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BONNER ORIENTALISTISCHE STUDIEN  
HERAUSGEGEBEN VON P. KAHLE UND W. KIRFEL

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**Otto Spies**

**An Arab account  
of India  
in the 14th Century**



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VERLAG W. KOHLHAMMER STUTTGART

1936



# BONNER ORIENTALISTISCHE STUDIEN

Herausgegeben von P. Kahle und W. Kirfel

1. Heft: Tokumyo Matsumoto, Die Prajñāpāramitā-Literatur nebst einem Specimen der Suvikrāntavikrāmi-Prajñāpāramitā  
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2. Heft: Menahem Zulay, Zur Liturgie der babylonischen Juden. Geniza-Texte herausgegeben, übersetzt und bearbeitet, sowie auf ihre Punktation hin untersucht  
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1933. 2, 89 u. VII Seiten und 50 Seiten Faksimile, RM. 7.50
6. Heft: Rafael Edelman, Zur Frühgeschichte des Maḥzor. Genizafragmente mit palästinischer Punktation, herausgegeben, übersetzt und erklärt  
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1935. 174 Seiten. RM. 8.—
13. Heft: Albert Schott, Vorarbeiten zur Geschichte der Keilschriftliteratur. I. Die assyrischen Königsinschriften vor 722.  
a) Der Schreibgebrauch  
1936. XVII u. 158 Seiten in Grossformat. RM. 13 50

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W. KOHLHAMMER / VERLAG / STUTT GART



AN DER UNIVERSITÄT WÜRZBURG  
ORIENTALISTISCHE STUDIEN

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DR. KARL UND WILHELM

HEFT 4

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BONNER  
ORIENTALISTISCHE STUDIEN

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON  
P. KAHLE UND W. KIRFEL

HEFT 14



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AN ARAB ACCOUNT OF INDIA  
IN THE 14TH CENTURY

BEING A TRANSLATION OF THE CHAPTERS ON INDIA FROM

AL-QALQASHANDĪ'S ṢUBḤ UL-A'ŠHĀ

BY

OTTO SPIES+



VERLAG VON W. KOHLHAMMER \* STUTTGART 1936



AN ARAB ACCOUNT OF INDIA  
IN THE FIFTH CENTURY  
BEING A TRANSLATION OF THE CHAPTER ON INDIA FROM

AL-GHARNATHI'S SOBH UL-KAWAKIB

BY

OTTO SPILNER

Bibliothek der  
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## INTRODUCTION

### 1. ARABIC LITERATURE AND INDIA

“No people were in a more favourable position for exploring the ancient world than the Arabs. Their empire stretched from Spain upto the Indus and Sirderya, from the Caucasus upto the Nigrolands of Africa. Wars and conquests have always promoted the study of Geography.”<sup>1</sup>

The Arabs began to take interest in Geography at a very early stage of their expansion. Their geographical literature consists of three kinds of books:

1. *Books on administration and trade.* Administrative and practical needs brought into existence books giving a description of countries and itineraries, the revenues and products of the provinces, the administration not only of Islamic, but also of non-Islamic lands. As more countries came under the Mohammedan rule, wider became their geographical knowledge. The works of Ibn Khordādhbeh, Qudāma, Ya'qūbī, Ibn Rustah and Ibn al-Faqīh are of primary importance.

2. *Books of voyages and adventures* which enriched the knowledge of geography. Many books of travel—interspersed with historical accounts were written, e.g., the works of al-Mas'ūdī, Naṣīr-i Khosraw, Ibn Jubair, Ibn Baṭūṭa.

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1. Cf. O. Peschel, *Geschichte der Erdkunde*, p. 104.

3. *The systematic and scientific study* of the earth, its form, the seven climates, the determination of the longitude and latitude of places etc. The Arabs worked at first on the old Greek lines and the beginning of geographical studies is marked by the translation of Ptolemy; but soon they had surpassed the Greeks and built up their own geographical and astronomical systems. Authors of systematic books on geography are Istakhrī, Ibn Hawqal, Muqaddasī etc, while Ibn Yūnus, al-Bērūnī and others occupy a prominent place in the astronomical and mathematical researches.

The importance of geographical literature of the Arabs<sup>1</sup> for their economic and cultural history has been, since long, recognised by European scholars<sup>2</sup> and was, lately, emphasized again by the eminent Turkish scholar Zaki Ahmet Validi who has published a most illuminating paper on "Islam and the science of Geography."<sup>3</sup>

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1. For further particulars of Arab geographers see the Introduction to the French translation of Abu'l-Fidā, by M. Reinaud, Paris 1848. Further, F. Wuestenfeld who as one of the first scholars has given a survey of Arabic geography in his paper "*Die Literatur der Erdbeschreibung bei den Arabern*", Zeitschrift f. vergl. Erdkunde, Magdeburg 1842, Vol. I. On the basis of the "*Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*" in which old geographical works were published P. Schwarz studied "*Die älteste geographische Literatur der Araber*." For purposes of reference one may be referred to the Introduction of G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*. London 1890. A short, but valuable account on Arabic "*Geography and Commerce*" is given by J. H. Kramers in: *The Legacy of Islam*, edited by Th. Arnold and A. Guillaume, Oxford, 1931. In all these works further bibliography is given; Cf. also *Encyclop. of Islam*.

2. In order to have a sure foundation for studies and research, Barbier de Meynard, de Goeje, H. Mzik and others have edited the oldest texts.

3. Islamic Culture Vol. VIII p. 511 sqq.

The Arabs had been sailing in the Indian Ocean long before the rise of Islam. The first Muslim Arabs visited the coasts of India, Ceylon and the East Indian Islands as merchants and seafarers. Islam was introduced in India, with the invasion of Sind,<sup>1</sup> in the year 712, by Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim who conquered the whole of the country from the mouth of the Indus to the borders of Kashmir. Under the first Umayyades Muslim merchants spread everywhere in the Indian Ocean and in South-Eastern Asia. Even before al-Hajjāj Arabs had founded trade-centres in the Java Islands and married native women. As Maulana Syed Sulayman Nadvi has pointed out there were many Muslim colonies in India<sup>2</sup> before the Muslim conquest. The coasts and islands of India have always attracted Arab merchants and travellers who undertook the voyages mainly for the sake of trade. So the commercial routes and the sea-coasts of India were well-known to the Arabs long before the inner parts of India became accessible to them.

The earliest books,<sup>3</sup> therefore, were reports and narrations of sailors or merchants such as at-Tājir Sulaymān whose narratives were collected by Abū

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1. Cf. Prof. Mohd. Habib. *The Arab Conquest of Sind*. Islamic Culture, III, pp. 77-95; 592-611.

2. Cf. *Muslim Colonies in India before the Muslim Conquest*, Islamic Culture VIII, p. 474 sqq; 600 sqq; IX, p. 144 sqq.

3. For particulars see Reinaud, *Relation des voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et à la Chine*, Paris 1845; Reinaud, *Introduction générale à la Géographie des Orientaux*, in: Vol. I of *Géographie d'Aboulfeda*, Paris 1848; G. Ferrand, *Relations des Voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turcs relatifs à l'Extrême Orient des VIII au XVII siècle*, 2 Vols., Paris 1913-14.

Zayd Ḥasan b. Yazīd in *Akhbār ul-Hind waṣ-Ṣīn*,<sup>1</sup> Buzurg b. Shahrīyār in *Kitāb 'ajā'ib ul-Hind*,<sup>2</sup> Ibn Habbār,<sup>3</sup> Abū Dulaf<sup>4</sup> and, particularly, al-Mas'ūdī<sup>5</sup>.

A new era began with the conquest of India by Mahmud of Ghazna who extended his raids upto Kalinjar in Bundelkhand in the East and as far south as Somnath. Muslim rule in India was consolidated under the Ghoris. Through these invasions Islam spread in India. Travellers, merchants and missionaries followed the soldiers and administrators, and spread themselves all over the country. India became, in this way, more and more known to the Arabs. The Arab historian adh-Dhahabī, however, complains that on account of Mongols all traffic and intercourse with the other side of Iraq and Persia were cut off. The brilliant scholar al-Bērūnī, who was well versed in the Indian sciences, helped, in a large measure, to improve the knowledge of India among the Arabs. A few centuries after him came Ibn Baṭūṭa, the adventurous Moorish traveller.

The *historical* books in Arabic often give useful information about the historical and political facts relating to India. Al-Balādhurī's *Book of the Conquests* which combines history and geography, is of primary importance in this respect. It shows

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1. Cf. Brockelmann I, 523.
  2. Cf. Brockelmann I, 523. The text was edited by P. A. v.d. Lith and translated into French by L. M. Dévic, Leiden 1883-86.
  3. Cf. al-Mas'ūdī, ed. by Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, Vol. I, 312 sqq.
  4. Cf. Brock. I, 228 and Yāqūt III, 445-58.
  5. Cf. Brock. I, 144.

the state of the country when the Arabs conquered it. In later times, much information about India is found in the large historical works of the Arabs<sup>1</sup> where historical happenings and political occurrences are described chronologically.<sup>2</sup>

But the authors of these books make a mention only of the most important occurrences; details are not to be found there. For elucidating points of detail one has to turn to the historical works written in Persian.

From the *biographical* works we learn that fairly big colonies of rich Indian merchants existed in Cairo and Alexandria. Yet reliable informations about historical events cannot be obtained from these works. Sometimes curious and apparently exaggerated stories regarding India are told in these biographies. We gather that Arabic writers derived their information often from the Indians whom they met in Arabia and Egypt.

The *encyclopaedic* works such as al-'Omarī's *Masālik ul-Abṣār* furnish us with valuable information about India. At that time India had become, so to say, a subject of general knowledge for the Arab intelligentsia. *Masālik ul-Abṣār* in particular adds details to the facts which are generally dealt with in the Persian histories. Another important book of this kind is al-Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ ul-A'shā* which contains a fairly detailed description of India.

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1. Cf. O. Spies, Beiträge zur Arab. Literaturgeschichte, Leipzig 1932, Chapter II.

2. Cf. in particular aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*; for the later times Ibn ul-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, adh-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh ul-Islām*, Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntazam*, Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wan-Nihāya*, Maḥmūd al-'Ainī, *Iqd al-Jumān*, etc.

## 2. AL-QALQASHANDĪ AND HIS WORK.

Shihābuddīn Abu 'l-'Abbās Ahmad b. 'Alī b. abī Ghudda al-Qalqashandī<sup>1</sup> came from a learned family of Qalqashanda, a small place in the district of Qalyūb near Cairo. The date of his birth is not certain; probably it was 758 or 756.<sup>2</sup> As a boy he left his native place and settled down in Cairo where he lived till his death. There he studied law according to the Shafi'ite school and was later appointed judge. His special interest, however, lay in *Adab* and *Inshā* in which branches he was well versed. He died, nearly 65 years of age, on the 10th Jumādā 'l-ākhira 821 A.H. = July 16th, 1418 A. D.

Qalqashandī's chief work<sup>3</sup> *Ṣubḥ ul-a'shā fi ṣinā'at il-inshā*, is an encyclopædia of all the branches of knowledge of his time<sup>4</sup>. The work is a valuable source of information for the cultural, administrative and geographical history of Egypt and Syria. It has always drawn the attention of scholars towards itself.

On the basis of this work F. Wüstenfeld wrote his monograph "*Die Geographie und Verwaltung von Egypten*"<sup>5</sup> and W. Björkmann described the institution

1. For his life and works cf. Brockelmann II, 134. Encyclopaedia of Islam II, 699; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtsschreiber* 467; Shadharāt VII, 149; Sarkis p. 1521; Ziriḥī, *Qāmūs al-A'lām*, p. 52; Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, ed. Popper, VI, p. 460; Qalqashandī, Vol. XIV, Introduction of the editor.

2. The later date is given by Sarkis p. 1521.

3. For his works cf. Brockelmann II, 134; Sarkis p. 1521.

4. It has been printed in Egypt by the Dār ul-kutub il-Khadiwiya 1331-38 A.H. = 1913-18 A.D. in 14 Vols. Other editions are quoted by Sarkis p. 1521 and have been discussed by W. Björkmann p. 73.

5. Goettingen 1879.



of the *Diwān ul-Inshā* in his book "*Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Aegypten*" giving at the same time a statement of the contents of the whole work.<sup>1</sup> The description of Syria was translated by Gaudefroy-Demombynes in *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamlouks*<sup>2</sup>. As regards other parts of the *Ṣubḥ* dealing with the lands and countries only the chapters of the Island of Borneo have been studied and translated into French.<sup>3</sup>

Extracts from the *Ṣubḥ* regarding coins, measures and weights (*mu'āmalāt*) according to the Ms. in the Bodleian Library have been translated into French by M. H. Sauvaire.<sup>4</sup> The diplomatic correspondence between Egypt and foreign powers, so far as preserved in al-Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ ul-A'shā* has been the object of learned papers by different scholars.<sup>5</sup> There is, however, still a lot of material

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1. Hamburg 1928.

2. Paris 1923. The translated portions are found in the Arabic text IV, 72-243 and XIV, 371-402.

3. By Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Africa*. (translation of *Masālik*).

4. *Mémoires de l'Académie de Marseille*, 1886-87.

5. Cf. H. Lammens, *Correspondances diplomatiques entre les sultans Mamlouks d'Égypte et les puissances chrétiens*, *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, Vol. IX, 1904, pp. 151-87 ; 359-92 ; H. Lammens, *Relations officielles entre la cour romaine et les sultans mamlouks*, *ibid.*, Vol. VIII, 1903, pp. 101-10 ; Amari, *De titoli che usava la cancelleria de Sultani di Egitto nel XIV secolo scrivendo a reggitori di alcuni Stati italiani*, *Atti della R. Accad. dei Lincei*, Serie III, 12, 1883-84, pp. 507-34 (based on *Masālik ul-Absār*: Amari, *Condizione degli stati Cristiani dell'Occidente secondo una relazione di Domenichino Doria da Genova*, *Testo arabo c. vers. ital. e note*, Roma 1883) ; E. Blochet, *Les relations diplomatiques des Hohenstaufen avec les sultans d'Égypte*, *Revue Historique*, Vol. 80, 1902, III, pp. 51-64.

in the *Ṣubḥ ul-A'shā* which requires critical study.

In the following pages I am giving the first translation of the chapters on India comprising pp. 61-98 in Vol. V of the Arabic text. A summary of its contents has been given by W. Björkmann, loc. cit., p. 106. Since the author has never been in India his description is based on literary sources which I have enumerated in the next chapter, and on a few oral relations of travellers. On examining these sources we find that almost all of them have been printed or come down to us in manuscripts. Al-Qalqashandī's description, therefore, is not so important as supposed by several scholars. It is, however, a well-informed account of the different aspects of India and shows that the Arabs, at that time, had on the whole a fairly accurate knowledge of India. Although the work itself was completed in the year 814 A. H.<sup>1</sup> al-Qalqashandī does not give an account of the contemporary conditions in India of his time—except in a few cases when he relates on the authority of some Indians and travellers whom he met—but he rather describes India in the time of Muhammad Tughlaq. He follows therein very closely the *Masālik ul-Abṣār* which he simply copies.

I have been asked to make al-Qalqashandī's description of India accessible through a translation to those who do not know Arabic. The translation is literal; only sometimes I could not help translating freely. I have appended many foot-notes to it which

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1. So according to Sarkis, p. 1521; but according to *Encycl. of Islam* II 699 it was composed after 791 A. H.

are not exhaustive as the necessary books of reference were not at my disposal. <sup>1</sup>

### 3. THE SOURCES OF AL-QALQASHANDĪ.

al-Qalqashandī never visited India. So he has no practical knowledge of this country. His informations, therefore, are based on literary sources or on oral reports and narrations of those who have been in India. His work, therefore, is a compilation. On the whole, al-Qalqashandī carefully quotes his sources. But probably he did not always turn to the originals themselves, but simply quoted them according to *Masālik*. In the following I give the list of works used by al-Qalqashandī for composing his description of India. <sup>2</sup>

1. The main source for al-Qalqashandī is *Masālik ul-abṣār* <sup>3</sup> by Ibn-Fadlullāh al-'Omarī <sup>4</sup> (died

1. See further the general reference-books :

H. M. Elliot, *The History of India as told by its own historians. The Muhammadan Period*, ed. and cont. by J. Dowson, London 1867-77 (Bibliography of the original sources).

Elliot, *Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammadan India*, Calcutta 1849.

E. F. Oaten, *European Travellers in India during the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries*, London 1909 (for European travellers who visited India during the Muhammadan Period).

2. A general survey of the sources for the whole work has been given by W. Björkmann p. 75 sqq., for the description of Syria by Gaudefroy-Demombynes, p. IV sqq.

3. The parts containing Africa, without Egypt, have been translated into French by Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Paris 1927 (*Bibliothèque des Géographes Arabes*, tome II); the Arabic text of the description of Asia Minor has been published by Fr. Taeschner, Leipzig 1929 and North Africa by Hassan Ḥasani 'Abdul-Wahhāb with the title *Wasf Ifrīqiya wal-Andalus*, Tunis 1922.

4. For his life cf. Brock. II, 141; Sarkis p. 204; *Fawāt* I, 7, *Shadharāt* VI, 160; Zirkilī, *Qāmūs al-A'lām* p. 85; R. Hartmann, *Z D M G* 70, p. 1 sqq.

748/1348). This is a big work on geography, history and biography comprising 29 volumes<sup>1</sup> and is of great importance for the study of these branches of learning, particularly so far as North-Africa is concerned, because the author was a native from there. After having studied in Damascus, Hijaz and Egypt, 'Omarī was appointed Qadi in Cairo and became later state-secretary. Although he had never been in India he wrote a detailed chapter on it in his *Masālik ul-Abṣār*. He collected his informations—besides from literary sources—from Indians whom he met in Egypt, in the first place from Shaykh Mubārek ul-Anbātī, Sirājuddīn Abu'l-Faṭḥ 'Umar, a lawyer and a native of the province of Oudh, etc.

Only one volume of *Masālik ul-Abṣār* has been published so far by Ahmad Zeki Pasha (Cairo 1342/1924) and it is doubtful whether the following volumes will be printed in the next time since the editor died. Yet it would be very desirable to continue the publication. The volume containing India has not yet been published. So we have still to refer for India to Quatremère, *Notices et Extraits* XIII, 1838. The text and translation of the parts referring to India will be edited in 2 Vols. by O. Spies, Sh. Abdur Rashid and Moinul Haqq in the course of this year. Very frequently are quoted:

2. *Taqwīm ul-Buldān* by Abu 'l-Fidā' (died 732/1331)<sup>2</sup>, the prince and governor of Hamāt. He is well-known through his *Universal History* and his

1. Cf. J. Horovitz, *M S O S As.* X, 1907, pp. 43-45;

2. For his life cf. Brock. II, 46; *Encycl. of Islam* I, 86. His autobiography has been translated by De Slane in: *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Hist. Orient.* I, 106 sqq.

work on geography both of which are quoted several times. The latter, entitled "Table of the Countries," *Taqwīm ul-Buldān*, has been edited and translated into French by Reinaud, Mac Guckin de Slane and St. Guyard, Vol. I; II, i and II, 2, Paris 1840, 1848, 1883.

3. *Al-Qānūn ul-Mas'ūdī* by al-Bīrūnī (died 448/1048)<sup>1</sup>. The Qānūn is the most valuable work for astronomy and geography written in the middle ages. Al-Qalqashandī quotes it in particular for the latitude and longitudes of places. Its importance was fully appreciated by A. Sprenger more than fifty years ago in his "Reiserouten des Orients", Halle 1865, p. XXIV: "Bīrūnī was the first who fixed the longitudes and latitudes of towns with a degree of accuracy which when the names are transferred to a map, gives us a picture of the country concerned."

The Qānūn has been lately made use of by Ahmet Zeki Validi in his works "Neue geographische und ethnographische Nachrichten über Mittel-Ost- und Nordasien aus al-Bīrūnī's Werken" und "Al-Bīrūnī's Weltbild und Gradientabelle". Cf. Islamic Culture, Vol. VIII, 1934, p. 521.

From the mathematical point of view C. Schoy has studied the Qānūn and written his last work "Die trigonometrischen Lehren des persischen Astronomen Abu 'l-Raiḥān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī, dargestellt nach al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī. Edited by J. Ruska and H. Wieleitner. Hannover 1927.

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1. Cf. Brock. I, 476; Ibn abī Uṣāibi'a II, 20; Suter, Mathematiker der Araber, p. 98-100; Encycl. of Islam I, 726 and the bibliography quoted there.

al-Qalqashandī does not mention Bīrūnī's *Tārīkh-ul-Hind* and *al-Athār ul-bāqīya*.

4. *al-Masālik wal-Mamālik* by Ibn Hauqal<sup>1</sup> who travelled in the middle of the 4th century through the whole Muslim world. He revised al-Istakhrī's work and published it with this title. It has been edited by de Goeje in *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, Vol. II.

5. *Kitāb ul-masālik wal-mamālik* by Ibn Khordādhbeh<sup>2</sup> (died ca 300/912) forms an important source for historical topography. The work has been edited and translated by Barbier de Meynard (*Journal Asiatique* 1865) and again by de Goeje, Leiden 1889 (*Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, Vol. VI). Al-Qalqashandī makes use of it in particular for the routes.

Amongst those that are infrequently quoted are:

6. *Tuḥfat ul-Albāb* by Muḥammad b. 'Abdurrahmān al-Māzinī (died 565/1169.)<sup>3</sup> It deals with geography according to his own voyages and the descriptions of others. G. Ferrand has edited the work on the basis of the manuscripts in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* and in *Alger*, Paris 1925.

7. Hasan b. Aḥmad al-Muhallabī (4th century) composed his book *al-masālik wal-mamālik* for the Fatimide 'Azīz billāh<sup>4</sup>. It is, therefore, also known as *Kitāb ul-'Azīzī*. Cf. H. Khal. II, 432. The work of which no manuscripts have come down to us was made use of by Abu 'l-Fidā' in his *Taqwīm ul-Buldān*.

1. Cf. Brock. I, 229 ; *Encycl. of Islam* II, 383.

2. Cf. Brock. I, 225; *Encycl. of Islam* II, 398

3. Cf. Brock. I, 477. Qalq. V, 62 calls the author Muḥd. b. 'Abdurrahīm ul-*Uqlīshī*.

4. Cf. *Encycl. of Islam*: I, 540

8. *Kitāb ul-Aṭwāl* the author of which is not known. Hājji Khalīfa 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 al-Bīrūnī. The book was made use of also by Abu 'l-Fidā' in his "Geography".

9. *Nuzhat ul-Mushtāq* by Idrīsī (died 560/1166).<sup>1</sup> The work contains maps while the text is a commentary on the maps. For the bibliography cf. *Encycl. of Islam* II, 451.

10. *Kitāb ul-Ansāb* by as-Sam'ānī (died 562/1167) deals with nisbas and is rather valuable for those of Iranian and Central Asiatic names of places, towns etc. Cf. Brockelmann I, 330.

11. Ibn Sa'īd 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Maghribī<sup>2</sup> (died 673/1274 or 685/1286) was a philologist who travelled through the East and wrote also a geographical book *Kitāb ul-Jaghrāfiya*, also known as *Kitāb baṣṭ il-ardh fī ṭālhā wal-'ardh*. Although this book is not mentioned with this title in *Ṣubḥ ul-A'shā*—only the name Ibn Sa'īd is given—al-Qalqashandī has made use of it.

Messrs. Shaikh Abdur Rashid and Moinul Haqq, Lectures in the Department of History in the Muslim University, who requested me to translate this portion from *Ṣubḥ ul-A'shā* for them so that they might be able to make use of this source for their historical researches on Pre-Mughul India, have gone with me through the whole translation and made a number of corrections

1. Or *Kitab Rujar* e. g. *Qal.* V, 150. Cf. Brock. I, 477.

2. Cf. Brock. I, 336; *Encycl. of Islam* II, 414; Maqqarī 1, 634 sqq.

and suggestions which have been utilised in particular in the foot notes. Mr. Rashid, moreover, has helped me in reading the proofs. My thanks are due to my Research student Nazirul Islam who assisted me in translating the text in the first instance and dictated also my manuscript to the typist. I am grateful also to Dr. I. R. Khan, Chairman of the Department of Geography, for his valuable help in identifying and locating certain names of places. Dr. Abdul Aleem, Lecturer in my Department, has kindly read the proofs of the translation and pointed out a few amendments in the translation. I feel grateful to all these gentlemen.



## TRANSLATION

### INDIA AND ITS CIRCUMJACENT COUNTRIES.

The author of *Masālik ul-Abṣār*<sup>1</sup> says, it is a most important country which cannot be compared with any other country in the world in respect of its extensive zones, its abundant wealth and armies, the grandeur of its Sultan when he travels or is in residence, and in respect [of the grandeur] of the throne of his country. The fame and reputation of this country is well-known.

Then he<sup>2</sup> continues "I used to learn from the current news and written books what filled my eyes and ears. But I could not acquaint myself with the truth of these accounts because of the remoteness of this country and the distance of its provinces from us. Then I repeatedly inquired about that from the narrators and I found more than I had heard and greater things than I had expected.

More is not necessary to say<sup>3</sup>: it is a country in whose sea there are pearls and in whose land there is gold and in whose mountains there are rubies and diamonds and in whose valleys there is

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1. *i.e.*, Ibn Faḍlullāh ul-'Omarī, Cf. p. 9, No. 1.
  2. *i.e.*, Ibn Faḍlullāh ul-'Omarī, the author of *Masālik*.
  3. Arabic *فانصبك* cf. Dozy I, 284.

aloes wood and camphor<sup>2</sup>. [62] and in whose cities there are the thrones of the kings. Among its animals are elephants and rhinoceros, among its sharp weapons are "the Indian swords". Its rates are cheap, its armies are numberless, and its territories are limitless. Its inhabitants have wisdom and great intelligence. Amongst the nations they have the greatest mastery over their passions and devote themselves to what is supposed bring one near unto God.

He continues, "Moḥammad b. 'Abdur Raḥīm al-Qaisī<sup>3</sup> has described this country, in his book *Tuhfat ul-Albāb* saying:- huge country, great justice, considerable wealth, fine management, constant satisfaction, and security wherewith there is no fear in the country of India. The Indians are the most learned people in the branches of Philosophy, Medicine, Geometry and in all the wonderful arts." Further he says, "in their mountains and islands there grow the trees of aloes-wood and camphor and all sorts of

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1. Ibn Bat. IV, 241 gives a description of the aloes wood of which different species exist. The Sanskrit name is *agaru* or in dialects *agil* and *akil*. Through the Portuguese who called it *aguila*" it came to English as *eagle-wood* by the association of Latin *aquila*. The aloes-wood was already known in the ancient world. Pliny (Book XXVII) says "The best alca is brought out of India....."

2. Cf. Ibn Bat. III, 241. The Sanskrit word is *Karpūra* the origin of which is probably Javanese *Kāpūr*. Through the Persians and Arabs the camphor came in the middle ages to Europe, cf. *Dozy, Oosterlingen*, p. 47 and *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v., p. 151.

3. The text has been nisba "Uqlīshī". He is generally known as "al-Māzinī al-Qaisī". Cf. Brock I, 477 Zirkili, *Al-A'lām Qāmūs tarājīm*, p. 917; Brockelmann I, 477.

aromatic plants *e. g.* clove tree, <sup>1</sup> spikenard (*sunbul*)<sup>2</sup>, *dār-chīnī*<sup>3</sup>, Cinnamon (*qirfa*), *salīkha*,<sup>4</sup> cardamom (*qāqullah*),<sup>5</sup> cubeb,<sup>6</sup> mace<sup>7</sup> and many kinds of drugs of vegetable origin (*aqāqīr*). And they have musk deer<sup>8</sup> and civet cat.<sup>9</sup> This together with all that is

1. *Qaranful* cf. *Hobson-Jobson* s. v. *clove*, p. 223, see further the curious description of Ibn Bat. IV, 243 and its criticism by Mzik p. 404.

2. *Andripgon nardus* Cf. Sir W. Jones, in *As. Res.* II, 410 "We may on the whole be assured that the *nardus* of Ptolemy, the *Indian Sumbul* of the Persians and Arabs, the *Jatāmānsī* of the Hindus, and the spikenard of our shops, are one and the same plant."

3. The Arabic word دارصيني in the text is Persian *dar-chīnī* "China-stick" *i. e.* *cinnamon*. Interesting in this respect is the following explanation of Pietro della Valle, *Viaggi* (ed. E. Grey; Hak. Soc, 1891.) II, 206-07 from the year 1621". As for the cinnamon which you wrote was called by the Arabs *dartzeni*, I assure you that the *dar-sini*, as the Arabs say, or *dar-chīnī* as the Persians and Turks call it, is nothing but our ordinary *Canella*.

4. The oil or produce of the bentree (=bān), cf. Lane s. v.

5. The text has *qātilah*. Although there are different kinds of plants with this name (cf. Dozy II, 308) cardamom is meant here.

6. The fruit of the *Piper Cubeba*. In Hindi *kaḇāb chīnī* which marks its importation from the East. Its Arabic name is *kaḇāba*. It is mentioned by Mas'ūdī I, 341 Cubeb was well known in Europe in the Middle Ages; *e. g.* "in a list of drugs to be sold in the city of Ulm, A. D. 1596, cubebs are mentioned..." Hanbury and Flückiger, *Pharmacographia: A Hist. of the Principal Drugs*, 1874, p. 526-27.

7. Arabic *basbāsa* cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 527.

8. Arab. *ghazal ul-misk*, *i. e.* the musk-deer (*Moschus moschiferus* L.) is found throughout the Himalaya and extends east to the borders of Szechuen, and North to Siberia. Cosmas Indicopleustes (ca 545 A. D.), Book XI, says about the musk-deer "This little animal is the Musk. The natives call it in their own tongue *Kastūri*. They hunt it and shoot it, and binding tight the blood collected about the navel they cut this off, and this is the sweet smelling part of it, and what we call Musk." See further *Travels of Nikitin* (ed. R. Major, Hakl. Soc.) p. 22.

9. Arab. *sinnaur uz-zabād*.

found in this country is on account of the extensiveness of the provinces, the remoteness of the sides and the distance of its boundaries.

In the *Masālik ul-Abṣār* it has been related on the authority of Shaikh Mubārak b. Maḥmūd ul-Anbātī, that the breadth of this country is from Somnāt<sup>1</sup> and Sarandīb<sup>2</sup> to Ghazna<sup>3</sup> and its length from the Bay opposite to Aden to the Wall of Alexander<sup>4</sup> where the Indian Ocean comes out of the Atlantic Ocean, and that it takes three years<sup>5</sup> of ordinary journey to cross it. In the whole country towns are closely built and there are pulpits, thrones, districts, villages, market-places and bazars. No desolated place comes between them.

After this he<sup>6</sup> describes him<sup>7</sup> as a reliable, trust-

1. 20°53' N and 70°28' E in the state of Junagadh, Kathiawar, Bombay.

2. *i. e.* the island "Ceylon" which had in the course of history different names. Cf. Hobson-Jobson p. 181 and the remarks of Mzik p. 353 sqq. and N. Lal Dey, *Geograph. Dictionary*, p. 185; 113.

3. In Afghanistan, 100 miles S. S. W. from Kabul. Ghazna was the residence of Maḥmūd b. Sabuktegin (ruled 387-421 A. H.=997-1030 A.-D.) and was destroyed in the year 544 A. H.=1150 A. D. by 'Alā'uddīn Husain Jihān-sūz cf. *Encycl. of Islam* s.v.

4. *i. e.* the "Chinese Wall" which is said to have been built by Alexander against the pagan people Gog and Magog. Cf. Ibn Khordādhbeh p. 162 sqq.; M. J. de Geoje, *De muur van gog en magog in: Verslagen en Meded. K. Akad. v. Wetensch., Afd. Letterk.* 3 e reeks, Deel V, p. 87 sqq. and now A. R. Anderson, *Alexander's gate, Gog and Magog, and the inclosed nations*. Cambridge, Mass: Medieval Acad. of America 1932.

5. Yet see the observation of the author of *Masālik ul-Abṣār* on this p. 19.

6. *i. e.* al-'Omarī, the author of *Masālik ul-Absār*.

7. *i. e.* the relator Mubārak b. Maḥmūd.

worthy and learned man in what he relates but he considers this distance as too great. He continues "verily the whole inhabited world is not equal to this distance, unless he meant that this was the time taken by one who moved from one place to another in it till he had got a thorough knowledge of every place and knew <sup>1</sup> what was in it. r

This description is divided into eleven chapters: [63]

## CHAPTER I.

### About the climates of this country.

This country consists of *two* great climates:

#### THE FIRST CLIMATE.<sup>2</sup>

The climate of Sind and the adjacent provinces<sup>3</sup> of Mukrān, Tūrān, Budha and the countries of Qufs<sup>4</sup> and Balūs.<sup>5</sup>

#### SIND.<sup>6</sup>

Ibn Hauqal says, "The boundaries of Kirmān enclose it on the western side and the end of the boundary is the waterless desert of Sijistān. On the

1. *احتمل* literally: he carried (in his mind) away, *i.e.* he relates or knows what he has seen and heard there. Cf. also Dozy I, 326

2. Arabic *iqīm* (a Greek word) one of the Seven climates of the Ancients. See also E Honigmann, *Die Sieben Klimata*, Heidelberg 1927

3 Literally: "what is strung in the string of it."

4. a hilly region known as Jibāl ul-Qufs on the border of Kirmān Cf. Abu'l Fidā' Taqwīm, p. 334, <sup>10</sup>, 335, <sup>3</sup>, Yāqūt, *Mu'jam ul-Buldan*; VI, 147 sqq.; Le Strange 323. p

5. Or Balūch were robber tribes Cf. Abu'l Fidā' *Taqwīm* p. 334, *Mu'jam ul-Buldan*, I, 732; Hobson-Jobson p. 94.

6. Cf. *Encycl. of Islam*, s. v. *Sind*; Sir Walseley Haig, *The Indus Delta Country*, Prof. Muh. Habib, *The Arab Conquest of Sind*, *Isl. Culture*, Vol III, p. 77 sqq.

Southern side is a desert which lies between Kirmān and the Indian Ocean, which is on the south of the desert. On the Eastern side lies<sup>1</sup> also the Persian Ocean; for the Ocean bends like a bow towards Kirmān and Sind till it becomes the entrance to the eastern side of Sind. On the Northern side lies a part of India. Ibn Khordāzbeh says, "in Sind *costus*<sup>2</sup>, cane (*qanā*)<sup>3</sup> and bamboo (*khaizurān*)<sup>4</sup> grow.

1 The western side must be meant here?

2. Arabic *qust*, Hind *kuṭ*. from Sanskrit *kushṭa* which is the *costus* of the ancients, Anglo-Indian *Putchock*, is the trade-name for a fragrant root. Cf. Hobson-Jobson p. 744.

Garcia, says in his most valuable book *Colloquios dos Simples e Drogas e Cousas Medecinaes da India* I say that *costus* in Arabic is called *cost* or *cast*, in Guzarate it is called *uplot*; and in Malay, for in that region there is a great trade and consumption thereof it is called *pucho*. I tell you the name in Arabic, because it is called by the same name by the Latins and Greeks, and I tell it you in Guzerati, because that is the land to which it is chiefly carried from its birth-place; and I tell you the Malay name because the greatest quantity is consumed there, or taken thence to China."

3. I cannot make out which plant is meant here; *qanāt* plur. *qanawāt* or *qana* is in Arabic, "lance or stick" meaning originally, "reed" The word was probably borrowed from Assyrian *hanū*, reed" (Cf. H. Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter*, Leipzig 1915, p. 56) and came perhaps through Aramaic in Arabic. The same word was taken over into Greek (*kanna*, *kane*) and Latin (*canna*). For the later development of *qanāt* in Arabic see *Encyclop. of Islam* Vol. II, p. 708.

Since *bamboo* is mentioned after this word I think one of the species of bamboo may be meant here. According to popular belief bamboos are male and female. The female have hollow stems and include the common species which are mentioned in the next foot-note; the male ones belonging to *Dendrocalamus strictus*, have a solid core. They are used for spear shafts and bludgeons, headed with iron and forming so a very dangerous weapon. They are called Hind. *lathī*, from Prakrit *latthī* for Sanskrit *Yashti*. Since the Arabic word used in the text means also "spear" this explanation seems probable.

4. There are many species of which *Bambusa arundinacea* and *Bambusa vulgaris* are the most common. For further reference Cf. *Hobson-Jobson* s. v. Bamboo, p. 54.

The capital of Sind is Manṣūra.<sup>1</sup> It is a city in Sind situated in the second of the seven climates. Ibn Sa'īd says, "its longitude is 95°30' and its latitude is 24°42.'" The author of *Al-Qānān* says, "its old name is Yamanho<sup>2</sup> and it was called Manṣūra because the Muslims who conquered it said *Nuṣirna*" (i.e. we are victorious.) But Al-Muhallabī says, "it is called al-Manṣūra because 'Omar b. Hafṣ<sup>3</sup> known as "Hazār Mard" built it in the time of Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr,<sup>4</sup> the second Caliph of the Abbasides, and named it after his byname (*laqab*).<sup>5</sup>

[64] Ibn Hauqal says, "it is a big city which is surrounded by a bay of the river Mihrān—a river that comes from Multān. It is like an island, but it is a hot city and nothing grows there except palm trees and sugar cane; an extremely sour fruit having the size of an apple which is called 'Yamūma'<sup>6,7</sup> is also found there.

1. It is situated on an old channel of the Indus delta and founded on the old site of Brāhmanābād, about 43 miles north east of Haidarābād, Sind Cf. Archaeol. Survey of India, Annual Reports 1903-04, pp. 132 sqq. and Cunningham's Ancient Geography, pp. 306-318. Further Isl. Culture IX. 149.

2. So in the text; it is a misreading for Bamanhwā. See Cunningham's Geography, p. 311.

3. He was set over the province of Sind and afterwards sent to North Africa where he entered Qairuan in the year 151 A. H. where he died 154 A. H.

4. Ruled 136-158 A. H.=754-775 A. D.

5. Cf. Abu'l-Fidā' *Taqwīm* p. 351. But cf. Isl. Culture IX, 148.

6. Cf. *Abu'l-Fidā'* *Taqwīm* p. 351.

7. The fruit of the *Eugenia jambolana*, Lamk. which resembles olives. Cf. Ibn Bat. III, 128; 11, 191; IV. II; 229. Its Hind. name is *jāmun*, *jāman* or *jāmlī* and is sometimes confounded with Hind. *jambū* or *jamrūl* "the rose-apple", *Eugenia jambos*, L. Cf. Hobson p. 448-49.

Daybul<sup>1</sup>: It is a city on the sea-shore situated in the second of the seven climates. Ibn Sa'īd says, "its longitude is 92°31' and its latitude is 24°20'. The author of *Taqwīm ul-Buldān* says, "it is a small and extremely hot city on the coast of Sind." According to Ibn Hauqal it is to the East of the Mihrān and is a seaport of that region. In *Al-Lubāb* it is mentioned that it is situated on the Indian Ocean near Sind. Ibn Sa'īd says, "it lies on an entrance to the inland in the Bay of Sind and is the biggest and the most famous of the sea-ports of Sind and the articles of Daibul are exported from it. The author of *Taqwīm ul-Buldān* mentions, that in it are found plenty of sesam; dates are imported to it from Basra; between it and Mansura is a distance of six days' journey.

Nīrūn<sup>2</sup>: The author of *Al-Lubāb* says, "it is a city in the district of Daybul between the latter and Manṣūra and situated in the second of the seven climates." According to *Al-Qānān* its longitude is 94°30 and its latitude is 24°45'. Ibn Sa'īd says, "it is one of the ports of the country of Sind and on

1. Daybul (Debal-Sind, Dewal) mentioned by all the old Arabic geographers; it is a famous seaport of Sind which stood at the site of modern Karachi. It was named after a Buddhist temple *devālya* which was destroyed by the Mohammadans in the year 711. Cf. Balāhori, *Futūh ul-Buldān*, p. 432, 435-38, 443. Daibul was known to the Portuguese as "Diul" or "Diuleindi" but identified by them as "Lahari". So Mzik p. 39 presumes that Daibul and Lahari are the same town which changed the names. For further bibliography cf. *Encyclo. of Islam* I, 896 and Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*, p. 340-346.

2. Situated roughly 75 miles to the north-east, it is believed to be the old name of modern Haidarābād. Cf. Abu'l-Fidā' *Taqwīm* p. 349. Qalqashandī and Abu'l-Fidā' have both the form *بيرون*. Cf. for its explanation see Cunningham, p. 328-29.



which their saltish bay lies that comes out of the Persian Sea. The author of *Al-'Azīzī* says, [65], "its inhabitants are Muslims and from there to Mansūra is distance of fifteen farsakhs. Ibn Sa'īd relates that Abū Raiḥān al-Bīrūnī, the author of "*Al-Qānūn*" which was written about the longitudes and latitudes of the countries got his nisba from it.<sup>1</sup>

Sadūsān<sup>2</sup>: The author of *Taqwīm-ul-Buldān* says "it is a city on the western side of the river Mihrān, situated where the third of the seven climates begins." According to *Al-Qānūn* its longitude is 94'50 and its latitude is 28'10. Ibn Hauqal says, "it is a fertile place with abundant wealth and big bazars; around it there are many towns and markets"<sup>3</sup>: حولها قرى ورستاق وهي ذات اسواق جليله

Multān<sup>4</sup>: In *Taqwīm ul-Buldān* it is given with Dhamma on the Mīm (م) and Sukūn on the Lām (ل) and Tā (ت) and Alif (ا) and Nūn (ن); in most of the books it is written with Wāw (و) (*i. e.* المولتان). It is a city in Sind as Abū Raiḥān al-Bīrūnī has mentioned, although Ibn Hauqal has placed it in India and on his authority it occurs in "*Masālik ul-Abṣār*", but al-Bīrūnī is more authentic in this matter than Ibn

1. He was born in a suburb of Khwarizm, hence his nisba al-Bērūnī.

2. *i. e.*, Sehwan on the Indus in Sind. The present name is a contraction of Sewistān which according to Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India* (ed. by S. Majumdar, 302 sqq.) was so-called after its inhabitants, the Sewis. The Arab geographers call it Sadustān, Sadūsān, or Shārusan. The Sanskrit name is Sindomāna.

3. Abu'l-Fidā, *Taqwīm* p. 349.

4. Cf. Mas'ūdī I, 151,207,316; Abu'l-Fidā. p. 357.

Hauqal, because Sind is his own native country and therefore, he must be better informed about it. It is situated in the third of the seven climates. According to *Al-Qānūn* its longitude is 96·25 and its latitude is 28·40, Ibn Hauqal says, "it is smaller than Manṣūra."

It has been mentioned in *Masālik ul-Abṣār* on the authority of some works that the villages of Multān are 126,000. Al-Muhallabī has mentioned that the districts of Multān spread from the vicinity of the boundary of Mukrān in the south upto the boundary of Manṣūra. The distance between it and Ghazna is sixty-eight farsakhs.

Arōr:<sup>1</sup> According to Ibn Hauqal it is a city nearly as big as Multān. It has two city-walls and is situated on the river Mihrān. The author of *Al-'Azīzī* says, it is a big city and its inhabitants [66] are Muslims who are under the rule of the Governor of Manṣūra. Between Arōr and Manṣūra is a distance of thirty farsakhs. According to *Al-Qānūn* its longitude is 95·55 and its latitude is 28·10.

#### MUKRĀN<sup>2</sup>

Ibn Hauqal says, "it is a broad and extensive region; consisting mostly of deserts and barren and arid plains." The author of *Taqwīm ul-Buldān* has two contradictory opinions about it: in the discourse about Sind he says that it belongs to it<sup>3</sup> and in his

1. The text and also Abu'l-Fidā' p. 347, have "Azūr" Cf. Cunningham's *Ancient Geography* p. 296; Dr. I. R. Khan, *Historical Geography of the Punjab and Sind*, Muslim University Journal Aligarh, Vol. I.

2 Cf. Abu'l-Fidā' p. 349 ; 334. further Le Strange, p. 329.

3 *i. e.* to Sind.

discourse about Mukrān in connection with the country of Sind he includes it in Karmān.

Its capital is Tīz. It is situated in the second of the seven climates. According to Ibn Sa'īd its longitude is 86 and its latitude is 26'15. Ibn Hauqal says, "it is the sea-port of Mukrān and those districts. It is situated on the bank of the river Mihrān on the western side near the bay that opens from the river Mihrān behind Manṣūra.

#### TŪRĀN<sup>1</sup>

It is a region at a distance of fifteen days' journey from Manṣūra. According to al-Qānūn its capital is Qandābil,<sup>2</sup> and its longitude is 95 and its latitude 28<sup>3</sup>. Ibn Hauqal mentions that the capital of Tūrān is Quzdār.<sup>4</sup> The author of *Taqwīm ul-Buldān* has related on the information of those who saw it that it is a small fortress. According to *Taqwīm ul-Buldān*, it is like a village on account of its smallness and is situated on level ground on a small hill; there are some gardens around it. In *Al-Lubāb* it is mentioned that Quzdār is a district. The distance between it and Multān is about twenty days' journey.

#### BUDHA<sup>5</sup>

Ibn Hauqal says, "it lies between the boundaries of Tūrān, Mukrān and Multān and the cities of

1. On the north eastern frontiers of Mukrān, Cf. Abu'l-Fidā' p. 483 and Le Strange p. 331.

2. Qandābil has been identified with the present Gandava lying south of Sībī. See further Enc. of Islam, s. v. II, 710.

3. Abu'l-Fidā', 347 and Le Strange p. 332.

4. It was conquered by Sultan Maḥmūd in 402. Cf. Dr. Nāzim, p. 74.

5. Budha lay to the north of Tūrān cf. Abu'l-Fidā', p. 347 and Le Strange p. 331-32.

Manṣūra; it lies on the western side of the river Mihrān. Its people have camels like the Bedouins; they live in huts and booths. According to *Taqwīm ul-Buldān*' the distance from Manṣūra to the borders of Budha is five days' journey. Anybody who wants to go from Manṣūra to Budha has to cross the river Mihrān.

### THE SECOND CLIMATE. INDIA.

In *Taqwīm-ul-Buldān* it is stated: It is surrounded on the western side by the Persian Sea and the rest of it are the boundaries of Sind; in the South is the Indian Ocean and to the east lies the desert that separates India from China. The boundary on the Northern side is not mentioned. In *Masālik ul-Abṣār* it is related that its boundary on the Northern side is the country of the Turks. It has been related on the authority of Shaikh Mubārak ul-Anbātī that there are no waste lands in this kingdom save [the land extending over] a distance of twenty days' journey which is adjacent to Ghazna on account of the disputes of the rulers of India and Turkistan and countries beyond the Oxus, or the barren mountains or dense jungles.

[68] The author of *Masālik ul-Abṣār* says, "When I inquired from Shaikh Mubārak ul-Anbātī about the land and provinces of India, he said, "in it there are about a thousand big and small rivers. Some of them resemble the Nile in length others are inferior to that, and some of them are like ordinary rivers. On the banks of the rivers are villages and towns and dense trees and extensive pastures". He continues:—

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wegen der Kämpfe die den von Indien I. K. S. Tranchas I. M. v. v. v.  
an Nahr, in der Nahrin fesseln, in welche fesseln I. v. f. f. f.  
Slogati ?

these are temperate provinces, the seasons of which do not change. They are neither extremely hot nor extremely cold as if all the seasons were spring. There blows gentle wind and pleasant breeze. The rain falls continually for four months and mostly it rains at the end of the spring till the beginning of summer.<sup>1</sup>

### The Country of India has two Capitals.

#### THE FIRST CAPITAL: THE CITY OF DELHI.

The author of "*Taqwīm ul-Buldān*" writes, with Dāl (د) and Lām (ل) with Tashdīd and Yā (ي), but he does not give the vowel for the Dāl. People pronounce it with the Fatha *Dalli* and also with Dhamma "*Dulli*"<sup>2</sup>. But the author of *Taqwīm ul-Buldān* names it in his "*History*" Dahli, changing the [first] Lām for the Hā. It is the capital of an extensive kingdom (*iqṭm*) and is situated in the fourth of the seven climates. According to *Al-Qānūn* its longitude is 128°50' and its latitude is 35°50'. The author of *Taqwīm ul-Buldān* says, "it is a big city situated in a plain the soil of which consists of stone and sand. Around it are brick-built walls<sup>3</sup> which are loftier than those of Hamāt<sup>4</sup>. It is far off from the sea,

1. The author means the Monsoon, the periodical winds of the Indian Sea which bring the "rainy season".

2. See Geograph. Dict. of Ancient and Mediaeval India by N. Lal Dey, s. v.—For general information about Delhi one may be referred to H. G. Keene, Handbook for Visitors to Delhi. Rewritten and brought up to date by E. A. Duncan, Calcutta 1906; Sir Henry Sharp, Delhi: Its Story and Buildings, Bombay 1921; H. C. Fanshawe, Delhi, Past and Present, London 1902.

3. Cf. Ibn Bat. III, 147, "the wall that surrounds Delhi has no equal."

4. One of the metropolitan cities of Syria. It was the home of Abu'l-Fidā'.

(a) At the distance of a farsukh from it flows a river which is not so big as the Euphrates. There are a few gardens and no grapes. The rain falls in summer. In its mosque there is a minaret the like of which is not found in the world; it is built of red stones and has about three hundred stairs. It has extensive dimensions, is very high and has spacious lower parts. Its height is about that of the minaret of Alexandria<sup>1</sup>.

[69] The author of "*Masālik ul-Abṣār*" has related on the authority of Sheikh Burhānuddīn bin ul-Khallāl al-Bazzī al-Kūfī that its height is about six hundred forearms<sup>2</sup>. On the authority of Sheikh Mubārak ul-Anbātī it is related that Delhi consists of many cities which are grouped together, and each of them has a special name, Delhi being one of them<sup>3</sup>. Sheikh Abū Bakr bin Khallāl says, "All the cities to which the name Delhi is applied now-a-days are twenty-one in number." Sheikh Mubārak says "Delhi is measured in miles in length and breadth. The circumference of the populated area is forty miles. The houses of Delhi are built of stone and brick, the roofs are of wood and the floor is paved with

1. The author describes the "Kutab Minar (*Qutb Minār*). Cf. also Ibn Bat. III, 150 sqq. See R. N. Munshi, *The History of the Kutb Minar*; Bombay 1911; J. A. Page, *Historical Memoir on the Kutb*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 22. 1925.

2. Now-a-days the height of the Kutab Minar is 238 English feet.

3. Ibn Bat. III, 146 says that the Delhi of his time consisted of four cities: (1) Delhi itself (2) Siri, also called Dār ul-Khalifa, (3) Tughluq-Ābād, called after its founder Sultan Tughlaq. (4) Jihān Penāh, the residence of Sultan Mohammad Shah, the ruler at the time when Ibn Bat. visited it. Cf. also H. C. Hearn, *The Seven Cities of Delhi*, London 1906.

white stones resembling marble. They do not build there [the houses] more than two stories [high] and, often confine themselves to only one. Nobody paves his house with marble except the Sultan.

He continues : there are one thousand Madrasas out of which only one belongs to the Shafites and the rest are for the Hanafites. There are about seventy "Bimāristāns" (hospitals) which are called *Dāv-ush-Shifā*. In Delhi and its surroundings there are about two thousand asylums (*rubut*) and hospices (*khankāh*). There are, furthermore, famous places of pilgrimage<sup>1</sup> and big bazars, and numerous baths. The inhabitants drink rain water, which is collected there in large reservoirs; the diameter of each of them is about the distance of an arrow shot or more. As regards the water for their ordinary use and for their animals, they have wells with high water-level, of which the lowest level is seven fore-arms from the surface.

Delhi has become the capital of the whole of India and the residence of the Sultan. There are palaces and special mansions where he and his family reside and there are quarters for his maid-servants and favourite slaves, and the houses of his male servants and slaves. None of the Khans and Amirs live with him and none of them can stay there except when he comes on some business; then every one of them retires to his own house. Delhi has gardens on its three sides—east, south and north in straight lines; every line is twelve miles. As regards the western side it is destitute of gardens on account of the proximity

1. The tombs of Saints with which Delhi abounds and which are visited by the people as places of pilgrimage.

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of numerous ravines, and beyond that there are cities and numerous districts [70].

THE SECOND CAPITAL:  
THE CITY OF DEOGIR.<sup>1</sup>

It is a city belonging to an extensive kingdom. In *Masālik ul-Abšār* it is related on the authority of Sheikh Mubārak ul-Anbātī that it is an old city which Sultan Mohammad Tughlaq Shah<sup>2</sup> rebuilt and he gave it the name of "*Qubbat ul-Islām*". He has related that the Sultan left it later while it was not yet completed and that the above mentioned Sultan had divided it in a wise that separate quarters were built for every class of people: a quarter for the troops, a quarter for the Wazirs, a quarter for the Secretaries, a quarter for the Judges and the learned men, a quarter for the Sheikhs and Faqīrs. In every quarter there were found, according to the needs of every class, mosques, bazars, public baths, flour mills, ovens; and workmen of all professions such as gold-smiths, dyers, washermen etc., so that the people of that quarter did not depend upon the other quarter for selling and buying and exchanging things, so that each quarter was in the position of an independent city.

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1. Deogīr in the district Aureng-ābād in the Hyderabad State; known as Daulet-ābād. Muhammad Tughlaq tried to shift his residence from Delhi to Deogir in order to occupy a central place for the seat of Government. Cf. Cambridge History of India, Vol III, p. 144.

2. Cf. Cambridge History of India, Vol: III, p, 110. sqq.



Know you that the author of *Taqwīm ul-Buldān* has mentioned on the authority of some travellers to India that the country of Hind consists of three parts:

PART I.

The Country of Guzerat.

In it there are a number of cities and towns.

*Nahlawara*:<sup>2</sup> According to Ibn Sa'īd it is Nahrawala, placing the Rā (ر) before the Lām (ل); so is it also given in *Taqwīm ul-Buldān* on the authority of some travellers. In *Nuzhat ul-Mushtāq* the name Nahrawara is given with two Rā(ر). It is situated in the second of the seven climates. According to *Al-Qānūn* its longitude is 98' 20 and its latitude is 33' 30. It is the Western part of the province of Manibar<sup>3</sup> which will be mentioned later. It is bigger than Kanbāyat and its population is scattered between gardens and water. It is at three days' journey from the sea. The Prince of "Hamāt" says in his *History*,<sup>4</sup> "it is one of the biggest provinces in India.

*Kanbāyat*:<sup>5</sup> As the author of *Masālik ul-Abṣār*

1. The well-known province in Western India, named after the great Hindu clan, with many tribes, Gūjar (Sanskrit: *Gurjjara*). From the Sanskrit form *Gurjjara* the Hindi and Mahratti. *Gujarāt* or *Gujrāt* was taken. Therefore the English spelling Guzerat or Goozerat.

2. Anhilyāra, now known as Pātan, near Ahmedabad (Gujarat). Cf. Abu'l-Fidā p. 357. See also Cunningham p. 366-69.

3. Manibar is identical with Ma'bar meaning in Arabic "ford, passage".

4. *i.e.* Abu'l-Fidā'.

5. Kanbāyat is the form of the Muslim Geographers cf. Abu'l-Fidā p. 357. The modern name is Cambay (Kambayat; Khambat from *Khambavati* "city of the Pillar", Cambat according to Marco Polo). It is situated in the inner part of the gulf to which it has given its name. It was the residence of the Muhammadan rulers of Guzerat. Cf. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, s. v.; *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency* I, 514 sqq; *Archæological Survey of Western India* IV, London 1876.

implies, its name should be Anbāyit changing the Kaf (at the beginning) into Hamza because its nisba is Anbātī. It is a city on the coast of the Indian Ocean situated in the second of the seven climates. According to *Al-Qānūn* its longitude is 99°20' and its latitude is 22°20'. In *Taqwīm ul-Buldān* it is narrated on the authority of those who had travelled there that it is the western part of Manibar on a gulf the length of which is three days' journey. It is a beautiful city bigger than Ma'arra in Syria.

Its buildings are of brick and there is also white marble; but there are only a few gardens in it.

Tāna<sup>1</sup>: It is a city on the sea side situated in the first of the seven climates. According to *Al-Qānūn* its longitude is 114°20'. As stated in *Taqwīm ul-Buldān*, it belongs to the eastern region of Guzarat. Ibn Sa'īd says, "it is a well-known place among the merchants."<sup>2</sup> All the inhabitants of this sea coast, he says, are infidels who worship idols<sup>3</sup>; and Muslims live with them<sup>4</sup>. Al-Idrīsī relates, "its fields and hills produce

1. Cf. Abu'l Fidā', p. 359 *Thana* is now-a-days the name of a city on the Island of Salsette in the presidency of Bombay. It was a famous port and the capital of a Hindu kingdom of the Konkan. Cf. Hobson-Jobson p. 895; 244, *Al-Berūnī's India* I. p. 203; *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part: 2, p. 283.

2. Cf. Marco Polo, Book III, chapter, 27: Tana is a great kingdom lying towards the West ..... There is much traffic here, and many ships and merchants frequent the place".

3. In the 14th century many Christian missionaries suffered martyrdom there. On the other hand, many persons were baptised too. Cf. letter of Friar Jordanus, in *Cathay* 226; Friar Odoric p. 57-58.

4. Cf. *Muslim Colonies in India before the Muslim Conquest*, Isl. Cult., Vol. VIII, p.

reed (*qanā*) and 'sugar of bamboo'<sup>1</sup> which are exported from there to other countries. Abū Raiḥān calls its nisba "Tānīshī;" the "Tānīshī cloth"<sup>2</sup> come from there.

Somnath:<sup>3</sup> It is situated in the second climate. According to *Al-Qānūn*, its longitude is 97°10 and its latitude is 22°15. The author of *Al-Qānūn* says further, "it lies on the sea coast in the land of Bawāzīj<sup>4</sup>. Ibn Sa'īd says," it is well-known among the travellers and is also known as the land of Lār<sup>5</sup>. It is situated on a headland which projects into the sea so that many ships bound for Aden touch it, because it is not in a gulf. It lies on the mouth of a river that comes down from the big mountains lying in the North-east. There was an idol which the Hindus held in great honour and which belonged to this place; it was called the "Idol of Somnath".<sup>6</sup>

1. In the text pers. *tabāshīr*, the Tabaxir of the European travellers. It is a siliceous substance deposited in the joints of the bamboo. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson* p. 887; 862.

2. For the various kinds of Indian piecegoods Cf. Wm. Milburn *Oriental Commerce*, I, 44-46; II, 90; 221, 2 Vols, and the references given by *Hobson-Jobson* p. 706 sqq.

3. An ancient town situated in 20°53' N and 70° 28' E Cf. *Abū'l-Fidā* p. 356. *Imper. Gaz. of India*, Oxford 1908, XXIII, 74.

4. Thus in the text. I cannot explain the word. There seems to be a mis-reading possibly it is an Arabic plural of Borah (from Hind. and Guz. *bohrā*, *bohorā*). The original home of the Borāhs who are known as traders and money-lenders was Guzerat where they are still most numerous. For details cf. *Hobson-Jobson* s. v. p. 105 sqq.

5. By many Arab Geographers Lār is applied to a region which is now called Guzarat. Cf. *e. g.* *Mas'ūdī* 1 381. The old Sanskrit name probably derived from some local tribe was Lala Cf. *Bombay Gazetteer* I. pt. 1. 7.

6. For the "Idol of Somnath" cf. the critical investigations of Dr. Muḥd. Nazim, *Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, pp. 209-224.

It was destroyed by Yamīnuddaula Maḥmūd bin Sabuktigīn<sup>1</sup> when he conquered it as is mentioned in the historical books.

Sandān<sup>2</sup>: So according to *Taqwīm ul-Buldān* and taken from Muhallabī in *Al-'Azīzī*, but some travellers have given it as Sandābūr. It is a city at three days' distance from Tāna, situated in the first of the seven climates. According to *Al-Qānūn* its longitude is 104'20 and its latitude is 19'20. In *Taqwīm ul-Buldān* it is said on the authority of some travellers that it is situated on a gulf in the Green Ocean and it is the last region of Guzerat. According to *Al-Qānūn* it lies on the sea coast. The author of *Al-'Azīzī* says[73] "the distance between this place and Maṣūra is fifteen farsakhs and it is the place where roads converge. He continues, it is the land of costus, male and female bamboos<sup>3</sup> and is one of the biggest ports on the sea.

Nāgūr: It is a city at a distance of four days' journey from Delhi<sup>4</sup>.

Gālūr<sup>5</sup>: It is situated on a mound, like the

1. ruled from 387-421 A. H.=999-1030 A. D. at Ghazna.

2. Cf. Abu'l-Fidā p. 358. It was known under the name Sindābūr, Sandābūr to the Arabic Geographers and denotes Goa, the capital of the Portuguese dominions in India. It is mentioned e. g. Mas'ūdī I, 207; Buzurg b. Shahriyār, Kitāb 'ajā'ib il-Hind, ed. and transl. by P. A. v. d. Lith. and L. M. Devic, p. 157-58; For further references Cf. Hobson-Jobson p. 379; 837 and Mzik p. 284.

3. Cf. P. 9, footnote.

4. Cf. Abu'l-Fidā p. 353. It is the modern "Nagore"

5. The text has ج which was pronounced as "g" in Egypt. The town, therefore, is *Gwalior*. The fortress of Gwalior is one of the most famous fortresses in India. The city was visited by Ibn Bat. II, 193. Cf. further the description by A. Cunningham *Archæological Survey Reports*. Vol: II, p. 330. It was the state prison where the Sultans in Delhi used to send their political enemies. See also Hobson-Jobson. p. 405.

fortress of Misyāf<sup>1</sup> between Nāgūr and Nahrawāla. It is related that out of [the cities of] Guzarāt only Galūr rebelled against the rulers of Delhi.

Manūrī<sup>2</sup>: According to *Al-Qānūn* it lies between the port and Ma'bar towards Sarandīb. Its longitude is 120 and its latitude is 13.

## PART II.

### The Province of Manibār<sup>3</sup>

It is a region of Hind in the east of the Province of Guzarāt which has already been mentioned. The author of *Taqwīm ul-Buldān* says Manibar is the country of popper.<sup>4</sup> The pepper-tree has bunches like the ears of the millet plant and its tree entwines itself round other trees as the grape-vine

1. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam ul-Buldān*, vol. IV, p. 556 writes about it: مصيب حصن حصين مشهور للاسماعيلية بالساحل الشامي قرب:

طرابلس، و بعضهم يقول مصيف

2. In *Taqwīm ul-Buldān* p. 353 its name is given as "Manderi". It is possible that it is Madura situated in the southern part of the peninsula. Cf. Cunningham p. 628 sqq.

3. According to other Arabic writers "Malibār" Cf. also Abu'l-Fidā p. 353. It is the "pepperland" of the Arabs, the indiginious form of the name is *Malai*, sanskritized *Malaya*. So we find the forms *Male*, *Malai Maliah* in post-classical literature of India. The suffix *bār* is attached to the name from about the middle of the 12th century. The origin of the suffix *bār* is not clear; it may be sanskrit *vāra* "a region" cf. Reinand, *Relation etc.*, Chapter I, 17: "The word *bār* serves to indicate that which is both a cost and a kingdom." See also Cunningham p. 179. Anyhow, from the time of the Portuguese we find in the travellers' literature the forms *Malavar* and *Malabar*. Cf. Hobson-Jobson p. 539.

4. The "Black pepper" (*Piper nigrum*, L.) is indigenous to Malabar and Travancore, and thence introduced into the Malay countries, particularly Sumatra. Cf. Hobson p. 697.

does. There are many<sup>1</sup> cities and all the districts of Manibar are green and abound in water and dense trees. [74].

Hinnaur<sup>2</sup>: According to *Taqwīm ul-Buldān* it is on the Western side of Sandābūr in the province of Guzerāt which has already been mentioned, and it is the first town of Manībār from the West side. It has many gardens.

Bāsarūr<sup>3</sup>: It is a small town in the East of Hinnaur.

Manjarūr<sup>4</sup>: It is on the east of Bāsarūr which has just been mentioned and is one of the biggest cities in Manībār. The king of this country is an infidel. At three days' journey beyond the city, there is a big hill which projects into the sea, which can be seen by travellers from afar and is called "Ra's Haily<sup>5</sup>".

1. Lacuna in the text; the editor of the text suggests to read كثيرة

2. Hinnaur is a town in the district of northern Canara and situated on the sea-shore. Now-a-days it is known as Honavar, Hanore Cf. Hobson-Jobson p. 422. Ibn Bat. visited it. Cf. IV, 65-67.

3. A port of Canara, about 20 miles N. N. W. from Coondapoor. Ibn Bat. IV, 77-78 names it *Abū-Sarūr*. In the 17th Century its name is "*Barcelor*" or "*Bracelore*" or something similar to these forms. Cf. Hobson-Jobson p. 45; Isl. Culture VIII, 603.

4. *i. e.* Manglore, a port on the coasts of Southern Canara. Cf. Abu'l-Fidā p. 354; Ibn. Bat. IV, 79; Hobson-Jobson p. 552; Isl. Culture VIII, 603.

5. Mount Delly (in the Portuguese sources *Monte d'Elī*) is a mountain on the Malabar coast, which has been described by Abu'l-Fidā p. 354 and Ibn-Bat. IV, 81. The etymology of the name is probably Malayal. *elī mala* "High Mountain." All other explanations seem erroneous. Cf. Hobson-Jobson p. 303.

Fandarayna<sup>1</sup>: It is a small place in the east of Ras Haily and has many gardens.<sup>2</sup>

Shāliyāt:<sup>3</sup> ["I went then to Shālyāt, a very pretty town, where they make the stuff that bear its name" (shawl). Cf. Ibn Bat. IV, 109; Mzik p. 314.]

Shinkalī<sup>4</sup>: A village near Shāliyāt.

Kaulam<sup>5</sup>: It is situated in the first climate. According to *Al-Atwāl* the longitude of this place is 110 and its latitude is 18°30'. Ibn Sa'īd says, "it is the last of the land of pepper in the East. From that place ships sail to Aden. The author of *Taqwīm ul-Buldān* says, "some travellers have related to me that it is situated on a sea gulf in a

1. The text and Abu'l-Fida p. 354. have *Tandayūr*, but it might be Pandarāni (cf. Hobson Jobson p. 666) which lost its importance after the Portuguese conquest. Cf. Mzik p. 301.

2. Ibn Bat. IV, 88 describes it "Fandrayna is 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 that the Chinese vessels pass the winter."

3. Qalqashandī says nothing about this place. It is Chalia (*Chālyam*, *Chāliyām*) situated 6½ miles S. S. E. from Calicut on the seacoast, opposite Beypur. Cf. Hobson-Jobson. p. 183.

4. The city and port of Cranganore was known as *Singuyli*, *Cyngilin*, *Cynkali* (=Shinkali) to the European travellers. Several good views of it in the 17th century in: P. Baldæus, *Wahrhaftige Ausführliche Beschreibung der Küsten Malabar und Coromandel etc.* Amsterdam 1672. Ibn Bat. IV, 99 and Abu'l-Fidā 355 relate that it was inhabited by Jews who elect an Amir among themselves and pay tribute to Sultan of Kaulem,

5. Kaulam (*Quilon Coilum*), a port in the state of Travancore in Madras, was a famous port of Malabar and a place for transhipment for the trade with China. It has been already mentioned by Sulaymān who had travelled to India and China in the year 237 A. H. = 851 A. D. Cf. Reinaud, *Relation II*, 16. Also at the time of Ibn Bat. IV, 10 it was a very frequented port of Malabar. For further references Cf. Hobson-Jobson p. 751.

plain and its soil is sandy. There are many gardens and the log-wood grows there; this is a tree like that of pomegranate and its leaves resemble that of vine-grapes. There is a quarter for the Muslims and a Mosque<sup>1</sup>.

### PART III.

#### The Country of Ma'bar.<sup>2</sup>

The author of *Taqwīm ul-Buldān*<sup>3</sup> says, "it lies to the east of Kaulam at three or four days' journey, in a southerly direction.

Ibn Sa'īd says, "it is well known and muslin<sup>4</sup> is exported from there; and its washermen are proverbial<sup>5</sup>. In the North there are mountains adjoining the kingdom of Balharā the king of India<sup>6</sup>. In the South the river Şulyān<sup>7</sup> falls into the Sea. In *Masālik ul-Abşār* it is mentioned on the authority of the chief Qazi Sirājuddīn al-Hindī that the country of Ma'bar consists of numerous big islands. There are many cities and towns on them.

Bairdawal :— In *Taqwīm ul-Buldān* it is related, "it is the capital of the country of Ma'bar and is

1. Cf. Islamic Culture VII, p. 606.

2. *i. e.* Coromandel, the eastern coast of the Peninsula of India. Ma'bar meaning in Arabic "passage, ford" is the name of the Arabic writers; it seems to be a corrupt form of an Indian word. Cf. Hobson-Jobson s. v.

3. Cf. Abu'l-Fida. p. 354;361.

4. In Arabic لانس I find this word only in Dozy II, 551.

5. This seems to mean that the Dhobis there are very good indeed.

6. Balharā is the corrupted form of the title "Vallabha Rāi" which was used by the Arab writers as a generic title for the leading ruler in India.

7. Do not know which river is meant.



situated in the third climate." According to Ibn Sa'id [76] its longitude is 142 and its latitude is 17'25. The author of *Taqwīm ul-Buldān* says, "it is the capital of the Sultan of Ma'bar, and horses are imported into it from other places<sup>1</sup>.

Know you then that besides what has been mentioned above there are other cities which are mentioned in *Taqwīm ul-Buldān*.

Māhōba<sup>2</sup>: It is in the second climate. According to *al-Qānūn* its longitude is 104 and its latitude is 27. Ibn Sa'id reports that it is on the two banks of Ganges after it has passed from Qanaui towards the Indian Ocean. The author of *Taqwīm ul-Buldān* points out that this is the city of Brahmans; they are the priestly class (*'ubbād*) of India, who attribute their origin to Brahman, the first of their sages. Ibn Sa'id says, "their fortresses are inaccessible."

Lauhaur<sup>3</sup>: according to "*Al-Lubāb*", but also "*Lahāwor*". It is in the third climate. According to *al-Aṭwāl* its longitude is 100 and its latitude is 31. In *Al-Lubāb* it is said, "it is a big city which abounds in wealth. It has produced a number of learned men<sup>4</sup>.

1. Cf. Abu'l-Fidā, p. 355.

2. The text has *ماهورة*. In my opinion Mahoba, the old Capital of Bundelkhand is meant. Cf. *Cunningham Mo.* 555-59 and *N. Lal Day*, Geograph. Dict. p. 121.

3. *i. e.* modern *Lahore* which was named Lohāwar after its founder Lava or Lo, the son of Rāma. Cf. *Cunningham p.* 226-28.

4. Abu'l-Fidā p. 358.

Qanauj<sup>1</sup>: It is in the second climate. According to Ibn Sa'īd its longitude is 131' 50 and its latitude is 29. According to *al-Aṭwāl* its longitude is 27° less and its latitude 7° more. Ibn Sa'īd says, "it is the capital of Lahāwor,<sup>2</sup> and it is between the two arms of the Ganges [77] river.<sup>3</sup> Al-Muhallabī says, "it is in the farthest parts of Hind to the East from Multan at a distance of 282 farsakhs. It is the Cairo of India and the biggest place there. People have exaggerated its grandeur so much that they have said, "there are three hundred markets for precious stones, and the king of that place has two thousand five hundred elephants, and it abounds in gold mines. The author of "*Nūzhat ul Mushtāq*", says, "it is a beautiful city where there is much trade. Amongst its cities are *Qishmīr ul-Khārijah* and *Qishmīr ud-dākhilah*<sup>4</sup>. The King is called after this place "Qanauj".

The Mountains of Qāmarūn<sup>5</sup>: The author of *Taqwīm ul-Buldān*, says, "these mountains are the barriers between India and China". The author of *Al-Qānūn* regards them as islands. They transcend the first climate towards the south. According

1. Vocalised: Qinnauj. Cf. also Abu'l-Fidā p. 360. It is an old city probably called by Ptolemy "Kanogiza". Cf. Cunningham, p. 430-37; see also Enc. of Islam II, 109 s. v. Kanauj.

2. Qanauj was for many centuries the capital of the old Hindu Kingdom of northern India, Cf. Cunningham p. 431 sqq.

3. Cf. Cunningham, p. 434-35.

4. Kanoj was a great city with a citadel (*ki'ah*) and on its south-east point there was a large bastion called *Kshem Kali*. So far as I can make out these parts of Kanoj must be meant here. Cf. *Cunningham* p. 435-36

5. Namely the mountains of Khasya, a Mongoloid race (Cf. Hobson-Jobson, p. 480) and Garo between Kamrup and Sylhet. It was the country of the old Indian kingdom Kamrūpa and comprised roughly modern Assam. Cunningham, p. 572.

to *Al-Qānūn* and *Al-Atwāl* their longitude is 125 and their latitude 10. The residence of the king is in the eastern part.<sup>1</sup> There is to be found the *Qāmarūnī* Aloes-wood<sup>2</sup> in abundance.

I say : the author of *Masālik ul-Abṣār* mentions on the authority of the Chief Justice Sirājuddīn al-Hindī that there are twenty three provinces<sup>3</sup> in the territory of the King of India some of them have already been mentioned. These are : the provinces of Delhi, Deogīr, Multān, Kahrān, (Kuhrām), Sāmānā, Sabūstān (Sewistān), Wajjā (Uch), Hāsī (Hansī), Sarsutī (Sirsal), Ma'bar, Tiling, Telingana) Gujarāt, Badāūn,<sup>4</sup> 'Awadh (Oudh), Qanauj, Lakhnautī, Bihār, Karrah, Malwah, Lahāwor, Kalāfūr, Jājnagar, Talanj and Dursamand.

Then again he says, "these provinces consist of twelve hundred cities, each of them has small and big Sub-divisions (*niyābāt*). All of them are containing districts and populous villages.

He said that he did not know the number of their villages save that the Province of Qanauj has one hundred and twenty lakhs villages,—every lakh being one hundred thousand—so that there are twelve million villages. The Province of Tiling<sup>5</sup> has thirty six lakhs, *i. e.* three million six hundred

1. The name of the city is *اکشمیبون* Cf. Abu'l-Fida p. 361.
2. Always mentioned in Arabic Literature as the best of Aloes wood. Cf. also Cathay 11,515 sqq.
3. W. Björkmann p. 106 mentions, "noch eine andere Einteilung in 23 Klimata," but he has been misled by the word *iqīm* which means here nothing but a "province".
4. In the text *بدلون*
5. Telingana or Tilinga is the name of the people and the country in the East of Deccan. Cf. Hobson-Jobson. p 912.

thousand villages. On the whole the province of Malwa<sup>1</sup> is greater than that of Qanauj.

He<sup>2</sup> relates on the authority of Sheikh Mubārak ul-Anbātī that there are on Laknauti two hundred thousand small but swift moving boats. If one were to shoot an arrow at the foremost one of them it would fall on the middle one of them on account of their fast speed. There are big ships too, which have mills, ovens and bazars. Often the passengers come to know one another only after some time on account of the vastness of the ship. This among many other stories for which only he is responsible.

Know you that in the Indian Ocean there are big islands which are counted amongst the Indian provinces, some of which are a kingdom by themselves such as :

#### The Island of Serendīb.<sup>4</sup>

It is also called Sinkadib as it is in the Indian tongue<sup>5</sup>. It transcends the first climate towards the South. According to *Al-Atwāl* its longitude is 120 and its latitude is 10. Ibn Sa'īd says that a big mountain crosses this island on the Equator the name of which is Rahūn.<sup>6</sup> People say that this was the place here Adam descended. Ibn Khordāzbah says, "it is a lofty mountain<sup>7</sup> reaching

1. Malwa is at present the most southern of the Central Provinces.

2. *i. e.* al-'Umarī.

3. The districts between Ganges and Brahmaputra.

4. *i. e.* Ceylon. Cf. Abu'l Fidā p. 374.

5. For the etymology and the various forms of Ceylon Cf. Cunningham pp. 637-43; Mizk. p. 353 and Hobson-Jobson p. 181.

6. It must be *Sumanakūta*, Adam's Peak.

7. It is one of the highest mountains in the island. Cf. Ibn Khordādhbeh p. 64 and Ibn Batuta.

the sky which the people can see from the ships at a distance of about twenty days' journey.

The Brahmans have mentioned that on this mountain there is the impression of Adam's foot, only one foot-print imprinted in the rock, and that he took the other step towards India and this is from there at a distance of two or three days' journey.<sup>1</sup> The author continues, "there is always a kind of lightning on that mountain; the aloes-wood and all other perfumes and aromatics are found there. Also sapphires and its other varieties are found on it and around it. In its valley there are diamonds, emeralds<sup>2</sup> musk deer and civet-cats. In the rivers of this island there is crystal, and around it in the Sea there are places where they dive for pearls. The river of this island is highly honoured by the Hindus.<sup>3</sup> According to Ibn Sa'id its chief town is called "Aghnā".<sup>4</sup> Its longitude is 124.

*The Island of Zābaj.*<sup>5</sup> It is situated in the south of first climate. According to *Al-Atwāl* its longitude is 113, and its latitude is Zero. It is well cultivated, has fields and coconuts etc. In *Kitāb ul-Atwāl* it is related that the mountains of this island are visible from the mountains of

1. The foot-print is not only venerated by the Muslims, but also by the Hindus and Buddhists alike as the *shri-pada* of Shiva or Buddha; almost every Arab traveller has mentioned it.

2. The original name of the island in Sanskrit *Ratna-dwīpa* or "Isle of gems"

3. See also Sewell's *Archæol. Survey of S. India I*, 303; Thornton's *Gazetteer s. v. Tinnevely*

4. Cf. Ibn Khorḏādhbeh p. 64 and *Taqwīm*, p. 375.

5. The text and *Taqwīm* p. 368, 372 have the reading راج  
Cf. *Mu'jam ul-Buldān s. v.*

Yaman;<sup>1</sup> in it are mountains where a fire is always burning, and that fire can be seen on the sea from a distance of many days' journey. There are big snakes which can swallow men and buffaloes. In the sea near it there is a "whirlpool"—a place where water turns round and where there is danger for the ships. Ibn Khurdāzbah<sup>2</sup> says, there are huge snakes which can swallow men and buffaloes and elephants. There grows also the camphor-tree. There are trees in this island under one of which a hundred men could sit and innumerable wonders are to be seen in this island.

*The Island of Lāmri:*<sup>3</sup> It is situated in the South of the first climate. According to *Al-Atwāl* its longitude is 126 and its latitude is 9. The author of *Taqwīm ul-Buldān* writes that it is the place for log-wood and bamboo.

*The Island of Kalah:*<sup>4</sup> It is situated in the South from the first climate. Its longitude according to *Al-Qānān* is 130, and its latitude is Zero. The author of *Taqwīm ul-Buldān* says, "it is the port on the route between Uman and China. Al-Muhallabī relates that there is in it a populated city in which Muslims and Non-Muslims [80] live together. There are lead mines and places

1. Our author confounds *Zanj* (Zanzibar) with *Zābaj* i.e.

زنج with. زابج

2. Cf. text p. 65

3. Cf. *Taqwīm* p. 375

4. Cf. *Taqwīm* p. 365, *Kalah* or *Kilah* of the Arab voyagers and *Koli* of Ptolemy's sea-route to China is supposed to be *Quedda*, a city and port of a small kingdom on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. See also Hobson-Jobson p. 750 and Van der Lith. *Merveilles de l'Inde*, pp. 255-264

where bamboos and camphor trees grow. Between it and the islands of Mihrāj there are twenty ship tracks.

*The Island of Mihrāj*<sup>1</sup>: According to *Kitāb ul-Atwāl* it is the Sarīra-Island and situated in the South of the Equator. Its longitude according to *Al-Atwāl* is 104 and its latitude in the South is 1. Ibn Sa'īd says, "it consists of several islands and the ruler of them is the richest Indian prince and is the wealthiest as regards gold and elephants. The seat of his Government is the biggest island. Al-Muhallabī regards this island as one of the islands of China and relates that it is well populated and that when a ship sails from there to China there appear before it extensive mountains in the sea at a distance of ten days voyage. When the travellers reach them they find there passages and outlets in those mountains. Every one of these passages leads to one or the other city of China. Ibn Sa'īd regards Sarīra amongst the Islands of Zābaj<sup>2</sup> and says that its length from North to South is 400 miles and its breadth in the north as well as in the south is about 160 miles. Sarīra is a city in the middle of this island. There is a gulf near it but it is situated on a river.

*The Island of Andarābī*<sup>3</sup>

*The Island of Jāvah*<sup>4</sup> : According to *Taqwīm ul-Buldān* it is a big island famous for the abundance of drugs. The western extremity of this island

1. Cf. *Taqwīm* p. 374.

2. Text *Rānāj*.

3. Al-Qalqashandī copies from *Taqwīm ul-Buldān* only the pronunciation of the name. Ch. *Taqwīm* p. 568.

4 *i. e.* Sumatra.

has  $145^{\circ}$  longitude and  $5^{\circ}$  latitude. On the southern side of Javah there is a city [81] called Fanşūr, from where Fanşūrī-camphor originates. Its longitude is 145 and its latitude is one-and-a half.

*The Island of Şanf*<sup>1</sup> from which the “Şanfī-Aloes-wood”<sup>2</sup> is exported. It is one of the famous islands the names of which are found in the books. Its length from the West to the East is about 200 miles, but its breadth is less than that. The longitude of the city of Şanf is 62.

*The Island of Qimār*<sup>3</sup> from which the Qimārī aloes-wood is exported which however, is inferior to the Şanfī. Its chief town is Qimār, the longitude of which is 66 and the latitude 2. On its Eastern side are the Islands of China.

*The Island of Rāmī*<sup>4</sup>: According to Ibn Khirdāz-bah<sup>5</sup> there are rhinoceros and buffaloes in this island which have no tails and log-wood (*bakkam*) is found there. In its jungles there live naked people whose language cannot be understood and whose speech is whistling. They are afraid of people. The length of each man is four spans. The men have small penises and the women small pudendas. The hair of their heads are downy and red. They climb upon the trees with their hands.

In [an island of] that sea there live white people who can overtake the ships swimming even when

1. Cf. *Taqwīm* p. 369. for the identification see *Hobson-Jobson*. p. 183.

2. Cf. *Relation* I., 18 “Ships then proceed to the place Şanf, from this place is exported he aloes-wood called Şanfī.” Ibn Khirdādhbeh p. 68.

3. *Taqwīm* 369; Ibn Khirdādhbeh p. 66, 68.

4. *i. e.* Sumatra.

5. Cf. text, ed. de Geoe p. 65.



the ships are speeding very fast. They exchange iron with ambar which they carry in their mouths.<sup>1</sup>

In another island there live black people who eat people alive.<sup>2</sup> And there is also [in one of the islands of this sea] a mountain the clay of which when put into fire becomes silver.<sup>3</sup>

## CHAPTER II.

### About the Animals of India.

The author of *Masālik ul-Abṣār* mentions on the authority of Sheikh Mubārak ul-Anbātī that there are two kinds of horses in India—Arabian and pack-horses.<sup>4</sup> Most of them are not worthy of praise; for this reason horses are imported to India from the neighbouring countries of the Turks. The thorough bred Arabian horses are imported from Bahrain, Yaman and Iraq. If there are Arabian horses in the interior of India their price is very dear but such are only few. [82.] When they stay in India for a long time their legs become weak.<sup>5</sup>

They have also mules and donkeys but they dislike to ride them. Even the jurists (*faqīh*) and the learned men do not approve of riding a mule.<sup>6</sup> To ride a donkey is regarded by them as a great insult

1. This description is almost identical with that given by Reinaud, *Relation* p. 8 and Idrīsī I. 76 for the island Lankabālūs.

2. *i. e.* they are anthropophagi.

3. According to *Relation*, p. 9 and *Idrīsī*, p. 79 this mountain is situated in the island of Jālūs.

4. *Birdawn* plur, *barādin* or *barūdīn*.

5. It is a well-known fact that the horses deteriorate in India e. g. the ankles of the Arabian horses become weak on account of the nature of the soil.

6. Contrary to the custom in other Islamic countries.

and a disgrace. The noblemen carry their loads on horse back; but common people carry them on bullocks above the nose<sup>1</sup>; and they have many of them.

There are a few camels which only the Kings and his followers such as Khans, Amirs, Wazirs and other great people of the Government possess.

In the country there are numberless pasturing cattle such as buffaloes, cows, goats, and sheep. Their domestic birds are the hen, the pigeon, the goose—and this is of the most inferior kind—etc. Their hen is as big as a goose.

The animals in the country are elephants and rhinoceros.<sup>2</sup> They have already been mentioned in the discourse about the beasts which the author is required to discuss in the first Maqāla. Besides it there are innumerable other animals.

### CHAPTER III.

#### About the Corn, Fruits, Aromatic Plants, Vegetables etc.

As regards the corns it has been related on the authority of Sheikh Mubārak ul-Anbātī that they

1. *i. e.* on the fore-head. In the text من فوق الأنف literally "nose", then fore-part of anything. The load is put on the back of the bullock and bound by means of a strap round the fore-head, which is made to carry the whole weight. The editor suggests the reading الكتف instead of الأنف but this conjecture is not necessary.

2. Cf. the description of the *Karkadann* (hindi *gainḍa genḍa* from Sansk. *ganḍa* or *ganḍaka*) in Ibn Bat. III, 100-On Mzik p. 28. at that time this animal was familiar in the western Himalayas and also in the forests around Peshawar.

have twenty-one kinds of rice there. The other kinds of corn are wheat, barley, peas lentils, māsh<sup>1</sup>, lōbīyā<sup>2</sup> and sesame.<sup>3</sup> But broad beans (*fal*) are not found in their country. The author of *Masālik ul-Abṣār* remarks, "probably they are not found because the Indians are a wise people and the beans according to them harm the essence of the intellect. That is why the Sabians too have forbidden the eating of beans."

As regards the fruits: there are figs, grapes in small quantity, pomegranates of every kind—sweet, bitter, sour etc., bananas, peaches (*khaukh*) mulberries called *firṣād*. [83] There are also other fruits the like of which are not found in Egypt and Syria, e. g., jeube and the like of it and quince<sup>4</sup> in small quantity; pears and apples are very rare but both of them and quince are imported to it. Of the best fruits they have coconut (*rānij*) which is called by them *narjīl*, the common people call it "*Indian Nut*." There are green<sup>5</sup> and yellow melons<sup>6</sup>, cucumber (*khīyār*), cucumber (*qiththā*)<sup>7</sup> and pumpkin. Of the sour fruits they have *utruj*, *līmūn*, *līm*<sup>8</sup> and *nāranj*<sup>9</sup>.

1 A kind of pulse; *Phaseolus ratiatus* Roxb., cf. Hobson-Jobson s.v.

2 A kind of small bean, *Vigna Catjang* Endl.

3 i.e. *Sesamum indicum*.

4 *Cydonia Vulgaris*.

5 i. e. water-melon, called *tarbūz* in Hindustani.

6 Ordinary melons, in Hindustani *Kharbūza*.

7 There are many varieties of cucumber and it is difficult to say to which particular cucumber the author refers.

8. These three names are varieties of *Citrus medica*. The varieties are:

(a) *Utruj* = Citron.

(b) *Līmūn* = lemon.

(c) *Līm* = lime.

9. *Nāranj* is orange i. e. *Citrus aurantium* Risso.

As regards the Tamarind there is the "*Indian Tamarind*" which is abundant in the deserts.

As regards the vegetables: the Sugar cane is extremely abundant in that country. One of its varieties is black and hard to chew, but this is the best for sucking and not for crushing. This is not found in any other country. Plenty of sugar is made out of the remaining kinds, viz. sugar-candy etc., but it does not crystalise, and is rather like white flour<sup>1</sup>.

The vegetables are: Turnip, carrot, pumpkin, Badinjan, asparagus, ginger, garden beet, onion, and fum *i.e.* garlic, fennel, thyme.

As regards the aromatic plants: there are roses *nilofor*<sup>2</sup>, violets, *bān*<sup>3</sup>, Egyptian willow, narcissus, Jasmine, *fāghiya* *i.e.* the blossom of Henna. Besides this they have honey in abundance and sesame oil which they use for light. Oil is imported into the land. Candles are not found except in the houses of the Kings and none is allowed to use them. The sweet-meats are of sixty five kinds. Fruit-drinks, bevarages and foods are of so many kinds that they can hardly be found elsewhere.

Among the master-craftsmen there are workmen who prepare swords, bows, spears, coats-of-mail, and other kinds of weapons; further goldsmiths, makers

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1. For details see Hobson-Jobson s. v. *sugar*, p. 862 where many quotations from the literature are given. See further for the agriculture, manufacture etc. of the sugar cane Noel Deerr, *Cane Sugar*, London 1921 and Francis Maxwell, *Economic Aspects of Cane Sugar Production*, London 1927.

2. *i.e.* *Euryale ferox* Salisb. With lovely flowers of violet-blue or bright red colour.

3. A species of *moringa*.

of gold thread and other masters. [84]. The Sultan has an embroidery-house in Delhi in which there are four thousand workers in silk, who prepare different kinds of embroidered royal robes and other clothes. Moreover cloth is imported from China, Iraq and Alexanderia.

#### CHAPTER IV.

##### About Coins, Measures and Weights.<sup>1</sup>

[*Introductory remark*: Until recent years the two most widely used coins in Muslim countries were the "dinar" and the "dirham". The same coins appear to have been introduced in the newly conquered countries by the Muslims. These coins in India were succeeded by the "tanga" and the "jītal" till the latter gave place to the "rupee" and the "peisa"

Sultan Shamsuddīn Iltutmish (1211-36 A.D.) first introduced an Arabic coinage but maintained the older system of division of the "silver tanga" of 175 grains into copper coins on a quaternary scale of division. This scale was maintained with minor changes. In the time of Sultan Mohammad Tughlaq (1325-51 A. D.) the following coins were current:

Yagānī=1jītal (According to Mr. Thomas kānī is a measure in Telegu. It means  $\frac{1}{64}$  or one quarter of a sixteenth). But this is incorrect. In reality it is the Persian particle "gān" added to numerals and the final ی signifies "holder" or "container" as we have e.g. in English "fiver" and "tenner" or in German

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1 Mu'āmalāt liter: "Commercial transactions" The Mu'āmalāt form a fixed chapter in *Masālik ul'Abṣār* and have been taken over by Qalqashandī.

“Fünfer” and “Sechser”. Cf. also Journ. and Proceed. of the As. Soc. of Bengal, Vol. XXV, 1929, No. 2, Numism. Suppl. XLII, pp. 46-54, article 290.

2 gānī=Dō gānī or Sultānī. This was introduced by Sultan Mohammad Tughlaq.

6 gānī=Shash-gānī,  $\frac{3}{4}$  of Hasht-gānī.

8 gānī=Hasht-gānī.

12 gānī=Dawāzdah-gānī.

16 gānī=Shanzdah-gānī.

64 gānī=1 tanga of 175 grains.

The Yagānī exchanged against 4 copper “fals” and 256 copper coins amounted to one “tanga”.

Soon after his accession Mohammad Tughlaq introduced a gold dinar of 200 gr. and re-introduced an “adali” of 140 grains. The latter exchanged against 50 kanis according to Firishta. Firuz Shah (1351-88 A.D.) introduced 10, 24 and 48 gānī pieces as well as subdivisions of the Yagānī.

In Tabaqāt-i Akbarī mention is made of the ‘red tanga’ (the gold coin), the “white tanga” (silver coin) and of the “black tanga”. The last contained silver and copper and weighed about 32 ratls. Ibn Baṭūṭa speaks of the “silver tanga” of 175 as dinār and of the “adali tanga” of 140 grains as “dirham-i-dinār”. He makes no mention of the “black tanga”. The “Hasht-gānī” is the coin meant by Ibn Baṭūṭa when he speaks of the dirham. According to Edward Thomas the “black tanga” corresponded with the “Shash-gānī” or “sixer”-coin of Mohammad Tughlaq.

There appears to have been no uniformity in the standards of weights and measures in India which differed according to the locality as well

as the article to be weighed or measured. The coins used at the time were also measures of weight. That accounts for the pains taken by the state to maintain the purity and the weight of the coins.

According to Ibn Baṭūṭa the *mann* of Delhi was equal in weight to 25 raṭl of Egypt and the French translator of Ibn Baṭūṭa has calculated that as equal to 28.78 lbs avoirdupois (See E. Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 102 and note.) According to the author of *Masālik ul-Absār* the *mann* of Delhi was equal to 70 mithqāls. Taking a mithqāl to be equal to 72 grains, a sīr would weigh 29 tolas and 2 mashas or 5040 grains; a maund would be equal to  $13\frac{1}{2}$  modern seers or 28.8 lbs avoirdupois.]

As regards their standard money Sheikh Mubārak ul-Anbātī says that there are four kinds of dirham with which they transact business :

- (1) The Hasht-gānī Dirham is of the standard-weight of the coined dirham as used in Egypt. Its current value is the same as that of the Egyptian dirham; there is hardly a difference between them. The mentioned Hashtgānī has eight *Jitals*<sup>1</sup> and each *Jital* has four small copper coins (*fulūs*). So an Hashtgānī consists of thirty two copper coins.
- (2) The *Sultānī-Dirham* which is called "*Doḡānī*"<sup>2</sup> is one-fourth of the Egyptian

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1. Hind. *jital* is an old Indian copper coin, now entirely obsolete. According to Mr. E. Thomas's calculations it was 1/64 of the silver *Tanga* and it was therefore just the equivalent of the modern *pie*. Cf. Hobson-Jobson s.v. Jeetul, p. 457.

2. Instead of *وکانی* of the text, which the editor did not understand, I read *دوگانی* i.e. the coin which is in two parts.

dirham. Every *Sultānī-Dirham* has two *Jitals*, so half of the *Sultānī-Dirham* is called "one *Jital*."

- (3) The *Shashgānī Dirham*<sup>1</sup> is three-fourth of the *Hashtgānī Dirham*. Its value is [that of] three *Sultānī Dirhams*.
- (4) The *Dawāzdahgānī*<sup>2</sup> *Dirham*: Its current value is also three-fourth of the *Hashtgānī Dirham*, so that it is like *Shashgānī*. Then eight *Hashtgānī Dirhams* are called "*Tanga*"<sup>3</sup>.

As regards gold, they weigh it by *mithqāl*. Every three *mithqāls* are called "*Tanga*". The gold *Tanga* is known as "*Red Tanga*" and the Silver *Tanga* is known as "*White Tanga*". Every 100,000 *Tangas* whether of gold or of silver are called *Lukk* (*lakh*).<sup>4</sup>

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1. *Shashgānī* i.e. the *Dirham* which is in sixths.

2. Instead of *الدرازد هكاني* I read *الدوازد هكاني* i.e. the *Dirham* which is divided into twelvths.

3. Although it has been suggested to derive *Tanga* from Chagatai *tanga* or *tanka* meaning "white" just as certain silver coins are called by the Greeks *aspri*, by the Turks *aqche* etc. which words signify "white", the obvious derivation of the word is Sanskrit *ṭanka* "a weight of silver.....a stamped coin." The word in the forms *tanga* and *ṭankā* is "in all dialects laxly used for money in general" (Wilson). The *tanga* was during the 13th and the first part of the 14th century substantially identical with the rupee of later days. Cf. Hobson-Jobson s.v. *Tanga* p. 896; Rupee p. 774

4. *Lakh* is one hundred thousand and implies in modern times usually rupees. The origin of the word is Sanskrit *laksha* which appears to have originally meant "a mark." But the word does not occur in the earlier Sanskrit and is the substitute for *prayuta*. Many illustrative quotations from the literature are given in Hobson-Jobson, s.v. *Lack*, p. 500



However, the gold lukk is called "*Red Lukk*" and silver lukk is called "*White Lukk*"<sup>1</sup>.

The *ratl*<sup>2</sup> is known among them as "*sīr*"<sup>3</sup>, the weight of which is seventy mithqals i. e.  $102\frac{2}{3}$  Egyptian Dirhams. Every forty "*sīr*"<sup>4</sup> are equal to one "*mann*"<sup>5</sup>. They sell all things by weight. Measurement (*kail*) is unknown to them.

## CHAPTER V.

### About the Rates.

The author of *Masālik ul-Abṣār* has mentioned the rates of India in his time quoting from Qādī 'l-Quḍāt Sirājuddīn al-Hindī and others. He relates that a maid-servant's price in Delhi does not exceed eight Tangas, and those who are fit for service as well as for conjugal purposes cost fifteen tangas. Outside Delhi they are still cheaper. Qādī Sirājuddīn narrated that he once bought a coquettish slave nearing

1. But the dinar of gold was equivalent to 10 silver dinars. Thus the ratio of gold to silver value was 1:10.

2. *ratl* is the Arabic Pound. Cf. Encyclop. of Islam s. v.

3. Instead of ستر in the Arabic text read سير. It weighs 70 *mithqāls*. The word, Hind. *ser*, Sanskrit *setak*, is one of the most familiar Indian denominations of weight, though it varies widely in different parts of the country. The *ser* now is generally equivalent to 80 *tolas*. Cf. Hobson-Jobson, s.v. *Seer*, p. 807

4. The same mistake in the Arabic text which shows that the editor did not understand the word *sīr*.

5. *Mann* is the same word as Greek *mina*, Latin *mina* etc. It is of Semitic origin belonging to the Babylonian branch. The *mann* was equal to two pounds of the standard of Baghdad or about 256 dirhams. The Anglo-Indianised form is *Maund*, Hind. *man*, Mahr. *man*. The values of the *man* have greatly varied. The "*Indian Maund*" is nowadays of forty *ser*s. Cf. Hobson-Jobson, s. v. *Maund*, p. 563

puberty for four Dirhams. He continues, "In spite of this cheapness there are Indian maid-servants whose price amounts to twenty thousand tangas or more on account of their beauty and grace".

It is related on the authority of Sheikh Mubārak ul-Anbātī, who lived before 730 (a. H.) that the average rates at that time were  $1\frac{1}{2}$  (one and a half) Hasht-gānī Dirhams for one *mann* of wheat and one Hasht-gānī for one *mann* of barley and  $1\frac{3}{4}$  Hasht-gānī for one *mann* of rice except the famous kinds which were dearer than this. Peas were two *mann* for one Hasht-gānī. Four Astār<sup>1</sup> of beef and mutton for one Sultani-Dirham. Two Hasht gānī for a pair of ducks. Four pairs of hen for one Hasht-gānī. [86]. Five sirs of sugar for one Hash-agānī. A nice fat goat for one tanga (*i.e.* eight Hasht-gānī Dirhams) and a nice cow for two tangas (*i.e.* sixteen Hasht-gānī Dirham) and sometimes even less, and similar was the price of a buffalo.

Pigeons, sparrows and other kinds of birds were very cheap. The kinds of animals and birds for game are many. What they mostly eat is the flesh of cow and goat though they have many sheep, because they have become accustomed to it.

It has been reported in *Masālik ul-Abṣār* on the authority of Khujandī who says, "I and my three

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1. Astār was a measure of weight equal to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  mithqāls. But here Astār is used for the sir used in Delhi; for according to Ibn Baṭūṭa the Astār was equal in weight to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  raṭl of the Barbary states, a Barbary raṭl being 25 % heavier than the Egyptian raṭl. One Astār would, therefore, be  $1/8$  of the Delhi maund or 3.6 lbs. in weight.

friends ate beef, bread and melted butter<sup>1</sup> for one jītal in some places of Delhi till we were satisfied." A Jītal is equal to four pice (*fulās*) as has been mentioned above.

## CHAPTER VI.

### About the Routes Leading to the Countries of Sindh and India.

Know you that there are several routes to this country:

- (1) *The route by the sea:* The route from the Egyptian coast has already been mentioned in the discourse about the track leading to Yaman:- From Suez, Ṭūr, Qusair and 'Aizāb to Aden in Yaman on this sea, and from Aden one sails in the Indian Sea which is connected with the Red Sea, to the coast of India and Sindh, and comes to any place on those coasts.
- (2) *The route by the Persian gulf:* In the discourse about Iran the route from Aleppo to Baghdad, and from Baghdad to Basra has already been mentioned. Ibn Khordāzbeh says [87], "From Basrah to 'Abbādān, 12 farsakhs, then to Khashabāt<sup>2</sup>, 2 farsakhs, and from there one sails in the Persian gulf."

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1. This rectified butter which is universally used throughout India is Hind. *ghī* Sanskr. *ghrita*. A detailed account of its preparation is found in Watt, *Diet. of Economic Products of India*, Vol. III, 491 sqq or a short one in *English Cyclopaedia* (Arts and Sciences, s.v.)

2. "Wood-works" in leagues left dry by the low tide, between 'Abbādān and the sea. They served as a light-house to warn the mariners. Cf. Abu'l-Fidā, *Taqwīm* p. 309; Le Strange, p. 49.

He who wants to go by land to Sindh and India crosses this Sea up to Hurmuz, the city of Karmān,<sup>1</sup> and from there he reaches Sindh, then India and China.

He who wants to go by water travels as Ibn Khordāzbeh writes, from Ubullat ul-Basra on the Ubullah canal<sup>2</sup> to the Island of Khārik in the Persian gulf<sup>3</sup>, 11 farsakhs; from there to the island of Lāban,<sup>4</sup> 80 farsakhs; then to the island of Abrūn,<sup>5</sup> 7 farsakhs; then to the island of Khayn, 7 farsakhs; then to the island of Kaysh, 7 farsakhs, then to the island of Abarkāwān<sup>6</sup>, 18 farsakhs; then to the island Ormūz,<sup>7</sup> 7 farsakhs; then to Bār,<sup>8</sup> 7 days journey: this is the boundary between Persia and Sindh. Then to Daybul, 8 days; then to the mouth of Mihran [Indus] into the Sea, 2 farsakhs; then from Mihran to Bakīn<sup>9</sup>, the first

1. The province of the Kirman lies in the East of Fārs, the city of Hurmuz on the coast.

2. cf. Le Strange, p. Eastern Caliphate, 44,46-47.

3. cf. Le Strange, p. 261. Read خلیج for نخیل

4. This island with its variants Lāwān, Allān or Lān must be the present island of Shaykh Shu'ayb. cf. Le Strange, p. 261.

5. The modern Hindarabī.

6. Abarkāfān and Abarkumān, now called Kishm, is a big island, also known as Jazīrah Ṭawīlah. cf. Le Strange, p. 261.

7. East of Kishm belonging to Kirmān. cf. Le Strange, p. 292,295.

8. Al-Qalqashandī: بار; text of Ibn Khordādhbeh p. 62 تارا; variant نار; but probably one must read Tīz.

9. Ibn Khordādhbeh: Outakīn cf. A. Sprenger, *Reise-routen*, p. 91; see also Idrīsī I, 160,170,171.

place in India, 4 days; then to [the tribe of] the Mayd<sup>1</sup> 2 farsakhs; then to Kūlī,<sup>2</sup> 2 farsakhs; then to Sindān, 18 farsakhs, then to Malay<sup>3</sup> 5 days', then to Bullīn 2 days. Then the way diverges in the Sea :

One who follows *the coast line*: from Bullīn to Bās<sup>4</sup>, 2 days; then to Sinjilī<sup>5</sup> and Kabshakān<sup>6</sup>, 2 days; then to the mouth of the Kūdāfarīd,<sup>7</sup> 3 farsakhs; then to Kaylākān,<sup>8</sup> 2 days; from there to

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1. The text has *Mand*; this name is variously written mand, mind, med, mer etc. The Arab geographers describe the Mayd as a brave and robber tribe living in Lower Sind, in particular on the banks of the Mihran upto the sea. They seem to be identical with the Medi and Mandrueni of the classical writers. cf. Cunningham p. 332-33. They were also pirates on the seashore and captured the ship with the Muslim girls whom the King of Ceylon had sent to al-Hajjāj. cf. Prof. Mohd. Habib, *Isl. Culture* III, 87.

2. Text *Kūl*.

3. *Malay* is an island (cf. Idrīsī I, 172) near Kaulam; the whole coast was called Malibar. So Kaulam is also named Kaulam Malay.

4. The text and Sprenger p. 81 have *Bās*, De Goeje reads *Bāpattan* (cf. p. 63, note g) which can be identified with *Baliapatam*. V. d. Lith, *'Ajā'ibul-Hind*, p. 281 calls it *Jārfattan* Ibn Batuta IV, 82 *zurfattan*. See also Mzik. p. 297.

5. *Sinjilī* is Shinkali cf. Ibn Khordādbeh, p. 63, note g.

6. Ibn Khordādbeh p. 63, note i

7. The text has *الى كودا مصب نهر فرید*. according to Ibn Khordādbeh, p. 63 I read *الى مصب نهر كودا فرید* It is the river Godāvarī which has its source in Brahmagiri, situated 20 miles from Nasik and is the Maisōlos of Ptolemy. At the beginning of its Delta there lies the city of Dāntapura. the ancient capital of Kalinga. Cf. Cunningham p. 592 (the map No XIII p. 602) and *Geograph. Dict.* by Nando Lal Dey.

8. Idrīsī *كلكانان*

Samāndar<sup>1</sup> and from Samandar to Ūsīr, <sup>2</sup> 12 farsakhs; then to Abīna, 4 days. <sup>3</sup> [88]

And one who wants to go to China turns aside from Bullīn leaving Sarandīb at his left; then from the Island of Sarandīb to the Island of Lankbālūs, <sup>4</sup> about 10 or 15 days; then to the Island of Kilah, <sup>5</sup> 6 days; then on the left hand appears the Island of Bālūs<sup>6</sup> in 2 days; then in 15 days the land where the spices grow.

## CHAPTER VII.

### About the Kings of India.

<sup>7</sup>A number of them are infidels and their names are non-Arabic; we need not mention them here, so we leave them. As regards the times under Islam, the first who began the conquest of India were the Banu Subuktigīn: the kings of Ghazna who have been mentioned in connection with the country of Khwarizm and Qabjāq and the lands adjacent to it.

1. This town is situated on the Ganges. The bay of Bengal begins from here.

2. According to Ibn Khordādhbeh p. 64 and Idrīsī p. 185 Uranshīn, resp. Urshīn which is the modern Orissa. cf. Cunningham p. 584

3. The text has after this "then to Sarandīb, 2 days". This sentence seems to have been misplaced.

4. *i.e.* Nicobar

5. This is probably Qedda.

6. So in the text but Cf. Van der Lith, *Merveilles*, p. 263 who identifies it with Baros. See also Ibn Khordādhbeh, ed. de Goeje, text p. 66, note f and transl. p. 46, note 3,

7. Lacuna in the text, the editor suggests to read:-

اما قبل الاسلام فملكها جماعة من الخ

Yamīn-ud-Daula (wa Amīn-ul-Millah) <sup>1</sup> Maḥmūd bin Subuktigīn <sup>2</sup> conquered the city of Bhāṭiya <sup>3</sup> — a well fortified city with high ramparts beyond Multan in the year 396. <sup>4</sup> Then he proceeded against Baida, <sup>5</sup> a king of India, but he fled away to his fortress <sup>6</sup> of Kālinjar. Mahmud besieged him there till the king made peace with him on the payment of a huge tribute. He took the money and invested the king with the robe of honour. The king wanted to be excused from wearing the belt round his waist, but he was not excused; so he put on the belt unwillingly.

In 451 Ibrahim bin Mas'ud <sup>7</sup> conquered many castles in India (89). Then came the Ghori dynasty <sup>8</sup> in Ghazna. In 547 Shihābuddīn Abul Muzaffar Muḥammad b. Sām b. al-Husain al-Ghori conquered the city of Lahore <sup>9</sup> and captured many other cities after that. He persecuted their rulers so much as

1. This is the full title bestowed upon him in 389. Cf. Dr. Mohd. Nazim, Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna p. 45

2. Ruled 387-421 A. H. = 997-1030 A.D. Cf. the above mentioned book of Dr. Mhd. Nazim.

3. *i.e.* Bhatinda. For its identification see Mohd. Nāzim pp. 197-202.

4. According to Abu'l-Fidā and Ibn ul-Athīr, IX, 130 in the year 395; for the date of the expedition Cf. Nāzim, loc. cit. p. 202

5. Ganda Raja of Kalinjar 1022-23 See Nazim, pp. 110-11

6. I follow Abu'l Fida and read قلعتہ instead of مدينته

7. He ruled 1059-1098 and conquered Ajodhan, the present Pak Pattan and the fort of Rupal.

8. For the Ghorides Cf. Defremery, Histoire des Sultans Ghourides, Journ. Asiat. 1843; also Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri (Translation by Major Raverty) London 1873-81 (Bibl. Ind.) p. 111 Sq. ; 347 Sq. ; 358 Sq.

9. *i.e.* in the year 1186 A.D.

none of the Islamic Kings had ever done before him and so he got mastery over the country of India. Shihābuddīn assigned the city of Delhi which was the capital of India to his slave Quṭbuddīn Aibak. Aibak sent out his armies and they took possession of places in India where never before a Muslim had entered till they came near the frontier of China.

After this Shihābuddīn Muḥammad conquered<sup>1</sup> Nehrwalā<sup>2</sup> also in the year 597. The Muslim Kings continued their conquests in India till Mohammad b. Tughlaq Shah came in the time of Al-Malik an-Nāṣir Mohammad b. Qalā'ūn, the Governor of Egyptian Provinces. His authority became strong in India, the number of his army rose and he pursued the conquests till he had conquered the greatest part of India.

According to Masālik ul-Abṣār Sheikh Mubārak ul-Anbātī relates, "The first place which was conquered was the country of Tilink<sup>3</sup>: It is an extensive province with many villages—the number of which is nine hundred thousand and nine hundred. Then the province of Jājnagar<sup>4</sup> was conquered which has seventy big cities all (situated) on the sea coast. Its sources of revenue are pearls, different kinds of cloth, perfumes and scents. Then he conquered the province

1. This statement is not quite correct. Mohammad invaded Gujerat in 1178 (cf. Cambr. Hist. of India, Vol. III, p. 93), but was defeated. The country was again attacked in 1195 by Aibak, his deputy in India, and Anhilvara was plundered. (Cf. p. 43/44). A third time it was invaded in the year. 1198 (Cf. p. 44.)

2. Name of a province and its capital in Gujerat.

3. Tilinga or Tilangāna in the East Deccan; it was conquered in the year 1323. Cf. Cambr. History III, 131.

4. Jājnagar situated on the banks of the Mahamuddi was the capital of Orissa. Cf. Cambr. Hist. III. p. 132.



of Laknauti<sup>1</sup> which had been the seat of nine kings. Then he conquered the province of Devagir,<sup>2</sup> also known as Dakīn.<sup>3</sup> It has 84 strong hill forts. It is related on the authority of Sheikh Burhānuddīn Abū Bakr bin al-Khallāl al-Bazī that there are one crore and two lakh villages in it. Then he conquered the province of Dursamand<sup>4</sup> where Sultan Bilāl Deo<sup>5</sup> and five infidel kings reigned. Then he conquered the Province of Ma'bar. It is a big district having ninety ports on the sea coast. Perfumes, muslin (*lānis*), various kinds of cloth and other beautiful things are its sources of revenue [90].

It has been mentioned that on account of the conquests he got such overwhelming wealth that the hearer can hardly believe it. It is related on the authority of Burhānuddīn Abū Bakr bin Khallāl that he besieged a king on the frontiers of Deogir. The king requested him to desist from the siege on the condition that he should send to him mules to carry his treasures. When he inquired about the amount of his wealth, the king replied, "There have been seven kings before me and each of them had

1. The district between the Ganges and Brahmaputra.  
2. Deogir in the N. W. corner of the state of Hyderabad. Sultan Muhammad made it his capital and changed its name into Dawlatabad. Cf. also p. 30.

3. In the text دڪير Deccan (Hind. *Dakhina*, Prakr. *dakshina* from Sankr. *dakshina* "the south") is a general geographical expression for the country south of Nerbudda.

4. *i.e.* Dwarasamudra (Dvāravatīpura) situated in the district Hassan in Mysore. Cf. Hobson-Jobson s.v.

5. This is Vira Ballāla III, the Raja of Dursamand who rebelled against the Muslims, but was defeated and slain by Dāmaghān Shah. Cf. Cambr. Hist, III, 116, 118; 149, 372, 485 Sqq. Ibn Bat. IV, 195-97 gives an account on his defeat. Cf. also Southern India and her Mohammedan Invaders by Aiyangar.

seven thousand vast cisterns full of money." He consented to that and sealed those cisterns with his own name and left them where they were. Then he acknowledged [his title to] that kingdom in his name ordering him to stay with him and appointing him as Viceroy in that country.

It is related on the authority of 'Alī bin Masrūr 'Uqailī an Arab of Bahrain who heard it from different sources that this Sultan conquered a city which had a small lake. In the middle of it there was a house which was venerated by them and where they used to go with their offerings. Whenever an offering was brought there it was thrown in that small lake. So he removed the water from it and took the gold that was in it. This gold was loaded on 200 elephants and one thousand Oxen, etc. which is beyond belief. He obtained incalculable wealth and so did his followers.

Sheikh Tajuddīn bin Abi'l Mujāhid as Samarqandī relates that the Sultan once got angry with one of his Khans because he used to drink wine, so he arrested him and confiscated his property. The amount of the gold which was found with him was one million and thirty-seven thousand mithqals, *i. e.* forty three thousand and seventy *Qintār*<sup>1</sup>, although he used to give away a good deal of money.

Ibn al-Hakīm at-Tayyārī relates that once a man offered him books, thereupon the king gave him a handful of pearls which were worth twenty thousand gold mithqāls. Ash-Sharīf as Samarqandī relates that once a man brought twenty-two yellow melons

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1. A weight of 46 oz of gold or 1200 dinārs.

which he had got from Bukhara. The king ordered three thousand gold coins [to be given] to him [91]. Sheikh Abū Bakr bin Abī'l-Hasan al-Multānī relates that he heard about him (*i.e.* the Sultan) that he did not speak of his gifts which were less than three thousand Mithqals. This among other gifts which cannot be imagined.

The Chief Justice Sirājuddīn al-Hindī relates that, in spite of his numerous donations and generous gifts and the expenditure on his troops and army, he did not spend half the revenue of his country.

I say, then, after Mohammad Shāh,<sup>1</sup> a relative of his Sultan named Firūz Shāh<sup>2</sup> was set over the throne of this country and reigned for about forty years. The kingdom passed from one to the other of the descendants till Timarlang came and conquered Delhi<sup>3</sup> and plundered it. Then after him the power came back to a ruler of the royal family whose name was Mahmud Khan<sup>4</sup>; he governs there to the present day. In Deogir there is quite a different king these days. His name is Sultan Ghiyāth-uddīn.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Ruled 725-752 A. H. = 1324-1351 A.D.

2. Ruled 752-790 A. H. = 1351-1388 A.D.

3. At the end of December 1398 A.D.

4. After the departure of Timur the whole of Northern India fell into a state of disorder and was split up into small principalities. In 1401 Mahmud returned to Delhi but the glory of Delhi, was gone and the provinces had rebelled. He ruled from 1392-94 and then from 1399-141

5. The statement about Dawlatabad is wrong. Probably Ghiyāthuddin Bahmani is meant.

## CHAPTER VIII.

About the army of this country and officers  
of the Government.

(According to the informations in Masālik ul-Absār about the rule of Sultan Moḥammad Tughlaq Shah<sup>1</sup> on the authority of Sheikh Mubārak ul-Anbāti and others).

It is related that his army consists of 900,000 horsemen, a part of them are at His Majesty's court, others are scattered in the whole country. His Diwan provides for the means of subsistence for all of them<sup>2</sup>. The army consists of Turks, Khitais<sup>3</sup>, Persians, Indians and people of various nations. All of them have branded horses, excellent weapons and are elegant in appearance. The officers of his army are the Khans, Maliks<sup>4</sup>, Amirs, Sipāh-Salārs<sup>5</sup> and then the ranks.

1. Died 752 A. H. = 1351 A. D. Ibn Batuta gives an interesting account on his rule Cf. III, 215 sqq.; Mzik p. 107 sqq.

2. For أجرى على cf. Dozy I, 190.

3. *Khita* or *Cathay* denotes in the 14th and 15th centuries the northern part of China while *Sin* the southern part, was China itself. The name *Khita* is taken from the tribe "Khitay" who reigned at Peking during the 10th and 11th centuries.

4. *Malik* means not only "king" but also "prince" and is used as a title of Dozy II, 614. In mediaeval India it denoted a military rank Cf. Ibn Bat. III, 146; even now-a-days this title is found.

5. In the text الإصفهسارية Sipāh-Salar is the commander, actually سپاه سال آور "Senior of the army." It was also a title, given *e. g.* to Qutbuddin Aibak who conquered Delhi. Here, however, this word does not denote such a high rank, but seems to mean simply a junior military officer as it becomes clear from the following passage.

[92] He relates that in the Sultan's service there are eighty Khans or more and that each of them has followers according to his rank. The Khan has ten thousand horsemen, the Malik one thousand, the Amir one hundred, and the Sipah-Salar less than that. None of the Sipah-Salars are considered worthy to be near the Sultan, but they can be appointed as Valis or to posts equal to the rank of Vali. The Sultan has ten thousand Turkish slaves and ten thousand eunuchs; one thousand cash-holders<sup>1</sup> and one thousand Bashmaqḍārs.<sup>2</sup> He has two lakhs of *Stirrup*<sup>3</sup> slaves, who wear weapons, accompany him always and fight on foot in front of him. The whole army is exclusively attached to the Sultan and his Diwan pays them, even those who are in the service of the Khans and Maliks and Amirs. Fiefs cannot be given to them by their masters as it is the custom in Egypt and Syria.

As regards the officers of the State who are "the Masters of the Sword", he has a Chief Lieutenant (na'ib)<sup>4</sup> who is called "Amriyat"<sup>5</sup> in their langu-

1. *Khizandār*. cf. also Subh, Vol. V, p. 462

2. *Bashmaqḍār* is a Turkish word composed with Pers. *dar*. *Bashmaq* means "shoe" in Turkish, *bashmaqḍār* is therefore one who is in charge of the shoes or horse-shoes of the Sultan. Cf. Subh V 459. In Turkish *bashmaqliq* is a kind of pin-money, a revenue assigned in Turkey to the mother of the Sultan from conquered cities or also imperial crown lands. In spite of the preceding *khizandār* revenues are not meant here.

3. ركايبه

4. He was known as *nā'ib ul-mulk* or simply *nā'ib* Cf. Subh. V. 453 The officer under the Mughals was known as the "Vakil", but no precedence appears to have been given to the "nā'ib" under the Delhi Sultans.

5. امریت I do not find this word. Elsewhere the title of this officer is *wakil-dar* or *amir-dar*.

age and four Nā'ibs under him who are known as "Shaqq"<sup>1</sup>. The Sultan has Chamberlains and other officers. Amongst the "Masters of the pen" he has a great Vazir who has four Secretaries (*kuttāb us-sirr*)<sup>2</sup> who are called "Dabirān" in their tongue. To every one of them about three hundred scribes are allotted.

As regards the judicial officers he has the Chief Justice, who is a man of great dignity, a *muhtasib*<sup>3</sup> and a *Shaykhush-Shuyūkh*.<sup>4</sup> The Sultan has also twelve hundred physicians.

Besides these he has one thousand falconers (*bāzdār*)<sup>5</sup> who carry the birds of prey for hunting while riding the horses and three thousand drivers who obtain the game; five hundred courtiers (*nadīm*) and two hundred musicians besides his one thousand slaves who are specially trained for music; one thousand poets of fine taste and wit in Arabic, Persian and Hindi. His Diwan pays all these as long as they are men of spotless purity and chastity, in public and private life [93].

1. I do not find this word used as a title. But Cf. Dozy I, 772".....cela se dit d'un homme très éminent, incomparable; qui surpasse tons les autres". Shaqq means "fissure" or "division". It was used of an administrative division and the officer was known as "Shaqqdār".

2. Cf. *G. Wiet*, Les secrétaires de la chancellerie en Egypte sous les mamlouks circassiens in: *Mélanges Rene Basset I*, Paris 1923, pp. 271,314.

3. Censor of public morals and Inspector of markets. It devolves upon him: *al-amr bil-mā'rūf wan-nahy 'an il-munkar*. Cf. *Qalgashandī*, Vol, V, 451.

4. Probably the office corresponded to that of the Grand Mufti under the Ottomans or Mameluks in Egypt.

5. Cf. *Subh* V, 469.

## CHAPTER IX.

## About the Dress of the people in this country.

With regard to the dress of the "Masters of the sword"<sup>1</sup>, Sheikh Mubārak ul-Anbātī relates that the dress of the Sultan, Khans, Maliks and the other Army Officers are Tartaric gowns<sup>2</sup> Taklawāt<sup>3</sup> and Islamic Qabās<sup>4</sup> of Khwarizm buckled in the middle of the body,<sup>5</sup> and short turbans<sup>6</sup>, which do not exceed five or six fore-arms (*dirā'*.) Their dress is of *bayād'*<sup>7</sup> and *Jūkh*<sup>8</sup>.

It is related on the authority of Ash-Sharif Nasiruddin Mohammad Al-Husaini Al-Adami that their usual dress is gold embroidered Tartaric gowns.<sup>9</sup> some of them wear gold embroidered sleeves and

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1. Viz. the army officers.
  2. The text has *نتریات* but read *تتریات* cf. Dozy I, 141.
  3. A kind of dress worn in India by the Emirs. Cf. Dozy I, 149.
  4. Originally a Persian dress *i.e.* a gown with full sleeves. Cf. Dozy, Dictionnaire des Vêtement p. 352 sqq and Dozy II, 307. The portuguese writers of the 16th century apply it to the surcoat or long tunic of muslin which is a common native garment of the better classes in India. Cf. Hobson-Jobson s. v. Cabaya. p. 137. The word is not now used in India.
  5. For this expression Cf. Dozy I, 376.
  6. Cf. W. Björkman s. v. "Turban" in Encyclop. of Islam Vol. IV, p. 885 sqq.
  7. Arabic *min al-bayādih* It may also mean "of white colour", but here it seems to have a special meaning denoting the material. Cf. also Dozy I, 134.
  8. Arabic *Jūkh* Cf. Dozy I, 230. The word, furthermore, denotes a special kind of dress. Cf. Dozy Dictionnaire des Vêtements. pp. 127-131.
  9. In the Arabic text again *نترية* which shows that the editor did not understand this word.

others put the embroidery between their shoulders like the Mughals. Their head-dress is four-cornered in shape, ornamented with jewels and mostly inlaid with diamonds and rubies. They plait their hair in hanging locks as it used to be done in the beginning of the Turkish rule in Egypt and Syria except that they put silk tassels in the locks. They bind gold and silver belts tightly round their waists and wear shoes and spurs and do not girt the swords round their waists except when on a journey.

The dress of the Vazirs and the Kātibs is like that of the soldiers except that they have no belts. But sometimes they let down a piece of cloth in front of them as the Ṣūfīs do.

The Judges and the learned men ('*ulamā'*) wear ample gowns (*farājīyāt*)<sup>1</sup> that resemble Janadīyāt<sup>2</sup> and arabic garments<sup>3</sup>.

It is related on the authority of Qādī Sirājuddīn al-Hindī that none among them wears cotton clothes

1. Cf. Dozy, Dict. Des Vêtements p. 327 sqq.

2. The Arabic text has الجندات which gives no meaning; also the conjecture الجنديات "*harnis, converture de cheval*" Cf. Dozy I, 224 does not fit in here. So I read الجنديات singular جنديّة "*a striped stuff manufactured at Janad*" (Cf. Yāqūt, Mu'jam ul-Buldān, ed. Wüstenfeld, Vol. II, p. 127) and then *a gown made of this stuff*. According to Azraqī, p. 175, line 9 and 10 the best kind of the حبرة was made at Janad in Yaman For حبرة cf. Lane, s. v. and Dozy, Dict. des Vêtements. p. 135-36. In my opinion, therefore, only the gowns of Janad can be meant here.

3. *durra'a* a garment opening in front and buttoned, is an Arab cloth like the *Jabā'* originally Persian Cf. Dozy I, 434 and Dict. des Vêtements. 177-81.



imported from Russia and Alexandria except he whom the Sultan clothes with it. Their dress is made of fine cotton which surpasses the Baghdādī one in beauty. They do not use draped and gold embriodered saddles except those to whom the Sultan presents them [94].

### CHAPTER X.

#### About the allowances of the Officials in this Country.

With regard to the Army it has been related on the authority of Shaykh Mubārak ul-Anbātī that land is assigned to the Khans, Maliks, Amirs and Sipah-Salars by the Diwan as their fiefs.

It has been mentioned that the fief of the Chief Lieutenant, called Amriyat, is a territory as big as Iraq. Every Khan receives two lakh Tangas —one lakh is equal to one hundred thousand, and one Tanga is worth eight Dirhams. Every Malik receives from sixty to fifty thousand Tangas; every Amir from forty to thirty thousand Tangas; the Sipāh-Salārs twenty thousand Tangas or nearly so much; every soldier from ten thousand to one thousand Tangas, the royal pages from five thousand to one thousand Tangas along with food, clothes and the fodder for horses, provided by the Sultan. Each royal slave receives monthly ten "White Tangas", two "manns" of wheat and rice, and three Astār of meat every day, and four suits of dress every year.

As regards the "Masters of the pen"<sup>1</sup> the Wazir has a great territory like Iraq as his fief. Each of the four private Secretaries has a coastal town (port) with

1. i.e. state functionaries in the Imperial Secretariats.

a large income and the Chief-secretaries have villages and estates. Some of them have fifty villages. The Chief Justice, known as *Sadr-i Jihān*, has ten villages the revenue of which amounts to about sixty thousand Tangas. The Shaykh-ush-Shuyūkh receives the same. The Muhtasib has one town, the income of which is about eight thousand Tangas.

As regards other Government Officers it has been mentioned that some of the courtiers (*nadīm*) have two villages, others only one. Every one of them receives from forty to thirty or twenty thousand Tangas according to his rank, along with suits of clothes, robes of honour and provision for subsistence<sup>1</sup>. The allowances of others may be calculated accordingly.

## CHAPTER XI.

### About the Organization of Affairs in this country.

The organization of the affairs varies according to the conditions of the Sultan.

As regards duty, there are two kinds of duties. The first of them is the *daily duty*. Every day the table is laid in the royal palace and twenty thousand people like Khans, Maliks, Amirs, Sipāh-Salārs and the Chief persons of the army take their food there. A special table is laid for the Sultan and two hundred jurists participate with him in midday and evening meals and discuss matters before him.

It is related on the authority of Sheikh Abu Bakr b. al-Khallal that he once asked the Sultan's cook about the animals slaughtered daily for him. The cook replied, "Two thousand and five hundred

1. افتقادات Cf. Dozy II, 272.

cows, one thousand goats besides fat horses and different kinds of birds."

The second kind of duty is the *weekly duty*. It is related on the authority of Sheikh Mohammad al-Khujandi that the Sultan holds a general meeting (*iulus 'amm*) on Tuesday in a very big and extremely spacious court-yard. A big enclosure is made there for the Sultan where he sits in the centre on a high throne overlaid with gold. The Ministers of State (*arbāb-ud-daula*) stand around him on the right and left and behind him are the armour-bearers,<sup>1</sup> and the Government officers (*arbāb ul-wazā'if*) stand before him in their places. Only the Khans and the *Sadr-i-Jihān* i.e. the Chief Justice and the *Dabīrān* i.e. the confidential Secretary, who is on duty,<sup>2</sup> have the right to sit. The Chamberlains stand before him calling out publicly: "Any one who has complaints or needs should come forward". So the people with complaints or needs come forward and stand before him and are not stopped till their case comes to an end. Then the Sultan gives his order about it.

[96]. It is the custom that no one with weapons even with a small knife has access to the Sultan. He sits inside seven gates. The visitors alight at the first gate but some of them are permitted to ride up to the sixth gate. At the first gate there is a guard with a trumpet in his hands.

1. *Silahdārīya* i.e. those officers who carry the different armours of the Sultan and present them if necessary. Cf. Dozy I, 672; and also Zenker, Dictionnaire p. 514 and Hobson-Jobson p. 836.

2. تكون له النوبة

Whenever a Khan, Malik, or other great man of the kingdom approaches he blows the trumpet to inform the Sultan about the arrival of a great man, so that the Sultan is kept informed. The guard keeps on blowing the trump<sup>t</sup> till the guest has reached the seventh gate. There all the guests wait till they are assembled and when they are all together they are allowed to enter. When they have entered those who are entitled to sit, sit down, and others remain standing. The Judges, Wazirs and the confidential Secretaries take their seats in a place where the Sultan cannot see them, and then food is served. The Chamberlains then place before the Sultan the cases of the agrieved persons and others. Every section has its Chamberlain to receive the cases. Then they present all the cases together before the Chief Chamberlain who puts them before the Sultan, and listens to his orders about them. When the Sultan rises the Chamberlain sits with the Private Secretary, and conveys the orders to him and he executes them. Then the Sultan rises from this majlis and goes to a special meeting (*majlis khāṣṣ*) where the learned men are present. Here he sits, discusses and dines with them. Then they depart and the Sultan enters his private appartments.

As regards his procession, he rides while in his palaces with a *chatr*<sup>1</sup> over his head and a body of

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1. چتر means "umbrella" or a kind of veil to protect against the sun. Cf- Dozy I,172; Zenker Dictionnaire ; 349; Ibn. Bat. III,228. The same word as well as the thing is still used in India. Cf. Hobson-Jobson s.v. Chatta. The arabic equivalent is *mizallah*.

guards with weapons in their hands behind him and about twelve thousands slaves around him. Among them there are no riders except the bearer of the *chatr*, and the armour-bearers and the Jamadars,<sup>1</sup> the bearers of garments, when he is outside his palace. Over his head are held black banners, which have an enormous snake of gold in the centre. Nobody carries black banners, except for him alone. On the left side he has red banners, with two gold snakes. His band, which is played on whether he is in station or in camp, is like that of Alexander [97]; it has two hundred loaded drums, forty loaded kettle drums, twenty trumpets and ten brass castanets.

Sheikh Mubārak ul-Anbātī says, "One *chatr* is held over his head when he is not on the battlefield but during the war-time seven *chatrs* are held over his head, two of them are well ornamented and cannot be valued." The grandeur, the splendour and the Imperial laws of his Government are unequalled except by Alexander the Great<sup>2</sup> and Malik Shah b. Alp Arslan. When he goes out for hunting, he puts on light dress and there are about one lakh horsemen and two hundred elephants with him. He carries four pavilions (*quṣūr*) with him upon eight hundred camels. Each pavilion is carried by a hundred camels all of which are trapped in silken covers interwoven with gold. Each pavilion consists of two parts besides the tents and

1. Pers. Jama-dār "maitre de la garde-robe" Cf. Dozy 1,212. See also Subḥ V, 459.

2. Therefore the ruler of India is called "al-Iskandar ath-thānī" Cf. Bjorkmaunn p. 130.

Khargāhs.<sup>1</sup> If he moves from one place to another for diversion or something like it, he keeps with him about three thousand horsemen and one thousand extra saddled and bridled horses which are caparisoned with covers interwoven with gold and have necklaces in which gems and diamonds are set.

During the war he rides with seven *chattr*s over his head and the arrangement in war, according to Sirājuddīn ul-Hindī, is that the Sultan stands in the centre [of the army], and the Imāms and 'Ulamā' around him while the archers stand before and behind him. The right and the left wings spread on both sides. In front of him there are elephants covered with iron harnesses<sup>2</sup> and on them are towers in which the fighters are hidden. In these towers are holes for shooting arrows and throwing naphta-bottles. In front of the elephants march the slaves in light dress wearing shields and weapons. They hold the ropes of the elephants while the horses are on their right and left in order to draw together the flanks of the army<sup>3</sup> in front of and behind the elephants so that not one of them can run away.

1. *Khargāh* (Persian) is a kind of small tent which consists of wooden laths put together like a dome and covered with pieces of felt; the upper part can be opened to admit the light and air and can be closed when required. Ibn Bat. has given a description of the *Khargāh*, Cf. II, 290-300; III, 30.

2. Text. بر کسطوانات usually the word is spelt: بر کستان or بر کستوان Cf. Dozy I, 77 where further references.

3. Lacuna in the text; read أطراف الجيش من ألخ

[98] As regards soldiers other than the Sultan, their custom is that the Khans, Maliks and Amirs never ride whether on journey or at home without flags. The Khan has at the most seven flags and the Amir has at least three. The Khan can keep at home at the most ten extra horses and the Amir two. When marching every one can take with him according to his capacity.

As regards the transmission of informations to the Sultan, the Chief Justice Sirājuddīn al-Hindī relates that it is different according to the different affairs. As regards the affairs of the subjects, the king has persons who mix with the subjects, and find out things about them. Then he who gets to know something informs his superior and this officer in his turn informs his superior until it reaches the Sultan.<sup>1</sup>

As regards the communication of informations<sup>2</sup> from distant places, it is more quick than it is

1. This kind of intelligence service was also well-known in other Islamic States. I refer only to Ibn ut-Tiqṭaqā; *Al-Fakhri*, Cairo 1927/1345, p. 28 where these people are called 'uyān or *ashāb ul-akhbār*.

2. This information service (in Arabic: *barīd*, in Hindustani: *dak*, Cf. Hobson-Jobson s. v. *dawk*) is the precursor of the postal service. It was purely a political institution for the quick transmission of state business, but not meant for private or commercial affairs. Von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, says about it that "at the head-quarters of each of the large provinces of which the mighty Empire was composed, was a Postmaster *Ṣāhib ul-barīd* [more accurately described as General-Reporter or Chief of the State Police] whose duty it was to keep the caliph continually informed of all important affairs. The Postmaster was so to speak, a direct confidential agent appointed by the Central Government." For this institution under the Abbasides Cf. *Khuda Bukhsh*, *The Orient under the Caliphs*, pp. 230-36. Ibn. Bat. (Vol: III, 95 sqq.; Mzik p. 25 sqq.) gives also an account of this postal service. Cf. Further W. Bjorkmann, loc. cit. p. 40, 177.

in other countries, and this is due to the fact that between the chief districts and the palace of the Sultan there are places close to one another which resemble the post stations in Egypt and Syria save that these places are much nearer in space to each other, the distance between every place being about four bow-shots or less than this.<sup>1</sup> In every place there are ten strong and swift runners who carry the letters between that place and the next. They run with the utmost possible speed in order to hand over the letters to the next one who runs in the same way with it to his destination. So the letter arrives from a far off place in the shortest time. In every one of these places there is a mosque, a market and a water-tank. Between Delhi and Qubbat ul Islām<sup>2</sup>—the two capitals of the Government—drums are placed in special places. Whenever he is in a city and the gate of the other city is opened or shut, the drum is beaten and when the next one hears it, he beats the drum. So the information for opening the city and the gate of the other one and shutting it is conveyed.

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1. According to Ibn Bat. III, 95, the places are at every one third of a mile.

2. Qubbat ul-Islām "vault of Islam" is used for a town which exercises a supremacy over other places. It is not only the surname of Basra, but of other great towns also. Cf. Dozy II, 298. Here Dawlat-ābād or Deogīri in the North - West of Deccan is meant. Muhammad b. Tughlaq tried to make it his ideal capital, but this scheme failed.



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