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Ph.D. 1938.

ARABIC

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2

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THE KNOWLEDGE OF INDIA POSSESSED BY
ARAB GEOGRAPHERS DOWN TO THE 14th
CENTURY A.D. WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO SOUTHERN INDIA.

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THE KNOWLEDGE OF INDIA POSSESSED BY ARAB GEOGRAPHERS
DOWN TO THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY A.D. WITH SPECIAL
REFERENCE TO SOUTHERN INDIA.

The Introduction describes the scope of the Thesis and the sources which have been consulted. In this latter connection, the whole question of the origin of the Silsilat-al-Tawārikh and of the identity of Sulaymān the merchant have been discussed de novo.

In the First Chapter, on Geography, the writer's knowledge of Southern India and of the Dravidian languages has been fully utilised.

Chapter II deals with Ethnology.

Chapter III deals with kings and kingdoms of Southern India. The much debated identity of a king called 'Balharā' has been dealt with at length, fresh arguments being adduced.

Chapter IV deals with the products of Southern India.

It should be mentioned that in translating the works of Arab Geographers, manuscripts have been consulted which add to the information contained in the published books, notably in those of de Goeje.

PREFACE

This is the first time an attempt has been made to present a comprehensive survey of the knowledge of India possessed by Arab Geographers with special reference to Southern India. I have, for this purpose, consulted various books and manuscripts from which much original information has been gathered. I have also endeavoured to trace the names of many places and kings mentioned by the Arab writers.

Last year I started work under the guidance of Prof. H.A.R. Gibb and after his appointment to the Arabic Chair at Oxford, I have been working under Sir E. Denison Ross. I am deeply indebted to them for their invaluable advice and suggestions. I must also express my heartfelt thanks to Prof. A.S. Tritton for his ready help whenever I was in need of it.

I must not forget to acknowledge my gratitude to Miss O. Murray Browne, the Librarian, The School of Oriental Studies, for her unfailing courtesy and kindness during the last two years when I worked in the Library.

S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar.

London, 9th June 1938.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	...	...	...	...	Pages 1 - 34.
CHAPTER I - GEOGRAPHY.	...	...			" 35 - 114.
General description - List of places in Southern India - List of doubtful places.					
CHAPTER II - ETHNOLOGY.	...	...			" 115 - 173.
CHAPTER III - KINGS AND KINGDOMS.	...	...			" 174 - 225.
General description on Kings - List of Kings and Kingdoms - List of Kings and Kingdoms whose identification is doubtful.					
CHAPTER IV - PRODUCTS.	...	...			" 226 - 252.

APPENDIX.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

LIST OF CONTENTS (Contd.).

MAPS.

1. Map of India.
2. Map of Southern India.

System of Transliteration (Arabic into English).

ا	-	'
ب	-	b
ت	-	t
ث	-	<u>th</u>
ج	-	g
ح	-	h
خ	-	<u>kh</u>
د	-	d
ذ	-	<u>dh</u>
ر	-	r
ز	-	z
س	-	s
ش	-	<u>sh</u>
ص	-	s
ض	-	d
ط	-	t
ظ	-	z
ع	-	'
غ	-	<u>gh</u>
ف	-	f
ق	-	q
ك	-	k
ل	-	l
م	-	m
ن	-	n
و	-	w *
ه	-	h
ي	-	y

* The و in حوقل is represented by U instead of W.

THE KNOWLEDGE OF INDIA POSSESSED
BY ARAB GEOGRAPHERS DOWN TO THE
14th CENTURY A.D. WITH SPECIAL
REFERENCE TO SOUTHERN INDIA.

INTRODUCTION

What was known of Indian geography and ethnology from the earliest times and during the first ten or fourteen centuries of the Christian era may be found in the following sources:

- (1) The Sanskrit authors
- (2) The Greek and Roman geographers
- (3) The Chinese Travellers and Annals
- (4) The Venetian traveller, Marco Polo
- (5) Arabic works of travel and biography

(1) The allusions found in the ancient Hindu writers to the geography of their own land give only suggestions, in connection with theological and other disquisitions. Some information, however, can be obtained of the division of the country into different kingdoms from scattered remarks ranging from the Vedic period onwards. (1)

-
- | | |
|--|------------------|
| (1) The Rig Veda | 1200 B.C. |
| The Mahābhārat | 5th century B.C. |
| The Rāmāyaṇa | 500 B.C. |
| The Purāṇas like the Matsya Purāṇa and Vāyu Purāṇa | |
| of the 4th century A.D. | |
| The Buddhist jātakas | 4th century B.C. |
| The Mahāvamśa | 5th century A.D. |
| Varāha Mihira's Brhatsamhitā | 6th century A.D. |
| The works of Kālidāsa, such as the Raghuvamśa and the drama Mālavikāgnimitra | 400 A.D. |

(2) The notions of the Greeks as to Indian geography were obtained mostly from hearsay and their geographical conception of the country was erroneous and distorted. The Greek and Latin geographers ⁽¹⁾ were mainly concerned with Northern India and make very little mention of the South. Owing, however, to the great deficiency of written records among the Hindus, the information to be derived from Greek literature is the best available for the period to which it relates.

(1) The principal Greek and Latin authorities on Ancient Indian Geography are:-

Hecataeus of Miletus	549-486 B.C.
Herodotus	484-405 B.C.
Ctesias	cir.400 B.C.
Megasthenes	" 302 B.C.
Eratosthenes	276-196 B.C.
Hipparchus	150 B.C.
Strabo	B.C.66 - 25 A.D.
Pliny the elder	23-79 A.D.
Pomponius Mela	cir 43 A.D.
Periplus of Erythrean Sea	" 80 A.D.
Arrian	" 130 A.D.
Marinus of Tyre	2nd century A.D.
Ptolemy	" "
Cosmos Indicopleustes	cir.560 A.D.

(1)

(3) Chinese travellers who visited India from earliest times have left some account of the country based on their personal observations, and the Chinese annals also make mention of India and its products, and of certain embassies sent by South Indian kings to

-
- | | |
|---|------------------------|
| (1) 1. Pan-Ku | 1st century A.D. |
| 2. General Pan ying, son of Pan-Chou and nephew of Pan-Ku | 2nd century A.D. |
| 3. Fa Hsien | Betw. 399 and 414 A.D. |
| 4. Guneverman of Kashmir
Buddhist monk | 367-431 A.D. |
| 5. Ma-tuan-lin. His account of the embassies of South India, in the sixth century A.D. | 6th century A.D. |
| 6. Dharma Gupta - a native of Gujarat, became a monk and went to China in 590 A.D.
His memoirs | d. 619 A.D. |
| 7. Yüen-Chuang | 629 - 645 A.D. |
| 8. I-Tsing He reached India by the sea route in 671 A.D. and went back the same way in 685 A.D. after a ten years' stay at Nalanda Uty. | 7th century A.D. |
| 9. Kie-Ten the great Chinese geographer of the 8th century | 8th century A.D. |

China. Such sources furnish information over a period extending up to the first half of the eighth century A.D.

In addition to the information afforded by the Sanskrit writers and foreigners, a large fund of geographical information can be derived from archaeological research, that is to say from inscriptions found in different localities, from the records in temples, from our knowledge of the peoples, and above all from the literature of the main Indian languages.

For a study of the geography and ethnology of ancient India, therefore, we may consult sources foreign as well as indigenous. The present thesis confines itself to an examination of the Arabic sources.

It is well known that the commerce of India with Greeks and Arabs was very extensive in the centuries preceding the Christian era. While we can get some idea of the country from the many accounts of the Greek and Roman writers from the 6th century B.C. down to the 6th century A.D., there is naturally a complete absence of any Arab account of this period, though there are sufficient proofs to indicate that the Arabs were conversant from earliest times with Ceylon and the coastal cities of India. But the Arabs' knowledge of India from the pre-Christian era down to the 6th century A.D. is a subject still awaiting the attention of scholars.

Islam became the religion of the Arabs in the 7th century A.D. This spiritual awakening was accompanied by tremendous consolidation among the Arabs, who were soon attempting to establish their supremacy by overthrowing their two powerful opponents, the Persians in the east and the Romans in the west. The first Muslim invasion of India was in 711 A.D. under the command of Qāsim⁽¹⁾ from Basra, and secured the temporary conquest of Sind. With the advent of Islam came a great impetus for travel, commerce and adventure, which persisted until the 14th century when the Muslims receded into the background and lost their trade supremacy.

During these seven centuries the Muslims were the chief carriers by land as well as by sea. Many books relating to kingdoms, roads by sea and land, the fauna and flora of various countries, came to be written at the instance of the ruling powers and by enthusiastic travellers. There are also many compilations of such information by men of learning and leisure who, induced by love of knowledge of unknown countries, took pains to meet and enquire from many a traveller to distant lands.

There are materials available for this thesis from about the ninth to the fourteenth century A.D. Greek and

(1) Muhammad ibn Qāsim ibn yūsuf Thaqaḥī, a cousin of Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf, Governor of Basra.

Roman sources carry us only to the sixth century A.D., and first hand Chinese accounts to the middle of the eighth century. After this nothing can be gathered except from Arabic sources until the close of the twelfth century A.D. Then the Sung annals of the Chinese make their appearance and a century later we have Marco Polo's account of his famous voyage. Thus during the intervening period we are restricted exclusively to Arabic writers; hence the importance of the present study.

Some recent scholars have consulted Arabic authorities in connection with their study of Indian geography and ethnology, but as yet their conclusions have remained isolated. No attempt has been made hitherto to consolidate the sum total of all the information that can be obtained from these writers. It is the attempt of the thesis, therefore, to bridge this gap.

But first it may be advisable to ask ourselves what was the Arab's conception of India. For there is evidence in their accounts to show that it differed considerably from our idea of India to-day.

For general purposes the contemporary scholar defines India as Mid-Southern Asia. It falls naturally into two main divisions which form, as it were, two triangles with opposing bases, and show differences in their physical structure. The apex of the northern triangle penetrates

deeply into the interior of the Asiatic continent where it is for the most part bordered by lofty mountains while the base is traversed by two great rivers which, rising in these mountains, flow one to the east and one to the west;

The second triangle forms a peninsula surrounded by the sea and contains mountains of moderate elevation, table-lands and a minor river system. Ancient writers regarded the Ganges as the natural division between the North and South of India. But the moderns, with more reason, divide it into these two triangular portions at a line drawn from the Narbada river on the west to the Mahanadi on the east.

The Arabs, however, had no idea of any division of India into North or South. They considered Sind as a separate country and had no clear idea of the geographical extent of the rest of India. Of the many writers only six ^(a) give a general description of the country as a whole. This in itself argues some idea on their part of the vastness of the land with its many rivers and mountains.

But these six and the other writers all mention many names of places in India as they understood it. Some are in the north and some in the south, and while the majority lie on the peninsular coast on either side, some are in the interior. A glance at the map in which all

(a) Sulaymān, Yaqūbī, Ibnul-Faqīh, Masūdī, Qazwīnī, and Abul-Fidō.

these places are marked may give an idea of the India known to the Arabs, which is the field of our research.

As the present thesis is concerned mainly with the Arab's knowledge of the country south of the Narbada River, the names of places referred to are grouped under three categories, arranged each in alphabetical order. In the text, those places that are definitely known to be in Southern India are given in one list. In another list are included those of doubtful situation. Those that are definitely known to be in the North are included in a third list in the appendix, although in all cases, the places mentioned by Al-Bīrūnī are not included.

The following works have been studied carefully:-

<u>NAME OF THE WORK</u>	<u>AUTHOR</u>	<u>EDITOR</u>
1. Silsilat -al-Tawārīkh pp.14-21,26-32, 48-59	Sulaymān S	Langlès
2. Kitāb al-Masālik al-Mamālik pp.16,39,61-64,66-68,71-72	Ibn Khurdādhbeh	M.j.De Goeje Pars Sexta
3. Ibn-Wadhih qui Dicitur al-jaqubi Historiae Pars Prior pp.93,106.	Yaqūbī	M.Th.Houtsma
4. Fragmenta pp.366-367,369.	Do,	M.j.De Goeje Pars Septima.
5. Mukhtasar Kitāb al- Buldan. pp.3, 11-16	Ibn ul-Faqīh	M.j.De Goeje Pars Quinta.
6. Kitāb al-Ālāq al- Nafīsa. pp.132-136,138-139.	Ibn Rusta	M.j.De Goeje Pars Septima

<u>NAME OF THE WORK</u>	<u>AUTHOR</u>	<u>EDITOR</u>
7. The second book of Silsilat al-Tawārīkh pp. 60-61, 77-79, 93-101, 115-122, 126-130, 138-139, 145-147.	Abu Zayd	Langlès
8. Kitāb Murūj al-Dhahab wa mādā'in al-jawhar Vol. I. pp. 72, 162-163, 167-175, 177-178, 207, 239, 253, 312, 314, 327- 328, 335-336, 357, 372, 374, 376, 381-383, 388, 390 - 394.	Masūdī	C. Barbier De Meynard Tome I
9. Kitāb Masālik al- Mamālik pp. 170-173, 176-180.	Iṣṭakhrī	M. j. De Goeje Pars Prima
10. Kitāb al-Masālik wal- Mamālik pp. 226-228, 231-235.	Ibn Hauqal	M. j. De Goeje Pars Secunda
11. Kitāb Ahsan al-Taqā- sīm fī marīfat al- aqālīm. pp. 477, 486.	Maqdisī	M. j. De Goeje Editio Secunda 1906.
12. Kitāb al-Fihrist Book I. pp. 343-349	Abul Faraj	Gustav Flügel 1871.
13. Kitāb fī Tahqīqī mā līl Hindi min maqūlatin maqūlatin fīl 'aqlī aw mardhūlatin.	BĪRŪNĪ	Dr. Edward Sachau.
14. Kitāb Nuzhat al- Mushatāq fī ikhtirāq al-āfāq. Ms. Poc. 375. pp. 36, 43-47, 72-76, 78-80.	Idrīsī	Two Mss. Bodleian Library - one copy. Bibliothéque Nat. Paris.
15. Kitāb Muġam al-Buldān Four Volumes. Vol. I pp. 505-506 Vol. III 429, 453-457. Vol. IV. 173.	Yāqūt	Ferdinand Wüstenfeld 1867.
16. Marāsid al Ittilā' Vol. II. pp. 169, 447.	Do.	T. G. J. Juynboll
17. Mushtariq. pp. 358.	Do.	Ferdinand Wüstenfeld.

<u>NAME OF WORK</u>	<u>AUTHOR</u>	<u>EDITOR</u>
18. Kitāb āthār al-Bilād wa Akhbār al-Ibād pp.53,64,68-70, 82,84-85.	Qazwīnī	Ferdinand Wüstenfeld 1848
19. Kitāb 'Ajāib al-Makh- lūqat wa Gharāib al- Mawjūdāt. pp. 171.	Do.	Do.1849
20. Kitāb Mukhbat al- Dahr fi 'ajāib al-Barr wal Bahr. pp.19,101,159,169-170, 172-174.	Dimishqī	M.A.F.Mehren Re-impression 1923.
(1) 21. Nihāyat al-arab fi funūn al-adab	Nuwayrī	Dār al-Kutub, Cairo,1933.
22. Kitāb Taqwīm al- Buldān pp.353-361.	Abul Fidā	M.Reinaud
23. Voyages of Ibn Battūta Tome IV.	Ibn Battūta	G.Defremery 1858

(1) As the volumes published so far of the works of Nuwayrī (d.1332) contain only a few references to India, these will be noticed in the footnotes in their proper places.

The arrangement of these authors, except Sulaymān, in chronological order is based upon the works, "Relations de Voyages", by G.Ferrand and "The Legacy of Islam" by Sir Thomas Arnold.

All these works are translated by the author of this thesis into English. The translations of some of these

works by Elliot and Sprenger have been consulted, and variations by way of correction or addition are generally noticed in the footnotes in the course of the work. The translation of Ibn Battūta's travels in Asia and Africa by H.A.R. Gibb into English is quoted for purposes of reference in this work.

Al-Qalqashandī's Subḥal - ʿAshā is not included in the present study as the chapters on India from that book are translated into English and published by Otto Spies under the title "An Arab account of India in the 14th century."

Of the work with which we are dealing, only the account of Sulaymān and those of the writers after 1200 A.D. can be studied in the light of contemporary foreign accounts. The rest stand by themselves and we must accept them at their face value, though a comparative study of these accounts with available indigenous sources may be of great interest.

The accounts of India as gathered from these writers may be classified under the following heads:-

1. Geography
2. Ethnology
3. Kings and Kingdoms.
4. Products.

A critical analysis and classification of contents under different heads show that these authors can be gathered under five broad groups, though strict unity cannot be established among writers of one particular group. Eight writers from Ibn Khurdādhbeh to Masūdī and Abul Faraḡ form one group; Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Haṣṣal and Maqdisī another; Bīrūnī is in a class by himself; five writers from Idrīsī to Abul Fidā form another separate group, and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa also stands apart.

The information dealt with under Ethnology affords ample justification for grouping together the first eight

writers. A glance at the analysis of details reveals each writer's connection with the other members of the group, and the absence of this affinity with the other groups indicates that times have changed and with them the interest of the succeeding writers.

The some forty-four sub-headings under ethnology include nineteen references to Sulaymān, twelve to Abu Zayd, eleven to Masūdi and to Ibnul-Faqih; four to Ibn Rusta and to Ibn Khurdādhbeh and three to Abul Faraj. Sulaymān, Abu Zayd, Masūdi and Ibnul-Faqih may therefore be taken as the chief writers of this group, yet the points mentioned by Sulaymān are often touched upon by Ibnul-Faqih and Masūdi, sometimes by Ibn Rusta, and on rare occasions by Ibn Khurdādhbeh and Abul Faraj. As the avowed purpose of Abu Zayd was to examine, correct and add to Sulayman's account, he has new information, though occasional similarity is noticed between him and Masūdi.

Apart from the relationship of Sulaymān with the succeeding writers in this group, this author has, nevertheless, some original information which is neither repeated nor confirmed nor refuted by the writers, with the exception of Abu Zayd, who came after him.

All this points to the fact that the account of Sulaymān is the earliest, - the fountainhead of all knowledge of the East for the succeeding generation of writers

and readers in Arabic.

This account of Sulaymān is contained in the "Silsilat - al - Tawārīkh", which was edited and printed by Langles, in Paris, in the year 1811 A.D., from the only manuscript known to exist in Europe. This printed volume consists of two parts: the first part (pp. 1 - 59) is believed to be the account of Sulayman, and the second part (pp. 60 - 147) is without doubt the composition of a certain Abu Zayd.

A close study of the book inclines one to ask the following questions:

- (1) Is the first part, the work of a single traveller?
- (2) Is it by Sulaymān? (3) Is the title "Silsilat-al-Tawārīkh" a correct one? (4) Does the 'First book' (الكتاب الأول) with the date 237 A.H. mentioned by Abu Zayd in the opening of his account ⁽¹⁾ refer to pp. 1 - 59 of the printed volume?

Although the examination of these issues do not strictly fall within the scope of the present study, a few observations may not here seem out of place and they may form the basis for future research.

A careful study of the first part (pp. 1 - 59) will show that the authorities are quoted in three different

(1) p.60 text

forms, in the third person plural five times, (1) first person singular five times, (2) and first person plural three times. (3) There is no indication in the text as to the identity of the individuals quoted. Sulaymān's name is mentioned only once, (4) followed by an account, consisting of ten lines, of the Muslim qādī in Khān fu (Canton). Then in the last line of the same page the "informant" changes, and the long narrative which follows, is put in the third person plural. After this we do not find Sulaymān's name mentioned anywhere, nor any other evidence to suggest that he is the narrator in the whole account. (5) But a reading of these fifty-nine pages will convince anyone that the account is only a report from various persons, who may have travelled at different periods and have given currency to their respective knowledge and experience. The contents of the book also justify such a conclusion. There is a good deal of general information on the seas, the islands, the sea

(1) See text p.14, 22, 23

(2) " " p.49, 51, 52, 55, 57.

(3) " " p.30, 45, 46.

(4) " " p.14, line 4.

(5) On page 13, "Voyage du Marchand Arabe Sulaymān en Inde et en Chine" Ferrand says:

"Le texte du manuscrit No 2281 comprend deux livres. Le livre I a été rédigé par Sulaymān lui-même ou par un

route from Sīrāf to China, a description of the habits, government, religion, social customs, and national or tribal characteristics of the Chinese and the Indians. These details are given in the nature of a report, a collection of facts and fancies which could have been gathered from merchants, travellers, sailors and adventurous men, rather than the genuine account of a single traveller. Nor were facilities lacking for the collection of such information. Sīrāf (1) was a commercial port of great importance; ships from India and the East Indies came up to its quays, and amidst such a concourse of traders and trade news from ends of the world, anyone who had the imagination could have composed an account bringing in all information current then

scribe inconnu d'après les récits du Marchand Sulaymān, qui effectua plusieurs voyages en Inde et in Chine. A le page 51 du texte édité par Langlès, il est dit que Sulaymān revit un faqir dans un endroit de l'Inde où il l'avait vu une première fois seize ans auparavant."

ومنهم الحريان - - - - - فقد رأيت رجلا منهم كما وصفت ثم انصرفت
وعدت بعد ست عشرة سنة فرأيت على تلك الحال فتعجبت كيف لم تسفل
عينه من حر الشمس p.51 Text.

As the sentence is formed in the first person singular Ferrand thinks that it must refer to Sulaymān. But this passage occurs on p.51 while the actual mention of the name of Sulaymān is on p.14. In the intervening thirty-seven pages the person of the narrative is changed many times. It is inconsistent with known conventions of the Arabic writing to connect these two passages with the same source.

(1) Sīrāf, a town in Persia, on the Persian Gulf which flourished from the fourth to the tenth century. The houses

Foot note cont'd.

of several storeys, were built of teak and other woods brought from Zangbār; it was supplied with water from springs tapped in the mountain of Djamn which dominates it from close at hand. The creation of an emporium on the island of Qays ruined it by taking away its Indian trade. It had no adequate harbour, and the ships used to moor in an arm of the sea eight miles off, to be sheltered from the wind.

The inhabitants were engaged in sea-trade and were sometimes absent from home for years; they had amassed great wealth by dealing in spices and other merchandise. They had built sumptuous houses but they were noted for their voluptuousness and lack of serious thought. Sīrāf was also the warmest place in the district, so hot, indeed, that one could not take a siesta there. Under the Abbāsids it was the principal town of the district of Ardashir-Khurra; it began to decline under the Būyids; destroyed by an earthquake which lasted seven days in 366 or 367 (977) it was afterwards rebuilt. Its ruins may be seen at Bandar Tāhirī.

A legend says that the mythical king Kai-Kāus when he tried to ascend the heavens, fell down in this country and asked for water and milk to be brought him; this story has been invented to justify a popular etymology (Persian - Shīr-Milk, āb - 'water'. According to Yāqūt, the merchants pronounced its name Shīlāw, which is connected with the above etymology. Mention is also made of a spring of fresh water which existed here at the bottom of the sea.

Encyclopaedia of Islam vol IV.p.444.

whether new or old. The fact that Abu Zayd who examined the first book never mentions Sulaymān's name, should not be lost sight of. Nor do we find reference to his name in the writings of succeeding writers except in the book of Ibnul Faqīh who quotes Sulaymān only once for the account of the sea route from Sīrāf to China.⁽¹⁾ But in the first

(1) see Kitāb al-Buldān - Ibnul Faqīh p. 11-13.

book of Silsilat - al - Tawārīkh the authority for this statement is not Sulaymān. The information about the sea-route, in some respects more ample than that quoted by Ibnul-Faqīh, is given in the third person plural. (1) Ibnul Faqīh's attribution of it to Sulaymān is probably due to the fact that it immediately follows the passage on the Muslim qāqī at Khānfū which is given on the authority of Sulaymān. It may be observed also that in certain details (2) 'Kitāb al - Buldān' of Ibnul Faqīh in the edition edited by de Geoe seems to be inaccurate and incomplete. Even if it is granted however, that Sulaymān is the narrator of the whole account of sea route from Sīrāf to China and that this forms a part of his very meagre narrative, it cannot be held as sufficient basis for the belief that he is the author of the whole of the first part (pp.1-59) (3).

(1) Silsilat - al - Tawārīkh p. 14-21.

(2) Ibnul Faqīh who generally follows the first book of Silsilat-al-Tawārīkh says (p.15-16), That the people of Hind believe that the origin of their books is from Qumār. This is contrary to the statement in the Silsilat al-Tawārīkh which says (p.57) "The Chinese have no sciences. In fact their religion was derived from Hind. They believe that the people of Hind erected idols for them. They also consider them as people of religion." In his 'Kitāb āthār-al-Bilād (p.69) Qazwīnī quotes Ibnul-Faqīh for his information on the punishment for drinking in the kingdom of Qumār, but this is not found in de Geoe's edition of Ibnul-Faqīh.

(3) It is on this passage in Ibnul-Faqīh that Ferrand bases his argument (p.11) that Sulaymān is the narrator in the whole book of the first part of Silsilat-al-Tawārīkh.

See Notes de Geographie Orientale
par Ferrand - Journal Asiatique,
Janvier-Mars 1923.

It may also be noticed that the fact Abu Zayd was commissioned to examine the reports is possibly the best argument against this work being the narrative of a single traveller.

What then was the title of the book placed in the hands of Abu Zayd for purposes of examination? As the title of Abu Zayd's account is "The second book of the Reports on China and Hind", (1) the natural presumption is that the first book also had that name. (2) The Authority on which Langles, the editor of the manuscript, arrived at the present title "سلسلة التواريخ" (Chain of Chronicles) is that of a former owner of the manuscript who supplied the place of the missing pages with a few introductory sentences. This title would however lead one to expect a work of history which might of course contain much other information.

Abu Zayd says: I found the date of the (first) book as 237 A.H. (851) Which is that book? If it refers to the first book as it stands in print, we do not find therein any mention of that date. It is true, on the other hand, that the first pages of the only known manuscript are missing. Thus in the absence of more positive evidence the conclusion that the date found by Abu Zayd refers to pp. 1 - 59 of

(1.) الكتاب الثاني من اخبار الصين والعهد

Text p.60.

(2.) This view is already expressed by Reinaud in his Discours Preliminaire to the translation, p. XII.

the printed volume must remain only a conjecture.

Assuming that it is the book intended by Abu Zayd the question arises whether the date refers to the date of actual composition or the date of the copy. Here again clear evidence is lacking to establish that the year 237 A.H. refers to the date of composition.

These considerations incline me to the view that there must have been some book, a compendium of different accounts by various travellers and navigators of different periods including Sulaymān, compiled by some writer whose name and date are not known. It served as a source book of information on the east for subsequent writers, because great similarity is noticeable between the facts mentioned in this book known to us, and those in the works of later writers such as Ibnul-Faqīh, Masūdī and others. It must have also held the imagination of the people at large as the 'Arabian Nights' of a later period, and truly one does not fail to see in it the precursor of the wonderful stories of "A Thousand and One Nights." Hence the Book I (pp.1-59) of "Silsilat - al - Tawārikh" edited by Langlés may be taken to represent the knowledge possessed by The Arabs from the earliest times prior to 851 A.D., and for convenience will be referred to as the work of 'Sulaymān' in the course of this work.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh 844 - 848.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh in his book draws up official notices of the principal trade routes, gives here and there passages of general interest, has a chapter on the East and on the Eastern route to the farthest point known. He is the first author to describe with a fair degree of accuracy the leading cities on the west coast of India, even mentioning the lesser known Conjeevaram on the east Coast. As Director of Posts and Police in Media he had great facilities for ascertaining details about each particular he wanted to discuss. The suspicion that he might have had access to Sulaymān is partially confirmed when we read of his account of the Balharā. Sulaymān was the first writer who stated that the 'Balharā' is the title common to every member of that line of sovereigns, like the title Kisrā and such titles and that it is not a proper name. Ibn Khurdādhbeh takes up this point and develops it further, adding more details quite in accordance with his professional calling. Sulaymān says that the kingdom of the Balharā begins from the sea coast, comprising the country called Kamkam, and extends by land as far as China. Ibn Khurdādhbeh, perhaps wishing to remove the vagueness of Sulaymān, says simply that the Balharā resides in Kamkam, and gives the additional information that teak is produced in Kamkam.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh has also other sources. He quotes jāhiz and various travellers. He gives the description of

the pepper plant as he heard it from the navigators.

Yāqūbī 875 or 880

Yāqūbī, as he himself says, started making his enquiries about various places and distances from an early age. Thus he writes mostly from knowledge gained by enquiry. He quotes from works of other writers. His information on South India is vague and meagre, but his 'Fragmenta' gives information on products.

Ibnul-Faqih 902

Ibnul-Faqih mostly follows Sulaymān and occasionally quotes 'Abdullāh -ibn-ʿAmr-ibn al-ʿĀs.

Ibn Rusta vers 903

Ibn Rusta may have had access to the writings of Sulaymān and Ibn Khurdādhbeh. This can be ascertained from a reading of his account of the Balharā. He also quotes some writers by name, as Abū Abdullāh Muḥammad bin Ishāq (1) and others without mentioning their names. He has also some information not mentioned by anyone previously.

Abu Zayd 950.

Abu Zayd, the nephew of the governor of Sīrāf originally undertook the simple task of reading, revising, and re-issuing the book supposed to be the account of Sulaymān. As he lived long after Sulaymān, he is naturally led into a compilation of a supplementary account in which

(1) See note on 131.

he corrects some mistakes of the older narratives and also records fresh accounts of travellers like Ibn Wahhab, besides including other details which he acquired by reading and questioning travellers to various countries. Abu Zayd was a contemporary and friend of Masūdī who had far better knowledge, however. There are several parallels between the accounts of the two writers. Masūdī met Abu Zayd in 303 A.H. and he acknowledges having derived information from him, though Abu Zayd never mentions Masūdī by name, but refers to him as a 'trustworthy person'.

Masūdī 943 and 955.

Unlike the writers mentioned so far, Masūdī was a great traveller. He visited successively Persia, India, Ceylon, the lands of Central Asia from Ferghana to the Caspian, the countries of Northern Africa, Spain and various parts of the Greek or Eastern Empire. He is generally reckoned to be an excellent observer and a first rate collector and transmitter of curious lore. But his account of India, particularly of Southern India, does not give particular indication of his originality. As a traveller he has acquired a great deal of original information, yet he identifies himself too much with Sulaymān's account. He also says that he met Abū Zayd al-Ḥasan, whom he speaks of as 'a man of much information and intelligence', and

learnt about the travels of Ibn Habbār and many other details. Abu Zayd also was benefitted by the information supplied by Masūdī.

The great similarity between the accounts of Sulaymān and of Masūdī suggests that the latter might have had a copy of the so-called Silsilat-al-Tawārīkh and incorporated some of these points into his own book with other details which he had gathered from his travels. At the same time it is clear that Masūdī did not blindly follow that book for he has given definite information on points common to himself and Sulaymān. For example Masūdī does not say that the title 'Balharā' means 'King of Kings'. But despite such instances, Masūdī lacks independence and it is regrettable that he has repeated so many of the facts mentioned by Sulaymān. From such a traveller we should expect clear information, and in this respect he is disappointing.

Abul Faraj. 988

Abul Faraj has given us more original information on idols and on various religious sects than any other writer before or after him. He quotes the work of al-Kindī. He mentions some men by name, such as Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq al-Warrāq, Abu Dulaf Yanbūī; other authorities are cited without name but are qualified as 'trustworthy men' and he gives facts ascertained from mendicants. As his information

is chiefly concerned with ethnology, he is grouped with the writers who deal principally with this. Apart from this, there is no justification for bringing him into this group as he is quite independent of these writers.

Thus the knowledge of the writers of this period -
- from about the ninth century to the middle of the tenth century - on India does not appear to be very superior from the point of view of geography, though their facts on ethnology afford interesting reading.

SECOND GROUP.

The second group of writers includes Istakhrī, Ibn Hauqal and Maqdisī. Their period (10th century) coincides with the domestic revolution which transferred the military power of the 'Abbāsids to their Turkish mercenaries. Though the political coherence and persistence of the Arab race had already begun to wane, its intellectual vigour did not slacken. After this period the leadership of scientific interests, especially geographical, now falls more and more into the hands of strangers from foreign countries, men who were not Arabs by blood, who were indeed religious but not political subjects of the Caliph. Bīrūnī, the greatest geographer of the next group is a client of the Sultan Mahmūd of Ghazna, and a Persian by race. It is during this period that we observe the development of a literary

geographical school which was to exert a lasting influence on succeeding generations of writers, Muslim as well as Christian. Arabs and Muslim writers of this period were steadily becoming more and more scientific and thorough as the contents of their books indicate. Though their works are still based to a large extent on those of the earlier writers, yet they are enriched by the knowledge gained by later conquests and greater intercourse with foreign countries. Most of the writers of this era were travellers themselves. But the members of this group are distinguished from those of the foregoing one in that they paid very little attention to non-Muslim countries such as the countries and islands in the far-east, or to the various legendary stories. Thus we miss in their writings the details which we can gather from Sulaymān and later from Masūdī and Abul Feraḡ on the Indians, their habits, customs, religion and religious sects. Again the lack of interest in non-Muslim countries explains the scanty information on India that we can obtain from these writers. They speak mostly of Sind, and Hind indeed is given a subordinate place in their writings and is dealt with under the Chapter on Sind.

Istakhri - 950.

Istakhri shows his acquaintance with the works of previous writers, but offers new information on the points touched on by older writers and thus testifies to the spirit of the new age.

Ibn Hauqal - 975.

Ibn Hauqal follows Istakhrī in all points, even in the plan of discussing Hind under his section on Sind. But, at times, he is content to repeat previous writers. 'The title Balharā is a common title' not found in Istakhrī but in Sulaymān and Ibn Khurdādhbeh.

Maqdisī - 985.

Maqdisī also is indebted to some of his predecessors such as Ibn Khurdādhbeh, yet he seems to be more independent. He does not mention the Balharā at all. From his account of Wayhind (Wohind) we understand that he gathers his information from wandering faqīre and travellers who had actually visited these places and whom he believed to be trustworthy.

THIRD GROUPBīrūnī - 973-1048

Though Bīrūnī is one of the best writers of the tenth century whose characteristic feature has been noticed under the second group of writers, yet he must be considered as in a class by himself. He has nothing in common with the Muslim writers of his period. His works are far ahead of those of his predecessors. His famous description of India is unparalleled. He is not surpassed in the field of his study by anyone either before or after him. He is

independent in his thoughts about religion and philosophy. He always comes forward courageously as a champion of his own convictions. His interests in India, Indian sciences, especially Indian philosophy and the general tendencies in his works were the chief causes that hindered the study of Bīrūnī by the succeeding generation.

Bīrūnī is left out in the present scheme of study for the following reasons. He is not referred to by the writers coming after him until the time of Abul Fidā. Even he refers only to his qānūn for the purpose of quoting longitudes and latitudes. Hence the purpose of comparative study is not gained by including him in the present scheme of research. Secondly his works on India have been most ably translated and published by Dr. Sachau. Finally, the most important reason is that his works on India contain only a sketch of South India and the Southern sea. He has no information on the people of South India, their religion and culture. He is particularly silent on the Saivism and the Vaishnavism the two great religious sects of the extreme south of the Indian peninsula.

FOURTH GROUP.

The writers from Idrīsī to Abul Fidā form the fourth group of writers.

The years preceding the time of Idrīsī were less brilliant; they witnessed events which disturbed the ideal

unity of the Islamic world. Its eastern half was invaded about 1050 A.D. by the Seljuk Turks, while in the west, the island of Sicily, a greater portion of Spain and a few places on the African coast were conquered by the Christian rulers. Thus the Islamic world lost its political strength, though this reappeared again for a short while in the struggle against the Crusaders.

Idrīsī - 1154

The most brilliant author in this group is Idrīsī. He wrote his book on geography at the instance of King Roger of Sicily who had sent in all directions for information to be incorporated in his study. He cites in his preface the various authors (1) whose works he had employed in the compilation of the book. As Idrīsī wrote under royal patronage he had great opportunities. He had ample facilities for gathering information. He might, therefore, have composed a work with greater critical judgment. Unhappily his mental outlook was strictly limited by the spirit of his age. He simply repeats Ibn Khurdādhbeh in his statement about the caste system of Indians, with few alterations. Perhaps the same system might have continued from the time of Ibn Khurdādhbeh to Idrīsī. But it is highly doubtful whether

کتاب العجايب للمسعودی - کتاب ابی نصر سعید الجیہانی - کتاب ابی القاسم عبد اللہ ابن خردادبہ (1)
 کتاب احمد بن العذری - کتاب ابی القاسم محمد بن الحوقلی - کتاب جاناخ بن خاقان - کتاب موسی بن قاسم
 کتاب احمد بن یعقوب - کتاب اسحاق بن الحسن - کتاب قدامہ البصری - کتاب بطیموس الاقلودی
 کتاب امرسیوس الا نطاکی

the kingdoms and the line of kings in India, especially in South India had remained intact since the days of Ibn Khurdādhbeh and his group of writers. Idrīsī repeats the Balharā story as found in the first group of authors with, as usual, some additional information. Ibn Khurdādhbeh lived in the ninth century. Idrīsī worked at the court of the Norman King Roger II of Sicily (1101-1154). The early history of South India shows, during these periods, great changes in kingdoms and the line of kings. But the accounts of these kings by the Arab writers like Sulaymān, Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Masūdī and Idrīsī who lived in different times from ^{about} the ~~seventh~~ to the ~~twelfth~~ centuries A.D. do not change. The same Balharā, the king of kings, originally stated by Sulaymān are retained in the accounts of the Arab authors right up to Idrīsī's time and to some extent even to the period of Dimishqī. Idrīsī never pauses for a moment to consider whether the statements made by his predecessors were correct and whether they are current and true in his time. Instead he models his accounts on his predecessors though he always gives a certain amount of additional information. Hence it is difficult to find much to praise in his work, although it contains ample information.

A study of Idrīsī's account of India shows that he is dependent to a great extent on his predecessors, especially

the first group of writers whom he amplifies with greater details but without critical analysis. Further he does not give much proof of his knowledge of the Istakhrī group and he does not seem to have known Bīrūnī's works.

Yāqūt 1179 - 1229

Yāqūt has compiled his big geographical dictionary which contains all geographical names in alphabetical order, and its interest is both geographical and biographical. The portions that pertain to India show they are chiefly based upon the account of Abū Dulaf. Yāqūt is peculiarly interesting in the present study in that he is the first to give us the names 'Malābār' and 'Mābar', though the name 'Manībar' is already known to us through Idrīsī.

Qazwīnī 1203 - 1283

Qazwīnī is the author of a cosmography and geography. His accounts show that he follows Yāqūt for the most part quoting the same source, Abu Dulaf. Sometimes he takes information from Ibnul-Faqīh, a writer of the first group. Thus the facts we learn from Sulaymān to Idrīsī are absent in these two writers who have more in common between them, and give new information.

Dimishqī vers 1325.

Dimishqī is a better and more original geographer. There are references in his book to the works of Masūdī,

Ibn Hauqal and Yāqūt, yet his account contains some amplifications, as does Idrīsī's but unlike the latter author, he does not enlarge the points mentioned by the earlier writers. He has totally new names of places, and accounts not found in any of the previous writers. Indeed his list of place names on the west coast is the biggest. He is the first to divide Mábar into small and big Mábers. On the whole he shows clear conceptions of Guzerat, Malabar and Mábar, though there is some confusion in his account of Guzerat. Dimishqī does not seem to have known the earliest works, like that of Ibn Khurdādhbeh, for he does not mention Sandān, nor associate kamkam with teak, - facts which were so popular with earlier writers. He does not show his acquaintance with Idrīsī's works.

The above considerations show that Dimishqī is more original and painstaking in collecting information from various sources. The references in his book to a large number of the works of other writers give us an idea of the sources of his information.

Abul Fidā - 1273 - 1331.

The works of Abul Fidā, though well-known, are based upon earlier works. He derives his information on India chiefly from Ibn Saīd, Idrīsī, Azīzī ⁽¹⁾ and Bīrūnī

(1) Hasan b. Ahmad al-Muhallabī (4th century) composed his book al-Masālik wal-Mamālik for the Fātimide Azīz billāh. It is, therefore, also known as Kitāb-al-

and from various travellers. He quotes longitudes and latitudes from the qānūn (1) and (2) atwāl.

It may be observed in conclusion that, of the five writers in this group, Idrīsī and Dimishqī are the only two who give additional information on India.

FIFTH GROUP

Ibn Battūta vers 1355

The geographical literature produced subsequent to the last group of writers cannot claim any great originality except for personal accounts of travellers which had become more numerous by this time. The best known in connection with our study is that of Ibn Battūta who journeyed all over the Muslim world and farther eastward to Ceylon and Maldives.

By the time we come to know Ibn Battūta, we have the accounts of many European travellers to the East. A study of the Arabic sources alone for the account of the geography and history of South India will not therefore be very beneficial. For this reason the works of Ibn Battūta are not

Azizī. Otto Spies: An Arab account of India in the fourteenth century, p.12.

(1) al-qānūn al-Masūdī by al-Bīrūnī (died 448/1048). The qānūn is the most valuable work for astronomy and geography written in the middle ages. Bīrūnī was the first who fixed the longitudes and latitudes of towns with a degree of accuracy which when the names are transferred to maps, gives us a picture of the country concerned.

(2) Kitāb al-Atwāl, the author of which is not known. Hājjī

included in the present study though the materials have been used to advantage wherever necessary.

Khalifa II, 263, does not mention him either, but points out that the greatest part of information given in the book is wrong and incorrect according to the statement of -Birūnī. The book is made use of by Abul Fidā.

See Otto Spies p. 11, 13.

CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHY

(a) GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

Six writers, Sulaymān, Ya'qūbī, Ibnul-Faqīh, Mas'ūdī, Qazwīnī and Abul Fidā, give a general description of the country as a whole, but the details they supply have nothing in common among them, though Ibnul-Faqīh follows Sulaymān in saying that Hind is more extensive than China.

It is evident from all these accounts that the Arabs considered Sind as a separate country and not as a part of India, and that for them 'Hind' included all the islands in the East Indies.

Sulaymān:

The country of Hind is more extensive than China, several times bigger than that but China is more populous. The rivers of these two countries are big and some are bigger than our rivers. There are many deserts in Hind, but in China it is cultivable everywhere.

Ya'qūbī:

The world is divided into seven iqlīms. The first iqlīm (1) is Hind. Its boundary on the east is the sea

-
- | | | | | |
|-----|------------------|----------|-----------|--------|
| (1) | 2. Hijāz | 3. Miṣr. | 4. 'Irāq. | 5. Rūm |
| | 6. Hāg and Magog | | 7. China. | |

and the land of China and it extends as far as Daybul, on the side of 'Irāq, up to the strait of the sea, which is between India and the Ḥijāz.

Ibnul-Faqīh:

Abdullāh ibn 'Amr ibn al 'Ās (1) says that the image of the earth is composed of five limbs The right wing is Hind. The country of Hind is more extensive than China several times bigger than that, but China is more populous.

Masūdī:

Hind is a vast country, having many seas and mountains. It borders on the country of Zābaj (Java), the kingdom of the Maharāj, who is the king of the islands and whose dominions separate Hind and China, and are considered as part of Hind.

Hind extends, on the side of the mountains, to Khurāsān and Sind as far as Tibet. Then comes the coast of Sind wherein is Daybul from which begins the coast of Hind up to the country of Barūd ; thence one uninterrupted coast stretches as far as China, partly cultivated, partly waste.

Qazwīnī:

Hind is a vast country containing many wonderful things. It extends for a three months' journey in length and two months in width. It has many mountains and rivers.

(1) Compare:- ومثل المعمور بصورة طائر رأسه العين والجناح الايمن الهند والسند والجناح الايسر الخزر وصدره مكة والعراق والشام ومصر وارضه الغرب
 Buwayrī - Nihāyatul - Arab Vol I p.208.

It is associated with very good vegetation and wonderful animals. Merchants only touch the coastal land, and hardly anyone from our country has reached the interior. Hind and Sind are said to be two brothers of the son of Tawqīr bin Yaqtūn bin Hām bin Mūh. (1)

Abul Fidā:

Hind: Its boundaries are on the west, the sea of Fārs, which ends with the limits of Sind and adjoining lands; on the south, the Indian Ocean; on the east, the deserts which separate Hind from China; and on the north the land of the Turks.

Some navigators say that Hind consists of *yāzerāt*, Manībār and Mābar.

(1) This is a typical Arab invention. The Arabs, a wandering race, with no ties to any particular land or country, are united primarily by a general pride in their tribe. They naturally imagine that the name of every country is that of the tribe and are at great pains to discover the genealogy and the patriarch of the tribe.

Compare these scanty details given by these authors with the more accurate conception of the country by Bīrūnī which is revealed by his long geographical description of India, to be found in Dr. Sachau's translation.

GEOGRAPHY

(b) LIST OF PLACES IN SOUTHERN INDIA

(1)

ABĀTŪ

Dimishqī mentions this as one of the seven places in the big Ma'bar.

(2)

AKĀNTĪ

Dimishqī mentions this place as one of the cities on the west coast before Sūbāra.

(3)

BĀBATTAN

Ibn Khurdādhbeh: Those who follow the way by land from Bullīn will reach Bābattan., in two days. Rice is

(1) أباطور Paris ابامو (foot note in Mehren's edition).
R. If any value could be attached to the order in which these places are mentioned by Dimishqī, Abātū should be sought for before Tondī in Palk's bay.

Perhaps it may be identified with Adirāmpattanam, seven miles south east of Pattukkōttai in the north-west corner of Palk's Bay and at the western end of the great mud swamp that extends as far as Point Calimere.

The Tanjore District Gazetteer (vol.I. p.251) says that the name Adirāmapattanam is a contraction of Ati-vīra-rāmapattanam, the place having been founded by the Pāndyan king Ativīra-Rāman (1562-7). It need not be supposed from this statement that the place is of later growth. It might have been an important port before and hence attracted the attention of the Pāndya king. Even to this day it is an important sea port and trading town. The trade is chiefly with Ceylon.

(2) اکانتی

R. It may be near Bombay.

(3) بابتن

Compare: "Al-Balbun the route divides; following the shore

produced here and is exported to Sarandīb, (Ceylon). From
 Bābattan ⁽¹⁾ to Sinjlī and Kabashkān is one day's distance.

⁽²⁾
BANĪ-BATAN

Ibn-Hauqal mentions Banī-batan as one of the cities
 of Hind after Saymūr.

⁽³⁾
BARQALĪ

Dimishqī says that the city of Barqalī is situated
 at the mouth of the river al-Kank ⁽⁴⁾ on the coast of the sea.

it takes two days to reach Bās, which is a large place where
 you can take a passage to Sarandip. From Bās to Sajī and
 'Askān is two days' journey." Elliot.

Vol. I. p. 15-16. Ibn Khurdādhbeh.

R. For a discussion of the place, see under Buddfattan.

(1) Bābattan بابتن Text. p.63. F.Notes. g) A.H.1. بابين
 Mox S.p., B. utroque loco باس. Quamquam scripserit Sprenger
 p.81. (Am 23 August befanden wir uns Bas gegenuber) tamen non
 dubium est, eum ita scripsisse conjectura. Nam abbreviato est
 nominis quod Cosmos scribit Pudopetana, Conte Buffetania
 (Beudifetania) vid. Yule. Cathay p.448. 453. Apud Edrisi I,179,
 184 respondet جراتش, apud Nowairi (Ajaibul-Hind, ed.V.d.
 Lith. p.281) جراتش apud Ibn Batuta IV, 82 جرفتن qui
 tamen non idem locus est, sed vicinus. Fortasse a nostro non
 differt برتن (Ajaibul Hind, p.276). Dimaschki IV ۱۷۳
 5 a f. habet بدفتان et paullo ante جرفتن "Bās."
 Ferrand has omitted this place. Elliot p.16

(2) بنی بتن F.Note: "I hujus loco الملتان habet. Gildemeister
 nomen componit cum urbe Malabarica منيفتن (Abul Fida) Potius
 conferatur پتن Djih Numa p.196, 8 a.f., 199, 3." Ibn Hauqal
 p.227.

R. See under Buddfattan

⁽³⁾ برتلی

(4) The river Ganges. Evidently it is a mistake on the part of
 Dimishqī to bring in the Ganges to the South.

R* Barqalī may be identified with Bhatkal or Susagadi, twenty-five
 miles south of Honawar. The town is about three miles from the
 mouth of the river, which at high water is navigable by boats
 of a half to two tons. No vessels but coasters visit the port.

(1)
BARŪS

Four writers, Masūdī, Idrīsī, Yāqūt and Dimishqī, make
(2)
mention of the place Broach.

Masūdī: From Daybul begins the coast of Hind up to the
country of Barūd whence the Barūdī qanna has its name. (3)

Idrīsī gives more detailed information! Barūj is in the
second climate; it is a large, handsome town, well-built of
bricks and plaster. The inhabitants possess great perseverance,
they are rich and engaged in trade; they freely enter upon
speculations and embark on distant expeditions. Barūj is a port
for vessels coming from China as it is also for those from Sind.

The want of good communications with Mysore and the country
above the Sahyadris has driven away trade. Though the town is
now in a state of decay, no town on the Canara coast shows more
signs of prosperity in the past. None have such well-walled
gardens and houses, strong and extensive embankments and so many
remains of carved masonry. Bombay Gazetteer. Vol.XV. p.II.
Kanara pp.266-67. In 1321, A.D. Friar Jordanus notices after the
Kingdom of Maratha a Saracen king of Batigala. Bombay Gazetteer.
Vol.XV. p.II.Kanara p.271.

(1) Masūdī بروص
Ms.Poc.375 بروص - Idrīsī بروص Ms. Gr. 42 بروص
Yāqūt بروص
Dimishqī بروص

بروص ويقال برودج
والها ينسب القماش البروجي

Nuwayrī - P.I p.237

Baruh (Baruch) and Barus - Elliot vol.I. p.86-7.

R. This is identified with Broach.

(2) Ships from the western countries came, according to the
author of the Periplus, to Barugaza or Bharukachchha, the modern
Broach; and the merchandise brought by them was thence carried
to the inland countries. Onyx stone in large quantities from
Paithan, and ordinary cottons, muslins, mallow, coloured cottons
and other articles of local production from Tagara, were carried
in waggons to Barugaza and thence exported to the West. Early
History of the Dekkan by Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar. 1895. p.42

3. Cinnabar - Sprenger.

From Barūj to Saymūr is a two days' journey, while the distance to Nahrwārah ⁽¹⁾ is eight marḥalas ⁽²⁾ by land. Opposite ⁽³⁾ the sea port town of Barūj lies the island Malaq ملق which produces pepper in large quantities. From this island to Sandān is two days' journey. From Barūj along the coast to Sindābūr is four marḥalas. ⁽⁴⁾

Yāqūt: The gulf which begins after Kanbāya extends as far as Barwas, a big city.

Dimishqī: The city Barūs has a vast territory with four thousand villages. It is situated on a bay where the tide ebbs and flows, which extends for two days' journey. There is an abundant supply of pepper and bamboos here.

Thus it seems apparent that the accounts of these four writers have little in common between them.

(1) The journey to Nahrwārah lies through flat country where people travel in carriages on wheels. In all Nahrwārah and its environs there is no other mode of travelling except in chariots drawn by oxen under the control of a driver. These carriages are fitted with harness and are used for the carriage of goods. Between Barūj and Nahrwārah there are two towns one called Hanāwal, the other Dūlaqa. Dūlaqa is on the banks of a river which flows into the sea, forming an estuary, on the west of which stands Barūj, the name of which is also pronounced Barūḡ. Idrīsī Mss.

(2) 'eight days' Elliot. Vol.I. p. 87.

(3) ملق Ms. Gr. 42. Bodleian Library.
Mullan' Elliot. vol. I. p. 89.

(4) 'four days' Elliot. vol. I. p. 89.

(1)
BĀSRŪR

Abul Fidā: From Hannūr to Bāsrūr, a small town, and behind Basrūr is Manjarūr.

(2)
BIYYARDĀWAL

Abul Fidā: Biyyardāwal is the qasba of Mābar; it is a city where the Sultan of Mābar resides. Horses are imported here from other countries.

(1) باسرور

R. It is Basrūr, (the Canerese Bāsarūru, 'the town of the waved-leaf fig tree.' (Hobson-Jobson. p.45) Bāsrūr is at a distance of four miles from Coondapoor, east. It was once a large walled town with a fort and temple and is mentioned as an important trading place by all the geographers, Arabs and others by the names of Bracelor, Brazzor, Bracelor, Bacelor, and as Abu-sarur by Ibn Battūta. It is interesting to note that Abul-Fidā has used the correct form as in the original. Bāsrūr is also supposed by some to be the Barace of Pliny.

Though now almost deserted, the walls and watergates of the city still remain in a good state of preservation.

A Rāni of Bāsrūr is mentioned by Ferishta as having paid her respects to Sankara Nāyak, a Yādhava king of Dēvagiri, early in the 14th century. In the sixteenth century, Coondapoor or lower Bāsrūr became a possession of the Portugese, and early in the eighteenth century a Dutch factory was also established there.

See Manual of South Canara District, Vol.II p.242; Cathay and the way thither. vol.IV. p.73; Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society vol.XV. p.226.

(2) بترداول

R. see under Mābar.

(1)
BUDDFATTAN

After Jurfattan, Dimishqī mentions Dahfattan and Buddfattan

(2)
BULLIN

Ibn Khurdādhbeh: Bullin is reached after two days' journey from Mulay. At Bullin, the way parts into two, one continuing by sea and the other by land. Those who follow the way by land from Bullin will reach Bābattan, proceeding thence to Singlī and Kabashkān, to Kūdāfarīd, to Kaylkan, Lawā and Kanja, to Samandar, to Ūrnashīn and finally to Abīna.

(1) بَدْفَتَان p.173. Foot note on the same page: "Les trois msscrts. om., les deux noms sont écrits dans le mnsert. de Par. برقتن et دمينان"

بَدْفَتَان Ibn Khurdādhbeh. بنى بن Ibn Hanqal, Dimishqī.

R. It is Valarapattanam, or Baliapatam or Azhikkal, a thriving Mappilla town five miles from Cannanore on the coast road, a minor port of some importance, and a station on the South Indian Railway. It is situated on the south bank of the river of the same name close to its mouth.

The town is rich in Malayalam and Mappilla traditions. Vallabha Perumāl, the eleventh of the Perumāls, here found a lingam and built a shrine over it and a fort to protect it on the banks of the Neytāra, as the river was then called. Valarapattanam was his chosen seat and the residence appointed by him for the kings of Kerala. In Chēramān Perumāl's time it was, with Trikkariyūr and Tirunāvāyi, one of the three holy places of Malabar. Subsequently it became one of the principal places of the Kōlattiri Rāja. Refer Gazetteer of the Malabar and Anjengo Districts Vol.I. p.399 (Chirakkal Taluk) See Footnotes under Bābattan and Banibattan

Yule who discusses at length the medieval ports of Malabar indicates with some accuracy the locality, but he is not definite in his conclusions. He says that "the name is not found in modern maps, but it must have been near the Saddakarre of Keith Johnston's." See Cathay and the way thither by Yule, Vol.IV p.76.

We learn from Ibn Battūṭa that Jurfattan Dahfattan and

Those who take the way from Bullin by sea will reach Sarandib after a day's journey, or, according to another version, after two days' journey. (3)

Budfatten were under the sway of Kuwayl one of the most powerful sultans of Malabar.

(2) Text p.63. بَلِين Foot note. c) "Sic A.h.l.c. voc., mox infra." B.h.l. بَلِين
 Ibn Khurdādhbeh-Elliot. trans. p.15. "From Mali to Balbun, 2 days' journey". Foot note 8. "Balin in the Paris version." Idrīsī. بَلِين poc. ملن Graves.
 Idrīsī. Elliot. vol.I. p.89. 'Balbak'.
 Ferrand: Transp. 26 "Celui qui veut aller a la Chine, se rend, apres avoir quitte Bullin".
 Ferrand: f.n. 6. p.26: بَلِين p.43 du meme ouvrage: (De Bullin a Sarandib, une journee.) Bullin est donc situe a une journee de Ceylon".

(3) Then follows the description of the sea route to China, "Those who wish to go to China from Bullin, go to Sarandib, then leaving that island to the left, proceed to the island Nakhālūs at a distance of ten or fifteen days' journey, thence to the island of Kalah, thence to Bālūs, an island situated to the left of Kalah at a distance of two days' journey, thence to the islands of Jābah, of Shalāhit, of Harlaj which are reached at a distance of two parasangs. Then they touch the island of Maḡt which is not very far from Jābah. Proceeding from Maḡt they reach the island of Tayūma situated to the left of it. Thence they proceed to Qimār and thence to Sanf (Champa) journeying on the coast for three days. Thence they go to Luqīn لوقين. This is the first station in China, at a distance of one hundred parasangs by land and sea from Sanf. From Luqīn they continue to Khānfū, after four days' journey by sea or twenty-days journey by land. IBN KHURDĀDHBEH. pp. 66-69

Idrīsī: From Ṣandān to the island Baliq, he says, is two day's journey. Baliq is (a big island and is populated).⁽¹⁾
 It produces many ⁽²⁾ cocoanuts, ⁽³⁾ bananas and rice. It is here that vessels change their courses for different islands of the (Hind) Indies. From Baliq to the place called great abyss ⁽⁴⁾ is a distance of two days; from Baliq again to the island Sarandīb is a journey of one day or more.⁽⁵⁾

COUNTRY OF BULWĀN

Dimishqī: The country of Bulwān adjoins the land of Habār on the western side on the coast of the sea. Of its cities, the following are mentioned., Dhabūh, ^{دبره} on the coast, the city Farthāla ^{مدينة فرثالة} Sakbis and the city Sindābūr ^{مدينة سندابور}. Sindābūr is the qaṣba.

(1) Elliot's version omits this

(2) Elliot omits this

(3) Elliot adds 'figs' after cocoanuts.)

(4) ^{البحر العظيم}

R. Bullin may be an island near Saymūr.

R. It appears from the accounts of the two writers that Bullin is a very important station, the connecting link between the east and west coasts of the Indian peninsula and also the station from where the travellers started to China via Sarandīb. (Ceylon).

Professor Minorsky suggests, on the authority of Dr. Barnett that Bullin is Baliapatem, in Chirakkal Taluk, Malabar District
 see Hudūd - al - Ālam - Translated
 by V.Minorsky p.243.

(5) ^{بلوان}

R. Bulwan may be identified with Bayalnād, which formed one of the four boundaries of the Hoysāla kingdom, the other three being Ālavakheda, Talakād and Sāvimala. For further details see Ancient Kārnataka by Saletore. Vol. I. p.269.

(1)

THE COUNTRY OF THE CÔLAS

Dimishqī refers to the country of the Cōlas and says that it includes the small Mābar and the big Mābar, both lying on the coast. Goods are carried to these places from the west.

(2)

DAHFAṬṬĀN

After Jurfattan, Dimishqī mentions Dahfattān and Budfattān.

(3)

DAṬṬĀN

It is mentioned by Dimishqī as one of the cities of big Mābar before Tandā (Thondi)

(1) See under Kingdom Saylamān, and under Mābar

(2) دھفتان Paris ms. has دھیان Refer to footnote under Budfattān.

R. Dahfattān is Darmadam (Darmapattanam) 'the place of charity', an island formed by the junction of the Tellichery and Anjarakkandi rivers just north of Tellichery town. It is sacred in the eyes of the Malayālis as the place where Chēramā Perumāl took his last farewell of Malabar and sailed for Mecca. Here according to the Tuhfatul-Mujāhidīn, Mālik ibn Dīnār founded one of his nine mosques, but not a trace of the building remains. See Gazetteer of the Malabar and Anjengo Districts Vol. I. p. 422 (Kottayam Taluk)

Ibn Battūta gives a different account. "At Dahfattan, he says, there is a great bāin and a cathedral mosque, which were built by Kuwayt's grandfather, who was converted to Islam. Most of the inhabitants of Budfattan are Brahmans, who are venerated by the infidels and who hate the Muslims; for this reason there are no Muslims living amongst them." H.A.R. Gibb's Transl. of Ibn Battūta. p. 234. Here again Yule who gives various readings from other travellers does not arrive at any definite conclusbn. See Cathay and the way thither vol. IV. p. 76.

(3) دھفتن - Dhaften - Mehrén's Dimishqī p. 235. Transl.

R. This may be identified with Dēvipattanam, a port now in the Ramnad District about eleven miles due north of Ramnad. It must have been a place of great importance once although the sea in the port is very shallow now.

(1)

DANQ

It is mentioned by Dimishqī as one of the cities after Barūs, and placed in the list as the second city above Sūbāra. Dimishqī says it is situated on the coast of the sea.

(2)

FĀKNŪR

Yāqūt and Dimishqī mention Fāknūr

Yāqūt relates that after leaving Barwaṣ and passing through a curve, you come to the country of Malābār, from where pepper is exported. Its famous cities are Manjarūr and Fāknūr.

Dimishqī mentions that Manibār adjoins Hunnūr.

It is also named as the country of pepper. There are many cities. The chief of them is Fāknūr.

(1) دوق Dhoug. Mehren. p.233. Transl.

R. It may be near Bombay.

(2) فاكور Yāqūt - Dimishqī.

R. Fāknūr is Bārūr. It is the traditional capital of Tuluva. It now stands about three miles inland, but was perhaps originally a coast town on the common estuary of the Sitanadi and Swarnanadi, the little port of Hangarkatta, which now stands there being also known as the port of Bārūr. It is also one of the towns in which a mosque is said to have been built in the ninth century A.D. by the adherents of Chēramān Perumāḷ. Later on it was the local capital of Hoysāl Ballal dynasty.

There are traces of a great fort and ruins of Buddhist temples and inscriptions testify that in the fourteenth century Bārūr was the seat of the viceregal government of the Rāja of Vijayanagar. Manual of South Canara Dt.Vol.II. p.264.

Bārūr was also known by the following names: Bārakūru, Bārakanūru, Fākanūr, Bārahakanyūpura. For details see Ancient Karnataka vol.I. by Saleore.

(1)
FANDARINA

Idrīsī and Dimishqī both mention Fandarīna although they have entirely independent information of the place.

(2) Idrīsī says that from Tāna (3) to Fandarīna is four (4) marhalas; from Fandarīna to Jurbatan is five marhalas. (5)

Fandarīna is a town built at the mouth of a river that comes from Manībār (Malabar) where vessels from India and Sind cast anchor. The inhabitants are rich, the markets well-supplied and trade flourishing. North of this town there is a very high mountain covered with trees, villages and

For various readings of the name by non-Arab geographers, see Yule, Cathay and the way thither. Vol.IV. p.73 Compare Ibn Battūta: "Fākanūr, a large town on an inlet, here there is a large quantity of sugar canes, which are unexcelled in the rest of that country. The chief of the Muslim community at Fākanūr is called Bāsada. He possesses about thirty warships, commanded by a Muslim called Lūlā who is an evil doer, and a pirate and a robber of merchants." Gibb's translation. p.233.

As this city is not mentioned by early geographers, it may be inferred that the city came into prominence after the eleventh century. A full account of the city can be obtained in Ancient Karnataka by Saletore.

- (1) فندرينه Idrīsī, Dimishqī. قندرينه - NUWAYRI P.I p.237.
 (2) Bana (Tanna) Elliot vol.I. p.89. فانه Bod.Lib.Ms. Graves. 42.
 (3) Fandarina and Kandarina. Elliot Vol.I., p.89. 85.
 (4) Four days. Elliot. Vol.I. p.89.
 (5) Five days. Elliot. Vol.I. p.90.

flocks. (Cardomom, which grows on the slopes of this hill is exported to all countries.)⁽¹⁾ The pepper vine grows in the island of Malī as in Fandarīna and Jurbatan, but it is found nowhere else but in these three places.

Dimishqī says that most of the inhabitants of Fandarīna are Jews and Hindus. Muslims and Christians are few in number.⁽²⁾

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- (1) The Cardomom grows here and forms the staple of a considerable trade. Elliot Vol.I. pp90.
 (2) Mss. St.Pet., and L. have قنڊرىقه (Dimishqī mentions Fandarina after Buddfattan).

R. It is certainly identified with Pantalāyini or Pantalāyini Kollam, north of Quilandi, and one of the most historic places of Malabar. It is referred to by all the geographers, Arab as well as non-Arab. The Kollam raja of Payanad here made his capital, and the Zamorin his conqueror, still has a place in the desam.

According to the Tuhfatul-Mujāhidīn, Mālik ibn Dīnār founded one of the mosques at Fandarīna. A natural hollow in a rock on the sea shore close to the mosque has been chiselled into the likeness of a foot, and this mark is said to be the print of Ādam's foot, as he landed in India, his next stride taking him to Ādam's peak in Ceylon. Off the town is one of the curious mud banks peculiar to the west coast, and Vasco da Gama probably moved to its shelter from Kappāt where he first touched in 1498 A.D.

The Portuguese made many attacks upon the town and it was strongly defended by bastions on the Mayyat Kunnu (grave yard of Kollam) Gazetteer of the Malabar and Anjengo Districts p.436. (Kurumbranad Tank).

Compare: Ibn Baṭṭūṭa: "Fandarīna, a large and fine town with orchards and bazaars. The muslims occupy three quarters in it, each of which has a mosque. It is at this town the Chinese vessels pass the winter."

Translation Gibb. p.234.

For various readings from non-Arab geographers, Christian as well as Chinese, see Yule, Cathay and the way thither. Vol.IV. p.77.

The name Pantalāyini Kollam is intended to distinguish it from another Kollem (Quilon) in the south.

FĀTNI (1)

Dimishqī mentions Fātnī as one of the cities of big Mābar and says that Fātnī (2) is the qasba of Tandā (Thondi).

Fātnī has fallen into ruins; it has a mountain named Kāward (3) where there is a big volcano.

(1) فائنی

(2) La capitale Fānni (Fātnī?) est a present detruite. Mehren.

p.235.

(3) See under Mountain Kaward.

R. The Tamil word பட்டினம் (pattinam) means a seaport town, and is generally added as a suffix to the name proper by which the place is known, e.g. சென்னை பட்டினம் (Chennapattinam - Madras) நாகபட்டினம் (Nagapattinam - Nagapatam). The mere reference to pattinam, or Fattan as the Arab writers call it, does not mean anything, and the reader is left to his own conjecture and imagination as to the possible place meant by the author. In these circumstances, any seaport town lies within the range of conjecture and the identity can be guessed with some amount of success after due consideration of the context in which 'Fattan' appears in the text.

Dimishqī refers to Fātnī and from the way in which he speaks, it appears that the place must be in the neighbourhood of Ramnad. This view is further strengthened when we read the account of Ibn Battūta. After reading these two accounts it is possible to some extent to say that 'Fātnī' or 'Fattan' must refer to either Dēvipattānam or Kilakkarai. The description by Ibn Battūta of 'a fine mosque, built of stone' in Fattan leaves little doubt in the choice of Kilakkarai as the place meant. The mosque still exists there, a beautiful building of stone, very rare in the Tamil districts. Further the mentions of "crazy dervishes" whom Ibn Battūta met in Fattan, also points to Kilakkarai where even today such majdūbs are seen. Thus the description of Ibn Battūta is applicable to Kilakkarai and not to Dēvipattānam which is always a famous place of pilgrimage for the Hindus.

Yule has successfully concluded that the place must be in the vicinity of Ramnad, but he is not able to identify it definitely with any town. See Cathay and the Way thither Vol.IV.P.35.

Professor Gibb, however, questions Yule's conjecture and thinks it is unlikely if the name Harkātu (a place

Footnote (contd)

mentioned before Fattan by Ibn Battūta) has anything to do with Arcot. But Harkātu cannot be Arcot, a city that came into prominence during the wars of the Mughal emperor Awrangzēb in the seventeenth century. Harkātu must be connected with some other town and not with Arcot. Dr. S.K. Ayyangar's suggestion that it may be identified with Ariyakudi, may be considered.

See South India and her Muhammadan invaders by Dr.S.K.Ayyangar. p.194-6.

Dimishqī's information that Fātnī has fallen into ruins is questionable. He was either misinformed or he confused the information supplied to him by travellers. For details see under Mountain Kāward.

(1)

FUFAL

Yāqūt refers to the gulf of Fufal while Dimishqī says that the city of Fūfal occupies a big area and that there are within it diving places for small pearls.

(1)

خور فوفل Yāqūt
مدينة فوفل Dimishqī.

Yāqūt mentions it after Fākanūr and Dimishqī after Barqalī.

R. The coast line of South Canara is indented with numerous creeks and bays formed by the estuaries of rivers, which, taking their rise among the hill ranges of the Western Ghats, run from east to west and flow into the Arabian sea. The coast line is low and sandy with broken and rugged rocks cropping up in places.

The city of Fūfal referred to by Dimishqī may be identified with Bekal, thirty four miles from Mangalore and seven and a half miles from Kasargod, south-south-east. It contains the largest and best preserved fort in the district, situated on a head land running into the sea with a fine bay towards the south. This bay may answer to the ~~khaz~~ Fūfal mentioned by Yāqūt. Manual of South Canara Dt. Vol.II. p.250.

(1)
HABĀR

Dimishqī says that the city of Habār is on the coast and is mountainous. It has under its control about twenty-thousand villages and about thirty fortresses.

(1) مبار The account of Habār is omitted in the Mss. St. Pet.; L and cop. Text. p.173. Note d. Dimishqī mentions Habār after Tānā.

R. Habār may be identified with Kārwar, properly Kadwad in north latitude $14^{\circ} 50'$ and east longitude $74^{\circ} 15'$. It is the chief town in the Kārwar sub-division and is the head quarters of the district of N. Kanara. The town dates from after the transfer of North Kanara to the Bombay Presidency in 1862. Before the transfer it was a fishing village. The present town and neighbouring offices and residences are in the lands of the fishing villages of Beitkol, Aligadde, Kona, Kājubāg, and Kōdibāg and of the agricultural village of Bād.

Though Kārwar is a modern town with little history, the Kadwad village about three miles from the mouth of the river from which Kārwar takes its name, rose to be one of the chief ports in the Bijapur dominions in the seventeenth century. The first known mention of Kadwad is in 1510 as Caribal on the other side of the river from Cintacora or Chitakul.

Thus it may be supposed without much danger of error that the Habār of Dimishqī may be the Kadwad of medieval times which might have been in existence as a port from the days of Dimishqī, or some other village in the neighbourhood of Kadwad.

Bombay Gazetteer. Vol.XV. Pt.II.
Kanara. p.318.

(1)

HANNUR

Dimishqī and Abul Fidā both mention Hannūr although each appears to have independent information.

(2)

Dimishqī relates that Hannūr is on the coast, and has beautiful surroundings, and has under its control ten thousand villages, all inhabited.

Abul Fidā says that Hannūr is a small beautiful town and has a number of gardens. Some travellers say that the country which extends from Sindābūr to Hannūr towards the east comes under Manībār.

(1)

قنور Dimishqī

قنور Abul Fidā.

(2) Dimishqī mentions Hannūr after Sindābūr.

R. Hannūr is modern Honavar, the head quarters of the Honavar sub-division. It is about two miles from the coast at the mouth of the estuary of the Shiravati or Gersappa river. See Bombay Gazetteer Vol. XV Part II Kanara p. 305.

Compare Ibn Baṭṭūṭa: Hinawar is a day's journey from Sindābūr. Hinawar is on a large inlet navigable for large ships. During the pushkāl, which is the rainy season, this bay is so stormy that for four months it is impossible to sail on it except for fishing.

Transl. Gibb. p. 230.

For various readings from other geographers, see Yule, Vol. IV. p. 72-3.

(1)

HARQILYA

Dimishqī: Harqilya is on the coast and has a big area.

(2)

It has under its control about one thousand villages, situated on hilly tracts as well as on the coast.

(3)

(4)

HILĪ

Both Dimishqī and Abul Fidā mention Hīlī.

Dimishqī speaks of Hīlī after Harqilya.

Abul Fidā mentions Rās Haylī, a mountain situated at a distance of three days' journey behind Manjarūr, a big mountain projecting into the sea and is visible to the navigators from a distance. It is called Rās Haylī (promontory of Haylī).

(1) مدينة حرقلية

(2) 2,000 villages. Mehren. p.234.

(3) 'The coast' is omitted by St.Pet.L. et. Cop.Text.p.173.

R. Harqilya may be identified with Kasaragod, 27 miles from Mangalore. It is built on the Chandragiri river. When the country along the coast was divided by Mayura varma into sixty four sections under different Brahman governors, this was one of the four centres. It formed the southern-most post of the ancient Tuluva Kingdom, and was also the site of one of the mosques built in the 9th century A.D. by the party of Mālīk ibn Dīnār. Manual of South Canara District Vol.II. p.248. and Tuhfatul Mujāhidīn.

(4) مدينة هيلي Dimishqī

رأس هيلي Abul Fidā

R. The name of the Kingdom Ili or Eli has left a trace in Mpunt Delly, mentioned by several authors.

In Mādāyī or Pazhayangādī close to the travellers' bungalow on the west are the lines of an ancient fort, and further north in the midst of a desolate, rocky plain are traces of many walls and buildings and an old tank, still known as the Jews' tank. The fort may be on or near the site of the old Eli fort of the Kōlattiri family, built, according to the Kēralōlpatti, by Eli Perumāl, the eighth of the line. East of the

ISLANDS: Idrīsī mentions the following islands.

BALĪQ: See under BULLĪN

DAYBUL: See under KŪLĪ

MALAN: See under Sandān

MALĪ: See under KAWLAM

MAND: See under KŪLĪ.

SANDĀN: See under SANDĀN.

TĀRA: See under SŪBĀRA.

ŪBKĪN: See under ŪTKĪN.

bungalow is the principal temple of the Chirakkal family. "The Jews' tank" points to an early colony of the jews, probably in the palmy days of the kingdom of Eli.

See Gazetteer of the Malabar and Anjengo Districts.

Vol.I. pp.397-398; Chirakkal Taluk.

Yule's Cathay and the way thither. Vol.IV. p.74-75.

Compare Ibn.Battūta: Hīlī is two days' journey from Manjarūr. It is large and well built, situated on a big inlet which is navigable for large vessels. This is the farthest town reached by ships from China.

Trans. H.A.R. Gibb. p.234.

JURBATAN (1)

Idrīsī and Dimishqī mention Jurbatan though their accounts of this place are different.

Idrīsī says that from Fandarīna (to Jurbatan ⁽²⁾ is five marhalas); from (Jurbatan to Sanjā and Kaykār) ⁽³⁾ two days. ⁽⁴⁾ Jurbatan is a populous town on a small gulf. ⁽⁵⁾ It produces rice and grain in large quantities, and supplies provisions to the markets of Sarandīb. There is much pepper cultivated on the mountains.

Dimishqī states that Jurfattan ⁽⁶⁾ is on the coast and its inhabitants are infidels.

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- (1) جربان Idrīsī Bod.Lib.Ms.Poc.375
جربان Idrīsī Bod.Lib.Ms.Gr. 42
جرفتان Dimishqī. حارتين Nuwayrī Part I p.237.
- (2) "to Jirbatan five days". Elliot Vol.I. p.90.
- (3) "Jirbatan to Sanji and Kaikasar", Elliot.Vol.I. p.90.
صنعي وككار Idrīsī Bod.Lib.Mss.Poc.375.
صنعي وككيسار Idrīsī Bod.Lib.Mss.Gr. 42.
- (4) مسيرة يوم " " " "
- (5) "a little river". Elliot. vol.I. p.90.
- (6) Mss. of Dimishqī show variations in the reading of the name Jurfattan.
- Ms.St.Pet. et L. have جربان
Ms. Cop. has جربان
Ms. in Paris has جربان
Dimishqī mentions it after Hīlī.

- R. This is identified with Srikandapuram, ten miles due east of Taliparamba. Ibn Battūta's three parasangs from Hīlī also fits in though Idrīsī has misplaced Jurfattan.

Yule identifies Jurfattan with Cannanore which does not seem to be correct. For, the description in Tuhfat al Mujāhidīn of a mosque built by Mālik ibn Dīnār in Jurfattan is not appropriate if Jurfattan is to be identified as Cannanore. In Srikandapuram the ancient mosque of Ibn Dīnār stands to this day. It is still a populous Mappilla village. Ibn Battūta mentions Hīlī, Jurfattan, Budfattan, Dahfattan, which were under the rājā Kuwayl, (Kōlattiri).

The kingdom of the Kōlattiri Rāja extended from Kasargod

(1)
KABASHKĀN

Ibn Khurdādhbeh: From Bābattan to Sinjlī and to Kabashkān, is one day's journey. Rice is produced here. It is a distance of three parasangs from these places to the mouth of the river Kūdāfarīd.

(2)
KAMKAM

Seven writers, Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Sulaymān, Yāqūbī, Ibn Rusta, Masūdī, Idrīsī and Dimishqī mention Kamkam.

Sulaymān says that the land of the Balharā begins from the coast of the sea, comprising the country called Kamkam, and extends by land as far as China.

(3)
in the north to Korappula in the south. The eastern boundary was Kutakumala, and the western, the sea. The residence of the Rājā was at Valarapattānam, the Buḍfattan of Ibn Battūta. See: Gazetteer of the Malabar and Anjengo Districts Vol. I. p. 398.; Cathay and the way Thither - Yule Vol IV. p. 76.

R.

(1) كيشكان

R. See under Sinjlī.

(2)

كَمْ كَمْ كَمْ كَمْ
Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Sulaymān, Yāqūbī and Ibn Rusta
Masūdī
Idrīsī
Dimishqī

(3)

و ملك بلعرا و ارضه اولها ساحل البحر و هي بلاد
تدعى الكيم متصلة على الارض الى الصين
p. 26. Sulaymān.

"The kingdom of the Balhara commences on the sea side, at the country of Konkam (Konkan) on the tongue of land which stretches to China." Elliot. vol. I. p. 4.

"L'empire du Ballahra commence à la côte de la mer, là où est le pays de Konkan, sur la langue de terre qui se prolonge jusqu'en Chine."

Relation de voyages. Ferrand. p. 42.

Ibn Khurdāhbeh states that the Balharā resides in Kamkam, the land of teak.

(1)
Yaḡūbī states that the kingdom of Kamkam is a vast country where teak is available.

Ibn Rusta follows Ibn Khurdāhbeh but has the additional remark that teak is exported to other countries and that Kamkam is an Indian name.

Masūdī mentions that the country of the Balharā is also (2)
called the country of Kamkar.

Iarīsī says that next to the Balharā is the Makamkam (3)
whose country produces teak.

Dimishqī relates that the first country on the coast of Hind, after the city Barūs (Broach) is the country of (4)
Kank and Kanūnāt surrounded by mountain.

(1) Yaḡūbī mentions Kamkam after the kingdom of the Balharā.

(2) el-Kiminker (الكيمكر) Masūdī-Sprenger. p.389.

(3) Bod.Lib.Mss. واعظم ملك الهند بلخر... ويتلو المكملة وبلاده بلاد الساج.

The text conveys the idea that Makamkam is the name of a king next in rank to the Balharā.

(4) فاول بلاد الساحل الهندى بعد مدينة بروص بلاد الكنك والكنوات يحرق بها الجبال وهي على شرق الكنك [والكنك هو النهر الذى تقدم ذكره وذكر عباد تيمله] ‡

(e) St.Pet.L. et cop. omettent ce mot.

(f) Les trois msserts. om. []

“Le premier pays sur la côte indienne après la ville de Berouc est Kanok (Canoge) et Kanounāt, entourés de montagnes et situés sur la rive orientale du Gange. Nous avons déjà précédemment décrit le Gange et les diverses espèces de devotion, dont il est l'objet sur ses bords.”
Mehren. p.233.

This shows confusion on the part of Dimishqī.

Thus we find that Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Sulaymān and Masūdī associate Kamkam with the Balharā or his kingdom. Yāqūbī names it as a separate kingdom after that of the Balharā's. Idrīsī has a different name Makamkam and calls him a king next in rank to the Balharā. Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Yāqūbī and Idrīsī also say that teak is produced in Kamkam. Thus these five writers, Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Sulaymān, Yāqūbī, Masūdī and Idrīsī, have two points in common, though stated in different ways. The reading of their accounts does not however warrant the idea that they are indebted to each other.

Ibn Rusta follows Ibn Khurdādhbeh but has two additional remarks, while Dimishqī has an independent account.

Perhaps the fact that Kamkam was a vast country, a kingdom, and that it produced teak was so well known in their times that these writers incorporated information in their accounts as it was reported to them, and this also would explain variations in the different readings of the name Kamkam.

R. It is the Konkan area to which these writers are referring. See also p. 181 Thesis.

(1)
THE COUNTRY OF KARŪRĀ

Dimishqī says that the country of Karūrā adjoins the town Fātnī. It is the last country reached by merchants and Karūrā is the qaṣba. Wajrām al-dhahab is the temple. (2)

KAWLAM (3)

Eight writers, Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Sulaymān, Ibnul Faqīh, Idrīsī, Yāqūt, Qazwīnī, Dimishqī and Abul Fidā, all speak about Kawlam. (Quilon).

Ibn Khurdādhbeh says that from Sandan to Mulay is five

(1) بلاد کروڑا

(2) وجرام الذهب For details see Chapter II

R. Karūrā was formerly identified with Karūr in the Coimbatore district, but later research and fuller knowledge point to quite a different locality. In ancient Tamil records Vanji, which lay west of the Western Ghats is mentioned as the capital of the Cēra kings and according to the Tamil metrical dictionary, Tivākaram, the modern name of Vanji is Karur. "Thus early records, known traditions and old inscriptions all point to Tiruvanji or Tiruvanji Kulam, lying adjacent to Cranganore, as the capital of the early rulers of Cēra or Kērala." Ptolemy, however, places Karūrā further inland, and an almost equally probable theory identifies the town with Tirukarūr, three miles from Kōthaimangalam and twenty eight miles east by north of Cochin, where the remains of an old temple and other massive building are still visible. For more details see:

Caldwell. Introd. p.96-97.

Tamils 1800 years ago by K.S.Pillai. p.20.

Indian Antiquary XXXI. 343.

As Fātnī is identified with Kīlakkarai, Karūrā of Dimishqī must be Karūr in the Coimbatore District.

(3)

Ibn Khurdādhbeh
Sulaymān
Ibnul-Faqīh
al-Idrīsī
Yāqūt and Qazwīnī
Dimishqī
Abul Fidā
Ibn Baṭṭūta.

compare کولم

days' journey. ^{qana} and pepper are obtained here. (1)

Sulaymān mentions that ships from Masqat depart to the ports of Hind, sailing towards Kūkam Malī. This is a month's journey from Masqat, with a moderate wind. There is a garrison in Kūkam Malī. Chinese ships come here, and one thousand dirhems are collected from them. Other ships pay a sum ranging from one to ten dīnārs. There is sweet water available here from the wells. Between Kūkam Malī and the sea of Harkand is about a month's journey. (2) After taking in sweet water at Kūkam Malī the ships sail towards the sea of Harkand, cross the sea and reach a place called Lakhyālūs.

Ibnul-Faḳīh follows Sulaymān giving almost all details with a little variation. He says a sum ranging from ten to twenty dīnārs is collected from ships other than Chinese; the ships cross the sea of Harkand and come to a place called Kalahbār, (3) between which and Harkand there are islands peopled by a community known as Lanj. He seems to be more definite than Sulaymān when he says that the ships, after leaving Masqat, come straight to Kūlū Malī, the first

(1) ~~From Sindan~~ - "From Sindan to Malī (Malabar) is five days' journey; in the latter pepper is to be found, also the bamboo". Elliot. Vol. I. p. 15.

(2) The text reads: ^{وین مسقط و بین کوکمر ملی و بین قوکنند نخومن شهر} - - - The words ^{و بین مسقط} seem to be a mistake. The distance between Masqat and Kūkam Malī has already been given. Now it should be about the distance between Kūkam Malī and Harkand. Compare. "The distance between Kūlū Malī and Harkand is a month's journey." Ibnul Faḳīh.

(3) "From Likhyālūs the ships set sail towards a place known as Kalahbār." Sulaymān. p. 18-19.

port of Hind, the distance between the two is a month's journey. But his assertion that the garrison at Kūlā Malī belongs to the citins of Hind is vague.

Idrīsī says that five miles by sea from Kūlam Malī lies the island named Malī, a large and beautiful spot, less hilly, and covered with much vegetation. The pepper plant grows in this island as in Fandarīna and Jurbatan, but except for these three places, it is found nowhere else.

Yāqūt mentions that the island Kūlam is one of the innumerable islands in the sea of Hind.

He quotes Abū Dulaf who says: I went from Mandūrqn to Kūlam. The inhabitants have a prayer house in which there is no idol.....⁽¹⁾ The pillars of the houses are from the backbones of dead fish though the inhabitants do not eat fish. They do not slaughter animals after the manner of the Muslims; The inhabitants choose a king for

(1) Details of products described here are omitted and will be found in the chapter on products.

(1)
for China when their own king dies. There is no art of
medicine in India except in this town..... You embark
from this town for 'Umān..... Water in Kūlam comes from
(2)
tanks which are made to contain rain water.

Different kinds of aloes, wood, camphor, resin
and barks of trees are associated with Kūlam.

Qazwīnī follows Yāqūt quoting the same source, yet
there is some contradiction since he says that ^{Abū DULAF} Misār bin
Muhallil who visited this place (Kūlam) did not see either
a temple or an idol there.

Dimishqī mentions Kūlam as the last city of the
country of pepper.... The island Malī is related to the
(3)
city on the coast. Pepper is loaded there in ships
even though they all gather on the same day. Various kinds
of perfumes are obtained here.

(1) ^{واهلها ينتارون للعين ملكا اذا مات ملكهم} Yāqūt Vol. III p. 455
^{واهلها ينتارون ملكا من الصين اذا مات ملكهم} Qazwīnī " II p. 70
"When their king dies the people of the place choose another
from China". Elliot Vol. I. p. 95.

K.P. Padmanabha menon, who quotes Elliot's translation
in his "History of Kerala" (Vol. I. p. 277) expresses the
view that the mention of a choice of a king from China to
succeed the one deceased suggests the probability of there
being a Chinese factory or settlement, at the time, in
Quilon governed by one of their own chiefs who was
succeeded on his death by another brought from China.
If Yāqūt's version were to be correct it may mean that the
people of Quilon sent a person to China to represent their
factory or settlement there.

There was great intercourse between China and Quilon
is learnt from Ibn Battūta who says that Kawlam is the
nearest of Mulaybar towns to China and it is to this town
that most of the merchants from China come.

(2) ^{صهاريج} P. Tank, cistern, The word 'Tank' is to be under-
stood in the Indian sense.

(3) Evidently the city 'Kawlam' is meant.

Abul Fidā quotes the longitude and latitude ⁽¹⁾ from Ibn Saīd and ^{Kū-āb-al-}Atwāl. He assigns it to the first climate; and says that it is the last city of the pepper land, of Manibar.

Then he quotes Ibn Saīd who says that Kawlam is the last city of the pepper land in the east, from where they embark to Aden. He also reports from travellers thus: Kawlam is a city, the last one of the pepper land. It is situated in a gulf. There is a separate quarter for Muslims in this city where there is also a cathedral mosque. The city is situated on a plain, its earth is sandy. There are a large number of gardens here.

(1) Ibn Saīd: longitude. 132°, latitude 12°
 Atwāl " 110° " 13°30'

R. Kawlam is identified with Quilon.

Of these writers the statements of Dimishqī and Abul Fidā that Kūlam or Kawlam is the last city of the pepper land leaves us no doubt as to its identity with Quilon in Travancore. The information of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa that Kawlam is the nearest of the Malaybār towns to China points to its position as present day Quilon.

If Mandūrqīn is Madura as identified by the present writer, then the statement of Abū Dulaf quoted by Yāqūt and Qazwīnī that he went from Mandūrqīn to Kūlam seems to fit in and Quilon may answer to that.

The distance of one month's journey between Masqat and Kūlam Malī given by Sulaymān and Ibnul Faqīh seems to be fairly correct, and the Kūkam Malī or Kūlū Malī of these two writers with their accounts may be taken to represent Quilon.

But the accounts of Ibn-Khurdādhbeh and Idrīsī present some difficulty. According to Ibn Khurdādhbeh, from Sandān to Mulay takes five days, thence to Bullīn two days, and Babattan two days. As Babattan appears to be Baliapatam,

near Cannanore, from a study of other accounts, Ibn Khurdādhbeh's Mulay must lie before Bābattan. This seems to fit in with the five days' journey from Sāndān to Mulay, if Sāndān were to be St. John's Point of Rennal between Daman and Mahim as presumed by Yule. These considerations indicate that "Mulay" cannot refer to Kūlam. But before arriving at any conclusion let us see what Idrīsī who generally follows Ibn Khurdādhbeh has to say. He does not help us very much. He suddenly introduces Kūkam Malī, gives no account of it but proceeds to speak of the island Malī situated at a distance of five miles from Kūkam Malī. Thus the question arises: how did Idrīsī get the names Kūkamalī or Kūkam Malī and the island Malī. Perhaps the manuscripts of Ibn Khurdādhbeh in the possession of Idrīsī had these names with conflicting accounts and Idrīsī might have arrived at his version finally as we find it in the present form. It may also be observed that always copies of Ibn Khurdādhbeh's works show variations which have been noticed at different places in the course of this work. Generally Elliot's version of Ibn Khurdādhbeh never agrees with De Geoe's version as regards place names. Hence it may be concluded that Mulay of Ibn Khurdādhbeh may refer to Kūkam Malī or Kūlam Malī of other writers and the conflict in distances presented by Ibn Khurdādhbeh may be due to faults in the manuscript copies.

In this connection it may be said that Malī of Cosmos (8th century A.D.) is understood by K.P.P. Menon to refer to Kollam (Quilon),

For the meaning of the word Kollam and a detailed account of the city refer to:

History of Kerala by K.P.P. Menon. Vol. I. pp. 271-292.

(1)

KAYLKĀN, LAWĀ AND KANJA

Ibn Khurdādhbeh says from Kūdāfarīd to Kaylkān, Lawā and Kanja is two days' journey. (2)

(1)

كيلكان - اللوا - كنجة Ibn Khurdādhbeh

ملكيان - اللولوا - كنجة Idrīsī.

(2) From Kūra to Kilakān, Lūār and Kanja is two days' journey, in all which wheat and pice are cultivated and into which the wood of aloes is imported from Kāmūl and other neighbouring places by the fresh water route in fifteen days.

Elliot - Ibn Khurdādhbeh. Vol. I. p. 16.

Corn and rice are produced here.

Idrisī mentions that from Sanjā and Kaikasār to Kalkayān takes one day. Thence to Lūluwā and Kanja
(1) another day. In both these places rice and corn are
cultivated; There are plenty of cocoanuts and (fruits)
(2) From Kanja to Samandar (3) is thirty miles.

(4)
THE CITY KHURNAL.

Dimishqī mentions the city Khurnal.

Khurnal is a port for the ships of Hind as well as for those who pass by.

-
- (1) *مسيرة يومين* Graves, Ms. Bodl. Library.
(2) Elliot omits this word. Vol. I. p. 90.
(3) Samandār. Elliot. Vol. I. p. 90.

R. It appears from the narration of these two authors that both Kalkayān and Lūlū are inland towns between Kūdāfarīd, (Alimukam near Cranganore) and Conjavarem (near Madras) on the east coast. The time given to cover the distance is two days, and according to another version of Idrīsī's ms. three days, which seems to be rather insufficient.

It is not possible to identify the places, Kaylkān and Lawā. Kanja is old Kānchīpuram (Conjeavaram) the capital of the Cōla kings.

- (4) *مدينة خورنل* Text p. 173.

All the three mss. omit the name and description of this city. Text. Note a. p. 173.

La ville de Khoûrnoul, lieu d'étape pour les navires indiens. Mehren. p. 233.

Dimishqī mentions Khurnal after Fūfal.

R. Khurnal may be identified with Kumbla in Kasargod taluk, Malabar District.

Kumbla is a small port nineteen miles south of Mangalore, and nine miles from Kasargod, north-north-west. The town stands on a bold peninsula in a lagoon, separated from the sea by a sand spit and communicating with it by a narrow channel, on which the village of Kannipuram is situated.

(1)

KUBRĀ WA KABĪR in Big Mábar

Dimishqī says that after the small Mábar comes the Big Mábar. Of the many cities in it, Kubrā wa Kabīr (2) is a beautiful city; its inhabitants are mixed.

(3)

KUDĀFARĪD

Ibn Khurdādhbeh says that from Sinjlī and Kabashkān to the mouth of Kūdāfarīd is three parasangs, and that from Kūdāfarīd to Kalykān, Lawā and Kanja requires two days' journey.

It was once a considerable town, but is now decayed. The Raja of Kumbā, whose ancestors ruled the southern part of Tuluva and who is now a government pensioner resides at a small distance away.

In 1514, Duarte Barbosa visited the port and recorded that he found the people exporting a very bad brown rice to the Maldives in exchange for Coir. Early in the sixteenth century the port paid a tribute of 800 loads of rice to the Portugese.

Manual of South Canara District.Vol.II.p.248-9.

(1) کبری و کبیر

(2) Suit le grand Mabbar avec les villes de Koubra (Kat'ir?) Kaibar, belle ville avec une population mixte. Mehren.p. 235.

R. This may be identified with Gangaikandapuram (Trichinopoly District). It is six miles east of Jayankonda Cōlapurem. It was for over a hundred years the capital of the Cōla kingdom, having been preferred to Tenjore by Rajēndra Cōla (1011-44). Its proper name is Gangai-konda-Cōlapurem or the city of the Cōla who conquered the Gangēs. The title Gangai-konda-Cōla was assumed by King Rajēndra Cōla to commemorate his northern conquests.

The place is frequently referred to in inscriptions being called sometimes "Gangapuri" and "Gangakunda".

Gazetteer of the Trichinopoly District Vol.I.p.347.

(3) Text. p.63. کدافرید Est Godavari Schirāzī, at Tohfet as. Schāhīa. Cod.Leid.192.Cap.III inter معبر

et ^{بنکالہ} memorat ^{کدوریا} quo idem fluvius significari videtur.

F.Note k). A. ^{کورافریڈ}
B. ^{کورافریڈ مصب}

"de l'embouchure de la Godavari". G.Ferrand. Relations de voyages. p.24.

"From 'Askān to Kūra three and a half parasangs, where several rivers discharge." Elliot. Vol.I. p.16.

Kudāferīd is identified with Alimukam.

- R. According to Ibn Khurdādhbeh the mouth of Kūdāferīd is three parasangs from Sinjlī and Kabashkān, (Cranganore) and from Kūdāferīd to Kaylkān, Lawā and Kanja two days' journey. But Idrīsī does not mention Kūdāferīd but says Kaylkān is reached after a day from Sanjā and Kaikār (Cranganore) and thence to Lūlū and Kanja.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh says, the mouth of Kūdāferīd is three parasangs from Sinjlī. The word 'mouth' is very significant. From the earliest times Muchiri which, according to Tamil poets, was situated near the mouth of the Periyar and was frequented by Yavana merchants. Pseudostomos signifies in Greek "false mouth" and is a correct translation of the Tamil or Malayālam expression "Alimukam" by which the mouth of the Periyar south of Kodūngallur is known even now. It was so called because during the monsoon the river frequently made a new opening for itself in the low sand banks, which obstructed its entrance to the sea. Hence the "mouth of Kūdāferīd" may be identified with Alimukam, and it seems to have no connection with the Godavari river, as supposed by some modern scholars.

Thus we understand from Ibn Khurdādhbeh that the sea route ends with Kūdāferīd (Alimukam) and then the land route takes us to Conjeavaram on the east coast. Only two stations Kaylkān and Lawā are mentioned in the middle and the time given as two days appears to be insufficient to cover the distance from Alimukam near Cranganore to Conjeavaram.

-(1)
KULI

Ibn Khurdādhbeh and Idrīsī both mention Kulī.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh says that from Ūtkīn to Mayd is two parasangs. The inhabitants are brigands; thence to Kulī is two parasangs⁽²⁾ thence to Sandān eighteen parasangs.

Idrīsī reaches Kulī by a different route. From Ūbkīn to the island Daybul⁽³⁾ is two days. It is the beginning of the land of Hind. (In the plains rice is cultivated and up the hills Indian qanna is grown. The inhabitants worship idols.)⁽⁴⁾ Thence to the island Mand, six miles⁽⁵⁾ The inhabitants are brigands. From Mand to Kulī six miles and thence to the town Sūbāra five marhalas.

⁽⁶⁾
LĀRAWĪ COAST

Masūdī gives information about the cities on the coast of the Lārawī sea.

- (1) Ibn Khurdādhbeh - Idrīsī.
سکری
بروی another manuscript of Idrīsī. Poc. 375.
(2) "From the Meds to Kol are two parasangs." Elliot. Vol. I. p. 15.

- (3) جزیره الدیبل
(4) This account is given by Elliot under Kanbāya. It is a mistake in reading the text. Vol. I. pp. 85
(5) "From Kanbaya to the island of Mand." Elliot. Vol. I. p. 85
Elliot has misread the text. Instead of Daybul, Elliot has read Kanbaya.

R. According to Ibn Khurdādhbeh Kulī is reached within a distance of four parasangs from Ūtkīn, while Idrīsī goes to it from Ūbkīn after travelling two days and twelve miles through the islands Daybul and Mand. These accounts seem to be conflicting with each other, yet they make it sufficiently clear that Kulī, Ūbkīn or Ūtkīn, Mand and Daybul all lay in the Gulf of Cambay some on the side of the coast of Guzerat and some on that of the western coast of India.

- (6) بحر لادی. Barbier-Masūdī Vol. I. p. 330
Sea of Ladiwa (of the Lacadives)
بحر لادی (بحر لادی) Dimishqī. p. 173.

From the promontory of al-Jamjama the vessels enter from the sea of Fārs into the second sea which has the name Lārawī. On this sea are Saymūr, Subārah, Tābah, Sandān, Kanbāya and other places of Hind and Sind. (1)

Dimishqī says that the coasts of the country of Lār are a continuation of the coasts of Jazrāt, and it comprises the kingdom of Somnat.

(2)

MĀBAR

Yāqūt says that Mābar is the extremity of the land of Hind, then come the cities of China, the first of these is Java.

Dimishqī mentions that after Kawlam comes the country of Sūliān (Cōlas) which includes two Mābars, big and small. Both are on the coast, and goods are carried thither from western cities.

(3)

The small Mābar, the port which gives access to

(1) "Safūra, Subārah, Tānah, Sindābūr and Kanbāyat" Sprenger p.346.

R. The Lata country, according to Fleet, was the name given to Surat and Baroda. Fleet Bombay Gaz. I.P.II. p.283.

(2) 'The Ferry or crossing place' For details see Hobson-Jobson p.526.

(3) Dimishqī is the only writer who divides Mābar into two as Big and Small Mābars. Perhaps he does so to avoid confusion between the place or the port that communicated with Ceylon and the Mābar proper. It does not seem to be easy to identify the place represented by the small Mābar. But his statement that it is the capital of the kingdom, read with Abul Fidā's account of Biyyar Dāwal may warrant the conclusion that small Mābar and Biyyar Dāwal be one and the same place. What is Biyyar Dāwal?

Amār Khusro gives a very detailed account of the Muslim campaigns in Mabar 710 (1310) with various place names. He mentions a place Bir Dhul. Dr.S.K.Ayyanger in his

South India and Muhammadan invaders, seems to think that it refers to the head quarters of Bīr (Vīra) and is used synonymously as referring to the country of Bīr. The suggestion is offered that it stands for Vīra Cōlan which at the time might have been an alternative designation of the head quarters of the Cōla country under the Pāndya ruler, which must have been either Gangaikondasōlapuram or Jayangondasōlapuram. In the course of the discussion the learned Doctor refers to Abul Fidā's Biyyar-Dāwal and says that the first part stands for the same as Amīrkhusro's Bīr (Vīra Pāndya), the latter half 'Dāwal' indicates a part of the word 'Dawlat' which might mean wealth or possessions of which Dhul of Amīr Khusro may be a modification. Thus he comes to the final conclusion that in either case it could mean only the country which went to make up the fortune of the Pāndya King.

With due reference to so great an authority as Dr. Ayyanger, I should however state that I am not aware of any rule of Persian grammar by which the words Bīr and Dawlat can combine and form Bīr-Dawlat. It may form Dawlat-i-Bīr, not vice-versa. Further it is obvious that Amīr Khusro could not have confused Dawlat with Dhul.

Thus it appears to me that Dhul and Dāwal are corruptions of some Tamil word, probably தாலம் Tālam towns, villages etc. in agricultural districts மருதநிலம் commonly, a lodging place. Thus Biyyar-Dāwal, or Bīr Dhul, a proper Tamil construction, might mean a town of Bīr (Vīra Pāndya).

It is natural to expect that in the dispute to succession between Kulasēkhara's two sons Vīra Pāndya and Sundara Pāndya another city to rival Madura the traditional capital of the Pāndyas might have risen; Possibly Vīra Pāndya might have resided there. From the way Abul Fidā speaks, it must be sought for after Quilon, before Thondi on the east coast. The suggestion by Dr. S. K. Ayyanger of Jayangondasōlapuram seems to be far away.

(1)
cities Kankār, Mankala and al-Laybūr, is the capital
(2)
of the kingdom and has a small temple.

After the small Mābar comes the Big Mābar. On this are the following cities: Kubrā wa Kabīr, Qayrah, Qayn, Abātū, Daqtan, and Tandā whose qaṣba is Fātnī.

Abul Fidā says that Mābar is the third iqlīm of Hind. It begins at about three or four days' journey to the east of Kawlam. Thus it is situated to the east of Manībār. The first locality in Mābar from the side of Manībār is Rās Kunhurī. Manifattan is in Mābar. Biyyar Dāwal is the qaṣba of Mābar.

In the tables of the cities of Hind Abul Fidā gives the longitude 142° and latitude 17° 25' from Ibn Saīd, and adds further information that Mābar is in the third climate at the extremity of Hind.

It has been said above that Mābar is the name of an iqlīm; it is therefore possible that the situation indicated here refers to its capital Biyyar Dāwal mentioned before.

(1) Kankār, Mankala and al-Laybūr are doubtless cities in Ceylon. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa also refers to Kunakār in his trip to Ceylon and this is identified with Kurunagala, the residence of the old dynasty of the Sinhalese king. The other two cities, Mankala and al-Laybūr might lie round about Kurunagala.

(2) Compare the translation of Mehren on p.234-5.
"Le petit Mabar est le port de la ville de Kankar; Mangala, Allibnoun (Allipour?) residence royale, avec un Boudd, qui n'est guere frequente."

Mabar says Ibn Saïd is celebrated in the mouths of travellers. It is from there that a kind of material as lānas ⁽¹⁾ is exported and the art of washing and dyeing ⁽²⁾ in that place is proverbial.

At the north extends the mountain adjoining the country of the Balharā who is one of the kings of Hind; at the west the river of Šāliyan throws itself into the sea.

Mabar is three or four days' journey to the east of Kawlam; it must be with a little bend towards the south.

(1) اللانس

Only Dozy gives لانس as Muslin (Vol. II, 551). There is a word in Tamil லேன்சி Lēnci, இலேன்சி ilēnci kerchief, scarf, a coloured one, usually red. The colour is very fast. The Tamil Dictionaries refer that word to the Portuguese "Lenco" which is further traced to the Latin Lintum - a linen cloth, and the Greek linon - anything made of flax. Thus the word Lanas can only mean cotton fabric and it will not be correct to translate it as Muslin.

Lenci (லேன்சி) means a kind of coloured cloth, silk or cotton usually red. Even today the Muslims of the East Coast, in the country parts wear a lungi, a coloured cloth around the waist and a big or small lenci as upper cloth. Since the colour of the lenci is fast we could follow the thought of Abul Fidā when he immediately refers to the dying in Mabar.

See the following note:

(2) The Arabic word قصار, means the art of beating, washing and whitening clothes. In modern terminology it may be understood as washing and dying.

Otto Spiess (in his Arab account of India in the 14th century p. 38) has translated the word قصار as "washermen". Perhaps he read the word as - القصار pl. of القصار. It should be read as القصار i.e. حرفة القصار.

See Otto Spiess. An Arab Account of India in the 14th Century, p. 38.

Compare the translation of this passage by M. Stanislas Guyard, Tome II, p. 121. "C'est de là qu'on exporte une mousseline qui a passé en proverbe pour sa finesse."

(1)
MALĪBĀR

Six writers, Sulaymān, Yāqūt, Dimishqī, Abul Fidā, Idrīsī and Qazwīnī mention Malābar.

Sulaymān says that the people of Tilwa in the country of pepper attain mastery over others.

Idrīsī states that Fandarīna is a town built at the mouth of a river which comes from Manībār.

Yāqūt mentions that leaving Barwas and after a sharper bend you come to the country of Malībār, from where pepper is exported. Its famous cities are:

(2)
Fāknūr and Manjarūr. Malābār is a big country with a number of cities. Of these are the following: Fāknūr, Manjarūr and Dahsal. Malābar is in the middle of the country of Hind, its province adjoining the provinces of Multan. Pepper is exported from here to all the countries of the world. (3)

Yāqūt quotes Abū Dulaf as saying: I went from Kalah to the country of pepper where I saw the pepper plant.

(1)

بلد الفلفل
بلاد الفلفل
منيبار
مليبار

Yāqūt
Sulaymān, Dimishqī, Abul Fidā.
Idrīsī, Dimishqī, Abul Fidā
Yāqūt, Qazwīnī

(2) Vol.I. p.506

(3) Vol.IV. p.639

Qazwīnī gives the substance ⁽¹⁾ of the details mentioned by Yāqūt but has the additional remark that many people are benefitted by pepper trade and the Franks carry pepper in the sea of Syria to the ⁽²⁾ farthest west.

Dimishqī says that the city of Manībār adjoins Hannūr; it is also named as the country of pepper, ⁽³⁾ where there are many cities.

Abul Fidā says that Manībār, one of the countries of Hind to the east of Jazrāt, is the pepper country. Some travellers say that the country which extends from Sindābūr to Hannūr towards the east comes under Manībār. The whole of Manībār is full of verdure, intertwined with trees on account of excessive water.

(1) Malībār is a vast country in Hind. It has many towns. There are pepper plantations in this country; pepper is exported from one end of the east to the other end of the west. Qazwīnī.

(2) 1203-1283. Qazwīnī's period. This account shows that pepper was the chief merchandise that formed the basis of the trade relationship between the Franks and the Arabs.

(3) Fāknūr, Saymūr, Manjarūr, Harqilya, Hīlī, Jurfattan, Dahfattān, Budfattān, Fandarīna, Shinklī, Kūlam.

It is said that the extremity of Manībār is Tandiūr.
(1)
Kūlam is the last city of Manībār.

Thus we see that each of these writers seems to give a fairly independent account, although there are some points of resemblance between Yāqūt and Qazwīnī.

(1) Cf. Ibn Battūta, Mulaybār is the pepper country; it extends for two months' journey along the coast from Sandabur (near Goa) to Kawlam (Quilon in Travancore.)

Trans. H.A.R. Gibb p.231.

R.* Malabar is referred to by all the Arab writers as the country of pepper and no mention is made of the cocoanuts, one of the chief products of Malabar. Their silence on this point is very significant and it lends support to the theory of a section of scholars in Southern India who hold that coconut plantation was introduced into Malabar at a later period from Ceylon.

Malabar: There are two parts in the word: Mala and Bār. The first is doubtless indigenous, and the second is probably the Persian bār.

As regards the substantive part of the name mala, it is said that it is a Dravidian term malai mountain in the sanskrit form malaya which is applied specifically to the southern portion of the western ghats. But the Arabs do not seem to have known the word malai meaning mountain. They knew an island or place named Mali (Mulay) (see under Kawlam), which they sometimes combined with Kūlam or Kūkam, as Kūlam Mali or Kūkam Mali. A close study of their knowledge of India shows that in the earliest times the Arabs knew only one port on the west coast of India, and that is Quilon which they associated with Mali, and which they always touched on their way to and from China.

Sulaymān first calls it Kūkam Mali and Ibn Rusta has Kūlū Mali. Ibn Khurdādhbeh refers only to Mulay. This doubtless refers to Kūkam Mali of the other writers, though there is some confusion in his account of distances and places reached before and after Mulay. After all Ibn Khurdādhbeh was not a traveller and as Director of Post and Police he engaged himself in compiling a book of trade routes for which he secured information from various sources some of which might have misled him. This Kūlūmalai was

- (1)
MANDARĪ

Maṣūdī, Yāqūt, Qazwīnī and Abul Fidā mention Mandarī.

Maṣūdī says that Mandūrfīn is opposite to the island of Sarandīb as Qumār is opposite to the islands of the Maharāj. He also says that he has given an account of the king of Mandūrfīn ⁽²⁾ in his Akhbār al-Zamān and Kitāb al-Awsaṭ.

Yāqūt quotes Abū Dulaf as saying that he went from Jājullah to Kashmir, thence to Kabul and returning along the Indian coast, reached the town Mandūrqīn, where

an important station for them in their trade route to China and they were very familiar with it. As their knowledge of coastal cities of India increased gradually they might have, for purpose of convenience, called that portion of the sea-board country as Malībār, the land of Malī, which term they also synonymously used with Pepper-land as pepper was the chief article of their trade. From Idrīsī we hear for the first time Manībār, which means the land of pepper. As we should expect we must hear Malībār not Manībār. How did Idrīsī get this word Manī. As usual, Idrīsī seems to have been careless in criticising the materials. It may, perhaps, be a mistake for Malī wrongly pronounced to him by his reporters. This seems to be so for the succeeding writers except Abul Fidā and Dimishqī have discarded that and have the form Malībār as it should be.

Then the Portuguese who succeeded to the Arabs' trade in the east took up this form Malībār and gave currency to it. Later on other European nations also kept up their expression. Thus it appears that Malībār has nothing to do with Malainādu, Malavālam, Malayvāram which are introduced by modern scholars to explain the etymology of Malabar.

See Hobson Jobson p.541.

- (1) مندورفین Maṣūdī - Barbier - p.394 Vol.I.
مندورقین Yāqūt
مندورفین Qazwīnī
مندری Abul Fidā

Barbier Vol.I. Note on p.403. Le Manuscrit L porte مندوری
 Le mset.L2 منصور بن قتی Sprenger p.397 مندوری (منصور بن قتی)

- (2) See under King 'Ārīṭī, Qāyḍī.

forests of qanna and sandlewood grow. Tabāshīr is exported from here, and the water at Mandūrqīn comes from tanks ⁽¹⁾ made to contain water.

Qazwīnī says that Mandūrfin is a city of Hind, and quotes the same authority, ^{Abū Dūlāf} Misār Dīn Muhallīl, but restricts himself only to the mention of qanna forests and exportation of tabāshīr.

Abul Fidā reports that it is said in qanūn that Mandarī is one of the cities of Hind, situated between the port and the part of the coast of Mābar towards Sarandīb in the valley. The longitude is 120° , and the latitude is 15° .

(1) ^{صهاريج} P. Tank or cistern.

R. This is identified with Madura, the capital of the Pāndya kings.

Maśūdī, a traveller to Ceylon and to India clearly says that Mandarī is opposite to the island Sarandīb; Abul Fidā, a diligent enquirer and an able tabulator of facts, also gives the same impression as to its location. Thus it is clear that Mandarī must be sought for on the coast of Mābar. From Yāqūt and Qazwīnī we get certain details which speak of qanna and sandal wood. The area of Madura abounded once with qanna and sandal wood forests, is too well known.

These facts point to the conclusion that the authors who give the name in different forms refer to one and the same place.

The forms 'Mandūrqīn' and 'Mandūrfin' given by Arab writers, suggest the original name Madurai-puttanam (^{مدرائپوتنام}). The suffix pattinam (^{پاتنام}) which corresponds to the (^{قین} , ^{فین}) of the Arab writers dropped in course of time.

(1)

MANIFATTAN

Abul Fidā mentions Manifattan, and says that it is a place on the coast, in Mābar.

(2)

MANJARŪR

Dimishqī and Abul Fidā give information about Manjarūr.

(3)

Dimishqī states that the city of Manjarūr is situated on a river known by the same name, and which empties into the sea where there is ebb and low tide. There is a large quantity of pepper available here.

Abul Fidā says that Manjarūr is situated to the east of Sindābūr, Hannūr and Bāsrūr. It is said that Manjarūr is the biggest town in Manībār (Malabar). Its king is an infidel.

Dimishqī and Abul Fidā appear to have independent information of the place Manjarūr.

(1)

منيفتن
R. This may be identified with Negapatam (Ptolemy's Nigamos) and Rāshid al-Dīn's Malbfattan. It is an important seaport.

About the commencement of the Christian era, it appears to have been a chief city of the little known Naga people from whom its name, Tamil Nāga-pattanam was no doubt derived.

It became one of the earliest settlements of the Portuguese on the east coast and was called by them the city of Choramandal.

Some interesting relics of the Dutch occupation of the town survive. Tanjore Dt. Gaz. Vol. I. 243-8.

(2)

منجور Dimishqī, Abul Fidā.
For various readings of the name from non-Arab Geographers, see Cathay and the Way Thither Yule Vol. IV p. 72-3.

(3) On page 170 Dimishqī has the following account of Manjarūrseh:

"Manjarūrseh, one of the cities of jazrāt, is surrounded by about 1,500 villages and about 70 fortresses situated in

(1)
MĀNKĪR

Masūdi tells us that the city of Mānkīr became the capital of the kingdom of the Balharā after the death of Kōrēsh, ⁽²⁾ when his kingdom broke up into diverse nations and tribes and each country having a chief of its own. Mānkīr was the great metropolis, situated eighty Sindhi ⁽³⁾ from the parasangs sea. Its king was the first who had the name 'Balharā' which became subsequently the title of every sovereign of that great capital down to our time which is the year 332 A.H. The inhabitants of Mānkīr, the

the mountains of the Balharā, which are in continuation of the gates of China as far as the country Jazrāt."

Dimishqī is completely confused in his account.

R. Manjarūr is Mangalore, see: Manuel of South Canara District p.254.

(1) مَانَكِير Masūdī, Abul Farezī, Tatakhrī Barbier, p.177 Masūdī.

(2) Brahman was the first king of the Hindus. During his reign the book as-Sind-Hind was written. Upon this book other works are founded as the Azjahīr, کتاب الارجهير and Majastī کتاب المجسطی. From Azjahūr the book Arkend derives its origin, and from Majastī the book of Ptolemy کتاب بطليموس. Al-Brahman ruled for 363 years. He was succeeded by his son al-Bahbūd البهبود who reigned for 150 years. In his reign the game of tables or back gammon was invented. After al-Bahbūd reigned Ramāh الزمان or زمان about 150 years. He had several wars with kings of Persia and China. After him Porus (پور) came to the throne. Alexander gave him a battle and killed him, in single combat after a reign of 150 years. Then succeeded Daislam ديسلم who is the author of Kalila wa Damna. Then succeeded Balhit بلحيت. In his reign the game of chess شطرنج was invented. He was succeeded by Kōrēsh, كوروش. After his death the Hindus disagreed in point of religion. They divided

(1)

residence of the Balharā, spoke the Kīriyya language.

Abul Faraj says, as does Masūdī that Mānkīr is the city where the Balharā lives, but has additional information. Mānkīr is forty parasangs in length. The buildings are of teak, and qanna, and divers kinds of wood. It is said that the people of the city own a million elephants for transport business. The king owns sixty thousand elephants. The laundrymen have one hundred and twenty thousand elephants. The biggest temple is the one at Mānkīr, which is one parasang in length.

There are, in that temple about twenty thousand idols which are set with different kinds of precious metals like gold, silver, iron, copper, brass, ivory and different kinds of stones made artificially. These idols are adorned with brilliant gems. Every year the king of Mānkīr rides to the temple, nay he goes by foot and returns to his residence riding on horseback. In that temple there is an idol of gold, twelve cubits in height set on a pedestal of gold at the centre of a cupola made of gold. The whole of

themselves into parties and formed distinct states, and every chief made himself independent in his district. Sind was ruled by its own king, another over ^aKānauj, and another resided in the city of Mankir, the great metropolis. He was the first who had the name Balhara. Sprenger-Masūdī, pp.153.

(3) 1 pr., eight miles. Masūdī. p.178 Barbier 176

it is set with solid white pearls (not perforated) and precious stones, red, yellow, blue and green. They sacrifice victims for this idol. On a certain day appointed in the year, they offer human beings as sacrifice.

Istakhrī says that the city of Mānkīr where the Balharā resides has an extensive territory.

All these writers have independent information of the place; the only point common to them is about the residence of the Balharā in Mānkīr.

A HIGH MOUNTAIN NORTH OF FANDARINA.

Idrīsī mentions that there is a very high mountain north of Fandarina, covered with trees, villages and flocks.

R. For the identification of Mānkīr, see under the Balharā.

This mountain is identified with Mount Delly. See under Hīlī for more particulars.

(1)

MOUNTAIN KĀWARD

Dimishqī says that in the qasba of Fātnī is a mountain named Kāward with a big volcano, which emits fire night and day.

(2)

QAYN

Dimishqī mentions Qayn as one of the big cities of Big Mābar.

(1) و جبلها المسمى كاورد

R. It is rather difficult to understand Dimishqī here. Evidently he is confusing his account of some other place with Fātnī. In Kanaka Sabhaī's "Tamils 1800 years ago", we get a reference to a mountain. On p.40 he says that the Nāga King who ruled at Kalyāni gave his niece to another Nāga king of the Kānawaddamano mountain, more correctly Kandamadenem, a hill near the modern Rameswaram on the Indian coast, opposite to Kalyāni. There is no reference to any volcano. At the present day we do not see any trace of rocky area near Rameswaram. But there are big sand dunes near that place which are said to be covering what were once hilly tracts.

(2) قين

R. Dimishqī mentions it after Qayrah. This may be identified with Kānapper, the modern name of this place is Kāliyārkkōvil. It figures with the former name both in the classical Tamil literature and in the campaigns of the Ceylonese general. In the old days the place seems to have been surrounded by dense forests and might have belonged to the division which was called Kāna Nādu (forest-country) including within it a considerable part of what is now Ramnad district and the southern portion of Pudukotta. The chetty townlet of Kānādukāttēn seems to be a place where a frontier guard was located. South India and her Muhammadan Invaders: by Dr.S.K. Ayyangar, p.197.

(1)

QAYRAH

Dimishqī mentions Qayrah as one of the big cities of Big Maḥar.

QUMĀR

See under Kingdom of Qumār.

(2)

RĀSKUMHURĪ

Abul Fidā mentions that Rāskumhurī is the first place in Maḥar from the side of Maṇībār. There is a mountain there. Both the mountain and the locality are known as Rās Kumhurī.

(3)

SĀHĪ

Dimishqī mentions Sāhī before Tāna and after Sūbāra.

(1) قیره St.Pet. L. et cop, omit this.

R. As Dimishqī mentions Qayrah immediately after Kubrā wa Kabīr (Gangaikondapūnam,) Qayrah may be sought for near there and perhaps Kāverippattānam, once one of the chief cities of the Cōla kingdom may answer to that.

Kāverippattānam is a little hamlet now at the mouth of the cauvery in the south east corner of the Shiyālī taluk, Tanjore District. It is the same as the Kamara of the Periplus and the Khaiberis of Ptolemy.

Tanjore Dt.Gaz. Vol.I. p.256-7.

(2) راس کُمھری

R. This is identified with Cape Comorin.

(3) سامی

It is omitted by Mss. St.Pet. et L.

R. This place is not to be identified.

(1) SANDĀN is mentioned by seven writers:- Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Masūdī, Istakhrī, Ibn Hauqal, Maqdisī, Idrīsī & Abul Fida. (2)

Ibn Khurdādhbeh mentions Sandān and says that from Kūlī to Sandān is eighteen parasangs; teak and qanna are obtained here. Sandān to Mulay (3) is five days' journey. (4)

Masūdī says that Sandān (4) is a neighbouring town of Kanbāya, where Kanbāyan sandals are made.

(5) Istakhrī followed by Ibn Hauqal and Maqdisī states that Sandān is one of the cities of Hind. There are cathedral mosques in Qāmuhul, Sandān, Saymūr, and Kanbāya where Muslim precepts are openly observed. These cities are fertile and big; they produce cocoanuts, bananas and mangoes; cultivation of paddy is very popular; a great quantity of honey is obtained here; they do not have date trees.

Istakhrī and Ibn Hauqal alone give the distance between Sūbāra and Sandān as about five marhalas.

- (1) سندان Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Masūdī, سندان Istakhrī, Ibn Hauqal, Maqdisī, سندان Idrīsī, Abul-Fida and Nuwayrī Part I. p.210, 237.
- (2) ^{de}كول Goeje - footnote on p.62. 'Kol' - Elliot. Vol.I. p.15.
- (3) Mali (Malabar). Elliot, Vol.I. p.15.
- (4) Sindābūr, a place on the coast of the Lādawī Sea. Sprenger. p.346.
- (5) The texts of Istakhrī, Ibn Hauqal and Maqdisī show slight variations in details.
- Istakhrī: "Between Sūrabāya and Sandān about five days" Elliot, Vol.I. p.30.
- Ibn Hauqal: "There are, in these cities, cocoanut trees out of which toddy is tapped." De Goeje. p.231.

Idrīsī: From Sūbāra to Sandān is about five marhalas. It is in the second climate; the city is populous and the people are noted for their skill and intelligence. They are wealthy merchants and great travellers. The town is large and many come and go. East of Sandan there is an island which bears the same name and is associated with it. It is large, well-cultivated and date trees, coconut palms, qanna and bamboo ⁽¹⁾ grow there. Sandān is ⁽²⁾ two days' journey from the island of Malaq situated opposite to Barūj and produces pepper in large quantities; from Sandān to the island Baliq is also two days.

Abul Fidā quotes from 'Azizī that between the city of Sandān and Mansūra is fifteen parasangs ⁽³⁾ and he gives ⁽⁴⁾ other details from the same source which seem to be a summary of Idrīsī's account of Sandān and the island of

".....Sandan: Mangoes, cocoanuts and lemons". Elliot. Vol.I. p.38.

Maqdisi omits details about cathedral mosque and has the following account instead. "Sandān, Saymūr and Kanbāya are fertile; prices are cheap; they are centres for rice and honey". de Goeje. p.484.

"From Sandān large quantities of rice and fabrics (Footnote (r) C. addit. ^{مع الاشياء البحرية}) are obtained; carpets are manufactured; a great quantity of cocoanuts and a good quality of fabrics are exported from here". Se de Goeje p.481.

(1) "Cocoanut palm, kana and rattan grow there".

Elliot. Vol.I. p.85.

(2) ملن Bod.Lib. Graves 42 ملن Bib. N.Paris

'Mullen' Idrīsī - Elliot. Vol. I. p.89.

(3) Evidently this is a mistake. Mansūra is in Sind.

Sandān. Abul Fidā also quotes from qānūn that Sandān is a city on the coast and gives the longitude and latitude from qānūn ⁽¹⁾ and atwāl ⁽²⁾. In other respects he has independent information that Sandān is in the first climate, one of the coastal cities of Hind, and a dependency of Tāna. ⁽³⁾ The rest of his account is a confusion of Sandān with Sindābūr.

Istakhri, Ibn Hauqal, Maqdisi and Idrisi state that Sandān to Saymūr is five ⁽⁴⁾ marhalas, ⁽⁵⁾ and except for Maqdisi, the other three writers say that it is half a parasang or one and a half miles distant from the sea.

Thus we find Ibn Khurdādhbeh and Masūdi have independent information. Istakhri, Ibn Hauqal and Maqdisi follow each other practically in all points. Idrisi seems to follow Ibn Khurdādhbeh. Idrisi goes from Kūli to Sūbāra and thence to Sandān, while Ibn Khurdādhbeh comes straight to Sandān from Kūli.

(contd.) (4) "Sandān is the confluence of roads; it is the land of costus, qanna and bamboo, and one of the most important ports."

(1) <u>qānūn</u>	longitude	106°
	latitude	19°
(2) <u>Atwāl</u>	longitude	105° 20'
	latitude	19° 15'

(3) See page

Thesis

(4) Istakhri - 'about five'. De Geoe

(5) Istakhri - 'five days' - Elliot. vol.I. p.30.

Footnote (contd.)

The texts of Ibn Khurdādhbeh and Idrīsī show variations in readings of the names, as well as in details regarding the places from Ūtkīn to Kūlī.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh: "From Mahrān to Ūtkīn, 4 days; to Mayd, 2 pr.; to Kūlī, 2 pr.; to Sandān, 18 pr.

Idrīsī: "From Kanbāya by sea to Ūtkīn, 1½ days; to Daybul, 2 days; to Mand, 6 miles; to Kūlī, 6 miles; from Kūlī along the coast to Sūbāra, 5 marhalas; thence to Sandān, 5 marhalas.

R. This is identified with Sindhudrug.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh says that from Mahrān to Ūtkīn, four days' journey, to Mayd, two parasangs, to Kūlī, two parasangs, to Sandān, eighteen parasangs. Thence he goes to Mulay, 5 days, Bullīn, 2 days, and Bābattan, 2 days. Thus the Sandān of Ibn Khurdādhbeh must lie in the Gulf of Cambay. This view is strengthened by Idrīsī's account of Sandān on folio 79b, which says that Sandān is two days' journey from the island of Malaq, situated opposite to Barūj (Broach). Thence he gives the distance to Ballāq (Bullīn of Ibn Khurdādhbeh) as two days. Yule's presumption that this Sandān must be the St. John's point of Rennal between Daman and Mahim may be correct. See Cathay and the Way Thither. Vol. IV. p.64. Masūdī's statement that Sandān is a neighbouring town of Kanbāya, Abul Fidā's that between the city of Sandān and Mansūra is fifteen parasangs - also point to the same conclusion.

But a reading of Idrīsī's account on fol.75 suggests that there is yet another Sandān after Sūbāra, which fact is supported by the accounts of Istakhrī, Ibn Hauqal and Maqdisī. While the latter is silent in giving the distance between Sūbāra and Sandān, the other two say that Sandān is about five Marhalas from Sūbāra. But all the three writers give the distance from Kanbāya to Sūbāra and from Sandān to Saymūr. Thus the itinerary of these three authors seems to be Kanbāya to Sūbāra, to Sandān, to Saymūr, and to Sarandīb. According to Idrīsī, Sūbāra is five marhalas from Kūlī which is reached from Kanbāya through the islands Ūtkīn, Daybul and Mand after three and a half days and twelve miles. It may be presumed that if one were to avoid the journey to these islands the distance between Kanbāya and Sūbāra may be the same as stated by the other writers. As Sūbāra, the modern Suparam or Supara (Souppara in the Periplus) is near Bassein, north of Bombay this Sandān has to be sought for in the south, somewhere in the Ratnagiri District. This Sandān may be identified with Sindhudurg or Malvān.

Footnote (contd).

Malvān north latitude 16 4' and east longitude 73 31', a busy port and a chief town of the Malvan sub-division.

In a bay blocked almost entirely by rocky reefs there were formerly three islands, two of them about a quarter of a mile from the shore, and the third separated from the mainland by a narrow channel. On the larger of the two outer islands stands the famous fort of Sindhudurg, and on the smaller the ruined fort of Padmagad, now at low tide, connected with the mainland by a rock of sand. On what was once the inner island and is now part of the mainland, lies, almost hid in palms, the old town of Malvān.

The details given by the Arab authors seem to fit in with the history of Sindhudrug or Malvān. For more details see Ratnagiri and Savantavadi. Bombay Gazetteer Vol.X pp.346-352.

(1)
SAYMŪR

Saymūr is mentioned by eight writers: Maṣūdī, Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Hauqal, Maqdisī, Idrīsī, Yāqūt, Qazwīnī, and Dimishqī.

(2)
Maṣūdī says that Saymūr is a place on the coast of the Lādawī Sea and Lāriyā language is spoken there.

(3)
Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Hauqal and Maqdisī state that Saymūr is one of the cities of Hind and the distance between Sandān to Saymūr is about five marḥalas and from Saymūr to Sarandīb is about fifteen marḥalas. There are cathedral mosques in Qāmuhul, Sandān, Saymūr and Kanbāya where Muslim precepts are openly observed. These cities are fertile and big, they produce cocoanuts, bananas, and mangoes; the greater part of the cultivation is paddy; a great quantity of honey is available here; there are no date trees.

(1) صيمور All geographers, and Nuwayrī Part I 210, 237.

(2) صنور Sprenger Maṣūdī p.346.

(3) The texts of Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Hauqal and Maqdisī differ from each other in certain details: Iṣṭakhrī has the remark that Qāmuhul is the first city on the borders of Hind, which extends as far as Saymūr; the land from Saymūr to Qāmuhul belongs to Hind. From Qāmuhul to Makrān and Badha and beyond that as far as the boundaries of Multān - all these belong to Sind. Elliot translates thus: (Vol. I. p.28-29)

"From Saimur to Famhal in Hind, and from Famhal to Makran and Budha, and beyond that as far as the boundaries of Multan, all belong to Sind." This conveys the impression that from Saymūr as far as Multan belongs to Sind.

"Sinden to Saimur 5 days, Saimur to Sarandib, 15 days." Elliot. Vol. I. p.30.

Idrīsī says that from Sandān to Saymūr is five
 (1) marhalas but is silent on the place reached from
 Saymūr. He has new information that Saymūr is in the
 second climate; it is a large, well-built town; cocoanut
 trees grow here in abundance; qanna (2) also grows here;
 the mountains produce many aromatic plants which are
 (3) exported to all the countries. Saymūr belongs to Hind.

Yāqūt and Qazwīnī derive their information about Saymūr
 (4) from Abū Dulaf Misār ibn Muhalhil.

Yāqūt says that Saymūr is situated on the other slope
 (5) of the Kāfūr on the north. The inhabitants of Saymūr
 are of extraordinary beauty, because they are a mixed
 breed of the Turks and the Chinese. The trade of the Turks
 is in that direction. This city gives its name to the

Ibn Hauqal "These cocoanut trees out of which toddy is
 tapped." de Geoje. p.231.

Mangoes, cocoanuts and lemons. Elliot. Vol.I. p.38.

Maqdisī. Saymūr is one of the cities of Sind, de Geoje
 p.477. 1.2.

Saymūr is written with S and Š (p.477 and 482)
 Details about cathedral mosques are omitted and instead he
 has. "Sandān, Saymūr and Kambāya are fertile, prices are
 cheap; they are centres for rice and honey. de Geoje p.484.

(1) "Five days" - Elliot vol.I. p.85.

(2) "Henne" Ibid.

(3) Elliot's version (Vol.I. p.85) omits the words "to all
 the countries."

(4) Author of "Ājāibul-Buldān", who travelled into various
 countries and recorded their wonders.

(5) See under 'Mountain Lahful Kāfūr' .

Saymūrī aloes. It does not grow there but it is imported to this place. The inhabitants have a prayer house situated on the top of a big hill where priests live. (1) In that temple are idols set with precious stones. (2) (They have many small kings.) They dress like the Chinese, have synagogues, churches, mosques and fire temples. (They do not slaughter animals after the manner of the Muslims, nor eat animals which die a natural death). (3)

Qazwīnī, who gives practically the same account of the place, has the remark that Saymūr is a city of Hind near the confines of Sind.

Dimishqī places Saymūr after Fāknūr in the list of the cities of Malabar. Saymūr, he says is on the coast, (4), in a wide gulf through which big ships from the Gulf of Fāknūr pass by; both the gulfs have ebb and low tides.

Thus, Masūdī has independent information. Istakhri, Ibn Hauqal and Maqdisī follow each other in almost all

(1) فیروزج و بیبادق

(2) Qazwīnī does not mention this point.

(3) "The infidels do not slaughter animals nor do they eat meat, fish or eggs, but there are some who will eat animals that have fallen down precipices, or that have been gored to death, but they do not eat those that have died a natural death." Qazwīnī. p.64 Vol.II.

(4) Footnote (g) on p.173. Les trois mss. portent au lieu de (ساحلیه) مدینه کبیره et بحر au lieu de بحر , omettent les mots depuis اکبر jusqu'à بجزران .

details, though it is noteworthy that Maqdisī does not speak of cathedral mosques and Muslim precepts in his accounts of Sandān and Saymūr. The reason may be either the accounts of Istakhrī and Ibn Hauqal were wrong which he might have corrected, or his copies of Istakhrī and Ibn Hauqal did not contain any reference to these facts.

It is significant that Istakhrī, Ibn Hauqal and Maqdisī end with the island of Sarandīb. Perhaps that was the usual course of route on the coast in their period.

Idrīsī shows his acquaintance with Ibn Hauqal but gives, as usual, additional information about the place.

Yāqūt and Qazwīnī have altogether a different source from Abū Dulaf whose account seems to be a confusion of places and facts. Yāqūt and Qazwīnī differ in the location of the place Saymūr. This indicates that they might have had also other sources of information.

Dimishqī has an independent account of this place.

R. This is identified with Shirur.

As the Istakhrī group and Idrīsī say that it is five marhalas from Sandān to Saymūr it is suggestive that it will lie south of Sandān at the same distance from which Sandān is removed from Sūbāra. This would mean that it has to be sought for in the South Canara Dt. This view is strengthened when we take into account the statement of Dimishqī that Saymūr is in a wide gulf through which big ships from the Gulf of Fākanūr (Bārūr) pass by. Further when we know the distance from Saymūr to Ceylon as 15 marhalas from the Istakhrī group, we are convinced that the record of distance given by these authors from Kanbāya to Ceylon is fairly accurate.

Thus it seems clear that Saymūr may be near Fākanūr (Barkur).

Perhaps the Saymūr of the Arab authors may be identified with Shirur, latitude 13° 56' N, Longitude 74° 35' E. It

(1)
SHALIĀT

Shālīāt is mentioned by Abul Fidā who says that it is one of the cities of Manībār. The inhabitants of Shālīāt and Shinklī are jews, it is further stated, but his narrator does not specify which of these two cities contains jews.

(2)
SINDĀBŪR

Masūdī, Idrīsī, Dimishqī and Abul Fidā mention the town Sindābūr.

Masūdī says that in the sea of Hind are many crocodiles for it has several estuaries as the estuary of Sindābūrā, in the Kingdom of Bāghira in Hind.

is now a small port on a creek which forms the northern limit of the Madras Presidency. But the ruins of ancient Shirur are extensive in the neighbourhood and they point it out as having been once a large town. Manual of South Canara District Vols. I p.3 and Vol. II. p.24 Idrīsī's statement that Barāj to Saymūr is 2 days' shows his confusion.

(1) شاليات

R. Shālīāt is generally identified with Beypore, 6½ miles south of Calicut. But it seems more correct to identify it with Chaliyam in Palenchannūr amsam, an island formed by the Beypore and Kadalundi rivers. On a rocky islet lying south of the entrance to the Beypore river and connected with the mainland by a groyne, the masonry foundations of a formidable fortress have been excavated.

Gazetteer of the Malabar & Anjengo Districts p.414. (Ernad Taluk)

Compare Ibn Battūta:- Shālīāt, a most beautiful town, in which the fabrics called by its name are manufactured.

Transl. H.A.R. Gibb. p.240.

The fabrics referred to may be శల్లి callā Telugu: sella, Kanarese: šalla, Mal. šallā, Tulu: šalle, muslin thin mull of loose texture. There is also శల్లిరి callāri cloth of loose texture -. Figuratively used for a worthless person, sometimes for a person with a clownish dress. శల్లిరి callādi - coloured strips of cloth hanging from buffoons' dresses.

Idrīsī says Sindābūr is in the second climate; from
 the town of Barūj ⁽⁴⁾ along the coast to Sindābūr, four
 marhalas ⁽⁵⁾. Sindābūr is situated on a great gulf where
 ships cast anchor; it is a commercial town and contains
 fine buildings and rich bazears. From hence to Tāna ⁽⁶⁾
 upon the coast is four days.

Dimishqī mentions Sindābūr as the thirteenth place in
 the course of the description of cities on the coast of Hind
 after the city of Barūs. Tāna is placed as the ninth and
 Manībār as the fifteenth. Dimishqī says that Sindābūr is
 the qaṣba; there are in it temples for Hindus and Cathedra
 mosques for Muslims.

Abul Fidā has a combined account of Sandān and Sindābūr
 He quotes from some navigators who say that Sandān is

contd.
 (2)

صندابور Masūdī - Barbier
 صندبور " Sprenger
 سندابور Idrīsī, Dimishqī, Abul Fidā, and
 Nuwayrī, Part I. p.237.

- (3) "In this sea are many crocodiles, for it has several
 estuaries and gulfs as the estuary of Sindabur ^{مندبور}
 (میدایون) in the kingdom of Baghar ^{ریاعز} in
 India." Sprenger. p.234.
- (4) Baruh Elliot vol.I. p.89
- (5) Four days " " " "
- (6) Bana (Tanna) Elliot Vol.I. p.89. ^{فانه} Bod.Lib. MS.
 Graves. 42.

R. Sindābūr is identified with Shadashivgad.
 Idrīsī's statement that from Barūj to Sindābūr four
marhalas cannot fit in either with any of his own
 accounts of Sandān, Saymūr and other places or with that
 of any other author. Again his information that Tāna
 is four days from Sindābūr clashes with Abul Fidā's

Sindābūr and gives the reading as Sindābūr from Abul'Uqūl. He has also given other details from some travellers who say that Sindābūr is situated at a distance of about three days' journey from Tāna in a gulf of the green sea; that Sindābūr is the last of the cities of Jazrāt and the beginning of Manībār.

statement that Sindābūr is situated about three days' journey from Tāna. When we learn from Ibn Battūta that Sindābūr is reached a day before Hunāwar it becomes clear that Sindābūr lay immediately north of Hunāwar, and Tāna further north. Thus Abul Fidā's statement Sindābūr is reached from Tāna seems to be correct. Idrīsī appears to have confused the two accounts of Sindābūr and Tāna. His account would fit in if the facts about Tāna are put in before Sindābūr. Supposing Idrīsī's account is corrected as suggested above it would mean that Barūj to Tāna is four marhalas. This would suit in the present position of Tāna, north of Bombay, near Kalyān, and also that of Sindābūr which may be identified either with Siddhāpur or Śadashivgad.

Siddhāpur or Shiddāpūr: At the north corner of a large plain about three miles east of Kārwar is a village called Siddhāpur by Hindus and Saltānpūr by the Muslims. There are two ruined forts, and there are no stones or other remains of buildings. But there are two large stone walls with steps and chambers, which are said to have been made by Hābu kings whose capital was Siddhāpur. A small navigable inlet, said to have been once large and deep, runs close to the old town. Many crocodiles are found in the Kalinadi at Kadra and Siddhāpur. They eat buffalo calves and sometimes attack men. These details suggest that this Siddhāpur is the Sindābūr of Masūdī and of Ibn Battūta. The kingdom of Bāghira referred to by Masūdī may be the kingdom of Hābu kings who reigned at Siddhāpur. Bombay Gazetteer, however, questions this theory on the ground that all Portuguese references and the Sindabur of the Turkish book of navigation called Mohit (1554) belong rather to Chitakul and not to Siddhāpur.

Chitakul, now known as Shēdashivgad, is a port on the north bank of the entrance of the Kalinadi, about three miles north of Kārwar. Śadashivgad is so called from a ruined fort of that name built on the site of the old port

(1)
SINJLĪ AND KABASHKĀN

Ibn Khurdādhba, Idrīsī, Dimishqī and Abul Fidā mention Sinjli and Kabashkān.

Ibn Khurdādhba says that Sinjli and Kabashkān are reached in one day from Bābattan. Rice is produced here. From hence to the mouth of the river Kūdāfarīd is three (2) parasangs.

Idrīsī informs us that from Jurbatan to Sanjā and (3) Kaḡkār (4) is two days. These are maritime towns near to each other; they produce great quantities of rice and corn. (5) From hence to Kalkayān one day.

Dimishqī mentions that most of the inhabitants of (6) Shinklī are jews.

of Chitakul or Cintakora, by a Sonda chief in the seven-teenth century.

See Bombay Gazetteer Vol:XV PartII.
Kenara.

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- (1) سنجلې وکېشکان Ibn Khurdādhba.
صنجي وکيار Idrīsī
شنگلي Dimishqī and Abul Fidā.
Mss. of Ibn Khurdādhba. A* sic. B. المنصبي السنجي
de Geoje p.63)
- (2) "From Bas to Saji and Askan is two days' journey in which latter place rice is cultivated." Elliot Vol.I. p.16.
- (3) صجي وکيسکار Bod.Lib. Ms.Graves 42. "Sanji and "Kaikasār" - Elliot. Vol.I. p.90.
- (4) "مسيرة يوم" Bod.Lib. Graves 42.
- (5) ملکيان Bod.Lib. Poc. 375.
- (6) Dimishqī mentions Shinklī after Fandarīna.

Abul Fidā says that Shinklī is one of the cities of Manībār (Malabar). The inhabitants of Shālīāt and Shinklī are jews, but the narrator does not specify which of these cities contains jews.

Idrīsī seems to have had access to the works of Ibn Khurdādhbeh. The information about these places given by Idrīsī agrees in the most part with the account of Ibn Khurdādhbeh, though there are variations in the readings of the place names by the two writers. Perhaps Idrīsī's copy of Ibn Khurdādhbeh contained such readings and the additional remark that these are maritime towns, or Idrīsī might have checked the information of Ibn Khurdādā-~~beh~~ in the light of his own enquiries or facts that were current during his period.

Dimishqī and Abul Fidā have independent information.

R. Sinjlī is identified with Cranganore. (Kodungallur)

We learn from our authors that two names go together. Sinjlī and Kabashkān from Bābattan, (Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Sanjā and Kaykān from Jurbatan (Idrīsī) Shinklī and Shālīāt (Abul Fidā), Shinklī (Dimishqī) Calicut to Shālīāt (Ibn Battuta). Thus four out of five writers mention Shinklī in some form or other and three writers couple it with three different names, Kabashkān, Kaykān and Shālīāt, and give the impression that they lie close to each other, and that Sinjlī is the most important town. As Shālīāt is identified with Beypore, six miles from Calicut, it may be supposed that the town Sinjlī might have existed near Beypore. But Yule in his 'Cathay and the Way Thither', (1866. Vol. I. p. 75), identifies Shinklī with Cranganore. His arguments are convincing, yet the distance given by Ibn Khurdādhbeh as one day to Sinjlī and Kabashkān from Bābattan (Baliapatam) and by Idrīsī two days to Sanjā and Kaykān from Jurbatan (near Cannanore) seems to be very short if Sinjlī were to be Cranganore. On the other hand reference to jews in Sinjlī by Dimishqī and Abul Fidā is

Footnote (contd)

impressive and makes us believe that Sinjlī can be no other town than Cranganore though the distance is against this conjecture. But there are differences between Elliot and de Geoe's versions of Ibn Khurdādhbeh, the former has two days, the latter one day; likewise the two manuscripts copies of Idrisi at the Bodleian Library give one day and two days. Then again there are differences in the readings of the names. These facts lead one to the conclusion that when greater numbers of authors agree on one point, the slight variations shown by a few may be ignored as it is in the case of Mulay (see under Kawlam). Certain points definitely asserted by some authors who are confirmed by non-arab sources may be taken to be correct and the divergent points given by a few Arab writers may be put aside as mistakes as is in the present case. Dimishqī and Abul Fidā speak of jews, the former definitely says that most of the inhabitants are jews, while the latter says that both Shinklī and Shālāt are inhabited by jews, though his informant knew not which. In the light of Dimishqī's information it may be understood that Shinklī was inhabited by jews and also as this is corroborated by non-Arab sources.

Thus it may be concluded that Shinklī is Cranganore (Kodungallur)

If Sinjlī is Cranganore, what is the Kabashkān of Ibn Khurdādhbeh? What is the Kaikār of Idrīsī? From the account of these authors it appears that they might be sought for near Cranganore.

In this connection it may be noticed that the similarity of this name with Kalaikarias of Ptolemy who mentions it along with another town Brenagara between Tundis (Kadalundi) and Muziris (Cranganore) gives strength to a growing conviction in the mind of the reader that Ibn Khurdādhbeh and Idrīsī had also utilised the materials from the Greek and Roman sources without any critical analysis.

Kalaikarias of Ptolemy is identified rather doubtfully with Cahlacory by K.S.Pillay.

See 'Tamils 1800 years ago' by K.S.Pillay. p.18.

(1)
SUBĀRA

Sūbāra is mentioned by seven writers from Masūdī (943) to Abul Fidā (1273-1331).

(2)
Masūdī says that Sūbāra is a neighbouring town of Kanbāya where Kanbāyan ~~sawāts~~ are made and kāriya language is spoken.

(3)
Istakhri, Ibn Hauqal and Maqdisi state that Sūbāra is one of the cities of Hind (4) and is about four marhalas from Kanbāya.

The two copies of Idrisi's manuscripts in the Bodleian Library say that Sūbāra is about five marhalas from Kūli (5) along the coast. Kūli (6) as stated by these MSS. is reached from Kanbāya through the islands Ūbkin, Daybul and Mand after travelling three and a half days and twelve miles. (7)

Idrisi has additional information. Sūbāra is in the

-
- (1) ^{سوبارة} Masūdī, Istakhri, Ibn Hauqal, Maqdisi, Idrisi and Dimshqi.
^{سفالة} - Abul Fidā who distinguishes it from ^{سفالة النج}
^{سوتارة} - Nuwayrī Part I. p.237.
- (2) Safura is a place on the coast of the Ladawi Sea. Sprenger Masūdī p.346.
- (3) "Sūrabāya" - Istakhri: Elliot's version, Vol.I.p.30.
- (4) It is one of the cities of Sind. Maqdisi de Geoje. p.476 1.2.
 It is one of the cities of Hind p.476 1.3.
- (5) "From Kanbaya to Subara about five days". Elliot. Vol.I. p.85.
- (6) "Būli". Idrisi Ms. Poc. 375.
- (7) From Kanbāya to the island Ūbkin a day and a half; from Ūbkin to the island Daybul two days; from Daybul to the island Mand six miles; from Mand to Kūli six miles; from Kūli along the coast to Sūbāra about five marhalas.

second climate. It is populous, a busy town, and one of the entrepôts of India. They fish for pearls here. Sūbāra is in the vicinity of Tāna⁽¹⁾ a small island on which some cocoanut trees and costus grow.

Dimishqī places Sūbāra as the seventh in the list of places on the coast of Hind after Barūs in the direction of Malabar. Sūbāra is placed in his list before Tāna which is the ninth and Sindābūr the thirteenth place.

Abul Fidā quotes in part Idrīsī for details about the town, but differs from him by giving a new reading of the name as Sufāla⁽²⁾, and assigning it to the first climate. He has also one additional piece of information that Sūbāra is on the coast in the land of pirates and quotes longitude and latitude from qānūn and atwāl⁽³⁾

All the sources except Masūdī, Maqdisī and Dimishqī⁽⁴⁾ give the distance from Sūbāra to Sandān as five marhalas.

(1) Bod.Lib. Ms.Graves 42 omits ^{لؤلؤ} - "Bara" - Elliot. vol.I. p.85.

(2) Abul Fidā gives also two other readings of the place taken by him from Idrīsī and Bīrūnī as Sūfāra ^{سوفارة}. This is not confirmed by either Elliot's version of Idrīsī and the two Mss. in the Bodleian, or by Dr. Sachau's edition of Bīrūnī, but Elliot's version of Rāshid al-Dīn from Bīrūnī has Sufara.

(3) Qānūn and Atwāl. Longitude 104 55', latitude 19. 35'.

(4) "Ten days" Elliot. Vol.I. p.39. Footnote 2 on the same page, says:
"So according to Gildemeister; but 'five' seems to be the right number. See Istakhrī and Idrīsī."

Regarding the distance of Sūbāra from the sea, Iṣṭakh̄rī followed by Ibn Ḥauqal, Maqdisī^{1.} and Idrīsī give half a parasang or one and a half miles; the other geographers are silent.

Thus we find that Masūdī has independent information. Iṣṭakh̄rī is followed by Ibn Ḥauqal^{2.} and Maqdisī. Idrīsī, based upon Ibn Ḥauqal, has additional information, which is followed by Abul-Fidā who, however, differs from him on certain points, gives one additional item of information and quotes the longitude and latitude from qānūn and aṭwāl.

1. The MSS. of Maqdisī show variations between one, about one, and half a parasang as being the distance of Sūbāra from the sea.

2. Ibn Ḥauqal has one additional remark that Sūbāra possesses a large territory, as he has already said of Qāmuhul and Kanbāya.

R. Sūbāra is identified with modern Suparem or Supara (Souppara in the Periplus) near Bassein north of Bombay.

1.
TĀNA

Tāna is mentioned by four writers, Masūdī, Idrīsī, Dimishqī and Abul Fidā.

² Masūdī says that Tāna is a place on the coast of the Lāravī Sea, and Kāriya language is spoken there.

Idrīsī relates that from Sindābūr to Tāna upon the coast is four days. It is a big town ³ upon a great gulf where vessels anchor, and from whence they set sail.

Qanna grows on its mountains and plains; ⁴ tabāshīr is gathered from the roots of qanna ⁵ and exported to all countries in the east and west.

From Tāna to ⁶ Fandarīna, along the coast, is four marhales.

1. تانه Masūdī, Idrīsī, Dimishqī and Abul Fidā.

2. تابه Masūdī - Barbier p. 330

فانه Idrīsī Bod.Lib. Graves 42

تانه - تانش Nuwayrī Part I, p.210, 211, 237.

Bana (Tanna) Elliot vol.1. p.89.

3. "Pretty town". Elliot. vol.1. p.89.

4. "In the neighbouring mountains Kana and tabashir grow. The roots of kana which are gathered here, are transported to the east and west."

Elliot. vol.1, p. 89.

5. اصول القنا Idrīsī - Bod. MSS.

6. "Bana to Fandarina is four days' journey." Elliot. vol.1, p.89.

1.
Dimishqī says that Tāna is in the second climate.
3. It is on the coast. Tānash³ is on the coast; there is
4 a cathedral mosque for the Muslims; then a port full
of merchants and merchandise.

Abul Fidā says that Tana is in the first climate, one
of the cities of Hind on the coast, on the border of
Lārān. He quotes in part Idrīsī,⁵ gives different account
6 from other sources, and also the longitude and latitude

1. الاقليم الثاني - - - - و بعض العند الساحلى من تانه وصيمو
و سندان و جزيرة سيلان
Dimishqī. p.19.

2. MSS. St.Pet. et L. om. و ساهى ساحلية و تانه ساحلية
Foot note (c) p.173. Dimishqī.

3. Dimishqī is evidently confusing Tāna and Tānash. Tāna
is associated with Tānshī clothes, as we learn from
Bīrūnī's account quoted by Abul Fidā. Perhaps Dimishqī,
who knew this fact, thought that Tāna and Tānash are two
different places.

4. MSS. St.Pet., L. et cop. omettent ثم فرضة كثيرة التجار والاموال
Foot note (d) p.173. Dimishqī.
Mehren translates thus: "Thanesh, situee non loin de la
mer, avec une grande mosquée, est un lieu d'etape pour
les merchants et contient beaucoup de richesses."
Mehren. p. 233.

5. Idrīsī: "The plain as well as mountains here have
forests of qanā. Tabāshīr is extracted from qanā and
exported to all countries."

6. Some travellers: "Tāna is in Jazrāt on the eastern
side, and Manībār is in a westerly direction from it."

Ibn Saīd: "Tāna is the last of the cities of Lār,
well known in the mouths of merchants. The inhabitants
of this coast of India are all infidels who worship idols.
Muslims also live among them."

Bīrūnī: "Tāna is on the coast and is associated with
the name Tānshī تانشى and from it the Tānshīyya fabrics
(The information from Bīrūnī as quoted by Abul Fidā is not

1.
from qānūn and atwāl.

Thus we find that Masūdī, Idrīsī and Dimishqī have independent information though the accounts of Masūdī and Abul Fidā show in effect that Tāna is a coastal town. Abul Fidā quotes in part Idrīsī and also gives diverse accounts from various sources which are contradictory to each other.

found in Sachau's edition of Bīrūnī.)

Some travellers: "Tāna and neighbouring villages are surrounded by water and it is an island in the sea. Its correct longitude is 92° rather than 104°.

Some other traveller: It is to the west of Kanbaya.

1. Qānūn: Longitude 104° 20'
Latitude 20° 20'

Atwāl: Longitude 92°
Latitude 19° 20'

R. Tāna is identified with Thana between Bassein and Bombay.

For a discussion see under Sindābūr.

1.
TANDĀ.

Dimishqī mentions that Tandā is one of the cities of the big Mabār.

.....

2.
TANDIYŪR.

Abul Fidā states that Tandiyr is at the extremity of Manībār. It is situated to the east of Ra's Haylī and has a number of gardens.

(1) تندا

R.1. Tandā is identified with Thondi. Thondi is a port about twenty miles east from Kāliyār Kōvil and is on the road from Madura. This was known to classical Tamils as Cōlan Tondi (கோலன் தண்டி) and was a great centre of eastern trade including that of the Chinese in the days of classical Tamil literature. It seems to have retained some of its importance even in the centuries of Muslim invasions. South India and her Muhammadan Invaders, by Dr. S.K.Ayyangar, p.206.

2. تندیور

R. This may be identified with Kadalundi or Kadaltondi, the raised ground by the sea standing on an inlet about four miles south of Beypore. It is now a small port and a fishing village; but persons on the spot seem to think that it must formerly have been one and in communication with the back water. This Kadalundi is supposed by some as Tyndis of Ptolemy but K.S. Pillai has a different suggestion that it was near the site of the modern Pallikkari about five miles north of Quilandy. However, if Tyndis of Ptolemy and Tandiyr of Abul Fidā were to be taken to refer to one and the same place Kadalundi seems to be a better suggestion in view of the statement by Abul Fidā that Tandiyr is at the extremity of Manībār.

See: Tamils 1800 Years ago, p.18, Gazetteer of the Malabar and Anjengo Districts, Vol.I, 415.

1.
TŪSĀRĪ.

Dimishqī mentions Tūsārī, stating that it has a big gulf through which ships pass.

.....

2.
ŪTKĪN.

Ūtkīn is mention^{ed} by Ibn Khurdādhbeh and Idrīsī.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh says that it is four days' journey from Mahrān in Sind to Ūtkīn. In this land qanā is cultivated up the hills and corn is grown in the valleys. The inhabitants are proud, lawless and brigands.

Idrīsī includes the isle of Ūbkin in the second climate. He describes that it is one and a half day's sail from Kanbāya and from Ūbkin to Daybul two days. 3.

1. توساری Paris MS. توسای

It is mentioned by Dimishqī as the third city before Sūbāra.

R. This place is not to be identified.

2. Ibn Khurdādhbeh اوتکین text. Notes k) A اوتکین
B بکیر

جزیره اوبکین Idrīsī.

Bakar - Elliot Ibn Khurdādhbeh. Vol.1. p.15.
'Isle of Aubkin' Elliot Idrīsī. Vol. 1, p.85.

3. "Two and a half days". Elliot. p.85.

R. It may be somewhere in the Gulf of Cambay. See under Kūlī.

CHAPTER I.

(c) LIST OF DOUBTFUL PLACESABĪNA

1

Ibn Khurdādhbeh says that Abīna is four days' journey from Ūrnashīn (Orissa). There are elephants in that place.

1. ^{ابينة} Text p.64. Footnote (1) B. ^{اسه}
 Aina. Elliot. p.16.
 De Goeje, the editor and translator of the text transliterates it as Abyna. Transl.p.43.
 "Aina is four days' journey where also elephants and asses are met with." Elliot. Vol.1, p.16. Footnote 4 on the same page says that "Aina" may possibly be meant for Andhra, "Telingana".

R. The route from place to place as narrated by Ibn Khurdādhbeh seems to indicate the direction from south to north, while Elliot has taken it to mean vice-versa.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh says: From Bābattan they reached Sinjlī and Kabashkān in one day. Thence they reached Kūdāfarīd at a distance of three parasangs, thence to Kaylkān and Lawā and Kanja after two days' journey. Leaving Kanja they reached Samandar at a distance of ten parasangs. They went from Samandar to Ūrnashīn at a distance of twelve parasangs. Then from Ūrnashīn they reached Abīna after four days' journey.

Thus it is very clear that Abīna is to be sought for north of Orissa and not south of it.

It is not very easy to identify this place now. Perhaps it may be sought for round about Tamluk, Midnapore Dt. Bengal. Tamluk is historically the most interesting place in the district. It is frequently mentioned in Jain, Buddhist and Brahmanical works. Ptolemy also has noticed it in his geography placing it on the river Ganges. Chinese pilgrims mention it several times. As it was a port at which merchants and others embarked for Ceylon and the Far East, it is very likely that the Arabs also might have known it, or any other smaller place, round about Tamluk, which they called Abina.

For a detailed account of Tamluk, see Bengal District Gazetteer - Vol. XXVI.
 Midnapore - p. 220.

1.

FAYSŪR.

Faysūr is mentioned by Qazwīnī who says that it is a country in Hind.

.....

2.

HURĪN.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh mentions that Hūrīn is one of the famous cities of Hind, although he gives no account of it.

.....

3.

JĀJULLA.

This place is mentioned by Yāqūt and by Qazwīnī.

Yāqūt who has his information from Abū Dulaf says that he went to Jājullah which is situated on the top of a mountain of which half rises over the sea and the other half over the land. There is a king like the king of Kalah.

The inhabitants eat wheat and eggs, but do not eat fish, nor do they slaughter animals after the manner of the Muslims.

They have a big temple. The inhabitants were the only people to oppose Alexander when he invaded India.

Cinnamon is brought hither and exported to the rest of the world. The cinnamon tree is a free tree and belongs to no one individual.

-
1. فیصور
2. هورین
3. جاجلة

The inhabitants dress like the people of Kalah, except that during festivals they dress themselves in yemnite dress.

They have an observatory; study the properties of the stars carefully, and have complete knowledge of them. Among the stars, they worship قلب الأسد (The Lion Heart). Superstitions have effect on their character.

Qazwīnī repeats some of this information and adds that the city is well fortified, and that if the people wish any occurrence to happen they exert their will-power to achieve it and continue to do so till it happens. It is related that one of their kings sent to Kisrā presents which included two sealed boxes. When they were opened each contained a man. When these two men were questioned they said, "If we wish to achieve anything we strive with our will-power and it happens." , They disapproved that account but the two continued to say, "If there is an enemy for the king, he is not repelled by force. We exert our will-power and he dies." Then they said to the two men, "Exert your will to bring out your own death." The two men asked them to shut the door of their respective boxes. They did so and when they returned and opened the door they found the two men dead. They learnt to their sorrow that the two men had spoken the truth.

.....

1.
KALBA AND KANĀM.

Ibn ul Faḥīh and Qazwīnī both relate the same story but in connection with two towns of different names. Neither give definite information about the exact location of the place to which they are referring.

Ibn ul Faḥīh, speaking of Kanām, says that it is the territory between Sind and Hind. On the authority of 'Abdullāh Ibn 'Amr ibn al 'Ās, he says that in this place there is a duck of brass on a brass column. On the Ashūra day the duck spreads its wings, stretches out its beak and pours out sufficient water to satisfy their fields, animals and estates till the next year.

Qazwīnī tells the same story in connection with a place called Kalba, which he says is in Hind.

.....

2.
MANDAL.

Qazwīnī says that Mandal is a city in Hind. A large quantity of aloes — is obtained here, called Mandalī aloes but the aloe does not grow here.

1. ^{کنام - کلبه}
The information about the supply of water may have reference to aqueducts.

2. ^{مندل}

1.
MOUNTAIN LAHFUL KĀFŪR.

We have information of this place from Yāqūt and Qazwīnī.

Yāqūt tells us that, after leaving Malābār, Abu Dulaf went to Lahful-Kāfūr, which is a big mountain where there are some towns overlooking the sea. Some of them are Qāmarūn, Qamārayān and Ṣanf, associated with Mandal-Qāmarūnī, Qumārī and Ṣanfī aloe. Saymūr⁽²⁾ is found on the other slope of the mountain.

Qazwīnī mentions jabal-al-Kāfūr, a big mountain in Hind overlooking the sea with many towns on its slopes. Of these the town of Qumār is associated with Qumārī aloes, Qāmarūn with Qāmarūnī aloes and Ṣanf with Ṣanfī aloes.

.....

QĀLŪN. قالون

Qālūn is mentioned by Ibn Khurdādhbeh as one of the cities of Hind, although he gives no description of the place.

.....

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- | | | |
|----|-------------------|---------------------|
| 1. | لحف الكافور Yāqūt | جبل الكافور Qazwīnī |
| 2. | See under Saymūr. | |

For details on aloes and camphor mentioned under Mandal, and Mountain Kāfūr, see the chapter on Products.

QAZDĀR

قزدار

Qazdār is mentioned by Qazwīnī, who says that it is a country in Hind, and that the inhabitants of this country are very honest.

.....

SĀMAL

سامل

Sāmāl is mentioned by Ibn Khurdādhbeh as one of the famous cities of Hind, although no account of it is given.

.....

SAMANDAR

1.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh and Idrīsī mention Samandar.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh says that from Kanja to Samandar is ten parasangs. Rice is produced here. (Aloe is imported to this place, from a distance of fifteen or twenty days' journey through sweet water from Qām^arūn and other places.)
 2.
 3.
 From Samandar to Ūrnashīn is twelve parasangs.

1. ^{سندھ} Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Idrīsī.
Samundar, Elliot's Ibn Khurdādhbeh. Vol.1, p.16.
Samandār, Elliot's Idrīsī, Vol.1, p.90.

سندھ

Nuwayrī Part I, p.237.

2. The account within the brackets is given under Kanja by Elliot. It is slightly different:
 "From Kūra to Kilakān, Lūr and Kanja is two days' journey in all which wheat and rice are cultivated and into which the wood of aloes is imported from Kamul and other neighbouring places by the fresh water route in fifteen days."
 Elliot. Vol.1.p.16

3. Urasir. Elliot. Vol.1, p.16.

Idrīsī says that from Kanja to Samandar is thirty miles. Samandar is a large commercial town where good profits are made. (The inhabitants possess much merchandise and goods. Many come and go to that place.)^{1.} It is one of the dependencies of *ḡannawj*,^{2.} the king of these cities.^{3.} The city of Samandar is situated on a *khawr* that reaches it from the city of Kashmir. Grains, plenty of rice and corn, are available in this city.^{4.} Aloe wood is brought here from the country of Kārmūt,^{5.} fifteen days' distance, by a river of which the waters are sweet.....^{6.} Opposite to this city there is a big island and the distance between the two is one day. This island is well peopled and (frequented by) merchants from all countries. From here to the island of Sarandib is four days. To the north at seven days' distance from Samandar is the city of Kashmir the inner,^{7.} celebrated throughout India, which is under the rule of *ḡannawj*.

1. Elliot's version omits this. p.90.

2. وهي من أعمال القنوج وهو ملك تلك البلاد

3. *خور* inlet, creek - Elliot's translation has 'river' p.90.

4. "Rice and various grains and especially excellent wheat are to be obtained here." Elliot. Vol.1, p.90.

5. (Kamrup?) Elliot, p.90.

6. *تساميها* is in the original, it is corrected as *تساميها*

7. قشمبر الداخلة

CHAPTER II

Ethnology

We should expect an ethnological account of the Indian people to include five separate subjects, namely, race, language, caste, religion and customs. The first of these subjects, race or descent, is an involved problem, and there is much division of opinion among present day scholars in this field. The second, language, can be dealt with more conclusively on account of the accessibility of the available materials. The remaining three, caste, religion and custom, depend on personal observations. It is on these subjects that a certain amount of information is furnished by the Arab writers, but curiously enough, the questions of language and race do not appear to have engaged their attention.

Masūdī alone says that the Indians speak Kīriyā (Kanereṣe) language and that they are a distinct race from Negroes and dandins.

The accounts of ethnology are gathered principally from the works of the first group of writers who cover the period from ^{about} the ~~ninth~~ to the tenth century A.D. The leading writers who furnish information on the people are Sulaymān, Abu Zayd, Ibnul-Faqīh, Masūdī and Abul Faraj. Of these, Masūdī was in all probability the only one who actually travelled in the east, and his observations are confined to the area lying between Ceylon and Kanbāya, a

city north of the Narbada. The other writers, as we have seen, obtained their materials by enquiry from merchants, travellers and wandering faqīrs, and from a study of the works of previous writers.

These authors rarely refer to any particular place when they give information about the people. Sulayman mentions Kūkam malājī but does not speak about its people. He gives a few details about the people of Tilwa though he has confused it with the country of pepper. Further his information on Hind and its people is mixed rather indiscriminately with that on China and the Chinese.

The accounts of these writers, as it happens, refer principally to the coastal cities of the Indian peninsula, Ceylon and other islands in the East Indies. As to the trade of Southern India with Arabia, Persia, Rome and Egypt on the west, and the East-Indies and China on the east, was very extensive at this period, it may be deduced that the people with whom the Arabs came into contact were preponderately of South Indian origin and culture, and that the accounts under consideration refer chiefly to the people of Southern India.

This view is confirmed by numerous details. For example, rice is the chief food in the south and both Sulaymān and Ibnul-Faqīh have drawn attention to this,

declaring that Indians eat rice only. The Hindu custom of eating in seclusion is noticed by Abu Zayd. This custom, it should be realised, still prevails up to this day among the divers castes of the people of the South. The habit of bathing early in the morning before breakfast is common among all the Hindus in India, yet it is not rigidly observed except in the south. Ceremonies and conventions observed on the death of a person, the dress, ornaments, caste system, institution of dēva-dāsīs - all these details combine to give a picture of Southern India. It is not easy, however, to establish clearly to which community of the south these various details refer. They may refer to the peoples on the west coast, the Kanerese and the Malayalis, or those in the extreme south, the Tamils. The Arabs do not seem to have known the Andhras. Information on various forms of ordeals, punishment, and death ceremonies might well refer to customs prevalent among the Malayalis and the Tamils. The spirit of sacrifice on the part of the people for their kings, described by Abu Zayd, may refer to the Mahāmakam festival instituted by the Perumāls of Malabar.

The account of the Indians seeking learned assemblies in Sarandīb and of the mischief effected by some of the Indians there indicates frequent intercourse between these two countries.

Abul Faraj's detailed account of the religious sects shows the prevalence in India of Shaktism, Saivism and Jainism. These remarks, it is evident, are also applicable to Southern India.

The complete absence of any reference to Buddhistic teaching in these accounts indicates that the struggle between Buddhism and Saivism was long since concluded and that the worship of Siva had become common again.

It is well-known that the principal seat and great centre of the cults of Siva is Benares (Vārāṇasī), a city whose world wide celebrity has earned for it the title of Kāsi 'the resplendent'. It was one of the first cities to acquire a reputation for sanctity and is still regarded as the most sacred spot in all India.

Pilgrimage to this city is not mentioned by these writers, who, however, describe Multan as the Mecca of the Hindus. Mention is made of Gangā-yātra (pilgrimage to the Ganges) yet it is not possible to say that this pilgrimage included a visit to the city of Benares, on the banks of the Ganges, since the account only testifies to the holiness of the river Ganges.

Such instances of vague and meagre information on the part of these Arab writers strengthen in the reader's mind a growing conviction that on the whole they were not particularly interested in the study of the civilisation and

culture of the Hindus. This attitude doubtless proceeds from their firm adherence to their own Faith, a feeling which discouraged them from enquiring too deeply into the teachings and practices of other religions which they did not esteem as highly as their own faith. A narrow-minded writer might well have thought it even irreligious to write about such things. Even Bīrūnī, the distinguished savant, who wrote an Arabic book on Brahmanical India gave a title ⁽¹⁾ to his work "the awkwardness of which seems to arise from the punctiliousness of a delicate conscience".

It may be wondered why, if this is the case, the Arabs mention Multan. But they were in direct contact with Multan, since it was in Sind and the priests of the temple used to sell them the finest quality of aloes, presented to the idol as offerings by the pilgrims coming from distant parts of the land. Therefore they are able to furnish many details about Multan, the description of the idol, its worship, and other facts, although this does not imply any particular interest on their part.

Facts on ethnology are also gathered from the fourth group of writers, chiefly from Idrīsī and occasionally from Yāqūt, Qazwīnī and Dimishqī. The facts mentioned by them are in the main repetitions from the first group of writers,

(1) "An accurate description of all categories of Hindu thought, as well those which are admissible as those which must be rejected." Dr. Sachau.

with additions and such other details as had become current among the writers with the increase of their knowledge of India which began chiefly with the expeditions of Mahmūd of Ghazna and the subsequent Muslim occupation of Northern India. Sommat is mentioned as another place of pilgrimage for the Hindus and a detailed description of the idol and its worship is given by Yāqūt and Qazwīnī. However, not a single writer in this group travelled in India.

It may be observed in conclusion that though these accounts may appear at first sight to be a mass of confusion, vague, inadequate and devoid of historic interest, it no doubt supplied for Arabic readers some information on a country about which they knew little while a modern student possessing a knowledge of Hindu culture will discover germs of truth which throw light on the state of India in the period to which they relate.

In this connection it may be explained that detailed footnotes are inserted where necessary, to elucidate the information and to correct it where advisable.

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Masūdi distinguishes the Indians from other black nations such as the Zanj ⁽¹⁾ and the al-Damādīm ⁽²⁾ and others, as regards intellect, government, philosophy, robust constitution and purity of colour. He mentions that they have various institutions, and has given many sketches of their history and usages in his book Alḥibār-al-Zamān and Kitābal-Awsaṭ.

As regards their personal appearance, Sulaymān says that the Chinese are more beautiful than the people of Hind, and are more like the Arabs in their dress and mode of riding. The Chinese, in their public ceremony, are like the Arabs.

Language

Masūdi alone gives precise details as to language. He says that the language of Sind is different from that of Hind....The inhabitants of Mānkīr, which is the residence of the Balharā speak the Kīryā language (Kanerese), which ⁽³⁾ derives its name from the place Karah where it is spoken.

(1) The name of the negro tribes of the east coast of Africa, given by the Arab historians to the rebel slaves who, having previously rebelled in 75 A.H. (694 A.D.) for fifteen years terrorised lower Mesopotamia. See Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. IV p. 1213.

(2) الدامادم Barbier. p. 163.

(3) كره Barbier. p. 381. Sprenger does not mention this name. See p. 388.

(1)

The Lāriyya language is spoken in coastal cities such as Saymūr, Sūbāra, and Tāna and in other regions associated with the name of the Lārawī sea, which washes these countries.

Dress: Ornaments

There are a few particulars to be gathered as to the dress and ornaments of the *people*.

(2)

Sulaymān says that the people of Hind wear two fūṭa.

(1) لاریة Barbier. p. 381.

(2) Fūṭa فُوطَة sing. of فُوطَة, which signifies cloths that are brought from Es-Sind, thick or coarse, and short, used as waist-wrappers. Az says, I have not heard this word in aught of the language of the Arabs, and I know not whether it be an Arabic word or of the language of the foreigners, but I have seen in El-Koofeh striped waist-wrappers, which are sold, and are bought by the camel drivers and the Arabs of the desert and the servants and the people of the lowest sort, who use them as waist-wrappers and call them thus.

Idrīd says that it is not an Arabic word: it is added in K. or it is a word of the language of Es-Sind, arabicized from فُوطَة with a dammeḥ not fully sounded. Sm adds: it is called with us in El-Yemen افرعنة; and by reason of frequency of usage, they have derived from it the verb فوطه. He clad him or attired him with a فوطَة. The diminutive of فوطَة is فُوطِيَّة. The plural فُوطَات is also applied to short napkins with striped extremities, woven at El-Mahalleh El-Kubra, in Egypt, which a man puts upon his knees to preserve himself therewith from being soiled at meals, and with which he wipes his hands after washing. See Lane sub.voc.

It is from the Hindi word *پھینٹ* *phent*, *phaint* waistband, belt, fob, the waist, (when belted) *phent bāndhna* to gird up the loins (for) *پھینٹا* *phentā* a waist band (without a fringe) a small turban. *Platts Hindustani Dictionary*. p. 294.

Both men and women wear bracelets of gold and jewels.

Ibn ul Faqih: The people of Hind wear two ear rings; gold bracelets are worn by men and women.

Beard

As regards their personal appearance, Sulaymān relates that the people of Hind wear a long beard. ⁽¹⁾ Sometimes, he comments, I have seen some with a beard three cubits in ⁽²⁾ length. They do not cut their moustaches.

Ibn ul Faqih has the same information but he does not speak of moustaches.

Character

Idrisi has stated that the Indians are naturally inclined to justice, and never depart from it in their actions. Their good faith, honesty, and fidelity to their engagements are well-known, and they are so renowned for these qualities

(1) The Hindus grow beards on the death of a near relation. This custom is especially prevalent among the people on the West Coast. Cf. with the account of Zayn al-Dīn al-Mabarī 985 (1577 A.D.) given in Rowlandson's Translation of Tuhfat al Mujāhidīn. p.62.

"Brahmans may not shave for six months after marriage for a year after the death of a parent, and till the birth of the child when their wives are pregnant." Ethnographic notes on Southern India by E. Thurston. p. 3.

"Men may not shave the face and wear a beard until their marriage." *ibid.* p. 7.

Sometimes the Hindus grow a beard to propitiate the Deity.

(2) Only Sanyāsis grow long beards, as described by Sulaymān.

that people flock to their country from every side. Hence the country is flourishing and the condition of the people is prosperous. Among other typical instances of their love of truth and horror of vice, the following is related:

When a man has a right to demand anything of another, and he happens to meet him, he has only to draw a circular line upon the ground, and make his debtor enter it, which the latter never fails to do, and the debtor cannot leave this circle without satisfying his creditor or obtaining the remission of the debt. (1)

Qazwīnī mentions that the ^{people of} Hind are infidels and value their life and wealth.

Cleanliness

Sulaymān complains that neither the people of Hind nor those in China bathe when they suffer from ceremonial pollution. The Chinese do not clean with water after calls of nature but wipe with paper. The people of Hind bathe early in the morning every day and then eat. They do not touch their women when the custom is upon them but shun them,

(1) Compare the following account in the Indian Antiquary Vol. 8. p. 267:

"The custom on the Malabar coast, when summary payment was demanded of a debtor, was to draw a circle round him with a green branch, and imprecate on him the name of a particular divinity whose curse was to fall upon him if he left the circle before satisfying the claim of his creditor".

Many writers have noticed the existence of this custom and marvelled at the strictness of the arrest.

This custom has disappeared now.

1. keeping them out of doors. But the Chinese have commerce with them and do not keep them out of doors. The people of Hind clean their teeth; they will not eat anything before cleaning their teeth and taking a bath.. The Chinese do not do so.

2. Ibnul-Faqih repeats some of these facts and makes an additional remark to the effect that the customs of the Chinese are like those of the Mages.

Manners.

In eating and drinking, husbandry, dressing and in the art of healing, Masūdi relates, the Hindu and the Chinese nations have their own notions. An example of their manners is that their kings do not think it prudent to prevent the free passage of wind, "for", they say, "it is a noxious matter" and they do not think it at all improper to let it freely escape under any circumstance.

1. All Hindu women take the ceremonial bath after the courses have ceased; but the custom of 'keeping out of doors' is strictly observed even today by the community of the Brahmans of South India. The expression "keeping out of doors" means: the woman when menstruating takes up her residence in a room generally outside the main entrance to the house; food and drink will be supplied to her from time to time in separate dishes that will not be touched by other members of the house.

See The Ordinances of Manu 40, 41, 42 Lect.IV.
Trans. Hopkins.

2. Ibnul Faqih does not notice the custom of keeping women out of doors and of washing with paper.

Their sages had the same opinion and practice. They thought that restraint in this matter was unwholesome and productive of illness; whilst they considered it as a cure, to give free passage to the wind. This they considered as the greatest remedy as a preservative against cholera and constipation, and as a relief for complaints of the spleen. Hence they pass wind both gently and aloud, without any restraint, nor do they consider it against good breeding. The ancient Hindus were well skilled in medicine, and curious anecdotes are related of them which are connected with this subject. This narrator says that the people of Hind consider it less genteel to cough than to break wind aloud. An eructation is considered as the same thing, as smothered effects of flatulency, for the noise in breaking wind loudly deprives it of the offensive smell. The narrator shows that what he says respecting the people of Hind is generally known, and has been acknowledged in biographical, historical, miscellaneous and poetical works, as in the *qasīda Dhātāl-Hilāl* by Abān (b) Ibn 'Abdul Ḥamīd, wherein he says:

"The wise and eloquent people of Hind pronounces an opinion which I am embellishing with the charms of poetry. Do not restrain loud wind whenever you may feel it, but break it and open the doors to it, for restraint in this matter is unwholesome, but to give to wind free passage, brings you rest and health. Coughing and blowing the nose

is indecent and illbred, but not breaking wind aloud. Eructations and genteel winds are the same thing, with the only difference that a genteel wind has a more offensive smell."

The wind in the bowels is indeed, in both cases the same, and only different with reference to the way by which it is expelled; that which comes up is called eructation, and that which goes down is called flatulency; it is the same as the distinction between slapping^{1.} (the face) and a thump^{2.} (on the back of the head); the one is on the face, the other on the occiput, but in reality they are the same thing; it is only a distinction in the region of the body.

Man is subject to many affections, constant accidents and long diseases, such as cholera, pains in the stomach and other accidents, which arise from an accumulation of impurities in the primae viae, which are not discharged when they are mobile, and when nature makes its regular efforts to discharge them. Other animals are free from these evils, for matters which create disorders in the bowels are with them immediately discharged, since they oppose no constraint. Ancient philosophers and the sages of the Greeks like Democritus, Pythagoras, Socrates,

1. اللطمة

2. المنعة

Diogenes and other sages of all nations rejected every restraint in these things, because they knew what harm arises from it; and everybody who has the talent for observation will have noticed in himself that they were right in their opinion, for it is a rule established by experience, and confirmed by reasoning. But moralists find faults with it, for various reasons, although it is a question lying beyond their province.

Slaughtering of Animals

We learn from Sulaymān that the Chinese and the people^{1.} of Hind do not slaughter an animal of whose flesh they intend to eat, as Muslims do, but strike at the top of its head till it dies.

Ibūl-Faqīh follows Sulaymān in making this assertion, but adds a slight variation in saying that the people of Hind^{2.} kill what they want to eat.

1. Dhabah ذبح the act of cutting the throat. In the language of the law, it denotes the act of slaying an animal according to the prescribed forms, without which its flesh is not lawful as food for a muslim. See Sura ii Verses 172-173. Trans. by 'Abdullāh Yūsuf 'Alī Vol.1, p.67-8. The injunctions of the Traditions are more explicit: "May God curse those who slay without repeating the name of God, in the same manner as the polytheists did in the names of their idols...." According to Sunnī law, Dhabh is of two kinds (i) ikhtiyārī of choice and (ii) Idtirārī of necessity. The first is effected by cutting the throat above the breast and reciting the words Bismillāhi Allāhu-Akbar "In the name of God, God is most Great", and the second by reciting these words upon shooting an arrow or discharging a gun. The latter act, however, is merely a substitute for the former and accordingly is not of any account unless the former be impracticable. It is

Food: Manner of eating

Concerning the food eaten in this country, Sulaymān^{3.} declares that the people of Hind eat rice while the Chinese eat wheat and rice. The people of Hind do not eat wheat.

Ibnul-Faqīh says definitely that the people of Hind do not eat wheat, but rice only.

Idrīsī^{4.} remarks that the inhabitants of Nahrwārah live upon rice, peas, beans, haricots, lentils, māsh, fish and animals that have died a natural death, for they never kill winged or other animals.

absolutely necessary that the person who slays the animal should be a muslim or a kitābī (a jew or a christian) and that he should do it in the name of God alone.

2. It is a very sweeping remark, and not entirely correct, for certain animals are slaughtered even by Brahmins, but only for purposes of sacrifice.

3. It is clear from the account of Sulayman and Ibnul-Faqīh that they are speaking of south Indians only.

4. See p. 41 Thesis.

Abu Zayd mentions that there are certain Indians who never eat out of the same dish or upon the same table and would deem it a very great sin if they did. When they come to Sirāf and a prominent merchant invites them, - they may be a hundred more or less - they must have each a separate dish, entirely apart from the rest.^{1.}

Drink

There are several authors who have commented on the restraint practised by Indians in the matter of consuming intoxicants.

^{2.}
Sulaymān declares that the Indians do not drink wine or vinegar^{3.} which according to them is in the category of

1. The practice of eating in seclusion is common to all the Hindus; it is rigidly observed by the South Indian Hindus even today. A member of one caste or sub-caste never mixes with any one other than of his own caste at the time of eating. As a rule the Hindus are not accustomed to have a common dish out of which each may serve himself according to his need; the Hindus believe that the common dish becomes polluted if touched by a person in the act of eating. So each must have a separate receptacle, generally a plantain leaf, in which all the items of food are served simultaneously with rice as the chief item. A person in possession of reserve food will, from time to time, supply the needs of the various individuals.

2. شراب A beverage of drink of any of the liquids or of anything that is not chewed or of whatever kind and in whatever state it be.... The lawyers and generally the post-classical writers, and sometimes others, mean thereby wine and such beverages as are forbidden. Lane's Lexicon.

3. خل Vinegar, i.e. expressed juice of grapes and of dates etc; that has become acid or sour so-called, because its sweet flavour has become altered for the worse. Lane's Lexicon. Lane on the authority of M. S. B. asserts that حلّ

drinks. Their abstinence is not due to any religious
 1. injunction but on account of their scorn for it. They say,
 "whoever among kings drinks wine is not a king", because
 round about them are kings who are always at war with them.
 So they say, "How can one administer the affairs of the
 2. kingdom if he is not sober."

Ibn Khurdādhbeh also says that the kings and inhabitants
 of Hind regard drinking as unlawful.

3.
Ibn Rusta quotes Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn Ishāq who
 says: "I found that the merchants of Hind, all of them, do
 not drink either little or much. They loath wine; their wine
 consists of rice water which becomes sour after some days and
 serves them as wine. The muslim who is addicted to drink is

is "a genuine Arabic word". Perhaps there might have been a
 dispute about its origin. Considering the sense in which
khall ^{خَلل} is used in Arabic, one is tempted to think that
 it might have been from the Tamil word (கல) kal the
 saccharine juice formed in flowers; vinous liquor.

1. The statement by Sulaymān and Masūdī to the effect that
 the abstinence of the Indians from drink is not due to any
 religious injunction is incorrect as will be seen from Manu's
 ordinances. 47. Hopkins. p. 154.

2. See Manu's ordinances. 46. Hopkins p. 154.

3. Ibn Rusta's information on drink, fornication and on
 the kings of India, is based upon the narration of Abū
 'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn Ishāq, who seems to have travelled to
 India and visited many courts of the kings. No information
 about this traveller is available from other sources.

considered by the Indians as vile. They make no account of him and treat him with contempt. They would say, "This man has no credit in his country."

Masūdī agrees with Sulaymān in saying that the Indians abstain from liquors not in obedience to religious precepts but because they do not choose to take a thing which overwhelms their reason, and destroys the supremacy which this faculty should exercise over men. If it can be proved of one of their kings that he has drunk (wine) he forfeits the crown for he is not considered fit to rule and govern the kingdom if he is given to such habits.

Amusements.

Masūdī mentions that the Indians frequently hear songs and musical performances; they have various sorts of musical instruments which produce on men all shades of impressions between laughing and crying. Sometimes they make girls drink in order to excite them to show their mirth so that the

R. The accounts of these ~~flaw~~ writers are more or less to the same effect, though each treats his facts in his own way. The information on drink shows that toddy the most popular intoxicant in South India today was not known to the Arabs. Manu's book (3rd century A.D.) also does not speak of toddy. The ordinances of Manu speak of three kinds of intoxicating drinks (See Manu's Ordinances 95. Hopkins, p.338.) This classification does not include toddy. Hence it may be inferred that the tapping of toddy from cocoanut and palmyra trees might not have been very popular with the people of South India before the tenth century A.D. The absence of the mention of cocoanut trees by these Arab authors on the west coast of India lends support to this view. See also under Malābār.

1.
 beholders may be inspired with gaiety by their merriment.

Sulaymān while agreeing that the Chinese are fond of all kinds of amusements holds that the Indians censure amusements and do not cultivate them.

Marriage.

Concerning marriage and marital customs, Sulaymān relates that in China and Hind when people desire to marry, they congratulate each other, bring presents and then celebrate the marriage by beating cymbals and drums. Their presents consist of money according to the ability of the parties.

Polygamy

Sulaymān reports that the people of China and Hind are not monogamist.
 3. They marry as many women as they desire.

1. The account of Masūdī breathes of personal reminiscences of the narrator. One can visualise Masūdī witnessing a musical performance in Kanbāya for he says "I visited Kanbaya in 303 A.H. during the government of Bāwīyā who was appointed there ~~governor~~ by the Balharā, the sovereign of Mānkīr. Barbier - p.254. See page 207 Thesis.

2. For an account of the Brahman marriage ceremony, see Some Marriage Customs in Southern India, "Ethnographic notes" by E. Thurston. After an elaborate marriage ceremony, festivities and minor ceremonies are kept up for five days, details differing with different sects of the Brahman community.

The above description applies only to the civilised societies of South India.

The Nambūdhri Brahmans in Malabar have different marriage rites.

3. As a rule the Hindus are not polygamists. It is true that under special circumstances it is permitted for them to take a second wife whilst the first is still living. In cases where seven years after marriage no son is born, the

Fornication.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh mentions that the kings and inhabitants of Hind find fornication^{1.} lawful, but not in the kingdom of Qumar.^{2.}

Ibnul-Faqīh, Ibn Rusta and Qazwīnī give the same information though the latter makes his statements on the authority of Ibnul-Faqīh.

Idrīsī^{3.} agrees that in the country of the Balharā, fornication is permitted with all persons except married women. Thus a man may, if he desires, marry his daughter, his sister, or his aunts, provided they be unmarried.^{4.}

Law Books authorise a man to take a second wife, because a son is regarded as necessary to perform the funeral rites of his father, and not for his father only - for three previous generations the happiness of his ancestors is imperilled by the neglect of these ceremonies. In these cases the new bride comes to her husband's home.
Modern Hinduism. p. 179, W.J. Wilkins.

1. الزنا

2. See under Qumar.

3. Elliot translates الزنا as concubinage which is incorrect. Elliot: Vol.1, p.89.

4. This is a supreme instance of Idrīsī's carelessness in not enquiring into the truth of statements made by his informants or questioning the sources of such information as he found in any work of his predecessor. Such statements which are quite untrue with regard to any period of Indian History are thoroughly reprehensible. The information of Idrīsī is his own and cannot be traced to any writer either before or after him.

The statement of these writers that fornication is lawful among the Hindus is not correct.

Perhaps the Arabs did not fully understand the various forms of marriages which the Hindu law takes cognizance of.

Circumcision

Sulaymān complains that the people of Hind and China do not practice circumcision.

Burning the dead

Sulaymān has said that all the people of Hind burn
1.
their dead bodies.

Contd. from previous page.

"20. Learn summarily these eight (ways of) marriage with women of the four castes, (which are) good and bad here and in a future existence."

"21. These are the Brāhma, the Daiva, the Ārsha, the Prājāpatya, the Āsura, the Gāndharva and also the Rāksasa; the Paicāca, the eighth is the lowest."

For details, see Manu's ordinances. Lect.III. Hopkins.

The intention seems to have been in essence that of the canon law, viz. that a contract followed by cohabitation is what constitutes a marriage, here the contract being expressed or implied. Some of these forms of marriage do appear unlawful from a muslim's point of view, hence the sweeping statements of these writers.

1. The object of a Hindu funeral is the investiture of the departed spirit with an intermediate gross body interposed, as it were, parenthetically, between the terrestrial gross body destroyed by the fire and the new terrestrial body which the spirit must assume ultimately. See Ethnographic Notes, E. Thurston, pp. 132-33. For details of the ceremony of a Hindu funeral, see Modern Hinduism, W.J. Wilkins, p.457. There are however many castes, such as the Dēvānga and Karnabattu in South India who usually bury their dead in a sitting attitude, a practice which, according to Lord Avebury, in Prehistoric Times is a survival from neolithic times.

Abu Zayd and Idrīsī give the same information, while the latter adds that the Hindus do not raise tombs^{1.} for the dead.

Conventions observed on the death of a relation

Sulaymān relates that the people of Hind shave off^{2.} their beard and the hair upon the death of a relation.

Ibn al-Faqīh repeats Sulaymān's information and also observes that the Indians cling to their duties by abstaining^{3.} continuously from food and drink for seven days.

Veneration of Oxen

Idrīsī has said that the^{people of} Hindus have a great veneration^{4.} for oxen and in accordance with a privilege enjoyed only by these beasts, they inter them after death. When they are enfeebled by age, and are unable to work, the animals are freed from all labour and provided with food.

1. It is not the general custom among the Hindus to erect tombs for the dead, but castes like the Devangas erect in some places a hut of milk hedge (*Euphorbia Tirucalli*) branches over the graves. For details see *Ethnographic Notes* E. Thurston, p.137.

2. There are some communities like Mudaliyārs in South India which observe this custom even today.^{Ke}

3. The relatives to the sixth degree ought to fast three days and nights, or at least one day; the near relatives must observe a partial fast as long as the days of mourning continue, i.e. until the thirtieth day after death occurred. *Modern Hinduism*, W.J. Wilkins, p.460.

4. بقر is pl. of بقرة applied to the male and the female, the 8 being added only to restrict it to unity. بقر the bovine genus; the ox or bull and cow; and oxen, or bulls, and cows; neat; black cattle. The veneration for the cow is based upon ordinances of Manu, see Hopkins p.335.

Ibn Rusta gives further details that in the whole of India, generally the man who kills a cow is punished with death.^{1.}

Succession of families in one and the same profession.

Sulaymān says that there are families of learned men and of physicians. They form a distinct community and their profession never goes out of the family.

Sacrifice for kings

Abu Zayd relates that among ~~little~~^{of kind} kings, there are some (who observe a special rite) upon their accession to the throne. Rice is cooked for the new monarch and is served on a plantain leaf. He invites from among his companions three or four hundred men, and those who are willing present themselves to the king without any compulsion on his part. After the king has eaten some of the cooked rice, he gives the remainder to those men who approach him one after another and receive from him a small quantity of rice which they eat. It is incumbent upon all those who partake of this to burn themselves to the last man when the king dies or is slain. They never delay in doing so; they throw themselves into the fire and are burnt till nothing remains of them, no substance nor any mark about them. When a man resolves to burn himself he goes to the king's palace and seeks permission. Then he goes round the market places to the spot where

1. Cow-killing is still a penal offence in the Cochin State, S. India.

fire is prepared for him by great heaps of wood. Round about this pile there are men kindling the fire till the fire becomes one molten mass. Then the man rushes along, preceded by a number of cymbal beaters, surrounded by his family and relatives. Some of these people place on his head a crown made of some aromatic plant which they fill with burning coal. They pour upon him sandarac which catches fire as naphtha. All this time he continues walking though the top of his head is burning, and the burnt flesh diffuses its odour. He does not show any change in his walk nor exhibit any sign of pain till he reaches the pile, throws himself into it and is turned into ashes. Some who were present on such an occasion relate that the person who intended to burn himself, as he approached the fire, took out a dagger, ripped up his belly from the breast to the pubes, thrust his left hand into it, seized the liver and drew out a part of it, talking all the while. With the dagger he cut a piece of it and delivered it up to his brother, thus displaying a contempt for death and endurance under pain. Then he jumped into the fire to join the accursed in hell.

R. Seeing that Abu Zayd deals with Western kings, it is possible that this sacrifice may refer to a festival which used to be held every twelfth year at the Tirunāvāyi temple in the Ponani taluk, although it has been discontinued for the past one hundred and fifty years. This festival was called the Māmakham or Mahāmakham which means literally big sacrifice. It was a festival instituted, according to tradition, by one of the Perumāḷ emperors prior to Kollam era and was celebrated by them. After the departure of the last

Conversion to Islam

Sulaymān: I have never known anyone in either Hind or China who has embraced Islam^{1.} or any one who could speak Arabic.

Muslims

Idrīsī says that in all the countries of Hind and Sind, there are Muslims who bury their dead secretly by night, but,^{2.} unlike the Hindus, they do not give way to long lamentations.

Perumāl emperor to Mecca, the duty of celebrating this festival devolved on the local rājas until the rise of the power of the Zamorins who later presided over the festival as suzerains of all Keralam. For further details of the festival, refer Logan's Malabar Manual, Vol.1, p.163-168.

1. The statement of Sulaymān is cited by Logan (Malabar Manual Vol.1, p.191) in support of his argument that Islām was not introduced into Malabar till 200 years after the Hijra. Logan also rejects Rowlandson's view, mentioned in a footnote to *Tuhfat al Mujāhidīn* (p.5) that Arab emigrants, during the time of Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf (714 A.D.) Governor of Baṣra, established themselves in Malabar. But this view is supported by Burhān ibn Ḥasan, ((author of *Tūzak-i-Wālājāhī* in Persian, English translation by S.M.H. Nainar, (p.65)) who makes a statement which goes to confirm Rowlandson's view: "The Nawāyat emigrated from their native home owing to the tyranny of Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf and reached the coast of Hind by sea. They settled in the region of Konkan in the territory of the Mahrattas." However, it will suffice to say here that it will not be useful to establish any theory on the strength of this statement, for the exact date and the name of the narrator of this remark in the account of "Sulaymān" are not known to us so far. (See Introduction.)

2. These refer to the death songs sung over the bodies of dead relations by most castes in Southern India, including Brahmans. They are taught to children and are sung by female relatives and friends to the accompaniment of beating of the breasts and tearing of the hair, not only immediately, after the death of a person, but also once a fortnight or more frequently until the first annual ceremony is performed. See Ethnographic Notes. E. Thurston, pp. 227-237.

Regarding the relations between Muslims and Hindus, Idrīsī says that the town of Nahrwārah is frequented by large numbers of Muslim traders who go there on business. They are honourably treated by the king and his ministers, and find protection and safety.

Poets

Abu Zayd is alone in calling attention to the existence of poets in India who wait upon kings.

Justice

Sulaymān, in speaking of the administration of justice, relates that the Chinese have judges besides governors, and that the same can be said with regard to the people of Hind.

R. Although in early Vedic days the administration of justice in India was centralised and rested solely in the hands of the reigning monarch, as the size of the kingdom extended and the functions of a judiciary grew in scope and extent, the task was entrusted to experts in law, who were invariably recruited from the Brahman community. Although it appears that there were no regular courts of justice in the classical and pre-classical periods of Hindu India, traces of permanent institutions for the administration of justice are to be found in the Dharma-sāstra and the Arthasāstra treatises. See Hindu Administrative Institutions, p. 227.

Ibn Rusta declares that the king of Qunār had eighty judges in his service. They meted out justice even if the accused were to be the son of the king, making him stand in the place set apart for litigants.

Trial by Red-hot Iron

Sulaymān writes at considerable length concerning the different forms of trial practised in India. In the cities of Hind, he relates, when one man accuses another of a crime punishable by death, the accused is asked whether he is prepared to go through a trial by fire. He would say, 'yes'. Then they heat a piece of iron till it becomes red hot and ask him to stretch out his hand, on which they place seven leaves^{1.} of a tree found in their country and then stand the red hot iron over these leaves. The accused then walks backwards and forwards and throws off the iron from his hand. Then he is given a leather bag into which he puts his hand. After that it is sealed with the seal of the king. Three days pass and then the accused is given raw paddy and is asked to remove the husk with his hand. If there is no mark in his hand, he has proved his innocence and he will not be executed. Then his accuser is condemned to pay a mann of gold which would be appropriated by the king.

1. Perhaps this may refer to betel leaves.

Ibn Rusta's account of this ceremony differs slightly in detail. He says that the ordeal by fire is prevalent in the cities of the Maharāj^{1.} and also in the city of Hind named Fansūr. When one man accuses another on a charge of debt, adultery or theft punishable with death, the accused may choose the trial by fire. He must then appear before^{2.} the king who orders a piece of iron weighing one pound or more to be heated. They get leaves which resemble that of a ghār^{3.} in thickness and seven of them are put on his hand one above the other. Then the red hot iron is put on top of them by means of tongs. In that condition he walks backwards and forwards for about one hundred steps. If his hand and the leaves on it are burnt, his guilt is proved; he will then be condemned either to death or to paying a fine as the case may be. If he is unable to pay the fine, he becomes the slave of the king who can sell him. If however the fire does not burn, the accuser is told, "Your charge is false, your adversary has taken the fire." Then he is held guilty of the charge he had made.

1. The king of the city of Zābaj (Java) is known as the Maharāj. He is the sovereign over many islands, the extent of his kingdom being one thousand parasangs or more. The island Zābaj where he lives is exceedingly fertile and the buildings there are set in order. Abu Zayd, p.89.

2. رطل a pound.

3. لار - Laurel tree.

Trial by scalding water

Another method of trial which Sulaymān describes is the trial by scalding water. Sometimes they boil water in an iron or copper pot until it is so hot that no one can approach it. Then they throw an iron ring into it. The accused is asked to put in his arm and bring out the ring. I saw one man, he writes, survive this ordeal successfully, without sustaining any hurt. In this case also the accuser was
1. 2.
directed to pay a mann of gold.

Punishment for theft

Theft, whether considerable or inconsiderable, Sulaymān has written, was always punished with death, both in China and Hind. In Hind especially if a man steals a farthing or anything more, a long piece of wood is taken, sharpened to a point, and applied to his fundament and thrust up until it comes out of his neck.
3. 4.

1. No information is given about the person to whom the money is paid.

2. Mann من (Greek word) weight of two nothls. Hava. p.736.

maund, a standard weight, - 8 viss. - 40 seers, - 25 lbs. varying in different localities. Tamil Lexicon, Vol.5, p.3045

R. Trials by ordeal were and still are very common, although some forms of them have necessarily disappeared. In 1710, the Tellicherry Factory Diary (6th May, 1728) records that a dispute between the Honorable East India Company and certain people over the value of articles agreed to be supplied for money received, was to be settled by the ordeal of trial by oil. For details see Logan's Malabar Manual, Vol.1, p.173.

3. فلس ج فلس و افلس G. Farthing, small copper coin. Plural used for money in general.

Punishment for Fornication

If a man procures a woman and she serves as a prostitute, Sulaymān relates, both the man and the woman are put to death throughout the land of Hind. But if a man commits fornication with a woman, forcing her against her will, the man alone is put to death; and if he sinned with a woman with her consent, both are put to death.^{1.}

Punishment for Adultery

Ibn Rusta: Adultery is not lawful with all kinds of Hind. They put to death both the adulterers.

4. Compare Ibn Baṭṭūta: "I have never seen a safer road than this, for they put to death anyone who steals a single nut, and if any fruit falls no one picks it up but the owner. Trans. by Gibb. H.A.R. p.232.

R. Theft was considered as one of the five great crimes, the other four being murder of a Brahman, drinking, disobeying a teacher's rules and cowkilling.

Thieves were cleft in two and exposed to vultures but impaling alive was not unknown even as late as 1795. Sometimes criminals were wrapped in green palm leaves and torn asunder, probably by elephants.

See Logan's Malabar Manual. Vol.1, p.173.

1. The statement of Sulaymān is not quite correct. The punishment for such offences varies from the infliction of fines to mutilation and death, the latter only insisted upon in the extremest cases. It is also noteworthy that a Brahman is never sentenced to capital punishment for such offences.

Manu's ordinances prescribe various forms of punishment for this offence. Compare Nāladīyār
"In case of adultery the offender's legs would be cut off."

"காணிக் குடிப்படியாங் கையுந் காங்குறையுட்."

R. The Hindu Law prescribes various kinds of punishment for adultery. See Manu's ordinances, 373-379, Lecture VIII. Hopkins.

Punishment for Drinking

Ibn Rusta has related on the authority of some travellers, that the punishment prescribed by the king of Qumar for his attendants and soldiers in the case of their drinking is that one hundred red hot iron rings^{1.} are put on the arm of the drinker who often dies.^{2.} He is a sovereign with great zeal; there is no king more zealous and severe in giving punishment, than him. His punishments include the cutting off of two hands, two feet, the nose, two lips and two ears, and he never resorts to pecuniary punishment, as do other kings of Hind.

Treatment of Prisoners

Sulaymān says that whenever anyone is put in prison, or under arrest, he is given neither food nor drink for seven days.^{3.}

1. These refer to சூட்டகோல் Sūttuk-kōl or சூலக்கூரடு Sūlakkuradu, an iron instrument for branding. In Arabic, Halqa ^{حلقة} signifies a brand upon camels of a round form, like the halqa (or ring) of a door.

2. Qazwīnī gives more or less the same information quoting Ibnul-Faqīh, but De Goeje's version of Ibnul-Faqīh has no such account.

3. The following sentence in the text (p.55) seems to be ambiguous.

وهم يتلازمون

Reinaud translates thus: "The Indians can arrest each other."

Sciences: MEDICINE

We learn from Sulaymān that medicine and philosophy are cultivated in Hind. The Chinese, too, have knowledge of medicine, but most of it is cauterization. They have also knowledge of astronomy, but in Hind it is more common.

Ibnul-Faqīh simply states that the people of Hind are physicians, philosophers and astrologers.

Masūdī follows Sulaymān in testifying to the reliance on cauterization in the art of healing.

Occult Sciences

With regard to the practice of occult sciences, Ibn Khurdādhbeh says that the people of Hind believe that they can realise what they wish by their enchantments; by them they make a man drink poison and then take it out of him. By the power of thought they bind or unbind, and hurt or benefit. They conjure up delusions to the bewilderment of even intelligent men. They claim that they can stop rain and cold.

Ibnul-Faqīh also records that the people of Hind have knowledge of sorcery.

Abu Zayd goes into greater detail. There are astrologers^{1.} philosophers, diviners and those who draw auguries from the

1. The services of the astrologer are still considered of supreme importance. His advice is sought on innumerable occasions in daily life and he is, of course, indispensable for such important occasions as births, marriages, tonsures, investiture with the sacred thread, and such happenings.

flight of birds. There are magicians and others who create
 1. marvellous illusions, especially in Qanāw, a big city in
 2. the kingdom of al-ḡawz.

Indians seeking the assemblies of learned men in Sarandīb

Abu Zayd tells us that in the island of Sarandīb, (Ceylon), there are assemblies of learned men which can be compared with the assemblies of learned traditionists. The
 3. Indians repair to these assemblies. They write down from them the lives of their Prophets and the laws of their religion. There is a huge idol of pure gold, whose exact weight is exaggerated by the sailors. Great sums of money have been spent on the temples there.

Chinese view of the people of Hind

As we have seen, Sulaymān writes that the Chinese have no science, and he further suggests that their religion was derived from Hind. The Chinese, he states, believe that the people of Hind erected idols for them, and regard them
 4. as a people of religion.

1. Even to the present day, the power of enchantments and spells is believed in implicitly by the lower classes and the semi-educated among the upper classes, especially in Malabar. See Logan's Malabar Manual, Vol.1, p.174.

2. قنوج - في مملكة الجوز

3. This may refer to the assemblies of learned Buddhists in Ceylon. After Buddhism was ousted from India, the Indian Buddhists may have made journeys to Ceylon to learn more about their religion.

4. This is probably a reference to the spread of Buddhism from India to China.

Pilgrimage

There is a wealth of detail concerning Multan and pilgrimages undertaken to visit this city. Masūdī writes that there is a celebrated idol at Multan. The inhabitants of Sind and Hind make pilgrimage by thousands from the most distant places, to visit this city. They carry there money, precious stones, aloes and many sorts of perfumes, in order to fulfil their vows.

Abu Zayd: There is a famous idol at Multan which is not far from Mansūra. The people from remote parts even from distance of several months, make a pilgrimage to this idol.

Abul Faraj⁽¹⁾ is content to mention that the Indians from distant parts go on a pilgrimage to the temple at Multan, travelling by land and sea.

Idrisī writes that Multan is very near India and that some authors place it in that country. It equals Mansūra in size and is called "the House of Gold". There is an idol there, which is highly venerated by the Indians who go on pilgrimages to visit it from the most distant parts of the country and make offerings of valuables, ornaments and the finest qualities of perfumes.

1. He also gives a detailed description of the temple at Multan and its wealth.

From Yāqūt we learn that Somnat is the biggest temple in the whole of India. It is to them what Mecca is to the Muslims.

Qazwīnī records that the people of Hind used to go on a pilgrimage to Somnat whenever there was an eclipse of the moon, and would then assemble there in gatherings numbering more than a hundred thousand.

Dimishqī alone mentions that Wajrām-al-Dhahab^{1.} is the temple in Karūrā^{2.} to which the people of Hind make pilgrimages. Sometimes they travel a distance of a year's journey, practising various kinds of devotion. Some crawl on their knees from their homes, until they reach this temple; others prostrate themselves on the earth and then arise, repeating this act of devotion until they reach their destination, or die on the road. Sometimes a pilgrim plaits his hair in corded wool and cotton, dips it in oil and grease and grasps a dagger in his right hand. Then he goes to the fire temple, followed by friends and relations, and priests who escort him to the fire. As he approaches it he takes fire in his hand and sets light to his horns. Then he puts out his hand to the skin of his

1. The principal temple in Karūr is the one devoted to Suva in the form Pasupatiśvarasvāmī, a considerable edifice of some antiquity, which has recently been renovated, and which contains numerous stone inscriptions, among which are nine Cōla grants. Even today it is visited by pilgrims.

2. See under Karūrā.

belly and cuts it six times with the dagger, up to the liver, pulls it out, cuts of it a piece which he gives to his nearest friend. Then he throws himself into the fire which consumes him. When he has been reduced to ashes they take them, sprinkle them on the river Ganges or put them in water from the river Ganges and sprinkle them on their bodies. In this way they get a blessing.

People of Hind

Dēvadāsīs

In India, as we learn from Abu Zayd, there are public women, known as the women of the idol.^{1.} The reason is a woman takes a vow that if she were to get a child, she would consecrate that child to God's service. Then, if she bears

R. Pilgrimage is the peculiar work of those who have given themselves up to a life of religion. Some among the highest class of Brahmans were renowned for their devotion in wandering from shrine to shrine; according to Brahmanical ideals, one quarter of a person's manhood should be spent in pilgrimage but the life of millions is devoted solely to this. Such persons are revered as the most holy of men. The visiting of shrines, however, is by no means peculiar to those classes who have adopted the religious life. It is the ambition of many ordinary people and their earnest desire is to visit at least one of these sacred places during their lifetime. See Modern Hinduism, W.J. Wilkins.

1. قَب - قَبَاب البَدَّة - Attacked by coughing; applied in this sense to an old man. قَبِيَّة Applied to a woman who coughs much and is extremely aged or old and infirm. It also signifies a prostitute or fornicatress, because the prostitute used to signify her assent to those who desired her by coughing; according to some, this practice is post-classical, but Ibn-Hilal says that it is a proper (not a tropical) appellation for the woman who makes gain by prostitution. Lane's Lexicon.

a beautiful female child, she brings the child to the temple and consecrates it to the deity. Then in later years, she selects a house for the child in the market place, hangs down a curtain before the house and seats her in a chair to await the passing of those Indians and others, to whom debauchery is not a sin. She prostitutes herself to a fixed sum. Whenever a certain amount is collected she delivers it to the priests of the idol to be spent for the upkeep of the temple.

R. Reference to Castes and tribes of Southern India, (E. Thurston Vol. II, p. 125-126) shows that Abu Zayd's information is correct so far as it goes. In old Hindu works, 7 classes of Dāsīs are mentioned. 1. Dattā - one who gives herself as a gift to a temple. 2. Vikrīta - one who sells herself for the same purpose. 3. Bhṛitya - one who offers herself as a temple servant for the prosperity of her family. 4. Bhakta - one who joins a temple out of devotion. 5. Hṛita - one who is enticed away and presented to a temple. 6. Alankāra - one who, being well trained in her profession, and profusely decked, is presented to a temple by kings and noblemen. 7. Rudraganika or Gōpika - one who receives regular wages from a temple and is employed to sing and dance. The profession is not held today in the consideration it once enjoyed, although the Dēva-dāsīs form a regular caste, and with their allies the Mēlakkārans (professional musicians) are now practically the sole repository of Indian music, the system of which is probably one of the oldest in the world.

Mountaineers

1.

The same narrator, Abu Zayd informs us, says that there is a community in the mountainous tracts of the country who seek after useless and foolish things just like the Kanifiyyas

2.

and the Jalidiyyas in our parts. There is rivalry between them and those who live on the coast, who visit these mountains and invite the people there to imitate them. The mountaineers also do the same.

Once a mountaineer came down with this purpose to the people on the coast. A crowd collected round him, spectators and rivals. He challenged the rivals to do as he did, and if they failed to do so, they should acknowledge his superiority. He sat at the edge of a thicket of reeds which are flexible as any cane-like plant. The root of this is like that of السن, or thicker. If the tip of the reed is bent down, it yields till it touches the ground, and if it is let go it resumes its original position. This visitor from the mountains pulled the top of one of the thick reeds till it was near him, then he bound it strongly to the plait of his hair. Then he took out his dagger, which was like fire in its quickness and said to them: "I am going to cut

1. The name of the narrator is not mentioned.

2. كنيفية وجليدية "I can find nothing about the two sects of which the author speaks."

Relation des voyages, M.Reinaud, p.54. Notes.

off my head with this dagger. When it is separated from my body, let it go at once. I shall laugh when it returns with my head to its position and you will hear repeated chuckles." The people of the coast could not do this. This was told by one whom we cannot distrust. It is wellknown in these days, as these towns of Hind are near the towns of Arabia and information is reaching them every time.^{1.}

Mischief of some Indians in Sarandīb

Abu Zayd gives a long account of certain happenings in Sarandīb. An Indian is reported to have made his way into the market place, carrying with him a thin dagger skilfully designed. He would fight his way to the richest merchant he could, and take hold of his neck, brandishing the dagger over him and driving him out of the city from the crowd of men who would never devise any plan to help a merchant, for if any attempt is made to rescue him, he would slay the merchant and make away with himself.

Once outside the city, the merchant is asked to pay a price for freeing himself. The merchant is followed by a man who frees him by paying the ransom. This practice continued

1. The account is a description of jugglery practised by Dāsariēs, jōgis, Tottiyans and others. For details about these classes see "Castes and Tribes of Southern India", E. Thurston.

for a long time till a king arose who gave order to seize such Indians who did this in whatever condition. It was done so, but the Indian killed the merchant and then himself. The same happened to many others. Many men among the Indians and the Arabs perished. But when punishment was inflicted this stopped and the merchants felt secure.

Sanyāsis

'SULAYMĀN': In the land of Hind there are men who wander in the woods and mountains and rarely associate with men. They eat occasionally dry herbage and fruits obtained in the thickets. Such hermits fix an iron ring round the copulatory organ, so that they may not have commerce with women. Some of them are naked; some set themselves up, facing the sun, quite naked, save for a piece of tiger's skin. I have seen one in the posture described above. I went away and when I returned after sixteen years, I found him still in the same posture. I wondered how his eye had not melted by the heat of the sun!

R. A Sanyāsi is literally a man who has forsaken all, and who has renounced the world and leads a life of celibacy, devoting himself to religious meditation and abstraction and to the study of holy books. He is considered to have attained a state of exalted piety that places him above most of the restrictions of caste and ceremony.

The majority of the Sanyāsis found, and generally known as such, are a class of Sūdra devotees, who live by begging and pretend to powers of divination. They wear garments coloured with red ochre, and allow the hair to grow unshorn. They often have settled abodes, but itinerate. Many are married and their descendants follow the same calling.

Bairagis

ABU ZAYD: There is a community in Hind known as Baykarjiyyīn (بيكرجين) who are found naked. Their hair covers their body and their private parts. Their nails are very long and like javelins. They never cut them, but they do get broken. They travel from place to place. Every one of them has a string about his neck upon which is hung the skull of a man. When one of these mendicants becomes fatigued by hunger, he stops before the door of any Indian's house. The inmates speedily bring him some cooked rice, rejoicing at his arrival. He eats out of the skull and after his appetite is appeased, he departs and never returns for food except during the time of necessity.

R. The name Bairāgi is derived from the Sanskrit, Vairāgya (vi + rāg) denoting without desire or passion, and indicates an ascetic, who has subdued his passions, and liberated himself from worldly desires. The Bairagis are Vaishnavites and bear the Tengalai Vaishnava mark. Bairagis with a Vadagalai mark are very rare.

They partake of one meal daily, in the afternoon, and are abstainers from flesh dietary. They live mainly on alms obtained in the bazaars and in choultries. They are, as a rule, naked except for a small piece of cloth tied round the waist and passed between the thighs. They generally allow the beard to grow, and the hair of the head is long and matted, with sometimes a long tail of yak or human hair tied in a knot on the top of the head. Those who go about nearly naked smear ashes all over their bodies. When engaged in begging, some go through the streets, uttering aloud the name of some god. Others go from house to house, or remain at a particular spot, where people are expected to give them alms.

Rainfall and life during the rainy season

From Abu Zayd we learn, on the subject of yasārat,¹ which means rain, that in Hind, the rainy season lasts for three months during the summer. The rain pours incessantly night and day. The rains scarcely abate in the winter. The inhabitants prepare victuals before the rainy season sets in, and when it comes on, they shut themselves up in their homes made of wood covered with dry herbage.² No one leaves the house unless on some important business. The artisans do their work at home during this season. The soles of their feet often putrify during this season. On these rains depend their livelihoods and if they fail, the people will be ruined, for they cultivate paddy, They know no other, *they* have no food but that.

During this season, the crops in the paddy fields³ lie prostrate on the ground. The people have no need to irrigate or attend to any other agricultural duties. Harāmāt signifies paddy fields. When the sky becomes clear, the crops ripen beautifully in the bright days and thrive abundantly. There are no rains in winter.

1. The word 'yessare' يسارة appears to be a derivation from the sanskrit word, varscha, meaning rain. Reinaud.p.55.Notes

2. The text seems to be faulty.

اقاموا في منازلهم لانها معمولة من خشب مكنسة السقوف
مظلة بحشائش لهم p.126.

3. The variety of rice called Calama, which is white, grows in deep water; it is sown in may and June, and it ripens by December and January. Reinaud. Notes. p.56.

Masūdī gives further information to the effect that it is impossible to sail from 'Umān to the sea of India in the Tirmāh (June) except with first rate vessels and light cargoes^{1.} In India at that time it is winter and the rainy season, for the two Kānūns and Shubāt (December, January and February) are their summer. Our winter is their summer while the month Tamūz (July) and Ab (August) which are summer months with us, are their winter. This applies to all towns of India, Sind and the neighbouring countries, through the whole extent of this sea.

Religious Sects

Ibn Khurdādhbeh writes that there are forty two sects among the people of Hind. Of these some believe in God and His apostles, some deny the apostles, while others deny everything.

Idrīsī bases his information on Ibn Khurdādhbeh and gives additional facts. Some, he says, acknowledge the inter-cessory powers of graven stones,^{2.} others worship heaps of

1. البسارة وهي الشتاء Barbier, Vol.1, p.327.

Compare Bīrūnī. India has the tropical rains in summer, which is called Varshakala, and these rains are the more copious and last the longer, the more northward the situation of a province of India is, and the less it is intersected by ranges of mountains. Dr. Sachau. Vol.1, p.211.

2. الاحجار المنحوتة

1. stones on which they pour butter and oil. Some pay adoration to fire^{2.} and cast themselves into the flames. Others adore the sun and prostrate themselves to it believing it to be the creator, and dictator of the world. Some worship trees, others pay adoration to serpents which they keep in stables and feed as well as they can, considering them as means of divine favour. Lastly there are some who give themselves no trouble about any kind of devotion and deny everything.

Abul Faraj writes that the people of Hind have no unanimity of opinion concerning their idols. One sect says that the idol is the representation of the creator. Another sect

1. ^{الاحجار المقدسة} Elliot (Vol.1, p.76) translates it as 'holy stones'. It is not correct. ^{كدس - مكدس} what is collected together, of wheat, etc. heaped up.

This may refer to the erection of unhewn stones for worship on the wayside by travellers and in places that are far off from regular temples by people generally of the working class. A deification of some soul which they have in mind, is supposed to take place in the stone, and it is made an object of worship.

2. An exogamous sect of the Kurubas and Gollas, and subdivision of the Pallis or Vanniyans. The equivalent Aggi occurs as an exogamous sept of Boya. The Pallis claim to belong to the Agnikula Kshatriyas, i.e. to the fire race of the Kshatriyas. See Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Thurston.

The statement of Idrisi that they cast themselves into the flames is not correct.

says that it is the representation of His messenger to him. Again they differ on this last point. Some hold that the prophet is one of the angels; another group says that he is a man. Yet another group says that he is a demon; while another group considers that it is the representation of Būdāsaf (بوداسف) who came to them from God. Each sect has its own special rites for worshipping and exalting the idol. Some whose words may be relied upon have reported that each sect has a representation which they worship and adore.

The word budd is the generic noun and the idols اصنام are species. The supreme idol is represented as a man sitting on a throne, without any hair on the face, with a receding chin. He has no garments and he has a smiling appearance. He holds his hand in a position which indicates number thirty-two. It is heard from reliable men that in each house is found its image^{1.} made of materials which vary according to the resources of the individual, either in gold, set with precious gems, or in silver, or brass or stone or wood. They worship it as it faces them, east to west or west to east. Generally the idol is kept with its back to

1. These refer to the family idols kept in a room apart, and worshipped morning and evening. They are often objects of exquisite skill and beautiful to behold. A story is told of a Muslim princess of the Royal family at Delhi who died broken hearted because she was not allowed to retain the idol which was presented to her to play with after it had been carried off by Malik Kāfūr from the temple at Srirangam and which the Hindus successfully reclaimed.

See South India and her Muhammadan Invaders, by

Dr. S.K. Ayyangar.

the east, and the worshippers face eastwards. It is related that this image has four faces and it is made with such geometrical precision and skill that in whichever direction they face it, they can see its full face. The front is clearly seen and nothing is invisible. It is said that the idol of Multan is of this kind.

1. They have an idol called Mahākāl. It has four hands, its colour is sky-blue, and its head is covered with hair which is not crisp. Its face has a grinning expression. The stomach is uncovered but the back is covered with the skin of an elephant from which drips blood, and the two feet of the elephant are tied before it. In one of its hands there is a big snake opening its mouth, and in the second is a stick; and in the third is the head of a man, while the fourth is raised. It wears two serpents as ear-rings; two huge serpents twisted round its body, a crown made of skulls on its head and a collar similarly fashioned. They believe that Mahākāl is a powerful Spirit, deserving worship on account of its great power, and its possession of all the qualities, good, benevolent, bad and adverse, which enable it to give or refuse, or to be kind or wicked.

1. महाकाली Mahākālī - the exalted goddess Kali.

R. The impersonation of female energy in the form of Mother Earth appears among the non-Aryan tribes in the cult of the village goddesses (grāmadēvatā) some of whom are purely local or tribal, while others, like Kālī or Mariyammā, though they still retain some local characteristics, have become national deities. Even in the Veda, Prithivī appears

1.

Dīnikītiya These are worshippers of the sun. They have an idol placed upon a cart supported by four horses. There is

as a kindly guardian-deity but with her, by a process of Syncretism, has been associated the non-Aryan Mother-cult.

In its benevolent manifestation the cult of the Earth-goddess is shown in that of the Rajput Gawri, "the brilliant one". In other cognate manifestations, she is known as Sākambharī, "herb-nourisher", or Āsāpūrana, "she who fulfils desire". Cults of her malignant aspects are specially common in South India. Such is that of Ellammā, "mother of all", whose ritual includes animal sacrifice, and the brutal rite of hook swinging, intended as a mimetic charm to promote vegetation, the plant springing as the victim rises in the air. Mariyammā, "plague mother" at whose shrine an officiant known as Potraz "ox king", tears open the throat of a living ram and offers a mouthful of the bleeding flesh to the goddess as in the murderous orgy which was a feature of the Dionysiac ritual or Pidāri, the Tamil form of Skr. Vishārī, "poison-remover" a passionate, irascible goddess with a red hot face and body, and on her head a burning flame; when drought or murrain prevails, she is propitiated with fire-treading and the sacrifice of a bull; lambs are slain in the route of her procession and the blood, mixed with wine, is flung into the air to propitiate the powers of evil.

Enc. of Ethics and Religion, Vol.6, p.706.

1. ^{الدينكيتية} - Abul Faraj. ^{الدينكيتية} Nuwayrī Part I, p.49.

Compare Dīnikītiya - Dinakrit - sun, Dina (day) + krit (he does). Dinakrit + yya ^ي the arabic termination to form the nomina relativa or relative adjective. Thus the word should have been Dinakritiyya, those who are devoted (associated) to the worship of the Sun.

Gustav Flugel on the authority of Reinaud derives it from Āditi-Bakti, adoraterus d'Aditi (der Sonne). This view is incorrect. Āditiya is the sanskrit word for sun but Dinakaran (^{دینا کاران}) is more often used in Tamil for sun. Abul Faraj might have got his information from the Tamils.

The Saurapātas are those who worship Sūryapati, the sun-god only. There are few of them to be met with nowadays, though at one time they were numerous. They differ but little from the rest of the Hindus in their general observances, although there are certain peculiar practices which they observe. The cult of this deity which prevails among the non-Aryan races is probably not based on imitations of the practices of the Aryans.

For further details, see H.H. Wilson, W.J. Wilkins, Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.

1.

in the hand of the idol a precious gem of the colour of fire. They believe that the sun is the king of the angels deserving worship and adoration. They prostrate themselves before this idol, walk round it with incense, playing the lute and other musical instruments. There are estates endowed for this idol, and a steady income. It has priests and other employees to look after its temple and estate. There are three services for this idol in a day with different rituals. The sick and lepers and those who suffer from skin disease, palsy and other grave illnesses, stay there spending their nights. They prostrate themselves, make humble supplications to it and pray for the cure of their illness. They do not eat or drink, but remain fasting. They continue to do so until they see a vision in sleep which says "You are cured; you have attained your desire." It is said that the idol speaks to the sick in sleep and that they are cured and restored to good health.

2.

1. This refers to Sūryakāntam (சூரிய கந்தகம்) a kind of gem, crystal, lens or burning glass; the sunstone said to emit fire when placed in the sun's rays. Winslow. Tamil-English Dictionary.

2. The narration as it reads, seems to be a confusion of two accounts, one of that of a sect devoted to sunworship and another of a well-known temple resorted to by the sick and ill. The latter may refer to the Surya Deul or the Sun Temple at Konark. "The vimāna of this great temple," says R.D. Banerjee in his History of Orissa, (Vol.II,p.380), "collapsed sometime between the date of the completion of Aīn-i-Akbarī and the British conquest of Orissa. Even Fergusson saw a portion of it about 120 ft. in height in the second quarter of the 19th century. According to tradition, the great temple of Konark was built by Narasimha I....."

1.
Jandrūhkinīya They are the worshippers of the moon.

They say that the moon is one of the angels deserving honour and adoration. Their custom is to set up an idol, to represent it, on a cart drawn by four ducks. In the hand of

..... This tradition is corroborated by statements to the same effect in the inscriptions of his descendants, Narasimha the 2nd and the 4th. It is said locally that Narasimha I was cured of leprosy and dedicated this temple out of gratitude to the God.

الجندريكنية اى عباد القمر — ABULFARAJ - Compare Nuwayrī P.I p.57.
1. Jandrūhkinīya - Chandra + kānti skr. + yya, (ي) the arabic termination to form the relative adjective. The original word seems to be Chandrakāntiyya, "those who are devoted to the worship of the moon possessed of a bright gem." The word as it stands in the text is a corruption of the original chandrakāntiyya.

G. Flugel again on the same authority derives it from Chandra bakti "adorateurs de Tchandra" which is incorrect. In this connection it may be noticed that in the description of the Sect Dīnikītiya we read also of a gem of the colour of fire placed in the hands of the idol, though they do not call that gem by any name as they do here, i.e. jandarkit. Considering this fact the original name of the sect Dīnikītiya should have been Dinakrit Kāntiyya, "those who are devoted to the worship of the sun possessed of "gem".

Worship of the moon in one or other of her aspects either alone or in conjunction with other rites is common in India at the present day, and such worship has in all probability never been interrupted. There are, however, no exclusive votaries or sects who make the moon their chief deity.

The phases of the moon are often decisive for the work of the fields; and the economy of the household, with its various anniversaries and important events is similarly determined by the moon's position and aspects.

Among the seasonal festivals, the moon feast always held a high rank, and even the Buddhists preserved a memory of it in the Uposatha festival, though reduced in that sober organisation to a Sabbath day observance.

For further details see Encyclopaedia of Ethics and Religion.

this idol is a gem called jandarkit^{1.} حندركيت Their cult is to prostrate themselves to it and worship it and observe fasting for half the month, not breaking the fast till the moon rises, when they bring food, drink and milk to the idol, pray solemnly, look at the moon and ask what they desire. If it is the beginning of the month, and the crescent moon appears, they assemble on the roof, watch the crescent moon, burn incense and pray to it. Then they descend from the roof to eat and drink and rejoice. They do not look at it except with good faces. In the middle of the month, after breaking the fast, they dance and play on musical instruments before the moon and the idol.^{2.}

^{3.}
Anshaniyya are those who abstain from food and drink.

1. Chandra-kāntam (சந்திர கந்தம்) a kind of mineral gem, the moon stone, said to emit moisture, when placed in the moonlight, and believed by some to be a congelation of the moon's rays. Winslow.

3. Anashan Skr. Fasting.

1.
Bakrantīniya are those who fetter their bodies with iron. Their practice is to shave off the hair and beard and not to cover their body except for the private parts. It is not their custom to teach or speak with any one apart from those who join their religion. They command the followers of their creed to give alms to humble themselves. Those who join the sect are not fettered with iron till they attain a rank which entitles them to do so. The fettering of the body is from the waist as far as the chest, lest the stomach should split, which might happen, they believe, on account of the excessive knowledge they acquire and the force of their meditation.

2.
Kankāyātra. The members of this sect are scattered throughout the country of Hind. Their belief is that if a

1. البكرنتينية - al Bakrantīniya.
 Undoubtedly the word Bakrantīniya seems to have connection with Tamil Pakavān or Pakavan (skr. Bhaga-vān) great person possessing the six attributes of pakam the epithet being used after names of certain gods and rishis. From this we get the expression (பகவந்த பத்தன்) Pakavarpatan, one devoted to the deity, being one of the six names given to such as are ripe for emancipation (Winslow). Thus the Arabic word Bakrantīniya may be a corruption of Bakavarpatan + yya, the usual arabic termination added to form the relative adjective.

2. گنگایاترة Gangāyātra - pilgrimage to the Ganges
 According to the Hindus, the Ganges or Ganga, as she is called, is a divine being, wife of Siva. In the Rāmāyana, a story is found which explains her descent from her heavenly home. The same work also explains why the waters of the Ganges are so efficacious that people come from all parts of India once in a lifetime, at least, to wash away their sins. There is a fulness in the promise to those who bathe in its flowing waters; it is that all sin - past, present and future - is by that act at once removed.

There are many works (Prayer to Bhagīrathī; Ganga Bākyabali) which teach of the benefits which Ganga can confer on mortals. Modern Hinduism. W. & A. Williams.

man commits a grave sin, he must travel to the Ganges from far or near, wash in it and thus become clean.

? Rāhmanniya They are supporters of kings. Their cult is rendering assistance to kings. They say "God, exalted be He, made them kings. If we are slain in the service of kings, we reach paradise."

There is another sect whose practice is to grow long hair, which surrounds their face and covers the head, the hair on all sides being of the same length. These people do not drink wine. They have a hill known as Hawran² to which they go on a pilgrimage. They have, on this hill, a big temple in which is an image. On their return journey from the pilgrimage, they will not enter inhabited places. If they see any woman they flee from her.

Qazwini says that there are various sects among the people of Hind. Some believe in the creator but not in the prophet. They are the Brahmans. There are some who believe in neither. There are some who worship idols, some the moon and some others, fire.

1. الراحمية The first part of the word presents no difficulty. It is Raja, king. The second part is a word that has relation with (مانام) Manam, honour, favour, price, self respect, shame, strength etc. This word generally takes certain prefixes. أبي abi, أني anu, أنا ana, أنا uva, سان san, etc. and differs a little in meaning according to the connection. When it is joined to the word Raja it will take the form Rājā-apimāni or Rajāpimāni, loyal and faithful to the king. Thus the word must have been Rājāpimāni + yya, the Arabic termination being added to form the relative adjective. It is a long word and one not easy for a

foreigner to grasp, hence the mangled form we find in the text.

2. حور عن

Castes

Ibn Khurdādhbeh and Idrīsī both mention the Shakthariyya caste. 1

Ibn Khurdādhbeh says that they are the most illustrious caste, and the kings are from among them. All other castes bow down to them, but they bow down to none.

Idrīsī gives the same information.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Abu Zayd, and Idrīsī mention the ^{2.} Brāhima caste.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh reports that they do not drink wine or intoxicating beverages.

Abu Zayd says that there are men of piety and learning among the Indians, known as Brāhima.

Idrīsī goes into greater detail. After the Sākriya caste, he declares, come the Brāhima, who are the religious class. They dress in skins of tigers and other animals. Sometimes one of them, taking a staff in his hand, will assemble a crowd round him and will stand there from morn till eve, speaking to his audience on the glory and power of

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1. شاكثريّة
شاكثريّة Ibn Khurdādhbeh
Idrīsī

Sābkufria Elliot. Vol.1, p.16.

R. Shakthariyya - Sanskrit Satkshatriya, meaning the true Kshatriya who claims to be superior to the rest of the Kshatriya caste. Kings are from this class.

2. البراهمة Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Abu Zayd, and Idrīsī.

God, explaining to them the events which brought destruction
upon the ancient people.^{1.} The ^aBrāhmana never drink wine

nor any kind of fermented liquors. They worship idols whom
they consider to be able to intercede with the most High.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh and Idrīsī mention the caste Kastriya.^{2.}

Ibn Khurdādhbeh relates that they drink three cups^{3.} of
wine only. The ^aBrāhmanas do not give their daughters in
marriage to this class, but marry from this caste.

Idrīsī says that they may drink as much as three ratl⁴
of wine, but not more, lest they should lose reason.

This caste may marry ^aBrāhma women, but ^aBrāhmanas cannot
take their women to wife.^{5.}

1. "Upon the ancient people, that is upon the Brahmins."
Elliot. Vol.1, p.76.

R. These accounts may refer to the Brahman Sanyāsīs, men
of learning and heads of monasteries, where they have a
number of disciples under instruction and training for
religious discussion.

2. الكسرية Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Idrīsī. comp. كشر Birūnī.

3. قدح a measure of capacity as glass, tumbler, drinking
cup.

4. رطل one pound, troy.

5. Idrīsī's information on the Brahman-Kshatriya marriage
alliance is wrong. Perhaps his copy of Ibn Khurdādhbeh mis-
led him.

R. Kastriya: Kshatriya, the second or ruling and military
caste of the four castes of Manu. In these days, many castes
in Southern India, who are pure Dravidian people, claim this
title and it is not possible to distinguish the pseudo-
Kshatriyas from the genuine Kshatriyas.

1.
Shūdariyya

Ibn Khurdādhbeh mentions that they are cultivators^{2.} and Idrīsī says that they are farmers and cultivators.^{3.}

4.
Bayshiyya

Ibn Khurdādhbeh and Idrīsī both state that they are artisans and workmen.^{5.}

6.
Sandāliyya

Ibn Khurdādhbeh explains that they are musicians and singers; their women are beautiful.^{7.}

1. الشودرية Ibn Khurdādhbeh الشودوية Idrīsī
compare شودر Bīrūnī.

2. "4th Sudaria, who are by profession husbandmen."
Elliot, Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Vol.1, p.16.

3. وهم الفلاحون واصحاب الزراعة

4. البشية Ibn Khurdādhbeh الفسية Idrīsī.
بسيه Edr. Footnote on page 81 of De Goeje's edition of Ibn Khurdādhbeh.

5. "The 5th Baisura, are artificers and domestics."
Elliot, Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Vol.1, p.16.

R. The reading of Manu's ordinances, 90 and 91 (Lecture I) and 236 (Lecture XI - Hopkins), on the duties of a Vaisya and a Sudra show that the Arab writers have confused the duty of one for the other.

6. السندالية Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Idrīsī.
Sabdaliya (or Sandaliya) Elliot, Idrīsī Vol.1, p.76.
Compare جندال Bīrūnī.

7. "The 6th Sandalia, who perform menial offices." Elliot
Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Vol.1, p.16.

R. Chandala. It is defined as a generic term, meaning one who pollutes, to many low classes. By Manu it was laid down that "the abode of the Chandala and Swapaca must be out of the town. They must not have the use of entire vessels. Their sole wealth must be dogs and asses. Their clothes must be the mantles of the deceased; their dishes for food broken pots; their ornaments rusty iron; continually must they roam from place to place. Let no man who regards his duty,

Idrīsī gives the same information.

Dhunbiyya^{1.}

Ibn Khurdādhbeh relates that they are pleasant companions for conversation, who provide amusement by jests, music and acrobatics.^{2.}

Religious and civil, hold any intercourse with them and let food be given to them in potsherds, but not by the hand of the giver. See Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Vol. II, p.15.

As against this the account of the Arab writers affords interesting reading. But their statement that "women are beautiful" cannot be ignored for it is said Adivīra Rāma Pāndīan - the king (1562-67) who composed Naidadham (the story of Nala) chose a woman of the scavenger caste for his mistress.

1. ^{الذنبية} Idrīsī. الركية - الدكية - الدكة Ibn Khurdādhbeh
2. "7th, Lahūd, their women are fond of adorning themselves and the men are fond of amusements and games of skill." Elliot, Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Vol.1, p.16-17.

The text of Ibn Khurdādhbeh reads: p.71.

وهم سمرا صواب لهُو ومعارف ولعب

The text of Idrīsī

وهم اصحاب لهُو ولعب ومعارف وانواع من الآلات

De Goeje translates: "Les Dhonbyya (Donba) gens d'un teint brun, qui sont jongleur, bateleurs et joueurs de divers instruments." p.52.

Samār ^{سمار} is generally associated with colour while ^{سمر} (plural of ^{سامر}) with reciters of stories. As the author is silent about the colour of other sects described above, he can hardly be expected to mention the colour of this particular community. Moreover the average Indian is of tawny colour. De Goeje adds a footnote on this: "Berouny. India. p. 49, 1, 10 et 17, nomme la classe infime des Indiens ^{بدختو} Il n'est pas douteux que le meme nom se trouve sous la forme ^{بهند} dans les Merveilles de l'Inde. p.117, 1.7. Compt le Gloss p.194, et il est vraisemblable que la lecon de Berouny n'est qu'une corruption de ^{بهند} " p.52.

Idrīsī gives more or less the same information.^{1.}

Religious Beliefs

Transmigration of Souls.

Sulaymān, Ibn-ul-Faqīh, Abu Zayd, Masūdī and Dimishqī all state that Indians believe in the transmigration of souls.

Abu Zayd gives details on this point. In the kingdom of the Balhara and in other kingdoms of Hind, there are men who burn themselves in fire, because they believe in the transmigration of souls. They have firm belief in this doctrine and never admit of any doubt in it.

1. Elliot Idrīsī, "Lastly, the Zakya, who are jugglers, tumblers, and players of various instruments." Vol.1, p.76. R. The name Domb or Dombo is said to be derived from the word dumba, meaning devil, in reference to the thieving propensities of the tribe. They are a Dravidian race. They are regarded as a low and polluting class.

The Dombs are the weavers, traders, musicians, beggars and money lenders of the hills. Some own cattle and cultivate. The hill people in the interior are entirely dependent on them for their clothing. As musicians, they play on the drum and pipe.

Birūnī, however, differs from these writers and maintains that there were sixteen castes, the four well-known ones (Brahma, Kshatriya, Vaisya, Sudra), five semi-untouchables and seven untouchables. His information on the caste system is more detailed and interesting, though it does not bear any direct connection with the south.

The usual theoretical number of the castes is four, but it is rather strange that Greek writers like Megasthenes and Strabo and the Arab authors should concur in saying that their number was seven. The seven castes of the Arab writers are not identical with the seven castes described by the Greek ambassador, Megasthenes. The latter does not enumerate any of the untouchables among his castes, while the former include two among the depressed classes.

See "The Rashtrakutas and their Times"

by A.S. Altekar, Chap. XIV.

When the men and women of Hind become enfeebled by old age and sink under its weight they request the members of their family to throw them into the fire or to drown them because they firmly believe they will return to some other body.

Dimishqī gives more details. The Indians, like the sects (النصيرية - القرامطة - الحنادية - الاسماعيلية) believe in the transmigration of souls. They believe that in this life, the souls are in a narrow prison, and they think that after death, the souls will enter bodies and grow as they did in the previous birth and attain a greater degree of happiness. Hence they look upon death as life.

Sulaymān declares that both the people of China and Hind believe that their idols speak to them; it is only the priests of the idols speak to them.

Difference in details of religion

Sulaymān and Ibnul-Faqīh both relate that the people of Hind and of China differ in religious matters that are not fundamental.

Ibnul-Faqīh and Ibn Rusta say that the people of Hind^{1.} believe that the origin of their books is from Qumār.

1. Evidently this is a distortion of the fact mentioned by Sulaymān on p. 27 of the text. The Chinese believe that their religion was derived from Hind.

Pious Works

Abu Zayd writes that the Indians have various usages by which they think they would approach God who is far beyond the imagination of the unjust. For example, they provide on the highways inns for the comfort of travellers and set up grocers' stores, so that those who pass by that way can purchase their requirements. They also settle in those inns women prostitutes to be employed by travellers for their pleasure. This is considered among them to be a meritorious service.^{1.}

There are in Hind men who are great devotees in their religion. They seek new islands in the sea, plant in them cocoanut trees and dig wells to sell the water for passing ships.

Buildings.

Sulaymān mentions that the walls of the Chinese buildings are of wood, but the people of Hind build them with stones, plaster, bricks and clay, and such things. Sometimes the Chinese also build after this fashion.

1. This is a strange misrepresentation of facts. There are sometimes attached to temples and choultries widows or other outcastes who have voluntarily dedicated themselves to the service of these shrines. It is to these that the author may be referring, but he is quite mistaken in his allegations.

CHAPTER III.

Kings and Kingdoms.

The general information on Kings is gathered chiefly from the first group of writers and occasionally from Idrīsī, a writer of the fourth group. These details, such as they are, seem to ^{be} applicable to India as a whole, yet certain particulars, such as the description by Abu Zayd, of the custom observed by Indian kings upon their accession to the throne, and the account of Sulaymān, Masūdī, and Idrīsī, of the funeral ceremony of kings point unmistakably to the fact that the Arabs had greater intercourse with the people of the west coast, of the extreme south of the Indian peninsula and of the islands in the East Indies.

Almost all the Arab writers mention a number of kings and kingdoms, some in the north, some in the south, but there are a few whose identity is doubtful, and whose kingdoms cannot be accurately located.

Among the kings and kingdoms in Southern India our authors make repeated reference to one Balharā. No less than ten writers from Sulaymān to Dimishqī, covering a period of about ~~four~~ centuries, mention him. They give various details explaining the name and the nature of the title 'Balharā' and other particulars about his kingdom, his position, wealth, influence and his provincial viceroy. There is, of course, the usual tendency in these writers to repeat what another has said, yet they give from time to

time new and additional information, which, instead of being helpful in identifying the person intended by the title Balharā, tends to increase the existing confusion in the mind of the reader. These accounts may well convey the impression that the Balharā belongs to a dynasty of kings who were in power for a long time in Southern India. But the history of the Dekkan, during the period under reference, reveals a different picture of Southern India, describing constant feuds between several kings and gains and losses which varied from time to time with the fortunes of war. Before attempting to reconcile the two divergent accounts of the Arab writers and the historians of Southern India, it will be helpful to know what the title 'Balharā' means.

The Arabic form 'Balharā' may be a corruption of the Sanskrit 'Vallabharāja' (supreme king). This word 'Vallabharāja' should by rules of prākṛit or vernacular pronunciation become Vallabha-rāy, Ballaha-rāy or Balharāy. The last two forms are the same as Ballahrā or Balharā of the Arab writers who give the meaning for this title as 'King of kings'.

It is evident from the History of ^{the} Dekkan that this title Vallabha was first assumed by the early Chalukyas who came into prominence about the middle of the sixth century A.D.

(1) The word Vallabha also means: Beloved, desired, dear; a lover, husband, favourite, friend.

(2) ^{EARLY} History of ^{the} Dekkan by Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar (Third edition) is consulted for the purpose of this study.

The first prince who raised this family to distinction was Jayasimha. He was succeeded by his son Pulakesi who performed a great asvamēdha or horse-sacrifice. He made Vātāpipura, which has been identified with Bādāmi in the Kaladgi district, his capital. His full title was Satyāśraya Sri Pulakēsi Vallabha Maharāja. Of these words Vallabha appears to be the title of all princes of this dynasty. In some cases Vallabha had Prithvī prefixed to it, so that the expression meant 'Lover or Husband of the earth'.

Pulakesi II, who came to the throne in 611 A.D., was the greatest prince of this dynasty. His full title was Satyāśraya Sri Prithvi Vallabha Maharāja. He reduced the Kadambas in Banavāsi, the prince of the Ganga family which ruled over the Chēra country situated about the modern Mysore, and the Mauryas of the Konkan. He defeated the kings of Lāta, Mālva, Gūrjara, who became his dependents. About this time Harshavardhana, king of Kanoj, a powerful king of Northern India who made himself paramount sovereign of the north, endeavoured to extend his power south of the Narbadā. He was opposed by Pulakesi who killed many of his elephants and defeated his army. Thenceforward Pulakesi received or assumed the title of Paramēshvara, or the Lord Paramount. He kept a strong garrison on the banks of the Narbadā to guard the frontiers. Thus by his policy as well as by his valour, he became the supreme lord of the three countries

called Maharāshtrakas, containing ninety-nine thousand villages. Then he turned his attention towards the kings of Kosala and Kalinga, who trembled at his approach and surrendered to him. After some time he marched with a large army against Conjeevaram, and laid siege to it. He then crossed the Kaveri, and invaded the countries of the Chōlas and the Pāndyas, who became his allies. Thus Pulakesi established his supremacy throughout the South before 634 A.D.

It was in the reign of this king that Yüan Chuang, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim visited India. He calls him Pu-lo-ki-she- and has given a description of the king and his country.

Pulakesi's fame reached even foreign countries. It is reported in an Arabic work ⁽¹⁾ that he sent an embassy to Chosroes II, King of Persia, who reigned from 591 - 628 A.D. in the thirty-sixth year of that king's reign, and must have received one from him either before or after.

Hence it becomes clear that there was a supreme king in

(1) De Goeje's edition of *Tārīkh-i-Tabarī* has the following account on page 1052 Vol. II prima series,

"Farmēsha (Paramēshvra) king of Hind, sent to us, in the thirty-sixth year of our reign, ambassadors carrying a letter imparting to us various news, and presents for us, for you, and our other sons. He also wrote a letter to each of you

The name of the king in the Arabic text is Farmēsha, Sanskrit Paramēshvra or Lord Paramount, a title assumed by Pulakesi after he defeated the army of Harshavardhana, a king of Northern India.

Professor Nöldöke who was perhaps not aware of this title of Pulakesi, is at great pains to connect Farmēsha with Pulakesi. From the Arabic form Farmēsha he successfully

the whole of Southern India by about the middle of the seventh century A.D.

The power of this dynasty of early Chalukyas declined in the course of time. During the reign of Kirtivarman II (747 A.D.) the Chalukyas were deprived of their power in Maharatta and the sovereignty passed from their hands into those of the Rashtra kuta princes. These were the real native rulers of the country. Though they were sometimes eclipsed by enterprising princes such as the Chalukyas and others, yet they were never extirpated. They always rose against the Chalukyas and were finally able to subjugate them.

The most noteworthy ruler of this line was Govinda III. He subjugated the Ganga prince of Chēra, the kings of Gurjara and Malva and brought the Pallava king of Kanchi under a more complete subjection than before. As a result of his successful expeditions to the north and south, which were completed by the end of the 8th century A.D., he acquired a large extent of territory and established his supremacy over a number of kings. He appears to have become the paramount sovereign of the whole country from Malva in the north to Kanchipura in the south, and to have under his immediate sway the country between the Narbada and the Tungabhadra.

(contd.) arrives at Parmēsha; then he proceeds to say that as R and L are written with the same sign in Pehlvi, R is to be taken as a false mode of expressing L. As M may be substituted for K (Q) in the Arabic, or in the Pehlvi, it follows that the name may be correctly represented in Pehlvi by and read as Pulakesi. See p.166 Vol.XI New Series

His secondary names as found in his own grants were Prabhutavarsha 'Raining profusely', Prithvī Vallabha 'Lover of the earth' and Sri Vallabha.

His son Amogavarsha who succeeded Gorinda III is spoken of simply as Vallabha and is styled Rājarāja, 'king of kings' and also as Vīra Nārāyana.

Mānyakheta, the capital of the Rashtrakutas, is spoken of as being in a very flourishing condition in the time of Amogavarsha. Mānyakheta has been properly identified with Malkhed in the Nizam's dominions.

There were nineteen kings in the Rashtrakuta dynasty. The last one Kakkala (973 A.D.), said to have been a brave soldier, was conquered in battle by Tailappa who belonged to the Chalukya race, and thus the sovereignty of ^{the} Dekkan passed from the hands of the Rashtrakutas once more into those of the Chalukyas after a lapse of two hundred and twenty-five years.

Tailappa who re-established the power of the Chalukyas, reigned for twenty-four years, during which period he carried his arms into the country of the Chōlas, and humbled the kings of Guzarat and Chedi. He invaded Malva, took the king prisoner and beheaded him.

(Contd.) See: Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden - Noldeke, p. 371 and Note.

The greatest ruler of this later Chalukya family was Vikramaditya II who had his capital at Kalyana. He had among many other titles the title of Prithvī Vallabha Mahārājā-dirāja. There were eleven kings of this dynasty which was powerful from 973 - 1189 A.D. By about the first half of the 12th century the power of the later Chalukyas began to decline rapidly. Some of the feudatory chiefs became powerful and arrogant. There was constant warfare and the Yadavas under Vira Ballala subdued the Chalukya general and put an end to the power of the dynasty.

Thus it appears that the early Chalukyas, the Rashtrakutas, and then the later Chalukyas held the first rank among the kings of Southern India from the middle of the seventh century to the end of the twelfth century A.D. The kings of these dynasties always had for one of their titles 'Vallabha rāja', the arabic form of which is 'Ballahrā' or 'Balhrā'. In the light of the foregoing account of the history of this period, the consistent reference by the Arab authors, to the Balharā appearing on the surface to be a myth, is seen to yield some sense.

A critical analysis of the account of the Balharā furnished by the Arab writers shows that these authors should be classified under three groups.

Sulaymān, Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Yaʿqūbī, Ibn Rusta and Abu Zayd form one group, Masūdī, Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Haugāl and Abul

Faraj, another, while Idrīsī and Dimishqī form a separate group.

The information we get about the Balharā from the writers in Sulaymān's group is very general and vague, yet it is sufficiently clear to convey the impression of the Balharā's greatness, his position and power. As we already noticed, Pulakesi, one of the early Chalukya princes, had established his supremacy by about the middle of the seventh century A.D. and his fame had reached even foreign courts. Sulaymān mentions Kamkam as a part of the kingdom of the Balharā; Ibn Khurdādhbeh and Ibn Rusta definitely say that the Balharā resides in Kamkam. As the book of Sulaymān is a mixed recital of a number of travellers and navigators in different times prior to 851 A.D. the narrator of the account of the Balharā,¹ whose name is not known to us, must have been an early traveller who had heard about the power and fame of the early Chalukya kings. The knowledge of this traveller was only confined to the coastal area, namely Kamkam², which extended a great distance along the west coast and may be supposed to have comprised the city Vātāpipura (Bādāmi) the capital of the Chalukyas. As Kamkam formed part of their

1. pp. 26-28, Text.

2. For particulars on the extent of Kamkam (Konkan) see:
Ancient Geography of India, by Cunningham,
p.633,
and p. 57, Thesis.

kingdom, the narrator seems to have given a fairly correct estimate of the power of this dynasty. This fact must have been so familiar to the Arabs that later writers who had not visited the country, nor cared to enquire after fresh details on this point, repeated the traditional statement without being aware that the Chalukyas lost their supremacy as early as 757 A.D. when the Rashtrakutas rose to be the first power in Southern India.

The authors from Masūdi to Abul Faraj, though they base their accounts on earlier works, shew an improvement upon these, and give new and additional information. All of these speak of Mānkīr, the capital of the Balharā. The statement of Masūdi that Mānkīr is eighty parasangs from the sea conveys the impression that it is an inland town and its identification with Malkhed in the Nizam's dominions seems probable. The information of Istakhrī and Ibn Hauqal that Kanbāya to Saymūr is the land of the Balharā seems to be fairly correct as the Rashtrakuta princes held sway over Gazarat; Masūdi's reference to Bāniā^x, the Balharā's viceroy at Kanbāya, also confirms this conclusion.

Hence it may be presumed that the Balharā of these writers from Masūdi to Abul Faraj refers to the Rashtrakuta kings who were in power till 973 A.D.

Ibn Hauqal (976 A.D.) credits the Balharā with the authorship of a book of Proverbs. This Balharā may be

identified with Amogavarsha, one of the Rashtrakuta princes who is represented as having been a devoted worshipper of a holy jaina saint named Jinasena. An important work on the philosophy of the Digambara jainas, entitled Jayadhavalā, is represented at the end as having been composed in the reign of Amogavarsha. In the introductory portion of a jaina mathematical work entitled Sārasaṅgraha by Virāchārya, Amogavarsha is highly praised for his power and virtues and is spoken of as a follower of the jaina doctrine. The authorship of a small tract consisting of questions and answers on moral subjects, entitled Praśnōttara-ratnamālikā, which has been claimed for Saṅkaracharya and one Saṅkaraguru by the Brahmans, and for Vimala by the Svetambaras, is attributed to king Amogavarsha, by the Digambara jainas. Thus it appears that among all the Rashtrakuta princes Amogavarsha was the greatest patron of learning and culture.

By the time Idrīsī (1154 A.D.) began to compose his account, the later Chalukyas were the first power in Southern India. The greatest prince of this line was Vikramaditya II who ruled for fifty years from 1076-1126 A.D. He governed his subjects well and they were happy under his rule. The security they enjoyed was so great that according to Bilhana, "they did not care to close the doors of their houses at night, and instead of thieves the rays of the moon entered through the window openings." He was liberal and bountiful

to the poor and was a great patron of learning. As the Arabs by this time had greater intercourse with India, it is natural that they were better acquainted with the fame, position influence and wealth of the kings of this dynasty, and in some ways the account of Idrīsī reflects this. But it is curious that Idrīsī does not mention Kalyana the capital city of the later Chalukyas. He mentions Nahrwara in the North and Saymūr in the South as cities under the sway of the Balharā which facts may be taken as an indication of the extent of the Balharā's kingdom.

By the time of Dimishqī (325) the state of affairs in the South was different. His reference to the land of the Balharā must have been based upon the earlier accounts, and the few details he gives are confusing.

There are also references to other kingdoms. We get various arabicised Tamil words, which may be taken to refer to the three kingdoms of the Cera, the Cōla and the Pāndya.

Āritī and Fārit may stand for the Cēra, Saylamān and Sūliyān for the Cōlas, and Ābidī, Āba, Ghāba and Qāyḍī for the PĀNDYAS.

Besides there are references to the minor kingdoms of Dabhol and Bāghar.

Thus the kingdoms of the Balharā, the Cēra, the Cōla and the Pāndya, seem to complete the picture of Southern India to a great extent.

CHAPTER III

(a) General Information on Kings.

Hereditary Succession

Masūdī informs us that royalty is limited to the descendants of one family and never goes to another.^{1.} The same is the case with families of the wazīr, qādī and other high offices. They are never changed or altered.

Age for Succession

The same author tells us that no king can succeed to the throne in India before he is forty years of age.

Women Rulers

Yāqūbī relates that some of the rulers of Indian kingdoms are women.

Kings chosen from the Kshatriya Caste

Ibn Khurdādhbeh and Idrīsī report that the kings of India are chosen from the shākriya caste.^{2.}

King's Appearance

Masūdī says that kings do not appear before the public except on particular occasions which are fixed at certain intervals, and then it is only for the inspection of state affairs, for in their opinion, the kings lose their respect

1. Compare: "In every one of these kingdoms royalty is restricted to only one family and it never departs from that particular family." Sulaymān p.51.

2. See under Shākriya Caste.

and give away their privileges if the public gazes at them.^{1.}

Measures of Government

Masūdī reports that good government in Hind is ensured by (judicious) selection and giving everything its due place in the hierarchy of Government.^{2.}

Ceremony at the time of Accession to the Throne

The description by Abu Zayd, of the custom observed by kings on their accession to the throne is incorporated in the general account of the people under the heading "sacrifices for kings".^{3.}

Kings Independent of each other

Sulaymān says that the several kings of Hind never pay allegiance to one sovereign, but each is independent in his territory. But the Balharā is King of kings in Hind.

Wars.

The same author relates that sometimes they fight for supremacy, though it is rare,^{4.} adding "yet I have not seen any one who subdued the kingdom of another, except the people of Tilwa⁵ in the country of pepper."

£

1. See Ordinances of Manu, Hopkins Lect. VII, 6, 7.

2. Cf. "The measures of government must be carried by mildness in India and by degradation from a high rank."

Sprenger, Masūdī. p.184.

"Government is only maintained by good feeling and by respect for the various dignities of the state."

Elliot, Masūdī. Vol.1, p.20.

The text reads:

والرياسات عندها لا تجوز الا بالتخير ووضع الاشياء مواضعها من مراتب السياسة

Barbier, Vol.1, p.167.

3. See page 137 Thesis.

4. This is contrary to the facts of history. There was constant warfare between the various kings in Southern India.

5. Sulaymān evidently confuses the people of Tuluva^{community} with the

Conquered territory - how administered.

It is also Sulaymān who tells us that whenever any king subdues another country, he makes a man of the family of the defeated king governor of it. He would be under his control. Else the inhabitants of that country will not agree to be governed otherwise.

Army.

The soldiers of Hind, Sulaymān says, are numerous. They are not paid by the king. Whenever they are called upon for field service, they go entirely at their own expense and they are not a charge on the king's purse.^{1.} But the Chinese pay allowances to the soldiers as the Arabs.

Ibnul Faqih gives the same information.

Mode of Warfare.

Maṣūdī says that the kings fight in squares, each one amounting to twenty thousand men; so that every one of the four sides of the square has five thousand men.

Slit Ears

Ibn Khurdādhbeh says that all the kings of Hind have slit ears.

Ornaments.

Ibnul Faqih records that the kings of Hind wear ornaments.

country of pepper, Malabar.

1. This statement is modified by the account on p.27, Text: "The Balharā is a king who gives allowances to soldiers after the manner of the Arabs."

Abu Zayd gives more details. He says that the kings of Hind wear ear-rings of precious stones set in gold. They also wear collars of great price, adorned with precious stones of green and red. Pearls are highest in price and estimation. At the present day pearls constitute their treasures and riches. Kings - their women not veiled.

Abu Zayd says that most of the kings do not veil their women. When they hold a court they allow their women to be seen by men who attend it, whether they be natives or foreigners.

Drinking and fornication.

The information given on drinking and fornication are included in Chapter II, which deals with the people in general.^{1.}

Desire to possess Elephants.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh mentions that the kings of Hind are eager to possess elephants of lofty stature and pay large sums for them. The elephants are nine cubits in height except those found in Aghbāh which are ten or eleven cubits high.

Religious Faith

Abu Zayd says that all the kings of Hind and China believe in the faith of transmigration of souls. A person who may be relied upon relates: One of their kings had an attack of small-pox. After he recovered from it he looked in a mirror and

1. See p. 130, 134 Thesis.

thought his face very ugly. Then he turned towards the son of his brother and said to him thus: "No one like myself will live with this body after such a change. Verily it is only an abode for the spirit. When it passes away it migrates into another. So do you ascend the throne. I shall separate my soul from my body till I descend into another body." Then he called for one of his trenchant daggers and gave orders that his head should be cut off. Then he was burnt.

Funeral ceremony.

Sulaymān says that when the king of Sarandib died they placed a kind of carriage^{1.} just above the level of the ground and made the corpse lie on the back, with the hair of the head lying upon the ground. A woman held in her hand a broom and put the corpse to shame^{2.} (addressing the men about the corpse in the following manner): "O men! This was your king yesterday who ruled over you and you obeyed his commands. Behold today! See what he has come to, he has left the world! The angel of death has taken away his soul. (Therefore) do

1. صبر على محلة قريباً من الارض Elongated expression to convey a simple word in Tamil படாலை (Pādai), a bier. Text p. 49.

2. وامرأة بيدها مكنسة تحمّل التراب على رأسه Text, p.50.
"En meme temps, une femme, tenant un balai a la main, chasse la poussiere sur la figure du mort et crie ces mots."

Transl. Reinaud, p. 48.

"A woman follows with a broom who sweeps the dust on to the face of the corpse and cries out...." Elliot, p.6.

حشا التراب عليه and في وجهه means, he poured dust with his hand, threw it upon him, in his face.
The meaning ought to be taken figuratively.

not be deceived by this life." She spoke such words. This continued for three days and after that the body was prepared for burial. The body is embalmed with sandal, camphor, and saffron and is burnt, and the ashes are scattered abroad to the winds.

Maṣūḍī gives the same account, but with a slight variation. He says, I have seen in the country of Sarandīb which is an island of the sea, that when a king dies, he is laid upon a car with small wheels, made for the purpose. His hair touches the ground, and a woman with a broom in her hand puts the corpse to shame¹, crying out: "O people! this was yesterday your king and you were bound to obey his orders. See what has now become of him! He has left this world and the king of kings the Eternal, and Self Existent, who dies not, has taken his soul. Do not be given to life after this example." These words are intended as an exhortation to a pious and abstemious life in this world. After a procession with the body through the streets of the town, they divide it into four parts and burn it with sandal wood, camphor and other perfume. The ashes are thrown to the winds.

1. و امرأة بيدها مكنسة تحن التراب على رأسه BARBIER. p. 167.
 "A woman with a broom in her hand sweeps dust on his head."
 Sprenger, p. 184.
 "Une femme, un balai à la main, jette de la poussière
 sur la tête du mort, en oriant...." Barbier, p. 167.

In this manner the people of Hind mostly perform the funeral ceremony for their kings and great men. This is done for a purpose they state, and a future goal they have in view.

Idrīsī has the following account. When the king dies they construct a vehicle of an appropriate size, and raised^{1.} about two spans^{1.} above the ground. On this they place a cupola adorned with the crown^{2.} and then the corpse, clad in all its funeral ornaments, is laid in it and is dragged by slaves all round the city. The head is uncovered for those who wish to see, and the hair is drawn out to the ground.^{3.} A herald goes before uttering, in the Indian language, words of which the following is the sense. "People! Behold your king, so and so by name, son of so and so. He lived happily and mightily for so many years. He is no more, and all that he possessed has escaped from his hands. Nothing now remains to him and he will feel no more pain. Remember, he has shown you the way you must follow."

When the procession^{4.} is concluded they take the corpse to

1. تَبْرِينَ Two spans. "Two palms". Elliot. Vol.1, p.88.

2. "On this they place the bier surmounted by the crown." Elliot, Vol.1, p.88. But the text Bod.MSS. reads: ويوضع على العجلة

3. وشعره ينجر على تراب الأرض. "The hair drags upon the ground." قبة مكللة
MSS. Bodlean library. Elliot, Vol.1, pp. 88-89.

4. فاذا فرغ من الطواف MSS. Bodlean Library. "When all the ceremonies are concluded." Elliot. Vol.1, p.89.

the place where the bodies of the kings are burnt, and commit it to the flames. These people do not grieve and lament very much on these occasions.

The accounts of these three writers are in effect the same, although they vary to some extent in details.

R. As Sulaymān's account definitely conveys the impression that the funeral ceremony pertains only to the kings of Ceylon it may be argued that the account cannot find a place in the present thesis which is restricted to Southern India. But Masūdī who gives details almost identical with those given by Sulaymān qualifies his account with the statement that this is the manner of the funeral ceremony observed mostly by the people of Hind for their kings.

In this connection it may be said that the accounts provide a clear instance that Masūdī follows Sulaymān. Further, as Masūdī was a traveller we expect that he should give us more details pertaining to the place and observances of this ceremony. He disappoints us in this and simply passes it over with a statement at the end of the account that this is the custom with the people of Hind. These considerations argue that, apart from the general lack of interest in these writers to study the customs of Hindus seriously, the Arabs during the periods of Sulaymān and Masūdī were more familiar with the islands in the East Indies rather than with the west coast of the Indian peninsula. This fact has also been noticed in the course of the discussion of the etymology of the word "Malābār". See under Malābār. p. 74 Thesis.

Idrīsī's account shows that he had a different source. He might have had his information from contemporary travellers or from some of the earlier works which are not known to us so far. The latter seems to be more probable.

Preparations for Meals

ABU ZAYD: Their kings and persons of high quality have fresh tables made for them every day, together with little dishes and plates, woven of the cocoanut leaf, in which they eat the food. And their meal over, they throw the table, the dishes and plates into the water, together with the fragments they have left. Thus at every meal they have a new service.

Princes

Idrīsī notes that the princes of India grow long hair.

Grandeess:^{1.} Dress and Conveyance

ABU ZAYD The grandeess of the court, and the officers of the army wear pearls. The chief^{2.} among them is carried on the neck of a man (in a palanquin). He wears a fūta and holds in his hand a ghatra, that is a parasol of peacock feathers to shade himself from the sun. At the same time he is surrounded by his followers.^{3.}

1. وجوه

2. الرئيس

3. The text reads as follows:

والرئيس منهم يركب على عنق رجل منهم وعليه فوطه وقد استتر بها
وفي يده شئ يعرف بالبحتره وهي مظلة من ريش الطواويس يأخذها
بيده فيبقى بها الشمس واصحابه محذون

Abu Zayd, p.145.

R. It is very strange that the word 'palanquin' is not used by the writer. Besides the picture also is not correctly portrayed. The ra's will not hold a ghatra in his hand when he sits inside the palanquin. The mace bearers and umbrella-holders will walk in front and on either side of the palanquin while the companions follow the palanquin.

چتر P. ghatr (s. ohhatra) An umbrella, parasol (especially as an ensign of royalty).

The description of the ghatr is wrong here as it is not made of peacock feathers.

CHAPTER III

(b) Kings and kingdomsKing Ratīla called al-Ābidi^{1.}

^{2.} Ibn Rusta quotes a narrator who says: I saw the king called al-Ābidi, he is the king Ratīla. There are no elephants in his land. He purchases elephants, but he does not buy those more than five cubits in height, because elephants over five cubits are sold at the rate of one thousand dīnārs for every cubit over five up to nine.

1. ورأيت هذا الملك الذي يقال له العابدی - - وهو ملك رتيلا

2. The name of the narrator is not given.

R. The same narrator speaks of three kings, al-Ābidi, al-Ariti, his neighbour, and a third king called al-Ṣaylamān, more powerful than the other two. The word Ṣaylamān, (the Ṣūliān of Dimishqī) which undoubtedly refers to the Cōlas gives the clue that the words Ābidi and Ariti must refer to the other two kingdoms of the Pāndyas and Cēras. This conjecture is further confirmed by the MS. Ṭabāṭal-Hayawān, discovered by Dr. Arberry, Librarian Indian Office, and being edited by Professor Minorsky, The School of Oriental Studies, which reads thus:

ووراه ملك رسله ويقال له مادنس ثم يليه ملك يقال له

العارطى ثم يليه ملك يقال له صيلمان وهو اعظم من - -

رسله corresponds to رتيلا of Ibn Rusta and مادنس is without doubt Pāndyan. By what process of transformation the word Pāndyan became al-Ābidi in the copy of Ibn Rusta is beyond all calculations. Thus it appears that Ratīla is the name of the Pāndyan king. Perhaps this Ratīla may be identified with Rāja Simha II (about 900 A.D.), the donor of the larger Sinnamanūr plates which have been discovered in recent times.

Maṣūdi says: The kings who rule over Mandūrfīn are called al-Qāydi القايدي. This is again a corruption of the word Pāndyan. See under al-Qāydi.

1.
King called al-Āritī.

2.
Ibn Rusta on the authority of a narrator says that the neighbour to Ratīla is another king called al-Āritī.

Yaqūbī places the kingdom of al-Fārit after the kingdom of al-Daybul.

.....

3.
Kingdom of Bāghira

Masūdī says that crocodiles abound in this sea of Hind which has many bays like the bay of Sindābūr in the kingdom of Bāghira in Hind.

.....

4.
The Balharā

Sulaymān, Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Yaqūbī, Ibn Rusta, Masūdī, Istakhrī, Ibn Hauqal, Abul-Faraj, Idrīsī, Dimishqī - all these ten writers speak about the Balharā.

1. العارطى Ibn Rusta.

2. The name of the narrator is not mentioned. Whatever may be the present form (عارطى) in the text, the narrator has doubtless meant it to refer to the Cēra king when he mentions that name between Ābidī (Pāndya) and Ṣaylamān (Cōla) kings.

The author of Tabāī'ul-Hayawān who does not seem to follow Ibn Rusta has also mentioned العارطى in the same manner.

As Yaqūbī mentions al-Fārit الفارط after al-Daybul, it must refer to the Cēra Kingdom only. See under Daybul and Fārit.

3. باغرة Barbier, p.207. Baghar or Baghira. باغرة (ياغز) Sprenger, p.234. Baghara, Elliot. Vol.1, p.22.

R. The kingdom of Bāghira may have reference to Hābu Kings, whose capital was Siddhāpūr. Many crocodiles are found in the Kalinadi at Kadra and Siddhāpūr. See under Sindābūr.

Elliot (Vāume I, p.21-22) says that this "Baghara" must be intended for "Balhara" in whose kingdom Sindabur seems to have been situated. It does not appear to be correct.

Meaning of the Title Balharā

1.
Of these writers, only four^{1.} say that the title Balharā signifies 'king of kings'.

Nature of the title

As to the nature of this title, Sulaymān says that 'Balharā' is the title common to every one of their sovereigns like the title Kisrā and such other titles and it is not a proper name.

Hasūdī has the following remark. A king named Balharā became the master over Mānkīr, the great metropolis. He was the first who had the name Balharā which became subsequently the title of every sovereign of that great capital down to our time which is the year 332 A.H.

Ibn Hauqal says that the king is known after the name of the country as they say Ghāna غانة which is the name of the country as well as the name of the king. The same with Kōgha كوغا and the like.

Idrīsī goes into greater details. He says that the name Balharā is hereditary here as in other parts of the

4. (From preceding page)

بَلْهَرَا All writers.

بَلْهَرَا Sprenger - Hasūdī, p.176.

1. Sulaymān, Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Ibn Rusta and Idrīsī.

country, where, when a king ascends a throne he takes the name of his predecessor and transmits it to his heir. This is a regular custom from which these people never depart. There is the same rule with the kings of Nubia, Zanj, Ghāna,^{1.} Persia and in the Roman empire in respect of the hereditary descent of names.

Idrīsī further says that the work of 'Ubaydullāh ibn Khurdādhbeh contains a passage concerning this which is worth^{2.} quoting.

"Kings", he says, "generally bear hereditary titles - thus those of China have been called Bagh-būgh and also Baghbūn for centuries till this day and the titles descend in regular order. Among the kings of India there are the Balharā jāba,^{3.} Tāfar,^{4.} al-Ḥazr,^{5.} Ghāna,^{6.} Dahmā and Qāmrun. These names are only taken by the prince who reigns over the province or the country, no other has any right to assume them, but whoever reigns takes the name. Among the Turks, the Tibetans and the Khazars, the king is called Khāqān, but among

1. عاتة MS. Poc. 375.

2. The passage referred to by Idrīsī is not to be traced anywhere in the edition of De Goeje's Ibn Khurdādhbeh. In this edition القاب ملوك الارض is discussed on p.16 and القاب ملوك خراسان والمشرق is discussed on p.39. De Goeje.

3. الطافر B.Nationale - Paris.

العنافر MS.Poc. 375. Bod.Library.

4. الحرر

"

"

5. عابه

"

"

and Bib.Nat.Paris.) Idrīsī MSS.

6. دمنی

"

"

the Kharluḡh he takes the title of Jabghūya, which is hereditary. Likewise the kings of al-Zābaj are called al-Fatijab, a hereditary title. In the Roman empire they take the title of Caesar which is inherited by all those who become kings. Among the Aghzās they are called shāh-shāh, that is, king of kings, a title hereditary like the rest. Finally among the Persians they are called al-Akāṣira. Among the people who dwell in the Sudan the names of the kings are derived from their countries - thus the ruler of Ghāna is called Ghāna, the king of Kōgha (كوغه) is called Kōgha.

Kingdom of the Balharā

Sulaymān says that the kingdom of the Balharā begins from the coast of the sea comprising the country called Kamkam, and extends by land as far as China.^{1.}

That Kamkam (Konkan) is the country of the Balharā may be deduced from the statement of Ibn Khurdādhbeh that the Balharā resides in Kamkam.

Ibn Rusta says that the Balharā lives in his country called Kamkam. He is a king, master of a vast territory.

Tāfir, Hazr (juzr) Ābat, Dumī, (Rahmī). Elliot. Vol.I. p.86.

R. Idrīsī's MSS. have various readings of the titles of foreign kings, which are obviously due to bad writing. Correct forms are substituted in the place of wrong ones.

1. Compare: "The kingdom of the Balhara commences on the seaside at the country of Kamkam (Konkan) on the tongue of land which stretches to China". Elliot, Sulaymān, Vol.I, p.4

وارضه اولها ساحل البحر وهي بلاد تدعى الكيم متصله على الارض الى الصين Text, p.28.

Yāqūbī simply states that the kingdom of the Balharā comes after Rahmā.

Abu Zayd brings in the name 'kingdom of the Balharā' when he speaks about their faith in the transmigration of souls.

Masūdī says the distance between the capital city of the Balharā and the sea is eighty Sindhī parasangs and every such parasang has eight miles.

Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Hauqal say that from Kanbāya to Saymūr^{1.} is the land of the Balharā, one of the kings of Hind, and² the latter adds that the country of the Balharā is extensive.

Idrīsī relates that the kingdom of the Balharā is vast, well-populated, commercial and fertile. Saymūr and Nahrwārah belong to a country whose king is called the Balharā.

Dimishqī seems to be confused when he says that the land of the Balharā is on the border of Sīn-al-Sīn while Jazrāt^{3.} also is adjacent to Sīn-al-Sīn.

1. Compare: "From Kanbaya to Saimur is the land of the Balhara, and in it there are several Indian kings." p. 27, Elliot Iṣṭakhrī Vol.1, p.27. The text of Iṣṭakhrī (De Goeje, p.173) reads thus:

ومن كنبايه الى صيمور من بلد بلهرا بعض ملوك الهند

The word بعض may sometimes mean one, though it connotes generally more than one.

Against this the text of Ibn Hauqal (de Goeje p.227) is very clear:

ومن كنبايه الى صيمور وهو بلد بلهرا

But Elliot (Ibn Hauqal p.34) says:- "From Kanbaya to Saimur is the land of the Balhara and in it there are several Indian kings." See also the footnote on the same page.

2. See note on page 200, Thesis.

3. The following details on the mountain of the Balharā gathered from various pages of his work show further Dimishqī's confusion:

(see over)

The Balharā's Capital

Maṣūdī gives, for the first time, indication about the capital city. He says that the Balharā was the king of Mānkīr the great metropolis. The inhabitants of Mānkīr which is the residence of the Balharā speak the Kīriyā language.

Iṣṭakhrī remarks that the city in which the Balharā dwells is Mānkīr which has an extensive territory.^{1.}

Abul Faraj says that the Balharā lives in the city of Mānkīr.

Neighbouring Kings and Kingdoms

Sulaymān has the remark that round about the Balharā's kingdom there are many kings who are at war with him but he has the upper hand over all of them.

"It is in the second climate", he says, "the latitude of which is from 20 to 27". (p.19). "The river Mankhar-rūr-Khan comes out of the mountains of the Balharā, flows through the frontiers of Tājah, and the land of bamboos and empties into the sea of big Hābar". (p.101). "The skirts of the mountains of the Balharā form the frontier on the northern side of their country, while the big ocean is the eastern boundary". (p.169).

1. The same information is found in Elliot's version of Ibn Haugai, but the text (De Goeje p.228) has no reference to Mānkīr and the words "extensive territory" as they stand in the text refer to the country of the Balharā.

وبلاد بلخرا مساجد - بجمع فيها الجمعات ويقام بسائرهما الصلوات
بالاذان على المنابر والاعلان بالتكبير والتهليل وهي مملكة عريضة -

Ibn Rusta states that there are many kings who are his neighbours.

Masūdī gives fuller details. The dominions of the Balharā border on many other kingdoms of India; some kings have their territory in the mountains and are not in possession of sea as the Rāj, the ruler of Kashmir and the king of Tāfan and other sovereigns of Hind; others are in possession of land and sea.

At some distance from him is the territory of Bāurah^{1.}
 بؤوره the king of *qannawj*, who is not in possession of sea. He is an enemy of the Balharā, the king of Hind. The king of *qannawj* has four armies corresponding with the four cardinal winds and each army is composed of seven hundred thousand men, also said as nine hundred thousand men. The army of the north has to oppose the king of *al-Multan* and his allies, the army of the south has to defend the country against the Balharā, the king of *al-Mānkīr*, and in the same manner are the other armies engaged against other neighbouring powers.

On one side, the country of the Balharā, called Kamkar, is exposed to the inroads of the king of *ʿJuzr*, on another side, it is exposed to the attacks of Rahmā.

1. بؤوده (بؤوزه or بؤوره). Sprenger. p.380.

Respect paid to the Balharā

Sulaymān says that both the people of Hind and China are agreed upon the fact that the kings of the world may be reckoned as four. They hold the king of the Arabs as the first of the four. It is the unanimous opinion of all and there is no dispute on this point. that he is the most powerful of all kings and most wealthy and glorious of all. He is the head of a great religion and there is no religion to surpass it. Then they place the king of China next to the king of the Arabs, then the king of Rum and then the Balharā, the king of those who have slit ears. This Balharā is the most illustrious king in Hind. The people of Hind acknowledge his superiority. All other kings of Hind, though each is independent, acknowledge the Balharā as the most glorious of them all. They pray to his ambassadors to honour him.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh says that the greatest king of Hind is Balharā.

Ibn Rusta: The kings round about him pray to him, and whenever the ambassadors of the Balharā visit their cities they honour him out of respect for the Balharā.

Masūdī says that the greatest king of India in our times is the Balharā, the lord of Mānkīr. Most of the kings of India turn in their prayers towards him and they adore his messengers when they receive them.

Army

Sulaymān says that the Balharā has many horses and elephants. He is a king who gives allowances to soldiers after the manner of the Arabs.

Ibn Rusta restricts himself with the statement that the Balharā is master of a large army.

Masūdī relates that his troops and elephants are innumerable and his army consists mostly of infantry for his dominions are mountainous. The Balharā pays his army from the public treasury as the Muslims do. His war elephants are beyond number.

Abul Faraj says that the Balharā owns sixty thousand elephants.

Idrīsī says he has troops and elephants; the elephants are numerous and these constitute the chief strength of his army.

The ministers and commanders of the troops never accompany the king except when he marches against those who defy him or (to deprive his governors of their power)¹, or to repulse encroachments made upon his territories by neighbouring kings.

Wealth

While Sulaymān says that the Balharā's wealth is in dirhams called Tātariyya, Idrīsī gives a few details.

1. Elliot's version of Idrīsī omits this.

The kingdom of the Balhara pays abundant taxes so that the king is immensely rich.

Accounts about the person Balharā

Ibn Khurdādhbeh says that the Balharā has inscribed the following words in his ring: "He who befriends you for a purpose will turn away after its completion."^{1.}

Abul Faraj says that every year the Balharā, king of Mānkīr, rides to the temple, nay he goes by foot to the temple and returns to his residence riding on horse.

Idrīsī relates that he worships idols; he wears a crown of gold upon his head, and (robes woven with gold).^{2.} He rides a good deal on horseback, but especially once a week when he goes out attended only by women, one hundred in number, (clad in dress of gold embroidery, adorned with beautiful jewels, wearing bracelets^{4.} of gold and silver upon their hands and feet and letting down their hair on their backs).^{5.} They engage in various games and sham fights while their king marches at their head.

1. The Arabic text (De Geeje, p.67) reads thus:

من ورك لا مروني مع النطاعة
But Elliot's translation of Ibn Khurdādhbeh (Vol.I, p.13) says thus: "What is begun with resolution ends with success"

2. "and dresses in rich stuffs". - Elliot, Vol.I, pp.87-8.

3. P. القراطين المذهبة - قرط P.Tunio.

These may refer to costly silk saris and jackets with embroidered work.

4. P. سوار Pl. اسورة - اساور - اسورة

5. "rich clad, wearing rings of gold and silver upon their feet and their hands and their hair in curls". Elliot, Vol.I, pp.87-8.

Ibn Hauqal says that the Balharā is the author of the
 1.
 Book of Proverbs.

Relationship between the Balharā and the Arabs and the Muslim

Sulaymān says that in the whole country of Hind there is none more affectionate to the Arabs than the Balharā and likewise his subjects also profess the same love for the Arabs.

The Balharā line of kings live for a long period, many have ruled for fifty years. The people of the country of the Balharā believe that the longevity of their sovereigns and their prosperity in the land are due to their love for the Arabs.

Masūdi gives the following information. There is no sovereign either in Sind or Hind who honours the Muslims like the Balharā in his kingdom.
 2. Islam is therefore flourishing in his country. The mosques and jāmis are built and prayers are regularly said in these. The Balharā kings are long-lived and reign forty, fifty and more years and the people of his

1. This may have reference to Prasnōttara-ratnamālika, a small tract consisting of questions and answers on moral subjects. The authorship of this book is attributed to the Rashtrakuta King Amogavarsha. See History of the Dekkan by R.G. Bhandarkar, pp.117-119, and also the preface to Chapter III.

2. "Neither in India, nor in es-Sind, is there a sovereign who disturbs the peace of the Moslems in their own country."

Then, in a footnote to this, Sprenger says: one copy reads: "who persecutes the muslims in his country, so for instance, the Balhara", and all that follows respecting the longevity of the kings is said there in reference to the Balhara. Sprenger. p.388-389.

1. country believe that the length of the life of their sovereigns is due to the justice and the respect paid to the Muslims.

Istakhrī says that there are, in the cities of the Balharā, Muslims, and none but Muslims ruled over them on behalf of the Balharā. There are mosques built in these cities and prayers are regularly said.

Ibn Hauqal who gives similar information has additional details. He says: "This is the same practice that I found in most of the cities ruled over by infidel kings like Khazar, al-Sarīr, al-Lān, Ghāna and Kōgha. In all these cities the Muslims, however few they are, will not tolerate the exercise of authority, nor the imposition of punishment, nor the testimony of a witness except by Muslims. But in some parts I have seen muslims seeking witness among non-Muslims who have reputation for honesty and the other party is satisfied. Sometimes the other party refuses to accept the witness, and Muslim takes his place and so the decision will be reached.

Coin in the kingdom of the Balharā

Both Sulaymān and Masūdī mention a dirham called

1. "and the (Muslim) subjects believe." Sprenger, p.389.

1. **Tātariyya.** Each dirham weighs one dirham and a half. While Masūdī remarks that the coin bears the date when their king succeeded to the throne, Sulaymān gives fuller details. The latter says that the coin is made with the die of the king. Its date is in a year counted from the reign of his predecessor, not like the custom of the Arabs from the era of the Prophet. Their dates are according to their kings.

2. **Bāniya, the Balharā's Viceroy**

The Balharā had his viceroy at Kanbāya, as is learnt from Masūdī. He says, "I visited Kanbaya in 303 A.H. when Bāniya the Brahman was reigning there on behalf of the Balharā"

1. طاطرية Sulaymān, p.27.
طاطرية Masūdī - Barbier p.382. Footnote p.403. طلطوية
Talatawian (طاطرية) Masūdī - Sprenger - p.389.

2. The text p.27 reads thus:

وزن كل درهم درهم ونصف بسكة الملك وتاريخه في سنة من مملكة من كان قبله

R. Many writers mention this Tātariyya dirham and Sindhi dinārs. Ibn Rusta and Idrisi mention Tātariyya, Abu Zayd Sindhi dinārs, and Maqdisi Tātariyya and Sindhi dinars.

It is not possible to identify the Tātariyya dirham with any other coin current in the country then. The principal coins that were in circulation in Southern India during the period of Rashtrakutas are: Drama, Suvarna, Gadyānaka, Kalanju and Kāsu - For details see "The Rashtrakutas and their Times" by A.S. Altekar, p.364.

3. بابينا Barbier, p.254. Babina (باتيا) Sprenger, pp. 278-279.

4. "During the government of Babina who was appointed there as Brahman by the Balhara." Sprenger, pp. 278-279.

Bāniya belongs to the Brahman caste. Sprenger's translation gives a wrong connotation.

Mawlānā Sayyid Sulaymān Nadwī ṣāhib the writer of an article "Early Muslim Geographers on India" in "Islamic culture" Vol.XI, Oct. 1937, p.488, translates thus: "Kanbaya which was ruled over by a Brahman trader who owed allegiance to Rajah Vallabha Rai. But the text edited by Barbier de Meynard

the sovereign of -Mānkir. This Bāniyā liked to enter into discussions with visitors to his city from among Muslims as well as those of other faiths.^{1.}

Contd.

(Paris. 1861, Vol.1, p.254) reads thus:

والملك يومئذ بانياء كان برهما نيا من قبل بلعرا

This clearly indicates that Bāniyā is the name of the ruler, a member of the Brahman community.

Perhaps the learned Mawlāna took Bāniyā to be a Hindi word, Banyā, Baniyā, merchant, trader, shopkeeper etc. This Hindi word itself is a corruption of the Sanskrit Vanik and came to be applied to the merchant class among the Hindus of Northern India in modern times.

It is gathered from the Cambay plates of Govinda IV, that the Rashtrakuta Emperor, Govind IV had visited Kapittaka to attend the festival of pattabandha in saka 852 (930 A.D.) The Lata country which includes Kanbāya (Cambay) was under the government of Govind IV, whose period coincides with that of Masūdi, 303 A.H. The emperor usually appointed Brahmans as his agents, and not Baniyas (merchants). Epigraphia Indica, Vol.VII, p.26.

1. "Ce Bania traitait avec le plus grande faveur les musulmans et les sectateurs d'autres religions qui arrivaient dans son pays." Barbier, p.254.
The text reads:

وكان لبانيا هذا عناية بالمناظرة ومع من يرد الى بلده

من المسلمين وغيرهم من اهل الملل
The letter (و) after مناظرة is evidently a mistake. The text should be read without it.

1.
King of Barūs

2.
Dimishqī relates that Samarqandī tells the following story:- The king of Barūs visited an idol and saw around its neck a necklace of great value. He took it from its neck and adorned himself with it. To the ministers who objected to this, he answered, "It is a gift to me from the idol. If you do not agree I shall break it (to pieces), but if you are truthful, it is the idol that gave it to me." The priests pretended to believe in his word.

3.
Daybul

Yāqūbī mentions the kingdom of Daybul after Qumār and before Fārit.

1. بروص

2. Le morceau depuis وحكى jusqu'a la fin du chapitre manque dans les trois manuscrits.

R. Mehren suggests "le roi Boroue (Porus)". But there is no evidence to suggest that it refers to the king Porus who fought against Alexander the Great. After the description of the temple of Somnat, yōgis and Brahmans, Dimishqī introduces this story about King Barūs and then proceeds to describe Kanbāya and Barūs (Broach). If the reference were to be to the king Porus it is very likely that the Arabs, who had access to the works of early Greek writers, learnt this story through them. Dimishqī, who quotes Samarqandī as his authority, thought, perhaps, that it referred to the king of Barūs (Broach). Historically the city of Broach does not seem to have been connected with any king.

3. الديبل

R. This may be identified with Dabhol, a sea port as famous as another port Chaul, both on the west coast lying south of Bombay.

Ferrand in his Relations de Voyages (p.48) identifies it with the Daybul in Sind and connects it with a city of the same name mentioned by Ibn Hauqal, Idrīsī and Abul Fidā. But it is rather difficult to believe that Yāqūbī's knowledge of

1.
Fāriṭ.

Yaḡūbī mentions Fāriṭ after Daybul and before the kingdom of the Balharā.

2.
King Ghāba.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh and Idrīsī make mention of the King Ghāba before the King Rahmā.

places in Northern India went beyond Kanbāya. His account contains references to more places in the south and Daybul is mentioned after Sarandīb and Qumār and before Fāriṭ (Cēra kingdom) so it may be understood that his Daybul refers to Dabhol on the west coast. This view is strengthened when he says that the Hindī musk is carried to Daybul and then exported by sea.

1. الفارط

R. Fāriṭ may refer to one of the three kingdoms in the extreme south of the peninsula, namely, Cēra, Cōla and Pāndya kingdoms.

Ibn Rusta mentions al-ʿAritī, a neighbour to Ratīla called al-ʿAbidī (Pāndya) and then speaks about Ṣaylamān (Cōla) ʿAritī عارطى of Ibn Rusta may get corrupted into Fāriṭ فارط, as in a bad handwriting, ع may be confused for ف. The ي at the end in such cases is generally not important as it is sometimes meant for relative adjective, and it does not affect the main word. Thus ʿAritī and Fāriṭ may stand for one and the same name. Since ʿAritī is identified as referring to a Cēra king, it may be concluded that Fāriṭ also may represent a Cēra king.

Houtsma proposes to correct الفارط al-Fāriṭ as ^{الناربط} al-Nārbit (Nerbuḍḍa?). It appears a needless correction. See Houtsma p.106, footnote (1).

2. غابة Ibn Khurdādhbeh. غابة - غابة Idrīsī.
Compare: "Ghana" - 1.8 p.13 - Elliot Vol.I,
'Ana - 1.25 p.13 - " "

Footnote 4 on the same page says: The Paris version here reads: "'Ana" but in the first paragraph the name is given as "Ghana", Sir H. Elliot's text has "Aba".

1. Idrīsī alone has the remark that this name is only taken by the prince who reigns over the province or the country, no other has any right to assume it, but whoever reigns takes the name.

Al-Qāyḍī², king of Mandūrfīn

Masūḍī says the kings who rule over Mandūrfīn³ are styled as al-Qāyḍī.

.....

Qumār⁴.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Yāqūbī, Ibnul Faqīh, Ibn Rusta, Abu Zayd, Masūḍī, Abul Faraj, Yāqūt, and Qazwīnī, all these nine writers speak about Qumār.

1. The information is quoted by Idrīsī from the work of Ibn Khurdādhbeh, but De Goeje's edition of Ibn Khurdādhbeh gives no such information.

R. This name Ghāba or Āba, no doubt, seems to be another form of Ābīdī (Pāndya) of Ibn Rusta, and Idrīsī's remark that Āba is the title assumed by the reigning sovereign points to the conclusion that Āba stands for the title Pāndya.
See under Ābīdī.

2. القايدي Masūḍī.

3. See under Mandūrfīn.

R. al-Qāyḍī of Masūḍī refers to the title of Pāndya assumed by the rulers of Madura. The form given by Masūḍī is better than "Ābīdī" of Ibn Rusta and comes very near مادي of the author of Tabāʾiṭ Hayawān.
See under Ābīdī.

4. قمار - Abu Zayd, Masūḍī, Qazwīnī, ABUL FARAJ

قمار - Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Yāqūbī, Ibnul Faqīh, Yāqūt

قمار Ibn Rusta.

Qumār - its position

Ibn Khurdādhbeh: Proceeding from Mājt the island of Tayūma comes on the left; thence to Qumār five days' journey. From Qumār to Sanf on the coast three days' journey.

Yāqūbī mentions Qumār after Sarandīb and says that Qumār is a powerful kingdom of great importance.

Ibnul-Faqīh has the remark that Qumār is a part of Hind.

Abu Zayd gives more precise information. Qumār, he says, is not an island but is situated (on that part of the continent of India) which faces the country of the Arabs. It is opposite to the kingdom of the Maharāj,¹ the island known as Zābaj, the distance between the two is about ten or twenty days' journey by sea in moderate wind.

Masūdī has the same account with slight variation. The country of Qumār is not one of the islands of the sea but it is a coastal land and is mountainous. It is opposite to the kingdom of the Maharāj,² the king of the islands like Zābaj, Kalah, Sarandīb and other islands.

In another place³ Masūdī says that Qumār is opposite to the islands of the Maharāj as Mandūrfīn is opposite to the island of Sarandīb.

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1. "Le Comar est dans la direction du royaume du Maharadja"
Relation des voyages, by Reinaud, p.97.
 2. "Il est sur le chemin des Etats du Maharaja." Barbier,
p.170.
 3. p. 394, Barbier.

Yāqūt and Qazwīnī say that Qumār is a place in Hind associated with aloes. But Yāqūt qualifies his statement by saying that it is the popular view; those who have knowledge say that Qumār is Qāmīrūn, a place in Hind, well known for best quality of aloes.¹ They say that this quality will have ~~been~~ a seal by which it is distinguished.

Extent of the kingdom

Ibnul Faqīh is the only writer who says that the extent of the kingdom of Qumār is about four months' journey.

Abu Zayd says that there is no kingdom which has a more dense population than Qumar. Here everyone walks on foot.

People

Masūdī gives more particulars about the people of Qumār. He says a race of Hindus who descend from Ādam, derive their origin from the children of Cain. They inhabit that part of India which is called Qumār.

Few parts of India are more populous than this and the inhabitants distinguish themselves before other Hindus by their agreeable breath, which they acquire by rubbing their teeth with tooth stick,² as it is the habit among the Muslims

1. The latter part of Yāqūt's information appears to be a mistake. He is confusing Qāmīrūn (Assam) with Qumār in the South.

2. سواك

'With aloes wood', Sprenger, p. 186.

The inhabitants of Qumār mostly go on foot because their country is full of mountains and valleys, few plains and table lands.

Ibnul Faqīh says that the people of Qumār worship idols.

Ibn Rusta has the remark that the origin of devotees is from Qumār. It is said that there were in Qumār one hundred thousand devotees.

Abul Faraj states on the authority of Abu Dulaf that there is a temple belonging to the people of Hind at Qumār whose walls are of gold and its ceiling of aloes wood, each beam being fifty cubits or more in length.

Drinking and Fornication

Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Ibnul Faqīh, Ibn Rusta, and Qazwīnī say that drinking and fornication are unlawful in the kingdom of Qumār.^{1.}

Abu Zayd gives the same information as Ibn Khurdādhbeh and others, but has the additional remark that there is no wine in their land and kingdom.

Ibn Rusta quotes Abū 'Abdullāh Muhammad ibn Ishāq who says that I happened to go to his city and stayed there for two years. I found no monarch more zealous and severe than he against the vice of drinking. He punishes with death those who drink or commit fornication.

1. For details of punishment prescribed by the king of Qumar and administration of justice, see Chapter II, Ethnology.

Masūdī relates that the inhabitants of Qumār consider, like the Muslims, fornication to be unlawful and they avoid (like them) uncleanness and wine. In the observance of this custom they are one with the rest of India.

King

Yāqūbī says that the king of Qumār receives homage from many other kings.

Ibnul Faqīh remarks that the king of Qumār maintains four thousand slave girls.

Ibn Rusta quotes a traveller who says: I had been to the country of Qumār. I was told that the king of that place is a powerful man, very severe in his punishment. He has no dealings with the Arabs. Whoever enters his city and makes a present of anything to him, he returns it in a hundredfold of what he gave. I have never seen a king who gives greater reward than the king of Qumār. The king had eighty sons, all beautiful and with a dignity and bearing suited to their rank.

The king of Qumār, in spite of his rigour, would say to his companions, "When you set out for war, do not take women with you."¹

Abu Zayd says that the king of Qumār and his companions carry tooth brushes and every man cleans his teeth several

1. As the text seems to be faulty I do not attempt to translate the following passage. See Ibn Rusta, p.133, l.18-19.

times a day. Each one carries his own brush on his person and never parts from it unless he entrusts it to his servant.

1.
Abu Zayd and Masūdi give the following long account¹ of the story of an invasion of Qumār by the Maharāja, the king of Zābaj.

One of the most curious stories of the kings of Hind and a strange example of their line of conduct and their institutions in ancient times is exhibited in this narration. It is told that a young and hasty man ruled over Qumar in ancient times. One day he sat on the throne in his palace which stood on a large river of sweet water like the Tigris and the Euphrates, and was one day's journey from the sea. The Wazīr was with the king who said to him, "The fame of the empire of the Maharāj, his power and prosperity and the number of islands under him are celebrated. This excites a desire in my mind which I wish to realise." The Wazīr, a prudent man, who knew the rashness of his master, asked him, "What is thy desire, O king?" "I wish", replied the king, "to see the head of the Mahārāj, the king of Zābaj, in a basin before me." The Wazīr saw that envy had inspired him with these thoughts and he said, after some consideration, "I do not think the king will permit this idea to rest in his mind

1. There is great similarity between the accounts of the two writers. The translation is done from the text of Masūdi.

as there has never existed any difference between us and that nation, neither of yore nor of late, nor have they ever done us any harm. Besides they are in islands, far from us, and by no means neighbours, nor have they any design against our possessions. The distance between the dominions of the Maharāj and those of al-Qumār is from ten to twenty days across the sea. It is therefore better, O king," continued the Wazīr, "not to acquaint anyone with this thought and not to persist in this scheme."

The king was enraged and shut his ears to advice. He acquainted his officers and the chiefs of his men who were present, with his project, and so it was divulged and went from tongue to tongue till it reached the Maharāj who was a prudent, experienced and middle-aged man.

He called his Wazīr, and told him what he had heard, and said to him, "Considering the project of this ignorant man which has come to publicity, and the intentions which he has formed, with his inexperienced and overbearing spirit, and after his words have become generally known, we can no longer preserve peace with him, he has forfeited the crown and deserves to be deposed." The king commanded him to hide what had passed between them and to prepare of a thousand medium sized ships with full equipment, to provide them with the arms necessary and to man them with a sufficient number

of the best soldiers. He pretended that these preparations were meant for an excursion into his islands, and he wrote to the kings of these islands who were under his sway, and his subjects, that he had the intention of paying them a visit and of making an excursion to their islands.

This rumour spread and the king of every island made all possible preparations for the reception of the Maḥrāj. When everything was ready and in order, he went on board, and sailed with the army to the kingdom of al-Qumār. The king of al-Qumār was not aware of the expedition before it came up to the river which leads to the royal palace. The Maḥrāj defeated his army, took his commanders by surprise and captured the palace. The inhabitants appeared before the Maḥrāj. He ordered "quarter" to be proclaimed, and sat on the throne on which the king of al-Qumār used to sit, who was now a prisoner, and commanded to bring the king and his Wazīr into his presence.

He said to the king: "What gave rise to these intentions which are beyond your power? Had you attained them you would have had no luck in them, no hope of success compelled you to do this." He remained silent.

"If your desires," continued the Maḥrāj, "to see my head before you in a dish had been joined with the intention of making yourself master of my dominions, and the throne, and of spreading destruction in any part of the country, I should

do the same thing to you. But you have distinctly expressed your object, and I will do it on you, and I will return to my country without stretching my hand to anything in your kingdom whether small or great; that you shall be an example for posterity, that none may transgress the portion Providence has given to him, and that he may gain safety from the existence of this warning."

Then he beheaded him. Turning to the Wazīr, he said: "May you be rewarded with good as a Wazīr! I know you gave your lord advice. Would that he had taken it! Consult who may be most fit to succeed this ignorant man and put him on the throne."

The Mahārāj returned immediately to his country, and neither he nor anybody of his army touched anything in the kingdom of al-Qumār.

When the Mahārāj was come back into his dominions, he sat on his throne, overlooking the bay, called the bay of the ingot of gold, and before him was placed the dish with the head of the king of al-Qumār. He assembled the great men of his kingdom, narrated to them his exploits, and the reason which had brought him under the necessity of undertaking them. The subjects prayed for his welfare and for good reward (from the Almighty).

Then he gave orders to wash the head of the king of Qumār, to embalm it and to send it in a vase to the king who had succeeded him in al-Qumār and he wrote to him: "The motive of our treatment of your predecessor was his evil intentions against us, and our desire to teach those like him. We have done to him what we wanted, and we think it fit to send his head back to you as there is no use in keeping it for this trophy would not add to the glory of our victory."

The news of this action reached the ears of the kings of India and China and the Mahārāj rose greatly in their estimation, and since this time, the kings of Qumār turn their faces every morning towards Zābaj and prostrate themselves to express their veneration for the Maharāj.

R. Of the nine writers who mention Qumār, only three give precise details as to its location. The information of Ibn Khurdādhbeh shows clearly that Qumār is an island between jāba and sanf. The accounts of Abu Zayd and Masūdī indicate that it must refer to the area round about Cape Comorin including the portion of Travancore south of Quilon. The details furnished by the remaining six writers are vague.

It is also clear that these authors confuse Qumār with other places. Yāqūt confuses Qumār with Qāmarūn (Assam). Both Abu Zayd and Masūdī narrate at great length, what appears to be a legend of an invasion of Qumār territory by the Maharāja of Zābaj (java) for the purpose of punishing the king of Qumār who spoke ill of the Maharāja. This Maharāja may be identified with one of the rulers of the line of Sri Bhōja Maharāja, ruler of java mentioned by I-Tsing, a Chinese traveller in the last quarter of the seventh century A.D, who speaks of the Maharāja of java, in whose court he lived for some years. If Qumār is the area round about Cape Comorin, the King of Qumār must refer to one of the Pāndya kings. But as the invasion of the Pāndyan territory by an island king is not attested by facts of history, the account is, without doubt, a mistake or confusion on the part of these two writers. Perhaps they might have confused Qumār with Khumayr (Cambodia).

1.
King al-Ṣaylamān

Yāqūbī mentions the kingdom of al-Ṣaylamān after that of al-Fārit (Cēra).

2.
Ibn Rusta quotes a narrator who says: "I saw the king al-Ābidī, his neighbour, king al-Āritī, and another king al-Ṣaylamān. This king is more powerful than the other two, and commands a larger army. They say his army numbers about seventy thousand men. He has few elephants, but the people of Hind say that the elephants of al-Ṣaylamān are more brave in battle than all the elephants of the peoples of Hind.

I saw one of his elephants al-Namrān النمران³, the like of which I never saw with any other king of Hind. This elephant is white, spotted with dark marks. There is no other elephant more brave than this in battle. They kindle a big fire, and charge the elephant at it; those which stand up to the fire and rush into will be bold in battle. The elephants that are cowardly are neither fit for war, nor for riding. They are used for trans-shipment of goods, as is done on camels.

1. الصليان

2. The name of the narrator is not mentioned.

3. The arabic word namar, (to be spotted), suggests that the narrator may have attempted to describe in Arabic the elephant with dark spots, though he has made it appear that it is not an Arabic word.

If it is not an Arabic word, it may be connected with either of the following Tamil words, நம்பிரான் Nampirān - Lord, நம்பியான் Nampiyān - a title of the officiating priests. It is a common custom to call favourite animals after popular names.

Dimishqī says that close to Kawlam,^{1.} the last city of
 the country of pepper, is the country of al-Sūliyān,^{2.} which
 includes the big Mābar and the small Mābar.^{3.}

1. See under Kawlam.

2. بلاد المولىان.

3. See under Mābar.

R. The statement of Ibn Rusta that al-Saylamān was more powerful than the other two kings is confirmed by the author of *Tabāi-ul-Haywān*, a manuscript in the India Office.

The Cōlas rose into power from about the 10th century A.D. and for some three centuries the Pāndyan kingdom was a part of the Cōla empire. Dimishqī's statement that it included the two Mābars shows the extent of their territory.

KINGS AND KINGDOMS WHOSE IDENTIFICATION IS DOUBTFUL

The King Bahal^{1.}

Ibn Rusta quotes Abū 'Abdullāh Muhammad Ibn Ishāq who relates that "of the kings of Hind with whom I had transaction there is none like the king of Bahal to spend money on drink.

King of Elephants - the King of Hind

Abu Zayd relates the story of an Arab ^{2.} who went to China and had an interview with the Chinese Emperor. In the course of the talk, the Emperor tells the Arab that in China they esteem five kings. ^{3.} The fourth king is the King of Elephants the King of Hind, whom the Chinese regard as the king of wisdom, for the origin of science is from them.

Masūdī gives practically the same information as Abu Zayd, the only variation relevant to our point, being that Masūdī does not mention Ibn Wahab by name but refers to him simply as a man of Qurayshite origin, of the family of Habbār son of Aswad.

1. البعل

2. Ibn Wahab, a descendent of Habbār son of Aswad, was a qurayshi and a resident of Baṣra. He left that city during the invasion of the leader of the Zanj and came to Sīrāf where he saw a ship ready to sail for China. He decided to travel for China and boarded the ship. In due course he reached Khamdān. There he stayed a long time, presenting petitions to the Emperor of China wherein he said that he was of the family of the Prophet of Arabia. Eventually the Emperor gave him audience. In the course of the interview he asked him, among many other things, particulars about the Arabs, and how they had destroyed the kingdom of the Persians. The Emperor was very much pleased with the Arab and gave him many rich presents. Then Ibn Wahab returned from China. Abu Zayd met this Arab at Sīrāf and learnt from him all details. Refer Ab Zayd, p37

3. The first in rank, the ruler of 'Irāq, the king of kings,

Masūdi acknowledges his source of information, saying that Abū Zayd Muḥammad Ibn Yazīd of Sirāf gave him an account of Ibn Habbār of Basra, in 303 A.H.

1.

The King Najāba

The name of the King Najāba is mentioned by Ibn Rusta just after Tāfin. He is a noble king, and there is inter-marriage between his family and that of the Balharās. They are Salūqiyyas (سلوقيون) and never marry except in their own community, because of their nobility. The breed of dog known as Salūqiyya (سلوقية) is from this country. Red Sandal wood is found in their cities and forests.

2.

King Qayranj

Sulaymān says that after the kingdom of Kāghbīn comes the sea and the land adjoining the sea is the territory of the king Qayranj.^{3.} He is a poor but proud king. The sea

then the king of China, then the King of Turks, then the King of Elephants, king of Hind, then the King of Rūm.

1. نجابة

2. القيرنج
الفرنج

Sulaymān.

Masūdi - Barbier p.388.

Le manuscrit L porte الفتوح

Footnote p.403.

3. Kīranj - Elliot's version of Sulaymān. Vol.1, p.5.

throws a large quantity of 'anbar. He has elephant tusks and pepper in his territory. The people eat pepper green because of the small quantity available there.

^{1.}
Masūdi mentions the king Faranj^{1.} after the king Kaman. Faranj has power both on land and sea. His territory is on a tongue of land which stretches into the sea from whence large quantities of 'anbar are obtained. The country produces little pepper. The king has a large number of elephants. He is brave, vain and proud; but he has more vanity than power and more pride than courage.

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1. The neighbour of the king el-kās is the King of el-Farbiḳ
 (الفتوح أو الفرنج) (Kamirus?) Sprenger, p.393. الفريخ

CHAPTER IV

PRODUCTS

Almost all the writers give information on the products of Southern India except Sulaymān and Abul Faraj, both authors of the first group. They mention about thirty kinds of products. Of the places discussed in Chapter I - Geography twenty-seven are associated with one or more products: thirteen articles of trade with Kawlam, twelve with Sandān, eight with Saymūr, five with Sūbāra, four with Kanja, three with Bullīn and Tāna, two with Broach, Pantalāyini and Madura and one thing only with each of the remaining seventeen places. Thus the chief centres of trade appear to have been Kawlam, Sandān, Saymūr and Sūbāra on the west coast and Kanja and Madura on the east coast of India.

The chief commodities are rice and pepper, associated with eight places, bamboos with six, cocoanuts with five, bananas and teak with three.

It may be noticed in this connection that the chief trade centres of Southern India deduced from the Arab accounts happen to be more or less the same frequented by the Greek and Roman merchants in ancient times.

List of Products.

Aloes

Seven writers - Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Yaḳūbī, Abu Zayd, Masūdi, Idrīsī, Yāqūt, Qazwīnī, - describe various qualities of aloes.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh mentions (1) Hindī aloes, (2) Qumārī aloes, (3) Sanfī aloes, and (4) Qamarūnī aloes.

Leaving Māyt which is not very far from Jūba, the island of Tayūma is reached, where Hindī aloes is available. From Tayūma to Qimār is five days' journey where Qumārī aloes is procured. From Qimār to Sanf on the coast three days' journey. Sanfī aloes obtained here is better than the qumārī aloes for it sinks in water because it is good and heavy.

Qamarūnī aloes: See under Samāndar.

Yaḳūbī mentions (1) Qumārī aloes, (2) Qāqullī aloes, (3) Sanfī aloes.

Qumārī aloes (is a quality) which is full grown and well-soaked in abundant water.

1.
After Qāqullī aloes¹ ranks the Sanfī aloes, imported from the town Sanf in the direction of China. Sanfī aloes is a good quality preserving its smell on clothes. There are some who hold it more excellent than qāqullī aloes, and think that it has a more pleasant smell, clinging and safe from attracting others by its odour. There are also some who rank it above the Qumārī aloes.

Abu Zayd mentions Qumārī aloes, and Hindī Qamarūnī aloes.

1. Qumārī aloe is exported from a place called Qumār.

Some of the pilgrims to Multan carry with them Hindī-
2. Qāmarūnī aloe. Qāmrūn is a city where they have an excellent quality of aloe wood which they bring as an offering to the idol and give it to the priests for the purpose of censuring the idol. This quality of aloe costs two hundred dīnārs per mann. Often a seal is put upon this to distinguish it from other varieties. Generally the merchants purchase this quality of aloe from the priests.

Masūdī says that from the kingdom of Qumār and the
3. tract of India the Qumārī aloe has its name. It is exported from that place.

4. In another place he says that the greatest part of the revenue of the king of Multan comes from the rich presents of genuine Qumari aloe, one mann of which is worth two hundred dīnārs, for it is so genuine that it receives the impression of seal like wax.

5. Idrisī mentions aloe wood from Kārmūt.

Yāqūt gives a few details about aloes and mentions different varieties such as (1) Mandal - Qāmarūnī aloe,

1. See under Qumār.

2. العود الهندى القامرونى p.130. The word Hindī appears to be a mistake.

3. صنع من ارض الهند Barbier, p.169.

4. P. 376. Barbier.

5. See under Samandar.

(2) Hindī aloe, (3) Qumārī aloe, (4) Sanfī aloe and (5) Saymūrī aloe.

He says that generally aloes come from islands situated beyond the equator. No one has visited these plantations and hence no one knows how aloes are planted nor what the tree is. No one has described the shape of the aloes' leaves; the water brings them in the direction of the north. What is torn off and cast ashore is picked up fresh at Kalah, at Qāmarūn, or in the country of pepper or at Sanf, or at Qamārayān or at other places along the coast.

When the north wind blows they retain their freshness and never wither. These are known as Mandalī - Qāmarūnī¹ aloes.

Aloes which dry in the sea and which are thrown ashore in a withered condition are known as Hindī aloes, which are solid and heavy. To put it to test, it is filed and thrown upon water; if it does not sink in water, it is not choice quality. If it sinks in water, it is pure quality and there is nothing better than that.

Aloes which are dried where they are grown and are torn in the sea are called Qumārī.

Those which decayed where they are grown and brought by the sea in the decayed condition are called Sanfī.

1. العود الرطب المعروف بالمندل القامروني

It appears Yāqūt is mixing up Mandal a city, with Qāmarūn (Assam).

1.
In another place ^{1.}Yāqūt says that Šanf, a place in Hind or Sind, is associated with aloe. It is bad quality.

The kings along the shore take a tenth of the quantity of aloes from those who pick them up on the beaches.

Qazwīnī gives some of the general details of aloes mentioned by Yāqūt and distinguishes the varieties as (1) Qumārī aloe, (2) Mandalī aloe and (3) Qāmarūnī aloe, and (4) Šanfī aloe.

Qumār is associated with Qumārī aloe. It is the best quality of aloe.

2.
The aloe obtained in Mandal^{2.} is called Mandalī aloe. It does not grow there. No one has reached the place where it grows. They say it grows in islands beyond the equator. Water brings it to the north.

That which falls off when it is tender, and when the north wind blows on it, it retains its freshness, and it is called Qāmarūnī aloe.

That which is dry and cast ashore in that condition is Mandalī. It is heavy and hard. If the aloe sinks in water, it is the best quality and nothing is superior to it.

Šanf, a city in Hind or China is associated with aloe, but the Šanfī aloe is of a most inferior quality. There is very little difference between this and ordinary wood.^{3.}

1. Marāṣid - Vol.II, p.169.

2. See under Mandal.

3. The same information is given by Yāqūt - Muġam-al-Buldān Vol.III, p.429.

Aloe wood is also brought to Kūlam from islands beyond the equator where no one has ever gone and seen the tree. Water brings it towards the north.

Of the various qualities of aloe mentioned by these authors, Qumārī aloe, Mandalī aloe, and Saymūrī aloe have direct bearing upon the present study while other details on aloes are brought in to show the contrast that prevails between the different varieties.

Six out of the seven writers mention Qumārī aloe. Ibn ^{1.}Khurdādhbeh states that it is inferior to Ṣanfī aloe and Ya'qūbī also has the same view though it is based on the opinion of a few. But Masūdī and Qazwīnī say that it is the best quality. Abu Zayd has no remark on its quality, while Yāqūt describes what Qumārī aloe is without comparing it with other qualities.

It appears from Ibn Khurdādhbeh that Qumārī aloe is obtained from a place called Qumār between Jāba and Ṣanf. Ya'qūbī who describes the Qumārī aloe does not mention the place where it is obtained. Masūdī and Abu Zayd definitely say that Qumārī aloe is obtained from Qumār, a part of the continent of India. Yāqūt and Qazwīnī merely state that Qumārī aloe is obtained from Qumār, a place in Hind. As

1. According to Yāqūt and Qazwīnī, Ṣanfī aloe is of inferior quality.

Qumār is confused with Khumayr and Qāmarūn, it is not possible to say whether these authors (Yāqūbī, Yāqūt and Qazwīnī) intended by the term Qumārī aloe, solely that obtained in such places, or whether they included the area round about Cape Comorin, where even in the present day, as in the past, a large quantity of aloe is obtained. It is also noteworthy that the Tamil word 'Kumari' (கும்ரி) means 'wild aloe' (Winslow).

'Mandalī aloe' is mentioned by only two writers: Yāqūt and Qazwīnī, though the former mixes it up with Qāmarūnī aloe. Yāqūt describes what a Mandalī aloe is without mentioning the place where it is obtained, while Qazwīnī definitely says that Mandalī aloe is obtained in a city called Mandal, without giving any indication of its locality. Qazwīnī also has given a description of the Mandalī aloe which does not tally with that of Yāqūt.

1. Saymūrī aloe is mentioned only by Yāqūt.

2. ANBAR

Yāqūbī, Abu Zayd, and Masūdī give information on 'Anbar.

Yāqūbī describes how the 'anbar comes and mentions various kinds of it, including 'Anbar-Hindī.

1. See under Saymūr.

R. For details about different varieties of aloe see Dictionary of the Economic Products of India, Vol.I, pp.179-189

2. عنبر Ambergris.

3. (2) 'Anbar-Shuhrī (the best quality) - procured on the coast of Shuhr.

(Contd. over)

They say that the 'anbar comes from the sea as big as the size of a camel or of a big rock..... It is cut up by the wind and violence of the waves, and thrown on the coast. It will be boiling fiercely and none could approach it on account of the severity of heat and boiling. After a lapse of time the wind beats on it and it becomes solidified. Then the people on the adjoining coastal land collect it. A number of men who know about anbar reported to me as follows:-

The 'anbar is in mountains in the depths of the sea, and is of different colours. It is uprooted by wind and severe agitation of the sea during the winter season.... The 'anbar-^{1.} Hindī is procured from the coast. This 'anbar is exported to Basra and other places. The 'anbar-Zanjī ranks after the 'anbar-Hindī, it resembles the 'anbar-Hindī and comes very ^{2.} near it. This is how Tamīmī has related in his book. He places 'anbar-Zanjī after the 'anbar-Shuhri, but he again ranks

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- (b) 'Anbar-Samakī - obtained through a fish.
 - (c) 'Anbar-Manaqirī - obtained through 'khattāf' a kind of sparrow.
 - (d) 'Anbar-Zanjī - that which comes from the country of Zanj to Aden.
 - (e) 'Anbar-Shalāhit and
 - (f) 'Anbar-Qāqullī.

1. The text reads (سواحل الهند الداخلة) Perhaps it might have been a technical term current among the Arabs.

2. حبيب العروس

it after the 'anbar-Hindī.

It is said that the 'anbar which comes from Hind is^{1.} called Karkbālūs, associated with the name of a community known as Karkbālūs. They carry it to some place near 'Uman where the captains of ships buy it from them.

Abu Zayd has a few details on the origin of 'Anbar and^{2.} describes some qualities which do not comprise any special variety associated with Hind.

1. الكرك بالوس This name is not to be found in "Castes and Tribes of Southern India." But the word may be explained as follows: The first part is, doubtless, the Tamil Karai (கரை) 'coast' out of which many words are formed such as Karaiyālan (கரையாளன்) - (ruler of the coast) a title of the maravans; Karayān (கரையான்) a name for Tamil fishermen who live on the coast, etc. The latter part bālūs seems to be connected with Pal (பால்) a word with a wide meaning in the Tamil language. The chief meanings are 'milk, matter, fluid in pustules, etc.'. Here it may be taken to mean 'matter'. Both the parts put together may be understood as "the matter found on the coast". This may be ambergris as it is generally found floating on the surface of the sea along the coast. Thus Karkbālūs of the Arabs seems to be a combination of Karai and Pal, though its formation is against the ordinary rules of Tamil Grammar. Ambar (அம்பர்) is used in Tamil to denote ambergris, and there is no word in the Dravidian languages, so far as I am aware, as Karkbalus, either Ambergris or the name of a community which deals in that. Perhaps the word 'Karkbālūs' originally, at some remote time, meant ambergris, and in the course of constant intercourse with the Arabs and other foreigners the original expression fell out of use giving place to the foreign idiom. The point needs further investigation.

2. (a) First quality of 'anbar: Found on the Berberian coast territory of Zanj, and along the coast of Shuhr.
- (b) Whale 'anbar - the quality of which is determined by its contiguity to the belly of the whale.

'Anbar is a substance from the sea, thrown along the coast by the waves. It commences from the sea of Hind but it is not definitely known whence it comes.

^{1.}
Masūdī after describing some qualities of 'anbar, says that several merchants, at Sīrāf and 'Umān, who had travelled to the islands between the sea of Harkand and the sea of Lārawī told me that the 'anbar grows in the bottom of this sea and is of various sorts as there are different kinds of resin ^{2.}
It is white, black and of dark bay colour ^{3.}

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BAMBOO

(a) Qanna

Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Masūdī, Idrīsī, Yāqūt, Qazwīnī and Dimishqī give information on Qanna.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh: See under Kawlam (Mulay), Sandān and Utkīn.

Masūdī and Dimishqī: See under Barūs.

Idrīsī: See under Kūlī (Daybul), Sandān, Saymūr and Tāna.

Yāqūt and Qazwīnī: Qanna grows in abundance in Kūlam. ^{4.}

Abul Fidā: See under Sandān and Tāna.

1. (a) The best quality: Found on the coast of Shuhr, on the islands and coasts of Zanj.

(b) Whale anbar: obtained through whale, the purity of its quality depends upon its contiguity to the belly of the whale.

2. قطر gum-resin. Sprenger translates the word as 'Agalloche' (Agalloch). Sprenger p.350.

3. The text has الكمات The correct word is الكميت a red colour mixed with blackness. 'Spongy', Sprenger, p.350. "Champignons" - Barbier, p.336.

R. For details about Ambergris, see Dictionary of the Economic Product of India, Vol.I, p.217.

4. See also under Manderī.

(b) Khayzurān:

Idrīsī, Yāqūt, Qazwīnī and Abul Fidā mention Khayzurān.

Idrīsī: See under Sandān.

Yāqūt and Qazwīnī: khayzurān grows in abundance in Kālam.

Abul Fidā: See under Sandān.

(c) Tabāshīr:

The same authors who mention khayzurān speak of tabāshīr.

Idrīsī: Tabāshīr is extracted from the roots of ganna..
The tabāshīr is adulterated by mixing it with the burnt bones
of elephants, but the real article is extracted from the
roots of the Indian ganna, called sharki, as we have already
said.

Yāqūt: In the forest, when the bamboos become dried up,
and the wind blows on them, they rub against each other,
excessive heat is produced by friction, and they catch fire
and burn. Sometimes the fire consumes an area of about
fifty parasangs or more of the forest.

The tabāshīr, taken from these bamboos is exported to
all parts of the world. One mithqāl (in weight) of the best

1. See under Tāna.

2. شرکی

3. See under Mandarī.

quality will equal one hundred mithqāl (of gold) or more.^{1.}
Tabāshīr is a substance got from the hollow of the bamboo,
 when it is shaken. It is very precious. The adulterated
 quality of Tabāshīr is carried to all parts and sold as
tūtiya hindī,^{2.} but it is not so, for the real tūtiya-hindī is
 the sublimate of "qalaī lead".^{3.} The quantity brought out
 every year is three of four mann, not exceeding five mann.
 One mann of that stuff will be sold from five thousand dirhan
 to one thousand dīnārs.

Qazwīnī: After describing under Mandūrqīn, how the
 bamboos catch fire,^{4.} he says that tabāshīr is the cinders of
 the bamboos that were burnt, and is exported to all countries.

Abul Fidā: See under Tāna.

1. فاما الطاش الذي يساوي مائة مثقال او اكثر Vol. III, p. 455.

3. لان التوتيا الهندى هو دخان الرصاص القلبي Vol. III, p. 455.

3. الرصاص القلبي - 7tin See Dozy s.v.

4. The description is the same as given by Yāqūt.

R. قنّ or قنّة ferule.... شبيهة في شكلها بالقنّ وهو الخ
 القنّ وهو الخ
 Dozy, p. 414.
 R. قنّ or قنّة ferule.... شبيهة في شكلها بالقنّ وهو الخ
 القنّ وهو الخ
 Dozy, p. 414.

Communis (Latin))
Ferule (French)) قنّ - قلق - الخ
Giant Fennel (English))
 Dictionnaire des
 Noms des Plantes
 par Dr. Ahmed Issa Bey.

Kanā قنّ Ferula communis. German translation of Ibn-al-
Baytār by Dr. Joseph V. Son-
 theimer, Vol. II, p. 326.

'Rotang.' French Translation De Goeje. Ibn Khurdādhbeh,
 p. 43.

All these authorities have translated the word ganna
 as 'Ferule' and 'Rotang'. But it is a mistake, for the Arab

BANANA

Istakhrī, Ibn Hauqal and Maqdisī and Idrīsī give information on Bananas.

Istakhrī: See under Sandān and Saymūr group.

Idrīsī: See under Bullin, (Island Baliq.)

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1.

BRAZIL WOOD

Idrīsī, Yāqūt, Qazwīnī and Abul Fidā speak of Brazil wood.

2.

Idrīsī: The baqqam tree grows in abundance in Lūluwā

writers say definitely that tabāshīr is got from qanna. As tabāshīr, a siliceous and crystalline substance is found in the interior of the hollow stems of some bamboos, chiefly bambusa arundinaceae, qanna must mean a kind of bamboo. The Tamil word, in Watt's Economic Products of India, for tabāshīr is mūngaluppu (மூங்கலுப்பு) mūngal - bamboo; uppu - salt. Thus it is clear that qanna must be translated as a kind of bamboo. Also the description of qanna forests by Yāqūt supports this view.

It may also be noticed that qanna does not appear to be an Arabic word. It might have had its origin from the Hindi word ganna (गन्) Prakrit gandaō, and Sanskrit gandaka - sugar cane, saccharum officinarum; a reed, a cane. Hindustani

Dictionary, Platts.

خيزران - Indian Bamboo. An English Arabic Dictionary of Medicine and Allied Sciences by Mohammad Sharaf, p.120.

For an account of the various species of bamboo - see Watt's Economic Products of India, Vol.I, pp.370-394.

طباشير - Tabāshīr.

For the history and variety of tabāshīr, see Watt's Economic Products of India, Vol.I, p.383.

1. شجرة البقم Brazil wood (caesalpina). Arabic-English Dictionary Mohammad Sharaf, p.156.

البقم Yāqūt. Compare: Persian - Bakam (بکام)
Hindi - Bakkam (बकम)

2. 'Sapan wood' - Elliot, Vol.I, p.90.

1. and Kanja. The plant of this tree resembles oleander. 2.

Yāqūt: The baqqam tree grows in Kūlam. There are two kinds of it; one is of inferior quality, the other called 3. amrūn is excellent.

Qazwinī: In Kūlam the baqqam tree grows in abundance.

Abul Fidā: The baqqam tree is found in Kawlam. It 4. resembles the pomegranate tree and its leaves are like those of the jujube tree. 5.

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CAMPHOR 6.

Yāqūt: Camphor is found on the slope of a mountain between Kūlam and Mandūrqīn (Mandura). Camphor is the pulp of the tree. If the tree is split in the middle, the camphor will be found hidden in it. Sometimes it is soft, sometimes hard, for it is a resin in the heart of the tree.

1. See under Kaylkān, Lawā and Kanja.

2. دغلی Bod.MSS. Idrīsī.

3. الامرون

4. شجرة الرمان

5. عناب (Rhamnus Zizyphus)

6. كافور The Arabic form of P.Kāpūr S.Karpūr. Tam. Karpūram. (கர்பூரம்)

Qazwīnī: Camphor is exported from Faysūr.^{1.} It is the best quality. It is said that camphor is found in large quantities in the years when there is much thunder, lightning and earthquake. In less tempestuous years the camphor is found in smaller quantities.

They say that the camphor tree grows on the slope of the mountain of Kāfūr. It is split and camphor is taken from inside. It is a gum of that tree and not found except in its inside. If the bark is injured the camphor will flow from inside, if it is cleft, great pieces may be obtained from the interior, but the tree will wither and die.

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2.

CARDAMOM

Idrīsī: Cardamom grows in the mountain north of Fandarīna.^{3.} (It grows like the grains of hemp and the grains are enclosed in pods.)^{4.}

1. See under Faysūr.

2. قاقلة - For a description of the plant and its varieties see Watt's Economic Products of India, Vol.I, pp.220-2.

3. See under Fandarīna.

4. The sentence is taken from Elliot's translation, Vol.I p.90. Idrīsī's MSS. are not quite clear.

Poc.375 — ونبات القاقلة يكون أشبه الأشياء بنبات الدانج

Gr. 45 — الشهدانج

B.N. Paris. — شمراج

Poc. 375 — — — — وبها مرارد فيها بزرها

Gr. 45 — — — — ولها مزارع فيها بزوها

B.N. Paris — — — — ولها مزارد فيها بزرها

1.
CINNAMON

Yāqūt and Qazwīnī give information about cinnamon.
See under Jājulla.

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2.
CLOVE

Yaqūbī: Cloves are of one genus. The best and the most excellent kind is the zuhr (زهر) which is strong, arid, dry, sharp, pungent to taste and sweet to smell. Some of it is zuhr; some of it is thamr (ثمر). The zuhr of it is small and resembles in appearance the twigs of black hellebore.^{3.} The thamr of it is thick and resembles the kernel of the date or the olive.^{4.} It is said that it is the fruit of a big tree resembling the lote tree.^{5.}

1. شجرة الدارصيني

دارصيني is from the Hindi word dār-chīnī, Skr.daru-chiniya; daru - bark (lit.) wood - timber, + chiniya, from China. For particulars see Dictionary of Economic Products of India. vol. 2. p.317-326.

2. قرنفل Platts, in his Hindustani Dictionary says that qaranful is the arabicized form of a Greek word. But the Tamil word for clove is 'kirāmbu' (கிராம்பு). It is not easy to say whether the Arabs got the word from the Greeks or Tamils. It is more likely that the Greeks and Arabs might have got the word from the Tamils. For particulars of cloves, see Watts' op.cit. p.202-5.

3. الخربق الاسود

4. نوى النصار وعجم الزيتون

5. شجرة السدر

They report that it is exported from Sufālat^{1.}al-Hind (Sūbāra) and its further regions.

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2.

COCOANUTS

Istakhri, Ibn Haugai and Maqdisi and Idrisi mention cocoanuts.

Istakhri group: See under Sandān and Saymūr.

Idrisi: See under Bullīn (Island Baliq), Lūlu, Kanja, Sandān (Island of Sandān), Saymūr, Sūbāra (Island Tāra).

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3.

COSTUS

Idrisi and Abul Fidā mention Costus.

Idrisi: See under Sūbāra.

Abul Fidā: See under Sandān.

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4.

CRYSTAL

Ibn Khurdādhbeh: Crystal is obtained from Mulay and Sandān.

1. من بلاد سفالة الهند واقاصيها

2. نارجيل

3. قسط Comp. Kūst. Bengali. Watt's Dictionary of Economic Products. p.579. vol.II. For particulars on Costus, see Histoire du Commerce du Levant, by W. Heyd. Vol.II. p.611.

4. بلور from P. بلور Beryl, Crystal.

5. See Footnote (a) p.71. Ibn Khurdādhbeh . De Goeje.

1.

DATE TREE

Sulaymān: See under 'Fruits'.

Ibnul Faqīh: There are no date palms in China and Hind

Idrīsī: See under Sandān (Island Sandān).

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2.

3.

FABRICS - LĀNAS, TĀNŠHIYYA

Abul Fidā: See under Mābar and notes and Tāna.

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4.

FRUITS

Sulaymān and Idrīsī speak of fruits.

Sulaymān: There are no date trees either in China or in Hind, but they have other trees and fruits which we do

not have. There are no grapes^{5.} in Hind, but the Chinese have a few. They have other kinds of fruits in plenty. But in

Hind pomegranate^{6.} is the commonest.

Idrīsī: See under Kaylkān, Lawā and Kanja.

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1. النخل Bod MSS. Idrīsī.

2. لانس

3. الثياب التانشية

4. ثمر Sulaymān

فاكهة Idrīsī

5. عنب

6. الرمان

1.

HONEY

Istakhrī, Ibn Hauqal and Maqdisī: See under Sandān and Saymūr.

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2.

MANNA

Yāqūt: In Kūlam, Manna falls from the sky, and collects on cow dung. The Arabian manna is better than that.

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3.

MANGO

Istakhrī, Ibn Hauqal and Maqdisī mention Mango. See under Sandān and Saymūr.

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4.

5.

6.

MINES - SULPHUR, COPPER (TŪTIYA).

Yāqūt: In Kūlam there is a mine of yellow sulphur and of copper. The coagulated vapour of copper makes excellent tūtiya. All kinds of tūtiya are obtained from the coagulated vapour of copper except the Indian tūtiya which is obtained

1. عسل

2. قنبيل

3. انبج

R. It is not an Arabic word as Steingass would have it in his Persian-English Dictionary. It is from the Hindi word amba - (अम्बा) mango. The modern Arabic word for mango is مانجو - manja and mānju taken directly or indirectly from the Tamil māngal (col.) mānga, مانگا . The Egyptian pronunciation of manjah is exactly like the Tamil mānga.

4. معدن الكبريت الأصفر

5. معدن النحاس

6. توتياء Comp. H. tutiya S. tuttia. Tamil (துது)
tuttam, blue vitriol, sulphate of copper, tutty.

as we have said, from the sublimation of qalaī lead.

Qazwīnī mentions only the first two points of Yāqūt.

.....

1.

MYROBALAN

Yāqūt a small quantity of myrobalan is obtained in Kūlam. But the myrobalan obtained in Kabul is better, for this city is far from the sea and all kinds of myrobalan are found there.

That which is scattered by the wind from ripe tree is yellow, sour and cold, that which is plucked from the tree in the proper season is called kābūlī, it is sweet and hot; that which is left in the tree during winter till it becomes black, is called al-aswad,^{2.} and is bitter and hot.

.....

3.

PEARLS: DIVING PLACES

Idrīsī: See under Sūbāra.

Dimishqī: See under Fūfal.

1. ^{الاحليج} From Persian ^{عليه} halīla. S. Harītak, yellow myrobalan. The Hindī word Halij is a corruption of the P. Halīla. ^{عليج}

2. ^{الاسود}

3. ^{مغاص اللؤلؤ}

1.

PEPPER

Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Ibnul Faqīh, Idrīsī, Yāqūt, Qazwīnī, and Dimishqī - these six writers speak of pepper.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh:- See under Kawlam (Mūlay).

Ibn^{ul} Faqīh, in the course of enumerating the articles that come from different places, says that pepper comes from Malī and Sandān.

Idrīsī: See under Pandarīna, Jurbatan, Kawlam (Malī), Sandān (Malaq).

Yāqūt: See under Fāknūr, and Malābār.

Qazwīnī: See under Malābār.

Dimishqī: See under Barūs, Kawlam (Malī) and Manjarūr.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh gives the following description of the pepper plant: the navigators report that over every bunch of pepper is a leaf which protects it from the rain. When the rain stops, the leaf raises itself up. But when it rains again, it comes back.

Idrīsī gives the identical information quoting Ibn¹ Khurdādhbeh, and also has additional facts. The pepper plant

1. The following is the passage from the edition of de Goeje

وذكر البحرىون ان على كل عنقود من عناقيد الفلفل ورقة تكمنه من المطر
فاذا انقطع المطر ارتفعت الورقة فاذا عاد المطر عادت

p.63. Ibn Khurdādhbeh -

Idrīsī, who quotes Ibn Khurdādhbeh has the following passage
وعلى ابن خردادبه ان هذه العناقيد اذا كان المطر انخفضت ورقاته عليه واكنته
من المطر فاذا ارتفع المطر ارتفعت الورق عن العناقيد فماتوا وها الا في حين المطر
فان عاد المطر عادت الورقة عليها

Bod. MSS. and B.N. Paris.

This may show that Idrīsī had an amplified text of Ibn Khurdādhbeh's book.

is a shrub, having a trunk like that of the vine,^{1.} the leaf is like the convolvulus,^{2.} but longer; it has bunches like those of the shabūqa,^{3.} each bunch of which is sheltered by a leaf from the rain, and the pepper is plucked when it is ripe. White pepper is what is gathered as it begins to ripen or even before.

Yāqūt quotes from Abu Dulaf who says: The pepper plant is a popular one in Malābār.^{4.} Water is always under it. When the wind blows the crop falls down and shrivels. The pepper is collected from above water, and the king puts a tax on it. It is a free plant without an owner. It always bears a crop both summer and winter. It is in bunches. When the sun is hot, a number of leaves cover up the bunch so that it may not be scorched by the sun. When the sun goes off it, these leaves go off.

Qazwīnī says that the pepper plant is a creeper.^{5.} There is no special owner. Water is always under it. Its fruit is in bunches. When the sun rises and grows hot the leaves get hold of the bunches, else the sun will scorch the

1. عريش

2. لبلاب

3. شوقه

4. شجر عادي

5. شجر عاليه

before the fruit ripens. When the wind blows the bunches fall upon water and shrivel, and people collect them.

Abul Fidā: The pepper plant has bunches like those of the millet. Sometimes it winds round other trees like the vine.

.....

R. Pepper plant is a creeper that winds round certain trees. It has leaves on either side of its stem. The bunches that bear fruit sprout between two leaves that grow one above the other on the same side. When it rains, the upper leaf, most exposed to the rain, gets wet, bends down by the weight of rain drops and rests on the bunch as it cannot bend farther and thus it appears to protect the bunch. The other leaf, below the bunch, also bends downward, but not too far as it is not very well exposed to rain drops. When the rain ceases the leaves get dry and resume their original position. Thus there is nothing surprising in this action of the leaves as our authors make out to be. No harm will be done if the bunch is exposed to the sun or rain.

Yāqūt and Qazwīnī give a wrong description at the end mixing the action of the leaves with the heat of the sun.

There is no particular variety as the white pepper. When the pepper is dried in the sun, the original green colour is changed into a sort of white colour.

PERFUMES

Idrīsī mentions aromatic plants.^{1.} See under Saymūr.

Dimishqī speaks of perfumes.^{2.} See under Kawlam (Malī).

.....

^{3.}
RHUBARB (RHEUM)

Yāqūt and Qazwīnī speak of rhubarb.

Yāqūt: Rhubarb of weak quality is obtained in Kūlam,^{4.} while the better quality is from China. Rhubarb is a gourd^{5.} found there. Its leaves are known as al-Sādaj-al-Hindī.^{5.} There is no cultivation in Kūlam except a gourd from which^{6.} rhubarb is obtained. It is grown in the midst of thorny^{7.} shrubs, and in like manner the melon is cultivated which is also excellent.

Qazwīnī has a few remarks that rhubarb is obtained in Kūlam. It is a gourd that grows there. Its leaves, al-Sādaj al-Hindī are held in high esteem as medicine for the eyes.

1. نبات العطر

2. انواع البهار والصنف

3. ^{راوند} Yāqūt and Qazwīnī. Rheum (Gr.) Rhubarb ^{راوند-ريوند}
Arabic-English Dictionary of Medicine - Mohammad Sharaf
p.768

4. ^{والراوند قرع يكون هناك} p.456 Yāqūt Vol.III.

5. سادج الهندى

6. ^{ولا نزرع فيها الا القرع الذى فيه الراوند} p.457 Vol.III.

7. بطيخ

R. It is evident from the foregoing account that Yaqut and Qazwini are mixing up rhubarb with gourd; the former is the root of a plant called rebas and the latter is the fruit of the pumpkin plant. For details about medicinal rhubarb see

Watt's Dictionary p.485-8, and Heyd's Vol.II. p.665.

1.
RICE (CORN) (GRAIN)

Ibn Khurdādhbeh: See under Bābattan, Kanja, Samandar, Sinjlī and Kabashkān.

Istakhrī group: See under Sandān and Saymūr.

Idrīsī: See under Bullīn (Island Baliq); Jurbatan, Kaylkān, Lawā and Kanja; Kūlī (Daybu) Samandar, Sinjlī and Kabashkān.

.....

2.
SANDAL WOOD

Ibn Rusta mentions red sandal wood. See under Najaba.

Yāqūt: See under Mandurī.

.....

3.
SANDARAC

Yāqūt: A little sandarac of inferior quality is found in Kūlam. The better quality is found in China. ^{4.} Sandarac resembles sulphur and is the most valuable of them.

1. حَبّ - حنطة - الارز
حنطة generally means wheat, sometimes corn. As wheat is not popularly grown in Southern India, the word is translated as corn and wheat, as it suits the context.

2. الصندل الاحمر Ibn Rusta.
صندل — Yāqūt.

3. سندروس

4. The text has the following sentence in the middle:
وهي عين تنبت على باب مدينتها الشرق (p.455) which is obviously corrupt. See the editor's variants (V, p.290.)
R. Sandarac, a kind of resin, is said to resemble sulphur. There must be a mistake in the text.

SANDALS - KANBAYAN

Masūdī: Creaking leather sandals¹ are made in Kanbāya and in the neighbouring towns like Sandān and Sūbāra. They are associated with the town of Kanbāya and known as Kanbāyan sandals.

.....

STONE-MAGNETISED - SANDĀNIYYA

Yāqūt: Magnetised stone² is found in Kūlam. When it is heated by rubbing it attracts all things.

There is also in Kūlam a kind of stone known as sandāniyya³ used for roofing.

.....

TEAK

الساج

Six writers mention teak.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh: See under Kamkam and Sandān.

Yāqūbī, Ibn Rusta: See under Kamkam.

Idrīsī: See under Kamkam (Makamkam).

Yāqūt: The teak tree in Kūlam is huge and tall; it

1. النعال الكنباية الصرارة "Laced Kanbayan shoes". Sprenger, p.278. Barbier does not translate the word. "..... sur le territoire de la ville de Cambaye, celebre par ses sandales, nommees sandales de Cambaye, qui y sont d'usage, ainsi que dans les villeg voisines..." pp. 253-4.

R. There are various kinds of sandals used in Southern India:

orradi-c-ceruppu,	ஒரடிசெருப்பு	sandals without heels
kiriecu-c-ceruppu,	கிரிசெருப்பு	creaking sandals
kutti-c-ceruppu,	குதிசெருப்பு	sandals with thick sole
tor-c-ceruppa	தொசெருப்பு	sandals with thin sole

2. مغناطيس

3. الحجارة التي تعرف بالسندانية

exceeds one hundred cubits and more.

Qazwīnī gives the same information omitting the word 'huge'.

.....

1.

VASES

Yāqūt: Vases are made in Kūlam and sold in our country as Chinese vases, but they are not Chinese for the Chinese clay is harder than these and more fire resisting. The clay of this town from which they make vases which resemble the Chinese is left in the fire for three days and cannot be baked longer, while the Chinese clay rests in the oven for ten days and could be baked longer. Kūlam pottery is black in colour, but that which comes from China is white and of other colours, either translucent or not. It is manufactured in Persia from pebbles and ^{ar}qalī lime, and glass which is smashed up into a paste and blown and worked with pincers as glass is blown giving it the shape of drinking cups and other shapes.

Qazwīnī repeats the first point mentioned by Yāqūt and concludes with the remark that Kūlam vases are blackish in colour, while those of China are white and of other colours.

....oOo....

1.

غضائر

APPENDIX I.List of Places north of the Narbada river, India.

<u>Place.</u>	<u>Name of Author mentioning same.</u>
<u>AGHBĀB</u>	<u>Ibn Rusta.</u>
<u>AL-ARMAN</u>	<u>Ibn Rusta.</u>
<u>ASĀWAL</u>	<u>Ibn Hauqal and Idrīsī.</u>
<u>BARĀZ</u>	<u>Ibn Rusta.</u>
<u>BAZĀNA</u>	<u>Dimishqī.</u>
<u>JĀLŪR</u>	<u>Abul Fidā.</u>
<u>JANĀWAL</u>	<u>Ibn Hauqal and Idrīsī.</u>
<u>JAZRĀT</u>	<u>Dimishqī and Abul Fidā.</u>
<u>KĀBUL</u>	<u>Yaqūt.</u>
<u>KANBĀYA</u>	<u>Yacūbī, Masūdī, Ibn Hauqal, Idrīsī,</u> <u>Dimishqī, Abul Fidā.</u>
<u>KHĀBIRŪN</u>	<u>Idrīsī.</u>
<u>KAYR</u>	<u>Dimishqī.</u>
<u>MULTĀN</u>	<u>Abu Zayd, Abul Faraj, Masūdī,</u> <u>Istakhri, Maqdisī.</u>

APPENDIX I (contd.).

<u>Place.</u>	<u>Name of Author mentioning same.</u>
<u>MOUNTAINS OF THE BALHARĀ</u>	<u>Dimishqī.</u>
<u>MOUNTAINS OF QAMRŪN</u>	<u>Abul Fida.</u>
<u>NAHLWĀRA, NAHRWARĀH, ANHILWĀRA.</u>	<u>Idrisī, Abul Fida.</u>
<u>NAKUR</u>	<u>Abul Fida.</u>
<u>QAMUHAL, MAMHAL</u>	<u>Ibn Hauqal, Idrisī.</u>
<u>QAMRŪN</u>	<u>Abu Zayd, Yāqut.</u>
<u>QANDAHĀR</u>	<u>Ibn Khurdādhbeh.</u>
<u>AL QASS</u>	<u>Dimishqī.</u>
<u>QASHMĪR</u>	<u>Ibn Khurdādhbeh.</u>
<u>RAKLA</u>	<u>Dimishqī.</u>
<u>SOMNAT</u>	<u>Yāqut, Qazwīnī, Dimishqī, Abul Fida.</u>
<u>TAYFAND</u>	<u>Qazwīnī.</u>
<u>WAYHIND</u>	<u>Maqdisī.</u>

APPENDIX II.List of Kings and Kingdoms north of the Narbada river, India.

<u>King & Kingdom.</u>	<u>Name of Author mentioning same.</u>
1. <u>BAURAH - KING OF QANNAWJ</u>	<u>Masūdi.</u>
2. <u>KING OF JUZR</u>	<u>Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Sulaymān, Ibn Rusta, Masūdi, Idrīsī.</u>
3. <u>KING OF KĀMAN-AL-KAS</u>	<u>Masūdi.</u>
4. <u>KINGDOM OF KĀSHBĪN</u>	<u>Sulaymān.</u>
5. <u>KINGDOM OF AL-MAYAD-AL-MABAD</u>	<u>Sulaymān, Yāqūbī.</u>
6. <u>KINGDOM OF MŪJAH-MUSHA</u>	<u>Sulaymān, Yāqūbī.</u>
7. <u>KINGDOM OF QAMRŪN</u>	<u>Ibn Khurdādhbeh.</u>
8. <u>QUEEN RĀBIYA OF URFASIN-AGHBAB</u>	<u>Ibn Rusta.</u>
9. <u>KINGDOM OF RAHMĀ</u>	<u>Sulaymān, Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Yāqūbī, Ibnul-Faqīh, Masūdi, Idrīsī.</u>
10. <u>KINGDOM OF TĀFAN-TAFAQ</u>	<u>Sulaymān, Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Yāqūbī, Ibn Rusta, Masūdi, Idrīsī.</u>
11. <u>KINGDOM OF TARSŪL</u>	<u>Yāqūbī.</u>

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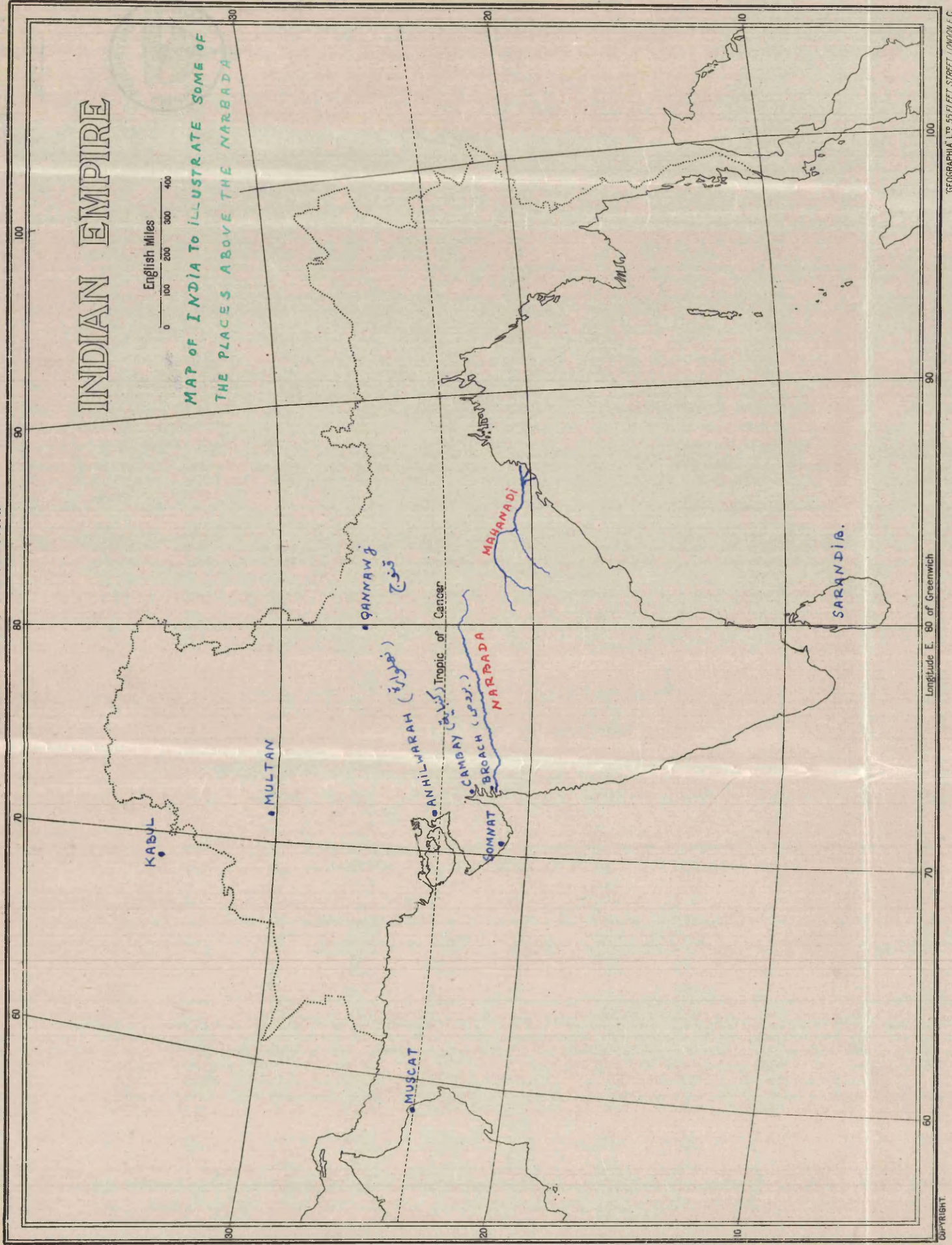
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