention Muza, but that was because it ceased to be of importance to Roman trade. It still had commercial links with India. The merchants of Muza were by far the most active in trade. But Indians were absent in Muza because of the policies followed by the Arabians at this time. The Indian trade of Muza helped to produce rich hereditary merchants. Emperors of Rome and the Roman state also received large profits from this trade through transit dues, carriage dues, levies in kind on production and the all important Red sea dues. Amongst the articles on which dues were levied in Egypt are mentioned ivory and oriental pearls. (83)

Situated 300 stadia from Muza was Ocelis controlling the entrance to the Red Sea from the Arabian coast. It was one of the four legal Marts of the Arabs, along with Muza, Cana and Eudaemon. After Eudaemon was lost to the Arabs, they tried to establish Ocelis, Cana and Muza as control points on the Red Sea route. The narrow strait of Avalites was dangerous because of the rushing currents and strong winds. Ocelis was not much of a market town but was a good anchorage and a watering place. Merchants who visited India called at Ocelis and proceeded to the Somali ports, to
Eudaemon, Socotra, Cana, Moscha and Barbaricum, then sailing south reached the Gulf of Cambay and Barygaza. They could get Indian wares at any of these ports. By mutual agreement the Arabs and Somalis excluded Indian trade from the Red Sea. The Indians then began to frequent the Axumite port of Adulis, and reached their goods to Alexandria by the Axum-Coloe Nile route. The Egyptian Greeks began to sail directly to India depending less and less on the Arabian ports after the direct course was firmly established. Ocelis was a convenient port for those coming from India. It was separated from Perim Island only by a narrow channel. From Ocelis, Indian cargo went by land to the Arab port of Muza (Masala) because the Arabs wanted the Roman trade in Indian wares under their control. The advice of the Arabs to the Greek merchants of Egypt was that they need not go beyond Ocelis for their cinnamon. If they would hand over the western products to the Arabians at that port they could avoid a long and dangerous sea travel. Arabians levied dues on all goods at Ocelis.

Beyond Ocelis the sea widened towards the east, giving view of the open ocean, and situated about 1200 stadia from Ocelis, was Eudaemon, at the entrance of the Bay (Gulf of Aden). It was the only shoal free harbour between the Suez and India. It was 1700 miles from Barygaza. After the fall of Arabia Eudaemon to the Romans, the Arabs moved to Muza.
Rome, however, could not fully control the Red Sea trade at Eudaemon. They allied first with the Nebataeans and later with King Charibael for the use of Eudaemon. Gradually they began to depend on Axum and their port Adulis. The Auxumites at the height of their power did over run the Arabian coast twice. Eudaemon was a meeting place of merchants from all countries. It was always an important centre of trade from where goods were transhipped to the Mediterranean, whether it was an Arab port, a port in alliance with the Romans or Independent. Eudaemon really came to the forefront again for western trade only towards the 4th century A.D. During the period of the Periplus sugar ("honey from the reed called Schari") could be had at Eudaemon. 

To the east of Eudaemon was a stretch of coast extending over 2000 stadia dotted with villages and inhabited by nomads in the interior. At the end of this bay the land projected into a cape where was situated Cana, another exclusively Arab port. To this port came all the frankincense produced in the country. The collecting centre for the frankincense was Sabbatha, the seat of the king, the capital and metropolis of the Frankincense Country. Sabbatha was connected to the interior by camel roads and to the port of Cana. It traded with Barygaza, Ommana and the Somali ports. Gums, resins, aloes, used in medicines etc. came to Cana from India and their trade was controlled by the
Arabs. The King of the Frankincense Country seems to have controlled the coast as far as Ras Hasik and the Kuria Muria Isles and ruled also Syagrus and Socotra from Sabbatha. They tried to monopolise the traffic in all kinds of gums and resins as well as the trade with the Indus and Barygaza. The poppy juices of Asia Minor exported to the Persian Gulf to be sent to India was purchased by the kings of Hadramaut and Cana and diverted by them to the Red Sea and Egypt as Indian juice because it fetched higher prices. According to the Periplus coral was exported from Cana to Barygaza, Barbaricum and Muziris along with copper, lead, tin, storax etc. The Mediterranean commodities destined for the Indian ports were diverted by land to Cana and then re-exported by sea to Barygaza and the western coast ports, in a bid to control the trade. The merchants who went to India left out the Persian Gulf ports and sailed to Moscha, Barbaricum and Broach. They continued their journey from Cana westwards to Hadramaut, Eudaemon and Socotra (as long as they were in Arab control) and from thence went to the Somali ports of Ocelis and Adulis and then to Muza. Towards the end of the 1st century the Indians began to frequent Moscha as Cana being a designated port, the Arabs collected dues on Indian wares at that port. But Cana had a fine harbour protected from all winds, because of the projecting cape on either side. The trade of Cana however declined with the
increasing use of the direct sea route and the Axum route by the Romans, and with the dues levied.

Beyond Cana, towards the east was a forbidding mountainous country with no anchorage place but very rich in frankincense. The kings slaves were sent to collect the frankincense, but the place was very unhealthy. On a promontory on this coast was Syagrus, where there was a harbour and a store house for frankincense. It is identified as Ras Fartak situated at a height of 2500 feet and visible for many miles along the coast. It was a land mark for the Indians.

Opposite Syagrus was the Island of Dioscorida (Socotra). It had a favourable location between the horn of Africa and the Arabian ports and was a meeting place of Indians, Arabs and the Greeks of Egypt from very early times. Its most valuable fauna was tortoise shells which were valued in the commerce of the period. They were made into plates and cake dishes of all kinds. The islands also produced cinnamon. During the time of the Periplus the island was subject to the king of the Frankincense Country so that its connection with Cana and Muza was very close. Ships from Barygaza and Damarica (country of the Tamils) came to Dioscorida bringing with them rice, wheat, Indian cloth and a few female slaves and they took for exchange a great quantity of tortoise shells. The king of the Frankincense Country garrisoned it to prevent chance landing of trading vessels on his territory.
Moscha, beyond Syagrus was another frankincense port on the Arabian coast. Ships from Barygaza and Damarica called regularly at Moscha. If the season was late, they spent winter there, trading with the kings officers exchanging their cloth, wheat and sesame oil for frankincense, "which lay in heaps all over the country open and unguarded, but neither openly nor by stealth could it be loaded on board ship without the king's permission". (98)

Beyond Moscha was the island of Serapis (Masira) situated about 120 stadia from the mainland. The island like the island of Dioscorida, was rich in tortoise shell, and which were carted to Cana in small sail boats and from thence exported. (99)

The Indian trade and the trade of Broach in particular was thus not only affected by political upheavals within the sub-continent, but also by the rivalry of the Arabians with the Romans. Their desire to keep the Indian trade in their hands and the Roman ambition to establish direct contact with India, had a great impact on the patterns of trade at Broach. While the Andhras and southern kingdoms were more tolerant of Roman entry into the Arabian Sea trade, the Sakas seem to have resisted it and joined the Parthians. But Broach sought all channels of trade at this time, whether Arab, Somali, Ethiopian or Roman, to get its goods to the Mediterranean. Arabians traded with Broach and the Indian
ports and continued to control the carrying trade of the East with alliances and agreements with the merchants of India. One Arab kingdom or other held the eastern coast of Africa with its great trade in gold, ivory, ostrich feathers and oil. The Arabian shores produced frankincense and myrrh and India had vast resources of cloth, precious stones, timber of all kinds and spices. The Ptolemies had made every attempt to break through this monopoly but later gave up the struggle and did not oppose it. The Greek merchants of Roman Egypt also did the same. It was about the same that the Indian trade along the Sind-Makran coast met with some reverses, due to the shoaling up of the Indus mouth. The Arabians tried to control this trade particularly after the political reverses in the Indian sub-continent. Kingdoms rose and fell with bewildering frequency in Arabia. The Arabians lost control of the African coast which was left to its own people, acknowledging only a vague suzerainty of the Arabs. Its independent ports began to pick up the remnants of the Indian trade. The Arabians however maintained themselves at Bab-el-Mandeb while one of the defeated tribes built the Kingdom of Abyssinia. It was at this juncture that the Romans came into possession of Egypt and first tried to establish itself on the caravan routes of Asia Minor and Syria which it had won and then on the direct sea route to the East, by way of the outposts of the Ptolemies on the
Red Sea. The wealth of the East was now within reach of Rome and the sea route was eased with the discovery of the Monsoons. Rome had developed a taste for eastern luxuries which had reached it through the conquests of the Mediterranean people. With the fall of Egypt to Rome and the discovery of the Monsoons people clamoured for more treasures from the East. Money was plentiful and merchants flocked to the Roman ports from all quarters. But Parthia and the Arab Kingdoms levied tolls on all goods that passed to Rome unless Rome could develop and control the sea route.

The Red sea route from Egypt to India was the Roman answer to Arab-Parthian rivalry in the land trade to India. But the Arabians rose to the occasion. No informations was allowed to reach the merchants of Egypt. They controlled the trade at the Strait of Babel Mandeb by understandings drawn up with the chieftains of the different ports of Africa. Every device was used to encourage the continuance of the channels of trade which had existed since human memory began. But accidents favoured Rome when the Ethiopians smarting under the treatment of its former neighbours in Arabia, established themselves at Axum and courted Roman alliance. The old trading ports of North East Africa, formerly under Arab control were now free, through the quarrels of their chiefs, to trade with anyone they chose. Trade thus shifted from the Red Sea ports of Roman Egypt to Axum and the north
east ports of the Horn of Africa. The seasonal winds in the Arabian sea helped them to reach India. But the trade was controlled by the Abyssinians on the one hand and by the Arabs on the other. The Indians luxuries being the prized possession all were seeking, its merchants had more or less free access to all these ports, but not to the Roman port of the Red Sea or the exclusively Arab port of Muza. The Arabs, while they did not object to Indians, trading at any of their ports, controlled Indian traffic in the Red Sea. Gems, pearls, ebony, sandalwood, balms, spices, specially pepper, and cinnamon, all fetched high prices in Rome and neither the Arabs, the Parthians of the Persian Gulf nor the Auxumites were willing to surrender the profits derived from this trade. The old channels of trade therefore were never fully conquered by the Romans but they were paralleled, so strong was the age long understanding between Arab and Hindu in the trade of the Arabian sea.

Great shiftings of the trade took place, no doubt, with the entry of Rome in the Eastern trade. The land routes to India suffered. One by one Petra, Palmyra, Gérha and Parthia itself were sapped of their revenues. The south Arabians fell upon hard times. Abyssinia flourished as its old enemies declined. Then came its conversion to Christianity and its close links with Byzantium in the 4th century A.D. If this state of things had continued the course of history might
have been different. But gradually Rome declined. The Byzantine Empire was challenged by Islam and a new power rose in Arabia, to once again repeat the rivalry in trade between the Arabs, Egyptians and the Mediterranean for a monopoly control over the luxuries of the East.
Preferences:
THE MAJOR PORTS WITH WHICH BROACH TRADED IN THE 1st and 2nd CENTURIES A.D. DURING THE ROMAN ASCENDENCY IN EGYPT

(a) The Red Sea, African and Arabian Ports:
(2) The Periplus, op.cit., p.232, and 203, 208
(4) The Periplus, op.cit., p.52.
(7) E.H. Warmington, op.cit., p.16.
(8) E.H. Warmington, op.cit., p.53.
(12) The Periplus, op.cit., p.52.
(13) The Periplus, op.cit., pp.52-54.
(14) The Periplus, op.cit., p.22.
(15) The Periplus, op.cit., p.52.
(16) E.H. Warmington, op.cit., p.73.
(20) a. The Periplus, op.cit., p.22 and p.284.
(21) a. The Periplus, op.cit., p.60, 61, and 714.
    b. E.H. Warmington, op.cit., p.163.
(22) The Periplus, op.cit., p.259 and p.61.
(24) The Periplus, op.cit., p.22.
(28) The Periplus, op.cit., p.64.
(31) The Periplus, op.cit., p.63.
(33) The Periplus, op.cit., p.65.
(34) The Periplus, op.cit., pp.63-64.
(35) The Periplus, op.cit., p.68.
(38) The Periplus, op.cit., p.81.
(39) The Periplus, op.cit., pp.81-82.
(40) The Periplus, op.cit., p.85.
(42) E.H. Warmington, op.cit., p.53.
(43) The Periplus, op.cit., p.74.
(44) The Periplus, op.cit., p.31 add p.74.
(45) The Periplus, op.cit., pp.74-75.
(49) E.H. Warmington, op.cit., pp.46-47.
(50) a. The Periplus, op.cit., p.6.
(51) The Periplus, op.cit., pp.4-5.
(54) The Periplus, op.cit., p.80.
(55) The Periplus, op.cit., p.25.
(56) The Periplus, op.cit., p.83.
(57) The Periplus, op.cit., p.81.
(59) The Periplus, op.cit., pp.26 and 81.
(60) The Periplus, op.cit., pp.81-82.
(64) The Periplus, op.cit., pp.81-82.
(65) The Periplus, op.cit., p.26 and 85.
(69) a. The Periplus, op.cit., p.87.
(70) The Periplus, op.cit., p.91.
        b. E.H. Warmington, op.cit., p.159 for export of ghee (ghee) from Broach, p.206 for export of gingely oil from Barygaza.
(72) E.H. Warmington, op.cit., p.53.
(75) The Periplus, op.cit., pp.96-98.
(78) The Periplus, op.cit., p.76.
(81) The Periplus, op.cit., p.28.
(82) The Periplus, op.cit., p.30 and p.106.
(84) E.H. Warmington, op.cit., p.9.
        b. The Periplus, op.cit., p.115.
(87) E.H. Warmington, op.cit., p.11, p.78.
(89) E.H. Warmington, op.cit., p.209.
(90) E.H. Warmington, op.cit., p.204 and p.207.
(91) a. E.H. Warmington, op.cit., p.263.
       b. The Periplus, op.cit., p.128.
(93) E.H. Warmington, op.cit., p.54.
(95) The Periplus, op.cit., pp.33-34, and p.133.
(98) The Periplus, op.cit., p.35.
(99) The Periplus, op.cit., p.35.
(b) THE PERSIAN GULF PORTS:

The Persian Gulf ports were in general under Parthian or Arab control. The Periplus says that the coast between Ras-el-Hadd (eastern tip of the Arabian Peninsula) to the Kuria-Muria Bay and the neighbouring coast of Persia were conquered by the Parthian Empire but that many of the ports maintained its local government and controlled the trade to a large extent. (1)

The Persian Gulf was accessible from the Mediterranean either by sea through the Nile-Red Sea-Arabian coast route or by land from the Syrian-Levant coast across the desert and the Fertile Crescent roads which converged on the Euphrates-Tigris. Both the rivers being navigable to a great distance to the interior, the sea ports of the Persian Gulf had access to the market towns by water. The Gulf ports were usually river ports but there were several market towns on land routes as well. From India too, the connections by land and sea to the Persian Gulf was one of long standing. The land routes were through the north-west mountain gaps commanded by Taxila (Khyber route), Multan (Bolan) and Patala (Makran) all of which were connected to the great east-west-Hindustan road through Ujjain, Mathura or Patala. All the three market towns were connected by good roads to Broach. The sea route from western India to the Persian Gulf was either along the coast of Saurashtra and from thence along the Cutch-Sind and the
Makran coast or directly along the Sind-Makran coast to the Gulf of Oman.

While the Persian Gulf routes to India and the East were not very popular with the Western Powers, they were frequented by Indian merchants. The Kushanas and the early Saka rulers were closely allied with the Parthians and the land routes to the Persian Gulf were at their disposal. The rivalry of the Arabsians and along the sea route, particularly in Hadramaut and Yemen, made the land routes to the Mediterranean safer for the trade of the Indians. But by the time the Andhras and the later Kshatrapas gained control of the west coast of India, Gujarat and Broach lost contact with the Persian Gulf region by land across the north western mountain passes because of the political upheaval in the Indo-Gangetic Plain following the rout of the Kushanas. The Andhras and the Western Kshatrapas (the later Kshatrapas) who were successively rulers of Broach at this time) and also the Kingdoms of the deep south, were anxious to re-establish the sea contact of western India with the Persian Gulf on a firmer footing. The Parthians had now reached out to the south-east Arabian coast and the one time small kingdoms with their thriving ports acknowledged their suzerainty. The Parthians were also anxious to draw as much of the Indian trade to their ports and collect the dues on the transit trade. Rome, which by now was in possession of the secret of the Monsoon was striving to stabilise the Red Sea route to India, to cut
the profits on the carrying trade of the Arabians and Parthians, who between them held on to the land routes to the Mediterranean and the sea routes upto the entrance to the Red Sea. By controlling the Indian trade at Cana and Ocelis which gave access to the Red Sea and at Petra and Palmyra, which opened out the Levant and Syrian coast and also at Apolagus, Charax Spasini, Ommana and Gerrha on the Persian Gulf, the Parthians and the Arabians kept the bulk of the Indian trade in their hands, stoutly opposing any direct entry of Rome in the Eastern trade. But rivalry amongst the rulers and chiefs permitted Rome to ally with one or the other and conduct its trade with India. The dues on African and Indian wares at control points on the land and sea routes and the return traffic from the Mediterranean and Africa to India and the East were the major sources of the wealth of the merchants and kings of Arabia, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Armenia, Syria etc. But in Tranjan's time (98-117 A.D.) Assyria, Armenia and Mesopotamia became Roman provinces. Assyria and Armenia commanded the Caspian Sea route to the East and Mesopotamia, the Persian Gulf route. On the Tigris, Seleucia represented Roman interest, and Ctesiphon, the Parthian interest. When Seleucia was lost to the Parthians, Vardanes (42-46 A.D.) shifted Parthian trade to Ctesiphon. But after the fall of Ctesiphon and Babylon Tranjan descended on the Tigris and the market town of Charax Spasini. Volageses-I (51-78 A.D.) then founded the new port of Vologasocerta.
in order to drain Seleucia of its profits. The policy succeeded to some extent and in the long reign of Pacorus (78-103 A.D.) contemporary of Titus (79-81 A.D.), Domitian (81-96 A.D.), Neva (96-98 A.D.) and Trajan (98-117 A.D.) of Rome, Vologesocerta (Ullaish of the Arabs) gained the status of Apologus and Charax Spasini in the eastern trade. With Trajan's thrust, the King of Mesene, who up to now had acknowledged Parthian supremacy and in whose territory was Charax Spasini, accepted Roman over-lordship. Charax Spasini was also thus lost to the Parthians for some time. The ferry and harbour dues of horse and camel traffic of the Euphrates and Tigris were put in order by Rome. Mesopotamia and Mesene were organised as Roman provinces. Nisibis in Assyria was made into a permanent Roman fortress and trade depot trading with the East. Besides gaining control over the land routes to the Persian Gulf, Trajan, also strengthened the Red Sea route to India. He reopened the canal of the Ptolemies leading to Arsinoe. He constructed another canal between the Nile and the Suez starting from "Babylon" (Baboul) and ending at Clysma, an old settlement garrisoned by the Ptolemis before Rome appeared in Egypt. Eudaemon was also wrested from the Arabs.

But Trajan's policy of controlling the routes and wresting the trade from the Arabs and the Parthians met with failure. Both Mesopotamia and Assyria revolted. In Egypt, a severe rebellion of the Jews forced Trajan to revise his policy regarding direct trade with India. His successor Hadrian
(117-138 A.D.) was wiser. His peaceful policy created a better impression. He concentrated on Syria, developed Damascus and Palmyra along the lines of a Greek Municipality, allowed them great freedom in commerce and economy but watched them closely to see that they did not go beyond the limit of a Municipality. Hadrian decided that the best security for Rome came from a peaceful Parthia and a share for Rome in the overland trade of Parthia with China and India. He contended that if Rome could secure some control over the traffic from Palmyra and Petra to Apologus and Charax Spasini, she would not have to burden herself with Mesopotamia and face constant revolts. In the same way if he could establish some influence in the Buxine and the Caspian region, there would be no need to hold Armenia and Assyria at sword's point. Assyria could also be released if the Nebataean Arabs of Syria and Aqaba could be drawn into alliance. Hadrian surrendered Mesopotamia, Armenia and Assyria and decided on peaceful trade with the Parthians and a share in the Eastern trade by land across Arabian and Parthian territory. This period of mutual understanding and Parthian supremacy in the Persian Gulf and along the Central Asian trade routes to China and India lasted about 50 years, till the accession of Marcus Aurelius as an independent ruler in Rome (Marcus Aurelius ruled in Rome along with Lucius Verus between 161-169 A.D.; and alone between 169 and 180 A.D.). The period from Trajan to Marcus Aurelius (98 A.D. - 180 A.D.) was the period of Rome's most
widely spread commercial intercourse with the East,\(^{(2)}\)
a period which somewhat coincided with the Kushanas, the
early Kshatrapas, the Andhras and late Kshatrapas in India
and in Broach. But the pattern of Roman trade with Broach saw
violent changes during this period due to the rivalry of the
Parthians and the Arabians and the alliances made by the
different dynasties, both in India and the west, to retain the
trade in their hands. The Indian merchants on the whole tried
to keep open all channels of trade with the Mediterranean
by permission from the Parthians and Arabians. Broach had
very close contacts with the Persian Gulf ports particularly
because of the restriction placed on their trade with the
Red Sea.

Of the Persian Gulf ports, which traded with Broach and
other ports of India, are mentioned Apologus, Charax Spasini,
Ommana and Gerrha.

Apologus (Obollah) was quite an important centre of
caravan trade.\(^{(3)}\) The King of Mesene and Characene used
Apologus for their contacts with Kabul and the Punjab by land.
Apologus, along with Ommana, was one of the chief marts of
Om\textsuperscript{a}ana (east coast of Arabia from Ras Hasik and much of the
southern shore of the Gulf). Both Ommana and Apologus had a
reciprocal trade with Broach. The location of Apologus seems
to have given it its importance as a commercial centre. During
the time of the Periplus, Apologus had regained its former
Broach sent 273 timber ships to Apologus. There was a great demand for timber and wood of all kinds in Rome. The woods exported from India were of two classes, one ornamental and the other fragrant woods used in medicines etc. The Periplus says that together with sandal-wood, teakwood, timber and logs of blackwood and ebony, were brought regularly by vessels coming from Barygaza to Apologus and Ommana. Of these the most important was ebony, which was in great demand in Rome. The Persian Gulf traffic in Indian ebony was a long standing one but its extension to Rome came during the days of Pompey who exhibited the wood after his triumph over Mithradates. The Romans left the trade of Indian ebony in the hands of the Arabians. The wood was used for furniture in Rome. In the Persian Gulf region there was a demand for teak wood for building boats. According to Theophrastos, it came from Gujarat, Canara, Travancore, Malay Peninsula, Malabar etc. Its resistance to water made it a valuable wood for the construction of boats and for building purposes. Indian rose (Black) wood was also one of the valuable timbers exported from Barygaza to Apologus. It was used in the making of furniture. Copper was also exported from Barygaza to Apologus and Ommana. It must have been the copper imported to Barygaza from European countries.

The exports of Apologus to Barygaza were also handled by the Arabians and they came from far and wide. The Purple
which Apologus sent to Broach was doubtless of Tyrian origin. The best purple came from Tyre. In Africa it was found in Meninx and Gaetulia and in Europe, in Laconia. It was a dye used in dyeing cloth. It was derived from the secretion of a fish. The precious juice was extracted from a white vein, the rest of the body being devoid of the juice. The colour was of a rose being inclined to black. The fish had to be taken alive for when it died it ejected out the juice. From the larger ones it was extracted by taking off the shell but the smaller fish were crushed alive together with the shells upon which they ejected the juice. In India purple was considered of Arabian origin. Coral was also exported from many Arab ports, including Apologus, to Barygaza and Barbaricum but they were most certainly of Mediterranean origin. Clothing of flax, thin cloth, figured linen and all sorts of other cloth, the finest being for the king, bright coloured girdles etc. which were imported to Barygaza from Apologus and the Persian Gulf came from Arsinoe and Egypt, Syria, Palestine and even Spain (coarse cloth). They were worked by Indians and were preferred in China to Babylonean fabrics. Apologus also exported to Barygaza inferior pearls, wine, a great quantity of dates, gold and slaves. To it also came frankincense from Hadramaut which it sent to Barygaza. But the main point of transhipment was Ommana.
Ommana was a market town of Persia, six days sail from the strait of Hormuz. It was a legal mart of the Arabians in the Persian Gulf set up because of Roman influence in Charcene. Fliny locates it on the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf between the Peninsula of El Katam and Ras Musandum, at that time a Persian - Parthian dependency. Ommana was the centre of an active trade with India. Being conveniently located with reference to the trans-Arabian caravan routes, it was a trading centre where the products of the East were reshipped overland to the Mediterranean. Glaser believes this coast to be the legendary land of Ophir. Copper, iron, arsenic and red lead were exported for Carmania to the Persian Gulf port of Ommana for distribution. Warmington also says that sulphide of antimony, used for eye tinctures, found in East Arabia and Carmania, was sent to Barygaza from Ommana along with the commodities sent from Apologus such as silver vessels, bronze vessels, gold, slaves, pearls, purple, clothing, wine and dates.

Charax Spasini was on the Shatt-el-Arab (modern Mohammarash) and very strategically situated for entry into Mesopotamia. Charax Spasini was connected to the Levant and Syria through Petra and Palmyra. It was also connected to Gerrha. Trajan had recognised the value of the location of Charax Spasini in establishing Roman control over the Eastern trade. He invaded the kingdom of Mesene in which was situated Charax Spasini
and forced the king to transfer his allegiance to Rome. Charax Spasini opened for Rome the door to the Indian trade. But Trajan's policy of controlling the trade routes did not succeed. But Hadrian's policy of friendship with the Parthians enabled Indian wares to filter through Charax Spasini to the Mediterranean. It remained a strong hold of the Parthians protecting their shipping trade for some time. But most likely, the trade was handled by the Arabians. It was restored and protected by three miles of embankments by Spasinus "the king of the neighbouring Arabians" which indicates the influence of the Arabians in some of the Parthian ports. By the time of the Periplus however its harbour had deteriorated by siltage and the town was some considerable distance from the sea. But it had important land connections to Syria to the west and India to the south east.

The port of Gerrha situated north of modern Qatar was also an important trading centre on the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf. But Ommana was a better known port for transhipment for Indian wares from Barygaza. The trade patterns of Gerrha were the same as those of Ommana. It was connected to Charax Spasini by a caravan route.

On the whole the Persian Gulf trade suffered at this time because of the rivalry of the Romans in the Red Sea. But the Gujarat ports strengthened their contacts both with the Arabians and the Parthians of the Persian Gulf to keep open
the channels of trade to the Mediterranean. In this trade Gujarat, and particularly Broach, had an advantageous position. They could still command the products of Malwa and the Gangetic plain. Gujarat itself was rich in many of the products which entered the international trade of the period, particularly textiles, agates and carnelians etc. She could also command the resources of the Deccan both by a coastal sea trade and by land routes. It had also long standing commercial contacts with the Far East which supplied the spices, ivory, precious stones, gold, agallochum, silk etc. which could be exchanged for products of the Persian Gulf, Arabia, Egypt and Africa.
References :

(b) THE PERSIAN GULF PORTS :

(1) a. The Periplus, op.cit., p.147 and p.150. Also p.127.


(3) a. The Periplus, op.cit., p.36 and p.149.

(4) The Periplus, op.cit., p.36 and p.149.


   b. The Periplus, op.cit., p.151.

(7) The Periplus, op.cit., p.156.

   b. The Periplus, op.cit., p.36 and p.156.

(9) The Periplus, op.cit., p.36.


(11) The Periplus, op.cit., p.150.

(12) E.H. Warmington, op.cit., p.132.

(13) The Periplus, op.cit., p.150.

(14) The Periplus, op.cit., p.151.


(16) a. The Periplus, op.cit., p.36.

(17) a. The Periplus, op.cit., p.149.
c) PORTS OF THE COASTS OF MAKRAN AND INDIA

Beyond the Persian Gulf was the Sommiani Bay into which emptied the river Purali (Arabı). Arrian says that on the eastern banks of this river lived an "Indian nation called Arabians and on its western bank, the Oritae who were also dressed like the Indians, but with language and customs different". That Indians thronged all along this coast was noticed by many writers of the 19th century who say that now as well as in the past the market towns were full of Indians all along the coast from Kuria Muria to Makran. They spoke a language close to the Brahui of Baluchistan, a Dravidian tribe. Rhambacia was the capital of the Orea country and it was not far from Las Bela. (1) Orea was a stopping place and a port for ships from the Persian Gulf to Barbaricum (on the mouth of the Indus).

Barbaricon (Barbaricum) was beginning to decline partly because of the steady silting of Delta of the Indus (2) but mainly because the major trade of the Red Sea ports had now abandoned the coastal sea route in preference to the shorter route across the Arabian Sea. But Broach itself maintained its longstanding connections with Sind. Its cotton and the products from the west which came through the Persian Gulf and Arabian ports to Sind were of great value to the trade of Broach. The trade of Broach with Sind was however gradually being diverted to Patala or Minnagara from Barbaricum and a
large part of it found its way to and fro, by land because of piracy along the coast. But Sind had the added advantage of being midway between the Arab ports of the Hadramaut and Broach, as well as between the Persian Gulf ports and Broach. Goods came to Sind directly from the Arab port of Syagrus some 1335 miles distant. The westerly wind aided shipping to the coast of India.

Broach also had a thriving coastal trade with Sopara, Kalleina, the Kanara and Malabar ports and the ports of the east coast. Sopara and Kalleina were the principal ports of the Andhra Kingdom. Nahapana of the early Kshatrapa line had also access to these ports. Even as late as the 6th century A.D. Kalleina had still a thriving trade with Broach in brass, blackwood, and articles of clothing. Beyond Kalleina were Mandagora (Bankot), Palaepatmae (Dabhol), Melizigara (Jaigarh or Rajapur), Vijayadurg, Togarum (Devagār), Aurannoboas (Malvan), Sesecrienaes islands (Vengurla), Aegidii islands (Goa), Chersonesus (Karwar) Naura (Cannanore) Tyndis (Kadalundi or Ponnani) Muziris (Kodungallore) Nelcynda (probably near Kottayam) and other ports. All the ports were protected thoroughfares, where flourished a sea trade in native crafts even as early as 6th century B.C. if not earlier. They traded directly with the Red Sea ports, the African and Arabian coasts and with the Persian Gulf to the west and with Ceylon, Burma, Java, Sumatra, Borneo and China to the east. They also
maintained a coastal trade with all the east and west coast ports. The pearls of the Gulf of Mannar, the beryls of Coimbatore, tin, aloes, sandalwood and silks from China and the Far East, Yubies and precious stones from Ceylon and Burma, all reached the ports of Malabar and Konkan and found their way to Broach. Broach received from Muziris, Nelcynda and other Southern ports, pepper, pearls, silks, malabathrum, transparent stones of all kinds, diamonds, saphires, tortoise shell etc. along with cinnamon, ginger and other local products.

On the east coast were the ports of Camara (mouth of the Kaveri), Poduca (Pulicat or Pondicherry) and Sopatma (probably Madras). Ships from the west coast came to these ports and continued their journey to Bengal, Burma and the Far East. It is mentioned that the merchants sailed from these ports in their own boats called Sangara, loaded with pearls, corals, muslins and the products of the Far East and went as far as Goa and Broach, while ships called Colonia went to the Ganges ports and to the Far East. Broach merchants maintained direct contact with the eastern coast ports and also through the Malabar and Konkan ports. Masalia (Masulipatam) and Dosarene (modern Orissa) were very rich in muslin and ivory and various other products which were in demand in Broach for her overseas trade. Broach had close connections with Masalia by land also particularly during the period when the Andhras held it. Some of the muslins of the Ganges seem
to have come to Broach by the coastal water route, although Ujjain was a major source of supply of the Gangetic products for Broach.

In the coastal trade the southern kingdoms of the Pandyas, Cholas and Cheras were also very active.

References:

c) PORTS OF THE COAST OF MAKRAN AND INDIA

(2) The Periplus, op.cit., p.165.
(3) The Periplus, op.cit., p.197.
THE PORTS OF THE FAR EAST AND CHINA

The Periplus, being a report of the Roman trade with the East, and their strongholds being the Red Sea ports of Roman Egypt, gives only a vague report of the ports of the Far East. But Broach had a thriving trade with the Maldives and the Laccadives, with Ceylon, Burma, Malaya, Java, Sumatra, Cambodia, Hanoi, China etc. The increasing demand in Rome for the eastern luxuries gave an incentive to this trade. Many of the products which fetched a high price in Rome, came from the Far East and China. It was only natural that Broach, with its favourable location and its long standing links with these regions should have taken advantage of the widening market for eastern goods. It was this expansion of trade with the Far East in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. that enabled India to establish permanent trading colonies in Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Cambodia, Annam etc. which finally emerged as "Greater India".

Broach had a thriving trade with the Laccadives and the Maldives in cowries. The diversion of Roman Egypt's trade to the Konkan and Malabar ports gave these islands added significance in the international trade of the period. They were conveniently situated on the sea route from the Red Sea, the Horn of Africa and East Africa to the ports of India. The corals of the Mediterranean sometimes found their way
to Broach through these islands. There was also a market in Broach for conch shells, cowries and tortoise shells, some of which particularly tortoise shells, might have come from the East African ports of Adulis, Avalites, Malao, Mosyllum, Opone, Rhapta, Menuthias etc, all of which exported tortoise shells. The Laccadives themselves were rich in coral but the quality was inferior to that of Mediterranean coral. Conch-shells were also probably a local product.

The island of Ceylon was known to the Indians since ancient times. Pliny thinks that its name Palaesimundu applies to a port and not the country (Taprobane of Ptolemy). According to the Periplus it was the land of the hyacinthus stone (saphires). It was visited by merchants from India, Persia, Egypt and Arabia since ancient times. Merchants from Burma, Java, Sumatra, Malaya, Borneo, Indo-China and China also found it a convenient place to stop and barter their goods for the local products. Placed midway between all lands it sent its own ships in all directions. The Roman gold coins were in great demand in Ceylon as in India. They were preferred to the Persian silver coins. From the inner regions of the island came silk cloth, aloe-wood, cloves, sandalwood and other products and it forwarded them to Male where was available pepper, to Kalleina where brass and sesamin wood and various kinds of cloth were found, to Sind where castor musk and spikenard were found and to Persia, Hadramaut and
Adulis. Much of these were priced articles of the trade of Broach. Broach received pepper, cinnamon, pearls, etc. from Ceylon. Burma sent precious stones, sandalwood, aloe etc. Malaya (Malacca) was a meeting place of merchants from many lands. Malacca itself was rich in many products like gold. Pliny says that in Malacca were found "numerous wandering nomad-tribes from India". The Romans had only a vague idea of the Far East. Chryse Island (Malacca) they thought was opposite the Ganges. Thinae (China) they knew as a land of silk. But the trade of India with China in silk dates back to at least 7th century B.C. Even in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D., when the Indian trade was encroached upon by a western power the eastern trade was still largely in the hands of the Indians and the natives of the different countries. Normally exchange of cargo took place at a common meeting place where goods from far and near were brought by merchants. Thus Malacca received sandalwood from Trang and Takkola, aloes from Cambodia and Java, corals and diamonds from Borneo, tortoise shells from the Celebes and corals from Timor. From Malacca many of these products found their way to Broach and the Indian ports. During the period of Kwang Vouti (25-58 A.D.) China also established closer links with Malacca. The conquest of Cattigara and Annam gave China access to the sea in the first century. Chinese silk began to seek the sea route instead of the land route through
Bactria, to reach India. Silk was one of the coveted products of the trade of Broach. Much of it still sought land routes across the Ganges and Brahmaputra to Ujjain and Broach but towards the 2nd half of the 1st century A.D. China was in a position to use the sea route more effectively. The contact of Broach with Malacca was established long before China reached Cattigara and Annam. India had a rich cargo to pick up at Malacca. To all the countries of the Far East the major export of Broach was cotton cloth. The cloth of Gujarat and India could be sold for any of the products of the Far East, a status which it enjoyed even during the early days of the European East India Companies.

Most of the international trade of this period was conducted through designated ports. They were entitled to collect dues of all goods which entered or left the port according to the Law of the land. These dues varied from port to port depending on the revenues needed and the desire to attract trade. Differential dues gave preferences to certain ports while rejecting others with high dues. The designated ports were a feature introduced by the Persian Empire. It was followed by Ptolemaic Egypt and the Seleucid Kingdom. It was taken up by Mauryan India also. From Ptolemaic Egypt it passed on to Roman Egypt and from the Seleucids to the Parthians and others. The designated ports of the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. were generally in Egypt, Ethiopia, the
Nebataean Kingdom and the Arab territories. In the Parthian Kingdom, India and the East, the dues were collected and organised bodies existed for the management of the trade of the ports. But they do not seem to have come under the general term of designated ports. All their ports collected some sort of dues on the commodities that entered and left. The Guilds controlled their actions.

References:

(3) P.C. Frasad, op.cit., pp. 204, 209.