

منشورات  
معهد تاريخ العلوم العربية والإسلامية

سلسلة الجغرافيا الإسلامية  
المجلد ١٢٥

منشورات  
معهد تاريخ العلوم العربية والإسلامية

يصدرها  
فؤاد سزكين

الجغرافيا الإسلامية  
المجلد ١٢٥



فصول حول الصين والترك والهند  
منتخبة من كتاب طبائع الحيوان  
للطبيب شرف الزمان طاهر المروزي (كتبه نحو ٥١٤ هـ)

مع ترجمة إنكليزية من عمل  
ف. منورسكي

إعادة طبعة لندن ١٩٤٢م

١٤١٤ هـ - ١٩٩٢ م  
معهد تاريخ العلوم العربية والإسلامية  
في إطار جامعة فرانكفورت - جمهورية ألمانيا الاتحادية

# الجغرافيا الإسلامية

المجلد المائة والخامس والعشرون

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١٩٨٣

طبع في ٨٠ نسخة

نشر بمعهد تاريخ العلوم العربية والإسلامية  
بفرانكفورت - جمهورية ألمانيا الاتحادية  
طبع في مطبعة شتراوس ، هيرشبرج ، ألمانيا الاتحادية

## الباب الثامن

في صفة الصين

[12a] ① مملكة الصين واسعة الرقعة كثيرة المدن والأعمار والقرى  
 و تدخل في ثلثة أقاليم وذلك أن الأقليم الأول يتدعى من المشرق  
 من أقاصي بلاد الصين ويمرّ على بلاد الصين ممّا يلي الجنوب وفيه  
 مدينة الملك وفيه مرفأ السفن وهو المرفأ الصيني ثمّ يمرّ على  
 5 سواحل البحر في جنوب بلاد الهند ثمّ على بلاد الهند ويمرّ في البحر  
 على جزيرة الكرك ويقطع البحر الى جزيرة العرب وأرض اليمن وبلادها  
 وهي ظفار وعمان وعدن وحضرموت وصنعاء وجرش ومهرة وسبأ  
 وغيرها ثمّ يقطع بحر القلزم فيمرّ في بلاد الحبشة ويقطع نيل  
 مصر ويمرّ على البلد الذي يسمى جرّمى وهو دار ملك الحبشة  
 10 ويمرّ على دنقلة وهي مدينة النوبة ثمّ يمرّ في أرض المغرب على  
 جنوب بلاد البربر الى أن ينتهي الى بحر المغرب والأقليم الثاني  
 يتدعى من المشرق فيمرّ على بلاد الصين ثمّ على بلاد [12b] الهند  
 ثمّ بلاد الهند ويمرّ على المنصورة وديبل ويقطع البحر  
 الأخضر وبحر البصرة وجزيرة العرب في أرض نجد وتزامة واليمامة  
 15 والبحرين وهجر ويقطع بحر القلزم ويمرّ في صعيد مصر ثمّ يمرّ  
 في أرض المغرب على وسط بلاد إفريقية ثمّ يمرّ على بلاد البربر و  
 ينتهي الى بحر المغرب والأقليم الثالث يتدعى من المشرق فيمرّ  
 على شمال بلاد الصين ثمّ على بلاد الهند وعلى شمال بلاد الهند  
 ثمّ على بلاد كابل ثمّ على كرمان وسجستان ثمّ على سواحل

بحر البصرة ويمر بكور الأهواز ثم يمر على بلاد الشام ثم يقطع اسافل  
 ارض مصر والقيروان وينتهي الى بحر المغرب والاقليم الرابع يتبدى من  
 المشرق ويمر ببلاد التبت ثم على خراسان وما وراء نهر جيحون وارض العراق  
 والديلم وبعض بلاد الشام والروم ثم في بحر الشام على جزيرة قبرس وزودس  
 5 ويمر في بلاد المغرب على ارض طنجة و ينتهي الى بحر المغرب  
 والاقليم الخامس يتبدى من المشرق من بلاد ياجوج وماجوج ويمر على شمال  
 بلاد خراسان وما وراء النهر وخوارزم ثم على آذربيجان وأرمينية وبلاد  
 الروم ثم يمر بسواحل بحر الشام مما يلي الشمال ثم على بلاد الأندلس  
 وينتهي الى بحر المغرب والاقليم السادس يتبدى من المشرق من  
 شمال بلاد ياجوج ويمر على بلاد الترك ثم على سواحل بحر أبسكون  
 10 مما يلي الشمال ثم يقطع بحر الروم ويمر ببلاد الصقالبة وينتهي  
 الى بحر المغرب والاقليم السابع يتبدى من المشرق من بلاد ياجوج  
 ويمر على بلاد التترغز وارض الترك ثم على بلاد اللان ثم على السريتر ثم  
 على نرجان ثم على بعض الصقالبة وينتهي الى بحر المغرب  
 15 ② فأرض الصين داخله في ثلثة من هذه الأقاليم لإمتداد أطرافها وكثرة  
 بلادها ولما كانت بلادها موضوعة في مشارق الشمس كانت أهويتها صافية  
 ومياهها باردة [13a] عذبة وثريها طيبة واذا كانت البلاد بهذه الصفة كان  
 سكانها ونجارها كذلك لما ذكرنا ان أحص الاشياء بالحيوان ثريته التي يتكوّن  
 فيها ولها ينسب الانسان الى الترب كما ينسب الى الوالدين فيقال حجازي و  
 شام ورومي وهندي وصيني كما يقال عدناني وقحطاني وعلوي وعباسي  
 20 فأهل الصين معتدلو المزاج حسنو الشكل والصورة سلسو الأخلاق وهم  
 اجناس مختلفة البلاد والسكان

③ وينقسم أراضيهم ثلثة اقسام وهي الصين وفتاي التي  
 يسميها العامة خطاي وتمر وأعظمها خطة ومملكة الصين

- 4) واهله أحذف الناس بالصنائع المهينة لا يُدانِيهم فيها أحدٌ من الأمم  
ولاهل الروم يدٌ عاليةٌ فيها إلا أنهم لا يبلغون فيها مبلغ أهل الصين  
وأهل الصين يقولون أن الناس كلهم عُميان في الصناعة إلا أهل الروم  
فإنهم يبصرون بعين واحدةٍ يعنى أنهم عرفوا نصف العمل
- 5) 5) وأهل الصين لا يخالطون الأتراك ويخالفونهم في أكثر الأشياء لأنهم  
يلبسون الحجاب والعمائم ولا يلبسون الأقبية والقلائس وأما  
أهل قتاي ويُغز فيخالطون الأتراك ويواصلونهم وبينهم وبين ملوك  
ما وراء النهر مكاتبات ومواصلات وأهل الصين بخلاف ذلك ولا  
يمكنون الغرباء من الدخول إليهم والمقام بين أظهرهم  
6) 10) وذلك سنةٌ ستها لهم ماني المتنبى حين غرس في قلوبهم مذهبه  
وهو مذهب الثنوية خاف أن ياتهم من الغرباء [أحد] فيبئس لهم  
فساد ذلك المذهب ويضللهم عنه
- 7) وقد رأيت رجلاً ذا خنكة قد دخل الصين وعامل أهله في المتاجر  
فحكى أن بلدهم الذي هو دار الملك يسمى بنجور وهو بلدٌ كبيرٌ  
استدارته مسيرة ثلاثة أيام وبقره بلدٌ آخر أعظم منه ويقال له كوفوا  
15) إلا أن الملك ينزل بنجور قال وهذا البلد يخرقه نهرٌ كبيرٌ يقطع  
البلد بنصفين [136] فيسكن الملك وحواشيه وجنوده وأتباعه  
في أحد الشقين وفي الشق الآخر مساكن الرعايا والأسواق وملوكهم  
يسمى تمجاج خان وهو الذي يقال له فخرور
- 8) 14) وحكى عن أهل الصين من الحذف في صناعة أشياء عجبية منها  
أنه قال أن للملك في كل مدةٍ ذكرها يوماً يأذن للنخاض والعام فيد  
ويجلس للمظالم وبين يدي مجلسه ميلانٌ كبيرٌ فسيخ فيوضع على  
باب الميدان قطعة خشب كبيرةٍ ويوضع عليها قدومٌ فأول من يدخل  
يأخذ القدوم ويضرب به ضربةً واحدةً على الحشبة ثم الذي يليه  
\* للأهل تا كوفوا 2

يُضرب ضربةً وكذلك يفعل كلٌّ من يدخل فإذا كان آخر المجلس حصل  
من الخشبة تمثالاً كاملاً إما فرسٍ وإما أسدٍ وإما إنسانٍ وغيره ولم  
يضرب أحدٌ ممن دخل الأضربةً واحدةً وغاية جذقهم أن الذي دخل  
أولاً وضرب ضربةً واحدةً فالتالي له يعرف أنه لأى تمثالٍ قصد حين بدأه  
5 9 و صنعة التماثيل عندهم تعبدٌ وتقربٌ لأن ما نى أمرهم بذلك و  
غزهم بقول الفلاسفة فانهم قالوا في حدِّ الفلسفة إنه التقبل بالله  
بحسب الطاقة الانسانية

10 و ذكر أيضاً أن من اهل الأسواق قومٌ يطوف في البلد يُبعون الامتعة  
والفواكه وغير ذلك وقد اتخذ كل واحد لنفسه تجلّة يجلس فيها ويضع  
فيها أمشّة وأمتعة وما يحتاج اليه في البيع والشراء والجلّة تجرى من  
ذاتها من غير دابةٍ وهو جالسٌ عليها يجلسها إذا شاء ويرسلها إذا شاء  
11 قال ورأيت اهل الأسواق راغبين في القمار ما من حانوتٍ إلا وفيه  
كصابٌ ونردٌّ وربما تعاسر المتبايعان في شيءٍ فيقول أحدهما هلم فنقامر  
عليه فينتقلون من المعاملة الى الخاطرة

12 وأما صنعة الثياب الملبوسة والمفروشة فلهم فيها نيفةٌ ومهارةٌ  
ولا يبلغها أحدٌ من الأمم

13 وقد حكيتنا أن برافريد الجوسى حل مع نفسه من الصين قميصاً  
اخضر كان يسع [14a] مطوياً قبضةً لا يتبين منه شيءٌ

14 وقد كتب في الاخبار ان رسولاً من بعض ملوك الاسلام توجه الى  
ملك الصين فحكى انه لما حصل بحضرة ملك الصين تلقاه قومه بالكرام  
20 و أحسنوا مثواه قال ورأيت لبلّكهم خدماً محبوبين كأنهم البدور وهم  
الذين يختصرون بمخدمة الملك ويتكلمون عنه على سبيل السفارة  
قال وكان واحدٌ منهم يأتينى برسالة الملك ويسمع منى الجواب ويؤديه  
وكان عارفاً بالكثير اللغات فبينما هو يكلمنى ذات يوم عن الملك إذ وقع  
بصرى على خالٍ أسود على صدره يلوح من تحت القميص كأنه بارزٌ



فتدخلتني خيرة لحسن بياض بشرته وسواد شامته ودقة قميصه فقال  
مالك قد تغير حالك فقلت كثر تعجبي من دقة قميصك وحسنه فقال أو  
قدت ان علي قميصا واحدا ثم قام ونزع قميصا ثم قميصا آخر حتى  
نزع خمسة من القمصان فكان الخال يلوح من تحت خمسة الأثواب  
وهذا نوع واحد من الثياب

15) وعندهم انواع آخر منه كثيرة تجلب من عندهم مع طرف عجيب غريبة  
وتجلب اليهم العاج والكندر والكهرباء الفصوصى الصقلبي الذي يقطر صمغا  
من الاشجار في بحر الصقالبة لأن بالصين كهرباء يضرب الى السواد فلا  
يرغبون فيه ويرغبون في الفصوصى ليأخذوا به ويزعمون انه ينفع  
من الإصابة بالصين ويرغبون ايضا في الخنثى الذي هو قرن الكركند  
وهو أعز محمول الى الصين لأنهم يتخذون منه المناطق وتبلغ قيمة  
المنطقة منه مبلغا عظيما عندهم

16) والجلابون الذين يجلبون الامتعة الى الصين لا يمكنون من دخول  
البلد ويكون أكثر متاجرهم مغايبة وذلك ان بالقرب من البلد واديا عظيما  
كأعظم ما يكون من الأودية وفي وسطه جزيرة كبيرة فيها حصن كبير  
يسكنه طائفة من المسلمين الطالبيين العلويين وهم سفراء بين اهل  
الصين وبين من يفد عليهم من القوافل والتجار ويخرجون اليهم ويطلبون  
البضائع [146] والامتعة ويحلونها الى صاحب الصين ويأتون بالعروض  
إذا تقرر وربما دخل الواحد بعد الواحد من التجار مع بضاعته فيبقى فيه  
أياما وأما سبب سكون العلوية في الجزيرة المذكورة فانهم فرقة من  
الطالبيين وقصوا الى خراسان في أيام بنى أمية واستوطنوها فلما رأوا  
جد بنى أمية في طلبهم وبادرتهم خلصوا نجيا وتوجهوا نحو المشرق ولم  
تثبت لهم قدم في شئ من ديار الإسلام خوفا من الطلب فأنجازوا الى  
الصين فلما بلغوا شط الوادي منغرم الرصد عن العبور كعادتهم ولم  
يكن لهم سبيل الى الرجوع فقالوا وراءنا السيف وقدأنا البحر وكان

الحصن الذي في الجزيرة خلا من اهله لأن الحيات قد كثرت فيه و  
استولت عليه فقال العلوية مكابدة هذه الحيات أسهل من مكابدة السيوف  
والغرف فدخلوا الحصن وجعلوا يقتلون الحيات ويرمونها في الماء حتى  
ظفروا الحصن عنها في مدة قريبة واستوطنوا ولما علم صاحب الصين  
ان ليس وراءهم غائلة وأنهم مضطرون الى التمسك بجانبه أقرهم في  
5 ذلك الموضع وأنعشهم ببعضه سوغها لهم فسكنوا آمنين مطمئنين  
وتوالدوا وتناسلوا وتعلموا لسان الصين ولسان غيرهم ممن يفد  
عليهم وصاروا سفراء لهم

17) ولسان الصين مخالف لسان الألسنة وكذلك لسان التبت واهل  
الصين كلهم على دين واحد وهو دين ماني بخلاف قتاي ويغر فان  
10 فيهم سائر الأديان الا اليهودية

18) وقد كان في قديم الدهر جميع كور ما وراء النهر من مملكة الصين و  
كورة سمرقند كالقصبه لها فلما ظهر الاسلام وفتح الله تعالى للمسلمين  
كورها انحاز اهل الصين الى مراكزهم وبقي في سمرقند من آثار اهل الصين  
15 صنعة الكاغذ الجيد الحسن ولما انحازوا الى البلاد الشرقية تفرقت بهم  
البلاد وتقسمت الممالك فصار للصين ملك ولقتاي ملك وليغر ملك  
وبين هذه الممالك مسافات متناحرة

19) والقاصد نحوهم للتجارة او غيرها يسلك من كاشغر الى ياركند في  
اربعة [15a] ايام ومنها الى ختن في أحد عشر يوماً ومنها الى كروبا في خمسة  
20 ايام ومنها الى ساجو في خمسين يوماً ومن هناك تفرق الطريق الى الصين  
والى قتاي والى يغر فمن قصد ينجور الذي هو مستقر تمخاج خان  
ملك الصين انصرف عن استقبال الشرق نحو الجنوب يمنة وبلغ  
قامجوت ثم الى لكسين في اربعين يوماً يتياسر فيها عنه بلاد  
نجو التي يصرف منها شولمن وجينا نجلت ومن هناك يدخل مملكة

تمخاج خان وينتهي الى ينجور في قريب من أربعين يوماً ووراء الصين  
 أمة تُعرف بشرغول وتسمىهم أهل الصين سنقو وهم من قتاي على  
 مسيرة شهر في نهاية النهران بين الماء والأوحال ويقال أنهم الذين  
 يُسمون ماجين والهند يسمونه الصين العظمى ومن قصد قوجو  
 وهو بلد يُعمر خان فانه يتياسرعن ساجو ومن قصد أوجم قصبه 5  
 قتاي مر على سمت الشرق فوصل الى موضع يقال له خاتون شين في  
 قريب من شهرين ثم الى أوتكين في شهر ثم الى أوجم في شهر وكور  
 أوجم يقارب فرسخين ويحيط بهذه المملكة قضاة متحففة مشروزة  
 الطرفين في الأرض وهناك حفظة مرتبون في كل فرسخين يديمون  
 الجولان ويقطفون الآثار ويقتلون من ظفروا به إذا خرج بغير أمر  
 ومنها الى البحر سبعة ايام

(20) والسالك نحو قتاي يبلغ على مسيرة نصف شهر من سانجو (؟)  
 الى قوم من الشارية يُعرفون باسم كبير لهم وهو باسمل تزاروا اليها  
 من الإسلام خوف الإختان

(21) وملك قتاي هو يُعمر وإن تباعدت ديارهم عن ديار الإسلام وانقطعت  
 السبل اليها لا يأمنون جانب ملوك الإسلام وجنود المسلمين لما سمعوا  
 وشاهدوا من ظهرو هذا الدين واستعدائهم واقتدار اهلهم على قمع  
 أعدائهم فهم يجتأون لأنفسهم وبلادهم بسد الطريق وترتيب الحفظة  
 ولما تهيأ للسلطان محمود رحمة الله ما تهيأ من الاقتدار والاستبلاء  
 على بلاد الهند وبلاد الترك استشعر منه صاحب قتاي وصاحب  
 يُعمر فكتب اليه [156] صاحب قتاي كتاباً هذه ترجمته :-

عن سلامه (؟) الى امير خراسان محمود قراخان ان رب السماء خولنا  
 ممالك وجه الأرض العريضة وملكنا نواصي الطوائف الكثيرة فتحن  
 في مقرنا سالمون وبارادتنا مقتدون وليس في جهات العالم أحد  
 ممن أبصر وسمع الا وقد رغب في مخالفتنا والإتصال بنا وأولاد

الأخت أمراء النواحي السفلى يُنَوِّثُ رُسُلَهُمْ وَتَنْصِلُ الْكُتُبَ وَالْمَهَادَاةَ  
 مِنْهُمْ بِبِنَاةٍ فَإِنَّهُ إِلَى الْآنَ لَمْ يُرْسِلْ وَلَمْ يُوَفِّدْ وَغَيْرَ نَسَمِخَ تَخْرُجُهُ فِي  
 النَجْدَةِ وَالْبَسَالَةِ وَتَقَدُّمُهُ فِي الْاِقْتِدَارِ وَالْجَلَالَةِ وَتَرَأْسُهُ عَلَى الْأُمَرَاءِ  
 بِالْمَهَابَةِ وَحَيَازَتُهُ السَّمَاكُ بِالْبَطْنِ وَالْأَيْدِ وَاسْتِقْرَارُهُ بِإِرَادَتِهِ فِي الْوَطَنِ  
 وَكَانَ مِنَ الْوَاجِبِ عِنْدَ امْتِلَاكِهِ الزَّعَامَةَ أَنْ يَكْتُبَ بِحَبْرِهِ إِلَى الْخَانَ  
 الْأَعْظَمِ الَّذِي لَيْسَ تَحْتَ السَّمَاءِ أَجَلٌ مِنْهُ وَيُطَالَعُ بِجَالِهِ وَقَدْ ابْتَدَأْنَا  
 نَحْنُ بِذَلِكَ وَاقْتَصَرْنَا عَلَى إِنْهَائِهِ هَذَا الرَّسُولَ الْخَفِيفَ دُونَ مَنْ يُفَوِّقُهُ  
 فِي الْحَالِ وَالتَّجَمُّلِ لَطُولِ الْمَسَافَةِ وَامْتِدَادِ الْمُدَّةِ فِي قَطْعِهَا وَإِذْ  
 وَفَعَلْتُ الْوَصْلَةَ مَعَ قَدْرْخَانَ بِحُجَّةٍ مِنْ صَمِيمِ الْبَيْتِ زُوِّجْتُ مِنْ  
 ابْنِهِ جَغْرْتِيكِينَ<sup>٢٣</sup> وَاتَّخَذَ الْبَيْتَانُ بِهَا أَمْرًا قَدْرْخَانَ أَنْ يُطَرَّفَ<sup>٢٤</sup>  
 لِرَسُولِنَا إِلَيْهِ وَلِرَسُولِهِ الْبَيْتَانِ مِنْ ذَوِي الْحَصَافَةِ وَالْحَقْلِ وَالرَّجَاعَةِ لِنُنْقِلِي  
 إِلَيْهِ مَا عِنْدَنَا وَنَخَاطِبِيهِ بِمَا لَدَيْنَا وَنُقِيمُ رِسْمَ الْمَهَادَاةِ فِي صَحْبَتِهِ  
 وَكَانَ الْغُرُوضُ فِي إِنْهَائِهِ هَذَا الرَّسُولَ قَلْبِنَا<sup>(١)</sup> انْفِتَاحَ طَرِيقِ الْوَصْلَةِ  
 وَاتِّصَالَ غُرَى الْوُدَّةِ وَمَا حَمَلَ مِنَ التَّذَكُّرَةِ إِلَّا ثَوْبِي خُوَيْدٍ وَثَوْبِ  
 زُونِكِي وَثَوْبِ كَنْزِي وَثَوْبِي شَكْرْدِي ذَوِي قَطْعِيْنِ وَخَمْسَةَ عَشَرَ  
 ثَوْبًا ذَاتَ قَطْعِيْنِ مِنَ الْحَبْرِ وَقُرُوقُ سَمُورٍ يَاقُوْلُهُ وَمَائَتِي سَمُورٍ  
 وَالْفِي سِنَجَابٍ وَثَلَاثِيْنَ نَافِجَةً مَسْكَ وَقَوْسًا مَعَ عَشْرِ نَشَابَاتٍ  
 وَكُتِبَ الْكُتَابُ فِي سَنَةِ الْفَارِ

(23) وَكُتِبَ إِلَيْهِ يُخَرِّخَانَ كِتَابًا هَذِهِ تَرْجُمَتُهُ —: [16a]

عَنْ سَلَامَتِنَا إِلَيْكَ الْجَلِيلِ يُخَرِّخَانَ إِلَى السَّلْطَانِ مُحَمَّدٍ نَسَأَلُهُ عَلَى بُعْدِ  
 الشَّقَّةِ كَيْفَ هُوَ فِي نَفْسِهِ فَخُنِّي نُسْرًا بِمَا نَسَمِخُ مِنْ سَلَامَتِهِ وَنُنَجِّحُ  
 بِمَا يَتَنَاهَى الْبَيْتَانُ مِنْ اسْتِيْلَانِهِ عَلَى النُّوَاخِي السُّفْلَى إِلَى بِلَادِ الْهِنْدِ  
 وَإِنَّهُ يُوَاصِلُ مَلُوكَ الْعَالَمِ وَيُوَادُّ أَصْحَابَ الْأَطْرَافِ فَتَمِيلُ دَوْلَتُنَا إِلَى  
 مَخَالَتِهِ مِنْ مَشَاهِيرِ الْبَارَزِيْنِ وَمَذْكَورِي كِبَارِ الدُّنْيَا بِالرُّمِّيِّ وَالشَّجَاعَةِ

يافو. Ms. d يطوف. Ms. c يتكئين. Ms. b جيارته. Ms. a

في الخافقين ونجبت أن تتأكد المودة والكرامة في البين ولهذا كان  
إرسال هذا الرسول ولئن شسعت الديار لقد تدانت القلوب وتريد أن  
ترجى باقي العصر على الكتابة والتحاب ليبقى به حسن الذكر على الأبد  
فإن رغب فيما رغبنا فيه كتب كتاباً ووجه رسولا لثمة قواعد الألفة  
به وتأكد الأحوال بمكانه وقد توجه من قتاي غلام اسمه قلثنكا  
فأزغبنا في صحبتة أحد أصحابنا حتى إذا اتفق توجيه أحدنا كانوا  
معاً فإن من رسول قتاي في منصرفه على هذه النواحي ولم يسطب  
شيئاً من الهدايا إذ لم يكن من الطريق على ثقة وكننا بأسطنا بسلام  
ونشابة للحلافة وسيؤدنى قاشي رسالتنا مشافهة  
وكتب في الشهر الخامس

(24) فلما عرض الكتابان عليه ورأى ما فيهما من الرعونة لم يستجز من  
نفسه اسعافهما بما يلبسان من المصادقة والمكاتبة بحسب قوة  
إعتقاده في الإسلام وصرف الرسل وقال لهما إن السلم والموادعة إنما  
يكونان للحسب الحرب والمقارعة وليس يحسنا ديناً نتواصل به ونبعد  
المسافة يؤتمن كل واحد منا معرة صاحبه ولا حاجة بي إلى مواصلتكم  
قبل الإسلام وأسلم

(25) وكان ذلك في سنة ثمانى عشرة وأربعمائة فاما قولهم في تأريخ  
الكتاب سنة الفار فإن للصين والترك وثبتت! والختم دوراً يدور  
على اثنتى عشر سنة ويعود عند منتهاه إلى أوله وتلك السنون  
مسماة بحيوانات معينة تختلف أسماؤها في لغاتهم وأولها يقال  
لها [16a] سنة الفار والثانية سنة الثور والثالثة النمر والرابعة  
الأرنب والخامسة لبنات الماء<sup>3</sup> والسادسة الحية<sup>4</sup> والسابعة الفرس  
والثامنة الشاة والتاسعة القرد والعاشر الدجاجة والحادية عشرة<sup>5</sup>  
الكلب والثانية عشرة الخنزير ثم يعود إلى الفار

يكون Ms. d عشر Ms. c الحية Ms. b \* ثعبان الماء a

26) فاما الطريق الى الصين من جانب البحر فأول مرفأء من البحرة اليه  
 بلد يقال له لوقير ثم مدينة خانقو وهي أعظم من لوقير وهو مرفأء  
 أعظم وربما زهر الماء عذب كبير يخترق البلد وعليه جسر وعلى احد  
 جانبه أسواق التجار الغراء وعلى جانبه الآخر أسواق اهل المدينة  
 وأكثر من يقصدهم من التجار الفرس والعرب والفرس يركبون المراكب  
 اليهم من سيراف والعرب من البصرة وفي هذه المدينة صاحب عسكر  
 الملك يجمع امتعة التجار يأخذ منهم العسكر ولاهل هذه المدينة وفاء  
 وامانة وصدق لرجة وهناك تتخذ المضائر الصينية والكواغذ الحسنة  
 التي يكون احد وجهيها ابيض والوجه الآخر اصفر والحرير الصيني الجيد  
 ولباس اهلها الخفاتين ومن رسمهم ان كل واحد من اهل السوقين يخاط  
 10 الآخر زهرا ويتبايعون ويتعاملون فاذا غربت الشمس قرع الطبل  
 في الجانبين فينصرف كل فريق الى مواضعهم فمن وجد بعد ذلك من  
 الفريقين في سوق غيره أدب وغرّم ومن بقى من الصينيين في سوق  
 الضراء وجن عليه الليل بات ليلته عندهم ولا يظلف للغريب أن يخرج  
 رقيقا منها من غلام او جارية على وجه الرق الا أن يكون التاجر قد  
 15 استولد جارية فيخرجها ولا تمنع منه ويحل اليهم من الامتعة اتياب  
 الفيل والقلفل والحلتيت والزجاج واللازورد والزعفران والمولاذ و  
 خشب الطرفاء والبوز وجميع الفواكه البابسة كالتمر والزبيب

27) وملكهم يكرم التجار ولا ظلم على احد ممن يرد ناحيته وهم يبيع  
 الوجوه كلهم ليس فيهم [17a] أسود ولا أسمر وهم أشد بياضا من الروم  
 وانشع ألوانا وازرق بشرة وملك خانقو تحت يد ملك الصين واليه  
 أمر الجيش والقتال ورسمهم أن يأخذوا من التجار الذين يردون هذه  
 المدينة من جميع ما معهم من كل عشرة ثلاثة و يكون النصف منه

جانب Ms. d جانقو Ms. e \* لوفين ك بحر Ms. a

جانقو Ms. e

لصاحب الجيش والنصف يُنفذ الى ملك الصين وإذا وصل المركب الى  
 باب هذه المدينة خرج اليه الأبناء والكتاب من اهل البلد فيكتبون عدد  
 ما في المركب من الرجال والنساء والصبيان والعبيد ثم يكتب اسم صاحب  
 المركب واسم أبيه ويكتب أسماء الذين معه من التجار ويكتب أسماؤهم  
 بأن يسأل الرجل كم أتى عليه من السنين ومن أي بلد هو ومن أي  
 قبيلة ثم يكتبون ويثبتون جميع ما في المركب من الامتعة على  
 أصفحة وأغز شئ يحل اليهم قرن الكركند المسمى ختو وهم يسمونه  
 بشأن فاذا أثبتوا جميع ما في المركب أخذوا لهم بالنزول فاذا سكنوا في  
 الرجال يأتيهم الخصى الامين ويحملهم الى صاحب المدينة وكل من كان  
 ثيابه أنظف وأحسن كان أكرم عندهم ثم يسألهم الملك عن احوالهم في  
 أنفسهم ومسيرهم في طريقهم ثم يبحثون الى منزل الخصى الامين و  
 منزله خارج المدينة فاذا دخلوا عليه يوضع لهم كرسي فيجلسون عليها  
 ويسألهم عن احوالهم ويكرمهم ويقدم لهم الفواكه مما يكون عندهم ويستقيم  
 الشراب ثم يأمرهم بالانصراف الى رجالهم ويأمر الوكيل من قبله بحسن  
 تعهدهم وتفقدتهم واسم الوكيل عندهم فاسام ثم يخرج ما في المركب  
 من الامتعة وتوضع في بيوت ويختتم عليها للامان ويمنع البيع  
 والشراء سنة اشهر الى آخر وقت الربح فاذا علموا أن المركب قد  
 انقطعت وجاء وقت لا يقدم فيه احد سلموا المتاع الى التجار بعدما  
 أخذوا منه المكس وهو من كل عشرة ثلاثة فيبيعونه كما يريدون  
 وانما يمنع من البيع والشراء في الشهر الستة ليحصل جميع ما يحمل  
 [176] اليهم ويتقرر ثمنه فلا يقع بحسن وضرر بالبايع او بالمشتري  
 لأنه ربما كثر الامتعة في سنة فيكسده وربما قل فيعجز ويلاعته  
 بالفلوس بها يشترون جميع الامتعة

(98) وجميع اهل الصين عليهم جزية الآ النساء والصبيان وإذا ولد  
 المولود فيهم يكتب وقت مولده من ليل او نهار ويوضع المكتوب عند

والده او قريبه كئلا يشتهب عليهم سنه و إذا بلغ مبلغ الرجال ضربت  
 عليه الجزية وليس يكاد يذهب على الملك عدو من في مملكته من الرجال و من  
 مات منهم فإنه لا يدفن إلا في السنة والشهر واليوم والساعة التي ولد  
 بها فإن مات في اهله ومنزله صين في نقير من خشب كرهينة التابوت  
 و يطرح عليه أدوية تحفظ جثته عن النتن والتحلل إن كان موسراً  
 وإن كان مقللاً طرح عليه الصدف المحرق بعد ان يسحق حتى  
 يصير كالذرور فينشف رطوباته ولا ينتن وهذا النقير الذي يوضع  
 فيه الميت يمكث في ارضهم الف سنة وأكثر لا يكاد يعفن و إذا مات  
 الرجل منهم فإن زوجته تُجَدِّ عليه ثلاث سنين وكذلك على ابنها وأخيها  
 وإن ماتت المرأة تُجَدِّ الزوج عليها كذلك ثلاث سنين ويبيكى الرجل و  
 المرأة على موتاهم في أول الزهار ووسط الزهار وآخره ما دام الميت عند  
 هم وإن لم يبيك واحدة منهم ومن الأقربا أدب و ضرب و يقولون إنك  
 قتلته اذ لم يحزنك موته و إذا جاء وقت دفنه وأرادوا حمله الى قبره  
 إن كان موسراً وضَعوا على الطريق من منزله الى موضع القبر الطعمه  
 وفواكه وشراباً ويطفونها بالدبابيح والحبر فاذا وضع في القبر نُهبت تلك  
 الأطعمه وربما جمل معه إن كان ذا جدّة فأخذوا به وثيابه فيمزق  
 على قبره و من مات من المسلمين عندهم ولا يكون معه وارث  
 أخذ ماله و وضع في بيت مال الملك مكتوباً عليه اسم صاحبه واسم  
 أبيه و جدّه و تاريخ موته و ينتظر به ثلاث سنين [18a] وثلاثة أشهر  
 وثلاثة أيام فإن جاء وليه الى هذه الغاية يسلم المال اليه واهل  
 الصين يعرف بعضهم اثمار بعض لا يشتهب ذلك عليهم لأن كلهم  
 يكتبون ذلك و إذا مات أحد عن صبي لا كافل له سلم الى أمراء الملك  
 في تعليمه وتربيته و ينفقون عليه من بيت المال حتى إذا أدرك نُضرب  
 عليه الجزية و إذا بلغ الشيخ ثمانين سنة او سبعين أجرى عليه من  
 بيت المال و إذا أذنب ذنباً يستوجب القتل او العقوبة عُفي



عنه وإن كان بين رجل وامرأة خصومةً كانوا إلى المرأة أميل ونسأؤهم  
 يغلبن على الرجل في الصناعات والتجارات ونسأؤهم مكشفات الشعور و  
 الحصى منهم إذا زنى قتل رجلاً كان أو امرأةً ولا يُدلى عنه الحد. وفي  
 أسواقهم نساء يُعرفن بالزنا والسلطان عليهن ضربٌ وهن من سفلةهم وسفاههم  
 وذلك في مدينة سانجو (؟) وهي مدينة كبيرة؟

(29) فاما المدينة العظمى التي يسكنها ملك الصين فتسمى خمدان ويقال أن  
 [من] مدينة جينانجكت الى خمدان مسيرة اربعة اشهر سير الكلا

(30) وبلاد الصين واسعة والغالب على عاقرها استدارة الوجوه وفطوسة  
 الأنوف ولباسهم الحرير والديباج وعاصمهم يوسعون أكامهم ويطولون  
 ذيلهم حتى تنجر في الأرض (وذورهم واسعة مزوقة الجالس بالتمثيل) <sup>ك</sup>  
 وجنودهم كثيرة وملكهم لا يكاد يبزز ولا يصل اليه أحد إلا وزيره أو حاجبه  
 ورؤس عسكره يؤونه في كل سبعة ايام مرةً وإذا ورد عليه رسول من  
 بعض الملوك أدخل عليه في وقت يأذن له ويقف وزيره عن يمينه ويقف  
 الرسول بالبحد منه على حسب مرتبة مرسله ثم يسجد ولا يرفع رأسه  
 حتى يؤمر بذلك ثم يسأل الحاجب عنه فيخبره عن حاله وعمّا وجّه له <sup>15</sup>  
 ثم يأمر الملك له بتخت أثواب وجام من فضة مذقبة ويصرف الى دار  
 الرسل ويحضر كل يوم دار الملك [186] ويتعدى الى أن يجاب ويصرف  
 (31) وأكثر زروعهم أفضاءً فاذا قلت الأمطار غلت أسعارهم وإذا آبتلوا  
 بغلاء السعر وجمه الملك الى بيوت الاصنام ويأخذ الشمسية ويقيدهم  
 ويغلّهم ويهددهم بالقتل ان لم يأتوا بالامطار فلا يزالوا منكوبين الى  
 ان يأتي المطر

(32) وفي قصر الملك كوسات وطبول كثيرةً فاذا قرب غروب الشمس  
 قرعت الكوسات فاذا سمعوا ذلك بادركل واحد وتسارع الى منزله  
 فلا يبقى بعد غروب الشمس أحد من خارج المدينة وتفرق أصحاب

السلطان في الحال والسلك فان وجدوا أحدًا خارج المنزل ضربوا  
عُنُقَهُ وطرحوا رأسه في موضع قد أُعِدَّ لذلك مكتوبٌ عليه هذا جراءة  
من خلف أمر السلطان ومن حكمهم أن من سُرِفَ زيادةً على مائه  
فليس وهو عشرة دراهم يُقتل ولا يُترك البتة

5 (33) وحوالي خندان الذي هو مدينة الملك الملقب بفضفور مائة وعشرون  
فريفة في كل قرية زهاء الف رجل مرتبةً وللمدينة أربعة أبواب وإذا ركب  
الملك ركب معه ثلثون الف فارس ويقال إن لملك الصين ثلثمائة وستون  
مدينة يُحِلُّ إليه كل يوم خراج مدينة وكسوةٍ خاصةً بدينه وجاريةً يرضأها  
ومن سنتهم أن لا يُترك أحدٌ يتربض بالحنطة والحنط والمخ والحديد  
بل يكون مطروحًا في أسواقهم حتى يشتري منها بقدر الحاجة وحوالي  
10 خندان بحوزة وفيها جزائر ومدن يؤدون الخراج

15 (34) وساحل الصين مسيرة شهرين والبحريون يُقدِّرون سير المركب  
في كل يوم إذا طاب الريح خمسين فرسخًا فكلُّ هذا التقدير يكون ساحلها  
ثلاثة آلاف فرسخ على شط البحر والجزرها عامرة مسكونة ويقال إن  
بها ثلثمائة مدينة عامرة

15 (35) وعن يسار بلاد الصين عند مطلع الشمس الصيفي خلقت كثيرًا  
فيما بين الصين والخزير وهم اجناس لها أسامي مثل ابرمر (؟) حورير (؟)  
تولمان فراحكي (؟) مائي (؟) حسائي (؟) بوبوعي (؟) سكوي (؟) فوري (؟)  
وهم يتخذون [19a] خلي نساثرهم من الودع الأبيض ويجعلونها بدل اللآلي

20 (36) وذكر صاحب كتاب المسالك أن وراء الصين أمة شقر الألوان  
حمر الشعور ويشتد حر الشمس عندهم وأنهم يسكنون أسرابًا  
قد اتخذوها لأنفسهم فاذا طلعت الشمس عليهم دخلوا تلك الأسراب  
إلى أن يقرب الشمس من الغروب ثم يخرجون وهذا قول فيه نظر  
لأن شقره اللون وحمرة الشعور تكون من إفراط البرد وقلة

الحرارة كما في الصقالبة والروس

(37) ومن سنة اهل الصين ان الرجل اذا اذنب ذنباً يستوجب العقوبة والتأديب فلا يعاقب الا بعد ان يعترف بذنبه ويبدل خطه بذلك ثم يعرض خطه على امانة الملك ويأمر الملك بتأديبه على جنايته وكذلك ان اذنب ذنباً استوجب به القتل فانه لا يقتل حتى يبدل خطه بانه استوجب القتل ثم يقرأ عليه خطه بحضور الجمهور حتى يقرب به ثم يتوقف ساعات حتى ينظر هل ينكرون من عقله شيئاً فاذا اتفقوا على صحة عقله حينئذ قتلوه

(38) ومن سنتهم ان من خرج منها الى سفر يكتبون اسمه وما معه من الاموال والرقيق ثم اذا بلغ كل مسافة يقرأ المكتوب وصاحب المسافة يكتب الى الخصى الذي هو امين الملك مرننا فلان بن فلان يوم كذا من شهر كذا مع ماله ورقيقه سالماً وانما يفعلون ذلك صيانة لاموال الناس ومن خرج منهم بخير اذن الملك ثم ظهر عليه اخذ وحبس وغرم وفي بعض بلادهم اذا اشترى الشرب جارية واولدها و اراد ان يخرجها معه يمنع من ذلك ويقولون لم نزرعت في ارضنا ومن اذن لك فالان حذ زرعك يعنى الولد و ذرع الارض

(39) وهم يتباهون بنظافة الثياب وتبل الدور وكثرة الاواني ودورهم واسعة مزوقة الجالس بالتمائل والنقوش وسلكهم مضطأة بكناثس من خشب الشربين وكذلك اكثر اسواقهم وتكسر في كل يوم دفعات وترش ويجعلون [196] عتبات دورهم مرتفعة لتمنع القمامة من دورهم

(40) واذا اراد الملك دخول بيت النساء والخلوة بهن صعد المنجم الى سطح ذلك البيت الذي هو فيه ويرصد الكواكب ويختار له وقتاً لباشرته بعض نسائه

(41) وفي اقصاى ارض الصين بلاداً يقال لها سيلا كل من دخلها من

الغزاة من المسلمين أو غيرهم استوطنها ولم يخرج منها البتة لطبيها  
 وكثرة خيرها وربما ذهب كثير  
 وارضى الصين ما بين بحر المحيط وارضى التغرغز والتبت والخليج الفارسي  
 (49) واما التبت فهي بلاد موزعة بين ارض الصين والهند والارض  
 الخرجية والتغرغز وبحر فارس (1) وبعضها في مملكة الصين وبعضها  
 في مملكة الهند ولهم شبة بالصين والترك والهند ولها ملك مستقل  
 بذاته ولغتهم تخالف سائر اللغات ومن خاصية بلادهم ان من دخل  
 و سكنها يكون مسرورا ضاحكا ابدا من غير ان يعرف سبب له ولا  
 يرى فيها محزون ابدا ومن التبتية جنس يقال لهم اراه يسكنون  
 بلادا ومواضع يقال لها بالتبتية اخايل فيها اجام ومروج ومرع لهم  
 وهم من اهل الحلك اذا مات تبت خاقان ولم يبق له نسل ولا  
 من اهل الخاقانية احد اختاروا منهم رجلا وجعلوا له الخاقانية و  
 اما الموضع الذي يقال له باب التبتين فهو باب منصوب بين جبل  
 شيوه ووادي خراب على حائط ضعيف بني من الشوك والتراب  
 وربما مسلحة اهل التبت يأخذون الباج من كل من سلك ذلك الطريق  
 ويأخذون من كل اربعين واحدا ومن التبتية جنس يقال لهم انك  
 ريك وهم فقراء ضعفاء ولهم معادن الذهب والفضة بعضها في  
 الجبال وبعضها في التراب فالذي منها في الجبال يؤخذ منه القطع  
 الكبار من الذهب مثل رؤس الحملان والجداء الا انهم لا يحملون  
 منها شيئا وينزعون ان من اخذ منها شيئا وقع في بيته الموت  
 فلا يزال كذلك حتى يرده [20a] الى موضعه من الجبل فينثد  
 يرتفع الموت عنهم والذي ينتفعون به من ذلك المعدن هو ما  
 يلتقطون من التراب ومنه يؤدون الخراج وخارجهم على رؤسهم  
 وفوق رانك رانك جنس آخر من التبتية شبة الأتراك اصحاب

\* رانك ريك c \* باب التبتين ؟ a \* اخا a

مواشر وخيام ومن موضعهم الى حدود تبت خاقان مسيرة عشرين  
 يوماً وهناك موضع يقال له زاب (١) وفي هذا الرضع نهر عظيم أخذ  
 شطبه وهو الذي يلي المشرق حد الصين والجانب الغربي حد  
 التبت وتجار الصين يحملون أمتعتهم الى شط هذا النهر ويعبرون  
 الى الجانب الآخر في مركب قد اتخذوها من الخشب والجلود ويبيعون  
 ويعاملون اهل التبت وينصرفون في يومهم ذلك  
 (43) واما المسك المنسوب الى التبت فهو أجود أنواع المسك وأذكاهها  
 رائحة وهو شرة دابة تشبه ضمام الطباء وانها تهب في وقت  
 معلوم من السنة ويجمع في سررها دم أسود يفيض اليها من  
 سائر الجسد ويشتد الورم والوجع في رأسها وفي جميع بدنها فتأني  
 مواضع في تلك البراري قد اعتادت الصراغة فيها مائة عن الحلف  
 والماء حتى تسقط سررها المتورمة من كثرة الدم وربما سقط قرنها  
 ايضاً ومنها ما تموت هناك ومنها ما تبرا وترجع الى الصرع ويجمع  
 في تلك الصراغة سرر منها وتأتي عليها السنون وقد جد الدم ويبس  
 واستحال مسكاً ثم يخرج شباب التبت وقت الأمطار الى تلك المغاور  
 فرمها وقعوا على مراقة فيها الوف نوافج فيلتقطون ما صلح منها  
 وربما خاب سعيهم

## الباب التاسع

### في الترك

(١) الترك أمة عظيمة كثيرة الأجناس والأنواع كثيرة القبائل و  
 الأنفاذ ومنهم ساكنو البلاد والقرى ومنهم ساكنو البراري

ساكنو Ms. f. يموت Ms. e. رائه Ms. d. مجتمع Ms. c. صام Ms. ك. تبت Ms. a.

## الغاوز

- ② ومن قبائلهم العظيمة الغزبية وهم اثنا عشر قبيلةً يسمّى بعضهم  
 التخرغزبة وبعضهم اى عر(ا) وبعضهم اوح عر(ا) وملكهم يسمّى تغزخاقان  
 وله جنود كثيرة وكان لملكهم فى القديم [206] الف شاكري واربعمائة جارية  
 وكانت الشاكرية يأكلون الطعام عنده كل يوم ثلاث مرات ويستقون ثلثة  
 5 ثلثة بعد الطعام ولا يبرز ملكهم للعامة الا فى الحين مرة ولهم  
 رسوم حسنة فى السياسات وبعضهم ساكنو المدن وبعضهم ساكنو البوارى  
 والصحارى أصحاب الخيام والخركاهات وبرزابهم تحاذى بلاد ما وراء النهر  
 وبعضها يحاذى اراضى خوارزم فلما صاقبوا بلاد الاسلام أسلم بعضهم  
 10 فسموا التركمانية وصار بينهم وبين من لم يسلم منابذة ثم كثر  
 المسلمون منهم وحسن اسلامهم وغالبوا الكفرة وطردوهم ففتحوا  
 عن خوارزم الى محال البنكاية وانتشر التركمانية فى بلاد الاسلام  
 وأحسنوا فيها السيرة حتى ملكوا اكثرها وصاروا ملوكا وسلاطين  
 ③ ومنهم فرقة يقال لهم قون اقبلوا من ارض قنای وهم مستوحشون  
 15 من قتاخان وهم نصارى نسطورية فأرقوا مراكزهم لضيق الصرى  
 عليهم منهم الكسى بن قحغار خوارزمشاه فاتبعهم امة يقال لهم قاي  
 هم اكثر منهم عددا واشد قوة واجلوه عن تلك المراعى فأرتحلوا  
 الى ارض الشارية وانجلى الشارية الى ارض التركمانية وانتقل التركمانية  
 الى مشارف الغزبية وانتقل الغزبية الى ارض البنكاية بالقرب من ساحل  
 20 بحر ارمينية
- ④ ومنهم خرخيز وهم امة كثيرة ومسكنهم بين المشرق الصيفى  
 وبين الشمال وكيماك فى شمالهم ويغما وخرخ فى مغربهم وكجا وارك  
 بين المغرب الشتوى وبين الجنوب ومن عادة الخرخيز ان يجرقوا  
 موتاهم ويزعمون ان النار تطهرهم وتنقيهم وكان ذلك دأبهم  
 \* بحر الزومبة c \* انجى بن قحغار تا التخرغز a Ms.

الغرب بلاد الصقالبة و هذه الأمم يغزون الجناكية و الجناكية تغزوهم  
 و للجنالكية ثروة و دواب و غنم و أناث و ذهب و فضة و أسلحة  
 و أعلام و طرادات و بين الجناكية و الخزر مسيرة عسرة أيام في مفاوز و مشاجر  
 و ليس بينهم طريق مسلوكة إنما يطعمونه بالكواكب و العلامات و  
 الاعتساف 5

11) واما الخزر فبلادهم عريضة و يتصل بأحد جناباتها جبل عظيم وهو  
 الجبل الذي ينزل في أقصاه فرقتان من الأتراك [222] يقال لإحداهما  
 طولاس و للأخرى لوعرة و يمتد هذا الجبل الى بلاد تغليس و مدينتهم  
 سارعس<sup>٢</sup> و لهم مدينة أخرى يقال لها حسلع و هم يسكنون في هاتين  
 المدينتين شتاء و يخرجون الى الصحاري عند اقبال الربيع فيصيفون فيها  
 جميع الصيف و ملكهم يركب في عشرة آلاف فارس إذا خرج في وجه  
 من رسمهم إذا خرجوا في وجه أن يحل كل فارس منهم عشرين و تدل  
 من الطرفاء طول كل وتد ذراعان فاذا نزلوا في منزل غرز كل واحد  
 منهم أوتاده في الأرض بحباله و تستند اليها الترسة و يصير حول المحسكر  
 سور في أقل من ساعة فلا يقدر احد على مباينتهم 15

12) و منهم برداس بلاد برداس من بلاد الخزر و بينهم و بين الخزر  
 مسيرة خمسة عشر يوماً و هم في طاعة ملك الخزر و يخرج منهم  
 عشرة آلاف فارس و ليس لهم رئيس يضبطهم و يجوز حكمه عليهم  
 و في كل محلة لهم شيخ يحاكمون اليه فيما يقع بينهم و لهم أرض واسعة  
 و هم في مشاجر و هم ينجحون على بلكاره و على الجناكية و لهم زواد و  
 منظر و أجسام و إذا أدركت البحارية منهم تركت طاعة أبيها و اختارت  
 لنفسها من أرادت من الرجال الى أن يجئ لها الى أبيها خاطب فيزوجها  
 إن أراد و لهم خنازير و بقرة و لهم غسل كثير و أكثر أموالهم الذهب  
 و هم صنفاً صنفاً محرقون السوتى و صنفاً يدفنون و هم في أرض سهلة

بلكان Ms. e الف Ms. d مباينتهم Ms. c \* سارعس Ms. \* أوغر Ms. 2

وأكثر أشجارهم الخُلج ولهم مزارع وسبعة أرضهم مسيرة سبعة  
عشر يوماً في مثله وليس لهم ثمارٌ وشرابهم من العسل  
(13) والمجربة قومٌ من الترك لهم أراضى كثيرة تبلغ مائة فرسخ في مائة  
فرسخ ورئيسهم يركب في مقدار عشرين ألف فارس ويُسمى رئيسهم  
5 كندهة وهذا الاسم شعار لملكهم وهم أهل قباب يسيرون مع الكلاء  
والخشب وحدٌ من بلادهم يتصل بحر الروم وهناك نهران ينصبان في  
ذلك البحر أحدهما أكبر من جحون ومسكن المجربة بين هذين النهرين  
واسم النهرين روبا وأتل وبلاد المجربة ذات مشاجر ولهم [226]  
مزارع وهم يغلبون على من يليهم من الصقالبة والروس ويسبون  
منهم ويحملون السبايا إلى الروم فيبيعون هناك وللمجربة زوا  
10 ومنتزه حسنٌ وجشتٌ فخامٌ ولهم ثروة وأموالٌ ظاهرة لكثرة تجارتهم  
(14) وأما الصقالبة فهم أمة كثيرة وبين بلادهم وبلاد البجانكة مسيرة  
عشرة أيام في مفازة وأرضين غير مسلوكة فيها أشجارٌ ملتقة وعيون  
ماء وهم نزولٌ في تلك الشاجر وليس لهم كرومٌ ولهم عسلٌ كثيرٌ  
5 وهم يرعون الخنازير وهم يحرقون الحقول لأنهم عبدة النيران وأكثر  
زرعهم الدخن وشرابهم من العسل ولهم ضروب من الزمير ولهم  
مزارعٌ طولها ذراعان وعودهم مسطحٌ عليه ثمانية أوتار وليس له البنجف  
الآن ملاويه مستوية وليس لهم سعة في المعيشة و سلاحهم  
المزاريق والرماح وترسنةٌ حسنةٌ ورئيسهم الأكبر يسمى شوب  
وله خليفة يقال له شرمح (?) وللملك دوابٌ ومن ألبانها يكون  
20 غمامه وتسمى المدينة التي ينزلها خترات (?) وبها لهم سوقٌ  
في كل شهرٍ ثلاثة أيام وعندهم يشتد البرد حتى أنهم يحفون أسراباً  
عميقة ويغطونها بالخشب ثم يسخنونها بخار الزبل والخطب و  
يقسمون فيها شتوتهم وفي الشتاء يُغير المجربة عليهم ولهم



رقيقاً كثيراً مما يغير بعضهم على بعض  
 15 (15) وأما الروسية فهم يسكنون جزيرة في البحر ومسيرة الجزيرة  
 ثلاثة أيام في مثلها وفيها مشاجر وغياض وحواليها بحيرة وهم كثير  
 العدد ويؤتون المعاش والكسب في السيف وإذا مات منهم رجل له بنات  
 وبنون دفعوا ماله إلى البنات وأفردوا البنين بالسيف ويقولون إن  
 أبائكم كان يكسب المال بالسيف فاقتدوا به واخلفوه فيه وكان نُسؤهم  
 على ذلك إلى أن تنصروا في شهر سنة ثلاثمائة (٤) فلما دخلوا في  
 النصرانية أخذ الدين سيوفهم وانسد دورهم باب الكسب وعاد عليهم  
 بالضرر والإفلاس وضاعت المعيشة عليهم فرغبوا في الإسلام لينبأ لهم  
 10 الغزو والجهاد وينتصروا [233] بالعود إلى بعض ما كانوا عليه  
 فوجهوا رسولاً إلى صاحب خوارزم وهم أربعة نفر من قرابين (١) ملكهم  
 فإن لهم ملكاً قائماً بذاته مستقلاً بنفسه ويلقب ملكهم بولادمير كما  
 يلقب ملك الترك بخاقان وملك بلغار بططو فوردت رسلهم خوارزم  
 وأدوا الرسالة فشر به خوارزمشاه حيث رغبوا في الإسلام فأنفذ إليهم  
 15 من علمهم شرائع الإسلام فأسلموا وهم أناس أقوياء أشداء يسافرون  
 رجالة إلى المواضع النازحة للغزو ويسافرون أيضاً في السفن في  
 بحر الخزر وينصبون المراكب ويسلبون الأموال ويسافرون إلى  
 قسطنطينية في بحر بنطس والسلاسل في خليجها ولقد سافروا  
 مرة في بحر الخزر واستولوا على بزرعة زمناً وبسالتهم ونجدهم  
 20 معروفة حتى أن واحداً منهم يوازي عدة من جميع الأمم ولو كان  
 لهم دواب وكانوا فرساناً لأشدت بلاؤهم على الناس  
 16 (16) قد ذكرنا من أجناس الترك وأحوالهم ما اشترهز وما استفاض من  
 غير استقضاء وتطويل لأن أجناسهم وأنواعهم وسيئهم ورسوئهم  
 وعاداتهم أكثر من أن يمكن استيفاءها بالذكر والوصف

١٧) ولابقراط وجالينوس فيهم أقوالٌ فأحببنا أن نذكرُ بعضها  
 قال ابقراط أن في ارض اوروفية امةٌ من امةً الترك يشبه بعضهم بعضاً  
 ولا يشبهون غيرهم وكذلك اهل مصر يشبه بعضهم بعضاً إلا أن اهل مصر  
 نشؤوا في الحرارة والترك نشؤوا في البرودة وقال جالينوس ان الناس الذين  
 يدعون سورماتة هم الصغار الأعيين الطوال الأنحاط قال ابقراط ان  
 اغذية الترك وعاداتهم يشبه بعضها بعضاً فلهمنا صاروا اشباهاً لأنفسهم  
 دون غيرهم من سائر الناس فإنهم لا يشبهونهم لا في صورهم ولا في عاداتهم  
 قال ولهمنا من الحال صارت صورهم غليظةً لحييةً لا تئري لهم مفاصل وأبدانهم  
 لينتة رطبة لاقوة لها قال جالينوس ان بلاد الترك باردة رطبة كثيرة المياه  
 والصحارى [236] والمحادن وان الترك قرأغ ليس لهم أعمال شاقة يشغلون  
 بها وانما قال لا تئري لهم مفاصل يعنى ان مفاصلهم خائرة لا تئري لكثرة  
 اللحم لان المزاجات الرطبة تولد لهما كثيراً رطبا بارداً سمينا ضميماً فصارت  
 مزاجات الترك لذلك رطبة باردة

١٨) قال ابقراط وتكون بطونهم رطبة جداً وتنفرغ انقراغات كثيرة وذلك  
 ان بطونهم لا يمكن أن تجف وتيبس في مثل هذه البلاد ومثل هذه  
 الطبيعة والهواء قال وتكون أبدانهم دسمة جداً خرداً اضطراراً وقال  
 ايضاً ان هذه الطبيعة لا تكون كثيرة الولد لانه لا تريح شهوة الرجال  
 الى النساء والباضعة لحال رطوبة مزاجهم وللبين البطن ونرده وقال  
 في موضع آخر ان نساؤهم انما تقل اولادهن لبين بطونهن ورطوبتها  
 لان الارحام لا تستطيع أن تحطف الحنئ وتجذبه ولان ظهر النساء  
 الكائن لهن في كل شهر لا يكون لهن على ما ينبغي وذلك ان  
 ظهرهن يكون قليلاً بصد من طويل لانهم أفواه الارحام منهن  
 منسدة بكثرة اللحم وكما ان أبدانهن كلها سمينة كذلك لا  
 محالة تكون اعناق ارحامهن سمينة ولما كانت الاعضاء المرزولة

النجيفة منفتحة النافذ واسعة المدخل فكذاك الأعضاء السميكة تكون  
 ضيقة المدخل فلهذه العلة لا يجلب كثيرًا وقال جالينوس إن قلة  
 حبلين تكون من أسباب منها ضيق عنق الرحم ومنها انهن [لا]  
 يطهرن في كل شهر كما ينبغي ومنها ان القوة الجاذبة التي تكون  
 في الرحم تكون ضعيفة بسبب البرد والرطوبة فيهن فلا تحتطف  
 المنى بسرعة فينفسد المنى قبل وصوله الى مسقط اللطافة ورطوبته  
 وقال جالينوس في موضع آخر ان نساء الترك لا يجلبن كثيرا لفرغهن  
 ودعتهن فاما الإماء والولائد التي لهم فلكثرة حركاتهن وأعمالهن تنتفض  
 أبدانهن وتخرج الفضول الرطبة التي فيها وتحت بها أرحامهن فيجلبن  
 سريعًا وتكثر أولادهن

(19) وقال [24e] ابقرط ان كثيرا من الترك مضيا ذكرنا ما فيهم يكونون  
 كالخصيان لا يقدررون على النساء وهذا الذي ذكره قد يوجد ويشاهد  
 في سكان بعض بلادهم فاما الذين يسكنون البراري والصحارى ويتقلون  
 شتاءً وصيفًا فهم أشد الناس بأسًا وأصبرهم على القتال والحروب وهم  
 فرقتان فرقة لهم أمراء وملوك يطيعونهم ويصدرون عن رأيهم وأمرهم  
 وفرقة لاطاعة عليهم لغيرهم ولا يملكهم أحد وهم أشد بأسًا ونجدة  
 وبسالة وقد قال ابقرط ان من اهل أسيقه من لاطاعة عليهم  
 ولا يملكهم غيرهم مثل اليونانيين والترك فإنهم أحرارًا يملكون أنفسهم  
 ولا يملكون عليهم غيرهم فيتعلمون ويكذحون لأنفسهم لا لغيرهم وهؤلاء  
 أشد إقدامًا وصولةً وقتالًا من سائر الناس ولصبرهم على محاربة  
 من يجارهم يأخذون الخنائم لأنفسهم بالسوء

(20) وقال جالينوس ان نساء هؤلاء مجارين مثل الرجال وانهن يقطعن  
 أحد الثديين لترجع القوة كلها الى الذراع وكى تخف أبدانهن و  
 يثبتن على صرعات الخيل وقد ذكر ابقرط هؤلاء النساء

في بعض كتبه وسماهين امازونسه ومعناه دوات تدي واحد  
 لقطجهم الآخر ولا يمنعهم عن قطع الآخر الا حاجتهم الى رضاع  
 اولادهم واستبقاء النسل وانما يقطع الواحد للابحسهم عن  
 رمي النشاب على ظهور الخيل  
 21) واما الفرقة التي لهم ملوك وزعماء فهم قبائل كثيرة وهم الذين  
 ذكرنا قبله

## الباب الثاني عشر

### في الهند

- 1) الهند امة عظيمة كثيرة الاجناس مقتتة الانواع متباينة الآراء  
 و الديانات وهم ساكنو الربع الجنوبي من الارض المسكونة وبلادهم  
 كثيرة ممتدة الأرجاء متقاذفة الأطراف الى منتهى البحارة حيث ينقطع  
 الحرث والنسل وينعدم كون الحيوان  
 2) واجناسهم المشهورة سبعة وهم الشاكبيرية وهم اشرفهم جنسا  
 يسجد لهم جميع الاجناس وهم لا يسجدون لاحد وفيهم الملك 3) ومنهم  
 البراهمة وفيهم الرياسة دون الملك وهم يسجدون للشمنية [ا 52]  
 والشمنية لا يسجدون لهم ومن جنسهم من لا يشرب الخمر والأنبذة  
 4) ومنهم الكشترية لا يشربون فوق ثلثة ولا تزوجهم البراهمة  
 ويتزوجون [منهم] 5) ومنهم الشودرية وهم اصحاب الزراعة والفلحة  
 تتزوج منهم الكشترية ويتزوجونهم فاما البراهمة فيتزوجون منهم

ثم يليه باب الروم ويلييه باب العرب ويلييه باب الهند الاخرى Ms. ا اماروسم Ms. a

الكشترية Ms. d

ولا يزوجونهم ⑥ ومنهم البشيشة وفي جنسهم أصحاب الصناعات والمهين  
 لا يزوجونهم احدٌ ممن ذكرنا ولا يُتزوج منهم ⑦ ومنهم السندلية وهم  
 أصحاب اللحن واللّهو وفي نساؤهم جمالٌ وربما افتنن برهن البراهمة  
 حتى يتكروا دينهم من اجلهن ولا يسهرن احدٌ من تلك الأجناس ⑧  
 ومنهم الذنبتة قوم شمر أصحاب لعب ومخازف وهم في طريق السندلية  
 عند الناس والسندلية لا يختلطون بهم ولا يزوجونهم ولا يتزوجون منهم  
 ⑨ وأما آدابهم وعلومهم فهنا الرقي يزعمون انهم يدركون بها ما أرادوا  
 ويشقون بها السُم ويخرجونه عن سقي ويلقونه على غيره ⑩  
 ومنها الوهم والفكر يزعمون انهم يدركون بها الحائب ويفعلون بها  
 في الغائب ويحلمون ويعتقدون ويضرون وينفعون ⑪ ومنها عمل  
 النيرنجات وأخذ العيون واظهار التخاييل التي يتخيّر فيها الأريب و  
 يبرهن عقل اللبيب ومنهم السيمانيدات وهي الطلسمات العجيبة التي  
 يفعلونها ويبدعونها ومنها ادكاؤهم كبس الطر والبرد واقراز من  
 هناك به لهم حتى يُغطى صاحب ذلك العلم في كل سنة شيئاً معلوماً  
 ⑫ ومنها علم الطب ودعواهم في الطب الامور العجيبة في حفظ الصحة  
 ومنع الشيب وزيادة في القوة والدهن وبراء الادواء الزمينة  
 الممنعة ⑬ ومنها علم الحساب والهندسة والنجوم وحذقهم فيها  
 ⑭ ومنها علم اللحن واللّهو واتخاذ انواع المزاهر وعلم الرقص الذي  
 لا يبلغ مبلغهم فيه غيرهم ⑮ ومنها علم الحروب وضروب التعبيه و  
 انواع [33a] الأسلحة والسيوف التي يُضرب بها السهل في الجوده مع  
 ضروب الطبول والنايات والبوقات الموضوعة على صوت الفيل والاسد  
 والبير وغير ذلك من الآلات التي صوتها يُفزع قلوب الرجال  
 ⑯ وفي هذا الجنس قومٌ يجاورون جبل الدار(?) في شرقي الهند  
 في بلاد يقال لها قاموره لهم حظٌ من الجمال فوق ما لجميع الأمم

\* قامرون(?) c. السماسدات Ms. ك. البشيشه Ms. a

- ١٧) فأما البطل والأهواء التي في هذه الأجناس فهم تسع وتسعون فرقة يجحها اثنان وأربعون مذهبا فمنهم من يثبت العمل ويعترف بالأنبياء ومنهم من يثبت الخالق وينفي الرُّنل والأنبياء ومنهم من ينفي الخالق والرُّنل ومنهم من ينفي الكل ويثبت الثواب والعقاب وهم الشنئية 5
- ١٨) ومنهم من قال إن الثواب والعقاب التناسخ في السعادة والشقاوة والجنة والنار على قدر العمل بلا دوام
- ١٩) فيمن أثبت الخالق البراهمة زعموا أن رسول الله اليهم ملك من الملائكة يقال له باسديواناهم في صورة البشر برسالة من غير كتاب له أربع أيد في إحدى يديه سيف مسلول وفي الثانية سكة الفدان وفي الثالثة سلاح يقال له شكرة على هيئة حلقة كبيرة حادة الطرف وفي اليد الرابعة 10 وهكف وهو على الضنقاء وله اثنا عشر رأسا كل رأس يشبه رأس حيوان ولهم في هذه تأويل يطول تفسيره وقالوا إنه أمرهم أن يتخذوا على مثاله صنما يعبدونه ويطوفون حوله كل يوم ثلاث مرات بالحازف ووقود الدخن وأن يعبدوا البقر ويسجدوا لها حيث لقوها وأن لا يجزوا نهر كندك ولا دين لمن جاوزه من البراهمة 15
- ٢٠) ومنهم المهادوية زعموا أن رسول الله اليهم ملك من الملائكة يقال له مهادوية (١) أنهم في صورة البشر وهو راكب الثور على رأسه الكليل مكل بعظام الموتى متقلد بقلادة منها بإحدى يديه [هآة] قحف انسان وبالأخرى مزراق ذو ثلث شعب [و] يستظل بظلال من ذنب الطاووس أمرهم بعبادة الله وأن يتخذوا على مثاله صنما يعبدونه وهو سبيلهم 20 إلى الخالف ولا يعاقبوا من شئ لأن الأشياء كلها من صنع الخالف و[أن] يتقلدوا بأعظم الناس ويتخذوا منها أكليل و[أن] يمسحوا وجوههم وأجسادهم بالرماد وأن يستروا من أوساطهم إلى أقدامهم بحرف عرضها اصبعان على طول ما بين الكعب إلى أوساطهم على ضروب من

الألوان غير مركبة ولا مخيطة بعضهم على بعض إلا عند أوسالهم  
 صخر عليهم الذبايح والنكاح وجمع الأموال ومحاشهم من الصدقة وهم  
 مزرعة بحبيب الرزقي

21) ومنهم الكابلية زعموا أن رسولهم ملك من الملائكة يقال له  
 شب أناهم في صورة إنسان يتمسح بالرماد على رأسه قلنسوة من  
 لبود نحر طولها ثلاثة أشبار مخيطة عندها صفائح من قحف إنسان قد تنقلد  
 وانتطف وتسرور وتخالل من أعظم الناس بإحدى يديه قحف إنسان  
 وبالأخرى طبل مثل المهادوية وأمرهم أن يتخذوا على مثال ذكر الإنسان  
 شيئاً مدقراً طوله ذراعان وقطره ذراع واسمه شيلنده وتفسيره ذكر  
 السبعوث وأن يعبدوا ذلك الذكر لزعمهم أن سبب التناقل في العالم الذكر  
 فهم عراة ليس لهم إلا قلنسوة على ذلك المثال وقد علقوا من طرف  
 ذكركم جرساً عظيماً ثقيلاً لا يمكن معه الانعاط لتحريرهم النساء لا  
 يمشون بأحد من أهل ملتهم إلا سجدوا له وحركوا ذلك الجرس العلق  
 من ذكركم تقرباً إليه ومنهم من ينقب جسده نقباً ويعلق منها  
 حلق النحاس أو الحديد أو الرصاص كما يعلق من الأذان قد تركيب  
 بعض الحلق على بعض كأن عليه البرع

22) ومنهم الرامانية وكان رمان ملكاً جباراً فتعدى طوره  
 وادعى الرسالة وأمر قومه بعبادته وزعم أن ذلك يؤذيرهم إلى رضا  
 الخائف وترهات [34a] كثيرة

23) ومنهم الراونية ذكروا أنهم استدلوا براون على الخائف لقبوله  
 توبته والحربة التي أعطاه فصبروه نبيهم

24) وأما الذين أثبتوا الخائف والثواب والحجاب و[ما] أثبتوا الرسالة  
 فزعموا أن الله قد دعا الخائف إلى عبادته ولم يحوهم إلى أحد  
 بما جعل في قلوبهم من حب الخير وبغض الشر أن لا يأتوا

الى أحد لا يُرْوَوُهُ من غيرهم فذلك شريعة لهم في عقولهم ولا  
حاجة بالله الى عبادة الناس وزعموا ان الوصول الى الجنة باستعمال  
العقول ومخالفة طبيعة الأبدان ومن هولاء من قال انه لا يجزيه  
ذلك حتى يعذب جسده ويشغل طبيعته بانواع العذاب التي لا يكون  
مع فراغ للظيان ولا تشوّف الى مجون<sup>ه</sup>

5 (25) ومنهم من يزعم ان إصابة الحفّ والرجم على حقيقة الامر في  
إتلاف الأبدان والنجاة منها إذ كانت الأنفس تكتسب كل اثم وهي  
التي تُزَيِّن كل قبيحة وتنبط عن كل كريمة

10 (26) ومنهم اهل ملّة الرشيّة وهم قوم عطّلوا الحواس بطول الفكر  
وزعموا انه تجلّت لهم الملائكة حتى استفادوا منهم ما وضعوا به الكتب  
والآداب والرقي خاصة وموضعهم الجبال يتخذون لانفسهم الأكنان من  
النبت والحشيش [و] يأكلون الثمر والحشيش عامة دهرهم مخفضة  
أعينهم مجيلة فكرهم

15 (27) ومنهم النكريتيّة<sup>ك</sup> يعنى الصفدّون بالحديد يجلقون رؤوسهم ولحام لا يسترون  
من أبدانهم إلا العورة ويصفّدون أوساطهم الى صدورهم بالحديد لأن لا تنشق  
بطونهم من كثرة العلم وليس يعلمون أحد ولا يكلمون حتى يدخل في دينهم  
20 (28) ومنهم اهل ملّة الكنكا ياتريّة<sup>ه</sup> هم متفرقون في جميع بلاد الهند من  
سنتهم إذا أذنب رجل ذنباً أو عفّ والد أو اجترح سيئة شخص من  
حيث كان من أقاصى الهند وأذناها حتى يأتي نهر كنك ويغتسل فيه  
فإن فيه كفارة لذنبه إن مات في سفره قبل [34] ذلك منه

25 (29) ومنهم الراجتريّة<sup>و</sup> وهم شيعة الملك في دينهم خدمة الملوك و  
تأييد سلطانهم يقولون ما نصح بالعذاب لأنفسنا بلا دفع مضرة  
ولا جذب منفعة وهم أتقف أمة على الحرب بالسيف والترس وأصبرهم  
عند اللقاء وأقلهم جزعاً وأفنعهم باليسير الى وقت الاستحقاق

كنكا بآثره Ms. c الكرسية Ms. ك \* مجور ؟ مجور Ms. a



- 30) ومنهم الهادريّة (٩) ومن سننهم تطويل الشعور وإرسالها من جميع  
حوائب الرأس بالسواء ويظنون من تحت شعورهم عليهم أقبية أخرجوا  
أيديهم من أكمامها فهي معلقة بين أيديهم وخلنهم وعزوا صدورهم و  
ظهورهم وشدوا أوساطهم بالسلاسل مع كل رجل منهم رجل بيده تلك  
السلسلة يحفظه أن يرسيم لما قد أتاه من القوة والأيد لشدة دخوله في  
الدين لا يشربون الشر ويحجون إلى جبل لهم يقال له حورعر ويثوحون  
على بهاريز (١) ومحدون جون<sup>٥</sup> الذي اتخذ الأرض من جلد بهادرز  
والجبال من عظامه والماء من دمه والشجر والنبات من شعره و  
يزعمون أنهم كانوا ثلاثة إخوة بهادرز وجونه ومرش  
31) ومنهم المهاالكيتية لهم صنم يقال له مراكال يزعمون أنه عفرية  
يستحق العبادة لعظم قدره ولهذا الصنم أربع أيدي ولونه أسفنجون  
كثير الشعر كاشر الناب كاشف البطن على ظهره جلد فيل يقطر منه  
الدم وفي أذنيه ثعبانان مع ترهات آخر  
32) ومنهم الديواترية ومن سننهم أن يتخذوا صنما يحملونه على حجل  
قد ضرب فوقه قبة رفيعة ويجرون العجلة ويطوفون به على الناس  
معهم العازف وضروب اللعب ولا تنقئ يومئذ زانية في البلاد إلا  
حضرت مع الكرهن زحالة بين يديهن وهن على الفيلة والحيل  
عليهن الحلي النفيس الكثير فلا يزالون يطوفون به وذلك في فصل  
الربيع ثم يردون إلى موضعه ولهذا الصنم خزائن فيها صنور وجوه  
الناس ممن مضى من الملوك ورؤساء البلد وأصحاب الملك وصنور الدواب  
والطير والسباع فيلبسهم [55a] الناس في ذلك اليوم وهو عيد لهم  
فاذا انقضى العيد رذ ذلك كله إلى خزائنه  
33) ومنهم البرهكيتية ومن سننهم أن يتخذوا صنما على صورة امرأة  
على رأسها تاج وفيما بين أيديها سيف مسلوك وأشياء آخر

من الأسلحة وغيرها فاذا دخلت الشمس الميزان يتخذون عرساً وعيداً  
 عظيماً بين يدي الصنم ويجمعون من الثياب واقصان الشجر ما قدروا  
 عليه وكذلك انواع الطيب ويأتون بالقرابين من الغنم والبقر والجمال  
 ويطرحون لها العلوقة فاذا طامشت رؤسها ضربوا أعناقها بالسيف  
 بين يدي الصنم ويقتلون من اصابوا بالغلبة قرباناً له حتى ان  
 5 الناس يتحرزون من الغلبة في تلك الايام واما ملوكهم فانهم يأخذون  
 رجلاً أشقر أزرق وينصبون بين يدي الصنم خنجرًا أو شيئاً مثله  
 ويأمرون بالسجود للصنم على الخنجر وقد شد كناناً فاذا وصل جبهته  
 الى الخنجر ضربوا على رأسه ضربة يدخل الخنجر بها في رأسه حتى يصل  
 10 الى دماغه ويعتقدون انهم ينالون به ثواب الدنيا والآخرة ثم يعتزفون  
 و بهم سروراً عظيماً ولهواً ولعباً وأكلً وشربً وهذه ملأ مذمومة  
 عند جميع الهند

(34) ومنهم الجلبهكتية يعني عبادة الماء وهم يزعمون ان مع الماء ملكاً  
 وانه اصل كل نشوء وبه قوام الحيوة وبه يكون البقاء والعمارة و  
 15 الولادة والطهارة ويدخل الرجل فيه الى وسطه ويحوم فيه ساعتين  
 أو أكثر ويده انواع الرياحين ثم يقطعها صغاراً ويرمي القطعة بعد  
 القطعة في الماء وهو يستح ويقرأ فاذا أراد الانصراف اخذ من الماء  
 فقطره على رأسه وعلى ما ظهر من بدنه ثم يسجد له وينصرف  
 (35) ومنهم الأكنهوطرية وهم عبدة النيران ويحفرون لها أخدوداً  
 20 مرتباً ويجمعون عليها ويطوفون حولها ويطرحون فيها من الأطعمة  
 والكسوة والطيب والذهب والفضة والجواهر ما وجدوا ولهم ملوك  
 وعظماء ويقولون ان النار اشرف العناصر الاربعة وأكرمها جوهراً و  
 يثلبون [356] من أحرف نفسه بالنار ويقولون انه تجنس النار  
 (36) ومنهم فرقة يضبدون القمر ويقولون انه ملك من الملائكة

ويتخذون له صمًا على عجل بحجره اربعة [بطوط] ويد الصم جوهراً  
 وهم يصومون النصف من كل شهر ولا ينفطرون حتى يروا الهلال و  
 يصعدون السطوح عند الهلال ويتخنون الدخن و يظفروا اليه على  
 وجه حسن ثم نزلوا وأظفروا ولعبوا ورقصوا بين يدى الصم  
 5 (37) ومنهم قومٌ يعبدون الشمس وقد اتخذوا لها صنماً بحجره اربعة  
 أفراس و بيد الصم جوهرة على لون النار و يزعمون ان الشمس ملكة  
 من الملائكة ويتقرأون اليها بالسجود والطواف والدخن و أنواع  
 الزاهر وله ضياع وغلث ولهم فيه ضروب من التهاويل والفثن  
 (38) ومنهم المها سريته (?) ومن سنتهم ان الرجل منهم يدخل المقابر  
 10 ويحمل من العوني أظفرتهم حالاً لا يترحم لا يدفنون موتاهم ثم يدخل البلد  
 ويؤتخ الناس وينادي ويقول أيتها العصاة المذنبون الذين أسرهم الحواس  
 واستعبدكم الطباع حتى متى تنكحون أمهاتكم وتقتلون آباءكم ومثل  
 هذا الضرب من الكلام

(39) ومنهم الحبر اسرا ذرية<sup>3</sup> يعنى الذين يلبسون ورق الأشجار وهم  
 15 فرقة يسكنون الغياض ويلبسون ورق شجر يقال له حمرط واوراقه غراض  
 كالثوب الواسع ولا يخالطون الناس ويبرزون للرياح والمطر ويقولون  
 إننا نعتاض بهذا ريح الجنة والفوز فيها بالحور العين وملابس  
 الجنة

(40) ومنهم الامبركجرتية يعنى المششبهون<sup>4</sup> بالوحش يمشون على  
 20 اربعة وياكلون الحشائش بأفواههم لا يخلقون رؤسهم ولا يستعملون  
 حيلة في دفع ضرر كارتهم الوحش ولهم سوى ذلك طرق ومذاهب شنيعة  
 (41) ومنهم فرقة يحرقون أنفسهم بالنيران ومنهم فرقة يغرقون  
 انفسهم فى الماء ومنهم فرقة يمتنعون من الطعام حتى يموتوا فرما  
 ماتوا فى عشرين<sup>5</sup> يوماً وربما بقوا الى ثلثين يوماً [36a]

العشرين 11 e المششبهين 12 d الامبركجرتية c جبر 13 \* الحبر اسرا ذرية a

- 42) ومنهم فرقةٌ يُرِيمُونَ على وجوههم في البراري حتى يموتوا  
 ومنهم من يرمى نفسه من جبل شاهق عندهم وقد نصب تحت  
 الجبل شجرةً من الحديد لها شُعَبٌ وشجُونٌ محدّدة فيطرح نفسه عليها  
 من الجبل حتى ينقطع قطعاً
- 43) 5 ولهم مقالاتٌ كثيرةٌ في البديّة والبؤسفة (1) يُهدون بها و  
 انهم يعتقدون التناسخ
- 44) وأكثر ملوكهم يُرون الزناء مباحاً إلا ملكٌ قمار فاته يحرم الزناء  
 وشرب الخمر ونصاقب عليها بالقتل وليس احدٌ من ملوكهم يطيب في شرب  
 الشراب إلا ملكٌ سرزيب فاته يدين الشرب ويحجل اليه الشراب من بلاد العرب
- 45) 10 ووراءه ملكٌ رتيلاء ويقال له فاندين ثم يليه ملكٌ يقال له  
 العارطى (2) ثم يليه ملكٌ يقال له الصيلمان وهو أعظم من الذين  
 ذكرناها وأكثر جيشاً وجيشه يبلغ مبلغاً عظيماً إلا ان فيلته قليلة  
 غير ان الهند يقولون ان فيلة الصيلمان أجراً على القتال وأقوى من  
 جميع الفيلة ويقال ان عنده من الفيلة ما يزيد سمكه على عشرة  
 أذرع وقيل ان فيلته لا تزيد على تسعة أذرع إلا ان دونه بلاداً  
 يقال لها الأغباب وملوكهم كانت امرأة في القديم ولها من الفيلة ما يزيد  
 سمكه على عشرة أذرع الى احد عشر ذراعاً
- 46) وبعدهم ملكٌ يقال له بلهرا في بلاد يقال لها الكمك وهي  
 مملكة واسعة كثيرة الرجال ومن حوله من الملوك ينقادون له
- 47) 20 وفي هذه المملكة ملوكٌ فمنهم ملكٌ يقال له الطاق وهو قليل  
 المملكة إلا انه كثير المال عامر البلاد واهل مملكته سمر وبيض وفيهم  
 جمالٌ مستفيض ورقيق بلادهم فيهم جمال لا يشركهم فيه غيرهم
- 48) وبعده ملكٌ يقال له بجابة وهو شريف فيهم وبلهرا الذي هو  
 الملك الكبير يتزوج منهم ولا يتزوج من غيرهم وفي غياضهم الصندل الأخضر

يقال له عامر الطاق (1) الكمكى (2) بلهرا (3) الصلمان (4) طاق (5) ملس (6) رسل (7) Ms. a

(49) ثم يليه ملكٌ يقال له الجزية وفي مملكته عدلٌ وأمنٌ حتى لو طرح الذهب في وسط الطريق لا يجسر أحدٌ أن يأخذه وبلاده واسعةٌ و التجار من بلاد العرب يقصدونهم في التجارات ويتعاملونهم ويترؤى عنهم [36٦] حسن للعاملة والإحسان والمُبَرَّة ومعاملاتهم بقطع الذهب والدرهم التي يقال لها الطارية عليها صورةُ الملك وزنُّ كلِّ درهمٍ مثقالٌ وإذا تجزّت تجارتهم نبعت الملك معهم من يحفظ متاعهم ويخرجهم من بلاده 5

(50) وليس [بعده ملكٌ آخر أوسع حالاً منه وأصدق عدلاً وهو يقول للتجار والسابلة آخروا حيث شئتم فإن حدث حادثٌ وخسرتم شيئاً فخذوا مني وأنا ضامنٌ لكم وله جيشٌ كثيرٌ وقبيلةٌ كثيرةٌ وهو يقاتل بلهرا وغيره من الملوك 10

(51) وبعده ملكٌ يقال له دهم وله جيشٌ عظيمٌ جرارٌ تزيد عدتهم على ثلثمائة ألفٍ ولا يخرج إلا في الشتاء لئلا تنقص المياه عن حاجتهم لأنهم يستنزون في الأودية وفي بلادهم القطن الجيد الذي لا يكون في غيرها مثله ومنه يتخذ الناديل التي يقال لها «شاه شاهي» وغيرها من الثياب التي إذا أدرجت تسع حلقة الخاتم 15

(52) وبعده ملكٌ يقال له قامرون ومملكته تتصل ببلاد الصين وهو ملكٌ قليل الجيش وفي بلاده أراضى ينبت فيها الذهب قطعاً مثل الكفِّ الانسان وذهبهم أجود من ذهب الصين وهؤلاء الملوك كلهم مخمومون الأذان

(53) وملك المسعى دهم بلادٌ كثيرةٌ وفيها مدينةٌ يقال لها هديكرة ولها سوقٌ نحو من فرسخٍ وفيها يكون الكركدن والبقر المسمى غرغافو و بلادُه متصلة بساحل بحر الأغباب وهو بحرٌ خبيثٌ وعلى سواحلِه مدائنٌ كثيرةٌ واسعةٌ ويتعاملون فيها بالذهب والودع إلا أن الودع عندهم أزواجٌ من الذهب ويسمونه الكسح (٤) وفيها أنهارٌ تنصب في

البحر فيها المدّ والجزر من الماء الصّذب  
 (54) وتليه بعد ذلك فرقة يقال لها بنو النّبّه ويضعون أنّهم ولدسام  
 بن نؤيّ وهم ملوك الهند ويخطبون لإمام المسلمين وبلادهم تلى  
 المنصورة ودخل هؤلاء الملوك من مال الصنم باللتان له دخل عظيم و  
 أمواله في أيدي بني النّبّه وهم يستظهرون بتلك الأموال ويتغلبون  
 [37a] على ملوك الهند وهذا الصنم فيما حكى طوله عشرون ذراعًا و  
 أكثر وهو على صورة رجل وفوقه سقف عظيم والهند يزعمون أن هذا  
 الصنم نزل من السماء وأمرنا بعبادته وإن السقف نبي منذ الفئ  
 سنة وله سدنة يقومون عليه والهند كلهم يزرون الحج إليه ويحجون  
 إليه من مسيرة سنة أو سنتين فيحلقون رؤسهم عنده ويطوفون  
 سبعا على اليسار ويترغفون بين يديه ويتضرعون ويخضعون و  
 وللصنم أربعة أوجه حيث ما داروا استقبالهم وجه فاذا طافوا به سجدوا  
 له عند كل وجه وإذا مات الرجل منهم مؤسرا أو صم للصنم بشرط ماله  
 أو جميع ماله ومنهم من يحل إليه المال من مسيرة سنة ومنهم من  
 يستأذن الصنم فيقول أئذن لي في الموت ثم يقتل نفسه بين يديه  
 وله سدنة لا يأتون النساء ولا يذبحون شيئا ولا يلبسون إلا الثياب  
 النظيفة ويتطيبون إذا صاروا إلى الصنم وإذا دخل إليه الداخل جئا على  
 ركبتيه ويبسط كفيه ويسأله أن ينظر إليه ويرحمه ويكفي ويتضرع  
 وللصنم مطبخ يطبخ فيه كل يوم أنواع من الطبخ ويطيب ثم تبسط  
 بين يديه ورقة موز وهي عريضة جدا ويضعون عليها الأضمة  
 مقدار قامة الرجل فيطوفون حول بيت الصنم بالصنوج والطبول  
 والمزامير وربما دارت حوله مائة جارية ويقف عند الطعام واحدا  
 من السدنة ويروح بورق موز كأنه يبرد الطعام ويغلق باب البيت  
 ثم ينادى ويقول قد أكل فإنه لا يأكل بيده ثم يفتح الباب ويقول  
 قد تصفّ به ولم ينقص منه شيء ثم يطعم منه كل من حضر  
 عليه

من الناس والدواب والسباع والطيور ولا يجمع منه أحد و يقولون ان ذلك صدقته في كل يوم.

(55) ويجكون ايضا ان بواحي الجنجج بيت ضم آخر قديم البناء وان اهل مملكة دهم الملك يحجون اليه وانما تقصده العباد منهم فيأتون و هم عراة مهازيل قد عارت أعينهم وقيلت جلودهم من كثرة الرافضة فيطرحون أنفسهم [376] بين يديه وفي ذلك الموضع نسور ضاربة تعودت أكل جيف الناس ومنهم من يثماؤث هناك حسبة فتأني النسور وتقلع أعينهم اولاً وهم يصرون على ذلك ثم يقلعون اللحم اولاً فاولاً حتى تأتي على جملته وربما بقرت بطونهم وتأكل أمعاءهم وهم يرون ذلك نظراً وعبادة

(56) ووراء هذه المملكة ملك يقال له الطرسول واهل مملكته كثيرة و مدائنه كثيرة وهم بيض واهم شعور طويلاً يسدلونها واهم خيل كثيرة ودواب و مملكة واسعة ووراءهم ملك يقال له الموسه ومدائنه مبنية بالحجارة وعندهم سكة كثيرة ووراءه ملك يقال له المانك تتصل مملكته ببلاد الصين ويقال ان هذه الملوك الثلاثة الطرسول والموسه ومانك (1) يقاتلون الصين ولا يقاومونهم لان ملك الصين اكثر جنداً وأقوى سلطاناً واول بلاد هذه الممالك وأواخرها متصلة ببلاد الصين وملوك الهند كلهم يلبسون الخلي والجواهر والقلائد والأسورة والوشاحين

(57) و من مملكة دهم بلد يقال له اورفشين على ساحل البحر ومملكتها كانت في القديم امرأة يقال لها رانيه ومملكتها وبيئتها والكث من دخلها من الهند مات وفيها للتجار ربح كثير وكانت مملكتها مكاره يعجز من قتالها دهم مع كثرة جيشه وشدته شوكته وكانت تحارب نفسها وهي عظمة الجثة لم ير أحد في عظمها

رأيه Ms. c حسنة Ms. b الخنج Ms. a

58) فهذا ما عُرف من سواحل بحر الأغباب وسكانها ثم يتلوها  
 بلاد الزجاج والملك الكبير بالزجاج يقال له المهرج ونفسيره ملك الملوك  
 وبلاده جزائر ولا تُعرف ملكا أكثر خيرا منه ولا أقوى عُدَّةً وحيشًا  
 ولا أكثر دخلًا ويقال إنّه يدخل له كل يوم من قمار الذبوك خمسون مَنًا  
 ذهبًا لأن ذلك يكثر في بلاده وكلّ ديك غلب يكون فخذُه للسلطان  
 فيفتدي صاحبه ذلك منه بدينار [أو] أقل أو أكثر ويقال إن دخله  
 يبلغ كل يوم مائتي مَنًا (1) ذهبًا وله جزائر كثيرة ومنها جزيرة يقال لها برطيل  
 [38a] وأهل البحر يقولون إن الدجال فيها وأهل هذه الجزيرة جسانٌ ووجوههم  
 كالبحان المطرقة يقتلون شعورهم كأذنان ذوات البريد ويسمع في الجزيرة أصوات  
 المعازف بالليل ويرون قُعود النار ويسمعون أصوات الناس وأهل المهرج  
 يتألفون بالنار فاذا تخاصم اثنان عند السلطان يأخذون حديدة قدر  
 رطل ويحتمونها بالنار حتى يتطائر منها الشرر ثم تؤخذ أوراق من شجر  
 عندهم يشبه الغار فيوضع على كف المدعى عليه منها تسع ورقات ثم  
 تؤخذ الحديدة النخاعة بالكتبتين وتوضع على تلك الأوراق في الكف فيمضي  
 بها سبع مرّات ذاهبًا وجائبًا في مقدار مائة خطوة فإن احترق الأوراق  
 وكفّ جيبًا لزمه الذنب فإن كان يوجب القتل قبل وإن كان الذنب  
 يوجب العزم فإن كان موسرًا يُعزم المال وإن كان مُعدمًا يصير عبدًا  
 للسلطان يُبيعه كيف شاء

59) ومن أحكام الهند أن من ذبح بقرة يُقتلُ بها  
 60) وحدث بعض من دخل بلاد الهند قال حصلت بالقندهار فإذا  
 ملكهم جبار شديد العقوبة شديد الغيرة ومن شرب الخمر من قوادة  
 وجيشه فمحبوبته أن تحمي مائة حلقة من حديد بالنار ثم توضع على يديه  
 فرمًا هلك فيه ومن عقوبته قطع اليدين والرجلين والأنف والأذنين  
 والشفتين وإذا ظفر بواحد من يقاتله يُقطع أذنيه وشفتيه ثم



- يُطلقه ويقول إنه لا يصلح للملك بعد ذلك ومن دخل بلاده و  
أهدى إليه شيئاً كافاه باضفاف ذلك لأنه يُعطى للواحد مائة
- (61) و اصل العباد في الهند من قمار ويقال إن فيها مائة الف عابد وهم  
الروادية (?) أصحاب تسبيح وقال جلست الي واحد منهم فتنتني عني قليلاً  
لأنهم لا يقرؤون [من] التسمين ويقولون انكم ادناس لانكم تأكلون لحم  
البقر ورايت يوماً بعضهم وقد جاء رجل من عبادهم الكبار فجعل يخطم  
بالهندية بكلام فريته كان تفسيره يا من ليس [34] كمثل شئ فصحت  
وقلت أنعرف ما تقول؟ وقال واغياه! وأنتم تعرفون ما قال؟ قلت نعم  
إذا كنتم تعاصون الله ليس كمثل شئ فليم تعبدون الأصنام من دونه؟  
فقال انه قبلنا كما ان قبلتكم حجارة مبنية منضدة فانتم تعبدونها!  
5
- (62) وليك قمار جبل يكون فيه العود وهولاء العباد يكونون فيه وهو  
جبل طويل عريض وليك قمار قضاء جده يقضون بين الناس فلو ورد  
ولذ الملك اليهم في خصومة أجلسوه بحب خصمه وحكموا عليه بما يجب  
في دينهم غير ما نلين عن الحق بشئ البتة ومملكة قمار ليست بكبيرة  
كسائر ممالك الهند الا ان ملكه عظيم القدر مظفر والفيلة عنده كثيرة  
10 وعطيته للعرب انياب الفيلة
- (63) ويلي مملكته بلاد الأرهنة وهم ببصر و فيهم جمال وهم يزوجون  
ابناءهم كما يزوجون بناتهم ويرون ذلك مصلحة
- (64) و في اراضي لوهوور مدينة يقال لها راميان فيها صنم مضطج و  
حولها اصنام قيام وفيها صنم من صفر مموه بالذهب وهو صنمهم الأعظم  
20 وله غلات كثيرة من الصقار والحوايت في السوق وله ثلثون قحبة  
تجري عليهم الجارية من غلاته والناس يمتعون بهن مجاناً ويطلبون  
به الثواب ولا يبرحن من موضعه الليل والنهار
- (65) و تلي هذه المدينة مدينة يقال لها جالهندر وفيها صنم له غلات

كثيرة وقرى وبيت قحاب وهذه المدينة من حدود الرأى الكبير  
 (66) وتليها مدينة يقال لها سلاور (٥) وهي أيضا من حدود الرأى الكبير  
 وفيها تجار وأموال كثيرة جدا وفيها بيوت أصنام كثيرة العدد ولها  
 غلات كثيرة تبلغ كل واحدة مائة الف درهم [و] اقل وأكثر ولهم بيوت  
 قحاب ولها ثلثة أسواق كلها أسواق القباب أجرتهن للصنم فبهن  
 من أجرتها دانق ومنهن من أجرتها دانقان وأكثر أجرتهن درهم لا  
 تزيد عليه وعلماء هذه المدينة البراهمة [39a]

(67) ومدينة أخرى يقال لها براهون (٥) <sup>٢</sup> وبرا سوق عظيم في السنة  
 اربعة أيام يجتمع اليه الناس من جميع النواحي وفيها سبعمائة بيت  
 للأصنام ولها غلات وقد رتب لها بيوت قحاب في كل بيت عشر أو اثنتا  
 عشرة منهن ومن مات منهم من الاغنياء يوصى لبيت الصنم شيئا  
 من ماله ويترج العظم من عظامهم من النساء من عشرين امرأة الى  
 مائة والرأى عندهم مثل الخليفة عندنا أو السلطان الأعظم وهو إذا  
 ركب ركب معه من العظام مائة كل واحد منهم صاحب عشرة آلاف  
 فارس وهذا الرأى يعتقد أن الأرض كلها مملكة له ولا يجسر احد أن  
 يقول بين يديه أن في الدنيا ملكا مطاعا غيره

## الباب الثالث عشر

### في الحبشة

(1) الحبشة جنس وتحت أنواع كالنوبة والزنج وغيرها وأراضيهم  
 متسعة الارحاء ممتدة الأطراف تنتهي اطرافها الى منقطع العمارة  
 وانعدام الحرث والنسل ولما بحدت ديارهم عن الاعتدال اختلفت

صُورهم وعظمهم سواد اللون لإفراط الحرّ عندهم وقد ذكرنا فيما سبق  
 أنّ اعتدال الصُّور وهيئة الأعضاء تابعة للإعتدال الأمزجة وإعتدال  
 الامزجة تابع للإعتدال التُّرب واللاهوية وإذا عُرف ذلك علم أنّ أحقّ المواضع  
 بوجود محاسن الصور فيه البلاد التي وقعت في واسطة الحرارة وما يقرب  
 منها كمملكة فارس والعرب والروم وأداني أرض الترك فأمّا الذين هم في أطراف  
 الحرارة وأقاصى الأقاليم فليُعدّهم من الاعتدال يوجد في أعضائهم التفاوت  
 الذي هو ضدّ الاعتدال وكذلك في ألوانهم مثل الحبشة والزنج وخاصة في  
 أقاصى بلدانهم فأنّه يوجد فيهم من الخلف الكريهة والصور المشوهة كحوظ  
 أعينهم وقُطس أنوفهم وسُعة مناخرهم وتربُّد شفاههم وتصورها بصور  
 شفاء [396] البهائم والأنعام ويكون ذلك بحسب تباعدهم عن الواسطة  
 وقريرهم من المنطقة المحترقة واستيلاء الحرارة المفرطة على أهويتهم  
 والحرارة أقوى أسباب الجذب فلهاذا تجذبهم الى فوق حتى تطول قاماتهم  
 جدّاً ولأن الحرارة تبسط الأشياء وتفتتها فتبسط أرواحهم الى خارج  
 فيوجدون ابداً فرحين للعين ضاحكين

15 (2) وهم في الجملة ضدّ الأتراك لأنّ الترك بحدوا عن الاعتدال لفرط البرودة  
 عندهم وطباع البرد الخج والتكثيف وجمع الأجزاء وهذا في أقاصى بلادهم  
 خصوصاً في بلاد ياجوج فلذلك تقصر قاماتهم وتصغر أعينهم وتضيق  
 مناخرهم وأفواههم وتنقبض أرواحهم حتى يقل فرحهم وتحصّر الحرارة في  
 بواطنهم لتكثف السامّ بالبرد وتشتجّ لذلك معدّهم فيقوى هضمهم  
 ويجود ويكثر لحمهم ويشتد غضبهم بخلاف الحبشة

20 (3) فإنّهم قلّما يغضبون ويحزنون وتتسع أعينهم وأفواههم وسائر  
 منافذهم ويسوّ هضمهم للغذاء ولا تغتدى أبدانهم إلا بالغلظ من  
 الطعام لأنّ الطعام اللطيف لا يملكث في معدّهم ريثما ينرض بل  
 يتحلّل سريعاً لتفتح منافذهم وسُعة مسامّهم ولا تكثُر لحمهم وشحومهم  
 لأن الحرارة تُذيبها وتُخفّف أجسامهم وتطول قاماتهم لجذب الحرارة

ايها وكما تجذب ابدانهم تجذب زروعهم واشجارهم حتى ان شجرة  
 من شجراتهم تظل عشرة آلاف فارس  
 (4) وحكي حمزة بن الحسن الاصفرائي عن الحسن بن عمرو السيرافي انه  
 ذكر انه رأى ببلاد السودان اشجاراً عظيمة ورأى ببلد يقال له كاتم شجرين  
 تظلان ثلثين الف فارس وملكهم يسكن على دروزهما والى مجلس الملك من  
 قوار الارض الف مرقاة و فوق الشجرين مجالس محمولة من الخشب وهناك  
 من خدم الملك ونسائه وحاشيته زهاء [40] عشرة آلاف انسان ويقال  
 ان نبت النطن عندهم يصير شجرة يصعد عليها الرجل فتناسبت ابدانهم واشجارهم  
 (5) فاما سواد اللون فهو شامل لجميعهم وليسوا كالهند التي تختلف الوانهم  
 الى السواد والادمة والبياض لان حرارة بلاد الهند لم تبلغ مبلغ الاحراق  
 التام وكذلك حرارة بلاد العرب فاما حرارة بلاد الحبشة والزنج فقد بلغت  
 الغاية في الاحراق وهم يزرون الحسن والجمال في شدة السواد ويكرهون البياض  
 ويرون ان الابيض لا يكون انساناً سالماً حتى ان منهم من يأكل البيضان من  
 الناس وقد ذهب طائفة من الناس الى تفضيل السواد على البياض و  
 حذاهم الى ذلك ما رأوا كثيراً من العرب والهند الذين لهم حظوظ وافرة  
 من الفضائل النفسانية والجسمانية الوانهم مائلة الى السواد ورأوا البيضان  
 اذا كان باحدهم خيلاً سوداً كانت زائدة في جماله وملاحته واذا نظر  
 انسان الى سواد كثير جاد بصره واحتد واذا نظر الى بياض كثير كل  
 بصره كمن يخمر عينه من التلج وهذه قضية مردودة وحكم لا نفاذ له  
 في العقل وذلك ان علم الطبائع ومعرفة كيانها يحكم للبياض بانه هو اللون  
 البسيط الاقدم في الطبائع الموضوع كالعنصر لجميع الالوان التي تتحل عليه  
 فتصنع منها وتقبلها كلها والسواد يضاة في هذه المعاني وما بينهما من  
 الالوان الاخر فوسائط مركبة منهما وبسبب ما يقع في الزواج من مقاديرهما  
 يكون تولد الالوان بحيث لانهاية لها والسواد لا يقلل

شينا من الألوان و أصحاب الطبائع يقولون ان لون البياض يتولد من  
 تأثير النور في عنصر من العناصر الأربعة القابلة له و ضدّه السواد يتولد  
 من تأثير الظلمة في العنصر الذي يُقبله من هذه العناصر و فضل النور على  
 الظلمة ممّا لا يخفى [40a] على العاقل و النور صفة ذاتية في الأجرام  
 السماوية الشريفة التي جعلها الله تعالى سبباً لكون جميع ما في هذا العالم  
 و أمّا السواد فهو صفة منفية عنها غير مشاكلة لها و الكلام في هذا أظهر من  
 أن يحتاج فيه إلى تكلف إقامة برهان فثبت ان سواد لون الحبش و الرنج  
 ليس بفضيلة لهم و إنما هو لحكم الاعتدال و فوط الاحتراق و السواد وإن  
 كان نقيصة فقد ينفع في بعض المواضع إمّا منفعة جسمانية كما ينفع  
 البصر بأن يجمع النور و يضيّف ثقبه العين فلا ينتشر النور و إمّا منفعة  
 سياسية ناموسية كما يلبس اصحاب السلطان السواد لتفريغ الرعايا و التزهيل  
 و قد حكى في التواريخ ان ملكاً من ملوك خراسان عبر نهر جيحون لحاربة

6) و كان في عسكره جماعة من الزنوج و ان الذين خرجوا عليهم من  
 الأتراك لما أبصروهم هالهم منظرهم و توهّموا انهم شياطين او جنس آخر  
 غير الناس و ازهزموا و ولّوا مدبرين من غير قتال و لما عرف ملوك خراسان  
 ذلك منهم استكثروا من الزنوج و الحبش و كانوا يقدمونهم في قتال  
 الأتراك الى أن تعود الترك النظر اليهم و قتلوا منهم واحداً و رأوا دمه  
 أحمر فقالوا ان دمه كدم الإنسان و أعضائه كذلك فزال خوفهم عنهم  
 7) و في تاريخ ملوك الترك ان واحداً منهم يسمى بكج (؟) صاهر ملكاً يقال  
 له جتويه فلما ساف الصداق اليه مع الهدايا الكثيرة كان في جهلها  
 حمل زنجي و كان العجوبة بين البيضان فكانوا يستحضرونه في مجالسهم  
 و يتعجبون بالنظر الى هيئته و لونه و كان فيه شهامة و قوة فكر  
 و بسالة و اتفق له اسباب كثيرة من السعادات و استخصه الملك  
 لنفسه و لم يزل يزداد حاله رفعة و تمكناً حتى وثب على الملك و قتله  
 و جلس مكانه و استولى على أكثر ممالكهم و تلقب [41a] بقراخان و لم

يكن ذلك لاحد قبله لأن معناه خاقان اسود وعظم شأنه وصار الترك  
بعده إذا أرادوا تعظيم ملك خطبوه بقراخان قرا بلسان الترك الاسود  
والخاقان الملك الاعظم فيهم وقراخان اي الخاقان الاسود<sup>2</sup>

## الباب الخامس عشر

في سنة أهل الأَطراف البعيدة والجزائر

- ١٠ ① إن أهل الأَطراف من المسكونة وأهل الجزائر البعيدة عن واسطة  
العالم كلما بحدت مساكنهم عن الاعتدال تباعدت اخلاقهم وطبائعهم و  
احوالهم عن الاعتدال وخروجهم عن الاعتدال يكون الى إحدى الكيفيتين  
الفاعلتين أعنى الحرارة والبرودة في جهتي الشمال والجنوب  
١٥ ② فاما جهة الشمال ففيها أرض بلخار وهي بين المغرب والشمال والى  
جهة القطب أميل وبعدها عن خوارزم مسيرة ثلاثة أشهر ولهم بلدان  
أحدها يسمى سرار والأخر يسمى بلخار وبين البلدين مسيرة يومين  
على شاطئ نهر في غياض أشبه جدًا يتحصنون بينها من الأعداء وأكثر  
اشجارها خذثك وفيما بينها اشجار البندق وهم مسلمون يجارون الكفار  
من الأتراك ويغزونهم للإكتناف الكفرة إياهم ويكون في غياضهم ذوات  
الوبر من السنجاب والسمور وغيرها وعرض أرضهم كثير حتى إن  
٢٠ نهار صيفهم في غاية الطول وليلهم في غاية القصر ويبلغ من قصر  
ليلهم ان لا يفي بنضج قدر فيما بين الشفق والصبح  
③ ووراءه مسيرة عشرين يوما منهم نحو القطب بلدة يقال له ايسو  
وهم قوم متوحشون في الغياض لا يخاطون

كما Ms ٥ (42-41 ff) ثم يليه الباب في صفة خط الاستواء<sup>2</sup>

الناس ويخافون شرهم واهل بلغار يسافرون اليهم ويحملون من الأمتعة  
 الثياب والملح واشياء أخر على آلات تجرها الكلاب فوق الثلوج المتراكمة  
 التي لا تنحسر ومسير الرجال على تلك الثلوج لا يمكن إلا بأن يشدوا على  
 أقدامهم عظام الشيران التي في سوقها ويأخذون بأيديهم [426] مزرقتين  
 يضربون بها على الثلج الى وراء فتزلق بذلك أقدامهم الى قدام على وجه  
 الجمد وتزمر مزرقتا الريح حتى يقطع في اليوم مسافة كثيرة ويبيعون اهل  
 يوره بالاشارة والمخابية للاستبحاشهم وخوفهم من الانس ويحملون  
 من عندهم السمور الخائف وغيره من الوبر الجيد فانهم يصطادون تلك  
 الحيوانات ويغنونها بالحومها ويلبسون جلودها

- 10 (4) ووراء يوره قومٌ ساحليون يجنون في البحر من غير حاجة وغرض  
 سوى الافتحار ببلوغ ذلك الموضع وهم فرقة في غاية الجهل والحف ومن  
 جهلهم أنهم يركبون السفن في البحر فاذا تلاقى سفينتان شداها ركابها  
 احديهما الى الأخرى ويشهرون سيوفهم ويتضاربون وتلك تحيئهم بينهم  
 وهم من بلد واحد وربما كانوا من محلة واحدة وليس بينهم عداوة و  
 لا منافسة إلا أن ذلك دأبهم فاذا غلب أحدهما ساق السفينتين  
 15 معًا وفي هذا البحر السمك الذي يستعمل نائفة في نصب السكاكين  
 والسيوف وغيرها ووراءهم ارض سوداء لا يمكن سلوكها  
 فأمّا في البحر إذا سلك السالك نحو القطب ينتهي حيث يبطل الليل  
 في الصيف والنهار في الشتاء وتدور الشمس ظاهرة عليها سنة أشهر  
 على دائرة الأفق كدور الرخاء فيكون السنة كلها يومًا واحدًا  
 20 (5) وها في اقاصي بلاد الترك بين اوج وكاشغر مروء ومفاوز فيها  
 ابل برية واصناف الوحوش وناس وحشيون لا يخاطون الانس  
 (6) ودون خرغيز من جانب جنناجكست آجامٌ وغياض ملتقة ضيقة  
 المسالك ومواضع اشبة ومياه كثيرة وأودية متصلة والطر دائمة

ويسكن في هذه الغياض أمة وحشية لا يخالطون الناس ولا يفهم  
 كلامهم كأنهم وحوش ويأنس بعضهم ببعض ومراكبهم التي يحتاجون إليها  
 ليحمل أثقالهم في الماء تكون من جلود السمك وجلود الوحش [45a]  
 وإذا خرجوا من تلك الغياض كانوا بمنزلة السمك إذا خرج من الماء و  
 لهم قسبي من خشب وثيابهم من جلود الوحش وطعامهم من الصيد وهم  
 يقاتلون ويحاربون وإذا أرادوا أن يغيروا على عدوهم خرجوا  
 بصيالاتهم رجالة ثم يحزرون عدوهم فاذا وقعوا على عدوهم يتوهم  
 ليلاً وأبادوهم واستأصلوهم وما وقع في أيديهم وظفروا به من أمتعتهم  
 أضرموا فيها النار وأحرقوها لأنهم لا يستحلون من مال غيرهم إلا السلاح  
 والحديد وإذا أراد أحدهم أن يواقع امرأته أقامها على أربع ثم يقضى منها  
 وطرة كما تفعل السباع والبهائم ومهور نسائهم البهائم والوحوش و  
 إذا مات منهم ميت شددوه بالجمال وعلقوه في بعض الأشجار ويتركه  
 إلى أن يتلاشى وربما أتى واحد منهم إلى خوخيز واستظعمهم فإن أطعمه  
 الخوخيزي واحسن قرأه [فيها] وإلا وثب عليه وأهلكه وعادها ربا إلى مرجه  
 7) وذكر أبو سعيد عبد الله بن جبريل أنه رأى جماعة من أهل الشرق  
 قصدوا الحج في سنة أربع وثلاثين وأربعمائة وكانوا قريبى العهد بالإسلام  
 وكان فيهم أحد يفهم ويعرف الكلام فكان يخبر عن أشياء عجيبة منها  
 أنه قال إن بقرب بلادهم في الشمال جبالاً فيها خلف صورهم صور  
 الناس إلا أن أرجالهم أذنان الكلاب تنعقف إلى ظهورهم ونسائهم  
 على خلقة النساء إلا أن كلهم عراة لا يتسترن بشئ إلا بشعر  
 على أبدانهم والبحر يطرح لهم سمكات طول كل واحدة منها ثلاثة  
 أشبار فهم يغتذون بها

8) فاما في جهة الجنوب فالخروج عن الاعتدال يكون إلى الحرارة المفرطة  
 في الاحراف حتى تخرج طباع سكانها عن طباع الانس إلى طبيعة السباع



9 وفي اقاصى اراضى النج امه من الزوج يسكنون ساحل البحر ليس  
 لهم ببيان ولا مزارع ولا برائث وان الحر يفرض عليهم وراهم [43a] اسراب  
 حفروها وعمقوها فاذا بلغ النهار انحروا فى اسرابهم ولا يمكنهم البروز  
 الا بعدما تنضيف الشمس للغروب وطعامهم السمك وثمار الاشجار و  
 5 اراضيم ذات مروج واشجار ملتفة وهم مشوهو الخلقه ومفرطو الطول  
 فى تهدل الشفاه واسترخاء الاذان واتساع الصماخين والمنخرين وهم  
 ياكلون لحوم الناس من البيضان اذا ظفروا بهم ومن عادتهم اذا ظفروا  
 بالبيضان ان يجسومهم فى جريدهم فى البحر ويوسخون عليهم الطعام مما  
 عندهم حتى تعبل اجسامهم وتكثر لحومهم ثم يدحونهم وياكلونهم<sup>٢</sup> ويختص  
 10 ملكهم وزوجته بهذا الطعم الا ان يكثر فيشاركها غيرها فيه وشهوة  
 الباه غالبه عليهم لكثرة حرازمهم وربما غرض البيضان على الملك ليختار  
 منهم من يريد للدخ فتقع عين امراته على واحد منهم فاستحسنته و  
 اخذته طعمه لنفسها وادخلته سريرا وراودته عن نفسه فان وجدت عنده  
 15 قوه وقدره على المباحة استبقته واستفحلته واعلمته من السموك  
 ما يزيد فى قوه الباه ولا تزال تستعمله الى ان يضعف ويقتر فاذا عجز  
 عن الجماع ذبحته واكلته وربما وجد فرصة فانتزها وهرب واصحاب  
 التجارات ممن يهاقبهم يقصدون مواضعهم لاقتباص الذراري والصبيان  
 منهم فيخرجون الى مروجهم ويختفون فى غياضها ويحملون معهم التمر  
 ويطرحون منه شيئا فى ملعب صبيانهم فيلتقطون ذلك ويستطيبون و  
 20 ويطلبونه وفى اليوم الثانى يطرحون التمر فى موضع ابعدهم من الطرح الاول  
 ولا يزالون يتباعدون فى ذلك والصبيان تتبعه حرصا على التمر فاذا  
 تباعدوا عن منازل آباؤهم خرجوا عليهم واختطفوهم وحلوهم الى بلادهم  
 10 وفى بحر الهند جزيرة تسمى لتبالوس ويقال انها سبعمانه فرسخ  
 فى مثلها لا يقرم لسان اهلها [44a] وفى بحرهم العنبر وهم لا

ينتفعون به وإنما يجيئون خلف الركاب وبيعون منهم بالإشارات  
والإيماء الحديد ولا يرغبون إلا فيه

11 ووراءهم جزيرة أهلها سوداء مشوهون يأكلون من يظفرون بهم من  
غيرهم بعد أن يقطعوه ويتركونه معلقاً ثم يزدردونه ثياباً ويسمهم  
بعض الناس جناً وإنما خيل لهم ذلك لأنهم رأوهم متسبحين يأكلون الناس  
الغريباء فاجتنبهم غيرهم وتباعدهم واذة لم يخالفهم أحد جربلت في  
الخطابة مواضعاتهم واذة نفر عنهم غيرهم زادهم نفاراً وربما قصدهم بعض  
الناس ممن يعتقد فيهم الشرارة فاستحکم نعارهم فصاروا كالجن باختباثهم  
واختفانهم عن الناس بل كالشياطين بالاستقباح صورهم واشكالهم

12 فان شوه الخلقه وسماجة الأعضاء والبنية والإفراط في طول القامة  
غير مستبذ في السودان واهل الجزائر ومنهم عراة لا يسترون  
سواثرهم (1) ثم الحاجة تلجئهم الى المبايعات والمعاوضات ولن يستتر  
لهم إلا بالمغايبة كالمجالبية على الجانبين بالأمن وأكثر اهل الجزائر يتعاملون  
بالحديد والبلح والقوط وقل ما تزوج الدنانير عندهم

13 وحكى بعض التجار البحرين أنهم أرفوا الى جزيرة وخرجوا اليها للامتياز  
وانه دفع ديناراً الى احد من اهلها فأخذه وشمه ثم ذاقه ثم رده و  
لم يرص به اذ لم ير لنفسه فيه نصيباً

14 وفي جانب بحر الحبسة فرقة من البربر يقصدهم التجار فيعاملونهم  
ويبايعونهم من بعيد وعلى زقباة وحفظة خوفاً منهم فان من عادتهم  
أن يجنبوا من يظفرون به من الغريباء ولا يعاملون بهم غير ذلك ثم يعلقون  
البدالكير بخصاها في بيوتهم للمفاخرة والبهاة بكثرتها

15 وذكر في كتاب المسالك والممالك ان أمة من ناحية الغرب (1) تجئ الى  
الكيماكية في السفى ويتاجرونهم بالإشارة وتساله السلعة على خشبة  
حتى يقع التراضى ويغيبون في الطساس [44] الشبرية يتخذون

شيل Ms. d \* الكستمية (9) e \* بالمعينة (5) ك اذا Ms. a

- منها حُلِي نِسَاهُم وَلَا يَتَكَلَّمُونَ
- 16) وَمِنَ التِّجَارِ جَمَاعَةٌ يَقْصِدُونَ الْجَزَائِرَ السَّافِلَةَ مِنْ أَرْضِ الْهِنْدِ لِشِرَاءِ الْقَرْنَفْلِ وَقَدْ اشْتَرَتْهُ عِنْدَ الْجُمْهُورِ أَنَّه يُشْتَرَى مَخَابِيَهُ<sup>a</sup> لِنَفْرَةٍ بَيْنَ التَّبَابِيحِينَ وَذَلِكَ أَنَّ تِجَارَةَ الْبَحْرِ يَقْصِدُونَ الْجَزِيرَةَ الَّتِي هِيَ مَعْدِنُ الْقَرْنَفْلِ فَإِذَا انْتَهَوْا إِلَيْهَا طَرَحُوا الْأَشْجَرَ وَصَارُوا فِي الْقَوَارِبِ إِلَى شَاطِئِ الْجَزِيرَةِ وَبَسَطُوا الْأَنْطَاعَ وَوَضَعُوا كُلَّ رَجُلٍ كَيْسَهُ الَّذِي فِيهِ الدَّنَانِيرُ عَلَى نَطْعِهِ وَانْصَرَفُوا عَنِ الْجَزِيرَةِ عَشِيئًا فَإِذَا أَصْبَحُوا عَادُوا فِي الْقَوَارِبِ إِلَى ذَلِكَ الْمَكَانِ فَيَجِدُونَ عَلَى كُلِّ نَطْعٍ بَدَلُ الْمَالِ كُدْسًا مِنَ الْقَرْنَفْلِ فَاخْذُوهُ وَإِنْ كَرِهَ ذَلِكَ بَعْضُهُمْ تَرَكَهُ بِجَالِهِ وَعَادَ فِي الْيَوْمِ الثَّانِي فَيَجِدُ مَالَهُ بِجَالِهِ تَحْتَ خِمْتِهِ فِي كَيْسِهِ وَ الْقَرْنَفْلُ مَرْفُوعٌ وَلَيْسَ فِي مَبَايِعَتِهِمْ حَيْفٌ وَتِلْكَ جَزِيرَةٌ ضَخْمَةٌ وَلَا يُرَى فِيهَا بِالنَّهَارِ إِنْسَانٌ وَلَا يُرَى فِيهَا بِالنَّهَارِ الْقَرْنَفْلُ وَإِذَا كَانَ اللَّيْلُ سَمِعَ فِيهَا ضَوْضًا وَجَلْبَةً وَلَا يَجْسُرُ أَحَدٌ عَلَى تَوَقُّعِهَا وَمَنْ دَخَلَهَا وَتَخَلَّفَ هُنَاكَ لَا يُوْجِدُ لَهُ أَثَرَهُ بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ وَلَا يُدْرَى أَمْرُهُ
- 17) وَبِحِذَاءِ سَرَنْدِيبَ بَلَدٌ يُقَالُ لَهُ رَامَشِيرٌ وَبَيْنَهُ وَبَيْنَ سَرَنْدِيبَ جِبَالٌ بَارِزَةٌ مِنَ الْبَحْرِ مُتَقَابِرَةٌ الْوَضْعِ وَوَرَاءَهَا أُمَّةٌ يَأْكُلُونَ النَّاسَ بَعْدَمَا يُذْجُونَ وَيُشْرِكُونَ وَفِي غِيَاضِ سَرَنْدِيبَ نَائِسٌ عَرَاءٌ لَا يُفْقَهُمْ كَلَامُهُمْ وَلَيْسَ لَهُمْ نَطْقٌ بَيْنَ إِلَّا شَيْءٌ كَالصَّفِيرِ وَهُمْ صُغَارُ الْجَثْثِ جَدًّا لَا تَزِيدُ قَامَاتِهِمْ عَلَى أَرْبَعَةِ أَشْبَارٍ وَهُمْ مَتَوَحِّشُونَ نَافِرُونَ عَنِ النَّاسِ وَيَتَسَلَّقُونَ عَلَى الْأَشْجَارِ بِأَيْدِيهِمْ مِنْ غَيْرِ أَنْ يَضَعُوا أَرْجُلَهُمْ عَلَيْهَا
- 18) وَفِي الْبَحْرِ قَوْمٌ بِيضٌ يَلْحَقُونَ السَّرَاكِبَ سَبَاحَةً وَالْمَرَاكِبَ فِي سُرْعَةٍ السَّيْرِ كَالرَّيْحِ وَبِحَمْلُونَ بِأَفْوَاهِهِمُ الْعَنْبَرَ فَيَبِيعُونَهُ بِالْحَدِيدِ
- 19) وَجَزِيرَةٌ يُقَالُ لَهَا بِالْوَسْ أَهْلُهَا يَأْكُلُونَ النَّاسَ
- 20) وَذَكَرَ شَيْخٌ مَعْرُوفٌ مِنَ التَّنَطُّبِيِّينَ كَانَ كَثِيرًا [45a] السِّيَاحَةَ أَنَّهُ نَزَلَ بِقَوْمٍ مِنَ الْعَرَبِ فِي بَعْضِ الْبَرَارِيِّ الَّتِي فِي طَرَفِ الْأَحْسَاءِ

\* معاينة (؟) a

فاستضافهم<sup>٤</sup> وبقى عندهم وكانوا يُطعمونه لحماً مملوحاً مجففاً اذ لم يكن  
 عندهم من الطعام الا الجراد واللسب ولحم الصيد فقلت لهم يوماً اني  
 اشتريته لحماً طرياً فقالوا غدا نركب الى الصيد وناخذك معنا فلما أصبحنا  
 ركبوا وركبت معهم فلما أصبحنا قالوا لي انك لا تعرف طرف الاصطياد ولكن  
 قف على شريعة هذا الوادي فاذا جاءك الصيد فأرذده الينا وكان الطريف  
 ضيقاً قال فوقفت فاذا بجماعة على صورة الناس رجالاً ونساءً و  
 صبياناً قد أقبلوا وأشاروا عليه بصياح يشبه الكلام بأن يتنجس  
 عن الطريف قال فتخيت حتى عبروا واذا هم عراة وعلى ابدانهم  
 شعر رقيق كاللؤلؤ يسترهم فلما جازوا بأجمعهم جاء القوم في  
 أثرهم وقالوا لي أين الصيد؟ فقلت ما رأيت الصيد ولكن رأيت  
 جماعة من الناس عراة وسألوني الإفراج عن الطريف ففعلته ففشاخكوا  
 وقالوا خذك الخبيث واذا معهم من ذلك الحيوان عدة قد ذبحوها  
 وعلقوها على دوابهم فلما رأيت ذلك اشمازت نفسي وعرفت كمن  
 مؤاكلتهم وامتنعت عن أكل اللحم فقالوا إن الذي كنت تأكل في هذه  
 الأيام كان من هذا الحيوان وكلتوني أكله فعافته نفسي وانصرفت  
 عنهم وهذا الحيوان الذي يسمى نسناس

21) ويقال ان في البراري التي بين بدخشان وكاشغر من هذا

الحيوان شئ كثير

29) وذكر في اخبار الاسكندر انه لما قصد دخول الظلمات اعترضته أمة  
 من هذا الجنس وكاثروه حتى احتاج الى قتالهم وبادتهم وهم صنف

من القرود وعلى ابدانهم شعر كما يكون على القرود

23) وقرأت في كتاب البحران جزيرة الواف واف التي يكون فيها  
 الأبنوس فيها أمة خلقتهم [456] كخلق الناس في جميع الأعضاء  
 إلا اليدين فإن لهم في موضع اليدين شيئاً كالجناح صفاقياً

كجناح الخفاش وهم رجالٌ ونساءٌ وهم يأكلون ويشربون ويجنون  
على زكيتهم ويتبعون السفن يستطعمون فإذا قصدهم انسانٌ بسطوا  
تلك الأجنحة وأحضروا فيصير عذوبهم كالطيران فلا يحترق أحدٌ

## مُلَقَّ

[75a] .... وذكر الجيهاى فى كتاب المسالك والممالك انّ المارّ من نسا جوالى الصين  
يرى عن يمينه جبلاً فيه دوابّ المسك والثيران التى تجلّ من أذناها  
المذابّة ورؤس الرايات - وكانها تكون هناك احسن واجود فانّ هذه  
الثيران تكثر فيما شرق عن ارض الختل نحو شكنان ووخان - وانه من  
الكاشغر على مسيرة شهرين ونصف وهو على مغترف الطريف الى قتاي  
على استقبال المشرق، والى الصين على انحراف نحو اليمن ويميل الى الجنوب  
وهو غير بعيد عن صحاذا التبت ....

[210a] ... وفى سفالة الهند فى أقصاها ارضٌ يقال لها زمين زر اى ارض الذهب  
ينبت فيها الذهب كما ينبت الكلاء والتجار يقصدونها ولا يمكنهم ان يدخلوها  
إلا ليلاً لأن فيها النمل الفرسان ما يبلغ عظمه عظم الكلب وتأكل الناس و  
غيره من الحيوان وهى تلحق الجواد المسترعف والجيب النرجال) ومن فرسان  
النمل الكبار نوعٌ له قرونٌ كباره منشعّة شبيهة بقرون الأيائل سود اللون  
عظمى الجرم وكنا نستبعد ذلك حتى حمل [بعضهم] الى حضرة السلطان  
الأعظم قرناً واحداً من قرونها وكان على ما وصفنا ووزناه فكان وزنه ثلثتى  
درهم فقضينا منه العجب وذلك فى شهر سنة اربع عشر وحمسة  
وكثيراً من البلدان والقرى غلب عليها النمل فكلت من أهلها و  
أصبحت حاويةً على عروشها .....

## ILLUSTRATIVE SPELLINGS

Page	Line	
86	27	قراچانك Rashīd فراچكلى Marvazī فراچكلى Hudūd
88	9	انفس Hudūd اندلس Fihrist الياساس Ya'qūbī
154	17	Marvazī نكريپتيان Gard. التكريية and البكريينية Fihrist البكريينية Shahristanī الكريسة
154	34	الراچريية Marvazī راچتر Gard. اراچريية Fihrist
154	44	البهاڤونية Shahr. البهاڤورية Marv. بهاڤوروان Gard. مرش جون بهاڤور Marv. مرش جون بهاڤور Gard.
156	1	جون و (Balārām) بلارام (Baladēv) بلاڤيو < بهاڤور كروش < مرش و (Jarā) جرا or (Jār) جار *
157	7	و (Jūn) جون, cf. (Lakhan) لخن or (Lakhman) لخن * مرش, cf. (Bharata) بهرت
138	5	Marv. البهقيية Marv. بكنى Gard. البهكينة or البهكينة Mutāhhar الدهكينية Shahr.
139	23	الديكينية Shahr. اوراكتيان Gard. الديكينة Fihrist
139	36	الهاريسه Marv. ماراقتيان Gard.
140	5	الامركجوية Marv. امرجوان Gard.
140	14	سدريان or كستريان نيكسان برسان Gard.
146	21	(Ūragha-fattan) اورغفتى * < اورغفتى
148	7	(Dharm) دهرم * رهسى دهرم
153	n.1	(al-Qimārī) القمارى * الرمادى
155	16	Marvazī بهيروا Muqaddasī بهيون Hudūd
157	33	حسنويه > جبويه (Yaghmā) يغما < بکچ

## ERRATA

The sign (!) indicates some unusual spellings of the original. In several places, dots, specially over final 0 have not come out in the photograph. More important oversights are indicated in the following list.

ص	سن	صواب	19	7	وَادٍ	35	21	نَحْوُ
3	24	الخَشْبَةُ	20	11	تَشَقُّقًا	36	23	كَأَنَّهُ
5	20	الْمَذْكُورَةُ	21	2	دَوَابِّ	37	5	فَارَتْ
6	17	مَتَنَازِحَةٌ	22	9	يَسْتَبُونَ		13	دَوَابِّ
7	8	مَعْرُوزَةٌ	23	17	يَسْتَلْبُونَ	38	18	يُبَيْعُهُ
	25	وَالِاتِّصَالِ	24	19	نِسَاءَهُمْ		21	قَوَادِهِ
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10	16	يَمْنَعُ	25	1	النَّخِيفَةُ	41	2	وَاعْتَدَالِ
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11	18	يَقْدُمُ	28	2	الْخَلْفُ	42	4	شَجَرَتَيْنِ
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1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes the need for transparency and accountability in financial reporting.

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2. The second part of the document outlines the various methods used to collect and analyze data. It includes a detailed description of the sampling process and the statistical techniques employed to ensure the reliability of the results.

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Year	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Total
2018	120	150	180	200	650
2019	130	160	190	210	690
2020	140	170	200	220	730
2021	150	180	210	230	770
2022	160	190	220	240	810

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*ad p. 3.* On f. 66b Marvazi sums up his first *Maqāla* as follows: "We have mentioned in it the conditions of men and the variety of their classes and customs, and the effect produced on them by the nature of their habitat and the climate of their residence; as well as the difference of the great nations in their customs, mode of life, creeds, sayings, mutual enmities and friendships. Also, facts about males and females, procreation, embryos and their formation. Also, facts about eunuchs and their habits. Also, habits and their influence on bodies. Also, the utility of human limbs. Now we turn our attention to dumb animals, wild beasts, cattle, beasts of prey, birds, insects, reptiles (*banāt al-mā*). We begin with those which have the biggest bodies and are the greatest in the estimation of men."

*ad p. 6, note 1.* In the chapter on Longevity (f. 61a) Marvazi quotes Abū 'Ubaydullāh Muḥammad b. 'Umrān al-Marzubānī's *Kitāb al-shabāb wal-shayb*.

*ad p. 30-1.* The names *Kujā*, *Ark* and *Ūj* belong to a series found also in the *Hudūd* and Gardizi. *Kucha* is well known, see *Hudūd*, p. 232. I tentatively identified *Ark* (in Persian "a citadel") with *Būgūr* (described by Kāshghari as a "castle"), *ibid.*, 274. W. Henning, *BSOS*, IX/3, 564-71, sees in *Ark* a reminiscence of \**Argi*, i.e. the present-day Qarashar. Phonetically this explanation is tempting, but I still reserve the possibility of Qarashar being *J.mly-kai*, cf. *Hudūd*, § 12, 10, and p. 275 (different from *J.m.l-kai*, § 12, 2). On *Ūj* see *Hudūd*, 293-4.

*ad p. 63.* A *Kitāb akhbār al-Šīn* is referred to on f. 83a (musk).

*ad p. 91.* On f. 82b it is stated that according to some "experts" musk is found in the deserts lying between India and China, towards Inner Tibet and Kashmir.

*ad p. 122.* A *Kitāb al-ahwiya wal-buldān* by Galen (*sic*) is quoted on f. 11b.

*ad p. 106.* The *Qūrī* are apparently the *Khori* Mongols whom Rashīd al-dīn treats as a branch of the Barghūt, ed. Berezin, VII, 108. The Barghūt lived in the country of Barghūjīn-Tūkūm. The name *Khori*, meaning "twenty" in Mongolian, must point to the number of original clans of this group.

*ad p. 115.* The island of Nokuyev, off the Murmansk coast, "is rendered especially conspicuous by its black, round-topped rocks," P. Semenov, *Slovar Ross. Imperii*, 1867, III, 361.

country of Gog and Magog a people "with small eyes and faces covered with hair, like those of apes, who do not come out at midday but only at night, for they hide themselves from the Sun's heat in mountain lairs," and then another people with blue eyes and hog-faces. Wahb's version is different from Marvazi's and he says nothing about the opposition of these monsters to Dhul-Qarnayn. In Pseudo-Callisthenes, Book II, Chapter 33, Alexander's army comes to blows with the wild men whom they found sitting on rocks and who were "naked, covered with thick hair, terrible, big and partly black with bushy hair falling down, each four cubits high, strong and ready to fight." Only with the help of burning fire did Alexander succeed in putting them to flight. Soon after (Chap. 37) follows the episode of Alexander's entering the "Lightless" Region. See H. Weismann's translation in Pfaffe Lamprecht's *Alexander*, 1850, II, 122-4.

§23. The island of Wāq-wāq is probably the most fantastic among the wonderlands of Muslim geography. Ferrand distinguishes between two Wāq-wāqs, the one corresponding to Madagascar and the other to Sumatra, *Jour. As.*, avril, 1932, 193-243. The story of the flying "men" does not seem to occur elsewhere. The *Kitāb al-baḥr* must be some book of marvels similar to Sulaymān (v.s. p. 82). Cf. also Ibrāhīm b. Waṣīf-shāh's *Mukhtaṣar al-'ajā'ib* (tr. by Carra de Vaux), and his larger Book of Marvels quoted by Ḥājji Khalifa. On the ancient reports of mariners see above Chap. VIII, §§ 14-16.

## ADDENDA

THROUGH the kindness of the India Office Library the original MS. of Marvazi has again been placed at my disposal in Cambridge. Here are some additional gleanings to supplement the printed text.

*ad p. 2.* Personal details. One of the monsters examined by Marvazi (f. 46b) was a woman from the village of Makhwān near Marv. Marvazi (f. 64b) reports the words of Abul-Faḥ b. al-Ḥassāb on a mason whom he saw climb onto a spire (*mīl*) in Isfahan, in the year 477/1034. Marvazi (f. 64a) himself witnessed the similar prowess of a climber in Sarakhs. A reference to Marvazi's sojourn in Isfahan (but without date) is found on f. 62b: in the autumn some people from Idhaj (Khūzistān) were suffering from cold while Marvazi cooled his water with snow. F. 80a: an eye-witness story of a man who used a herd of sheep for the transportation of bow-strings and fish glue from Khwarazm to Marv. Marvazi often quotes Turkish terms: F. 70b: "a male camel" *lūk*; "a female camel" *arvāna*; a kind of long-haired camel *khankli* (\**qangli*?); f. 82b: a kind of antelope in Turkish lands *saqāq* (\**sayghaq*?).

seems to be *al-Nankabar* (or *Nakkavar* > Nicobar), "the naked." The language of the islanders is related to the Mon-Khmer family.

§11. Cf. I. Kh., 45. In Sulaymān, 9, these islands are separated from Lankābālūs by the sea called Andamān. In Ibrāhīm b. Waṣīf's *Mukhtaṣar al-ajā'ib* (circa A.D. 1000), translated by Carra de Vaux under the title *L'Abrégé des Merveilles*, 55, a similar tribe of negro cannibals is located in the neighbourhood of the island Ramnī (Sumatra). Ferrand, *Relations*, 25, identifies their island with that called *Maljān* in Sulaymān, cf. *H.-'A.*, p. 473.

§§12-13 are made up of some details found in the books of wonders. The story of the rejection of a dīnār by a savage is found in Biruni, *Kitāb al-jamāhir*, ed. Krenkow, p. 9, who quotes *ba'du man sāfara fil-baḥr*. References to *baḥriyyūn* are found also in I. Kh., 62, 65.

§14. According to the *Hudūd*, §3, 3a, one of the "Gulfs" of the "Great Sea" which begins from the limits of Abyssinia and stretches westwards and off the Sudan is called the Barbarī Gulf. It corresponds to the Gulf of Aden. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I, 231-3, calls it *al-khalīj al-Barbarā*. It is probable that Marvazī too is thinking not of the Berbers of Northern Africa, but of some wild tribe in the neighbourhood of Berbera (British Somaliland).

§15. See §8 *bis* in Chapter IX (Kimāk).

§16. The story of the dumb barter of cloves corresponds to the *Abrégé des merveilles*, pp. 38, 44. The author first locates the bargain in the island of B.rṭāyil (see our Chapter XII, §58), and then in a "clove valley in India." The origin of the story is certainly much older. It was reproduced by Birūnī, 159, *Z. Qazvīnī*, I, III, Buzurg b. Shahriyār, *Les Merveilles de l'Inde*, ed. van der Lith, 168, etc. Birūnī compares the word *lavang* (Ssk. *lavaṅga*), "cloves," with the name of the island Lankā, from which they are obtained (?). There seems to be some confusion about the name of the island. Marvazī calls the inhabitants of the island *jinn*. According to Birūnī, 159, the trade takes place with the jinns (*ma'al-jinn*). In the *Abrégé des Merveilles*, as translated by Carra de Vaux, 38, the cloves in B.rṭāyil are bought from "des marchands invisibles." As is known, the root of *jinn* means primarily "to hide."

§17. See Chapter XII, §57 *bis* (Rāmshīr).

§18. The story of the swimmers is already in I. Kh., 65.

§19. *Bālūs* is Baros on the south-western coast of Sumatra, see *H.-'A.*, 187, 228, 241.

§20. Al-Ahsā (Laḥsā) lies on the southern coast of the Persian Gulf. Nothing seems to be known of the existence of anthropoids in Arabia, with the exception of Yemen.

§21. See Chapter IX, §5 *bis* (Kāshghar).

§22. Wahb b. Munabbih<sup>1</sup> (as preserved in Ibn Hishām's *Kitāb al-tijān*, ed. Lidzbarski, *Z. f. Assyr.*, VIII, 1893, p. 302) reports that, before entering the Land of Darkness, Dhul-Qarnayn met in the

<sup>1</sup> Died in 104/722 or 110/728, see Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, V, 462.

Iran," with a clear allusion to the well-known Kurdish ruler Ḥasanūya (348-69/959-79). The original story of the Abyssinian murderer of the Jabbūya, as reported by Marvazī, was apparently invented by the opponents of the Qara-khanids, but Marvazī introduces into it a complimentary conclusion, cf. Chapter VIII, §22. Later on, at the court of a Qara-khanid prince, some new feature of nobility was conferred on his ancestor by means of his association with a *pādshāh-i Iran*. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 7, calls this story "a fantastic legend, evidently of bookish origin."

## CHAPTER XV

### REMOTE COUNTRIES

As stated in the Introduction, this Chapter is the result of a whim of Marvazī's to collect under one heading some heterogeneous items extracted from other sections. Thus the chapter is a pot-pourri of matters relating to the northern peoples, to Chinese Turkestan, to Africa and to the southern seas.

§1. The author's idea of the influence of excessive cold (see Chapter IX, §§17-20) and heat (Chapter XIII, §§1-5) is meant to be a connecting link between the disjointed items of Chapter XV.

§§2-4. For geographical reasons, the translation and commentary of this group of items on northern lands has been treated as §§2 *bis*, *ter* and *quater* of Chapter XV.

§§5-6, referring to Chinese Turkestan, are treated as §§5 *bis* and *ter* of Chapter XV.

§7. Abū Sa'id 'Ubaydullāh b. Jibrīl was one of the ten members of the Christian family of Bukht-yishū, famous in the records of medical science. Abū Sa'id died in 450/1058, see E. G. Browne's translation of the *Chahār-Maqāla*, 145, and E. G. Browne, *Arabian Medicine*, pp. 23-4. Marvazī quotes him also in Chapter XVI, f. 47b = 'Aufi, No. 1941. Both quotations are probably from 'Ubaydullāh's *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, which, according to Niẓāmu'd-dīn, 99, is one of the sources of Br.Mus.Or. 2784.

§9. In Muslim terminology the Zanj country represents the whole of the eastern coast of Africa, see *H.-'Ā.*, 472. The story belongs to the usual class of wonder tales, v.i. §23 on a *Kitāb al-bahr*.

§10. I. Kh., 66, refers to Alankabālūs (Nicobar islands?) as the first place of call on the way from Ceylon to China, cf. *H.-'Ā.*, 188. Sulaymān, 16, also mentions the incomprehensible language of the inhabitants. The name of the island is sometimes spelt *Lankābālūs*, (*lanḳā*, "island" + *Bālūs*, cf. §19), but the etymology of the name

found in the *Lata'if al-ma'ārif*, 132: *tulbis al-sawād 'alā al-shuraf*, in the sense of "carrying coals to Newcastle"!

§§6 and 7. Even on the external evidence of their fantastic character, the two anecdotes must have a common source, which in the first case is vaguely called *Tawārīkh* and in the second *Ta'rīkh mulūk al-Turk*. Both anecdotes jointly appear in 'Aufi (Nizāmu'd-din, *o.c.*, Nos. 1973 and 1974), who explains that they have been taken from his maternal uncle Majd al-dīn Muḥammad b. 'Adnān al-Surkhakati's *Tārīkh-i Mā-wārā al-nahr* and *Tārīkh-i Turkistān*. Barthold, who follows Hājji Khalifa, calls the two histories "History of Khitāy" and "History of Turkestan," see *Turkestan, GMS*, 17, while Nizāmu'd-din seems to regard them as a single work. Majd al-dīn was court physician to the Qara-khanid king of Bukhara Qilij Tamghāj-khan Ibrāhīm b. Ḥusayn (574-97/1178-1200?), to whom he dedicated his work (or works). 'Aufi himself attended on that king in 597/1200, Nizāmu'd-dīn, 5, 8. Consequently there is no doubt that the work was composed towards the end of the twelfth century, at least fifty years after the last date (514/1120) found in the *Tābā'i' al-ḥayawān*. As Marvazī states that he took it from some "Histories"<sup>1</sup> and a "History of Turkish kings," we are forced to infer that Majd al-dīn's was not a pioneer composition in this field. He may have taken his anecdotes from Marvazī, or even from the latter's source.

The contents of the first story apparently echo the presence of some Abyssinians on the Khorasan front. One of the important amirs whom Sultan Bark-yaruq appointed governor of Khorasan towards the very end of the twelfth century A.D.,<sup>2</sup> was called Dād-beg Ḥabashī b. Altuntaq, Barthold, *o.c.*, 34. This may be only a personal name, but it may also indicate some admixture of African blood in the said amir. Cf. *ibid.*, 325, the personal name Zangī b. 'Alī.

In the second story Marvazī definitely refers to two Turkish kings, *B.k.j* (*K.j*?) and *Jabbūya*, i.e. Jabghūya. The latter is a well-known Turkish title (*yabghu*, *jabghu*, etc.), which according to I. Kh., 16, specially distinguished the Khallukh (Qarluq) rulers. The *Ḥudūd*, §13, 1. suggests that in olden times "the rulers of Kāshghar were from the Khallukh, or from the Yaghmā." From the latter tribe rose the Qara-khanids, see *H.-'Ā.*, p. 278, and it is tempting to take our *B.k.j* for a bad mis-spelling of *Yaghmā* and a hint at the triumph of the latter tribe, see *H.-'Ā.*, 288. In 'Aufi's source the situation had become considerably entangled. The name of the second king appears in the MSS. as *T.k.j*, *B.l.j*, *B.l.h*, whereas the incomprehensible *Jabbūya* has been replaced by "Ḥasanūya, the king of

<sup>1</sup> We must bear in mind that in Gardīzi *Tawārīkh* refers to Jayhānī's work, see note to Chap. XII, §9. After all, *Ta'rīkh mulūk al-Turk* in §7 may refer not to a definite book but to a historical tradition.

<sup>2</sup> He was appointed after the murder of Ākinchi b. Qochqar (A.D. 1097) quoted by Marvazī in Chap. IX, §3.

## CHAPTER XIII

## THE ḤABASHA

§1. The term Ḥabasha comprises not only the Abyssinians but also other peoples of north-eastern Africa (Αἰθίοπες). The introduction develops Marvazī's usual ideas on anthropology, see Chap. IX, §§17-20, Chap. XV, §1. The expression *mamlakatu Fāris wal-'Arab wal-Rūm* is strange and apparently refers only to "territories." Cf. Chap. VIII, §19 (Ujam).

§2. See Chap. IX, §§17-20. In Chap. XVII (f. 47b) Marvazī returns to his favourite antithesis of Africans and Turks: "Harmony (*i'tidāl*) in a Zanj is that he should be black, tall in stature, with large eyes, nostrils and corners of the mouth, with crisp hair and harsh voice, whereas a Turk should be short, with narrow eyes, nostrils and mouth, and a shrill voice.<sup>1</sup> If a Zanji had the characteristics (*hayfiya*) of a Turk, or vice versa, this would be an anomaly. Each nation, nay, each person has a special constitution (*mizāj*) which forms their healthiness and harmony, and the harmony of Zayd differs from that of 'Amr."

§3. The *Hudūd*, §57, describes the "Ethiopians" as black but having regular features, lazy but endowed with lofty aspirations.

§4. According to E. Mittwoch, *Die literarische Tätigkeit Ḥamza al-Isbahānis*, in *MSOS*, XII, 1909, pp. 109-69, Ḥamza lived circa 280-360/893-970, and his chief historical work was completed circa 350/961. Consequently he belongs to the post-Jayhānian epoch. The quotation does not seem to figure in the known works of Ḥamza, and it is even difficult to find a place for it in any other of his works, as far as one can judge from their titles. Nothing is known either about Ḥasan Sirāfi. The story seems to indicate that the enterprising natives of Sirāfi not only traded with China (v. Chapter VIII, §26), but even penetrated far into Central Africa. The Negro kingdom of Kānam lay to the N.E. of lake Chad, see Marquart, *Die Benin Sammlung*, 1913, p. 82. Ya'qūbi, *Historiae*, I, 217, says that the Negroes Zoghāwa occupy the territory of Kānam, their king being called al-Kākra. The gigantic tree referred to in the story must be a baobab.

§5. Jāḥiẓ in his Praise of the Negroes *Fakhr al-sūdān 'alal-bidān*, in *Tria opuscula*, ed. van Vloten, 79, also quotes the opinion that the colour black is useful for the eyes. *Ibid.*, 81: the Negroes say that it was not God who made them black for their vilification, but the conditions of the country in which they live. It is possible that Marvazī in his defence of the colour white is aiming at the subtle sophisms of Jāḥiẓ. A reference to the black dress of police agents is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the characteristics of the Turks in 'Utbi-Manini, II, 83: broad faces, small eyes, flat noses, shaven hair (or scanty hair, beards), sharp swords, black clothing, cuirasses.

§66. I have nothing to add to my tentative identification of *S.lābūr* (which could be easily restored as \**Singāpūr*) with Hsüan-Tsang's *Seng-ha-pu-lo* (Simhapura). The spot on which the capital of this region stood is still doubtful. Most probably it lay near the Salt Range which stretches north of the Jhelum. Gen. A. Cunningham placed it first at the sacred spring of Kētas, and later, at the village of Malot, 15 miles west of Kētas. The whole problem has been reconsidered on the spot by Sir A. Stein, *Archaeological reconnaissance in N.W. India and S.E. Iran*, 1937, 45-58. The author concurs in the opinion that Simhapura lay at, or near, Ketas, but some difficulties with the distances indicated by Hsüan-Tsang seem still to stand in the way of reaching final conclusions.

The *Hudūd* gives a curious indication on the trade and the coinage of *S.lābur*. Marvazī is more interested in the system of remuneration of the courtesans.

§67. *B.rājūn*, *B.rāhūn* (?) (cf. *Hudūd*: *B.rīhūn* ? and Muqaddasi *B.rhīrwā*) is difficult to identify. According to the *Hudūd* it possessed its own king and looked like a *ribāṭ* (fortified camp). For the Arabic forms of this indistinct name see Arabic text, p. 52, line 21. The obvious identification would be with Benares which meets the indication of the sacred waters (*Hudūd*, §10, 40.) and of the 700 "houses belonging to idols" (*Hudūd*: "300 idol temples"). However, the name of Benares (Ssk. *Vārānaṣī*, Biruni: *Bānārsī*) cannot be recognised in the available forms. Outwardly the spelling might be taken for Budā'ūn (<Buddhgaon), but the latter is said to have been constructed by a prince Buddha only in the tenth century A.D. Budā'ūn stands on the Sot (or Yār-i Vafādār), a left tributary of the Ganges. An inscription of the 12-13th century found in Lakhanpur, a suburb of the city, enumerates eight generations of local rulers and says that under the sixth of them "there was never any talk of Hambiras (Muslims ?) coming to the banks of the river of the gods." See *Budaun: a Gazetteer*, Vol. XV of the *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces*, Allahabad, 1907, 130-1. On the whole, Budā'ūn was not sufficiently distinguished in the past and the "river of the gods" apparently refers to the Ganges and not to the Sot. The only Hindu temple of which a mention is found in the *Gazetteer* was dedicated to Nilakantha Mahādeva and was later converted into a mosque.



368), whose series runs as follows: al-RHMY (\*Dharma-pāla of Bengal)—*al-Kāshbīn* (Mas'ūdī: *al-Kām.n*)—*al-Qīr.nj* (Mas'ūdī: *al-F.r.nj*)—then "many kingdoms whose numbers are known to God alone" (omitted in Mas'ūdī), one of them being *al-Mūja*—then *al-Mābad* (Mas'ūdī: *al-Mūja* and *al-Mānd*). As a neighbour of Bengal *al-Kāshbīn* or *al-Kām.n* should correspond to Assam,<sup>1</sup> and to some extent this is confirmed by the detail on the beauty (?) of its inhabitants, cf. Marvazī, §16. For *Qīr.nj/F.r.nj* there remains only some territory of Burma. As Mas'ūdī adds that it is situated on a "tongue of land," one might take it for an alternative designation of the peninsula of Pegu, but if "the tongue" points only to the narrowness of the territory, one might consider Arakan. The native name of the latter *Rakhuing* does not resemble the Arabic forms, even if we restore them as \**Qarang, Farang, etc.*<sup>2</sup> Between *Qīr.nj* and China Sulayman mentions "many" other kingdoms (of which he names only *al-Mūja*). I. Rusta omits the Burma-Yün-nan road altogether.

§§64-67 all refer to places connected with Hindu cults. In this regard, it is similar to Gardīzī's confused §6. The latter follows a paragraph on Indian crafts and enumerates "the towns in which such wonders (*'ajā'ib*) are wrought"; it refers to some facts not recorded elsewhere (Buddha's birth-place etc.) and spells some names in a peculiar way (*J.l.ndh.r*). On the other hand the arrangement of Marvazī's list and its details entirely correspond to those of the *Hudūd*:

<i>H.-'A.</i>	Marvazī
§10, 37.	§64
§10, 38.	§65
§10, 39.	§66
§10, 40.	§67

This points to a common source (Jayhānī), but the *Hudūd* and Marvazī complement each other. For commentary see *H.-'A.*, 247.

§64. The detail on *Rām.yān* lying in the region of Lūhūvar (Lahore) partly agrees with the *Hudūd*, in which the town comes immediately after Lahore, but is said to be under Multān. The name of *Rām.yān* seems to be connected with *Rāma*. Dr. L. Chandra draws my attention to a sacred place, *Rāma-chautra*, situated on the *Rāvi* downstream from Lahore.

§65 is completed by f. 60b (Chap. XIX): on a king of Jālāndhar (*sic*) who lived 250 years and on the medicinal products of the place (v.s. p. 143). The two passages combined correspond with the *Hudūd* and Gardīzī (f. 199a).

<sup>1</sup> Ferrand, *Relations*, 14, decipheres *Kāshbīn* as Lakshmpur.

<sup>2</sup> *Q* can be easily confused with *t*. It was suggested to me that *Tyrang* might stand for *Talaing*, but the latter is the Burmese name of the ancient inhabitants of Pegu. As the Burmans occupied the region towards A.D. 1286 we cannot project the term into the 9th-10th century.

culture. Vishnuism and Śivaism flourished in Cambodia side by side with Buddhism, see Grousset, *Histoire de l'Extrême Orient*, 556, 563. Consequently it was regarded as India by Muslim travellers who visited it as a half-way station on the way to China. According to I. Rusta, 133, and I. Faqīh, 16, the genuine Indian religion was from Khmer.

I. Rusta, 132, quotes an Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad b. Ishāq, who spent two years in Khmer and attributes to him the well-known report on the prohibition of fornication and wine which has been reproduced by the majority of geographers and is found embedded even in Sulaymān's longish chapter on Khmer, 93-101, v.s. §44. This early traveller (before A.D. 850?) must be responsible for the majority of data on Khmer contained in our source, but I. Rusta, 133 (cf. our §60) seems to be quoting some other authority on Khmer as well. The king to whom the traveller refers may be the founder of the Khmer empire Jayavarman II (A.D. 802-69), whom Ferrand identifies with the Khmer prince established on the throne by the Śrīvijaya mahārāja, see Abū Zayd Sirāfi in Sulaymān, 99, cf. Grousset, *o.c.*, 559.

Marvazi's statement on the 100,000 devotees is in I.R., 133, but neither the name *R.mādi*<sup>1</sup> nor the story of the devotee's caustic remark are found elsewhere. This passage is a clumsy interruption of the narrative.

§63. In I. Rusta, 133, as well, *al-Arm.n* (which is better than our *Arh.n*) comes after Khmer, but it does not seem that it was visited by the traveller who declares to have seen the kings of Khmer, \*Pāṇḍya and Fārṭi (v.s. §45). \**Al-Arman* closely corresponds to *Rmeñ*, as the kingdom of Pegu (in the delta of the Irawaddy) was called in Old Mon.<sup>2</sup> It is quite natural that Pegu should have been referred to as the kingdom nearest to Khmer which before the invasion of the T'ai (thirteenth century) stretched up to the Salween.

North of Pegu with its Mon population lay the kingdom of Pagan (or Prome) inhabited by the Pyu, who called themselves Turchul (v.s. §56). This kingdom lay on the road from Burma to China, the two kingdoms Mūsha and Māyd (Mānk?), forming further stages towards Yün-nan. On the Indian side we have the king DHM, whom we have identified with Dharma-pāla, and Assam, called by the Arabs *Qāmrūn* (for *Kāmarūpa*). Outside these names, there are two other difficult names in the region connecting Burma with India. They occur in Sulaymān, 32 (copied in Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I,

(Iranians) called it *Q.nd.hār*. In the volume edited by Blochet, 376-7, the forms *K.ndh.r* and *Q.ndū* correspond to *K.nd.r*. Here \**Qandahār* is only a popular etymology by which a better known name was substituted to a similar barbarian one.

<sup>1</sup> As yet *al-r.mādiya* has found no Indian explanation. In Arabic, *ramād*, "embers, ashes," may refer to some austerity practised by the devotees (v.s. §§20, 22). But *al-r.mādi* may be merely a mis-spelling for *al-Qimāri*, "Khmerian". See Arabic text, p. 52, line 20.

<sup>2</sup> Luce, "Notes on the Peoples of Burma" in *Burma Census Report*, cf. Yule, *Cathay*, p. clxxxv.

§57 *bis* (which in Marvazī's text is inserted out of place as §17 of the factitious Chap. XV) has to be considered jointly with §57. The name of Rāmshīr is not recorded in other sources, unless the name of Bābin (I. Kh., 63, tentatively restored by Yule as Bāpattam?) or Nūbin (*H.-'Ā.*, §10, 11., mistaken for §6, 16.), closely connected with Ceylon, is but a mis-spelling of Rāmshīr in Arabic cursive. The remaining part of the paragraph corresponds to I. Kh., 65, but the latter places the whistling dwarfs in the island of Rāmī.<sup>1</sup> In fact between §§57 and 58 there is a gap occasioned by the omission of the islands on the way from *Bahr al-Aghbāb* to Zābaj (v.s., p. 50, note 1).

§58. Zābaj (Jawaga), cf. *H.-'Ā.*, 56, refers to the insular empire of the Śrīvijaya dynasty, whose importance was fully brought to light by the late G. Ferrand, *L'Empire soumatranais des Śrīvijaya*, in *Jour. As.*, 1922, XX, 1-104, 106-246. Sulaymān has a long paragraph on Zābaj, 89-101, with a slightly different version of the ordeal, 48; Marvazī's text is entirely parallel to I. Rusta, 138.

The island of B.rṭā'il, cf. I. Kh., 68, has not been identified. In Arabic *birṭīl*, pl. *barāṭīl*, means "a present made to gain someone's favour," and its root may have influenced at least the spelling of *B.rṭā'il* with *ṭ*. Among the curious features of the island is the beauty of its inhabitants<sup>2</sup> and the music heard there by night. I am tempted to identify *B.rṭā'il* with Bali, the fame of whose musicians and dancers could not fail to reach Arab mariners. The story of Dajjāl may refer to some of the Balinese masks, but I cannot say whether Bali was ever a market for cloves as it is claimed in Ibrāhīm b. Waṣīf's *Abrégé des merveilles*, see Ferrand, *Relations*, 144. *B.rṭā'il* (under the disguise of *Kāsīl*) has found its way into the story of Sindbad, *Alf-layla*, night 541.

§59. Cf. §19 on Vāsudeva. In I. Rusta, 139, as well, this short item comes separately after the account of the ordeals.

§60. The item on the severity of the king of Qandahār (?) and his punishments exactly corresponds to what I.R., 133, says about the king of Khmer. Our §§60-62 form one block of information on Khmer, and Qandahār would be out of place in this connection.<sup>3</sup>

§§61-62. *Qimār* is Khmer, i.e. the territory of the present-day Cambodia. Although its population belonged to Australasian stock, the country, from the earliest times, formed a dependency of Indian

<sup>1</sup> I.e. Sumatra, see Ferrand, *Relations*, 25. Apparently Marvazī took *Rāmshīr* and *Rāmī* for one place.

<sup>2</sup> Our source definitely uses the comparison *k-al-majūnn al-muṣarraqa* as a term of beauty. Lane's interpretation of the simile: "as though their faces were clad with sinews one above the other, rough and broad faces" does not suit the text. Dozy, *Supplément*, gives *ṣarraqa*, "remettre a l'enclume."

<sup>3</sup> Early geographers usually refer to the region of the present-day Qandahār as al-Rukhkhaj (Arachosia) and place its capital at Panjwāy. The name Qandahār (Baladhuri, 434: *Qanduhār*) appears in I. Kh., 56, and Ya'qūbī, *BGA*, 281. More usually al-Qandahār stands either for the port of Ghandhār in the Gulf of Bombay, cf. *H.-'Ā.*, §6, 16. and §10, 17., or for Gandhāra, cf. Biruni, 101. According to Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezin, XIII, 120 (tr. 73) the country *Qarā-Jāng* in Yün-nan, v.s. §56, was called both by the local population and the Indians *K.n.d.r.*, while the Tājiks

Incidentally the identification increases the chances of our tentative interpretation of some names in the chapter on China, §35.

§57. Above (§45) we have said that §57 is a result of Marvazi's own rearrangement of the sources. The following details in the paragraph belong to the queen of §45: the name of the kingdom (*Urshīn*, I.R.: *Urshīn*, H.-'A.: *Urshīn*); the name of the queen (\*Rāniya <Ind. *rānī*); the country lying "on the sea-coast" and having a bad climate.

Entirely distinct are the statements bringing *Urshīn* into contact with DHM. A king of northern India (namely, of Bengal?) could never have had any direct relations with the territory lying in the farthest south beyond the kingdoms of Cola and Pandya. In my commentary on the *Hudūd* I tried to obviate the confusion of the kingdom of *Urshīn*, etc., with Orissa, which had crept into de Goeje's edition of I. Rusta, p. 134, note *f*. I feel confident that in our §57 we have a similar confusion of the two names. In I. Kh., 64, the name *Urshīn* (\**Urshīn*?) refers to Orissa, which is described as "a great kingdom possessing elephants, (riding) animals and buffaloes, as well as numerous goods; its king is of elevated rank." In a parallel passage, the *Hudūd* (§10, 7.) has *Urshīn*, which it definitely distinguishes from *Urshīn*. Orissa, neighbouring on Bengal from the south, was certainly within the radius of DHM's activity, and this would be the explanation of our §57.

The dark point is whether in Marvazi's source there existed a reference to a separate queen of Orissa, or whether Marvazi himself having confused the two names, attributed to Orissa the characteristics of *Urshīn*. The personal details of the queen (huge, astute, warlike, etc.) do not occur in any other source, and there is still a presumption that Muslim travellers had heard of the existence of a queen in Orissa.

Orissa, comprising the Mahanadi basin with the adjoining territories, "has always been ruled by a number of dynasties simultaneously." The records of single dynasties are known only imperfectly. In the provisional summary, compiled with great care by H. C. Ray, *o.c.*, 391-503, there are several Mahādevīs mentioned either together with their husbands or independently. Among the Kara rulers of Tosali (in the delta of the Mahanadi) there was a queen called Daṇḍī Mahādevī, who "ruled the earth for a long time." According to H. C. Ray she reigned before A.D. 1076, but R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Calcutta, 1930, I, 146-56, assigns to her a much earlier date round about A.D. 958-65. Daṇḍī Mahādevī had succeeded her mother, and the latter's mother-in-law (? Banerji, I, 160) was Tribhuvana Mahādevī of whom an inscription is still extant. These dates are obviously too late to be contemporary with Dharma-pāla of Bengal, but they show that there was a tradition of queenship in Orissa. Besides, Muslim DHM could easily refer to Dharma-pāla's successors as well.

some dramas, belongs to the Congress Library, Washington, see *Reports of the Librarian of Congress*, 1924, 278-9 and 1930, 386-90. In Mongol times the Mo-so were called *Chaghān-Jāng*, i.e. the White Jang to distinguish them from the *Qarā-Jāng* (Marco Polo: *Carajan*), whose centre was at the present day Yün-nan-fu, v.s. commentary on China, §35. The Chinese call the Mo-so *Pe-man* "White barbarians," and transcribe their indigenous name *Mo-siè* or *Mosha*, see Deveria, *La frontière sino-annamite*, 164. Rashid al-dīn, ed. Berezin, XV, p. 23, says that some of the *Qarā-Jāng* are *white* (v.s. p. 86); at another place, ed. Blochet, 374, he definitely refers to the *Chaghān-Jāng*. Our identification is supported not only by the name and by geography, but also by the precious indication in Sulaymān, 31: "the *Mūja* (= *Mūsa*) are a people of *white* complexion, in dress similar to the Chinese. Musk is abundant with them. The country is covered with white mountains unusually long. The inhabitants have to combat with several kings that surround them" (i.e. probably the five other kingdoms of *Nan-chao*).<sup>1</sup>

More doubtful is the identity of *Mānk*. As the kingdom is said to be situated beyond *Mūsha*, on the frontier of China, one would expect a reference to *Qarā-Jāng*, i.e. the original part of the strong kingdom of *Nan-chao* having its centre at Yün-nan-fu.<sup>2</sup> However, in this case the name *Mānk* (variants: *Māyd*, *Mābd*, *Mānd*), cannot be explained. If we start from the form *Mānk*, recorded both in the *Hudūd* and *Marvazī*, we can restore it as \**Mang* and further identify its bearers with the well known "Gold teeth" of Marco Polo, II, 69, in Chinese *Kin-chih*, in Persian *Zar-dāndān*, Rashid al-dīn, XV, 23, Blochet, 378. According to Deveria, *o.c.*, 129, the Gold-teeth were originally called *Mang-shih-man*, "the barbarians of *Mang-shih*," as the Chinese called a region in the western corner of Yün-nan (on the right bank of the Salween, some 100 Km. to the S.W. of Yung-ch'ang).<sup>3</sup> M. Polo places the Zardandan at 5 days' distance to the west of *Carajan*, while according to Rashid al-dīn their frontiers ran partly with Tibet (*sic*) and partly with *Qarā-Jāng*. The *Kin-chih* are supposed to survive in the present-day *Po-jen*, "White men," or *Min-kia-tsū*, whose headquarters are now the plains of *Ta-li-fu*, Davies, *Yün-nan*, 372.

In any case, the identification of *Tirchul* and *Mūsha* has a considerable importance in that it suggests that Muslim merchants in the ninth century were already acquainted with the "Burma-Yün-nan" road, so much in the news at the time of writing (1940).

<sup>1</sup> The alternative spelling *Mū-ja* may point to some soft pronunciation of *s*. There may be also some confusion between the Mo-so and another people called *Mo-ch'o*, Deveria, 164, Sainson, 180, which is a branch of the Black Lolo, and whose representatives are also found in the region of *Ta-li*.

<sup>2</sup> This kingdom was founded in 728 and successfully resisted the T'ang. In 862 its king invaded Tongking. In 923 the kingship passed to the dynasty of *Ta-li*. In 1253 the Mongols subdued *Nan-chao*, cf. also Chavannes in *Bacot*, *o.c.*, 132.

<sup>3</sup> At present *Mang-shih* (local name *Mōng-Hkwan*) is an important Shan state of Yün-nan, Davies, *o.c.*, 110.

caliph (called simply *Maghribi*, "the Western one," in the *Hudūd*, but very respectfully *Imām al-muslimīn* in I. Rusta and Marvazī). As the Fatimids did not rise as an independent dynasty until A.D. 907, this item must be an interpolation belonging to the earlier part of the tenth century (Jayhānī?). A later change is indicated by the Shi'a traveller I. Hauqal, ed. Kramers, 322, who states (circa A.D. 977) that the rulers of Multān read the *khutba* for the 'Abbāsids.

The description of the idol is only an abridgement of the more complete passage in I. Rusta, 135<sub>19</sub>-137<sub>18</sub>. The latter text invokes the authority of someone "who informed me, whom I trust and who visited the country," 135<sub>20</sub>, 136<sub>14</sub>. The description is possibly(?) borrowed from Jayhānī, and the first person of *akhbaranī* may refer to him. In this case the passage belongs to the beginning of the tenth century and has nothing to do with Yaḥyā b. Khālid's envoy. Sulaymān, 130, says very little of the idol. The accurate Muqaddasi, 4, may have in view the passage on Multān when he speaks ironically of the glut of details in Jayhānī: "now he describes the idols of Hind, and now he speaks of the wonders of Sind." I. Hauqal, 321-2, gives an accurate description of the idol itself. The account of the idols in the *Fihrist*, 347, is confused. Although it follows the introduction on the MS. in al-Kindī's writing, it cannot go back to the same original source as the description of the Indian sects, *ibid.*, 347. Possibly the source on Multān is Abū-Dulaf (v.s. p. 126), for the story of the idol's being supported by magnets is found in the report of this wonder-teller as quoted in Yāqūt, III, 457.

§55. For a third time Marvazī returns to DHM's kingdom in connection with the temple on the Ganges where devotees allow themselves to be pecked to death by birds of prey, cf. Gardīzī, §38.

§56. The three kingdoms are also found mentioned in Sulaymān, 32, Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, I, 106, Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I, 388, and the *Hudūd*, §10, 8.-10. (commentary, *ibid.*, p. 242). The mystery of *Ṭ.rsūl* has been cleared up thanks to Prof. G. H. Luce (Rangoon), who has drawn my attention to the indigenous name *Tirchul* (in Chinese transcriptions *T'u-lo-chu*, *T'u-li-ch'u*) of the Pyu (*P'iao*) people who in the ninth century were in occupation of the plains of Burma. Our *Ṭ.rsūl* (better: \**Ṭ.rshūl*) must be restored as \**Tirchul*, cf. Luce, *Names of the Pyu* in *J. Burma Research S.*, XXII/2, 1932.

I have now come to the conclusion that the second kingdom Mūsa (or Mūsha) is identical with the still existing Mo-so people of the north-western part of Yün-nan. The early history of the Mo-so is little known, see Chavannes, in J. Bacot, *Les Mo-so*, Leiden, 1930, p. 132. They came from outside and founded a kingdom in the prefecture of Li-kiang-fu (to the north of Ta-li-fu in the loop of the Yangtze, H. R. Davies, *Yün-nan*, 1909, 388). The Mo-so are a gifted people: a large collection of their pictographic MSS., including

such a common feature in the genealogical tables of many other dynasties of India," and comes to the conclusion that the founder of the dynasty "belonged to an educated plebeian family."

A group of Arabic characters admits of numerous interpretations but the variants DHM and RHYM look very much like the expected Muslim form of Dharma, cf. Biruni, 20, 64: DHRM; see Arabic text, p. 52, line 10. In the *Hudūd* a *ḍamma* is seen over DHM indicating the reading *Dahum*, but very probably is only a trace of the omitted *r*: DHRM. As Dharma-pāla's empire was ephemeral, and even he himself, towards the end of his life, seems to have surrendered to his Raṣtrakūta rival, H. C. Ray, 286, the original report on DHM, and apparently the other kings, must belong to a period round about A.D. 800 or slightly earlier. Consequently, at least some of the details on DHM may go back to Yahyā b. Khālid's envoy (v.s.).

§52. *Qāmriin* is a constant Arabic mis-spelling of the name *Kāmarūpa*, i.e. Assam. Cf. I. Kh., 67, who also mentions gold as the local product and concludes with a statement on the kings having "split ears," i.e. wearing ear-rings. Another item on Assam is §16. On gold, see commentary on Chap. VIII, §42.

§53 seems to form an appendix to §51 and has a parallel in the *Hudūd*, §10, 7., according to which five territories N.mvās, Harkand, Ūrshīn (Orissa), S.m.nd.r and Andrās belonged to Dahum. The original author may have thought that a considerable part of the east coast of India stood in vassal dependence on the said king, cf. also §57. Marvazī has telescoped several items of the original. His *H.dkīra*, with its long bazaar, corresponds to *H.dd.njīra* of the *Hudūd*, §10, 5., where it forms part of F.nṣūr, and belongs to its own king called Saṭūhā. Faṣūr coming as it does before Qimār (Khmer) must correspond to Panchur, the celebrated camphor port on the western coast of Sumatra, cf. *H.-'Ā.*, 240. Marvazī seems to have committed a mistake in including *H.dkīra* in Dahum's possessions. He also confuses the southern kingdom of Ūrshīn with Orissa, and in this context spreads DHM's authority over *Bahr al-aghbāb* on which see §§45 and 57. Under §10, 7. the *Hudūd* refers to the shell-trumpet \**shank* while Marvazī speaks of cowrie shells which he calls *k.bnj* (?), cf. Sulaymān, 6; *kblj* (?), and *'Ajā'ib al-Hind*, 103, 216: *dibājāt al-k.st.j* (?): these spellings are obvious mutilations of a term derived from Ssk. *kaṣarda*, or *kaṣar-dikā*, Prakrit *kavaḍḍa*, which has given *kauri* in Hindi. The *gizhgāv* also contributes to the impression of confusion, for the yak (*poëphagus grunniens*) is out of place in the region producing pepper (*H.-'Ā.*, §10, 12.), unless the term is intended for some kind of buffalo (*bos bubalus*).

§54. Marvazī's text is parallel to that of I. Rusta, 135-7. Both confuse the descendants of the original conqueror of Multān, Muḥammad b. Qāsim b. Munabbih, cf. Biruni, 56, with the later Qarmāṭian usurpers who alone could read the *khutba* for the Fatimid

the *H.-'Ā.*). *Ibid.*, 250, I suggested an identification of his kingdom with the small principality of Chambā, in the south of Kashmir.

§49. *Jurz* is the great king of the Gurjara-pratihāra dynasty, the raja of Kanoj. The *ṭāṭir* coin (Reinaūd, 236: staters<sup>1</sup> or tetradrachms?) is described by Sulaymān as Ballahrā's coin, but I. Kh., 67, attributes it to *Jurz*. See *H.-'Ā.*, 237, 250.

§50 is based on a misunderstanding. As the parallel text of I. Rusta, 135, shows, this item is merely a continuation of the paragraph on *Jurz*. The mistake comes from the word *wa-ba'dahu*, instead of which one must imagine *wa-laysa*, "and there is no other king more opulent than he," i.e. *Jurz*.

§51. The identity of the king *DHM* is one of the most difficult problems in the series of the texts relative to India, cf. my commentary on the *H.-'Ā.*, 237-8. Yule's very cautious suggestion that the variant *RHMY* might stand for \**Rahmaniya* (?), i.e. Pegu in Burma, is absolutely out of the question, as the king was a neighbour both of *Jurz* and Ballahrā. In the *H.-'Ā.*, 238, I expressed the view that the traditional enumeration of Indian kings reflects the situation before 850 A.D. A further comparative study of the sources moves me to improve upon my previous surmise by taking for the prototype of *DHM/RHMY* the Pāla king of Bengal Dharma-(pāla). In his valuable book, *The Dynastic History of Northern India*, I, Calcutta, 1931, pp. 279, 287, Professor H. C. Ray assigns him to the period A.D. 769-801, which he even extends down to 815. During this period Dharma-pāla created for himself an almost imperial position in northern India. His possessions extended in the north from the Bay of Bengal to Delhi and Jālandhar, and in the south down to the valleys of the Vindhya. He defeated the king of Kanoj Indrarāja and set up in his place his own candidate Chakrāyudha. These facts very closely agree with the indication of Sulaymān, 29, that *DHM* was at war with *Jurz* and Ballahrā, and that of I. Kh., 67, that "after" *DHM* (i.e. next door to him) comes the king of Kāmarūpa (Assam). The geographical hints contained in the *Hudūd* (§5, 9., §6, 16., §7, 5, §10, 11.) are also in keeping with the position of Dharma-pāla's realm.<sup>2</sup> Two points deserve particular mention. Marvazi returns to *DHM* in §§53 and 55, and in the latter passage describes a temple lying in the Ganges valley and visited by the subjects of *DHM*, which suggests a connection of this king with the basin of the Ganges. More curious is the second point: Sulaymān, 29, states that *RHMY* was not of noble origin. This unusual and characteristic remark appears to apply especially to Dharma-pāla. H. C. Ray, 282, states that in their inscriptions the Pālas "never claim descent from any mythical or epic hero which is

<sup>1</sup> But for "stater" Gardizi, ed. Barthold, 91, gives *s.tyr*.

<sup>2</sup> In view of my new hypothesis, my commentary on other points has to be re-considered, e.g. with regard to the towns lying on the Lesser Mihrān. Under §§53 and 57 I have introduced the alterations which the new interpretation has rendered inevitable.



suggestions. He compares *Urf.sīn*, etc., with Uraghum/Uragam (or possibly \*Uraga-paṭṭanam), which lies to the south of Trichur (Cochin), "near the head of a lagoon which opens into the sea at Chetwai: so it may be said to be on a *jazīra*." The existence of a queen in Cochin is plausible. "In this region the ancient Dravidian rule of matriarchy still to some extent persists, e.g. in the *marumakkattāyam*, or law of succession through sisters' sons." Further the name *Barāz* reminds Dr. Barnett of "the name of *Pollachi* (in Tamil spelt *Pollāṭṭi*), a taluk and its headquarters town in Coimbatore District. Pollachi town is ancient. It lies a short distance (c. 20 miles) east of the modern frontier of Malabar and not much further from the adjoining border of Cochin. In the south of the taluk are the Anaimalais or 'Elephant Hills' where fine elephants still range and are caught in pits. In the time of the early Muslim geographers Coimbatore and the southern part of Salem district, forming the *Kongu-deśa*, were under the suzerainty of the *Cēras* when the *Ceras* were the dominant power: then the *Pāṇḍyas* gained control of them; and finally the *Cōlas* under *Aditya I* became masters of *Kongu*."

Dr. Barnett's hypothesis is very tempting: *Urf.sīn* could be easily restored as \**Uragha-fattan* (see Arabic text, p. 52, line 18) and *Barāz* (possibly "*Burāz* or *Burrāz*) would suit *Pollāṭṭi*. The only points which remain to be elucidated are: Uraghum's titles to distinction and the purport of the indication that *Urf.sīn* lay "on the lower (nearer) side of the *Ṣaylamān*." One might also quote the learned Sanskrit name of the *Cola* capital, viz. *Uragapura*, which the pundits<sup>1</sup> tried to substitute for the native *Uraiyūr* (Old Trichinopoly, *Warriore*). Later, when the true name of the *Colas* (*Ṣūliyān*, *Shūliyān*) was applied by Arabs to the *Coromandel* coast, they spoke of the latter as a *jazīra*,<sup>2</sup> i.e. "a peninsula," and in this connection we may remember the indication of the *H. 'A.* concerning the queen's land protruding into the sea. Should these facts be considered in themselves one might imagine that the early Arab source hinted at some vassal state on the territory of the re nascent but not fully restored *Colas*, for our source definitely refers to the period of the *Cera* supremacy.

§46. The name which Marvazī (f. 1a) vocalises *Bulharā* corresponds to the title of *Vallabha-rāja* belonging to the *Raṣtrakūta* kings of the *Deccan*. \**Ballahrā* would possibly be a better reading. Like I. Kh., Ibn Rusta and Mas'ūdī, our author has misunderstood the original source, for according to *Sulaymān*, 28, *Ballahra's* kingdom only started from *al-Kumkan*, see *H. 'A.*, 238.

§47. *Ṭāqin* is *Takka-deśa* in the region of *Sialkot*, *H. 'A.*, 249.

§48. *N.jāba* should be restored \**al-Jāba* (cf. *Lhrz* for *al-Jurz* in

<sup>1</sup> See K. N. S. Pillai, *The Chronology of the Early Tamils*, Madras, 1932, p. 175.

<sup>2</sup> *Gharnāfi*, 108 (v.s. p. 144, note 1).

years of their domination on the Kaveri. It can be easily read as *Qārūṭi* (with *r* for *ḍ*), or restored as \**Qārūwettī*.

At the very end of §45 enumerating the southern group of kings, comes the reference to a QUEEN in whose kingdom the tallest elephants were found. All the parallel texts show that this is the right place at which the queen should be mentioned, but Marvazī has rearranged the text and transferred a part of the data into §57, which seems to have in view Orissa and not the region of the Aghbāb in the southernmost part of India. The mistake has been occasioned by the similarity of the names of the queen's kingdom and Orissa. Thus a new complication has been created in a subject sufficiently confused in itself.

The accounts of the southern queen are all based on the same original source, the first trace of which is found in I. Khurdādhbih, 67, who briefly refers to the elephants of the Aghbāb standing 10-11 cubits. I. Rusta, 134, who apparently uses the more complete text of I. Khurdādhbih, says that in *bilād al-Aghbāb* there is a country *Urf.sīn* ruled by the queen Rābiya (?): to her belongs the place called *Barāz*, where the elephants reach the height of 10-11 cubits. According to the *Hudūd* (§10, 12.) "*Urf.sh.fīn* is a town with a district protruding into the sea like an island. Its air is bad. That sea is called *baḥr al-Aghbāb*. The kingship belongs to a woman called *Rāyina*."

All the sources, including Marvazī (§§45 and 58) connect the queen's domains with the region of the *Aghbāb*, which is placed in the neighbourhood of Ceylon. Abū Zayd (in *Sulaymān*, 123) says: "opposite *Sarandīb* vast *aghbāb* are found. The meaning of *ghubb* is a huge river (or valley *wādī*) extremely long and wide which disembogues into the sea." In practice *ghubb* must be "a lagoon," the latter being a typical feature of the whole southern sea-board of India. To the other texts which I have quoted in the commentary on the *Hudūd*, 243-4, may be added the *aghbāb Sarandīb* and *al-thiyāb al-ghubbiya* of the '*Ajā'ib al-Hind*', which the editor (van der Līth) explains as "textiles of the Coromandel coast." In §58 Marvazī is clear about the *Aghbāb* being the region from which travellers proceed to the farther East.

On the strength of the indications of the *Hudūd*, I located *Urf.sh.fīn/Urf.sīn* on the Mandam peninsula forming the southernmost protuberance of India, and suggested that the final element of the name might be restored as \**-fattan* (<*pattam*, *pattanam*). In §57 *bis* Marvazī refers to the Rāmshīr (Rāmeśvaram) island which forms a link between Mandam and Ceylon, which indicates that the original source contained more details on the region of Mandam. On the other hand, in §47 the queen is placed *dūna*, i.e. "below" or "on the nearer side of the *Ṣaylamān*," which seems to mean either "to the south" or "to the east" of *Cera*, v.s. 143. For more detail see §57.

Dr. Barnett has communicated to me a series of entirely new

The names of the kings have several variants in the sources:

	I	II	III
Ya'qūbī, I, 106 ..	الرييل	العاريط	الصلمان
I. Rusta, 133 ..	الصادى	الصارفى	الصيمان
Mas'ūdī, I, 374 ..	القاريرى		
Marvazī .. ..	طارس	القاروطى	الصلمان

The name of the first king has been satisfactorily explained by Dr. S. M. H. Nainar in his thesis, *The Knowledge of India possessed by Arab Geographers . . . with Special Reference to Southern India* (University of London, 1938). He restores 'Ābdī, etc., as \*Fāndī, i.e. Pāṇḍya, the important dynasty in the south-easternmost part of India (to the south of the Kāveri). This conclusion finds a confirmation in Mas'ūdī, *ibid.*, who states that the kings possessing M.ndūr-\*fattan are all called al-Qāyḍī (i.e. \*Fāndī). Mandūr-fattan, "lying opposite Ceylon," is Mathura, Madhura, Madura, the second capital of the Pāṇḍya, on the river Vaigai in the province of Madras. The name of the kingdom itself transmitted by I. Rusta as *Ratylā* is still dark. Ya'qūbī's *al-Dybl* is apparently a variant of the same name, and it certainly has nothing to do either with Daybul near the estuary of the Indus, or with the port of Dabhol, in southern Konkan (85 miles south of Bombay).

Dr. Nainar identifies the best preserved third name with the Cola (Chola) kingdom (in the basin of the Kāveri) and, by the method of elimination, attributes the remaining name to the third Dravidian kingdom of Cera (Chera or Kerala) in the south-westernmost India.

Dr. L. D. Barnett to whom I submitted the case, appositely remarks that (1) while *Ṣaylamān* very closely corresponds to *Ceramān* ("Cera King"), no corresponding compound of *Cola + mān* is attested, and that (2) in view of the date of the report, the Colas (Chola) could hardly have been mentioned by the author, for their kingdom was still occupied by the Pallavas, to whom our second name must refer. A well-known title of the Pallava family, which often occurs in the inscriptions, is *Kāḍuvetti*, and this must be the key to the problem.

This ingenious hypothesis is supported by the following facts. The name of the real Colas (as applied to the Coromandel coast) appears in later Arab geographers as *Ṣūliyān* or *Shūliyān*.<sup>1</sup> The early report speaks of the *Ṣaylamān* as the strongest of the three kings, and this presupposes a period previous to the foundation of the great Cola "thalassocracy" (towards A.D. 870). Consequently the second name probably refers to the Pallavas during the last

<sup>1</sup> Gharnāṭī (beginning of the twelfth century), ed. Ferrand in *J.A.*, 1925, pp. 91 108; also Ferrand, *Relations*, 348, 376.

in medicinal plants. Marvazī's §65 on Jālhandar is only an abridgement of *H.-'Ā.*, §10, 38., where such local produce as myrobalan, terminalia bellerica and embilica officinalis are enumerated. The same details are in Gardizī, §6, with the addition that from Chitrukūt comes *shayṭara-yi hindī*, Vullers: "medicamentum indicum."<sup>1</sup> Under §10, 34. of *H.-'Ā.* are quoted tamarind, cassia fistularis, etc. If one remembers that Yahyā b. Khālid's envoy had the double mission of collecting medicinal plants (*'aqāqīr*) and describing religions, one is tempted to give him credit for such geographical facts on northern India as occur only in the authors based on Jayhānī (*H.-'Ā.*, Gardizī and Marvazī). It is interesting that these botanical indications refer chiefly to the Panjab.<sup>2</sup>

§§44-62 on Indian kings and their habits form an integral part of all the older descriptions of India: Sulaymān, 26-9; Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, I, 106; I. Khurdādhbih, 16, 66-8; I. Rusta, 133-5; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I, 178, 372-6, 382-94; *Hudūd*, §10 (my commentary, *ibid.*, pp. 236-9, 242, 249, etc.). As most of the kings appear in the early reports going by the name of Sulaymān (A.D. 851), which do not contain definite traces of what we consider as the report presented to Yahyā b. Khālid (*circa* A.D. 800), we have to conclude that the details on the kings go back to some other early source.

§44. The statement on "fornication" is in I. Kh., 67, I. Faqīh, 15, I. Rusta, 132 (cf. *infra* §61), etc. By "fornication" must be meant some of the loose forms of marriage practised by Hindus, e.g. *gāndharva*, "secret informal union by copulation," Barnett, 115-6, or some traces of polyandry, cf. Birūnī, 52-3. Sulaymān, 51, specifically states that Indians disapprove of debauchery and confirms their abstinence from wine. According to I. Rusta, 132, the only drinker among the crowned heads was the king of *al-B.h.l.*, "who is the king of Ceylon,"<sup>3</sup> cf. I. Kh., 67, and Marvazī, §44.

§45. "Beyond him" refers to the said king of "Ceylon." The three kings (plus a queen) form a special southern group. The original information must belong to some traveller who stayed in Qimār<sup>4</sup> and whose enumeration seems to move from East to West, see I. Rusta, 133: "I saw the king of Qimār and I saw al-'Ābdī," etc. As the three names are already in Ya'qūbī's *History*, I, 106 (written c. A.D. 891, last year mentioned A.D. 872), we must presume that the report belongs to the middle of the ninth century and perhaps to an earlier time.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Shayṭara* evidently = *chitra*, i.e. *Plumbago zeylanica*, or *Ricinus communis*.

<sup>2</sup> §30 might suggest that the traveller had landed somewhere in Kathiavar.

<sup>3</sup> De Goeje restores *\*al-Mahal* "unde Maledivae nomen habent, Ibn Battūta, IV, 119."

<sup>4</sup> Apparently a different man from Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad b. Ishāq, v.i. §61.

<sup>5</sup> A reference to the tallest elephants is already found in I.Kh., 67, and very probably it is only a detail from the report on the southern kings.

other than that transcribed by al-Kindi, and which may be either Jayhānī's *Masālik* or one of its sources.<sup>1</sup>

To Shahristānī, 446, the Buddhists (*aṣḥāb al-bidada*) are a subdivision of the Brahmans. Under Buddha there are *\*al-būdisifiya*, which means "men seeking the path of Truth." Then the ten sins and ten virtues of the Buddhists are enumerated accurately enough. Buddha appeared in the world seven times ("the number of the rivers (called) Ganges"), springing each time from a princely family. Buddhists believe in the eternity (*azaliya*) of the world and in karma (*jazā'*, "retribution"). Shahristānī winds up with his own conclusion that in its features Buddhism is closely connected with India, and that in Islam the nearest approach to Buddha is Khizr.

#### Division F

As regards the category of "believers in metempsychosis," the position of this creed is not made clear either in Marvazī or Gardizī. Shahristānī, 449, treats it as one of the three subdivisions of Brahmanism (*ihumma anna tafarraqa aṣnāfan*), the other two being Buddhism and "meditation" (*al-fikra wal-wahm* = Rishi in Gardizī and Marvazī). He quotes the story of the Phoenix, the parable of a compass returning to its starting point and adds that the complete rotation of the world requires 36,000 years, or, according to another version, 360,000 years. Only in Birūnī's Chapter V "on the state of the souls and their migrations through the world," is metempsychosis introduced as a general feature of "the Hindu religion," in which it is said to occupy a position as pivotal as that of the *shahāda* in Islam.

#### C. GEOGRAPHY AND KINGS

Like the first part of the chapter, this section is most probably based on Jayhānī, but the primary source for the first part is the envoy of Yahyā b. Khālid, who visited India towards A.D. 800, whereas in the geographical section reports of Arab mariners must also have been utilised. This applies to the traditional list of Indian kings, and it is surely true with regard to the description of islands and such details as the prohibition of fornication in Khmer. We know the exact name of the traveller responsible for the latter report, v.i. §6r.

The purely geographical §§63-6, which have parallels only in the *Hudūd al-'Ālam* and Gardizī, have been borrowed from Jayhānī. Some details betray a particular interest of the original authority

<sup>1</sup> In an additional passage of the *Fihrist*, 345, based on the book of some native of Khorasan, v.s. p. 125, it is said that Buddhists are the most generous people for Buddha forbade them to use the word "no." It is further stated that before Islam most of the Transoxianians were Buddhists. This is nearer the truth than Birūnī, 101a-11a (tr. I, 21): "In former times Khorasan, Fars, 'Irāq, Mosul, the country up to the frontier of Syria (!) were Buddhist, but then Zarathustra came forth from Azarbayjan and preached Magism in Balkh."

## Division E

§43 was announced in the general classification of creeds (§§17-18), but rushing as he does through the final part of his account (§§41-43), Marvazī merely hints at the contents of his source with regard to Buddhists and believers in metempsychosis.

In the eleventh century A.D. Buddhism in India was eclipsed by Hinduism to such an extent that Birūnī, 124 (tr. I, 249), in spite of his enlightened curiosity, had to confess: "I have never found a Buddhistic book, and never knew a Buddhist from whom I might have learned their theories on this subject (i.e. Mount Meru), all I relate of them I relate only on the authority of al-Īrānshahri<sup>1</sup> though, to my mind, his report has no claim to scientific exactness," cf. also Sachau's Introduction, pp. xlv-xlvii. It is possible, however, that two centuries before Birūnī, Buddhists had not become so scarce and the study of the pre-Birunian data on them presents some interest. To our regret these paragraphs have been drastically abridged by the epitomists.

The only positive indication in Marvazī is his distinction between Buddha and bodhisatvas (spelt: *al-būdhusifiya*). Gardizi mentions Buddhists (*shamanī*) only in his confused introduction but, on the other hand, in his references to Śrāvasti (mistaken for Kapila-vastu?) and Kuśinagara (§6) shows some knowledge of Buddha's biography. Muṭahhar concludes his chapter on India, p. 19, by a more definite indication: "I have read in the *Kitāb al-masālik* that the Buddhists (*al-sumaniya*) form two parties: that which affirms that Buddha was an apostle, and another which affirms that Buddha is the Creator who has manifested himself in this form" (cf. Huart, *ibid.*, 261). This passage both indicates the source and confirms that Jayhānī's text had a chapter on Buddhism. The same statement on the divisions of Buddhists<sup>2</sup> is found in the *Fihrist*, 347, with further additions: "and here too their opinions differ. Some say that the apostle is an angel; some others say that he is a human being; some again say that he is a demon (*'ifrīt*); some again say that this is the image (*sūrat*) of the sage Būdasf (cf. Marvazī) who came to them from God. And each section of them has a special way of worshipping and exalting him. According to some authority, each community of them has an image which they worship, *budd* being a generic name, of which the idols are species, and the highest budd (Buddha) is a man seated on a throne, beardless, with a receding chin (*maghmūs al-dhaqan fil-faqum*), wearing no dress and faintly smiling." It is further stated that the orientation of Buddha's statues is such as to enable the worshippers to face the East. Sometimes the image has four faces so as to be seen entirely from every side.

The passage on Buddha is said to have been taken from a book

<sup>1</sup> Who himself was quoting from Zurqān.    <sup>2</sup> With some slight stylistic variants

"bark, pulp, pericarp" (Lane). On the other hand, Marvazī definitely speaks of "leaves" (cf. §54) and not of "bark," which makes some difficulty.

§40. For the variants of Gardizī and Marvazī see Arabic text, p. 52, line 16. For "those resembling wild animals" H. W. Bailey suggests in Sanskrit: *mṛga* ("a wild animal") + *cara* ("roaming"), which would give in Arabic \**Amirkajariya*. Sulaymān, 50-1, also refers to a class of Indians roaming in the woods and mountains, eating herbs and wild fruit and wearing rings to prevent the possibility of intercourse with women.

The paragraph ends with a vague reference to "other nasty ways and beliefs," which indicates that the original has been abridged. In fact, between our §§40 and 41, Gardizī describes the *b.rniyān* (?) < \**mūniyān* < *muni*, "silent ones," *nyksī* (?), "seekers of Paradise," and *k.skṛtī* (?) or *syār* (?), "naked ones," who spend their time plucking out the hair of their bodies. For the Arabic forms see Arabic text, p. 52.

§41. Instead of this abridgment, Gardizī describes the practices of those who successively enter fire and water, and those who apply hot stones to their bodies; then (§32) those who carve their limbs; then (§33), those who burn themselves in dry cow dung, or (§34) in ovens; then (§35) those called *anshiyān* who starve themselves to death. This latter term must be derived from *anāsa* "not eating," but it is better to read with the *Fihrist*, 348, \**anashaniya* and connect it with the form *anašana* (Brockhaus in *Fihrist*, II, 183). Cf. also Muṭahhar, 17 (21).

§42 is also much more developed in Gardizī, who describes (§36) the *tirshūlī* who throw themselves on an iron trident (*triśūla*) standing by a banyan tree<sup>1</sup> at the confluence of the Ganges and Jamna,<sup>2</sup> then (§37) those who ask the devotees to kill them at the said spot, then those (§38) who let the wild birds peck them to death. This last story occurs in Marvazī in §55, in the description of a temple in the Ganges valley.

The same suicidal practices, and in the same order, are recorded in a special chapter of Muṭahhar who performs his task *con gusto* and adds two new sections, one on those who die by burning on their heads a crown of *muql*<sup>3</sup> and another on those who precipitate themselves from a mountain at the foot of which stands an idol. The last practice may refer to Mt. Girnār (v.s. §30).

<sup>1</sup> Gardizī gives *tābr* but the regular transcription *baru* (for Ssk. *vaṭa*) is found in Birūnī, 284 (tr. II, 170).

<sup>2</sup> This popular horror has found its way into *L'Abregé des Merveilles*, tr. Carra de Vaux, 43.

<sup>3</sup> Huart translates "bdellium," i.e. balsamodendron. *Muql* is a tree growing in Kachchh, see Birūnī, *India*, 102 (tr. I, 208).

§36. Marvazī leaves out the Sanskrit term for the sect, but the other sources leave no doubt that it is to be restored as *candra* ("the Moon") + *bhakta* ("worshipper"), the latter element appearing in several other names (§§31, 34, 37). Al-Nadīm's version of the original is more complete. He calls the jewel held by the god \**chandr-kant*, i.e. *candrakānta*, a jewel formed of congealed moon-rays, and says that the chariot is drawn by four *buṭūt* ("ducks"). Marvazī leaves out *buṭūt*, while Gardizī understands *baṭṭ* as *būt*, "idol," in addition to his usual confusion of 'ajal and 'ijl, v.s. §32. Dr. Barnett reminds me of the goose (*hamṣa*), being the attribute of Brahmā, but says that the Moon is represented as riding in a chariot drawn by antelopes!

The phrase *wa naẓarū ilayhi 'alā wajhin ḥasanin* is not quite clear. Gardizī translates: *wa māh ba-rū'ī nīkū bīnand*, "and they look at the moon with pleasant faces." My friend, A. A. Maraghi, quoted to me the Muslim (Egyptian) view, according to which it is auspicious to gaze on "the reflection of the new (?) moon on a beautiful face." [In the *Naurūz-nāma*, attributed to 'Omar Khayyām, ed. Minovi, 71, it is said that contemplation of beauty is equal in effect to the influence of favourable stars.]

§37. The Sanskrit name of the Sun-worshippers appears in the *Fihrist*, Gardizī and Shahristāni. For the Arabic forms see Arabic text, p. 52, line 14. Gardizī's form can be easily restored as \**Adit-bhakī*, i.e. *āditya-bhakta*, "worshippers of the Āditya," the Sun (Sūrya) being one of the Ādityas, Barnett, 18. As a parallel to the *candrakānta* (§36), the object in the idol's hands (cf. also *Fihrist*) must be *sūryakānta*, "the Sun-crystal." According to Gardizī, pilgrims to the Sun's temple observed a fast of 24 hours (?), called *lak.hn* (Ssk. *laṅghana*, H. W. Bailey), during which they obtained answers to their prayers, in their dreams. As an additional echo of his own time, he says that there were two temples of the Sun, one of which was destroyed by Amir Mahmūd, while the other still existed in Hindustan.

#### Division D

§38. For the Arabic variants of Gardizī and Marvazī, see Arabic text, p. 52, line 15. Gardizī's form, by itself, suggests to Dr. Barnett *mahā-prāpti*, "great good fortune" (?), but nothing else could be found on these Indian Savonarolas.

§39. Only Marvazī refers to "those dressed in tree leaves." H. W. Bailey suggests *cīra-ambara-dhara*, "wearers of bark-garments." This would give in Arabic \**al-jīrānbarā-dahriya*. In the description of the third period of a Brahman's life, Biruni, 269 (tr. II, 232) says: "he does not take shelter under a roof, nor wear any other dress but some bark of a tree simply sufficient to cover the loins" (*mā yuvārī sau'atahu min liḥā al-shajar*), the term *liḥā* meaning



Gaurī pertains to the milder aspect of Devī, who, under her terrible aspect, is called Kālī, cf. J. Dowson, 86. The name of the sect may perhaps be derived from \*Devī-yātrā.

§33. For the variants offered by Muṭahhar, Gardizī, Marvazī and Shahrīstānī, see Arabic text, p. 52. The festival of the goddess was held in the autumn, the zodiac of Libra corresponding to September. The goddess is described as wearing a crown on her head and (Gardizī) possessing four hands, one of them touching (?) a nail, one drawing a sword, the other two holding a vajra (*baḡr*) and a chakra-disc (*chakr*). Muṭahhar says that the goddess has one thousand (Shahrīstānī: numerous) hands. The sacrificial animals were beheaded, not slaughtered (Shahrīstānī). Human sacrifices of slaves also took place in honour of the goddess (Muṭahhar, Shahrīstānī). The king's particular oblation was a fair- (or red-) haired man with blue eyes (Gardizī, Marvazī). The goddess meant in this case is apparently Śiva's wife Devī under her more terrible aspect of Kālī (cf. §32). As, according to Marvazī and Shahrīstānī, the sect was despised by Indians, we may imagine that the ceremonies described were a part of the bloody Tantric cults which were practised in her honour, Barnett, 27. One of the numerous names of the goddess is Dakṣiṇā, "right-handed," cf. Dowson, 86-7. The form \**al-Dakkīniya* (as recorded in Shahrīstānī) would be a pretty close derivation from a vernacular form (*dakkhin*?) of this name. This seems to be more satisfactory than the explanation found in Haarbrücker, namely, that Devī's votaries were divided into two classes called "the right" and "the left." It is also possible that the mis-spelt name had some simpler form, like *devī-bhaktiya* (?)

§34. The spelling is exceptionally clear *Jala-bhaktiya*, "Water-worshippers." The term "Angel (Gardizī: *firishta*) of the water" seems to refer to the Vedic god Apām Napāt, "Offspring of the Waters," or to the various Āpa-goddesses, mothers of Agni, endowed with fertilising and purifying powers, Barnett, 19.

§35. The spelling *Akhūtriya* (already recognised by Reinaud) is quite correct, the term referring to those who perform *agni-hotrā*, "an oblation to Agni," Barnett, 163. After "worshippers of the Fire," Muṭahhar, IV, 16, adds, "i.e. of Lu-hī" (spelt in two words). Huart (<Senart) explains it as *Lohita*, "the red one," which is the name of Agni's charger. Perhaps it is safer to see in it a mis-spelling of *Agni*. Gardizī commits an error in adding that these Fire-worshippers affirm that "he who burns himself with Fire purifies himself of every stain." Shahrīstānī, who considerably develops this point, emphatically confirms that the sect is afraid of soiling the Fire by their breath or by burning their bodies, "contrary to (the practice of) other tribes of devotees," on which v.i. §41. Our sources particularly insist on the participation of the noblemen in the cult of the Fire.

few deities are represented thus; but Puranic writers say that Kalki, the future avatar of Viṣṇu, will appear in the world mounted on a white horse."

"As to the names, *Bhādrūz*, etc., possibly conceals something of the proper name of the hero Rāma; it may stand for Bhadra-rāma, or for Bhadra-rāja (in vernacular: Bhād-rāj). Lakṣmana, in the vernacular, would become regularly Lakhman or Lakhan, which, by loss of the letter *lām*, might easily be corrupted to *Jūn*. The name *M.r.sh* might possibly come from *Bh.r.t* (Bharata); the difference in Arabic cursive is not great." For the Arabic forms see Arabic text, p. 52.

### Division C

§§31-7 describe various idol-worshippers whom Shahristāni classifies as *'abadat al-aṣnām* or as "worshippers of Heavenly Bodies." According to Muṭahhar, 18 (29), the idol-worshippers explain their cult by the necessity of having some intermediary objects (*al-mutawassitāt*) in the cult rendered to him who escapes the senses (*ghā'ib 'an al-hawāss*).

§31. Mahā-Kāl, "the Great Kala," is again Śiva, v.s. §§20-21, who is portrayed here from some other idol of his and presented as an *'ifrūt* (Gardīzi: *dīv*, "demon") like Rāvaṇa. According to the legend Śiva had swallowed a poison which stained his neck and he became Nīla-kantha, "Blue-neck," Barnett, 26. Gardīzi, §19, adds that Mahā-Kāl represents a mixture of good and evil traits and that he has many temples, the principal one being situated at *Aj.r* (Shahristani: *Akht.r*), to be restored *Ujjayn* as in Gardīzi's §6. From the name of Mahā-Kāla, Ujjain was surnamed Mahākālavana, cf. Nunda Lal De, 210.

§32. Marvazi *al-Dyvätriya*, Gardīzi *Dyvätri*; omitted in Muṭahhar and Shahristāni. The conspicuous features of the festival are its connection with the spring, the parade of courtesans and the display of masks held on the occasion. Gardīzi erroneously takes *'ajal*, "wheels," for *'ijl*, "a calf" (in Persian *gūsāla*). As a parallel to the name, Dr. L. D. Barnett suggests the term *deva-yātrā*, which means "a procession with images of gods," without a special connection with a definite sect. Outwardly our name has some likeness with that of the festival *Dībālī* (Gardīzi: *Dīvālī*) which, according to Birūnī, 289 (tr. II, 182), is celebrated "on the day of the new moon when the sun moves in Libra," i.e. in September, and is sacred to Lakṣmī, the wife of Vāsudeva, i.e. Viṣṇu. However, this name is explained as *dīpāvalī* ("row of lamps") and the time of the year does not suit our §32. Birūnī, 288, refers to another festival for the women, called *Gaurtr* (*\*gauri-trīyā?*), which is holy to Gaurī, i.e. Devī, the wife of Śiva, and is celebrated shortly before the vernal equinox. As the goddess represents the female energy, this would explain the parade referred to in our text. The name

Baladeva). *Jūr*, or *Jūn*,<sup>1</sup> might represent \**Jar* or *Jarā* for "Jarakumāra," which was the name of the third brother who fatally wounded Krishna, having mistaken him for a gazelle. It is thinkable that the form *Jūn* (for *Jur*) has been influenced by some false analogy with the name of the mountain Jūn-ghar. Finally, *M.r.sh* might be a distorted *Krishan*, "Krishna," who plays only a secondary part in the remarkable legend translated by Jacobi.<sup>1</sup> For the Arabic forms of these restored names see Arabic text, p. 52, line 8.

The lament of the sectarians for *Bhādr.r* would be possibly connected with the death of Baladeva, who was killed by a falling tree in the act of asking a wood-cutter for alms. Nevertheless it cannot be concealed that the Jain-Krishnaite explanation leaves some difficulties unsolved:

1. The curious cosmic traits in the legend of Bhādrū.
2. Gardīzī's remark that the two brothers Jūn and M.r.s "devised an artifice (*hīla*)" so that Bhādrūz fell from his horse.
3. The detail of the horse as combined with the record of an equestrian effigy of Bhādrū.
4. The outward appearance of the sectarians.

The above explanations were prompted by a desire to squeeze as much as possible out of the original Muslim texts. For suggestions from the Indianist point of view I appealed to the great competence of Dr. Barnett, who communicated to me (8.xi.40) his remarks on §30. While accepting the identification of Jūn-ghar with Junāgarh, he rejects the idea of a connection between the sect and Jainism as "the chains, long hair and ecstatic cult are foreign to their religion." He considers §30 as "a distorted version of the doctrine and practice of some obscure sect worshipping Rāma-Candra with his brothers Lakṣmaṇa and Bharata. Rāma, it is believed, was a complete incarnation of the Supreme God Viṣṇu; on his death again he was merged into Viṣṇu. It is a commonplace that Viṣṇu is immanent in the whole world. Again Viṣṇu (and therefore also Rāma) is often identified with Puruṣa, who is described in Ṛgveda, X, 90, as being sacrificed to form the world, much in the same manner as in the present relation. A foreigner who heard this doctrine together with the old legend, that Rāma was compelled to surrender his throne to Bharata and retire into exile attended by Lakṣmana, might easily misunderstand it and produce the erroneous version given here, the more so as such a sect would probably dwell with intense devotion and zeal on Rāma's sorrows and death. As Gardīzī's version of these doctrines says that the two brothers conspired against "Bhādrūz" and caused him to fall from his horse (?), we may find in this some confirmation of the above explanation. The mention of Bh. riding a horse is peculiar. Very

<sup>1</sup> Baladeva reborn as a god tries to save Krishna who is expiating his sins in a grotto; while Baladeva is taking him to heaven he melts in the air.

Gardizī speaks of an equestrian statue of Bhadrū(r) on Jūn-ghar, and of another temple containing the likenesses of the three brothers. Muṭahhar, 17<sup>13</sup>, may also hint at one of these places in his description of an idol standing at the foot of a high mountain from which devotees leap to their death (v.i.). §30 and the parallel texts contain a number of concrete facts about the three divine brothers and their worshippers, but the identification of the sect remains one of the major difficulties of our text.

The clearest indication is the name of the sacred mountain \*Jūn-ghar, easily comparable with the modern Junāgarh in Kathiavar (as first indicated to me by H. W. Bailey).

This capital of a small state is situated some 40 miles inland, and to the north of the port of Veraval. A lofty mountain which takes its name from its highest peak Girnār, towers over Junagarh and on it is found a multitude of sacred places. Near its top stands a group of highly venerated Jain temples and close by rises a peak Beiru Jhap, "the leap to death," used by Jain devotees for the purpose of self-sacrifice, cf. Muṭahhar, 17 (v.i. 140).

On the other hand, Kathiavar is very closely associated with the memories of Krishna. This god's footprint is shown on the Girnār. In Junāgarh stands a temple built by Vajranābbh, fourth in descent from Krishna, and a smaller temple dedicated to Krishna's brother Baladevji. The spot at which Krishna died from an arrow-wound is visited on the river Sarasvati, near Veraval. See Lt. W. Postans' detailed report on Girnār, etc., in *J.A.S. Bengal*, VII/2, 1838, 865-87; *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, VIII (Kathiavar), 1884, 145 (the Girnārā Brahmans said to have been settled on Girnār by Krishna), 268, 271 (myth of Krishna), 487-502 (Junāgaḍ); Burgess, *Lists of the antiquarian remains in the Bombay Presidency*, in *Arch. Survey of West India*, XI, Bombay, 1885, pp. 176-86, 283-318.

These facts pointing to ancient endemic cults would suggest that the solution of our problem lies along the lines of Jainism and Krishnaism. The Jainas venerate only their own tithagaras ("teachers"), but it is a known fact that Jainism has been influenced by Krishnan mythology. Both Krishna and his elder half-brother Baladeva have been treated by Jainas as two types of worldly rulers re-appearing at the definite moments of cosmic cycles. See Schubring, *Die Lehre der Jainas*, in *Grundriss d. indo-arischen Phil.*, III, 7, 1935, pp. 18-20, 24. Still more astonishing is the fact that in the process of this readaptation Baladeva has been accorded a higher status than Krishna; see the ancient Jain story of Krishna's death translated by Jacobi in *ZDMG*, 42, 1882, pp. 493-529.

Our §30 is included in the division of those "who do not recognise prophets," and Bhādrū with his brothers appears more of a hero than of a god. Therefore a combination of Jainism with some recognition of Krishnaism forms a tempting background for comparisons.

Making allowance for the Jain partiality for Baladeva we might interpret *Bhādr.r.*, etc., as \*Baladēv or Balarām (another name of

## Division B

§24. The reasoning of those who reject prophets is very close to Gardizī's Persian text (§12). Muṭahhar omits it.

§25 on the destruction of bodies=Gardizī, §13.

§26. Says Bīrūnī, 45 (tr. I, 93): "Rishis are the sages who, though they are only human beings, excel the angels on account of their knowledge"; therefore the angels learn from them. Gardizī has a long paragraph on the rishis: "they say that by means of *sensibilia* (*maḥsūsāt*) they can rise to such a state as to comprehend *intelligibilia*. The first part is the exertion of the will towards their object; then, reflexion on how to eliminate subterfuges from their aims; destruction of the things which would bring them gain; separation by way of set purpose from whatever people make to appear good," etc. Cf. Muṭahhar, IV, 14 (tr. 12), and Shahristānī, 443.

§27. The variants offered by the *Fihrist*, Gardizī, Marvazī and Shahristānī are quoted in the Arabic text, p. 52. The meaning of the term is "those tied with iron" (*muṣaffadūna bil-ḥadīd*, *ba-āhan bastagān*). Ferrand, 127, quotes a Chinese description of one of such "iron-clads". Holtzmann in Haarbrucker, II, 361, 440, explained \**Bakrantiniya* as \**Vajra-bandha*, but *vajra* in Gardizī's text is rendered by *bajr*. Starting from Gardizī's transcription, I tried the form *N.kr.b.nī*, and H. W. Bailey has put my hint into perfect Sanskrit: *nigada*, "iron chain" + *bandha*, "having bond of" (or *-baddha*, "bound in"). The Arabic reading will accordingly be \**Nikarbantiya*, the cerebral *d* and *t* being regularly rendered by *r* and an aspirated *dh* admitting of a rendering by a surd (*th* or *tʿ*?), cf. Bīrūnī, *duryodhana* > *durjūḥan*.

§28. The meaning of \**Gangā-yātriya* was recognised by Brockhaus, *Fihrist*, 183, as "those practising the *gangayātrā*, i.e. pilgrimage to the Ganges." The report refers to a practice, not to a particular sect.

§29. For the variants in the *Fihrist*, Gardizī and Marvazī see Arabic text, p. 52, line 5. Muṭahhar does not quote the name. As the "sect" is described as the "King's party," the first element is certainly *rāja*, the whole being perhaps *rāja-martya* (?). Dr. Barnett suggests *rāja-bantiya* from *rājavṛtti*, "the conduct of a king, or having a livelihood from a king." The reasoning of the adepts is not quite clear, but in the *Fihrist*, 349, they declare: "God has installed the kings, and, if we are killed while obeying them, we shall go to Paradise."

§30. For the variants of the name of the sect (in Gardizī, Marvazī and Shahristānī) and of the names of the three brothers (in Gardizī and Marvazī) see Arabic text, p. 52, line 6. Instead of *Jūr-ghar*, the *Fihrist* calls the mountain *Jūr-ghan* and Gardizī *Jūn-ghar* (with a possible connection of the name with that of the second brother).

final *u*, cf. Biruni, *baru* for *vaṭa*, v.i. §42), and not to cross the Ganges. These commandments are also in Shahristānī.

§§20 and 21. The two sects Mahā-deviya and Kābāliya worshipped the same god Śiva, under two different aspects. Śiva is directly named in §21, while in §20 he is described by his title of Mahā-deva, mis-spelt in Muṭahhar and Shahristānī. In both cases his attributes, a garland of skulls and a small hand-drum (*damaru*), are the same, cf. Barnett, 26. The other paraphernalia (including the trident) are distributed between the two divisions. The identity of the god would have been easily established through some literary source, but the original traveller prefers to describe separately the practices of the two sub-sects just as he apparently witnessed them. Gardīzī has much more on the Mahā-deviya and their elects whom he calls *bh.rāra* (?).

The term Kābāliya (already recognised in Haarbrucker, II, 365) corresponds to Ssk. *kāpālika*, an adjective derived from *kapāla*, "a skull." The reference is to human skulls being one of Śiva's attributes. Some of the other characteristics of Śiva are that he is smeared with the ashes of burnt cow-dung and that his hair is braided up in a conical pile, Barnett, 26. The latter was possibly mistaken by the Muslim investigator for "a red felt cap." On the Śivaite veneration of the linga, cf. Barnett, 27. Both Gardīzī and Marvazi spell *liṅd*, but Gardīzī explains that the pronunciation is *liṅg*.

§§22 and 23 refer to Rāma and his rival Rāvana, the demon king of the island Laṅkā.

Gardīzī has much more on the adepts of Rāma whom he places "in *d.kshāy.t* which is the North," in the town of Bāznāy.n. Something is wrong either with the location or with the interpretation of the term which apparently is \**dakshāpat* (*dakṣinā-paṭha*), meaning "the southern region" (H. W. Bailey). Bāznāyīn is unknown, unless it is connected with Bhadrachalam, Bhadrāgiri or Bhadrādri in the Godavari district, where there was a cult of Rāma (Dr. Barnett). Gardīzī calls Rāvana's island *vjwh* (\**vḍva*) *smyn*, which must represent a vulgar and mis-spelt form of *vaḍavā mukha*, whereas Biruni, 159, who follows the learned tradition, transcribes this name regularly *b.r.wā-m.χ* < \**barawā-mukh* (*r* < *d*). Gardīzī relates the story of the abduction of Rāma's wife by Ravana and the latter's murder by Rāma. This is the "authorized version" of Valmiki's *Rāmāyana* cf. Biruni, 159, but Marvazi's record of Rāma's tyranny and hints at the pardon of Ravana and the lance which he received refer to some aberrant version similar to those which are current among the Buddhists and Jains, according to which Rāvana was a great sage and ascetic and Sita was his daughter. See Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, I, 514, note 1 (who refers to a work of D. Ch. Sen).

Muṭahhar only quotes the names of the \*Rāmānī and \*Rāvānī, and Shahristānī omits them altogether. In the *Fihrist* all the category A (§§19-23) is left out.

Marvazī	Gardizī	Muṭahhar	Shahristānī	Naubakhti	al-Nadim
<i>Division A : God and apostles</i>				69(1)	
19	8	13 (1)	450 (IIa)	69 (2)	
20	9	13 (2)	450 (IIa)		
21	10	14 (3)	451 (IIc)	74 (11)?	
22	11	14 (4)			
23		14 (5)			
<i>Division B : No apostles (?)</i>					
24	12		445 (I)		
25	13				
26	14	14 (6)			
27	15	15 (7)	449 (Ib)		348 (e)
28	16				349 (f)
29	17	16 (14)			349 (g)
30	18		451 (IIId)		349 (h)
<i>Division C : Idols</i>					
31	19	18 (20) 15 (8)	453 (IVa) 454 (IVb)		347-8 (a)
32	20			P. 74	
33	21	15 (9)	454 (IVc)	(6)	
34	22	15 (10)	454 (IVd)		
35	23	16 (11)	455 (IVe)		
36	24	16 (13)	452 (IIIb)		348 (c)
37	25	16 (12)	452 (IIIa)		348 (b)
<i>Division D : Acts of austerity</i>					
38	26				
39	27				
40	28				
	29				
	30				
41a	31a	17 (20)		(7)	
	31b	17 (18)		(2)	
	31c				
	32	17 (19)		(4)	
	33	16 (16)		(5)	
		17 (17)		(3)	
	34	16 (15)		(1)	
41b	35	17 (21)		(8)	348 (d)
42a		17 (22)		(9)	
42b		17 (23)		(11)	
42c	36	18 (24)			
		18 (25)		(12)	
		18 (26)			
55	38	18 (27)		(13) <sup>1</sup>	
<i>Division E : Buddhists</i>					
43		19 (30)	446 (Ia)		[345, 347]
		<i>Division F : Metempsychosis</i>			
		18 (28)			

<sup>1</sup> Naubakhti adds (10): those who drown themselves.

2. Adherents of spiritual bodies (*aṣḥab al-rūḥāniyāt*).
3. Worshippers of heavenly bodies (*aṣḥāb al-hayākil al-samāwiya*).
4. Idolaters.
5. Philosophers.

Shahristani further states that the Brahmans reject "apostles" while they recognise a Builder (*ṣāmi'*) of the Universe. Category (2) is said to include those who believe in "spiritual intermediaries" and thus coincides with the division recognising "apostles" in I. Kh., Gardīzi and Marvāzi. Under category (3) it is said that of all the heavenly bodies only the Sun and the Moon have adepts. Category (4) contains an admission that, "after all," the previous categories are also idolaters. Finally the philosophers (5) are said to have received their lights from a pupil of Pythagoras called Qalānūs, etc. Under Shahristāni's pen the data of the original lose much of their liveliness and benefit little by being pushed into new pigeon-holes.

In the process of abridgment and readaptation, the "classes" of the original source have become disturbed in our text, e.g., one does not see the reason why §30 should stand outside the class of those who recognise "apostles," etc. Therefore in the following table of concordances we speak of "divisions" rather than of "classes." Marvāzi and Gardīzi are quoted in it after the §§ into which I have divided their text. The references to Muṭahhar, Shahristāni and *al-Fihrist* are to the pages of the printed editions, with indications (in brackets) of the order in which the items occur. The two passages of Naubakhti are similarly quoted after the pages in Ibn Jauzi and the order of single items. See Table on p. 132.

#### *Division A*

The author of the original report did not quite realise the status of Indian gods and their avatars. To him they appeared as "prophets and apostles" of some supreme divinity (v.s. p. 40) or as "angels." Similar ideas are still discernible in Biruni. In *India*, 200, he says that when the earth enters upon a period of ruin, Providence (*mudabbir*), in order to abate the evil, "sends" (*yursilu*) someone, such as Vāsudeva (Krishna). In the *Jawāhir*, 237, Biruni calls Mahādeva "chief of the angels."

§19. These are adepts of Vāsudeva, i.e. Vishnu, as confirmed by the latter's carrier the divine kite Garuḍa (Marvāzi: '*Anqā*, Gardīzi: *Simurgh*). His four emblems are supposed to be the lotus-flower, shell-trumpet (*sankhā*), mace and chakra-disc, see Barnett, 30. Only the latter has been recognised by the author whose Arabic transcription is \**shakr* (Muṭahhar: *shakra*). Both in Gardīzi and Marvāzi marginal notes explain "chakra" as *archad* (?), apparently in some Indian vernacular. The noose seems to be the arm called in Sanskrit *pāśa* (a special attribute of Yama, Dowson, 374). Gardīzi describes Vasudeva's twelve heads and says that he ordered his adepts to worship fire and to wear the guṇa thread (\**junū*; for



in Muṭahhar, Gardīzi, Marvazi, etc. Shahristāni, 454, has one additional item on the *B.rks.hikiya*, i.e. \**vrkṣa-bhaktiya*, "worshippers of the trees" (already guessed by Reinaud, 296). The adepts of this sect chose one of the tallest and most luxuriant trees growing in the mountains, hollowed out in it a niche for their idol and then prostrated themselves before the tree and circumambulated it. These details, explained in a clumsy and naive style, undoubtedly belong to the original source. The item is apparently one of the minor details neglected by the other compilers.

§17. Above (v.s. p. 127) we have quoted the three categories into which I. Kh. divides the Indian creeds. Muṭahhar's scheme is more elaborate but is probably faithful to the original. He says that there are in India 900 creeds; of these 99 are known and can be reduced to 42, the latter falling into 4 categories, and two classes, namely: Buddhists (*sumaniya*, as in Marvazi), who deprive God of attributes (*mu'atṭila*),<sup>1</sup> and Brahmans. The latter are of three classes (the text is disturbed!). It is said in conclusion, p. 18: "All those who do not believe in apostolate (*risāla*)<sup>2</sup> and the Beyond (*al-ākhirā*) do believe in recompense and punishment through transmigration (*intiḡāl*) and metempsychosis (*tanāsukh*)." The same basis of classification is still recognisable in Gardīzi (with some misunderstandings) and in Marvazi.

Gardīzi.	Marvazi.
1. Those who recognise the Creator, apostles and Retribution and who are Brahmans.	Those who recognise the Creator and apostles.
2. Those who repudiate apostles (namely, the Shamanis = Buddhists).	Those who recognise the Creator but not apostles.
3. Those who recognise the Creator and believe in the eternity of Paradise and Hell.	Those who reject the Creator and apostles.
4. Those who believe that Retribution consists in transmigration.	Those who reject everything excepting Retribution (Shamanis). Some (?) who say that Retribution consists in rebirth.

Shahristāni's personal views throw considerable confusion into the scheme. Here are briefly his new headings:

1. Brahmans, namely:
  - (a) Buddhists (*aṣḡāb al-bidāda*).
  - (b) Adherents of psychical power (*al-fikra wal-wahm*), i.e. the rishis (?).
  - (c) Believers in transmigration.

<sup>1</sup> Such is the technical meaning of the term, but practically it denotes "atheists."

<sup>2</sup> On the translation of the term *rasūl* by "apostle" (v.s. p. 40.)

says that "it stands at the confluence of the Jamna and Ganges, and near it the Hindus chastise themselves with punishments which are described in the books of controversies (*kutub al-maqālāt*)."<sup>1</sup> The reference to *maqālāt* apparently has in view Zurqān, which makes it probable that this worthy's book contained the same details from the original report that are reproduced (with very slight differences) in Naubakhti (v.i.), Muṭahhar, p. 19, Gardizi, §36, Marvazi, §41, and even the books of marvels.<sup>1</sup>

As appears from Biruni's passage ("the then existing religion") IRĀNSHAHRI must have lived a considerable time before him. In fact, Nāṣir-i Khusrau, *Zād al-musāfirin*, ed. Berlin, 1923, 72, 98, 102-3, refers to him as being the "predecessor and teacher" (*muqaddam-va-ustād*) of the famous Muhammad b. Zakariyā Rāzi.<sup>2</sup> Nāṣir-i Khusrau accuses Rāzi of having remoulded, in an openly materialistic spirit, the theories which Irānshahri had developed with moderation in his *Kitāb-i Jalīl* and *Kitāb-i athīr*. As according to Biruni, *Fihrist kutub al-Rāzi*, ed. Kraus, 1936, 4-6, Rāzi was born in 251/865 and died in 313/925, we have to place Irānshahri considerably before 300/912.

Biruni quotes from Irānshahri a report on Mount Meru according to the Buddhist creed, *India*, 124 and 166, and also some data on Iranian and Armenian traditions, *Chronology*, 222, 225 (tr. 208, 211). The item on Meru is not found in the other books of our category, perhaps by chance, and perhaps because it belonged to Irānshahri's own contributions (v.s. Biruni).

Another author belonging to Zurqān's tradition seems to be Abū Muḥammad Ḥasan b. Mūsā NAUBAKHTĪ (d. circa 300-310/912-922).<sup>3</sup> Of his book, *Kitāb al-ārā wal-diyānāt*, only some quotations have survived, and among them two passages on Indian religions,<sup>4</sup> the one (abridged and confused) on the adepts of Vasudeva and the other on the austerities practised by Indians. The latter is very similar to Muṭahhar's arrangement.

SHAHRISTĀNĪ'S chapter on India, 445-55, may be also filiated to Zurqān, for it is likely that a writer on purely religious matter should have looked for information in the *maqālāt* rather than in a geographical work.<sup>5</sup> If so, Zurqān contained much the same stuff as found

<sup>1</sup> We cannot say whether Biruni knew these tales from Zurqān's book or through the intermediary of Irānshahri. In any case he did not stoop to reproduce the purely external facts collected by the keen-eyed but simple minded author of the original report.

<sup>2</sup> P. Kraus, *Rāzi*, in *E.J.*, is inclined to identify Irānshahri with the "Balkhi," who is said to have been Rāzi's teacher of philosophy, *Fihrist*, 299, but S. H. Taqizadeh points to the *Fihrist*, 300-1, where two Balkhis are mentioned: Abul-Qāsim and Suhayl, whom Rāzi criticised in his books.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 'Abbās Eghbāl *Khānadān-i Naubakhtī*, Tehran, 1311/1933, p. 137.

<sup>4</sup> See Ibn Jauzi, *Talbis Iblīs*, Cairo, 1340, pp. 69 and 74, reprinted by H. Ritter in his edition of *Firaq al-Shī'a*, attributed to Naubakhti, Istanbul, 1931, pp. KJ and KD.

<sup>5</sup> Sachau in his translation of Biruni, II, 251, says that "the origin of (Shahristānī's) chapters on Indian subjects . . . is not known," and that he did not make use of Biruni. Reinaud, in his famous *Mémoire*, 291, states that Shahristānī "a mis plusieurs fois a contribution le *Fihrist*." We now know that the question must be treated as between a much larger circle of writers exploiting the same original source.

(C) Bīrūnī, *India*, I, 4, explains the circumstances under which he was moved to write his book as follows: "Everything which exists on this subject (i.e. on the religions and doctrines of the Hindus) in our literature is second-hand information which one person has copied from another, a farrago of materials never sifted by the sieve of critical examination. Of all the authors of this class, I know only one who has proposed to himself to give a simple and exact report on the subject *sine ira ac studio*, viz. Abul-'Abbās al-Īrānshahri. He himself did not believe in any of the then existing religions but was the sole believer in a religion invented by himself, which he tried to propagate." He has given a good account of the Jews and Christians, "but when he came to speak of the Hindus and the Buddhists, his arrow missed the mark, and in the latter part he went astray through hitting upon the book of Zurqān, the contents of which he incorporated in his own work. That, however, which he has not taken from Zurqān, he has himself heard from common people among the Hindus and Buddhists."

The author whom Biruni unceremoniously calls ZURQĀN appears to be one of the earliest transmitters of the report on India. My learned and resourceful friend, S. H. Taqizadeh, has put me on the track of several passages referring to this author. Speaking of the doctrines of the Qarmatians, Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, 395, mentions Zurqān among the authors who wrote controversial books to refute their opponents (*kitāban min al-maqālāt wa ghayrihā min al-radd 'alā al-mukhālifīn*), and says that he was a retainer (*ghulam*) of the well-known Mu'tazilite theologian Nazzām (see *E.I.*). Sam'ānī, 530b (under al-Musammī'i), and Yāqūt who copies him, IV, 523 (under al-Musammī'a),<sup>1</sup> say that Muḥammad b. Shaddād b. 'Isā Abū-Ya'li, known as Zurqān, was a Mu'tazilite teacher of no great talent, for his lectures were not taken down by his pupils. He was a native of the Sāmi'a ward in Baṣra and died in Baghdād in 298 or 299/910-2. This date is an obvious mistake, for Zurqān's patron Nazzām died circa 220-30/835-45. Yāqūt drops the second figure, changing the date into 208-9/823-4, but this correction suggests that Z. predeceased N. by a good number of years, whereas it is known that N. died in the full vigour of his faculties. In Aḥmad b. Yahyā's *Kitāb al-munya wal-amal*, ed. T. W. Arnold, Leipzig, 1902, 44-5, S. H. Taqizadeh has found an indication that Zurqān took part in a debate in the presence of the caliph Wāthiq, who ruled 227-32/842-7. Consequently the date of Zurqān's death is later than 208, while it must be earlier than 298. The usual confusion in Arabic numbers is between "90" and "70," but even 278 seems too late for Zurqān. A date like 248 or 258 would be much more probable. Zurqān, as appears from his biographic record, was not a traveller, but only a mediocre theologian, and he could quote on India only someone else's data.

There does not seem to survive any direct vestige of Zurqān's book, but in the passage on the "Prayāga tree," Biruni, 98 (tr. I, 200)

<sup>1</sup> Rāzi wrote two books to refute the anti-materialistic theories of al-Musammī'i al-mutakallim (=Zurqān), *Fihrist*, 300-1, cf. Bīrūnī, *Fihrist kutub al-Rāzi*, No. 58.

(B) The other chain of borrowers begins with I. Khurdādhbih and Jayhāni. Speaking of the different classes of Indian religions, Gardīzi (f. 199b) formally acknowledges his authority: "Thus speaks 'Abdullāh (*sic*) Jayhāni: the Hindus have 99 sects which come under 42 categories, and their basis is fourfold, as I shall explain," after which without transition comes the description of the individual sects (v.i. 132). We can ascend even beyond Jayhāni. The abridgement of I. Kh.'s work, *BGA*, VI, 71, has: "The Indian creeds are 42, some of which accept the Creator . . . and the prophets, some reject the prophets, and some others reject everything." In I. Kh. this statement is inserted between the enumeration of the castes and the praise of Indian crafts, all of them forming one block of information, recognisable in the later authors, Gardīzi, Marvazi and partly Shahrīstāni. As all of these, after the general classification of Indian religions (v.i. §17), enumerate the same individual sects, it seems almost certain that this set of facts existed in Kh.'s original work. Jayhāni may have been acquainted with the primary report, but more probably, as suggested by Muqaddasi, 271) he got his facts from I. Kh. (v.s. p. 6). Like his contemporary al-Kindi, I. Kh. was living in Baghdad and could easily have secured a copy of the primary report which Yaḥyā b. Khālid's envoy brought to the capital some fifty years before.

The authors who owed their knowledge of the primary report to Jayhāni, wrote chiefly in the eastern part of Iran:

- (α) The earliest in date is Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir Maqḍisi in his *Kitāb al-bad'*, ed. Huart, IV, 9-19. At the end of his chapter on India he quotes a *Kitāb al-Masālik*. The editor, C. Huart, expressed the view, IV, 17, that this is likely to be the work of Jayhāni, rather than of I. Kh., whose text in *BGA*, VI, does not contain this passage. My late teacher and colleague was on the right track, though he overlooked the fact that *BGA*, VI, is only an abridgement of the original I. Kh.<sup>1</sup>
- (β) A large extract is found in the unpublished part of Gardīzi's *Zayn al-akhhbār*. The specific importance of this part of Gardīzi's work for comparative purposes has only now become apparent. Gardīzi specifically names Jayhāni as his source, and this acknowledgment is welcome.
- (γ) The next in chronological order is Marvazi. His selection is very close to that of Gardīzi, but he used the Arabic original of Jayhāni independently of Gardīzi. As Gardīzi's text is in a notoriously bad state, Marvazi enables us to restore some of his readings.

<sup>1</sup> The beginning of Muṭahhar's report on India (namely, IV, 9-12) was reproduced in A. M. Ḥusayn Tha'ālibi's *Ghurur al-akhhbār*. Tha'ālibi quotes Muṭahhar and this detail rendered possible the identification of the latter's work. The passage is not in the part of the *Ghurur* edited by Zotenberg, but Reinaud, 294, gives its contents and Huart has collated the MSS.

theologians (*mutakallimīn*),<sup>1</sup> the Barmakid Yaḥyā b. Khālid sent a man to India "to collect the medicinal plants found in India and to draw up a report on Indian religions, and he wrote the present book for him (*fa kataba lahu hādha al-kitāb*),"<sup>2</sup> p. 345, lines 17-28.

- (3) This introduction is followed by a long and confused paragraph on Indian temples (v.i. §54), p. 346, l. 1, p. 347, l. 13. The sequence of paragraphs (2) and (3) might suggest that (3) begins a quotation from Yaḥyā's envoy, but a close analysis of (3) shows that a part of it at least is based on the report of the well-known Abū Dulaf Mis'ar b. Muḥalhil, v.i. §54. This unreliable globe-trotter (al-Nadīm: *jawwāla*) claimed to have travelled far and wide in Indo-China and India, see Yāqūt, III, 445-57. Towards the middle of the paragraph stand the words "Abū Dulaf told me," which introduce a correction of a report for which Abū Dulaf himself seems to be responsible (viz. on a "House of Gold" of Zamīn Dāvar, cf. Yāqūt, III, 457). As Abū Dulaf is supposed to have accompanied an embassy from Bukhara to northern China, about 331/941, and as al-Nadīm wrote in A.D. 988, their personal contact is somewhat doubtful on chronological grounds. The words *qāla li Abū Dulaf* may have been incorporated by al-Nadīm from some written source (v.s. p. 8, on the Introduction of Abū Dulaf's *Risālas*). On the other hand, al-Nadīm certainly met the authority whom he quotes towards the end of the paragraph, namely, the monk whom the Nestorian Catholicos had sent to China and who after a seven years' absence returned in 377/987.
- (4) A paragraph on Buddha, with an indication that the quotation is from a book "different from that copied by al-Kindī," p. 347, ll. 14-27.
- (5) After a new indication: "from (the book) copied by al-Kindī" (*min khaṭṭ al-Kindī*),<sup>3</sup> there follows, p. 349, l. 29-p. 349, l. 12, the long and important enumeration of individual sects coinciding with that of Muṭahhar, Gardīzi, Marvazī and Shahristāni.

Passage (5) is particularly important as providing a clue to the origin of the traditional information on Indian religions. It is likely that Yaḥyā b. Khālid sent his envoy to India at the time when he was the *de facto* ruler of the caliphate A.D. 786-803, see Barthold, *Barmakids* in *E.I.*, and we can tentatively date the original report at *circa* A.D. 800.

<sup>1</sup> Is the reference to Zurqān?

<sup>2</sup> Ferrand translates: "L'envoyé lui écrivit cette lettre." Rather: "lui écrivit le livre que voici."

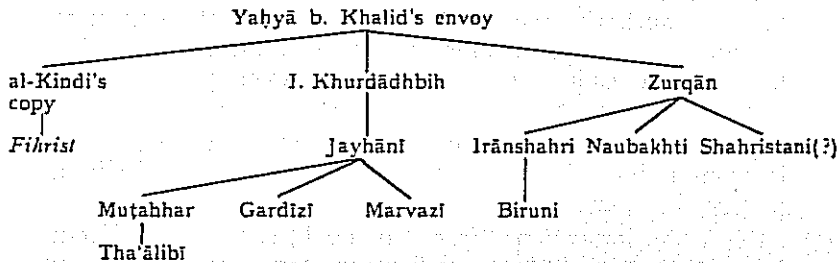
<sup>3</sup> The editor rightly states II, 182, that this indication refers to what follows ("gehört zum Folgenden"). The indication is left out in Ferrand's translation.

lies is Assam, for, as a parallel to *Qāmūr*, Gardizi, §5, gives *Kāmrūt*, i.e. \*Kāmarūpa, v.i. §52. Gardizi speaks only of the "peri-like" proficiency of the inhabitants in spells. Cf. Juvayni, I, 85, on *parī-dāvī*.

### B. RELIGIONS

In the light of Marvazi and Gardizi, who are studied here for the first time, I have come to the conclusion that most of the earlier authors on Indian religions made an extensive use of one primary report which I take as having been compiled *circa* A.D. 800, at the request of the Barmakid Yaḥyā b. Khālīd. The original has not come down to us nor are we sure of the name of its author, but its contents can now be restored from the available quotations, such as are found in our §§17-42. This source is not expected to contain any revelations for Indianists and its literary standards can bear no comparison with the philosophic attitude of an Abū Rayḥān Bīrūnī, but it is some two centuries older than Biruni and its vivid descriptions reveal in the author a great clarity of vision. Free from cant, the observer wished only to see and to report, not to judge and to expatiate upon his own superiority.

It will be easier to follow our conclusion if we at once present the tentative scheme of the connections between our sources, as resulting from our analysis of them:



(A) Though there were numerous borrowers from the original source before al-Nadīm (A.D. 988), we must begin our study with his *Fihrist* as giving us a clue to the problem. His text, 346-9 (translated by Ferrand with some omissions, *Relations*, 118-29) is composite and consists of the following parts:

- (1) A passage on Buddhists (al-S.maniya) based on the work of some Khorasanian author who compiled a chronicle of his province (*akḥbār Khorāsān fil-qadīm wa ma ālat ilayhi fil-ḥadīth*), 345, lines 12-17.
- (2) The original chapter on India and China begins with a reference to a fragment (*juz'*) of some work copied in his own hand by the famous philosopher Ya'qūb b. Ishaq al-Kindī in 249/863. The compiler (or editor?) of the work (*kātibuhū*) says in the beginning of the fragment that, according to some

traces of which survive in the available abridgment of I. Kh.'s book (i.e. in *BGA*, VI, 71), must have been drawn up before A.D. 850. The seven castes enumerated are: kings, brahmins, kshatriya, vaiśya, śudra, candala and ḍomba. In de Goeje's opinion, *BGA*, VII, tr. 52, the king's caste is only a different spelling of kshatriya and is based on the misunderstanding of Muslim authors who were loath to believe that the king could belong to any but the highest category. However, the spelling, with the conspicuous group of *shīn-alif* in the beginning of *al-shākthariya*, is very different from *al-k.stariya*, etc., \**kshatriya*. It is possible then that the name of the king's caste is connected with the royal title *chakravartī*, as H. W. Bailey has suggested to me.<sup>1</sup> As in I. Kh., the śudra come before the vaiśya. Another strange fact is that Brahmins are given an inferior status to *al-Sumaniya*. The term, similarly spelt in Muṭahhar, 19 (a quotation from Jayhānī) and in the *Fihrist*, 345 (a quotation from *Akhbār Khorāsān*) refers to Buddhists. In Muslim literature the latter are regularly called *shaman* (from *śramana*, "anchorite, a devotee"), cf. Birūnī, 184 (tr. II, 169), and \**suman* may be simply a mis-spelling in which the *ḍamma* represents the original three dots of the *shīn*. However, the "Buddhists" are out of place in the systems of castes, and it is difficult to imagine that in this particular passage the term (*suman/shaman*) stands in its original connotation of *śramana*. The passage is apparently an interpolation based on a misunderstanding.

§§9-16. As all this section runs parallel to Gardizi, who quotes Jayhānī's *Tawārīkh* (?) as his source, we must conclude that Jayhānī is the immediate source of Marvazi also. But again, we can go back still farther. The first of the paragraphs on Indian crafts corresponds to I. Kh., 71-2, and apparently belongs to the aforesaid primary report (circa A.D. 800). The same data, though much more abridged, are found in Muṭahhar, IV, 10 (tr. 9). Shahrīstānī, II, 447, who remoulds his source, quotes the achievements of the Indians in astronomy, medicine, telepathy and control of natural phenomena (rain) in his special subdivision of Indian creeds, entitled *aṣḥāb al-fikra wal-wahm*, the latter being confused with the rishis.

§10. As a parallel to *sīmābandūt*, Gardizi, §3, has *sh.māt.nt*. The meaning of this term is clear, but the reading is unknown. Perhaps: *sīmā* ("face, features") + *band*, in the sense of "producing appearances, phantasmagoria," or *sīmīyā* ("one of the magic arts") + *band*. The printed text of Muṭahhar, IV, 10, substitutes: *nayranjāt*, "magic." [The reading *sīmāband* is unexpectedly confirmed by Sogdian *syn'βnt*, see Henning, *Sogdica*, 1940, pp. 60-61].

§16. Mount *al-Dāb.r* (?) is unknown, but the country in which it

<sup>1</sup> \**Shāhbartī* would be a haplogly of *Shāk(ra)bartī*, with a compensatory lengthening of the vowel. In the still more compressed form the term got into the story of Sindbad the Sailor where it is said the *Shākiriya* are the most noble of Indian races and are followed by the Brahmins who never drink wine, *Alf layla*, night 541, cf. E. W. Lane's translation (Dent, 1901), IV, 119. On the true *shākiri*, v.s. p. 94.

by M. Klamroth, *Ueber die Auszüge aus griechischen Schriftstellern bei al-Ja'qūbī*, in *ZDMG*, 40, 1886, p. 202. The same is apparently true for Marvazi.

## CHAPTER XII

### INDIA

The following reference books are quoted in this section by the names of the authors: L. D. Barnett, *Antiquities of India*, 1913; J. Dowson, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu mythology and religion*, 1879; Nundo Lal De, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, 1927; Reinaud, *Mémoire géographique historique et scientifique sur l'Inde antérieurement au milieu du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle de l'ère chrétienne, d'après les écrivains arabes, persans et chinois*, in *Mémoires de l'Institut National de France, Académie des Inscriptions*, XVIII/2, 1849, 1-399 and 365-6 (still a remarkable achievement). [O. Spies, *An Arab account of India in the 14<sup>th</sup> Century*, Stuttgart, 1936 (a translation of the compilative account from the *Masālik al-abṣār* by 'Omari) belongs to a much later period.]

The arrangement of this chapter is clearer than that of the others.

A. Introduction (§1), followed by an enumeration of the "seven" castes (§§2-8) and an eulogy of Indian sciences, crafts, etc. (§§9-16).

B. Religions. The account takes up the major part of the chapter. It deals with individual Indian creeds and sects (§§17-42) and concludes with an inadequate reference to Buddhism (§43).

C. Politico-geographical conditions. This part begins with the usual enumeration of Indian kings and their customs (§§44-62), and ends with some desultory notes on the northern part of India (Panjab) (§§63-66).

#### A. CASTES

§§2-8. Biruni, 49-51 (I, 101-4, and II, 293) gives a very clear description of the four castes, after which he speaks of the functional low castes (*antaz* < \**antyaja*) and finally of the outcaste Hādī (*Hādī*), Dūm (*Doma*), Candala and *Badhatau*.<sup>1</sup> In this, he follows the Rig-Veda, the laws of Manu and other authoritative sources, cf. Barnett, *o.c.*, 132-5.

His predecessor, from whom most of the authors including Marvazi derived their data, knows the principal categories but, being limited to his personal observations and enquiries, commits some errors in his classification of the castes and his interpretation of the facts. Marvazi's data on the castes correspond almost word for word with the statements found in Ibn Khurdādhbih, 71, but, as Marvazi gives more details in the style of the original (prohibition of intermarriages, Brahmans infatuated with candala girls), it would seem that he had at his disposal a more complete version of the original. More probably he obtained these additional details through the medium of Jayhānī. In any case, the primary report,

<sup>1</sup> Still unexplained. Possibly *vadhya*, "a criminal," in Arabic \**badhyū* (with final *u* instead of *a*, like in *vata* > *baru*).



§20. Cf. *ibid.*, II, 67: in Hippocrates, the passage on warlike women with one breast (μαζόν) belongs to the description of Sauromatae (v.s. §17), the term "Amazons" being found only in a gloss. Some additional reference to Amazons is found in Chap. XVII, f. 48a. Their warlike behaviour is compared with what 'Ā'isha did in "the battle of the Camel" and what some Turkish women and Byzantine girls do.

On the whole Marvazi simply follows the Greeks and shows less critical acumen than Avicenna, who in his *Canon* studies the same problem of climatic conditions. Avicenna too states that the periods of the females living in northern countries are defective "owing to constriction of the channels and the absence of the stimulus to . . . relaxation of the channels. Some assert that this makes the women sterile. . . . But this is contrary to experience, at any rate as regards the Germans (*var.* Turks, Parthians, etc.). My opinion is that the great amount of innate heat makes up for the absence of the stimulus to flow. Abortion, it is said, is rare among women in those climates, and this further supports the opinion that their vitality is great. . . . Female slaves are liable to develop ascites and hydrouterus; but these also pass away as they grow old." See O. Cameron, *A Treatise on the Canon . . . of Avicenna*, London, 1930, p. 207.

The original source of Marvazi's quotations having been ascertained, it is more difficult to trace the part in them which goes back to Galen. In fact the latter commented on Hippocrates's Περὶ αἰέπων, but (a) of this commentary only a Latin translation has survived, and (b) this Latin text stops short of the paragraphs in which Hippocrates describes the Scythians, see *Opera Hippocratis Coi et Galeni Pergameni*, Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1679, VI, 201-12.

Another problem is to identify the Arabic translation from which Marvazi borrowed his quotations. It will be better reserved till the time when the whole of the *Tabā'i' al-hayawān* has been studied and edited. The famous Hunayn b. Ishāq says in the Bibliography of his translations that he rendered Hippocrates's Περὶ αἰέπων (*kitāb al-hawā wal-mā' wal-masākin*) into Syriac, adding to it a short commentary of his own, but that the work remained unfinished. He also translated the original book into Arabic, while his nephew, Hubaysh, translated the explanations of Galen, see Bergsträsser, *Hunain b. Ishāq*, in *Abh. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XVII, No. 2, 1925, p. 25 (point 99). Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 119-29, sums up the contents of the works of Hippocrates: *Kitāb fil-ahwiya wal-azmina wal-miyāh wal-amšār* (p. 119-20) and *Kitāb fil-ahwiya wal-buldān* (pp. 120-9), but leaves out the part on Sauromatae, etc. He adds that Galen composed a running commentary on the book (*faṣl faṣl wa ma'nā ma'nā*). Even the rendering of the title suggests that Ya'qūbī used some translation other than that of Hunayn. A similar difference with regard to the *Prognostikon* has been indicated

time is applied to the Turks. Byzantine authors were responsible for the identification of the Turks with their predecessors in the steppe belt. Menander Protector, who collected the reports of Byzantine embassies to various eastern peoples, says (frag. 19) that the Turks were formerly called Saka (τῶν Τούρκων, τῶν Σακῶν καλουμένων πάλαι). On the Iranian side the Book of Kings (*Khwatāy-nāmah*) similarly confused the descendants of Tūr (Turanians) with Turks, and this view was consecrated by Firdausi. I. Faqih, 7, includes in Scythia (*Isgūtiya*): Armenia, Khorasan, the Turks and Khazars, and Marvazi simply substitutes "Turks" to the "Scythians" of the Greek authors.<sup>1</sup> §§17-20 are a fair example of Marvazi's favourite theories on the influence of the climate which he develops with regard to the "Turks" in the north, and to the "Ethiopians" and other southern peoples, in his chapters XIII and XV. As the quotations indicate, these views are of direct Greek origin and are borrowed from Hippocrates's treatise *Περὶ ἰσθμῶν ἰσθμῶν τόπων*, see *Oeuvres complètes d'Hippocrate*, ed. E. Littré, 1840, II, at the places indicated below.<sup>2</sup>

§17. Cf. Littré, II, 67: on *Σαυραμάται* living near the Maeotis.

§18. Cf. *ibid.*, II, 73-7: Scythians are fat and their skin is hairless. The women are sterile: "la matrice ne peut plus saisir la liqueur séminale, car l'écoulement menstruel, loin de s'opérer avec la régularité nécessaire est peu abondante et séparée par de longs intervalles, et l'orifice de l'utérus, fermé par la graisse, n'admet pas la semence." The handmaids who do the work conceive easily, etc. An echo of these theories is also found in I. Faqih, 6, according to whom the Turks have few children. Gardizi, 81, and the *Muḥmal al-tawārikh*, 105, quote legends to explain why Turks have little hair on their bodies (*tang-mū'ī*).

§19. Cf. *ibid.*, II, 77: on the morbid effeminacy of some Scythians called *ἀνανδριεῖς*. Cf. Herodotus, I, 105: *ἐναρέες*. Marvazi admits that such men are found in "some Turkish lands," but insists on the vigour of the nomads. The passage on "Ionians and Turks," who owe allegiance to nobody, is a misunderstanding, perhaps an intentional one, for the Greek original was too unpalatable for Marvazi's masters: "Les Européens sont plus belliqueux . . . car ils ne sont pas, comme les Asiatiques, gouvernés par les rois. . . . Gouvernés par leurs propres lois, sentant que les dangers qu'ils courent, ils les courent dans leurs propres intérêts, ils les acceptent volontiers . . . car le prix de la victoire est pour eux (τὰ γὰρ ἀριστεία τῆς νίκης αὐτοὶ φέρονται). C'est ainsi que les lois ne contribuent pas peu à créer le courage." A sublime idea, even for our own times!

<sup>1</sup> Just as the older Russian translation of Joseph Flavius substitutes "Pechenegs" for "Scythians," Vsevolod Miller, *Osetinskiye el'udi*, III, 40.

<sup>2</sup> In the new edition *Corpus medicorum graecorum*, I/1: Hippocratis opera, Vol. I/1, ed. Heiberg, 1927, pp. 56-78 (especially pp. 71-8).

sense while saying that at the western outlet of the *khalīj* (Dardanelles) there stands a tower "in which there is a chain preventing the Muslim ships from entering the *khalīj*." On the other hand, he says that at the (eastern) entrance (*fūha*) to the *khalīj* (Bosphorus) there is a town called \**Musannāt*. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 317, is more explicit in stating that at this place "lie cultivated lands (*'amā'ir*) and the Byzantine town called *M.snāt*, which impedes the ships of the Rūs and others who come from the (Black) sea." Cf. also *Tanbīh*, 141 (where the Rūs are called *al-Kūdkāna*, read \**al-Urmaniyya*). De Goeje (I. Kh., transl. 75) has surmised that the name \**Musannāt* must be an Arabic term having the sense of "digue ou brise-lames" (cf. Lane: "a dam, a thing constructed, or raised to keep back the water of a torrent, a kind of wall built in the face of water . . ."), cf. also Tomaschek, *Zur hist. Topographie von Kleinasien*, 1891, p. 3 (without any further explanation). The probability of an Arabic etymology is increased by the existence of a place *al-Musannāt* in Egypt, *Murūj*, IV, 421, and *Yāqūt*, IV, 533. The "town" of which Mas'ūdī speaks could not by itself prevent Russian ships from entering the Bosphorus unless it possessed some kind of boom, but we have no record of "chains" in the Bosphorus.<sup>1</sup>

Marvazi's "chains" must belong to a different tradition. The Byzantines used a strong iron chain drawn between the tower of Galata and the citadel (Acropolis) to impede the access to the Golden Horn. The chain is first mentioned A.D. 717 at the occasion of the Arab invasion, see quotations in C. du Fresne du Cange, *Historia Byzantina*, 1680; *Constantinopolis Christiana*, pp. 9-10.<sup>2</sup> According to the Russian Chronicle (Laurentian Codex, *Polnoye sobraniye russkikh letopisey*, 1926, I, 30), when the Russians led an attack against Constantinople A.D. 907, the Greeks "locked the Gulf (замкоша соудъ) and closed up the city." Marvazi possibly refers to this event of which Jayhāni was a contemporary.

The raid of the Rūs on Barda's in 332/943-4 was described by I. Miskawaih, *The Eclipse*, II, 62-78, and traces of some additional information are found in the *Hudūd*, §36, 30., but no other source prior to Marvazi has the reports on the conversion of the Rūs to Islam, and on the great migration of Turkish tribes (v.s. §5). Both clearly reflect a Khwārazmian tradition and for the time being we are obliged to attribute them to Marvazi himself.

§§17-20, based as they are on Greek medical authorities, differ from §§1-16. What the Greeks say on the Iranian nomads of their

<sup>1</sup> Mas'ūdī had little influence on the writers of Khorasan. The interpretation of *M.snāt* as "Mysia," Seippel, p. xxx, is absolutely impossible. If we insist on a Greek origin for the name, we might perhaps envisage *Mesemvria*. This town lay far from the Bosphorus, but it is mentioned by Const. Porphy., *De adm. imp.*, Ch. 9, as the terminus of the difficult sea voyage of the Russians on the way to Constantinople.

<sup>2</sup> Under Manuel Comnenus (A.D. 1143-80) a second chain was drawn between two towers on the European and Asiatic side, against the aggressors coming from the Marmara sea.

only one Vladimir in the fourth century H. Russian annals report that before his conversion to Byzantine orthodoxy Vladimir had made enquiries about the other faiths. His embassy, composed of ten men, visited the Muslim Bulgars on the Volga. Islam was finally rejected on the ground that "drinking wine was a joy of the Russians." As Barthold remarks, there would be nothing improbable in the admission that the envoys had also visited Khwārazm, from which the Bulgars themselves sought religious instruction.

Two details in our story must be considered:

- (a) Some years must have elapsed before the "shrinking of livelihood," concomitant with Christian principles, could become manifest.
- (b) For that the personal name Vladimir might have become a generic designation, several princes in succession must have borne it. Now after Saint Vladimir, who died A.D. 1015, the second important ruler of this name was Vladimir Monomach (born in 1053, prince of Pereyaslavl from 1097, prince of Kiev, 1113-25), the fame of whose exploits against the nomad Polovtsi<sup>1</sup> must have reached Khwārazm. The chronicles praise Monomach for his unimpeachable orthodoxy, but some minor princes or noblemen involved in feudal struggles might well have sought refuge as far away as Khwārazm,<sup>2</sup> and even have expressed a desire to embrace Islam.

In its general bearing the story is but a variation of Muslim criticism of Manichaeism and Christianity as exercising an effeminating influence on their votaries. *Mutatis mutandis*, it is even reminiscent of the refusal of the Turkish (Türgish) khaqan to accept Islam at the request of the caliph Hishām (105-25/724-43). The khaqan held a review of his army and said to the envoy: "These men have no barbers, no cobblers, no tailors; if they accept Islam and follow its prescriptions, whence will their food come?" *Yāqūt*, I, 839 (commented on by Marquart in *Festschrift f. F. Hirth*, 289-93). The story is already found in I. Faqih.

The indication respecting the protective chains in Constantinople raises several interesting points. The term *khalīj* means both "a gulf" and "straits". I. Khurdādhbih, 103-4, uses it in the latter

1350, IV, 408, No. 1124, N. A. Poliak has found a curious name, *W.lādmr* (var. *W.lāwy*). The traditionalist *W.lādmr* b. 'Abdillāh al-Sayfī was a client of 'Bāgtāmūr al-Sāqī al-'Azīzī, and lived 644-710/1246-1310. It is likely that *W.lādmr* corresponds to *Vladimir*. The name may have been used by the Turks on the assumption that *-dmr* is "dāmīr" "iron." On the other hand, the close relations between Egypt and Qipchaq (i.e. the steppes of Southern Russia) make it quite possible that the family, like many others, was of Russian origin. The father's name, 'Abdullāh, is a usual name among converts to Islam. It can even be a translation of "Theodore."

<sup>1</sup> He had 83 major expeditions to his credit. He made peace 19 times with the Polovtsi with whom (down to 1093 alone) he had fought 12 battles.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the story of Sviatopolk of Kiev, who after his defeat by his brother Yaroslav, A.D. 1019, fled to the Pechenegs, *The Novgorod Chronicle*, pp. 83-4; Engl. transl., Camden Third Series, 1914, p. 2.

explanation of it has yet been found than Chwolson's \**shūbanj* < *šupanec* (?), although the available variants begin with *š-*, which in Arabic would more likely represent an original *š* or *č*. On the name of the town see *H.-'Ā.*, 430.

The details on lutes are more complete in Marvazi. The distinguished musicologist Dr. H. Farmer, to whom I communicated my passage, very kindly gave me the following explanation: "The *malāwī* are the tuning pegs on any stringed instrument. Every string is fixed by a knot at one end of the instrument, generally by being tied through a hole or around a short peg or button. The string is then stretched over the surface of the instrument to the other extremity, where it is tied to a "tuning peg" (*malwā*). This 'tuning peg' the performer turns (*yawī*) when he wishes to tune the string to its proper note. The *malwā* is always at the head of the instrument, and in lutes is either fixed directly (*mustawī*) into a hole in the head, or else the *malwā* goes into a hole in what we call a peg-box (*banjak*, *banjāk*, *bunjuq*). The lute of the Slavs, according to your MS., did not have a peg-box for the tuning-pegs. The latter were fixed directly and perpendicularly into the head of the instrument. (Dr. Farmer annexes a sketch of the two systems.) It would appear that the Slavonic lute was either the *balalaika* or the *goudok* because it did not have a round, vaulted sound-chest, but a flat (*musattah*) one."

§15. The Rūs. For the first part see I. Rusta, 145-7, *H.-'Ā.*, §44, Gardīzi, 100-1, Bakrī, 34-40. The story of the conversion of the Rūs to Christianity and then to Islam was copied by 'Aufī, whose text was edited and translated by Barthold in *Zap. Vost. Otd.*, IX, 1895 (1896), pp. 262-7.<sup>1</sup> 'Aufī translates Marvazi word for word, repeating the date "300" and the name of the Bulghār king in the form *B.ḡ.ḡ.ḡ.* The date, 300/912, is wrong, the second and the third figures having been omitted in the text (cf. a similar mistake in the date of Zurqān's death, p. 128).<sup>2</sup>

The Russians were baptised A.D. 988 or 989 (378-9 H.), but Ibn al-Athīr, IX, 30, who knows the circumstances of the marriage of Vladimir to the sister of the emperors Basil and Constantine, speaks of the conversion *sub anno* 375/985-6, cf. Dimishqi, tr. Mehren, 378. As Marvazi quotes the name of Vladimir (older *Volodimer*),<sup>3</sup> he cannot refer to any other occasion, for there was

<sup>1</sup> Barthold's posthumous article, "Arab Sources on Russians" in *Sovetskoye Vostokovedeniye* (ed. by the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.), I, 1941, is inaccessible to me.

<sup>2</sup> *The Bahjat al-tawārikh* of Shukrullāh (A.D. 1456) and the still later *Jāmi' al-tawārikh* of Muhammad Za'im (A.D. 1578) change the date of the conversion respectively to 303 and 333, see Hammer, *Les origines russes*, 1827, 48, 65-6, as quoted by Barthold.

<sup>3</sup> In *buladmir*, the initial *b* stands for Arabic preposition *bi*, as in *bi-khāgān* which follows it. 'Aufī, however, took the whole complex for the name of the prince *Būlādhmīr*, possibly with a popular Persian etymology "prince of steel" (*pūlād-h-mīr* "Stalin"). In I. Hajar's bibliographical dictionary *Durar al-hāmina*, Haydarabad,

as subjects of the Khazars. Marvazi (§10) and Gardīzi, 95, repeat the report on the [Eastern] Slavs counter-attacking the Pechenegs.

The naive indication that the Slavs burn their dead "because they are fire-worshippers" may explain why the Arab historians call the Rūs *al-majūs*. Ya'qūbī, *BGA*, VII, 354, calls the raiders who plundered Sevilla in 229/843: *al-Majūs allādhīna yuqālu lahum al-Rūs*. In a famous passage I. Faḍlān as an eye-witness describes the cremation of a Rūs, and the argument may have been reversed: "the Rūs were fire-worshipping Magians, for they burnt their dead," cf. Minorsky, *Rūs*, in *E.I.* Gardīzi must have mis-read *nīrān* into *thīrān*, "bulls," for in his Persian book he calls the Slavs "cow-worshippers"!

The detail of the Slav king feeding on milk (*H.-'Ā*), or more precisely on mare's milk (I. Rusta, Marvazi), is curious. As mare's milk<sup>1</sup> is a typically Turkish drink it is possible that our source refers to some dynasty of Turkish origin lording it over some Slavs.<sup>2</sup> The Avar domination in south-eastern Europe was crushed by Charlemagne between A.D. 791-805, and there are very few references to the Avars in Muslim literature, (v.s. p. 64). The detail interesting us may point to the early date of the original record, but it is possible that the local Slav aristocracy connected with the once dominant race carried on for some time the habits of the latter.

In his translation of Orosius, King Alfred the Great (A.D. 848?-900) incorporated two additional geographical reports, one by the Norwegian Ohthere (v.s. p. 116) and the other by the Dane (?) Wulfstan describing his voyage to the Vistula (towards A.D. 890, cf. F. Nansen, *o.c.*, I, 104). According to Wulfstan the Vistula separates Weonodland ("the land of the Slavs") from Witland belonging to the Este. *Witland* corresponds to East Prussia and the *Este* are the ancient Aestii, i.e. probably the original Prussians (a Baltic people belonging to the same family as the present-day Lithuanians and Letts). Wulfstan proceeds: "The land of the Este is very large, and contains a great many forts, and there is a king in each fort, and it contains a great quantity of honey and fish; and the king and the wealthy classes drink mare's milk, but the poor and the slaves drink mead" (translated for me by Mrs. N. K. Chadwick). The inhabitants burnt their dead and divided the latter's property into prizes for which races were run by horsemen. The details of mare's milk, mead and the burning of the dead are parallel to our §14 on the Slavs. The detail of the races increases the impression that there may have been some "Turkish" elements among the Prussians.

The name of the Slav king seems to refer to the Moravian king Svetopluk I (870-94). In Arabic it was transcribed \**Swyt-blk*, of which the final element was confused with *mlk* (i.e. *malik*, "king") and finally eliminated. For the name of the second ruler Marvazi adds one more variant, *sh.rīh* (\**sh.rīj* or *sh.rīkh*), but no better

<sup>1</sup> Especially the fermented preparation called *qumis*. Cf. Chap. IX, §7.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. L. Niederle in *Revue des Études Slaves*, II, 1922, 32.

hand, I do not see how this report could be an echo of the circumnavigation of the North Cape<sup>1</sup> by Ohthere whose authentic communication submitted to King Alfred has no trace of any similar statement.

The originality of Biruni is that he seems to be the first Muslim writer<sup>2</sup> to use the name *Varank* (Waring, old Russian *Varegū*), and to call by it what appears to be the Baltic. But Birūnī did not clearly distinguish between the latter and the White Sea, and in the process of compilation he apparently pieced together two different reports, whereas in Marvazi, etc., there is no trace of the Baltic.

The natural phenomenon referred to in Marvazi needs to be taken *cum grano salis*. As Marquart, *o.c.*, 311, points out, the idea that a year at the Pole consists of one day and one night, each of the duration of half-a-year belongs to Greek tradition. Prof. Neugebauer calculated for Marquart, *o.c.*, 331-4, the latitudes at which some real phenomena are observed which may have suggested the story found in Marvazi, etc.

	Latitude
A summer day of 24 hours .. .. .	65°-66°
A winter night of 24 hours .. .. .	66°-67°-2°
A summer day of 40 days and a winter night of 40 days <sup>3</sup> .. .. .	±68°

Roughly speaking, these latitudes coincide with the White Sea and the Kola peninsula, and were within reach of the coast-dwellers.

§13. With the paragraph on the MAJGHARI we return to the original Jayhānī tradition (v.s. §12). See I. Rusta, 142-3, *H.-'Ā.*, §22, Gardizī, 98, and Bakri, 45 (confused), cf. *H.-'Ā.*, 456, and my article *Une nouvelle source persane sur les Hongrois au X<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie*, avril, 1937, pp. 305-12.

§14. THE SLAVS. See I. Rusta, 143-5, *H.-'Ā.*, §43, Gardizī, 99-100, Bakri, 28-9.

Apart from Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, III, 61-5, (cf. Marquart, *Osteuropäische Streifzüge*, 85-160), and Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb, (ed. Rosen, 33-42), other early authors writing in Arabic and Persian had a confused idea of the territory occupied by Slavs, as distinguished from the Rūs. In my commentary on the *H.-'Ā.*, 427-32, I have summed up the evidence indicating that the principal centre of the Slavs was supposed to be in Moravia and in the basin of the middle Danube and its tributaries. Eastern Slavs are usually confused with the Rūs, I. Kh., 124, 154. The *H.-'Ā.* speaks of a group of Slavs among the Rūs (§44). I. Faḍlān, ff. 198a, 207b (?), calls the king of Bulghār "king of the Slavs," and elsewhere (Yāqūt, II, 440) speaks of Slavs

<sup>1</sup> A. Z. Validī, *o.c.*, 46, "Bei dem Zitat aus dem *Tahdīd* über die Polarfahrt eines Warägers scheint es sich um eine Variante der Erzählung baltisch-nordischen Händler über die kühne Reise . . . des aus dem Norden Norwegens stammenden Ottar zu handeln."

<sup>2</sup> But see *Hudūd*, 182.

<sup>3</sup> According to Abū Hāmid, quoted in Qazvini, *Athār al-bilād*, 418, the country of Yūra possessed this characteristic.

the Lapps,<sup>1</sup> whose traces Prof. Vasmer<sup>2</sup> has detected in the toponymy of the region stretching south of the White Sea down to Lake Onega.<sup>3</sup>

The new detail of our text is the Black Land (*arḍ saudā*) found beyond the coast-dwellers. This land has no parallels in Muslim geographical literature though it seems probable that this term has some connection with the "Black Sea" of Abū Hāmid, which he identifies further on, p. 91, with the Sea of Darkness (*al-baḥr al-aswad allādhī yu'raf bi baḥr al-zulumāt*), i.e. with the Arctic Ocean on which the ideas of Muslim scholars were vague.<sup>4</sup> Consequently the "Black Land" may be either a misunderstanding meant for the "Black Sea,"<sup>5</sup> or else, starting from the White Sea, we might take it for the Kola peninsula which until the recent discovery of its mineral wealth, was very sparsely populated.<sup>6</sup>

We come now to the last interesting point of §12 *quater*, namely, the statement that a voyager sailing in the direction of the North Pole reaches a point at which "the sun rotates visibly over the land for six months." Marvazi puts this statement almost hypothetically, and one might take it for an echo of some astronomic speculation. The anecdote, which Yāqūt quotes in his *Irshād al-arīb*, gives a personal turn to the story. The "Turkish" ambassador who boasted of having witnessed the phenomenon seems to have been the Bulghārian envoy who brought presents to Sultan Maḥmūd A.D. 1024. By an astonishing coincidence, in the *Tahdīd* (composed in 1025) Birūnī refers to the coast-dwellers of the Sea of Varangians,<sup>7</sup> adding that "in summer time one of them on his hunting and raiding expedition sails so far into that sea that in the direction of the North Pole he reaches a spot where at the summer solstice the sun rotates above the horizon. He observes this and boasts to his people, saying that he has reached a place which has no night in it."<sup>8</sup>

I am inclined to connect this statement (as well as our §12 *quater*) with the Bulgharian envoy's report (A.D. 1024), but, on the other

<sup>1</sup> Marquart, *o.c.*, 324-7, was inclined to identify the quarrelsome seafarers with some Lapp tribe.

<sup>2</sup> *Die ehemalige Ausbreitung der Lappen und Permier in Nordrussland*, SBA, hist.-phil. Klasse, 1956, 176-270.

<sup>3</sup> Alan S. C. Ross, *The Terfinnas and Beormas of the Othhere*, Leeds, 1940, identifies Terfinnas with the Lapps of the Terskiy bereg (Kola peninsula) and Beormas (Bjarmar) with Karelians ("in all probability"). We know that Lapps were formerly found down to the immediate neighbourhood of Archangel Gulf.

<sup>4</sup> A. Z. Validi, *Nordvölker*, 46: "Freilich scheint Biruni keine klare Vorstellung von dem Unterschied zwischen Nord-und Ostsee einerseits und dem Weissen Meer anderseits gehabt zu haben."

<sup>5</sup> Marvazi's text is clear in opposing this Black Land to the voyage by sea.

<sup>6</sup> I thought at first of a hint at Spitzbergen (ancient *Svalbard*, which might have been misunderstood as *\*Svaribard*), but Icelandic annals speak of its discovery only under A.D. 1194. See R. Hennig, *Terrae incognitae*, II, pp. 377 and 379. Even the identity of Svalbard with Spitzbergen is not quite clear.

<sup>7</sup> I.e. the Baltic, confused with the White Sea.

<sup>8</sup> As the original is not available I am obliged to translate this passage from Prof. A. Z. Validi's German version. Cf. *Hudūd*, 181-2.



skis of the Kimāk are distinct from the thigh-bone skates (?) which the Yūra people attached to their feet, to say nothing of the dog-sleighs used by the Bulgarians. For the parallels see Marquart's commentary on 'Aufi, *o.c.*, 289, 309, where he quotes for dog-sleighs (our §12 *bis*), M. Polo, ed. Yule-Cordier, II, 479-81, and Ibn Baṭṭūta, II, 399-401; for skates, Rubruquis, ed. d'Arvezac, p. 327, and for skis Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezine, VIII, 115.<sup>1</sup>

§12 *quater*. Marvazi and his translator 'Aufi are positive about the "coast people" living "beyond Yūra," but if the usual identification of the Wisū/Isū and Yūra is true, the road Bulghār-Wisū-Yūra could not have formed a short cut to the northern sea. Abū Ḥāmid Gharnāṭī, ed. Ferrand, 118, quotes a curious story about the Bulghārs taking to Wiswā (*sic*) blades from Ādharbayjān. These weapons, unpolished, but well tempered and giving a good ring, were exchanged for beaver pelts (*qunduz*). On their part the Wiswā carried the blades to "a country adjacent (*qarīna*) to the region of Darkness (*al-Zulumāt*) and overlooking the Black Sea" and exchanged them for sable pelts.<sup>2</sup> The inhabitants of this maritime country "throw the blades into the sea<sup>3</sup> and God causes a fish as big as a mountain to come up to them. Being pursued by a still larger fish, it approaches the coast. Then men in boats begin to cut it up and fill their houses with its flesh and oil." Abū Ḥāmid may have expanded the similar story found in I. Faḍlān, f. 208a, or may himself have picked it up in Bulghār (in 530/1136). The point which interests us is that the Wiswā are said to be in direct communication with the coast-dwellers (Marvazi: *sāhiliyyūn*), while the Yūra are not mentioned on the road to the sea (*v.s.*). This version may be taken as an indication that the coast-dwellers are to be looked for in the neighbourhood of the White Sea. In point of fact the *Ves* lived in a knot of fluvial communications and could easily reach this sea by the Onega.

F. Nansen, *In Northern Mists*, Engl. transl., 1911, II, 146, says that the coast-dwellers "may have been Samoyeds (on the Pechora), Karelians, Terfinnas and even Norwegians." In view of Abū Ḥāmid's text, the first eventuality should drop. It would be strange too if the Bulghārians intended their blades for the Norwegians, who could obtain such weapons nearer home.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, the Norwegians made only occasional raids into the White Sea. The remaining candidates are the Finns (Karelians), or more probably

<sup>1</sup> A bad mutilation of the report is found in Fakhr al-dīn Mubārak-shāh Marvārūdhī (A.D. 1206), ed. E. D. Ross, 39: "In the country of the Turks (*Turkistān*) there is a forest called 'the forest of Laura (read: Yūra)'. The inhabitants of it are wild and do not mix with anyone", after which the procedure of the dumb barter is described.

<sup>2</sup> The mention of the beavers and sables may serve as a clue for the identification of the two territories.

<sup>3</sup> A possible reference to some harpooning operation (?)

<sup>4</sup> Muslim geographers speak of the "Sulaymānian" swords of the Rūs, see *Hudūd*, 437, and the special study by A.Z. Valīdī, *Die Schwerter der Germanen*, *ZDMG*, 1936, 19-37. I take *sulaymānian* for a hint at *Qor'an*, XXXIV, 10-12.

The captions present some interest, but the co-ordinates are out of order. As Birūni usually proceeds in the order of increasing longitudes, his enumeration apparently suggests for the Wisū an easterly position with regard to the Bulghar, but the text, in its present state, is unreliable. The indication that the Bulghars traded with the Isū coincides with Abū Hāmid's story.

Since Fraehn it has been accepted that the Wisū are the Finnish *Ves* (\**Veps*) whom the Russian Chronicles place near Belo-ozero and whose descendants (some 25,000) are still found between Lakes Onega and Ladoga.<sup>1</sup> The form Wisū (I. Faḍlān) seems to be preferable to Isū, which may be due to a confusion of the initial *waw* with *alif*.

The term *Yūra* is identical with Russian *Yugra*, cf. Ibn Faḍl-Allāh al-'Umari, transl. Quatremère in *Notices et Extraits*, XIII, 284: *Yūghra*, Prof. S. V. Bakhrushin, *Ostiatskiye i vogulskiy kniazhestva v xvi-xvii vekakh*, Leningrad, 1935, writes that in the eleventh century the Novgorodians applied the name *Yugra* to the Ugrian peoples (i.e. cognate with Hungarians) who were living between the Pechora river and the Ural mountains. Novgorodians penetrated into their country after they had subjugated the Pechora tribes (probably Komi-Ziryans). In the first place the term *Yugra* was applied to the tribes which later were called the Ostiak, but among the latter there were certainly some Vogul tribes as well. The terms *Yugra* (\**Yogra-yaz*) and *Vogul* ("wild") belong originally to the Komi language. Later the Ostiaks moved eastwards, and in the fourteenth century they were in occupation of the lower reaches of the Obi. Still later *Yugra*, in a territorial sense, was understood to cover the basin of the rivers Sosva and Sigva.

Within our group of Muslim texts, Marvazi states that Bulghārs visit *Yūra* by dog-sleighs; Abū Hāmid (v.i.) does not refer to *Yūra* on the road Bulghār-Wisū-the sea, and Birūni, *Tahḍīb*, gives a distance of 12 days by sleigh from Isū to *Yūra*. These latter indications suggest that *Yūra* lived on one side, and probably to the east, of the Bulghār-Wisū road. Since the distance (as the crow flies) of 850 Kms. between Bulghār and Belo-ozero was covered in 20 days, the distance of 12 days (*circa* 550 kms.) traced to the east of Belo-ozero would hardly reach the *Yugra* territory. At the most it would take us to the wooded basin of the Vichegda, which even in the tenth century was presumably occupied by Permians (Komi-Ziryans).

The agreement of Birūni's caption on forests and dumb barter with Marvazi is an indication of a common source. Another example of dumb barter and contrivances for walking in snow is found in the description of the Kimāk region (§§7-8 *bis*); but the wooden

<sup>1</sup> According to M. V. Talitsky, *K etnogenezu Komi*, in *Krat. soobshcheniya Inst Istor Mater. Kult.*, 1941, pp. 47-54, the Isu, as described by Gharnati, 'Auf and Yāqūt, should be located on the upper Kama. Such questions cannot, however, be solved without a joint study of the available sources and their interdependence. On *Yugra* see above, p. 100.

I. Faḍlān in the Mashhad MS. 204b<sub>7</sub>, 206b<sub>3</sub> and 205b<sub>17</sub>, and in Yāqūt, I, 723<sub>11</sub>, 726<sub>17</sub>, 725<sub>22</sub>. As I. Faḍlān travelled from Khwārazm to Bulghār, the bearing (N.W.) and the distance between the two places may also go back to him. I. Faḍlān, Mashhad MS. 203b, estimates the distance at 70 days, as confirmed in *Puteshestviye*, note 308, but in the passage on the preparations for his journey, fol. 199a, he states that the embassy took victuals for three months! Cf. also Marquart's surmise, *o.c.*, 266, of a possible confusion of *sab'in* ("70") and *tis'in* ("90").

The title of the Bulghar king is separately quoted in §15: *Bilḡw*, which is no doubt identical with I. Faḍlān's *B.ḡwār*, see *Puteshestviye*, f. 204a and note 8. Both forms may be an ancient mis-spelling of the original \**Yiltavar*, or *Yiltever* (?), cf. *Ḥudūd*, 461, identical with *el-ābār* found in the Orkhon inscriptions. In our text the name is mutilated, the initial *b* standing apparently for the Arabic preposition *bi*.<sup>1</sup>

In the Mashhad MS. *S.vān* represents \**Suvār*; Iṣṭ., 225, quotes *Suvār* on the direct authority of someone who was preaching in the local mosque (*akhbaranī man kāna yakḥṭubu bihā*). Visitors from *Suvār*, especially of a non-trading class, could not be numerous in Transoxiana. It is true that I. Faḍlān, f. 204b, mentions a special *khātib* (*sic*) in Bulghār, but, in view of the vagueness of his own function in the embassy with which he visited Bulghār, he himself might have been referred to in Transoxiana as *al-khātib*.<sup>2</sup> The distance between *Suvār* and Bulghār is not recorded in I. Faḍlān's text, but the formula *akhbaranī* in Iṣṭ. (<Balkhi) suggests an oral communication.

§12 *ter.* I. Faḍlān's text contains only some scanty information on *Wisū* which the traveller gathered from the Bulghar king, *Puteshestviye*, ff. 206a, 207b, 208a, and Yaqut, IV, 944.<sup>3</sup>

Biruni in his *Canon* enumerates side by side Bulghār, *Isū* and *Yūra*.

	Long.	Lat.
The two towns <i>Suvār</i> and <i>Bulghār</i> , on the river of the <i>Rūs</i> and <i>Saqāliba</i> (or: in the direction (* <i>f nahw</i> ) of the R. and S.) . . . . .	8°0 (?)	49°30
The country * <i>Isū</i> with which the Bulgharians trade . . . . .	69°0	55°0
The forests of <i>Yūra</i> whose inhabitants are wild and trade by dumb barter ( <i>mu'ayanatan</i> ) . . . . .	63°0	47°30

<sup>1</sup> I. Faḍlān calls the king reigning in 309/921 *Almush b. Shilkī* (later renamed *Ja'far b. 'Abdillāh*), but in the introductory paragraph the king's name is *Hasan b. Balṭavār*. On the king reigning in 415/1024 (*v.s.* p. 111).

<sup>2</sup> Already Barthold in his note on I. Faḍlān's *risāla*, *Zap.*, XXI, 1913, XLI-III, suggested that *Istakhri's* reference was to I. Faḍlān. Marquart, *Arktische Länder*, 266, calls I. Faḍlān *khātib*, and 319, "Prädiger."

<sup>3</sup> I.F. places them at 3 months' distance from the Bulghar, while Marvazi (and Biruni in *Tahdīd*, as translated by A. Z. Validi, *o.c.*, 50) reduces the distance to 20 days. Apparently I.F.'s text refers to summer communications by water, and Marvazi's to travelling by sleigh, as suggested by our text.

regions which go by the name of Bulghar (*sic*)," namely, al-amīr Abū-Ishaq b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. B.lt.vār had a dream suggesting that he should send an offering (*māl*) to Bayhaq, in the region of Nishapur, to be spent on alms (*nafaqa*) and the embellishment (*'imārat*) of the Friday mosques of Sabzavār and Khusraugird. He sent rich offerings and joined to them wonderful presents for the padishah of Khorasan, "the like of which wonders has never been seen." No doubt the gifts were intended for Sultan Maḥmūd.<sup>1</sup> This may have been the occasion on which the record of information on the Far North was completed by the court savants just as was done two years later with regard to the Far East, see Chap. VIII, §22. Copies of the report could easily have been circulated in Khorasan.

(e) Resemblance between Marvazi and Biruni can be traced not only in the *Tafhīm* (A.D. 1029), but also in the earlier *Tahdīd al-amākin* (A.D. 1025), and in the later *Canon Masudicus* (A.D. 1030?), as shown below in §12 *ter*.<sup>2</sup> Consequently the idea of his borrowing directly from him is by no means out of the question, but as yet we know of no work of Biruni's containing an equally detailed account of the northern lands, cf. A. Z. Validi, *Die Nordvölker bei Biruni*, in *ZDMG*, 1936, pp. 38-51. Nor does the artless narration of Marvazi (and his original?) bear any resemblance to the ponderous and characteristic style of the "Muslim Eratosthenes."

(f) Even the latest date found in the *Tabā'i'* (514/1120) is too early to allow of any contact between Marvazi and Abū Ḥāmid of Granada, who claims to have stayed in Sakhsīn (ancient *Sārigh-sīn*, at the estuary of the Volga) in 525/1131 and 528/1134, and visited Bulghar in 530/1136; see Ferrand, *Le Tuhfat al-Albāb*, in *Jour. As.*, juillet, 1925, pp. 116, 123, 132. It is quite possible though that the visitor from Spain used some of Marvazi's sources while embellishing them with the flowers of his fantasy, v.i. §12 *quater*. Meanwhile Abū Ḥāmid has preserved some details ("Black Sea") which help to elucidate dark points in Marvazi's condensed narration.

Provisionally only I. Faḍlān (A.D. 921) and the Bulghar embassy of A.D. 1024 may be considered as the likely indirect sources of Marvazi.

§12 *bis*. As already mentioned, the contents of this paragraph differ from what is found in I. Rusta, 141-2, Gardizi, 97 (who exactly follows I. Rusta) and Bakri, 44-5.<sup>3</sup> Marvazi has the following details in common with I. Faḍlān: the name *Bulghār* (instead of *Bulkār* found in I. Rusta, etc.), the title of the king (absent in I.R., *H.-'A.* and Gardizi), the town of \*Suvār, the existence of hazel trees in the Bulghār land and, particularly, the short duration of the night, insufficient "for the cooking of a pot (of meat)," cf.

<sup>1</sup> In September, 1024, Maḥmūd was in Balkh, cf. M. Nazim, *S. Maḥmūd*, p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> According to Rieu Marvazi directly refers to Abū Rayḥān Bīrūnī, v.s. p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> The *Hudūd*, §51, is too short and combines the Jayhānī and Balkhī (Iṣṭakhri) traditions. Through Balkhī he may have incorporated some of I. Faḍlān's facts.

§§12 bis, ter and quater form one block of information centring round the Bulghar. 'Afi, in his Persian translation, very closely follows Marvazi but leaves out certain details. Marquart, *Ein arabischer Bericht über die arktischen (uralischen) Länder aus dem 10. Jahrhundert*, in *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, 1924, pp. 261-334, has studied 'Afi's text in great detail, and also, 302-3, examined the problem of the sources.

His conclusions need partly to be re-examined. The difficult question of the origin of Marvazi's additional paragraphs can be summed up as follows:

(a) We now know that 'Afi's immediate source was Marvazi. 'Afi translates even the introductory paragraph of the *Tabā'i* on the lack of temperance (or "harmony") in the men living far from the Equator, one of Marvazi's favourite themes!

(b) It is a fact that I. Rusta, the *Hudūd* and Gardīzi, of whom at least the latter two certainly used Jayhāni, omit the paragraph on Arctic lands and give a different description of the Bulghar. Very curiously they call the latter people *Bulkār*, which detail seems to reflect a Persian pronunciation (cf. also *Burdās* for *Burās*). We have to allow for the existence of earlier and later copies of Jayhāni's work, of which the former must have contained the "Bulkār-Burdās" report,<sup>1</sup> and the latter made use of the new information due to I. Faḍlān.

(c) It is true that the known texts of I. Faḍlān's report do not contain the details of Marvazi's chapter, but even the Mashhad MS. of I. Faḍlān is incomplete.<sup>2</sup> Some additional details may have survived in the private communications which I. Faḍlān addressed to his protector Jayhāni, as suggested above, p. 7. Under §12 bis the points of similarity between I.F. and Marvazi are enumerated and a point of divergence explained, and I should not discard I.F.'s responsibility for at least a part of Marvazi's facts.

(d) In Biruni's biography found in Yāqūt's *Irshād al-arīb*, VI, 310, it is reported<sup>3</sup> how "an ambassador from the extreme limits of the Turks" angered Sultan Maḥmūd by telling him that "beyond the sea, in the direction of the southern (*sic*) Pole," he saw the sun rotate visibly above the earth. This is very much like the detail on Arctic regions found in §12 quater. The Turks are pre-eminently a northern nation, and "southern" instead of "northern" may have crept into the anecdote by mistake. Abul-Ḥasan 'Alī Bayhaqī's *Tārīkh-i Bayhaq* (563/1164), recently published in Tehran (1317/1938), throws more light on the possible identity of the ambassador. It reports, p. 53, that in 415/1024 the padishah "of Bulghār and the

<sup>1</sup> The "Bulkār-Burdās" report was possibly incorporated in I. Khurdādhbih, as suggested by Barthold with regard to the description of the "Bulkār" in I. Rusta, Bakri and Gardīzi.

<sup>2</sup> See [Krachkovsky], *Puteshestviye Ibn Fadlana*, Leningrad, 1939.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly on the authority of the *Maqāmāt-i Abū Naṣr Mashhānī* by Abul-Faḍl Bayhaqī.

Arabic *ṣ* may stand for *ḥ*. Our tribe lived in the woods, somewhere in the Altai region, and can not have anything to do with the BAŞRA, whom the still suspect letter of the Khazar king locates in the neighbourhood of the Khazar, cf. *H.-'Ā.*, 471. Should 'Aufi's form \*MŞR be preferred, one might compare it with the name of one of the headwaters of the Tom river, called *Mras-su*. *Mras* (*Maras* ?), with metathesis of the *r*, comes very near to \*Masar.<sup>1</sup> None of the names of the "bushmen" tribes in Rashid al-dīn, VII, 112-7, is similar to MŞR.

§10. The PECHENEGS. Entirely as in Gardizi, p. 95. The abridgment of the *H.-'Ā.*, preserves only a few traces of the original source which refers to the time before the Pechenegs migrated to the south, i.e. before the tenth century A.D. Bakri, pp. 42-3, is more complete and adds some details on the conversion of the Pechenegs to Islam after 400/1009. On the Pechenegs see also §§2 and 3.

§11. The KHAZAR. See I. Rusta, 141-2, and Gardizi, 96 (who alone gives the same detail on the fortification of the camp); the geographical names also found in the *H.-'Ā.*, §50 (see the Commentary, *ibid.*, pp. 450-60). Bakri, 43-4, mentions the same two towns, but gives more details (on the conversion of the Khazars to Judaism).

In the *H.-'Ā.*, 453-4, I suggested that the names of the later town *S.qsīn* was nothing but a simplification of the earlier *Sārigh-shīn* (*-sīn* ?). The name of the other town (which probably lay on the eastern side of the Volga estuary) cannot be restored with certainty, but *Marvazi* increases the probability of a form like *Kh.t-baligh*, *Kh.n-baligh*, etc. (though hardly *Khān-baligh*!).

§12. The B.RDĀS. As in I. Rusta, 140-1, *H.-'Ā.*, §52, and Gardizi, 96. Even the name *B.rdās* (Bakri: *F.rdās*) is characteristic for the older tradition (Jayhānī < I. Kh. ?) as against the form *Burṭās* found in Istakhri, Mas'ūdī, etc. The tribe is usually identified with the Mordvans, or rather with the Moksha section of them, *H.-'Ā.*, 462-5. There is some obscurity in the item on the emancipation of the *Burdās* females. Chwolson, who edited the passages from I. Rusta in 1869, interpreted it in the sense that the girl is free in choosing her lovers, until a suitor applies for her to her father and the latter gives her away to him. Our text seems to confirm this curious habit. The reading adopted by de Goeje in I. Rusta, 141, indefinitely speaks of a suitor to whom the father gives the girl away, subject to her (variant: *his*) consent. Gardizi's Persian translation definitely states that the girl chooses the suitor who (*ān marā*) then asks her father for her. This renders the text clearer but seems to contradict the preliminary statement that the girl "abandons the authority of her father" and the use of *khaṭībun* instead of the expected *al-khaṭīb*.

<sup>1</sup> The *Oghuz-name*, Chap. XXXIV, speaks of the king (*sic*) *Masar* (?) in the land *Baraqa*, but the characteristics of the latter are vague and contradictory, v.s. §5.

belonged to the Samoyed stock or to the mysterious "Yenisei" group.<sup>1</sup>

The tribes worshipped Fire and Water and, like the Khirkhiz (§4, cf. *H.-'A.*, §14), burnt their dead. This last habit may account for their reputation as Fire-worshippers, as was apparently the case with the ancient Rūs whom the Arab writers called *majūs*, in view of their burial system as described by I. Faḍlān, cf. Minorsky, *Rūs in E.I.*

The worshipping of waters may reflect the influence of the western neighbours of the *K.saym*. According to Gardizī, p. 83, the *Kīmāk* worshipped the Irtysh and said: "the river is the god of the *Kīmāk*."

The indication "to the right of the *Kīmāk*" is naturally vague. As in Chap. VIII, §35, the expression "to the left of China" is interpreted by NE. we might take our "right" for SW. But as the observer's starting point was probably Bukhara, the indication "to the right" would apply to any southerly direction, from the Siberian plains towards the great belt of Central Asian mountains. According to the *Hudūd* the *K.saym* (\*Kishtim) were trappers and lived in a hilly country, somewhere in the Altai region. As the merchants visiting them from the west used a waterway we should think either of the Irtysh or Obi, and rather the former, because the sweep of the Obi would make the journey too long.<sup>2</sup>

Marquart attached a special importance to 'Aufi's mention that "the merchandise of that land is copper cups (of) clean (work)." He connected this detail with the "Southern Siberian copper and bronze civilisation" of the region between the Irtysh and Yenisei. However, in the light of Marvazi's text we must understand the passage in the sense that copper cups were *not* a local product but rather the product in particular demand among the three tribes. Marvazi definitely states that the cups were used as ornaments by their women, and refers to another article of importation, "the red bags (*al jurab al-ḥumr* ?)," which 'Aufi left out in his translation.

§9. The record of this undotted name apparently goes back to Jayhānī, but has survived only in Marvazi (and 'Aufi). Looking from the *Kīmāk* region, the *qibla*, i.e. the direction of the Ka'ba, is SW. More probably the *qibla* is meant in the general sense of the south. Apparently the tribe of §9 lived more to the west than the tribes of §8. On the strength of 'Aufi's spelling *M.dr.ba* Marquart thought of the Uralian people Meshchera (*M'ishar*) living among the Bashkir, but did not himself insist on this unlikely surmise. The final element of the name is of course the Arabic suffix *-iyya*. The name may then be read BŞR, NŞR, YŞR, and eventually BŞRA, BŞRI, etc. An initial *n* is improbable in a Turkish name, and

<sup>1</sup> See Aristov, *Etnicheskiy sostav turetskikh plemen*, in *Zhivaya Starina*, 1896, III, 323, 340. Of the Yenisei peoples (apparently corresponding to the people called by the Chinese *Ting-ling*), there remains now only a small group of Kett (improperly called "Yenisei Ostiaks").

<sup>2</sup> Unless the Vas-Yugan portage were used.

*K.wālīn*) may be connected with the title *Kwd.rkīn*, known among the Ghuz, cf. *H.-'Ā.*, p. 312.

§7. The KĪMĀK. The *H.-'Ā.*, §18, abridges the same source: nomads, sable-martens, migrations to the Ghuz territory. Gardīzi,<sup>1</sup> *l.c.*, 83-4, gives a very close Persian parallel (cf. also the *Ākām al-marjān*, *BSOS*, IX/1, 1937, 147). A new detail is the use of skis by the Kimāk. The description is different from what is found in §12 *ter*.

§§8-9 have been closely translated into Persian by 'Aufi. The text (Br.Mus.Or. 2676, f. 67) was published and explained by Marquart in *Ostas. Zeitschr.*, VIII, 1919-20, pp. 296-9, but Marvazi's text raises some new points. Through some oversight, Marvazi in his diffuse Chapter XV gives another variant of §8, which we treat here as §8 *bis*, and in it he happily indicates his source as *al-Masālik wal-Mamālik*, i.e. undoubtedly Jayhāni's lost work, as Marquart had guessed.

Owing to some misunderstanding there are a few discrepancies between the Arabic and Persian texts. As it stands, Marvazi's version can be understood only in the sense that (a) there were three nations living "to the right" of the Kimāk, and that (b) the dumb barter took place between the merchants and the Kimāks (cf. *wa-yajī'u al-Kīmākī* and *tajī'u al-Kīmākīya*). It is obvious, however, that the story refers to some primitive population, much wilder than the Turkish Kimāks, and 'Aufi must be right in applying the report on dumb barter to the three nations "living to the right of the Kimak." But how could he have corrected what was incorrect in his source?

I think the explanation is that *Kīmākī* of our copy of Marvazi is a mis-spelling of some different but similarly spelt name. Here the *Hudūd* comes to our rescue, while quoting among the Khirkhiz a tribe called *K.saym*, which I have tried to explain as \**Kishtim*, *ibid.*, 236. Rashīd al-dīn's text, ed. Berezin, V, 89, VII, 112, spells the name *K.st.mī*, *K.stymī*. According to the *Hudūd* the *K.saym* living on mountain slopes had some traits of similarity with the Kimāk and Khallukh. This indication points to their being neighbours of the said two nations, and I take it that the name of this tribe stood in Marvazi's text instead of *Kimāk*, and was left out by 'Aufi because he was unable to decipher it. In Russian seventeenth-century documents the Turkicized tributaries of the Qirghiz are indiscriminately referred to as *Kishtim*. In the present case also this name possibly covered the original "three tribes" living between the Kimāk and Khirkhiz.<sup>2</sup> By their origins the *Kishtim* must have

<sup>1</sup> This is undoubtedly the original pronunciation of the name, the *alif* of the Arabic form being only a *mater lectionis*.

<sup>2</sup> Rashīd al-dīn, VII, 112, under one heading describes three "bushman" tribes: Ūrāsūt, Tālāngūt and *K.st.mī* (\**Kishtim*).



from Chinānjkhath to the Khirkhiz, Gardizī, 86, cf. *H.-'Ā.*, 282. The wild people of the second part correspond to the Fūrī/Qūrī, whom the *H.-'Ā.* and Gardizī place *beyond* and to the *east* of the Khirkhiz. Gardizī's Persian translation, pp. 86-7, runs parallel with our text, the latter being fuller at the end. Muṭahhar, IV, 96, and the *Hudūd*, §14, 1. are brief, but the former adds two items: on a people living among the Turks which salts and eats the corpses of its enemies, and on another people "living in the north" (cf. §12 *ter*) existing like wild animals. All these details must go back to Jayhānī.

Marvazi leaves out the name \*Qūrī, but it occurs in another paragraph (Chap. VIII, §35), which is also found in the *H.-'Ā.* (<Jayhānī?). In it the \*Qūrī are similarly placed in the neighbourhood of the Khirkhiz. The *Hudūd* (§14, 1.) describes the Fūrī (Qūrī?) as brutal cannibals having a language of their own, whereas in Gardizī's more detailed description the wild people seem to be the marsh-dwellers on the road to the large (or great?) tribe Fūrī(?) living at a distance of 2-3 months beyond the Khirkhiz. Even if easy stages of 30 Kms. be reckoned, a radius of 1800-2700 Kms. from the Yenisei takes us to the neighbourhood of the Khingan range, and even into Manchuria. If the Fūrī (Qūrī?) lived at the end of the road they must have been of Tunguz or Mongol stock. The form *Qūrī* is preferable to *Fūrī*,<sup>1</sup> because it is supported by other sources. In the Orkhon inscriptions a name *Quriqan* twice occurs in the series: "Qirqiz, Quriqan, Otuz-Tatar, Qitay, Tatabi." Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezin, VII, 168, refers to the peoples "Qūrī, Barghūt, Tūmāt and Bāylūk, which he classes as Mongols<sup>2</sup> and places in the region called Barqūjīn-Tūkūm in the neighbourhood of the Qirqiz. *Barqūjīn*, *ibid.*, 108, 112, 168, 188, 189, is said to be beyond the Selenga, apparently in Transbaikalia.<sup>3</sup>

§6. The KHARLUKH. Translated in 'Aufi, Marquart, *Komanen*, 40, lines 17-20. The mountain Tūnis (read: \**Tūlis*, as in the *H.-'Ā.*, p. 283) must be Altai (or Tarbaghatai?). *T.rk.s* (read: *Türgish*) is a welcome indication how *Turkistān* (?) in Gardizī's more complete text is to be restored, cf. *H.-'Ā.*, p. 287. The *H.-'Ā.* treats the Chigil and Tukhsi as separate tribes and so does Gardizī, *o.c.*, 102. Marvazi may introduce here some later information, but the basic facts on the Türgish and Qarluq must belong to Jayhānī. Of the other tribes, *B.γ.skī* ('Aufi: *Hsky*) is otherwise unknown (in Transoxiana there was a place *B.γ.skān*, see *H.-'Ā.*, p. 355 (I. Hauqal, 396: *M.skān*). \**Bulāq* is certainly better than Aufi's *N.dā*: the tribe is mentioned as a Yaghma clan in the *H.-'Ā.*, §13. *Kwk.rkīn* ('Aufi:

<sup>1</sup> \**Furi* might be explained as a Tunguz word meaning "children, family, descendants," cf. Manchu *furi*, *fursun*, Goldi *puri*, as quoted in Pelliot, *J.A.*, avril, 1925, p. 196.

<sup>2</sup> Also Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Blochet, 521: Qūrī, Barqū, Qirqiz.

<sup>3</sup> The name is reflected in Russian Баргузин, as the north-eastern wind blowing on Baikal is called. Barguzin is also a small borough to the east of Baikal.

connected with the word *ḡagh*, "God" (cf. *ḡaghfūr*). The description of the practices of a Turkish shaman (*ḡam*) is very accurate.

§5. The beginning of this story seems to be a vague reference to the terrible defile of Kemchik-bom through which the Yenisei pierces the Sayan mountains. At some places the gorge is only 30 yards wide with the current rushing along at the speed of 40 miles an hour. The journey from Cha-kul (above the gorge) to Minusinsk lying in the plain used to take 3-5 days, see Carruthers, *Unknown Mongolia*, 1914, I, 110. Further on, from Achinsk to Krasnoyarsk the river again flows through a mountainous landscape. The four watercourses must be the head-waters of the Yenisei rising in Uriangkhai (Tannu-Tuvim), viz. the Ulu-kem, formed of Bei-kem and Khuakem, and the Kemchik. Rashīd al-dīn calls the head-waters of the Yenisei *Sekiz-müren* ("the Eight rivers").

Nothing can be said about the people described in the second part of the item. The dogs "as large as oxen" remind one of the mysterious country called in Turkish It-baraq (\**Iti-baraq*, "one whose dogs are hairy"). This name occurs in the story of Oghuz-khan's exploits, see Rashīd al-dīn, VII, 23, Abul-Ghāzī, ed. Desmaisons, 18, and *Oghuz-name*, §34. The particulars of It-baraq (Baraqa) are very contradictory. Marquart, *Komanen*, 146, compares its people with Volga Bulgars; Pelliot, *T'oung-Pao*, 1930, 337, sees in the name of its king Masar an echo of Miṣr (Egypt); Bang and Rachmati, *SBA*, 1932, read the name of the country \**Barqan*, with reference to Kāshghari, I, 378, according to whom "the Lower Tavghaj is Barqan, i.e. Kāshghar." If my suggestion had some truth in it, we should look for It-baraq on the middle Yenisei.

The story which must go back to Jayhānī was translated by 'Aufī, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, I, 100 = Niẓāmu'd-dīn, *o.c.*, No. 1967; summed up in Barthold, *Kirgizi*, 1927, 24.

§5 *bis*. This paragraph seems to be a more sober version of Chapter XV, §21.<sup>1</sup> Both refer to a region in the neighbourhood of Kāshghar which the epitomist has some difficulty in describing. The second passage is clearer in Muṭahhar, IV, 92, who says that a kind of *nasnās* ("faun") is found in the region of Bāmīr (Pamir), which is a desert (*mafāza*) stretching between Kashmīr, Tībet, Vakhān and China. The *nasnās* are covered with fur except on their faces, and leap like gazelles; the people of Vakhān hunt them and eat them. The animal may be the *Ovis Poli* (T. A. Minorsky). Kāshghari, born in the vicinity of Pamir, had to remove the *nasnās* to a farther *terra incognita*. On his Map some sands are shown to the north of the lake into which the rivers Ili, Irtish and Obi are supposed to disembody, with the legend: "nasnās are said to live in this wilderness."

§5 *ter*. Two different items are wrongly coupled in this paragraph. The beginning corresponds to the description of the road

<sup>1</sup> In Chapter IX, §§8 and 8 *bis* present a similar case of parallelism.

(g) The Khwārazmshāh Ākinchi b. Qochqar, who died A.D. 1097, may have witnessed in his youth, or known through his father, the last stages of the great migration; the tribal tradition of the Qun was undoubtedly preserved in his family.

(h) *Grosso modo* the migration is to be located within the period A.D. 1030-50, as already guessed by Marquart.<sup>1</sup>

It remains for us to eliminate one more complication. The final formation of the Qipchaq state is attributed by Marquart, *Komanen*, 137, to the leadership of a family which, according to Chinese sources, had left the district of Wu-p'ing on the river Chê-lien, near the mountain of An-ta-han, see Bretschneider, II, 72. Marquart locates this region in the province of Jehol.<sup>2</sup> The prince who led the migration was K'ü-ch'u, and we are told that his grandson I-no-ssu was an old man when he submitted to Chengiz. This detail suggests that the emigration of K'ü-ch'u took place "about A.D. 1120 at the latest," and Pelliot, *J.A.*, April, 1920, p. 150, agrees with Marquart in placing it "in the beginning of the twelfth century." Marquart further thinks that K'ü-ch'u left his country in connection with the rise of the Kin (Jurje) in A.D. 1115 and the fall of the K'itan in A.D. 1125.

This particular migration of a Far Eastern tribe forms a curious parallel to the series described by Marvazi, but can hardly be identical with the latter. According to Marvazi the Qūn left the Far East when the Qitāy were still in power and the "beginning of the twelfth century" is also too late in consideration of the latest date found in the *Tabā'i' al-hayawān*, namely, 514/1120. Marquart's assumption that K'ü-ch'u was a Hi is doubtful for by the time in question great changes must have taken place in the ethnical composition of Jehol. In any case, the Qun amir Ākinchi (d. A.D. 1093) could not be connected with the migration of K'ü-ch'u.

§4. The KHIRKHĪZ. The beginning of orientation and burials is abridged in 'Aufi, *ibid.*, lines 14-17. In the *Hudūd* the Khallukh and Kimak are similarly enumerated as neighbours of the Khirkhiz (§14), and a colony of the latter (§15, 13.) may have been in touch with the Yaghma and Kuchā (*ibid.*, p. 273, lines 8-9); burning of the dead as in Muṭahhar, IV, 22, and in Marvazi,<sup>3</sup> but without the latter's record of a later change. Gardīzī, ed. Barthold, p. 87, also mentions the burning of the dead and the *faghīmūn*. The latter term is undoubtedly of Eastern-Iranian (Soghdian) origin and

<sup>1</sup> *Komanen*, 57. Some of Marquart's arguments are wrong. Marquart himself corrected his interpretation of I. Athir, IX, 289, in his later article in *Ungar. Jahrbücher*, 1924, p. 276, note 5. His basic error is the confusion of the Far Eastern Qāy with the Ghuz clan of Qayī (<Qayīgh).

<sup>2</sup> Wu-p'ing-lu is the territory of the "middle" capital of the K'itan (Ta-ting-fu under the Kin). It lies in the present territory of the Kharachin tribe, in the neighbourhood of Khada=Ch'ih-fēng (G. Haloun).

<sup>3</sup> The recent (1939) Russian archaeological expedition to the ancient Qirghiz area on the left bank of the upper Yenisei discovered burial places (already pillaged at an early time) in which scattered, "sometimes charred" human bones were found.

imagined that Mattheos resumes the events of one single year, the migration on such a scale having evidently required a series of seasons. If we compare the passage of Mattheos with our text, his "Pallid ones" (a usual designation of the Koman-Qipchaq) may correspond to our Shārī/Sarī (in Turkish "yellow, pallid") and his "Serpents" to our Qun.<sup>1</sup> Mattheos knew nothing of the Qay who had remained in the Far East.

We might remember at this place Constantine's testimony that after A.D. 889 some Pechenegs stayed back under the Ghuz dominion, which fact seems to be confirmed by the *Hudūd* (< Jayhānī). This part of the people may have become involved in the series of movements described in §3, and thus have added to the unrest in the southern Russian steppes occupied by the other Pechenegs.

F.G. The GHUZ and TÜRKMĀN. The rigorous distinction between the heathen and Muslim Ghuz (v.s. §2) has some chronological importance. Our sources on the beginnings of Islam among Turkomans are very scanty. From Gardizī, 64, we learn that the chief of the "Ghuz Turks," with whom the last Samanid sought refuge in 391/1001, made profession of Islam and established marriage ties with his guest.<sup>2</sup> This shows how tardily Islam was finding its way into the steppes.<sup>3</sup>

The following details in our analysis merit special attention.

(a) The great migration referred to by Marvazi is connected with the rise of the Qitay dynasty (907/1124).

(b) The Qitay embassy of 1027 must be responsible for the first mention of the Qāy and Qūn found in Biruni. Both nations are still placed east of the Khirkhiz. This suggests that the eastern part of the great migration began *after* A.D. 1027.

(c) The Christianity of the Qūn (Marvazi) also brings us down to the eleventh century.

(d) The superiority of the Muslim Türkumāns over the heathen Ghuz similarly points to the eleventh century.

(e) Marvazi's chain of migrations is not linked either with the Khazars or with the Majgharis, which can indicate that the former ceased to exist as an important state (second half of the tenth century), and the latter had already settled beyond the Carpathians (after A.D. 900).

(f) As the first southward spread of the Pechenegs (shortly before A.D. 900) is chronologically out of the question, our source must refer to the second Pecheneg migration about the middle of the eleventh century.

<sup>1</sup> In the mouth of a Christian author, the nickname "Serpents" is somewhat unexpected when applied to a tribe that is said to have professed Christianity.

<sup>2</sup> Barthold, *Turkistan*, 269, and *Ocherk istorii turkmen. naroda*, 20, 22, identifies this Yabghū (or Pighū) with an ancestor of the Seljuks, which gives the facts an added significance. [*Puxuy*, Пѣту "a kind of hawk", see Le Coq, *Bemerk. zur türk. Falkenerlei*, in *Baessler-Archiv*, 1912, II/5, p. 114].

<sup>3</sup> As suggested above, p. 94, the term *Türkumān* in our §2 may be an anachronism introduced by Marvazi into an earlier tradition.

years, nor could it have been surveyed in its entirety from outside. Very probably the two series of moves, "Qāy—Qūn—Shāriya" and "Türkman—Ghuz—Pecheneg" were knitted together at some central point, such as Khwārazm. No person was better qualified to correlate the facts than Ākinchi b. Qochqar.<sup>1</sup>

If our surmise is correct, the *terminus ante quem* of the report is A.D. 1097, but the family tradition may have been considerably older, and the only course open to us is to check the date of the last waves of the migration which reached the shores of the Black Sea. This will oblige us to reverse the order of our survey and proceed from the West to the East.

D. BAHR ARMĪNIYA. No sea, except the Lakes of Urmia or Van could be called "Armenian." The mistake in Marvazi (and 'Aufi) is obvious. In the chapter on the Turks (§13), the Majgharī are said to occupy the territory down to Bahr al-Rūm, and, as the Pechenegs ousted the Magyars from these lands, *Bahr Armīniya* must be restored as *Bahr al-Rūmiya*, a natural term for the Black Sea, see Chap. IX, §13.

E. The PECHENECS (v.i. §10). In the famous passage of *De administrando imperio* (Chap. 37), Constantine Porphyrogenitus says that fifty, or fifty-five years before the composition of his book (written *circa* A.D. 948) the Khazars and the Oghuz (Ghuz) drove the Pechenegs from their former territory and the Pechenegs came to seize the land of the Magyars (Τούρκοι in Byzantine terminology), "which they occupy even to this day." According to Constantine's chronology, the territory near the Black Sea was reached by the Pechenegs shortly before A.D. 900, i.e. earlier than Apaoki laid the first foundations of the K'itan state (*circa* A.D. 907)! Consequently our report has in view some further movements among the Pechenegs. In 1036 Yaroslav of Kiev inflicted a crushing defeat on them, but down to the middle of the eleventh century they were active in the Balkans and on the Byzantine front. Under the year 1054 the Russian chronicles refer for the first time to the "Torks" (=Ghuz) and, simultaneously, to the Polovtsi (Qipchaq). In 1064 the Ghuz appear on the Danube, see *Hudūd*, 316.

Of great importance is the passage which Marquart, *Komanen*, 55, discovered in the Armenian historian Mattheos of Urha who *sub anno* 1050-1 says that a people of "Serpents" (*avē-ic'n*), having defeated the "Pallid, or Fallow ones (*xartēs*)," the latter did the same to the "Uz and Patsinnak," and finally the Pechenegs (perhaps with some others of the enumerated tribes) raided the Byzantine territory. The raid is confirmed by Byzantine sources,<sup>2</sup> but nothing else is known of its remote stimulus. In any case, it must not be

<sup>1</sup> The identity of Ākinchi in 'Aufi's text with the governor of Khwarazm was discovered by Marquart, *Komanen*, 1914, but Barthold in his *Turkestan*, 1900, had already written on the said Khwārazmshāh (see Engl. transl., p. 324).

<sup>2</sup> See the remarkable study by V. G. Vasilyevsky, *Vizantiya i Pechenegi in Trudi*, I, 2 1908, 1-175, which remained unknown to Marquart, *Komanen*, 55.

Kan-chou Yughurs received their surname *Sarī* ("Yellow") (v.i. p. 77), and whether some larger division of the tribe was entitled to this appellation.<sup>1</sup> Should our identification of the Shāriya find a further confirmation, one might imagine that the western series of migration was provoked by this particular tribe, while the rest of the "Qipchaq" federation was not affected by it. In any case, to be in the position to press on the Muslim Türk-māns, the Shāriya (whether Polovtsi, or a special Uyghur tribe) must have lived in the neighbourhood of Lake Aral and the lower course of the Sir-daryā.<sup>2</sup>

Before we survey the repercussions of the movement among the western tribes it will be helpful to consider one important point throwing light on the origin of §3.

I am inclined to connect the transmission of our report with the person of an amir of Qun origin whose name is found in our text. According to Juvaynī, II, 3, Ākinchi b. Qochqar was Sanjar's slave, whereas I. Athīr, X, 181, says that he was one of Bark-yaruq's slaves and that this sultan appointed him Khwārazmshāh. Bark-yaruq began to reign in Shavval 487/14 October-11 November, 1094, and the nomination of Ākinchi was probably made on the occasion of Bark-yaruq's first visit to Khorasan after the overthrow of his tyrannous uncle Arslan Arghun. Bark-yaruq reached his army on 5 Jamādī I 490/20 April, 1096, and stayed in Khorasan over seven months. Ākinchi had time to collect a force of 10,000, most probably in his new government, and then came to Marv to join the Sultan, who by that time had returned to 'Irāq. Ākinchi arrived with a small escort and, while engaged in merry-making, was attacked and killed by two rival amirs. This must have happened towards the very end of 1097. Consequently, only for a very short time did Ākinchi enjoy his governorship, though a previous acquaintance with Khwārazm was a necessary prerequisite of his appointment. The fact that both his father's and his son's names are known points to some family tradition as accounting for Ākinchi's own whereabouts. A man of such standing as to become Khwārazmshāh, i.e. the governor responsible for the whole northern front of the Seljuk empire, must have been a prominent personality fully aware of the events in the steppe to the north of the Aral lake and the Caspian. There is nothing strange in the supposition that the court physician Sharaf al-Zamān, himself a native of Marv, knew him personally. He might even have been called to attend on the dying Khwārazmshāh.

It stands to reason that the immense migration of tribes ranging from Manchuria to the Black Sea could not be a matter of a few

<sup>1</sup> We can only put on record, as a mere parallel, that at an earlier time, the Türgish were divided into two groups called "Black" and "Yellow," see *H.-A.*, 301. A considerable stream Sari-su flows in the neighbourhood of the Qara-qum sands.

<sup>2</sup> Marquart, *Komanen*, 41, took *Sārī* for the capital of Mazandaran, but in his corrections, *ibid.*, 202, has admitted that the country of *Sārī* must have lain to the east of the Turkmans.

whose memory has survived is the amir Ākinchi b. Qochqar, of whom it will be more convenient to speak in the following paragraph.

C. AL-SHĀRIYA. With regard to this group we have three questions to consider, namely, (a) its relation to the homonymous group mentioned in the chapter on China; (b) the implications of the name; and (c) the authority for Marvazi's report.

(a) A group of al-Shāriya is described in Chapter VIII, §20, at a half-month's distance to the east of Shan-chou (or Sha-chou?). These Shāriya who are said to have fled from Islam, i.e. from some more westerly region, seem to have been connected with the Sarī-Yughurs of Kan-su. The more important group of the Shāriya which, in the great migration of Turkish tribes, forms the principal connecting link between Western Asia and Eastern Europe, is to be located some 3,000 Kms. to the N.W. of the first group. If the identity of their name points to their appurtenance to the same nation, the latter must have experienced considerable vicissitudes and have been very widely scattered.

(b) Stripped of the Arabic ending the name appears in 'Aufi as *Sārī*. Barthold<sup>1</sup> restored this form as Turkish *sarī*, "yellow," and compared it with the name of the Qipchaq (*Komans*), whom the Russians call *Polovtsi* (from *половѣт*, "yellowish, sallow," see *H.-'A.*, 315) and the Western Europeans, *Pallidi*, etc.<sup>2</sup>

As is customary with nomade federations, the "Qipchaq" must have been an association of various tribes,<sup>3</sup> within which the chieftainship was assumed by single clans, families and even outsiders. Very probably the variety of names under which the federation is known reflects the historical succession of leadership within it. The *Hudūd*, §18, refers to several territories intermediate between the Kimak and Qipchaq. The name of one of them spelt *Y.γsūn-yāsū* made me suspect in the first part of it a reference to some Yughurs whose presence in the Qara-qum sands is referred to in several sources, *H.-'A.*, 309-10.<sup>4</sup> If Marvazi's §3 has in view this tribe, the comparison with Chap. VIII, §20, might suggest that, after the catastrophe of A.D. 840, a part of the Uyghurs had sought refuge in this remote region lying to the north-east of the Aral lake. We have no means, however, of answering the questions when and why the

<sup>1</sup> In his review of Marquart's *Komanen*, which H. H. Schaeder has translated into German in his introduction to Marquart's *W'ehrol und Arang*, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> The coming-into-being of the Qipchaq forms the subject of Marquart's book, *Über das Volkstum der Komanen*, 1914. Cf. now *H.-'A.*, §21, with my commentary. Recently D. A. Rasovsky has published a series of five excellent articles on the *Polovtsi*, *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, 1935-9 (see especially Chapter I: the origins of the *Polovtsi*).

<sup>3</sup> In Juvayni, II, 102, I should now restore the names of the two rivers QYLY and QYMJ as \**Qanqli* and *Qibjakh*.

<sup>4</sup> Or could the name of this group represent some variation of *Yugra* (v.i. §12 *ter*). We are insufficiently informed of the early distribution of this Finnish tribe which before A.D. 1000 is supposed to have occupied the middle and lower course of the Obi and the lower reaches of the Irtysh, see V. N. Chernetsov, *Ocherkh etnogeneza Obshikh Yugrov*, in *Krat. Soob. Inst. Mater. Kult.*, IX, 1941, pp. 18-28.

"The first known home of the T'u-yü-hun was in south-western Manchuria and their original language may have been a Mongolian dialect.<sup>1</sup> About A.D. 310 they occupied the country round the present Ho-chou in Kan-su and made themselves masters of the Kōkenōr region over which they ruled uncontested from A.D. 446.<sup>2</sup> After a crushing defeat inflicted upon the T'u-yü-hun by the Tibetans in 663, their qayan, together with a large body of his followers, was settled by the Chinese at An-lo-chou, to the south of modern Ning-hsia (A.D. 672), while other fractions of the tribe were established near Yen-an-fu in Shen-si (Hun-chou), in south-eastern Ordos (Ning-shuo-chou), on the Ulan-müren, south of Liang-chou (Ko-mên-chou), and elsewhere. In 769 An-lo-chou in its turn was taken by the Tibetans and the main body of the T'u-yü-hun shifted to the region of Yin-shan, north of the great bend of the Huang-ho, where they formed the chief constituent element of the population during the ninth and tenth centuries, the other elements being the Sha-to, the Ch'i-p'i and other Turkish tribes. In the second half of the ninth century an important division of the T'u-yü-hun moved further on to Northern Shan-si. Their rule over Ta-t'ung (881-891) was broken by the Sha-to, and thereupon a group settled round Yü-chou (near the Little Wu-t'ai-shan) became paramount. During the tenth century this group practically bordered on the "Western Hi" who, fleeing the K'itan, had occupied Kuei-chou (present Huai-lai, north-west of Peking). The K'itan subdued the T'u-yü-hun of Yin-shan in 916 and dominated the territory of Yü-chou in 938. The T'u-yü-hun of Yü-chou crossed over to Chinese territory, and in 946 were almost annihilated near Lan-chou (north-west of T'ai-yüan-fu). There seems to be no direct indication as to a migration of the remaining T'u-yü-hun to the west, but their name disappears from Eastern-Asiatic records during the eleventh century."<sup>3</sup>

The prolonged stay of the T'u-yü-hun in the region of Yin-shan makes it quite plausible that at least a part of them were touched by Christian propaganda radiating from Ordos. In this important point too Prof. Haloun's hypothesis looks very satisfactory.

As the scene of the clash between the Qay and Qun has to be placed somewhere in Eastern Mongolia, and the Shāriya whom the Qun subsequently pressed are to be sought near Lake Aral, the distance which the Qun travelled over could not be under 4000 Kms. This is the most obscure link in the chain of migrations. The Qun must have been in good numbers to provoke a further displacement of the western tribes, but their road ran through regions equally removed from Chinese, Muslim and Western observers. Apart from Marvazi, the only reference to the migration of the Qun is found in Matthēos of Uriha, in whose text "the people of Serpents" corresponds to our Qun (v.i. p. 102). The only representative of the tribe

<sup>1</sup> Pelliot, *Note sur les T'ou-yü-houen*, in *T'oung-Pao*, 1921, pp. 323-30.

<sup>2</sup> Iakini [Bichurin], *Istoriya Tibeta i Khukhunora*, I, pp. 73-99.

<sup>3</sup> It seems less probable that the Qun might have been connected with a Tölis tribe Hun which becomes known circa A.D. 600 and whose later destinies are closely connected with the Uyghurs. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue occidentaux*, p. 87, n. 3, No. 10.



As early as A.D. 696, they had made an alliance with the latter. In the beginning of the ninth century they allied themselves with the Uyghurs.<sup>1</sup> Finally, the K'itan subdued the Hi and I learn from Prof. Haloun that they transferred a considerable number of them to the north-west of the great bend of the Yellow River. The solution of our problem lies in this direction, but it must be reserved as a prize for those who can read the Chinese chronicles of the K'itan.

B. The Qūn. The name is found only in Biruni and Marvazi (>'Aufi). As in the case of Qāy, the earliest information about Qūn was possibly obtained through the K'itan ambassador, but the additional facts seem to be due to Ākinchi b. Qochqar (v.i. p. 101). A "very old, correct and reliable" MS. of 'Aufi (Br.Mus.Or. 2676) instead of *Qwn* gives *Qry*, which form caused me to suppose, *H.-'A.*, 285, that Qūn = Qūrī, v.i. §5 *ter.* This surmise is no more defensible in view of Marvazi's clear spelling Qūn,<sup>2</sup> and his unexpected revelation that the Qūn were Nestorian Christians. The first report of a considerable success of Christian proselytization among the Far Eastern nomads, namely, the conversion of the Kereit, reached the West only about A.D. 1009.<sup>3</sup> This date corroborates the assumption that the great migration could have taken place only in the eleventh century. The name Qūn, however, does not occur among the Christian tribes of the Far East.<sup>4</sup> As the conversion of an important tribe would not have passed unobserved in the centre of Nestorian administration, we have to suppose either that the Qun were only a part of some federation (Kereit, Öngüt) or that Qun is a Qitay term for a tribe familiar to us under a different name. As yet we know of no conversions to the north of Mongolia. Thus it is probable that the Qun were established among the Mongols.

Marquart's theory, *Komanen*, 80, about the Qun being a division of the tribe *Marqa* or *Murqa* is a mistake. Instead of 'Aufi's *m.rqa* Marvazi has a clear *firqā*, "a tribe," and this reading is supported by the Persian variant *mardumī* in one of 'Aufi's MSS. Consequently, *exit Murqa!*

Professor Haloun whom I have consulted on the identity of the Qūn has made a new and original suggestion. He would consider the possibility of the Qūn being the T'u-yü-hun. "Beside the full form of the latter name, the shortened forms *T'u-hun* and *T'ui-hun* are also, and in fact preferably, used in the Chinese sources from the seventh century A.D. onwards. Instances of simple *Hun* (Middle Chinese *ɣuen*) are very numerous as well".

<sup>1</sup> See Iakinf [Bichurin], *Istoriya narodov*, 1/2, pp. 470-6, where the information on the Hi is grouped together.

<sup>2</sup> The name *Qūrī* figures in Marvazi in Chap. VIII, §35, but unfortunately for our comparative purpose, not in Chap. IX, §5 *ter.*

<sup>3</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccl.*, III, 279-80; see now this passage in A. Mingana, *The early spread of Christianity in Central Asia*, Manchester, 1925, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> The Christian tribes among the Mongols were Kereit, Öngüt, Nayman and partly Merkit. See Pelliot, *Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale*, in *T'oung-Pao*, 1914, 623-44, and Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*, 1939, 243-6.

dialect"), he admits that they speak good Turkish.<sup>1</sup> Finally, III, 58, a Turkish verse is quoted whose author accuses his enemy of having stolen his Qāy slave.

Next, in chronological order comes Marvazi's paragraph describing the chain of migration of Turkish tribes (§3). 'Aufi's passage is only a translation of it.

The Syriac Map published by the late Mingana in the *Manchester Guardian* of 19th May, 1933, shows at the eastern extremity of the Sixth Clime "Qirqiz; Qay and Qun; the country of the Turks and Mongols (!)." The last detail makes it difficult to accept the date of A.D. 1150 attributed to it by the editor. In any case, the description of the Sixth Clime is apparently influenced by Bīrūnī's *Tafhīm*, which manual is also directly responsible for Yāqūt's description of the Climes, I, 33.<sup>2</sup>

Thus Bīrūnī, Kāshgharī and Marvazi are our original authorities on the Qāy. The date of the *Tafhīm* (1029?) in which the Qāy and Qūn are mentioned for the first time might suggest that the information on the Far Eastern peoples was brought by the K'itan embassy of A.D. 1027 (Chap. VIII, §22). The distance between the Qāy and Qūn on the one hand (6th Clime) and the Qitay on the other (2nd Clime) is considerable. It may indicate that the tribes had already begun their westward trek, unless it is due to the southern expansion of the Qitay.

Kāshgharī's enumeration of the order in which the tribes come is presumably more reliable than their position on his Map. As there is no trace of the Qūn in Kāshgharī, he may have in view some later period when the Qāy had moved still more to the west before vanishing from the stage and being forgotten by later writers.

Who were the Qāy?<sup>3</sup> Some connection with the Qitay and some similarity of names make me think of the Hi (read: xi),<sup>4</sup> who are often coupled with the Qitay. In the Orkhon inscription the name *Tatabi* presumably refers to them,<sup>5</sup> while the Chinese transcription may have preserved their indigenous appellation (originally K'u-mo-hi). In the *T'ang-shu* their territory is said to be contiguous in the north-east with the K'itan and in the west with the Turks.

<sup>1</sup> I, 33: they pronounce *y* instead of *j*; I, 393: their word *qirnaq*, "a slave girl"; III, 108: their word *qat*, "a fruit, a berry" (both words in common with several other tribes).

<sup>2</sup> This map seems to be identical with that published by Chabot, *Une mappemonde Syrienne du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *Bull. de géog. hist. et descr.*, 1897, pp. 98-112, and 1898, pp. 31-43. Cf. Honigmann, *o.c.*, 167-78.

<sup>3</sup> Marquart, *Komanen*, 53, 187, made a mistake in confusing the Qāy (Kashghari, I, 28) with the Oghuz clan *Qayī* (Kāshgharī, I, 56: *Qayigh*). On the other hand he thought that the founders of the Qipchaq dynasty (circa 514/1120) were Hi, *ibid.*, 117, 137.

<sup>4</sup> According to Karlgren, the pronunciation of the sign in Cantonese is *hay* (Haloun). This makes it still nearer to Qay. Pelliot, *J.A.*, April, 1920, 150, restores the ancient reading Hi as *γiāi*, or, in the complete form K'-u-mo-hi, \*K'-u-mo-hi-γiāi <

\*Qumaγay.

<sup>5</sup> Thomsen, *Inscriptions*, 141, and *ZDMG*, 1924, 174. Melioransky, *Zap.*, XII, 100.

move.<sup>1</sup> In Arabic script the names Qitāy and Qāy can be easily confused, but the separate entity of the Qāy is attested in other sources as well.

The oldest record of this tribe<sup>2</sup> is in Biruni's *Tafhīm* (written in 420/1029), ed. Wright, 145: "the Sixth Clime begins from the territory of the Eastern Turks, such as the Qāy, Qūn, Khirkhīz, Kīmāk and Toghuzghuz," etc., cf. *Hudūd*, 284. Incidentally this enumeration suggests that the Qāy were considered as the easternmost tribe in the list. In *al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī*, compiled shortly after 421/1030, no mention is found of the Qāy and Qūn, while (the capital of?) Qitā figures as the easternmost point of the Second Clime, beyond Ūtkīn (v.s. p. 69). This curious omission may be due to the technical impossibility of fixing astronomically the position of nomad tribes.

In Kashghari's *Dīwān*, I, 28, the Qāy appear in the series of tribes stretching from the Byzantine Empire in a west-to-east direction: Pecheneg—Qipchaq—Oghuz—Yamāk (Kīmāk)—Bashghurt—Basmil—Qāy—Yabāqū—Tatār—Qirqiz. The latter are said to live in the neighbourhood of al-Šīn, i.e. of Khitāy, for the China proper of the Sung is called by the author "Tavghāch, which is Māšīn ("Mahāchīn)." Another series of tribes "in the middle (zone) between south and north (*sic*)" is as follows: Chigil—Tukhs—Yaghmā—Ighrāq—Charuq—Jumul—Uyghur—Tangut—Khitāy, "which is al-Šīn." On the Map accompanying Kāshghari's text,<sup>3</sup> Qāy is shown in the space between the Irtysh and Obi: beyond the Irtysh and to the north (!) of the mountains (Altai ?) is inscribed *Ūtk.n.*; to the north-east of the latter and on the left bank of the Yamur (Obi) is shown "the habitat of the Jumul" and downstream from it "the habitat of the Qāy." This position agrees with the place of the Qāy in the above-mentioned enumeration according to which the tribe lived considerably to the west of the Qirqiz. On the other hand, Qāy appears immediately north of *Ūtk.n.* If this name stands for the well-known Ūtūkān in the Selenga basin, the position of the Qāy should be moved considerably eastward to the neighbourhood of Baikal (?). However, Kāshghari's *Ūtk.n.* may echo the *Ūtkīn* of Biruni and Marvāzī, on which see Chap. IX, §20C. In this case no great importance should be attached to Kāshghari's location of a little-known place. All we can say is that in the two series of tribes the Qāy and the equally vague Jumul are taken for neighbours. Kāshghari, III, 118, considers the Qāy as a Turkish tribe, and though, I, 30, he mentions them among the peoples having their own *lughā* ("language, or

<sup>1</sup> In 'Auf's translation, the Qāy drive the Qūn away from their own pastures, i.e. from the neighbourhood of the Qāy pastures (*az marā'i-yi khud dūr kardand*)?

<sup>2</sup> The name *Thāy* of the *Hudūd*, which I tentatively compared with Qāy, *H.-A.*, 229, is still uncertain. The three dots of the first character admit of an alternative restoration as \*Qitāy, v.s. Chap. VIII, §35.

<sup>3</sup> The Map may have been drawn by the author himself, or based on his indications, cf. A. Herrmann, *Die älteste türkische Weltkarte*, in *Imago mundi*, 1935, p. 27, but it suggests that Kashghari's knowledge of Farther Asia was hazy, v.s. Chap. IX, §16.

Persia as forerunners of the Seljuks, and from the tribes opposed to the Seljuks, such as, at a later date, held Sultan Sanjar prisoner (from A.D. 1153 down to the end of 1156).

On the Turkish and heathen Ghuz see also §3, which refers to a movement of the Türkmän-Ghuz-Pechenegs, but with a significant difference. In §2 the Ghuz, under the pressure of the Türkmäns, leave Khwārazm (!) and migrate to the territory of the Pechenegs, and the success of the Türkmäns is explained by their Islam. §3 has no religious background and the (Muslim!) Türkmäns seem to succumb to the pressure of other tribes. Constantine Porphyrogenitus records the first attack of the Ghuz and Khazars on the Pechenegs, *circa* A.D. 893, and attributes to it the seizure of the Magyar territory by the Pechenegs. Some traces of this migration of the Pechenegs are found in Ištakhri (*circa* A.D. 930), p. 10, and the *Hudūd* (A.D. 982). The latter (<Jayhānī) speaks distinctly of the "Turkish Pechenegs" in their former seats (§20) and the "Khazarian Pechenegs" in the neighbourhood of the Black Sea, see my commentary, *ibid.*, 312-5, 443-4. In §2 Marvazi echoes the same tradition though he modernizes it by the use of the later term *Türkmän*. The tradition of §3 seems to be entirely different.

§3. The contents of this important record had first become known through 'Aufi's Persian translation brought to light by Barthold, *Turkestan*, I, 99, and re-edited by Marquart, *Komanen*, 40<sub>9-14</sub>, with an amazingly elaborate commentary. Barthold and Pelliot have discussed Marquart's theories in their reviews of his work, cf. also *Hudūd*, 284, 317, 444 and *passim*. Marvazi's original adds a few important details to which I referred in my article, *Une nouvelle source musulmane sur l'Asie Centrale au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (1937). There is much that is still dark in this passage but a closer study of it enables me to make new suggestions on several points.

A. The Qāy. The migration was begun by the Qūn, but its easternmost link seems to have been the Qāy.

According to Marvazi, the Qūn left their territory because (a) they were afraid of the ruler of Qitāy and (b) they were cramped for grazing grounds.<sup>1</sup> The obvious explanation is that the expansion of the Qitāy federation under the Liao dynasty caused a redistribution of pastures and that the Qūn had to leave their headquarters (*marākiz*) and move westwards. The Qūn were ousted from "these pasture lands (*marā'iz*)" by a stronger tribe called Qāy. The phrase is clumsy but suggests that the Qāy attacked *not* the original homes of the Qūn but the new pasture lands which the Qūn were using. The Qāy are said to have "followed" (or "pursued") the Qūn and the verb *ittaba'a* also indicates that the Qūn were already on the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Rāhat al-sudūr*, 92, on the petition which the Turcomans addressed to Sultan Maḥmūd asking him to allow them to cross the Oxus, because of the insufficiency of their pastures.

The Toghuzghuz Turks (in Chinese *T'u-küeh*) on the Orkhon had ceased to exist as a political power A.D. 745; their western branch, continued by the Türgish clans, gave way to the Qarluq about A.D. 776. The Uyghurs ruled on the Orkhon from 745 down to 840, when their federation was dissolved by the Qirghiz and Chinese, a part of it only surviving in Kan-su and Eastern T'ien-shan. The spelling \*Uy-ghur for *Uyghur* (see Arabic text, p. 18) is curious as separating the final element, which was perhaps considered as a link between the three ancient names mentioned in §2. Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezin, *Trudi Vost. Otd.*, VII, 159, also spells *Uy-ghūr*. The third name, \*Üch-ghur or \*Üch-ghuz is a puzzle unless the name refers to the *Üchūq* (\*Üch-oq?) division which formed the left wing of the Oghuz (Ghuz) federation, see Rashīd al-dīn, *ibid.*, 35.<sup>1</sup> Whether the Uyghur were originally a part of the Turk (Ghuz) tribe is still very doubtful, see *Hudūd*, 263-8, but in later times (fourteenth century) they were considered as "having always been together with the Oghuz," Rashīd al-dīn, *ibid.*, p. 22.

The title Toghuz-khaqan (or rather, Toghuzghuz-khaqan) properly belonged to the Turkish (T'u-küeh) rulers, but might have been traditionally applied to their successors on the Orkhon and elsewhere. In Marvazi's time it was a sheer anachronism. The text has mainly in view the Ghuz from whom the Seljuk dynasty has sprung up. The description of the Turkish boundary points to the time of earlier Sāmānids. The word *shākiri* seems to be of Soghdian origin, see Vladimirtsov, *Mongolica I*, in *Zap. Koll. Vost.*, I, 1925, p. 327. In Turkish and Mongolian *chaqar* (>*tsaxar*) applies to "a court-yard, a fortified camp," and with a further extension of the meaning, to the persons grouped round a court, a monastery. In Central Asia, the form *chākar/chākir* (Hsüan-Tsang: *Chē-kieh*) was used to designate the "life-guards" of the local rulers, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 180. The three cups of wine are what is called *thalātha-yi ghassāla* (Ḥafiz). Nizām al-mulk in his *Siyāsāt-nāma*, 190, refers to *si piyāla-yi sharāb* at an entertainment of Turkish amirs of the Samanid court. Cf. also Chap, XII, §4.

The term *Türkman* is first recorded towards the end of the tenth century A.D.<sup>2</sup> It does not occur in *Iṣṭakhri* (<Balkhi) or the *Hudūd*. For practical purposes *Türkman* is a later synonym of *Ghuz*. The clear distinction which Marvazi draws in applying it only to the Muslim Ghuz is curious; in fact, the spread of the term *Türkman* coincides with the Islamization of the Ghuz, *v.i.* p. 103. In spite of the lack of positive proofs, we may imagine that the Seljuks favoured a special denomination for their subjects, such as would distinguish them both from the Ghuz hordes which raided

<sup>1</sup> Already Ibn al-Athīr, XI, 54 (under the year 536/1141), mentions the two divisions of the Ghuz *Aj-q* and *B.r-q* (\**B.r-q*), i.e. \**Uchuq* and \**Bozuq*.

<sup>2</sup> First reference in Muqaddasi, *BGA*, III, 274, who in one breath mentions the Ghuz in the neighbourhood of Saurān and Sh.gh.ljān and the "Turkman who have accepted Islam" in the neighbourhood of B.rukat and B.lāj.

In the background of the Introduction is the Ghuz (Arab. *Ghuz*) tribe to which the Seljuk dynasty belonged. A part of it (§2) is but a rearrangement of traditional data, but §3 refers to facts which are not found in any previous records.

The middle part of the Chapter (§§4-16) runs more or less parallel with a number of texts already known and supposed to be connected with Jayhānī, but Marvazi's text contains some curious additions, which undoubtedly belong to the original source, for they fit exactly into the system. Thus he described the neighbours of the Kimāk (§§8 *bis*, 9), who are only vaguely referred to in the *Hudūd*, and beyond the Isū and Yūra, extends the description down to the northern sea (§§12 *ter* and *quater*). The paragraph on the Rūs (§15) has a curious epilogue on their conversion to Islam.

As already stated, the basic source must be Jayhani, but in the latter's text too one must discriminate between the facts borrowed from earlier authors (I. Khurdādhbih, etc.), and the material collected directly under the author's instructions. Some hesitation in the nomenclature, which reflects the difference between the older (pre-Jayhānian) sources, is noticeable in Marvazi. In §12 the *Burdās* (Iṣṭakhri < Balkhi: *Burās*) are said to raid the *Bulkār*, but in §12 *bis* the latter nation is called *Bulghār*. The earlier "Bulkār-Burdās" report may have been incorporated in I. Khurdādhbih,<sup>1</sup> though the problem of its other contents requires a special study. To it probably belonged the data on the Slavs, Rūs and western Turks, but it is difficult to say how much ground it covered in the east.<sup>2</sup>

On the whole, the points which Marvazi has in common with I. Rusta and Bakri are §§11, 12 (similarly: *Burdās*), 13 (partly), 14 (partly), 15 (partly). The additional points in which Marvazi agrees with the *Hudūd* and Gardīzī are §§4, 5 *ter*, 6, 7, 8 (partly), 10, 12 *bis* (partly), 13. The points recorded only in Marvazi (and partly copied in 'Aufi) are §§1, 2 (a rearrangement of former sources), 3 (the famous passage on the migration of tribes), 5, 5 *bis*, 8, 8 *bis*, 9, 12 *ter* and *quater* (some details not in 'Aufi), 15 (on the conversion of the Rūs to Islam). §§17-20 are of an entirely different origin based as they are on ancient Greek medical texts slightly retouched by the author.

§1. This paragraph is literally translated in 'Aufi, see Marquart, *Über das Volkstum der Komänen*, p. 40, where the original *afkhādh*, "sub-tribes," has been faultily transmitted.

§2. 'Aufi (*ibid.*, lines 4-9) abridges and modernises our text which itself represents an attempt to rearrange the traditional facts to bring them more up to date. The composite character of the paragraph is apparent from the simultaneous use of the terms Toghuzghuz and Turkman.

<sup>1</sup> As partly suggested by Barthold, *Zap.*, XXI, pp. xli-iii.

<sup>2</sup> I. Rusta omits the eastern Turks but the *Hudūd*, Gardīzī and Marvazi describe them.

Qitay—in an easterly direction, and to China—with a deflection to the right, namely, southwards. (The mountain) lies approximately opposite Tibet." According to the description, the mountain would roughly correspond to Nan-shan. I think there is considerable likelihood that the region referred to in this quotation from Jayhānī is the famous Tūsmat. In the commentary on the *H.-'Ā.*, p. 259, I had to locate Tūsmat near Khotan, while stressing a discrepancy between this location and Biruni's co-ordinates (v.s. p. 67). The latter undoubtedly points to the north-eastern border of Tibet. The travellers had in view not only Nan-shan but also the *terra incognita* behind it. Following Biruni the distance from Kan-chou to Tūsmat (almost due west) was 327 miles (526 Km.), which would take us to the region of Tsaidam. On the other hand, the name *Tūsmat* reminds one of Tibetan '*Mdo-'smat*, "The Lower Amdo." Amdo is the plateau extending to the south of Kuku-nor.<sup>1</sup> Its distance from Kan-chou is considerably under 526 Km., and this increases the impression that the original report vaguely referred to the highlands forming the north-eastern corner of Tibet.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE TURKS

Under the heading of "the Turks" Muslim geographers include also the Finno-Ugrian and Slavonic peoples of Eastern Europe. Several items which Marvazi, on his own initiative, inserted in Chapter XV have been reincorporated in their appropriate places in Chapter IX. The latter consists of two distinct parts:

A. A general description of the tribes:

§§1-3: Introductory, with an account of a great migration of tribes (Qāy, Qūn, Shārī, etc.).

§§4-10: Eastern Turks: Khirkhīz, Kharlukh, Kimāk and their neighbours, Pechenegs.

§§11-16: Peoples of Eastern Europe: Khazar, B.r.dās, Bulghār, the northerners, Majgharī, Slavs, Rūs.

B. Anthropological remarks on the influence of the climate on the northern peoples.

§§17-20: Theories of Hippocrates and Galen about the Turks (read: *Scythians*) and Amazons.

<sup>1</sup> It stretches along the upper Hoang-Ho (to the south of Kuku-nor, down to the limits of Kan-su and Szechuan). In Amdo lie the famous monasteries of Gumbum and Labrang. Musk-deer in herds are still found in Amdo, but wild yaks have been driven out by the nomads, see P. K. Kozlov, *Mongolei, Amdo, etc.*, German translation 1925, pp. 171 and 215. According to W. W. Rockhill, *The land of the Lamas*, 1891, pp. 73-5, the term Amdo applies to the country "within the Kan-su border inhabited by Tibetans." The latter locally call themselves Amdo-wa, the inhabitants of the more fertile valleys being called Rong-wa.

in the *Fihrist*, 351, where the bridge spanning it is likewise described.<sup>1</sup> It was made of 'aqab, which the editor interprets as "boats." However, 'aqab in this meaning appears to be a strictly local Egyptian term, Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 146. As the text insists on the dreadfulness of the crossing by the bridge, which was two cubits wide, we must admit some other meaning of 'qb. As the usual meaning of 'aqab is "sinews or tendons of which strings of bows, etc., are made," Lane, p. 2100, the report may hint at this tough material used in the construction of the bridge.<sup>2</sup>

These details have a certain importance as suggesting that Muslims possessed some knowledge of the Sino-Tibetan borderland (possibly in the region of Szechuan), from whence they could have advanced even into Yün-nan, v.s. §35.

§43. The description of the musk-deer is repeated in the chapter of the gazelles (*al-zibā*) (ff. 84b-85a) in which Marvazi quotes a certain *al-H.skī* (?), who in his turn depended on "maritime merchants" (*tujjār al-bahr*), v.s. §14. In fact, the story is very close to that of Abū-Zayd Sirāfi (in Sulaymān, 111-2), who undoubtedly used the maritime lore of the Persian Gulf. A similar passage of the *Murūj*, I, 353-6, is directly derived from Abū Zayd, whom Mas'ūdī met in A.D. 915. Very detailed information on musk was contained in a work of Ya'qūbī, now lost. The work was quoted in the *Jayb al-'arūs* of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Tamīmī al-Muqaddasī (d. 380/990), whose grandfather was Ya'qūbī's companion. Some of these quotations have survived in Nuwayrī's Encyclopedia, cf. *BGA*, VII, 364-70. Ya'qūbī says, *ibid.*, 364, that the best musk comes from "a place called Dhūsm.t, situated at 2 months' distance from (the capital of?) Tibet." This place is without doubt identical with Tūsmat, which the *Hudūd* quotes under Tibet (§11, 9.). The name does not occur in Marvazi, but his chapter on the bovine species (f. 76a) contains the following important passage: "Jayhānī, in the book of *al-Masālik wal-Mamālik*, says that a traveller from Sha-chou (*Sā-jū*) to China (*Sīn*) sees on his right a mountain on which live the musk-deer and the oxen from whose tails whisks ("chawry") and tops of banners are made. It seems that at this place they are the best (although?) these oxen (i.e. yaks) are numerous in the region extending eastwards from Khuttal, in the direction of Shiknān and Vakhkhān. (The above-mentioned mountain) is at a distance of two months and a half from Kāshghar. It lies at the point where the roads branch off: to

<sup>1</sup> This bridge must be different from the suspension bridge between two mountains on the road from Khotan to Tibet, on this side of the "mountain with poisonous air," as described by Jayhānī, from whom it passed into Biruni, *Chronology*, 271, and Gardizi, ed. Barthold, 88; cf. also Muṭahhar, IV, 92. Z. Qazwini, I, 160.

<sup>2</sup> The system would be different from that of a Tibetan rope-bridge graphically described in H. R. Davies, *Yün-nan*, 1909, 259-60; the traveller is fastened to a gliding piece of wood and "flies across the river at the speed of an express train." More suitable would be the type represented in Yule-Cordier, II, 80, only without railings.



name standing apparently for Tibetan *rong*, "a cultivated valley." Strangely enough, Biruni, *Jawāhir*, 236-42, does not speak of Tibet in his enumeration of gold mines. On the other hand, Mustaufi, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, GMS, 201, quotes the story of nuggets which are found "in Rānk, in the country of Turkistān," on the authority of the *Ṣuwar al-aqālim*.<sup>1</sup>

Separately from the legend of gold nuggets in Tibet, Marvazi speaks of gold in the paragraph on ants (f. 210a, see Arabic text, p. 51, l. 14), in which he states that at the farthest limit of India there is a land called *Zamīn-i zar* (in Persian!), where gold grows like grass.<sup>2</sup> Merchants can penetrate into it only at night for fear of the ants which are the size of a dog and can overtake the best horses if they are wounded or are moving slowly. Maqdisi, IV, 93 (tr., IV, 88) quotes the same legend (< Jayhāni), while he places the country where gold grows like plants somewhere "towards the sun-rise." Cf. also Ibn Iyās in Ferrand, *Textes*, 476. Ferrand is wrong in trying to substitute *namir*, "a panther," for *naml*, "an ant." Legends connecting ants with gold are too well known, see Herodotus, III, 102-5, and Mahabharata, II, 1860: "The kings of the North-West [brought to Yudhiṣṭhira] gold measured by dronas which had been dug up by ants (*pīpīlika*) and was called *pīpīlika*" (L. D. Barnett). On Mongolian and Tibetan sources see Laufer, *Die Sage von den goldgrabenden Ameisen*, in *T'oung-Pao*, 1908, 429-52, and A. N. Francke, *Two Ant stories from the territory of the ancient kingdom of Western Tibet*, in *Asia Major*, II, 1924, 67-75.

Instead of *Zāb*, H.-'Ā., §11, 3., has *N.zvān*. Marvazi gives some new details. *Zāb* is "above," i.e. beyond Rānk-rnk; its inhabitants resemble Turks; it has a river forming a frontier between Tibet and China. The last fact may be compared with H.-'Ā., §6, 2., where it is said that the river *Kisau* (Kin-sha-chan?) "rises from the east of the mountain *Mānisā* (separating Tibet from India, and then from China), and reaches a place situated in the centre of Tibet (or "in the middle of the Tibetan frontier"?). It flows on along that mountain, until it comes opposite the Tibeto-Indian frontier. Then it cuts through many mountains," and finally becomes the *Ghiyān* (Yangtze). In §9 it is added that the Chinese embark on the *Ghiyān* to visit Tibet for trade. These hints would suggest for "Zāb" a situation on the upper course of the Yangtze, contrary to the H.-'Ā., which describes "N.zvān" (*T.zdān*, etc., perhaps *Tsaidam*?) as lying at the north-eastern corner of Tibet (see my sketch map, *ibid.*, 196).

A reference to the river separating China from Tibet is also found

<sup>1</sup> Of Abū Zayd Balkhī? The latter's work is known to us only in the version of Iṣṭakhri, *BGA*, I, which does not contain the passage on Rānk. In *BGA*, I, Iṣṭakhri's work bears the title of *Masālik al-mamālik*, but on its last page, 348, it is called *Kitāb al-ashkāl*. Biruni, *Jawāhir*, 204, 216, 246, several times refers to the *Ashkāl al-aqālim* (of Balkhī?).

<sup>2</sup> It is possible that the author has in view Assam, cf. Chap. xii, §52.

§39 (see also §12) adds slightly to Gardīzī. Cf. also Muṭahhar, IV, 61.

§40 as in Gardīzī.

§41. *Si-la* is the Silla kingdom (in Chinese: *Sin-lo*), which comprised the central and eastern part of Corea (A.D. 755-935). The passage is borrowed (directly or indirectly) from I. Khurdādhbih, 70 and 170, cf. I. Rusta, Sz, Muṭahhar, IV, 661 (who quotes *Kitāb al-Masālik*), and *al-Fihrist*, 350.

§42. The chapter on Tibet is based on the same source as §11 of the *Hudūd* (commentary, *ibid.*, 254-63). One should think that the source of the chapter is Jayhānī but v. i., p. 90, note 1.

*Arā* must be restored as \**Akhā* (or *Ajā*?) to bring it into harmony with the following *Akhā-yul* (*yul*, "a country" in Tibetan), on which see *H.-'Ā.*, §11, 7.

The item on the "Gate of the two Tibets" (*bāb al-Tubbatayn*)<sup>1</sup> corresponds to Dar-i Tubbat of the *Hudūd*, §26, 12., but contains a precious indication on its position between the mountain Shīwa and the river Kh.rnāb. The latter is the Upper Oxus (Panj), see *H.-'Ā.*, §6, 7. and p. 208. *Sheva* is the plateau with a mountain lake in the easternmost part of Badakhshān, see Burhān al-dīn Kūshkaki, *Rahnumā-yi Badakhshān*, Russian transl., pp. 197-200 (under Darvāz). *Shēva* is an additional link to the road between Khuttal (in the present day Tajikistan) and Kashmir, which I have tried to trace in *H.-'Ā.*, 363-5.<sup>2</sup> After the crossing of the Oxus, see Ya'qūbī, *Geography*, 396, I. Kh., 178, the road must have followed the river of Rāgh before penetrating into Sheva. Thence it ran southwards down to the western side of the pass of Zardīw, where we can place the "Arab" Gate (*H.-'Ā.*, §24, 25.). The "Tibetan" Gate must have stood further east, on the road to Ishkashīm. Idrisi, tr. Joubert, I, 493, refers to a gate at *B.thinj* (?) depending on Tibet.

The record of a Tibetan toll-house to the south-west of the Pamir is curious chronologically. It may be a reminiscence of the earlier period of Muslim domination in Central Asia (round about A.D. 715) when Chinese annals several times refer to Arab and Tibetan collaboration in the Hindukush-T'ien-shan region. Cf. H. A. R. Gibb, in *B.S.O.S.*, 11/4, pp. 614-6. On the other hand, the *H.-'Ā.* definitely modernises the situation while it assigns the construction of the Arab Gate to Ma'mūn (possibly towards A.D. 811) adding that the toll at the "Gate of Tibet" was levied by the Muslims living there (without a reference to Tibetans).

*Rānk-r.nk* correspond to *H.-'Ā.*, §11, 1., the second part of the

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the "Inner" and the "Outer" Tibet? Biruni places *Twsm.t* in the latter. It is possible that, instead of *Tubbatayn*, one should read \**Tubbatayn* "of the Tibetans."

<sup>2</sup> On the authority of Jayhānī, Marvazi refers to Khottal, Shikinān and Vakhān in the paragraph of yaks, see Arabic text, p. 51, line 10.

established. The second is with Tibet: between China and Tibet is a mountain with a military post (*masāliḥ*) from which (the Chinese) keep watch on Tibet, while the Tibetan military post keeps watch on China, and the two posts are on the frontier of the two countries. The third border is with a people called *al-Mānsās*, who possess a separate kingdom and live in a large country which stretches for some years ('*iddat sinīn*) in every direction. No one knows what is beyond it. They are neighbours (*yuqāribūna*) of the Chinese. . . ." In Arabic script<sup>1</sup> the identity of *al-Mānsās*, *al-Andl.s* and (without *al-*) *Anf.s* seems quite probable, as it is likewise clear that the name is the earliest reference in Muslim literature to the inhabitants of Manchuria. I cannot explain the name, but possibly the final *s* of *Mānsās* is a plural suffix (cf. Mong. *-s* and Manchurian *-sa*, *Manju-sa*, "the Manchus").<sup>2</sup>

Giving rein to our imagination we might suggest for No. 4: *Qāy* or even *Qitāy* (Chap. IX, §3), and for No. 5, either *Khīṭāy* = *Qitāy*, or *Khasān* (<Khaskhan, in Chinese *Ho-su-kuan*), an ancient Manchurian tribe, for whose existence Prof. Haloun is my surety.<sup>3</sup>

§36, coming as it does after §35, confirms the impression that with these items we have reached the farthest limits to the East. Gardīzī speaks of the Fūrī after the Khirkhīz, and of the red-haired people after China.

The red-haired people possibly go back to the Alexander legend; cf. Qor'ān, XVIII, 89, in which Alexander finds a people to whom God "has given nothing to protect themselves against the intense heat of the Sun."

§§37-41 continue §§26-8 and go up to *circa* A.D. 850.

§37. The same item on the necessity of confession on the part of the culprit is to be found in Muṭahhar, IV, 20, who adds that only written documents can prove a debt. As Sulaymān, 39, confirms that "no notice is taken of what the parties say; the arguments must be presented in writing," it seems that the whole report was drawn up before A.D. 850.

§38. The item is in Sulaymān, 42-3, who omits the curious detail on Chinese maidservants, but the latter is in Muṭahhar, IV, 19 (immediately after the point on written documents) and in *al-Fihrist*, 350. This popular version differs in style from the matter-of-fact statement in §26, which is apparently derived from another traveller. But §38 is more true to the tenor of the Imperial edict of A.D. 628: "Any foreign envoy merchant may marry a Chinese woman. He shall not, however, take her away to his own country," Kuwabara, 57.

<sup>1</sup> See Arabic text, p. 52, l. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Still obscure is the term *Mānisā* which the *Hudūd* applies roughly to the chains of mountains separating Tibet from China. Is this terminology due to some misunderstanding? The mis-spelling *Anfs* may have been separated from the original *Mānsā* and the latter name located where the list began?

<sup>3</sup> The lake Khasan, near which the Russians and Japanese came to a clash in 1938, may reflect the same name.

and Bengal, he turns back eastwards and speaks of Cangigu, Amin, Toloman (or Coloman, Chapter 58) and Cuiju (Chapter 59, cf. Rashid al-din, ed. Blochet, 451: *Kafche-küh* = Kwei-chou). Deveria, *La frontière sino-annamite*, 1886, 114-5, has identified Tholoman with *T'u-la-man*, "the T'u-la barbarians" referred to in the *Yün-shih-lei-pien*. The T'u-lao, whom the Chinese also call *Shan-tzū*, "Mountaineers" still occupy the southern highlands of Yün-nan. In the *Histoire particulière du Nan-Tchao*, translated by C. Sainson, 1904, 188, the T'u-lao are said to have formerly lived more to the east on the frontier of Szechuan, Kweichou and Kwangsi. Deveria's identification has been adopted in Yule-Cordier, II, 124. \**Tūlmān*, or \**Tūlamān* of Marvazi, coming as it does before \**Qarā-Jāng* (Yün-nan) would be an extremely close parallel to Toloman!

Marvazi's mention of "white shells" being used by the nine nations, or by some of them (Qūrī?) is astonishing. The cowries (*wad'*) are usually associated with India or the southern seas, cf. Sulaymān, 6, 28 = Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I, 385, Idrīsī, tr. Jaubert, 68, Dimishqī, 208, Hobson-Jobson, 1903, p. 269. Curiously enough, M. Polo lays stress on the use of cowries in Carajan and Toloman, in spite of the latter's great wealth in gold, *ibid.*, II, 66, 76, 123.<sup>1</sup>

The other names of the group are still inexplicable. As the variant of *Ir.sh* indicates, the name might have sounded *Irm.r* or *Aym.n*, etc. The same may apply to No. 2. Numerous names of Barbarian tribes, especially in Yün-nan end in Chinese in *-man*. The acquaintance of Muslims with Yün-nan may be postulated from their knowledge of the kingdoms of Tirsūl, Mū-sa and Mānk, v. i., *India*, §52. According to M. Polo there were in Yün-nan not only Saracens and Idolators, but even a few Nestorian Christians. The story of the river separating Tibet from China, v. i, §42, points to the upper reach of the Yangtze on the northern border of Yün-nan. But were we to take Yün-nan for the beginning of our list we should have to postulate that the list enumerates the marches of China first in the extreme south-west, and then, with a formidable leap, in the extreme north-east!

For it is a fact that the list ends in the neighbourhood of the Khirkhiz, the only sure name being *Qūrī*. I now think that to the latter may be added the mysterious *Anf.s* of the *Hudūd*. In a confused passage of the *Fihrist*, 350, some nameless traveller states that he was told by some inhabitants of *And.l.s* that a steppe separated their country from China (*Sin*): "China is called the Great Country (*arā al-kabīra*), and *al-And.l.s* is to the north of it, and therefore they are near to where the sun rises." Says Ya'qūbi, *Historiae*, I, 208 (before A.D. 891): "on land China has three borders. The first of them is with the Turks and Toghuzghuz: with them wars were perpetual, until peace had been made and ties of marriage

<sup>1</sup> M. Polo calls cowries "porcelaine" ("pig-shells"). Thence the name "porcelain" which from these shells was transferred to China-ware, Yule, *ibid.*, II, 74.

namely, *Ir.sh*, *Khūr.sh*, etc.," which, in spite of the differences of their populations in religion, appearance and customs, are governed on behalf of the Faghfūr-i Chīn. From the description of the rivers, §6, 2.-3., it appears that *Ir.sh* is located south of the Yangtze, *Khūr.sh* (or *Kūr.sh*?) between the Yangtze and the Yellow river and *F.rāj.klī*, north of the Yellow river. It is conceivable, of course, that there are some misunderstandings about the course of the two rivers.<sup>1</sup> Another detail is that the wild tribe *Fūrī* (§14, 1.), apparently identical with *Qūrī* (No. 8 in the list), is located to the east of the *Khirkhiz*, which fact is confirmed by *Gardizī*. On *Qūrī* see Chap. IX, §5 *ter*. As the older Muslim tradition considered the *Khirkhiz* one of the north-easternmost nations, stretching down to China and the Eastern Ocean, see *H.-'Ā.*, §9 (beginning), this view may account for the disposition of the nine nations along the coast.

(e) *Marvazī*, for his part, refers the nine names not to "regions," but to various races (*ajnās*), which he locates, with considerable insistence, "to the left of China," "in a north-easterly direction," "between China and *Khirkhiz*." In fact the last name in *Marvazī* (\**Qūrī*) brings us again to the east of the *Khirkhiz*. No reference is made to the sea, but the nations seems to be disposed in a vast north-easterly sweep.

(f) The lists have no parallel in contemporary Islamic literature. The mutilated names and the embarrassed geographical indications of the *Hudūd* and *Marvazī* suggest that we have to do with some remote and little known tract.

I would tentatively compare the name No. 3 with the name *Qarā-Jāng*, which in Mongol times was applied to a region of *Yün-nan*.<sup>2</sup> Says *Rashīd al-dīn*, ed. *Berezin*, XV, 23: "The Chinese (*Khilā'iyān*) call *Qarā-jāng* \**Dāy-Kīw* (var. *Rāy-līw*, *Rāy-bnū*), which means "the Great Province." This dominion has a (great) extent and at present obeys the *Qā'ān*. The complexion of some of the inhabitants is white, similar to that of the Chinese, but some others are black, also similarly to the Chinese. In the language of India and Kashmir, this province is called *K.nd.r* (var. *K.ndū*, *Q.ndū*)," cf. *ibid.*, 21, and *Rashīd al-dīn*, ed. *Bloch*, 376, 395, 450. It is quite probable that the name *Qarā-Jāng*, "Black Chang," was in existence long before the Mongols, the word "black" being identical in Turkish (*qara*) and Mongolian (*khara*). The long *ā* in *Jāng* is only the usual Persian *scriptio plena*, and in an Arabic source might have been omitted. Finally, with a Turkish ending *-lī*<sup>3</sup> *Marvazī*'s name might be restored as \**Qarā-Jāng-lī* (?).

*Marco Polo* describes *Carajan* in his chapters 48 and 49, see *Yule-Cordier*, third ed., 1921, pp. 64-84, and further, after having spoken of the country of "Gold-Teeth" (v. i., India, §56), of *Burma*

<sup>1</sup> In the *Hudūd*, the Yellow River is taken for the continuation of the *Tarim*.

<sup>2</sup> See Arabic text, p. 52, line 1.

<sup>3</sup> *-lu* and even *-luq* would be better in an ancient text! Cf. *Mānb.ā-lū* in *Gardizī*.

term *lalmī*, still in use in Turkestan for crops on non-irrigated lands. (*Lalmī* may be a local form of Arabic *daymī*, the alternance *d/l* being common in eastern Iranian).

§32 as in Muṭahhar and Gardizi, with insignificant additions. Cf. also §26.

§33 on Khumdān has several points in common with the *Hudūd*: 360 towns sending *kharāj* (§9, 3., also in Muṭahhar, IV, 61); a lake "in the region of Khumdān" (§3, 35.). Sulaymān, 33, counts 200 towns in China, while I. Kh., 69, says that "China has 300 towns, all prosperous, and 24 among them renowned." The item on the four kinds of commodities is not attested elsewhere. Sulaymān, 41, says only that the major assets of the Treasury are the poll-tax and the monopoly of salt and tea (\**shā'ī*, instead of *shākh*, Russian чай).

§34. Cf. I. Kh., 69: "the length of China along the sea from Armābīl (?) to the (other) end is 2 months," and *al-Fihrist*, 350: from Armāyīl to Bānshwā (? + *chou*) 2 months ("3000 farsakhs" being quoted as the distance to China overland).

§35 is welcome as a parallel to a mysterious passage in the *Hudūd*, pp. 84, 228. The two lists are identical, and even though the names are mutilated in both sources, we are now in possession of two variants for each name.

	Ḥ.-'Ā.	Marvazi	
1.	ايرش	ايرسر	
2.	خورش كورشن	خورسر توليان	
3.	فراجكلى	فراجكلى	
4.	تاي	ماتى (ماتى?)	
5.	خسانى	حسانى	
6.	تنكوى	سكوى	
7.	بونوغنى	بونوعسى	
8.	قورى	هورى	
9.	انفس	{ الانساس : Ya'qūbī الاندلس : Fihrist	

Here are some general considerations on the two lists:

(a) In view of the date of the *Hudūd* (A.D. 982), this enumeration has nothing to do with the report of the Qitay embassy (§§18-25).

(b) The two lists, each of nine names, are identical, but between 2. and 3. Marvazi inserts *Tūlmān*, instead of which the *Hudūd* has *Anf.s.*

(c) The original source apparently gave a much fuller explanation of the nine names, but each of the two epitomists selected some special details and obscured them by his personal interpretation.

(d) According to the *Hudūd* (§9, 2.), "besides Wāq-Wāq, China has nine large regions (*nāḥiyat*) on the coast of the Eastern sea,

§§26-28) refer to "Sān-jū," the following §§29-33 giving a description of Khumdān. *Sān-jū* is an obvious slip for *Khān-fū*, as indicated in §26. The present case is entirely different from Kāshghari's confusion of Shan-jū and Sha-chou, (v.s. p. 78).

§29. *Khumdān* is a barbarian name for the T'ang capital of Hsi-an-fu, see *H.-'Ā.*, 229. The name of Khumdān reappears in §33, as if concluding the series. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I, 307-12, mentions two Muslim travellers who from Canton visited Khumdān. One of them, the rich Quraishite Ibn al-Wahhāb, travelled in A.D. 870, and much later, when he was an old man, was interrogated by Abū Zayd Sirāfi, the editor of Sulaymān's report and the compiler of a supplement to it, pp. 77-87, cf. *H.-'Ā.*, 224. Ibn al-Wahhāb is responsible for a long and exaggerated report on the particular respect which the Emperor of China displayed for Islam, but he winds up (p. 86) with some more realistic facts on Khumdān, such as curfews, etc. It is not impossible that immediately after his return from China, when his memory was fresher, he drew up a longer memorandum (for the caliph?)<sup>1</sup> which became known to Ibn Khurdādhbih, the later version of whose work is usually dated circa A.D. 885. This report is not in the abridgment published as *BGA*, V, but Jayhānī may have incorporated it from a fuller text (v.s., p. 6). Much of the information of §§29-33, etc., is also found in Muṭahhar, *al-Fihrist* and Gardizī. See Muṭahhar, IV, 19 (registration of children, burials deferred, culprit's confession necessary and witnesses dispensed with, a stranger cannot export his Chinese wife, priests responsible for crops, curfews, etc.); *idem*, IV, 61 (capital at Khumdān, Chinese have flattened noses, wear long sleeves, decoration of houses, land non-irrigated, etc.); *al-Fihrist*, 350 (passports for travellers, three years' mourning, wives not to be exported, looting at funerals); Gardizī's longish paragraph was analysed above, p. 62, with the object of establishing its connection with Jayhānī, but its more remote source may be I. Kh.<sup>2</sup>

§29. The distance from Chīnānjath to Khumdān is greatly exaggerated. A part of the road is described in Gardizī, see *H.-'Ā.*, 229.

§30 varies only insignificantly from Gardizī. On the inaccessibility of the Emperor Sulaymān, 40, says that he shows himself once in ten months in order to maintain his prestige. The use in Arabic of Persian terms *takht*, "a piece, a cut," and *jām*, "a cup," is curious. Gardizī, 93, has *takhtī dībā*.

§31. "Their crops are cereals," as in Muṭahhar, IV, 21, who adds, IV, 61, that their lands are non-irrigated; Gardizī uses the

<sup>1</sup> Sulaymān, 85: Ibn al-Wahhāb told the Emperor of China that he was going to return to see the king of the Arabs "who is the son of my paternal uncle."

<sup>2</sup> Gardizī's report on China begins with a quotation from I. Kh. saying that every traveller to China becomes a sage (not in *BGA*, V, but very similar to I. Kh. other pronouncements). It is impossible to say whether the reference to I. Kh. is meant to cover the other facts of Gardizī's account of China.

Laufer and Pelliot in *T'oung-Pao*, 1913, 315-70, and Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, 1919, 565. Whatever the use of the term in China, it is certain that Muslims apply their (Turkish?) term *khutū* to the horn of an animal which is differently identified. Vullers, *Lexicon*, I, 650, quotes seven various definitions of the *khutū* ("dentes animalis cuiusdam" coming at the last place). For Biruni *khutū* is "a frontal bone of a bull in the country of Khirkhiz," *Der Islam*, II, 1911, 345-58; more usually, as in our text, *khutū* is taken for a synonym of *b.shān* (rhinoceros horn). In Chap. XV, §3 (on northern seas), Marvazi refers to a fish "whose tooth is used in setting knives," but does not call it *khutū*.

The title of the Governor's representative *fāsām* must be restored \**fā-shām*, to suit Chinese *fan-chang*, "the foreign head-man." "In the foreign quarter in Kuang-chou reside all the people from beyond the seas. A fan-chang is appointed over them and he has charge of all public matters connected with them. He makes it his special duty to urge the foreign traders to send in tribute,"<sup>1</sup> Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 17. Kuwabara, 41, thinks that Sulaymān (v.s. p. 82), has in view precisely such a "foreign head-man," but the Chinese term appears only in Marvazi.

Our text is much more explicit on "the last ship of the season" than Sulaymān, 36. With regard to the monsoon Kuwabara writes, 36: "The ships from the southern seas came to China with the south-west wind from the end of the fourth moon to the sixth moon, and the outgoing ships went with the north-east wind from the end of the tenth moon to the twelfth moon, so that the half-year from May to October was the busiest time at the sea-ports." The foreigners went on their homeward voyage in winter, but the expeditions of the Arab traders usually took two years. Sulaymān, 36, confirms that the entrance duty was 30 per cent.

§28 on Chinese customs is a natural continuation of §§26 and 27 (cf. also §§37-39). The data on the poll-tax (in Chinese *ting-k'ou-shui*), old age pensions and education of orphans follow Sulaymān, 41, 47. On the delay of burials, funeral ceremonies and the conservation of corpses, see *ibid.*, 37, with some difference in details. Similar items are found in Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, I, 208, Muṭahhar, IV, 19, and *al-Fihrist*, 350.

On the property of deceased foreigners Kuwabara, 78, quotes an Imperial edict of A.D. 1114, according to which the belongings of the foreign trader "who had come to China and lived for five (!) generations . . . shall be taken charge of at the trading ships' offices, according to the laws of extinct families."

The reference to the registration of courtesans is much more developed in Abū Zayd (in Sulaymān, 69). The concluding sentence is of a general character and cannot be connected with the courtesans alone. The sense is evidently: "all these details (i.e.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. to open up trade, in Kuwabara's interpretation.



Tibrīzī in his commentary says that some explain this term as "aquatic birds" and some as "frogs," neither of which explanations suits the twelve year cycle. Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, I, 196, explains this term as "fishes in the sea of Rūm, resembling women and having (long) hair," which sounds like sirens. Even Ibn Muḥannā was unable to understand Marvazī's form for which he substituted *samak* = *balīq*, though no "Year of the Fish" is known either. [Cf. Addenda, p. 161].

It appears then that the restoration of the term as \**banāt al-mā'* is of no help and that the initial element of *l.bnāt* should be taken into account. In view of the parallels in our lists (*nāk*, *lūy*, *azhdarhā*) I would restore Marvazī's *l.bnāt al-mā'* as *thu'bān al-mā'*, "The Water Serpent," which interpretation gives a satisfactory meaning and is quite plausible from the palaeographic point of view. Cf. Arabic text, p. 921.

§§26-28 are based on the old accounts of Arab mariners (v.s. p. 63) and have many points in common with "Sulaymān," which is a collective name covering a collection of early ninth century reports. Marvazī complements Sulaymān in several instances.

§§26. The sea route to China was well known to Arab and Persian merchants from Baṣra and Sīrāf, as attested by I. Khurdādhbih's list of ports of call, pp. 61-9. A thorough analysis of his report has been given by J. Kuwabara, *On P'u Shou-k'eng*, in *Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko*, No. 2, Tokyo, 1928, 1-79 (an excellent general introduction in which recent investigation is summed up) and No. 7, 1935, 1-104. Lūqīn (or better, \**Lū-fīn*) corresponds to Lung-Pien in Tonkin, 12 miles south-east of Hanoi, Kuwabara, 1928, 15. Khān-fū is now generally recognized as Canton, *ibid.*, 11. Muslim traders possessed a very good knowledge of the situation in this port. Sulaymān, p. 14, says that the king of China invested a Muslim with the administration of the colony of his co-religionists, a fact confirmed by Chinese sources, Kuwabara, 41. The interdiction of the export of Chinese slaves is differently formulated in §38, which suggests the existence of two separate reports.

§27 continues the description of Canton and contains more details than the other early sources. *Khutū*, "rhinoceros horn," had been mentioned above in §15. Here its Chinese name *bishān* is added, which Sulaymān, 31, takes for the name of the animal itself. Reinaud already recognized the identity of the term with Sanscrit *viṣāṇa* "horn," which in Chinese sounds *p'i-sha-na*. In a Chinese-Cham vocabulary edited by E. D. Edwards and C. O. Blagden, *BSOS*, X/1, 68, it is said that the specific term for rhinoceros horn is *basan*. Should we read in Arabic \**bashān*, this form may hail from Champa (in Arabic *Ṣanf*), i.e. the present-day Annam, where there existed a Muslim colony, see *H.-'A.*, 240.

Sinologists identify *khutū* with the Chinese term *ku-tu-si*, which refers to walrus and narwhal ivory and *not* to rhinoceros-horn, see

The year of the	Hare	Tavīshghan-yīlī
"	"	Fish Baligh "
"	"	Snake Yilan "
"	"	Horse At "
"	"	Sheep Qoyin "
"	"	Monkey Bichin "
"	"	Hen Taquq "
"	"	Dog It "
"	"	Hog Donghuz "

And one often sees this (system) in the calendars of Turkish kings, and especially (in) the computation of time of this mighty Mongolian state. They date according to this system which they have taken (*nāqīlīhā*) from the histories of the Uygurs (or Oghuz?) and their ancient books."

Among the nations using the animal cycle Marvazi refers to the Khotanese, possibly even to the use in the old Khotanese (Saka) language. H. W. Bailey has found a complete list of the twelve years in Khotanese, see *BSOS*, VIII/4, 1937, pp. 923-30 (he also quotes the names in Soghdian, Krorayina Prakrit and Kuchean).

The origin of the twelve years' cycle has been discussed many times and for comparative purposes it will suffice to quote the series as given in Turkish by Kāshghari (column I), in Mongolian and Persian by Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezin, *passim* (columns II and III) and in Turkish, as in the *Ālam-ārā*, and still in use in Persia (column IV):

sīchghan	qulquna	mūsh	sīchqan
ud	hūker	gāv	ud
bars	pars	yūz	bars
tavīshghan	tulay	khargūsh	tushqan
nāk	luy	azhdarhā	luy
yīlan	mogha	mār	īlan
yund	morin	asp	yunt
qoy	qonin	gūsfand	qoy
bijīn	bichin	būzīna	pichi
taqaghu	daqiqu	murgh	takhaqu
it	noqay	sag	it
tonguz	qaqa	khūg	tonguz

The fifth year often embarrassed the translators, who used for "dragon" either Indian *nāga* or Chinese *luy* (which is the way the Turks in T'ang times pronounced the original *lung*; Chavannes, *Le cycle des douze animaux*, in *T'oung-Pao*, 1900, 52). Kāshghari, I, 289, explains *nāk* as "a crocodile" (*al-tīmsāh*), and additionally, III, 116, as "a (large) snake" (*al-thu'bān*). Marvazi undoubtedly means some aquatic monster, though the form *l.ḥnāt al-mā'* is obviously wrong. By sacrificing the initial *l* we might read *banāt al-mā'* (*filiae aquae*). In a verse of al-Muthallim b. Riyāh al-Murri, *Hamāsa*, ed. Freitag, I, 187, II, 334, the clatter of lances in a battle is compared with "the clamour (*ṣiyāh*) of hungry *banāt al-mā'*."

*yaghu* is a Turkish term for "a pelisse of Siberian type with the fur outside," Radloff, *Versuch*, III, 141. The musk could be of Chinese origin, though Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I, 353, admits that Chinese musk is inferior to that of Tibet. The sending of messengers with arrows is a well-known Far Eastern custom. Pelliot, *T'oung-Pao*, 1930, 27, says that it is attested for the Tibetans at the T'ang epoch. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 383, quotes it for the Chinese dynasty of Kin (of Tunguz origin). In our source the practice is confirmed as regards the K'itans and Uyghurs.

The name of the Qitay envoy was *Q.ū.nkā*. No great importance can be attached to the vocalisation *Qalitunkā*, but the complex (\**Qul-tonga*?) sounds Turkish. The Qitay emperor may have employed an Uyghur for the mission to Western Lands. The other envoy's name, *Qāshī*, is attested in Mongol times. According to Rashīd al-din, ed. Blochet, 7, one of Ögedey's sons was called *Qāshī* because he was born at the time when Chengiz khan conquered "the country (*vilāyat*) of *Qāshī*, which is now called Tangqut." The Turkish habit of giving names after countries and towns is well known (Urus, Baghdād, Dimishq).

§25. The explanation which Marvazi gives of the animal cycle of twelve years employed in Central Asia suggests that the system was little known at Ghaznī in 418/1027, and even under the Seljuks in the early part of the twelfth century A.D. Less astonishing was the need of explanations on the part of Kāshghari, I, 1076-7. Even in the fifteenth century, Sayyid Jamāl al-din Ibn Muhannā (d. 823/1425), in his Turkish and Mongolian lexicon,<sup>1</sup> refers to Marvazi: "Know that the Turks compute time by calling each year by the name of an animal, as will be mentioned, so that twelve years pass under (the names of) twelve animals. For example, when a child is born it is said that he was born in the year of such-and-such an animal, and when his life reaches that year again (i.e. a similarly named year) he has completed twelve years, and so forth. In the book *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*, composed by Sharaf al-Zamān al-Ṭabīb al-Marvazī, who described therein the countries of China and the Turks, he gives a translation of the letters (*asāmī*?, "names"), which the Lords of China (*Ṣīn*) and the Turks wrote to Sultan Maḥmūd in 418, the date being given as the fifth month of the year of the Mouse. He also records the order of years and animals in the following way:

The year of the Mouse	Sichqan-yīlī
" " Ox	Sighūr "
" " Leopard	Pars "
	or Qaplan "
	or (Ar)slan "

<sup>1</sup> *Ḥilyat al-inṣān*, first edited by P. M. Melioransky, *Arab-philolog*, SPb. 1900, and later (with the author's real name) by Kılıslı Rif'at, Istanbul 1338-40. The passage is complete in Melioransky, pp. 041-042, but truncated in the Turkish edition.

In comparison with the Uyghur *'an salāmātinā*, the Qitay formula can hardly be *'an salāmīhi*. More likely it is to be read *'an salāmāli* (of so-and-so) and is meant to be completed by the name of the khan. Very probably the latter was separately inscribed at the top of the missive. The regular practice of Mongol and Timurid times was to insert in the text a "tick" as a reference to the king's name. See the decree of the ilkhān Abū-Sa'īd in Barthold, *Nadpis . . Manuche*, 1911, p. 5, and Timur's letter to Charles VI in S. de Sacy, *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, VI, 1822, 471, cf. Muḥammad Qazvīnī, *Bīst-maqāla*, Bombay, 1928, 44.

The question of the titles used in the letters is of great interest. The "lord of Qitay" only refers to the power given him by Heaven<sup>1</sup> over numerous kingdoms and tribes and calls the "amirs" of the neighbourhood his "nephews." The lord of the Yughurs calls himself "Exalted Ilk Yughur-khan," which may reflect the original *Ulugh Ilig* found in the Uyghur texts of Turfan in the sense of "Exalted King," see reference in Bang-Gabain, *Analytischer Index*, 1931, 21.<sup>2</sup> Sultan Maḥmūd is properly addressed ("Sultān") in the second letter, but in the first he is given the astonishing title of "amir of Khorāsān Maḥmūd Qarā-khān." The translator must have preserved it as a curio. "Amir of Khorasan" is quite respectful in itself, but, after all his victories, Mahmud had considerably outgrown the rank of the Samanids.<sup>3</sup> The addition of "Qara-khan" after the name is quite unexpected and might suggest that the Qitay emperor had somehow confused Maḥmūd with his Qara-khanid rivals.<sup>4</sup> However, Marvazi himself affirms (Chap. XIII, §7) that "whenever the Turks wished to honour a king they addressed him as Qara-khan"!

The presents of the Qitay emperor were such as might be expected from a Far Eastern ruler. Among the names of the textiles, *khwidh*, *zhūnkī*, *k.nzī* and *sh.k.rdī*, only the first and the last one seem to be of Iranian origin; the two middle ones sound Chinese (*dzun-ki*, *tsung-ki*?). The furs are of the usual "northern" kind; *yaqu* or

<sup>1</sup> Compare the original formula in old Turkish which is *Tāngri-dā qut bulmish*, "he who has found majesty through the Heaven (God)."

<sup>2</sup> A curious use of the title is reported in *Rauḍat al-Ṣafā*: Alp Arslan while appointing Nizām al-mulk to be the atabeg of his son Malik-shāh decreed that he should be called *Ilk-va-Atā Khwāja*, see Khwāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā*, Tehran, 1317, p. 156.

<sup>3</sup> H.-A., 19a (tr. 102): "the *mir* of Khorasan resides at Bukhara."

<sup>4</sup> V. V. Grigoriev is responsible for the introduction of the term "Qara-khanids." In Ibn al-Athīr, XI, 54, "Qarā-khān" seems to be a mere slip for the well-known title *Boghrā* (*Boqrā*) borne by the first khan converted to Islam (*Q.rā* instead of *B.grā*) and many of his successors. However, in the document from Yarkand (circa A.D. 1100), published by Barthold in the *BSOS*, 1923, III/1, p. 153, the contemporary king is called "king of the East and China, Tafghāch Bughrā Qarā-khāqān Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan, son of Sulaymān Arslān Qarā-khāqān." In the *E.I.* Barthold described the dynasty under *Ilākh-khān* (Ilig khan?). Abul-Ḥasan Bayhaqi, *Tārikh-i Bayhaq*, ed. Tehran, 1317, p. 69, calls the conqueror of the Samanid kingdom *ilak al-khān* (?). However, in the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. the titles *khan* and *ilak* belonged to different branches of the family, see Abul-Faḍl Bayhaqi, 844, cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 274-8.

K'itans, but the latter seem to have attached more importance to the Kan-chou branch. When the founder of the dynasty pushed back the Khirikhiz from the Orkhon (A.D. 924), he invited the khan of Kan-chou to re-occupy his fathers' home,<sup>1</sup> but this proposal proved unacceptable. In 1009-10 the K'itan high commissioner attacked Kan-chou and subdued the khan Ye-la-li, although the Uyghurs soon recovered their rights. The position of the Yellow Uyghurs between their eastern neighbours of Tangut (Hsi-hsia) and the Muslim Qara-khanids in the west was precarious. In 1028 the Tangut occupied Kan-chou, Bretschneider, I, 243, and by 1035 had spread their domination<sup>2</sup> to Sha-chou (Haloun).

This outline makes it possible that the report on the embassy of 1025 had in view the khan of Kan-chou, towards whom the emperor of Qitay adopts a respectful but patronising attitude.<sup>3</sup> There are some other indirect arguments in favour of this hypothesis. The khans of Bishbaliq had the honourable title of *idīqut*, which they had inherited from the Basmil, their predecessors in the region.<sup>4</sup> It would be strange if the khan had omitted his distinctive title in an official letter. Most of the known idiquts bore the name of Arslan, and our sources (admittedly very scanty) do not mention any such princely names as Qadīr and Chaghri, see Bretschneider, *o.c.*, Caferoğlu, *Sözlük*, 42, 123. On the contrary, in Kan-su, the name of the khan Qālīn b. al-Shakhīr, quoted by Mis'ar b. Muhallil, seems to be \**Qālīn b. Chaqīr* (a possible variation of Chaghri). The name Chaghri occurs also in the Khotanese texts referring to Kan-su (H. W. Bailey). Even the confusion in Birūnī and Marvazī of Sha-chou with Shan-chou (v.s. p. 72) might be a hint in favour of Kan-su. The khan of this region, on the eve of the fall of his kingdom, was undoubtedly anxious to secure any help from outside and could reasonably hope that, at least against the Qara-khanids, Maḥmūd might give him the necessary support.<sup>5</sup>

The original letters of the two khans must have been in Turkish. Says Kāshghari, I, 29: "The people of Māchīn and Chīn have a separate language. In spite of it, their natives excel in Turkish and their letters to us are written in Turkish (*bi-khaṭṭ al-turkiyya*)."<sup>6</sup> As yet no specimen of royal or diplomatic correspondence in Turkish seems to be available, but the Arabic translation of the letters give some idea of the usage. Such expressions, as "upon the face of this wide earth" and the introductory formulas sound Turkish.

<sup>1</sup> The fact was referred to by Ye-lü Ta-shi when in 1123 he wished to secure the friendship of the khan of Kan-chou. The latter paid him homage and declared himself his vassal, Bretschneider, I, 214.

<sup>2</sup> Probably only their suzerainty, see above note.

<sup>3</sup> See the text: "we have ordered Qadīr-khan."

<sup>4</sup> Juvayni, I, 32; Rashid al-dīn, ed. Berezin, VII, 163, says that the title was assumed *dar in ākhira*, but he possibly means by that "since their arrival in Khocho."

<sup>5</sup> As against these considerations can be quoted that in §19B (as also in Birūnī's *Canon*) Khocho is called "the city of the Yughur-khan," although it is possible that this part of the itinerary goes up to an earlier source (Jayhānī).

or the unsettled condition of the roads to which the Yughur-khan refers. From the Yughur-khan's letter we only learn that it was written in the fifth month (\**Beshinj ay*?) without indication of the year. The reference to Maḥmūd's conquests in India is naturally too vague, for his victorious campaigns extended over a period from A.D. 1000 to 1027. By 1024, at any rate, the rajas of Gwālior and Kālinjar had submitted and Maḥmūd's empire had reached its utmost limits. Another fact may have had considerable repercussions in Central Asia: after a long series of struggles with the Qara-khanids, Maḥmūd established peace with the representative of the Kāshghar branch, Qadīr khan, whom he met in person at Samarqand on 29th April, 1025, M. Nazim, *o.c.*, 55. To seal this friendship Maḥmūd betrothed his daughter to Qadīr's son, Yaghan-tegin. The news must have been rapidly circulated in Chinese Turkestan and may have induced the opponents (v. i.) of the Qara-khanids to seek similar guarantees from the mighty Ghaznavid. Maḥmūd's answer (v.s. Gardīzi) leaves no doubt that some overtures in this sense were made to him by the infidel ambassadors.

The Qitāy (in Chinese *K'itan*) empire, which was founded by Ye-lü Apaoki in 916, and officially proclaimed in 926, comprised Southern Manchuria<sup>1</sup> and Northern China up to Peking. The date of the embassy falls in the long reign of the emperor Sheng-Tsung (983-1031) whose activities in the west were very conspicuous. In 1009-10 his high commissioner temporarily subdued Kan-chou and Su-chou and about 1017 a Qitay expedition was launched against Chinese Turkestan and Semirechye.<sup>2</sup> The embassy to Ghazni throws new light on the Qitay diplomacy in Central Asia. A century later (A.D. 1124), after the Qitay dynasty had been crushed by the Tunguz dynasty of Kin, an energetic scion of the Qitay, Ye-lü Ta-shi, founded a new empire in Semirechye and the neighbouring regions. To the series of events foreshadowing this issue, we must now add \*Qul-tonga's mission of A.D. 1027.

The identification of the Yughur-khan whom Sheng-tsung requested to speed on Qul-tonga to Ghazni is a difficult question. There were two Uyghur principalities, the northern one in Khocho and Bish-baliq, in the eastern part of T'ien-shan, and the southern one, in the region of Kan-su, which usually went by the name of Sari-Yughur ('Yellow Uyghurs').<sup>3</sup> The history of these later branches is still obscure. Both kingdoms had relations with

<sup>1</sup> The names of the river Liao-ho, Liao-tun, etc., are traces of the dynasty, called *Liao* in Chinese.

<sup>2</sup> It was repulsed by the Qara-khanid prince of Kashghar, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 279, and *Kara-Khitāy* in *E.I.* There seems to be no record of the expedition in Chinese sources (G. Haloun).

<sup>3</sup> See *H.-A.*, 226, 271. The "Fair-haired Uyghurs" in the region of Tsaidam are mentioned for the first time towards A.D. 1081-3 (Haloun). Presumably the appellation was of a much older origin. On the term *Sa-li Wey-wu-rh* (Sari Uyghur) used in 1226, see Bretschneider, I, 263. Cf. also Chap. IX, §3 (*al-Shāriya*).

ambassador could breathe so much contempt for the rival territory. The alternative name *Sh.rghūl* must be a K'itan term, very welcome in view of the meagreness of the K'itan vocabulary so far known. The variants offered by Biruni are *Sh.rghūd*, in the *Qanūn*, and *Sh.rghūr*<sup>1</sup> in the *Jawāhir*, 236: "it is reported that in *Sh.rghūr* there is a spring which is the personal property of its ruler the Khān. No one can approach it. The Khān sweeps (rakes?) it every year and extracts from it much gold." Biruni also refers (*ibid.*, Annex 7) to the "small sea" (*buḥayra?*) of *Sh.rghūr* lying beyond China (*fauqa al-Sīn*), which he takes for a branch of the Green sea, cf. *H.-'A.*, 179.

§§22-25. A record of an embassy from Qitā and Yughur to Sultan Maḥmūd is found in Gardīzī under the year 417/1026: "Ambassadors came from the Qitā-khan and the Yughur-khan to Amīr Maḥmūd and brought good messages and reported the readiness (of the said kings?) to place themselves at his service. They prayed (saying) 'we want good relations between us.' Amīr Maḥmūd gave orders that they should be received honourably, but then he answered their messages saying: 'we are Muslims and you are unbelievers; it is not seemly that we give our sisters and daughters to you. If you become Muslims the matter will be considered,' and he dismissed the ambassadors honourably."<sup>2</sup>

Ibn al-Muḥannā misses the point of Marvazī's report, when he says that the ambassadors were sent by the lords "of China and the Turks," see Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen*, 89. Only the original of Marvazī's work enables us to appreciate the importance of the event.

Marvazī gives the date of the embassy as 418/1027, but the year of the Mouse in which the letter of the emperor of Qitāy is said to have been written corresponds to 1024, as pointed out by Barthold.<sup>3</sup> We have to admit then that the ambassador Q.itunkā's westward journey took from three to four years owing perhaps to some detours

<sup>1</sup> For the final element compare the Mongolian plural in *-d*, *-ūd*!

<sup>2</sup> The text in Barthold, *Turkestan*, I, 17, and Gardīzī, ed. M. Nazim, 87. The passage has been unfortunate in its interpreters; see Raverty, *Ṭabaqāt*, 905 (where the two khans are mistaken for brothers of the Qara-khanid Qadir khan); Barthold, *Turkestan*, Engl. transl., 286 (\*Qitā mis-read as Qayā); M. Nazim, *Sultan Mahmud*, 57 (the reading is right, but the identification of Qitā with *Kuchā* in Chinese Turkestan is unfortunate). Even Marquart, who closely scanned Barthold's texts, did not suggest any correction. In his lectures delivered in Istanbul in 1926 and published in German translation by Menzel in 1935, under the title *Zwölf Vorlesungen*, Barthold says, pp. 88-9: "Nach der Erzählung des Gardīzī kamen im Jahre 1026 die Gesandten von zwei türkischen Chanen zu Maḥmūd (es werden ihre Titel angeführt deren Lesung . . . nicht ganz sicher festgestellt werden kann)." On Ibn Muḥannā's quotation from Marvazī Barthold remarks: "die neue Quelle gibt folglich keine neuen Nachrichten über die Gesandtschaft der zwei Chanen und bringt nur eine chronologische Unklarheit hinein."

<sup>3</sup> More exactly the year covers the period of 12 February, 1024, to 30 January, 1025 (S. H. Taqizadeh). The other Mouse years were 1012 and 1036. The latter is out of the question as Maḥmūd died on 30th April, 1030, and 1012 would imply too great a mistake on the part of Gardīzī and Marvazī.

Boro-khoto was 7-8 Kms., but jointly with the southern town about 10 Kms.

The form *Ūjam* might be shaped into something like \**Lūkham* (?), as an approach to the Chinese form, but the weak point is that the ambassador must have used its native name which is not otherwise attested. Very important is the statement that it is 7 days distant from the sea. According to Prof. Mullie, the distance from Boro-khoto to Kin-hsien would be covered post haste in 7 days, but not by caravan. As the stages in our source are rather small (v.s. p. 70) this affords some difficulty in an important detail.<sup>1</sup> In Biruni the road between Ūtkin and the Qitā capital bends another 4° 50' southwards. His distance in a straight line seems very much exaggerated and would even exceed the distance between Ötügān (in Khingai) and the Liao territory.

It is also strange that Biruni's table gives "Qitā" without any accompanying term equivalent to "city, capital," while Marvazi qualifies *Ūjam* as *mamlaka*, "a kingdom" (?). The description of *Ūjam* suggests a "royal camp" rather than a city, and here is an important quotation from the *Liao-shih*, Ch. 34, p. 4r, and *K'i-tan-kuo-chih*, Ch. 23, p. 3r, in Prof. Mullie's translation: "Chaque fois que les K'itan font des incursions au sud (i.e. en Chine), leurs troupes ne comptent pas moins de 100,000 (hommes). Quand le chef de l'état entre dans les frontières (de Chine), les fantassins, les cavaliers et les tentes sur chariots ne suivent pas les chemins réguliers. D'est à ouest, ensemble, ils marchent en avant de la grande tente du chef. . . Quand le chef des barbares sonne le cor (pour donner le signal), les troupes s'arrêtent aussitôt et entourent le *Koung-lou* (Leao-che: la tente impériale). Depuis le voisinage (de la tente) jusqu'au loin ils plient des branches d'arbres, les courbent en *koung-tze-p'ou* et ne prennent pas la précaution d'établir (une enceinte de) fossés et de palissades ou un camp de lances." *Kung-tzū-p'u* is explained in the same chapter of the *Liao-shih* as follows: "Quand les chevaux de l'armée des Leao (?) sont au repos, on ne fait pas de fossée de camp, (mais) on plie des branches d'arbre en (forme d') arc pour former ainsi un lieu de rassemblement. Lorsque des ambassadeurs des divers états arrivent (en territoire Leao) on place au bord de la route des arcs de branches d'arbre, qui font fonction de barrière." This is an illuminating parallel to Marvazi's text!

The paragraph on the nation living "among water and thin mud" called *S.ngū* and corresponding to Mahāchīn undoubtedly refers to the Sung state \**Sung-kuo* (A.D. 960-1279).<sup>2</sup> No one except a Liao

<sup>1</sup> Personally I should prefer the Central residence which lay much nearer to the sea (under 300 Kms. as the crow flies), on the left bank of the Lokhan-pira, a southern tributary of the Shara-muren, cf. Chavannes, *Voyageurs chinois chez les Khitan*, *J.A.*, mai 1897, 377-411. The suggested restoration of *Ūjam* as \**Lūkham*, *Lokham* would acquire more importance in comparison with *Lokhan*.

<sup>2</sup> Abul-Ḥasan Bayhaqī, *Tārīkh-i Bayhaq* (A.D. 1164), Tehran 1938, p. 18, refers to *S.ngū* as the great town (!) of Mahāchīn.



of the Orkhon with the Kōkshin-Orkhon); (c) and one near the northern bend of the Yellow river.<sup>1</sup> Prof. Mullie most kindly supplied me with an abstract of the sources. According to the *T'ang-shu* a place called Tsi-sai-kiun, "properly K'o-tun-ch'eng," existed in the eighth century at some distance to the west of Kuei-hua-ch'eng in the north-western part of the Urat banner. The town is still mentioned under the Liao and even under the Kin (*Ho-tung-kuan* for \**K'o-tung-kuan*). This place, situated half-way between Sha-chou and the Liao capital (v.i.), in the zone very likely lying on the ambassador's way, seems to correspond to Marvazi's Khatun-sin, if only "Khatun's tomb" = Khatun's *chéng* ("wall, walled town").

In Arabic script ŪTKĪN looks very much like the Turkish Ötükän (Kāshghari: *Ūtk.n?*), but a visit to the famous Ötükän-yīsh, the residence of the Eastern Turkish qaghan, would have taken the ambassador far out of his direct road.<sup>2</sup> The authorities seem to agree in placing Ötükän somewhere in the Hangai (Khangay) range to the south of the upper Orkhon, see Thomsen, *Inscr. de l'Orkhon*, 1896, p. 152; Melioransky, *Zap. V. O.*, XII, p. 84; Thomsen, *ZDMG*, 78, 1924, p. 123; cf. Hermann, *Atlas of China*, p. 40. Kāshghari, on his Map, is apparently wrong in placing his Ötükän somewhere near the source of the Irtysh (?). Prof. Mullie tells me that, according to the *Liao-shih*, Ch. 41, p. 4r, the army of the town of Feng-sheng-chou, situated east of Ta-t'ung (now Chua-lu-hsien, in Hopei) was called Wu-ting-kiun, which might be compared with \*Ūtikīn. I gratefully place this indication on record.<sup>3</sup> Biruni's co-ordinates suggest for Ūtkīn a southerly bend of 5° 50' in comparison with Khatun-sinī.

The name of the terminal point of the itinerary is transmitted in Marvazi as ŪJAM, whereas Biruni refers indefinitely to the "residence of the Qita-khan." Prof. Mullie's opinion was particularly valuable on this point as he had explored in person the residences of the Liao, see *Les anciennes villes de l'empire des Grands Liao*, in *T'oung-Pao*, 1922, p. 105. He thinks that the ambassador most probably had in mind the Upper Capital, called in Chinese Lin-huang-fu and situated on the right bank of the river Ulji-müren, in the Mongol principality of Bārin (in Mongolian *Boro-khoto*, "The Brown City"). The perimeter of Ūjam was 2 farsakhs, i.e. 11-12 Kms., while that of

<sup>1</sup> Built A.D. 749 near the Ola range, south-east of the present Wu-yīlan, i.e. near the ancient T'ien-tê-chün (M. Polo: Tenduc). A fourth Ho-tung-ch'eng lay near the Kerulen, 1700 li from the "Upper Residence" (G. Haloun).

<sup>2</sup> Unless the three years which it took him to arrive in Ghazni are accounted for by such great detours.

<sup>3</sup> A grim idea would be that the ambassador intentionally embroiled the facts, cf. §21. He may have mentioned Khatun-sinī as a more or less known term and Ūtkīn (Ötükän) as a place close to the theatre of the recent operations of the Liao in Northern Mongolia, cf. a quotation from the *Liao-shih* (under A.D. 1012) in Marquart, *Komanen*, 194-5.

presence of the Sari-Yughurs in its neighbourhood (?), but then he must have confused Shanjū with the Sājū (\*Shājū) of the Islamic geographers.

From §20 it is clear that the encampment of AL-SHĀRIYA<sup>1</sup> was reached by travellers one-and-a-half months before arriving at Khatun-sīnī. Nothing whatever is known about this people, unless they are the Sari-Yughurs, who after the fall of the Uyghur kingdom in Mongolia, A.D. 840, became settled in the region of Kan-chou. A Samanid embassy seems to have visited their king Qālīn b. Shakhīr about 381/941. Not until A.D. 1029 did the Yellow Yughurs succumb to the Tangut supremacy, see Bretschneider, *Med. researches*, I, 243, and *H.-'Ā.*, 227, 236, 264-5. According to Marvazi, al-Shāriya (\*Sari) were called after one of their chiefs *Bāsm.l.* This name is a precious indication, for it can refer only to the Basmīl (in Chinese *Pa-si-mi*), a Turkish tribe closely associated with the Uyghurs. According to Chinese sources, the Basmīl formed the tenth division of the Uyghurs. A.D. 742 the Basmīl assisted the Uyghurs in destroying the old Turkish (Toquz-Ghuz) empire in Mongolia. Later the Uyghurs attacked their allies in their homes near Bish-baliq, but it is very likely that numerous clans of Basmīl remained in the Uyghur federation and shared the fate of its survivors when 15 aymaqs of the latter were led to Kan-chou by P'ang-t'e-le (\*tegin), see *H.-'Ā.*, 264, 266, 272, 285. The Sari-Yughurs were Manichaeans (later, Buddhists) and as such could not have failed to be alarmed by the advance of any militant church. Their fear of Islam may refer to the rise in Chinese Turkestan of the Qara-khanid dynasty. The first of this family to be converted to Islam was Satuq-Boghra khan. He is said to have died in 344/955, but only towards the very end of the century did the Kashghar branch of the family push its conquests into the southern part of Chinese Turkestan, which tallies well with Marvazi's report, cf. *H.-'Ā.*, 234, 280.

Al-Shāriya might have been met on the road by the K'itan embassy. It is also possible that the Basmīl clan was somehow connected with Shan-chou, while the latter name became confused with Sha-chou. If the two weeks' distance (32 Km. × 14 = 448 Km.) is to be reckoned from Shan-chou, the encampment of the Basmīl must be looked for in the neighbourhood of the Yellow river, in Alashan or Ordos. Should the distance be reckoned from Sha-chou, they must be sought in the neighbourhood of the Etsina-ghol.

Mahmūd Kāshghari refers to a QATUN-SĪNĪ "between Tangut and China," III, 240, and to Ötükān, "in the Tatar steppe near the Uyghur," I, 123. Chinese sources know three places called K'o-tun-ch'eng: (a) one on the Etsina-ghol (= Kāshghari, III, 240); (b) one in Mongolia on the Orkhon, 3000 li from the "Upper Residence" (Pelliot, *J.A.*, April, 1920, 174, places it at the confluence

<sup>1</sup> On another group of this name see Chap. IX, §3C.

transcription communicated to me by H. W. Bailey. On Kāshghari's Map it is shown to the south of Qocho (=Khocho), contrary to Biruni's co-ordinates:

		Long.	Lat.
Chīnānj kath .. ..	.. ..	III° 20'	42° 0'
Sūlm.n .. ..	.. ..	III 0	43 0

according to which Sūlm.n lay to the N.E.E. of Khocho, apparently on the northern side of T'ien-shan.

(c) The description of a ROAD TO QITAY is of great significance for it reflects the rise of the Liao kingdom in Manchuria and Northern China. All the stages exactly correspond with the names quoted in Biruni's *Canon*, the authority for the route being apparently the Qitay embassy to Ghaznī of A.D. 1026.

As already suggested, Biruni's co-ordinates have only a relative value, as they must have been calculated from distances. They indicate a steady south-easterly direction of the road to Qitay, though a clear easterly direction would be expected. A comparison of Biruni's and Marvazi's distances indicates a considerable divergence at the third stretch:

	Biruni Km.	Marvazi Days	Km.
Sha-chou—Khatun-sinī ..	<i>circa</i> 1610	2 months	1920
thence to Ūtkin .. ..	925	1 month	960
thence to Ūjam .. ..	2250	1 month	960

It is clearly stated in §19 that the road to Qitāy branches off from Sājū (\*Sha-chou), but in §20 the initial (?) point is called Sānjū. Birūnī's MS. gives something like Miyānjū (\*Sānjū), but leaves no doubt as to its identity with Sājū (\*Sha-chou). More complicated is the case of Kāshghari who, I, 349, says "Shanjū, a township on the way to Upper China, more correctly Shānjū." It is possible that *al-Šīn al-a'lā* stands here for Qitāy, but is the name, so carefully spelt out, distinct from Sājū? The assimilation of the spellings *Shanjū* and *Shānjū* may be on the responsibility of the author, who, by the way, does not mention Sājū (Sha-chou). On Kāshghari's Map Shānjū is shown as continuing the line Kāshghar-Khotan-Cherchen, but is separated from the latter by a range of mountains (K'un-lun, Altīn-tagh?). As on the other hand this Shānjū begins a line of four towns stretching southwards, it is an indication in favour of its identity with Sha-chou. Some confusion may be accounted for by the direction of the Altīn-tagh, which near Charkhlik forms a promontory screening Cherchen from Sha-chou. Pelliot, *T'oung-Pao*, 1936, p. 363, identifies Kāshghari's Shānjū with Shan-chou lying on the Hsin-ning river to the west of Lan-chou. This out-of-the-way place is ill-fitted for the position of a terminus (or even a stage) on the road to "Upper China." Kāshghari might have taken some interest in Shan-chou in connection with the

\**Ling-*, but *sin-* presents a difficulty since Chinese *-chou* would give *-jū* in Arabic. During the period of the Five Dynasties *Ling-chou* could have been considered as the frontier town of the Emperor, see Herrmann, *Atlas*, 41.

A welcome supplement to our §7 is Biruni's statement that the second and larger city called *Kūfū* lay to the south-east of *Y.njū*. *Kūfwā/Kūfū* looks like a mis-spelling of *Kwf.n* to be identified with *K'ai-fêng*, the eastern capital of the Sung. The western capital was at that time *Ho-nan-fu*, which was then called *Hsi-king*, but during the period A.D. 907-23 *Yung-chou*.<sup>1</sup> Our *Y.njūr* (\**Yun-jū*) is a perfect Arabic equivalent of *Yung-chou* and a close indication of the date at which the original authority visited China. As another reference to *Y.jūr* is found in §7 in the report of a merchant who sojourned in China, we should attribute to him this part of the itinerary.<sup>2</sup> The *K'itan* ambassador who speaks of his contemporary Sung (A.D. 960-1279) with some haughtiness, must have avoided their capital. The period at which the capital was at *Ho-nan-fu* (*Y.njūr*), corresponds with the time when *Jayhānī* flourished, and it is natural to connect the item on *Y.njūr* with *Jayhānī*'s work. Some difficulty lies in the fact that the *Hudūd* and *Gardīzī*, who used *Jayhānī*, mention *Khumdān* (*Hsi-an-fu*) as the capital of China (cf. also §29),<sup>3</sup> but we have reasons to believe that *Jayhānī* used side by side the works of his predecessors and the data collected by himself (v.s. p. 7).

Whatever the explanation of the name, the position of *Y.njūr*, as indicated by *Birūnī* (v.s. p. 69), corresponds to *Ho-nan-fu* and not to *Hsi-an-fu*. Our firm point is *Kū-fū* (\**Kū-f.n*) \**K'ai-fêng*. The distance (as the crow flies) between *K'ai-fêng* and *Ho-nan-fu* is about 145 miles (233 Km.), and between *K'ai-fêng* and *Hsi-an-fu* circa 320 miles (515 Kms.). The distance between *Kū-fū* and *Y.njūr*, as calculated by Dr. Thackeray from *Biruni*'s co-ordinates, is 148 miles! The indication that *Ku-fu* was larger than *Y.njūr* is also important for under the Sung *Ho-nan-fu* had 233,280 inhabitants and *K'ai-fêng* 444,940 (though their areas were very much the same).<sup>4</sup>

(b) ROAD FROM SHA-CHOU TO YUGHUR, i.e. to the Uyghur capital of *Chīnānjāth* (= *Khocho*), is described by *Gardīzī*, 92. The form *Sūlm.n*, which is also found in *Biruni*, is probably a mis-spelling for *Solmī* (or *Sōlmī*), see *Kāshgharī*, I, 103, and the *Saka*

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Mullie quotes the *T'ai p'ing huan yü-ki*. Prof. Haloun has also tabulated for me the chronology of Chinese capitals. *Ho-nan-fu* enjoyed this distinction A.D. 904-7, 909-13 and 923-37, for the most of the time jointly with *K'ai-fêng-fu* or with *Hsi-an-fu*.

<sup>2</sup> Note the opening paragraph of §19, which refers to travellers "on commercial or other business."

<sup>3</sup> *Khumdān* is quoted by *Qudāma*, 264, who largely depends on the original text of I. *Khurdādhbih*.

<sup>4</sup> *King-chao-fu* = *Hsi-an-fu* at the same period had 537,288 inhabitants, *Sung-shih*, ch. 85, p. 3 (Mullie).

	Miles	Km.
Khatun-sīnī—Kūfū .. ..	766	1232·5
Khatun-sīnī—Ūtkīn .. ..	575	925
Ūtkīn—Qitā .. ..	1420	2253

§19. The itinerary from Kāshghar to Sha-chou, along the southern line of oases of Chinese Turkestan is very brief. For the 14 days' journey between Kāshghar and Khotan the author quotes only Yārkand. Both the *Hudūd*, 260, and Gardizī, 94, give the stages of this stretch and Gardizī enumerates exactly 14 of them. The common source is undoubtedly Jayhāni. In the stretch Khotan-Sha-chou, K.rwya (Keriya)<sup>1</sup> is mentioned at a distance of 5 stages from Khotan; in the *Hudūd* (§9, 21) there are only some faint traces of this portion of the road.<sup>2</sup> The whole distance from Khotan to Sha-chou is 55 stages, but in the important passage quoted below under §43 it is taken as being two months. Sha-chou is known to Gardizī as the meeting place of roads from Qumul (in the Uyghur region) and the south, v.s. Biruni, under "Sānjū." Marvazī makes three roads start from Sha-chou.

(a) ROAD TO CHINA. Contrary to the descriptions in the *Hudūd* and Gardizī, which have in mind the road to a point on the Yangtze, our source follows the road southwards, down to Kan-chou (Qām-jū) and then turns away eastwards to L.k-sīn (Biruni: *T.k-sīn* ?), thence to reach the later capital of Y.njūr (Biruni: *Y.njū*).<sup>3</sup> The distances Kan-chou—L.k-sīn, 40 days, and thence to Y.njūr, "about" 40 days, seem to be exaggerated. Reckoning again 32 Km. per day's march, we obtain a distance of about 2500 Km., whereas the distance as the crow flies between Kan-chou and Ho-nan-fu hardly exceeds 1200 Km.<sup>4</sup> According to Biruni, T.k-sīn was situated at approximately one-third of the way between Kan-chou and Y.nju, there being 764 Km. between Kan-chou and T.k-sīn, and 1693 Km. between the latter and Y.njū. If we content ourselves with this ratio and apply it to the actual distances on the modern maps, we may tentatively place L.k-sīn in the neighbourhood of Ning-hsia, which lies about 550 Km. from Sha-chou and 950 Km. from Ho-nan-fu (*via* Hsi-an-fu). Supposing that the itinerary is of the beginning of the tenth century (v.s. §§7-12) we have to think of the old administrative centre of the region Ling-chou (a short distance to the south of the later Ning-hsia).<sup>5</sup> The first part of *L.k-sīn/T.k-sīn* could be easily restored as

<sup>1</sup> In Biruni's *Canon* also *K.rwyā* (possibly assimilated to *Karavyā* "caraway"?).

<sup>2</sup> Dutreuil de Rhins, *Mission*, II, 201, reckons from Kāshghar to Yārkand 186 Kms., or 5 stages; thence to Khotan 300 Kms., or 8 stages; thence to Keriya 160 Kms., or 4 stages. Marvazī's average stage is consequently 32 Kms.

<sup>3</sup> The *r* of *Y.njūr* (which is also reflected in 'Aun's *H.j.r.*, Barthold, *Turkestan*, I, 98) seems to be superfluous. Marco Polo also adds *r* in a similar name *Succur* for \*Suk-chou (now Su-chou).

<sup>4</sup> Even if the text is to be understood in the sense that 40 days cover the distance Sha-chou—Ho-nan-fu the stretch would not exceed 1500 Km.

<sup>5</sup> Ning-hsia ("Tangut pacified") is a later name which occurs first A.D. 1288. Under the Tangut (since A.D. 1020) it was called \*Hing-chou or \*Hing-k'ing-fu (G. Haloun).

	Long.	Lat.
<i>Third Clime</i>		
T.ksin (L.ksin?) in the land of the Upper Turks .. .. .	120 15	32 50
*Khātūn-sin, i.e. "The Tomb of the noblewoman" .. .. .	129 40	31 50
<i>Second Clime</i>		
Y.njū, residence of the Faghfūr of China surnamed Taghmāj ( <i>sic</i> )-khan Kūfū, a city larger than the capital of Y.njū .. .. .	125 0	22 0
Utkin .. .. .	127 0	21 0
Utkin .. .. .	136 30	26 0
Qitā, to the N.E. of China, its Lord being Qitā-khan <sup>1</sup> .. .. .	158 40	21 40
<i>First Clime</i>		
Sh.rghūd, in Chinese <i>S.nqū</i> , which is Mahāchīn .. .. .	155 0	15 0
Khān-fū, one of the gates ( <i>abwāb</i> ) of China, on a river .. .. .	160 0	14 0
Khān-jū, one of the gates, also on a river .. .. .	162 0	13 0
<i>Beyond the First Clime</i>		
Hāmt.rā, <sup>2</sup> one of the gates of China, and the estuary of its rivers .. .. .	166 0	11 0
Silā, at the extreme end of China towards the East; few people travelled to it by sea .. .. .	170 0	5 0

There is no doubt that Biruni calculated his co-ordinates approximately, i.e. from itineraries, and I am grateful to Dr. A. D. Thackeray, Assistant Director of the Solar Physics Observatory, Cambridge, and Dr. Besicovitch, Trinity College, who calculated for me the distances between the more important points in Biruni's catalogue.

	Miles	Km.
Tūsmat—Kan-chou .. .. .	327	526
Sha-chou—Kan-chou <sup>3</sup> .. .. .	105	169
Sha-chou—T.ksin .. .. .	589	947.7
Sha-chou—Khatun-sīnī .. .. .	1001	1610.6
Sha-chou—Y.njū .. .. .	1393	2241.3
Kan-chou—T.ksin .. .. .	475	764
T.ksin—Y.njū .. .. .	1070	1722
T.ksin—Kūfū .. .. .	1200	1931
Y.njū—Kūfū .. .. .	148	238
Kan-chou—Khatun-sīnī .. .. .	900	1528

<sup>1</sup> In M. Nazim, *Sultan Mahmud*, 56: long. 113° 40', lat. 29° 40' (*sic*) is an obvious mistake.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly Ptolemy's *Ἰπταροκόρρα* (long. 166°; lat. 37° 15'), in *Khuwarizmi Offorāqārā* (long. 149° 10'; lat. 37° 15'). Biruni is more faithful to Ptolemy.

<sup>3</sup> If "Shan-chou" is to be taken for Sha-chou the distance is entirely wrong for the Chinese sources estimate the stretch Sha-chou—Kua-chou—Su-chou—Kan-chou at 1180 or 1316 li, i.e. 680 or 760 Km. Even as the crow flies, the distance is c. 525 Km. (G. Haloun). Gardizi counts between Sha-chou and Kan-chou 13 days, *H.-A.*, 229.

precious fact from Jayhānī's lost treasure and a link between 'A. Malik Tha'ālibī and Marvazī, both of whom wrote in Khorasan.

As regards the formation of three kingdoms in the Far East following the withdrawal of the Chinese from Turkestan, it is true that the Uyghurs succeeded to the Eastern Turks (T'u-küeh) on the Orkhon in 744, i.e. only a short time before the events in Transoxiana, but Marvazī's text has in view the later Uyghur kingdom of Qocho and Bish-baliq formed by the remnants of the Uyghur, after the occupation of the Orkhon by the Qirghiz (A.D. 840). The K'itan (Qitāy) proclaimed an independent kingdom in Manchuria and northern China only in A.D. 926, but their emancipation began much earlier. During the memorable year A.D. 751 they defeated a Chinese army sent against them, cf. Grousset, *o.c.*, p. 181. Consequently the historical excursus of Marvazī's source (Jayhānī?) is not incorrect.

§§19-25, with the introductory §18, form one block and are the most valuable part of the chapter. It is probable that a part of the information on the lands to the east of Sha-chou is due to the ambassador from the emperor of Qitay who visited Ghaznī *circa* 418/1027, for it is immediately followed by the account of that embassy. This impression is strengthened by the fact that for the first time the same data, in a different arrangement, are quoted by Biruni in his *al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī* compiled shortly after 421/1030. Biruni's book on precious stones<sup>1</sup> contains a definite statement that he "interrogated the ambassadors who came from the Qitay-khan" on the value they attached to *khutū* (v.i. p. 83). In every way he must have taken a full advantage of the presence in Ghaznī of the rare guests from the Far East.<sup>2</sup> Biruni's short explanations of the names tally perfectly with Marvazī, but the latter gives many more details. Very probably there existed an official record of the interrogation of the ambassadors and a copy of it had reached Marv.<sup>3</sup>

Biruni's tables give the following co-ordinates in the Far East:<sup>4</sup>

<i>Fifth Clime</i>	Long.	Lat.
Twsm.t in Outer Tibet .. .. .	110° 0'	39° 10'
Chinānjkaṭh, i.e. Qocho, residence of the Uyghur-khan .. .. .	111 20	42 0
Sānjū (Sha-chou?), whence the road separates southwards to China .. .. .	115 10	40 20
Qāmjū (Kan-chou) .. .. .	116 5	39 0

<sup>1</sup> *Kitāb al-jamāhir fī ma'rifaṭ al-jawāhir*, ed. by F. Krenkow, Haidarabad, 1355/1936, p. 208.

<sup>2</sup> On his eagerness for knowledge, cf. his *Ṣaydāna*, on how he obtained the Greek names of plants from a Greek who happened to visit Khwārazm, see Meyerhoff, *Das Vorwort zur Drogenkunde des Biruni*, 1932.

<sup>3</sup> Close relations must have existed between Marv and Ghazni. In 510/1117 Sanjar put Bahrām-shah on the throne of Ghazni.

<sup>4</sup> I am using B.M. Or. 1997, which is not very correct, but as the tables are arranged in the order of increasing longitudes (and, in our particular case, of decreasing latitudes) the approximate results are reliable enough.

near the coast of the Ocean, is Jāfū, a mis-spelling of some Chinese name, possibly Khān-fū (Canton). Kāshghari must refer to the same colony of 'Alids as Marvazi (§16), but the time which elapsed since Marvazi's original source obscured the situation: the 'Alid settlement had grown into a Shī'a parallel to Prester John's kingdom. Three centuries later Maqrīzī, ed. Wiet, I, 59, removed the 'Alid colony still further east, to Corea (*al-Shīlā*).

F. Grenard, *Mission scientifique de Dutreuil du Rhins*, 1868, II, 308-15, and Pelliot, *Les Abdāl de Païnāp*, J.A., 1907, janvier, 115-39, have described a curious community in Chinese Turkestan (near Cherchen and Kāshghar), speaking a dialect in which a predominantly Persian vocabulary is combined with Turkish grammar.<sup>1</sup> Both French explorers were inclined to see in the Abdāls "les descendants des chiïtes . . . qui apportèrent les premiers l'Islam en Kachgharie." Whatever the date of the installation of the Abdāls in Kashgharia they are a typical example of Persian-Shī'a infiltrations similar to that described in Marvazi's source.

§17. For the item on Manichaeism as the religion of the Chinese, v.s. §§6, 9. The Uyghurs (on the Orkhon) were converted to Manichaeism by missionaries from China after A.D. 763, and soon became the official protectors of the creed. Their interventions in Chinese affairs provoked much ill-feeling and no sooner did the Uyghur kingdom fall (A.D. 840) than the Manichaeans in China were disestablished and persecuted (A.D. 843). Marvazi's source refers to the time when Manichaeism was openly preached in China, but at the same time it was the official religion of the Uyghurs also. Consequently when Marvazi speaks of the variety of *creeds* flourishing among the Uyghurs his source may be influenced by the state of affairs obtaining in the *later* Uyghur kingdom of Khocho, cf. Chavannes et Pelliot, *Un traité manichéen*, in J.A. 1913, I, 295-305, and a clear resumé in Grousset, *L'Empire des steppes*, 1939, pp. 173-6.

§18. This paragraph announces §§19-25. The few introductory words about the Chinese having been masters of Transoxiana presuppose the use of a well informed source, for early Muslim historians are silent even on the momentous battle of A.D. 751, in which Ziyād b. Šālīh inflicted a decisive defeat on the Chinese. Following Barthold's indication, *Turkestan*, p. 196, I have found a parallel record on paper in Samarqand in Tha'ālībī's *Latā'if al-ma'ārif*, who quotes *al-Masālik wal-Mamālik*.<sup>2</sup> Consequently this is one more

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also A. von Le Coq, *Die Abdāl*, in *Baessler-Archiv*, 1912, II/5, pp. 221-8.

<sup>2</sup> Tha'ālībī, ed. Jong, 1867, p. 129: "the author of *al-Masālik wal-Mamālik* writes that, among the prisoners taken by Ziyād b. Šālīh, there came from China to Samarqand some who (organized) the fabrication of paper there. Then this art increased and the custom persisted and paper became the staple merchandise of the people of Samarqand. . . ." The *Fihrist*, 21, is much more vague: "it has been said (*qīla*) that artisans from China fabricated (paper) in Khorasan, similar to Chinese paper." Abū-Manšūr 'Abd al-Malik Tha'ālībī died *circa* 430/1038.



with *Kitāb al-bahr*, quoted elsewhere (ff. 44a and 45a).<sup>1</sup> The narrator, or narrators (cf. §14), had in view the situation in Khān-fū (Canton), where Muslims were in such force that in A.D. 758 they raided the city. In A.D. 879 many Muslims perished when Canton was taken by the rebel Huang-chao, see Barthold, *Khānfū* in *E.I.*

§14. The story of the eunuch and his five shirts is found in Abū Zayd Sirāfi, who wrote an appendix to Sulaymān, ed. Reinaud, 74. It is quoted on the authority of an important and trustworthy merchant who sojourned in Khān-fū (*sic*). [Perhaps the Quraishite Ibn al-Wahhāb, v.i. §29?] Cf. 'Aufi, No. 1965 (from Marvazi?).

§15. On importations into China see Sulaymān, 35 (minus amber) and 'Aufi, No. 1905. *Khutū* is repeated under §27, which points either to two sources or to the carelessness of the epitomist in summing up his material.

§16. The story of the 'Alid intermediaries established on an island (near Canton?) is of clear Shī'a inspiration and its fluent style reflects the influence of some pious lore. The details about the destruction of snakes is to be connected with legends concerning 'Ali, "the slayer (*lit.* 'render') of the Serpent, or Dragon (*Haydar-i ḥayya-dar*," cf. *H.-'A.*, §13, 2., and p. 282. There is nothing improbable about an early penetration of 'Alids into China. In fact, they played for Islam a role similar to that of the Nestorians for Christianity. According to the report found in the *Fihrist*, 344-5, after the execution of Abū Muslim (d. A.D. 755), one of his disciples Ishāq al-Turk carried on the extremist propaganda of the Abū-Muslimiyya among the Turks of Transoxiana. Some said that he was a descendant of Imām Yahyā b. Zayd b. 'Alī (killed in Gūzgān A.D. 743), and that he "fled from the Omayyads and traversed the country of the Turks."<sup>2</sup> The first convert to Islam among Turkish rulers Satuq Boghra khan of Kāshghar (d. 344/955) professed the Shī'a. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 199, Grenard, *La légende de Satok Boghra*, in *J.A.*, Jan. 1900, p. 1-79; Marquart, *Gūwaini's Bericht über die Bekehrung der Üiguren*, 1912, 495; Blochet, *La conquête des états nestoriens de l'Asie Centrale par les schiites*, in *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, XXVV, 1926, pp. 3-131 (very disappointing). The story of the 'Alids is shortened in 'Aufi, No. 1965. More interesting is another echo found on Kāshghari's Map. *Baldat al-'Alawiya*, "the town of the 'Alids," is shown on it beyond Bish-baliq to the S.E. of the mountains (Altai?) from the northern side of which rises the Y.mār (Obi). *Baldat al-nisā*, "The Town of the Women," which figures in the same sector, increases the impression of a *terra incognita*. The only other name seen beyond the Town of the Alids,

<sup>1</sup> V s p. 63

<sup>2</sup> Muṭahhar b. Tāhir, IV, 63 (tr. IV, 60), says that there is a colony of descendants of Husayn b. 'Ali in Khotan, which according to his source (Jayhānī?) is a part of Tibet.

§2 is the author's own conclusion, the influence of geographical surroundings being his favourite theme. In the chapter of the Persians (ff. 11a-12b) the author quotes Hippocrates, Galen and Aristotle to show that "the life of the inhabitants (of a country) depends on the character of their habitat" and that "the specific factor (*akhaṣṣ al-ashyā*) in a man, as in every animal, is the soil (*turbatuhu*) on which he develops, because the character of the soil conditions his own character."

§§3 and 5 announce §18, which describes the situation after the rise of the Qitay (K'itan). §4 is of a general character. The story of the "blindness" of other nations must be old. A parallel to it is found in Abū Maṣṣūr Tha'ālibi's *Laṭā'if al-ma'ārif*, ed. Jong, 1867, p. 127. The author lived 350-430/961-1038, and used Jayhānī, but is, in style at least, independent of Marvazī. As the "one-eyed nation" he quotes the Babylonians (*aḥl-Bābil*) and not the Byzantines.

§§6 and 9 have a common background in the supposition that all the Chinese follow the law of Mānī, which indicates A.D. 843 as the *terminus ante quem* of the original report, v, i. §17. §9 looks like an uncritical repetition of an obsolete view.

§§7-12 are connected by the person of the narrator. As in §7, *Y. nǰūr* (Ho-nan-fu?, cf. §19) is mentioned as the capital of China, the merchant in question must have visited China after A.D. 907. The first person of "I met a merchant" apparently refers to Jayhānī, whose lifetime corresponds with this period, but as the first traces of the report (the block of wood, self-propelling carts, gambling) appear in Marvazī (cf. 'Aufī), we have to suppose that it was incorporated only in some later copies of Jayhānī's work.

§13. The Zoroastrian reformer Bihāfarīdh was executed by Abū Muslim in 131/748. The green silk shirt which he had brought from China was worn by him to prove his celestial origin, see Houtsma, *Bihāfarīdh*, in *WZKM*, III, 30-7, and *E.I.*, and lately Gh. H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens*, Paris, 1938, 113-131. No "previous" mention of *Bihāfarīdh* is found in Marvazī, but 'Aufī gives a pretty complete version of Bihāfarīdh's story, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, I, 93 (= No. 1624 in Nizāmu'd-dīn's list). He may have taken the details from a passage omitted in our copy of Marvazī, but it is possible that in this particular case he made direct use of Jayhānī's *Masālik*, cf. Nizāmu'd-dīn, 101-3, 249.

§§14-16 (plus §§26-28, and possibly §§17, 41, etc.) refer to the maritime region of China and form one stock of information. The person<sup>1</sup> responsible for it is much interested in all that pertains to commerce and displays a truly Arab vivacity of mind and love for the picturesque and the marvellous. In §14 Marvazī quotes some written source which he calls *al-Akhhbār*, and which may be identical with "some Maritime Merchants" (*ba'd al-tujjār al-baḥriyyīn*) and

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps several persons?

ed. Golius, Amsterdam, 1669, p. 35.<sup>1</sup> Practically the same text is reproduced in I. Rusta, 96-8, Muṭahhar, IV, 49-53 (Seventh Clime left out), *Muḡmal al-tawārīkh*, 479-81, and Yāqūt, I, 29. By some slip, Marvazī skipped the original Sixth Clime and then quoted under the "Sixth Clime" the description of the Seventh Clime, and under the "Seventh Clime," the data referring to the zone which I. Rusta calls "what is beyond the aforesaid climes, down to the end of the inhabited lands." Marvazī slightly abridges the enumeration of places.<sup>2</sup> The island al-K.rk is spelt *al-K.rl* in Ferghānī and Khuwārizmi, *al-K.wl* in I. Rusta and the *Muḡmal*, and *al-K.rk* in Muṭahhar and Yāqūt. De Goeje in his note to I. Rusta, 96c, identifies it with "Kūlū or Kūlam" (Quilon). According to Nallino, *Atti dei Lincei*, 1896, II/1, 39, the island which Khuwārizmi calls "*al-Mydh* or *al-K.rl*" is meant to represent Gujarat, cf. also al-Battānī, ed. Nallino, II, 51, No. 239. The people *Myd* (\*Mydh?) or *M.nd* are often quoted by early Arab writers as occupying the coastal region of the Sind and Kathiawar, see Minorsky, *Mand* in *EI*. The Myd were notorious pirates, and in this connection it may be placed on record that some mysterious *al-K.rk* plundered Jedda in 151/768. Two years later Manṣūr sent against them a naval expedition from Baṣra, see I. Athīr, V, 455 and 466. The question of *al-Myd/al-K.rk* is complicated by Ibn Sa'īd (d. circa A.D. 1286?), as available in Ferrand's translation, *Relations*, 336. Ibn Sa'īd places the islands of *M.nd* at the end of the First Clime. The principal island was called *K.lwa*, and had three towns: *K.lwa* (the capital), *M.nd* and *Knk*. It is added that the inhabitants are brethren of those of Hind and Sind, but they have been either expelled or subjugated by the Zanj. Here the ancient *Mydh* seems to be confused with the Kilwa of the Somali coast.

The arrangement of the Climes in Biruni's *Tafhīm*, ed. Wright, 143-5, is somewhat different. Biruni begins the Sixth Clime with "Eastern Turks, such as Qāy, Qūn, etc." Marvazī quotes these rare names in his Chapter IX, §3, but does not introduce them into his list of the Climes. Altogether divergent is the description of I. Faqīh, 5-7, who is more dependent on Ptolemy, etc. (through Muḡammad b. Mūsā al-Khuwārizmi, quoted *ibid.*, p. 4?), and whose enumeration is accompanied by some general characteristics of the Climes.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Its author is usually supposed to have worked under Ma'mūn (A.D. 813-33), but this assumption is by no means certain, as the astronomer's father, Muḡammad b. al-Kathīr, is said to have been employed under Mutawakkil (A.D. 847-861), see Brockelmann, *G.L.* I, 221, and *Supplement*, I, 392.

<sup>2</sup> In I. Rusta's Sixth Clime *Burjān* follows Constantinople and evidently corresponds to the Bulgars. In the Seventh Clime, *Burjān* comes before the Slavs and probably also refers to the Bulgars. In the zone "beyond the Climes," after the Alan come *al-Abar* "the Avars," *Burjān* and the Slavs. Marvazī leaves out the Avars but keeps *Burjān*, which at this place may originally refer to the Burgundians, cf. I. Khurdādhbih, 92, 119, Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, 190, *Hudūd*, 419, 447.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. on Arabic Climes, Honigsmann, *o.c.*, 112-83 (Ptolemaios und die Araber etc.).

Gardīzi	Marvazi's §
Crops not irrigated .. .. .	31 ("cereals")
Priests responsible for rains .. .. .	31
150 drums in the palace .. .. .	32 ("numerous")
Curfew .. .. .	32
Crimes punishable with death .. .. .	32 (more details)
A red-haired people living beyond China	36 (from <i>al-Masālik</i> )

The question of the direct sources of our text does not cover the problem of the original reports responsible for single items. Many details indicate that Marvazi's data relate to different times and places. All the items in which Manichaeism is said to be the religion of the Chinese (§§6, 17) are earlier than A.D. 843. The traditional name of the Chinese capital in §29, namely, Khumdān (Hsi-an-fu), takes us back to the T'ang epoch and is entirely different from the later capital of Yenchūr (Yung-chou?), which flourished in the post-T'ang time, see §§7, 19. The data on the K'itan embassy belong to 418/1027. Different sources account for some repetitions (§26—curfew in Canton, §32—ditto in Khumdān; goods for China §§15 and 26) and inconsistencies (the item on the appearance of the Chinese disturbs §27).

In brief, the primary sources which one can recognize are as follows:

(a) Some ancient (eighth to ninth century A.D.) accounts of Arab mariners: §§14–17 and separately §§26–28, 37–39 and 41.

(b) Some overland travellers to the capital of Khumdān (Hsi-an-fu) under the T'angs (early ninth century A.D.?): §§6 (?), 29–35.

(c) Some merchant who visited the capital of Yenchūr probably in the beginning of the tenth century: §§7–12.<sup>1</sup>

(d) Data collected personally by Jayhānī (early tenth century A.D.): §§42 (partly), 43 (?).

(e) Data of an embassy from Qitāy in 418/1027: §§3, 5 (?), 18–25.

(f) Marvazi's own remarks: §§2, 18 (?).

With the exception of (e) and (f), most of the remaining items may have passed through Jayhānī as intermediary.

§1. The division of the earth into climes comes appropriately at the beginning of the chapter on China, the latter being considered the easternmost country of the world. The division is an ancient Greek<sup>2</sup> one, but even in translating Ptolemy Arab geographers introduced their additions into the original scheme, see Khuwārizmi's *Šūrat al-ard*, ed. Mzik, and Barthold's Preface to the *H.-'A*, 10.

Apart from some minor alterations, the description entirely corresponds with that found in al-Farghānī's *Fil-ḥarakāt al-samāwiya*,

<sup>1</sup> The authority (b) calls the emperor Faghfūr, whereas the authority (c) refers to him as Tafghāj-khān.

<sup>2</sup> The Seven Climes appear in the oldest Greek geographers, see E. Honigmann, *Die Sieben Klimata*, 1929, pp. 10–30.

with regard to the merchant the text positively states: "I met a clever man" (§7), a closer analysis of the passage leaves no doubt about its having been transcribed from an earlier work.

Under the name of *Akhh̄bār* Gardizī refers to a work of Ibn Khurdādhbih, which is not otherwise known. Barthold, *Otchot*, 79, tentatively identified it with *Kitāb jamharat al-Furs wal-nawāqil*, "Genealogies of Persians and their colonies," quoted in the *Fihrist*, 149. As our §14 is not in Gardizī, it is probable that, in this case, *Akhh̄bār* refers to some collection of reports, similar to that going under the name of Sulaymān the Merchant.<sup>1</sup> In fact, §29, on mourning, etc., is very close to Sulaymān, ed. Reinaud, p. 37. The description of the maritime road to China is more likely to have been inspired by I. Khurdādhbih's work, *BGA*, VII, 69.<sup>2</sup>

The *Masālik* is referred to in a paragraph (§36), which is also found in Gardizī, the latter quoting Jayhānī as his source. One should imagine that the other items coinciding in Marvazi and Gardizī had also passed through Jayhani's huge and important compilation.<sup>3</sup> Here is the abstract of Gardizī's chapter on China with the indication of the parallel §§ in Marvazi.

Gardizī	Marvazi's §§
Road to Khumdān .. .. .	29
China is a vast kingdom .. .. .	30
Silk clothes with long sleeves .. .. .	30
Streets covered .. .. .	39
Dwellings have statues .. .. .	30 and 39
Army of 400,000 .. .. .	30 ("numerous")
Chinese clever .. .. .	8 (? many more details)
Good textiles and vases .. .. .	12 (?)
Abū Zayd (Balkhī?) on the Ghuzz being China's neighbours	deest
Frontiers: Khotan, India, Bolor, Gog and Magog	deest (Sulaymān, 59: Toghuzghuz, Tibet)
I. Khurdādhbih says every traveller to China becomes a sage	deest, but cf. I. Kh., 170 <sub>3</sub>
Many kings under the Faghfur ..	deest
Yellow brocade and white horses re- served for the Faghfur	deest
Visible once a year when he rides to the ancestors' tombs	deest
Great audience with musicians ..	deest
Only the vazīr, the šāhib (?) and the envoys admitted to the king	30 (vazīr and hājib)
Reception of envoys .. .. .	30
Astrologers in the king's gynaeceum ..	40

<sup>1</sup> Compiled in 237/851 and completed by Abū Zayd Sirāfi c. 303/915. Cf. Chap. XV, §23, in which some *Kitāb al-bāhr* is referred to. It is noteworthy that I. Kh., 62, quotes some reports of Mariners (*dhakara bahriyyūn*) on the pepper-plant of Southern India.

<sup>2</sup> But the data may have passed through Jayhānī.

<sup>3</sup> On the original source, v.i, §29.

# COMMENTARY

## CHAPTER VIII

### CHINA

On the earlier Muslim description of China see Ferrand's collection of texts *Relations de voyages . . . relatifs a l'Extrême Orient*, I, 1913, II, 1914, and bibliography in *H.-'A.*, 223-8.

The chapter is a complicated patch-work of quotations from various sources. Its contents are as follows:

(a) General introduction: 1. The Seven Climes. 2. General characteristics of China. 3. Šin, Qitāy and Yughur. 4. The Chinese and Byzantines as craftsmen. 5. The Chinese do not mix with other people. 6. Mānī's law.

(b) A merchant's report: 7. Y.njūr and Kūfū. 8. A block of wood carved into an image. 9. Mānī on images. 10. Self-propelling carts. 11. Gambling. 12. Tailoring.

(c) More on goods and merchants: 13. Bihāfarīdh's shirt. 14. The *Akhhbār* on a eunuch's shirt. 15. Goods imported and exported. 16. The 'Alavī middlemen.

(d) General: 17. Language and religion. 18. Chinese once in Samarqand, now divided.

(e) Land routes: 19. to China, Yughur and Qitāy. 20. The Šārī or Basmīl. 21. Policy of Qitāy and Yughur.

(f) An embassy to Maḥmūd of Ghaznī: 22. A letter of the lord of Qitāy and his presents. 23. Ditto of the king of the Yughur. 24. Maḥmūd's reply. 25. Animal cycle of twelve years.

(g) Maritime routes: 26. Lūfin, Khān-fū, curfews, goods. 27. Malik of Khān-fū; Chinese are white; registration of cargoes; the *fan-chang*, the monsoon.

(h) Chinese customs: 28. Poll-tax. 29. Mourning, courtesans.

(i) General: 29. Khumdān the capital. 30. Clothing and dwellings. 31. Priests responsible for bringing rain. 32. Curfews. 33. Environs of Khumdān; 360 towns in China. 34. The sea-board of China. 35. Tribes between China and Khirkhīz. 36. *Al-Masālik* on a red-haired nation.

(j) Customs continued: 37. Criminal procedure. 38. Passports. 39. Clothing and homes. Astrologers in the king's gynaeceum.

(k) Silā (Corea): 41.

(l) Tibet: 42. Its divisions. 43. Musk.

The introductory section on the Climes is probably borrowed from al-Farghānī. As for the rest of the Chapter, the author himself quotes among his sources the account of a merchant who travelled to China, as well as the *Akhhbār* (?) and the *Masālik*, but, although

meat, but they said: "What you have been eating all these days was this same animal." And they forced me to eat it, but it nauseated ('*āqat*) me and so I left them. And this is the animal called *nasnās* ("faun" ?).

21. It is said that in the deserts stretching between BADHAKHSHĀN and KĀSHGHAR there is a considerable number of this animal.

22. It is mentioned in the *Akhbār Iskandar* ("Alexandrian lore") that when he was about to enter the kingdom of darkness a tribe of this kind appeared before him and they rivalled his army in numbers and he was obliged to fight and exterminate them. They were a kind of ape (*qarada*) and their bodies were covered with hair like those of apes.

23. I have read in the *Kitāb al-Baḥr* ("Book of the sea") that in the island of WĀQ-WĀQ, where ebony grows, there is a tribe (45b) whose nature is like that of men in all their limbs, except the hands, instead of which they have something like wings, which are webbed like the wings of a bat. They, both males and females, eat and drink while kneeling. They follow the ships asking for food. When a man makes for them, they open these wings and their flight becomes like that of birds, and no one can overtake them.

the "CLOVE MINE," and on their arrival anchor their ship and start in boats towards the shore, and (there) spread out leather sheets, place, each on his sheet, their purses with dinars, and at night retire from the island. In the morning they return in their boats to the same place and find in each sheet a heap of cloves as an equivalent for their money. They fetch (the cloves), but if someone is discontented (with the bargain) he leaves (the cloves) where they are, returns on the following day and finds his money, as it was, in the purse under his seal, while the cloves have been taken away. No injustice happens in their bargains. The island is large but at daytime no man is seen on it and no cloves. When night comes a great uproar and much shouting is heard on it and no one ventures to penetrate into the island. Whoever enters it or stays behind, no trace of him is found afterwards and nothing is known about him.

17. See Chap. XII, §57 *bis* (Rāmshīr).

18. In the sea there are some white folk who by swimming overtake ships even though the latter move as swiftly as the wind. They bring amber in their mouths and sell it for iron.

19. The inhabitants of the BĀLŪS island are cannibals.

20. A well-known (*ma'rūf*) shaykh and practising physician, who had travelled a great deal (45a) says that he stayed with an Arab tribe in a desert lying in the direction of AL-AḤSĀ. He asked for hospitality and remained with them. They entertained him with salt jerked meat for they had no food but locusts, milk and game. Says the Shaykh: I told them one day that I wanted some fresh meat, and they said they would ride out on the following day for a hunt and take me with them. In the morning they mounted and so did I. When we penetrated into the desert they said to me: "Thou dost not know the ways of hunting, so stay at the watering place of the wādī and when the game arrives drive it back to us." The road was narrow and I stopped, and lo, a crowd with human faces, men, women, and children, came up and pointed to (me) with shouts resembling speech that (I) should get out of the way. I did so until they had passed. They were naked and their bodies were covered with soft hair like fur. When all of them were gone the hunters came on their trail. They said: "Whither is the game gone?" I answered: "I have seen no game, only a group of naked people who asked me to clear the road and so I did." They laughed and said: "The cheats have duped you." And they had with them a number of these beasts which they had slaughtered and slung on their horses. On seeing them my soul was moved with disgust. I shunned participating in their repast and refrained from eating



(Nicobar islands) which is said to measure 700 farsakhs in diameter. The language of its inhabitants is incomprehensible. In their sea amber is found, but they do not profit by it. They follow the ships, and by means of signs and gestures buy iron, but they do not demand anything else.

11. Beyond them lies an island whose inhabitants are black and ugly. They kill whoever they find, outside themselves. After having cut them to pieces they leave them suspended and then swallow them raw. Some people call them JINN, and this (nickname) occurred to them because they saw their bestiality in eating strangers. Then everybody from outside avoided them and shunned them, and as no one mixed with them, their position became ignored in intercourse (?). By spurning them the others increased their enmity. Some people visited them in whom wickedness was ingrafted and so their enmity became strong and they became like demons (*jinn*) by their isolation and concealment from men, or even like devils on account of the ugliness of their faces and forms.

12. The ugliness of appearance, the deformity of limbs and stature, the excess of height represent nothing strange in the negroes and islanders. Some of them go naked and do not hide their shame. But then necessity obliges them to trade and barter, and this can go on only by dumb show,<sup>1</sup> which secures safety to the parties. Most of the islanders deal for iron, salt and loin-cloths. Dinars are seldom current among them.

13. Some sea-trader says that a rough sea (obliged them to) cast anchor and land at an island, and he offered a dinar to a native who took it, smelt it, tasted it and then returned it being dissatisfied that he could not discover any use in it.

14. In a corner of the Ḥabasha sea (Red Sea) there is a tribe of BERBERS whom traders visit. They deal and trade with them from afar, with watchmen and guards (standing by) as if they are afraid of them, their custom being to castrate (*yujibbū*) the strangers whom they discover, and this is their only mode of procedure. Then they hang their male parts with the scrotum in their houses, taking a pride in the number (of their spoils) and boasting about them.

15. See Chapter IX, §8 bis (Kimāk).

16. A group of merchants visit the nearer islands belonging to India in order to buy cloves, and it is a fact universally known that they are bought by dumb show<sup>1</sup> on account of the hatred between the parties. The maritime traders travel to the island which is

<sup>1</sup> The trade in which the parties put together the equivalents of their respective goods and do not meet personally, cf. Index, under "Dumb show."

8. As regards the southern parts, their deviation from temperance is conditioned by excessively scorching heat, so that the nature of the inhabitants becomes removed from that of men and approaches that of wild beasts.

9. In the farthest lands of the ZANJ there is a tribe of theirs living on the sea-coast and having no buildings, fields or animals. Heat oppresses them excessively. They have underground dwellings which they dig out and make deep. At day time they take refuge in these dwellings, which they cannot leave until at sunset the sun (disk) has shrunk. Their food is fish, fruit and trees (?). Their lands include meadows and intertwined trees. They are of ugly appearance and extremely tall, with flapping lips, lop-eared, with wide ear apertures and nostrils. They eat the flesh of the whites whom they have vanquished. It is their custom after a victory over some whites to imprison them on an island of theirs lying in the sea and to give them food in abundance of whatever there is in their possession, so that their bodies fatten and their flesh increases, after which they slaughter them and eat them. Their king and queen have special rights to this dish, but if it is plentiful other persons partake of it. On account of their heat they are hard pressed by lust. Sometimes, when the whites are brought before the king that he may make his choice of whom he wants to be slaughtered, the queen's eyes fall on someone whom she finds good and she selects him as food for herself, takes him into her underground dwelling and dallies with him. If she discovers in him strength and mastery in coition, she spares him, cares for him and feeds him with the kind of fish which increases sexual power. She continues to avail herself of his services until he grows weak and tired, and when he becomes impotent she kills and eats him. Sometimes the man seizes an opportunity and runs away.

Traders from neighbouring countries visit their lands with the object of hunting their children and young people. Accordingly they repair to their meadows and hide in the woods carrying with them dates (or fruit ?), of which they drop a little on the children's playing ground. The latter pick up the dates, find them good and search for more. On the second day they drop the dates a little farther away than on the first day, and so they gradually go farther and farther and the children, whose minds are set on the dates, follow them, and when they are far (enough) from their paternal houses, the traders leap upon them, seize them and carry them away to their land.

10. In the Indian sea there is an island called LANKĀBĀLŪS

was a wonder among the white. They used to bring him to their assemblies and express their astonishment in looking at his appearance and colour. He possessed (great) sagacity, power of thought and valour, and he succeeded in performing many great deeds. The king attached him to his person and his station continuously grew in elevation and solidity. Finally he attacked the king, killed him, occupied his place and seized most of their provinces. (41 a) He assumed the title of QARĀ-KHĀN, which no one had held before him, for it means "Black khaqan." His dignity was great, so whenever the Turks after him wished to honour a king they addressed him as "Qarā-khān,"<sup>1</sup> in Turkish *garā* being "black" and *khāqān* "Supreme Lord." So Qarā-khān means "Black Khāqān."

## CHAPTER XV

### OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE REMOTE OUTLYING COUNTRIES AND OF THE ISLANDS

(42 a) 1. As the habitat of the people living in the outlying parts of the oecumene and on the islands situated far away from the centre is remote from temperateness, so their morals, natures and mode of life are also remote from it. Their deviation from temperance is the result of either of two factors, namely, cold and heat in the North and the South respectively.

2. See Chapter IX, §12 *bis* (Bulghār).
3. " " §12 *ter* (Isū, Yūra).
4. " " §12 *quater* (Northerners).
5. " " §5 *bis* (Kāshghar).
6. " " §5 *ter* (Qūri?).

7. ABŪ SA'ĪD 'UBAIDULLĀH IBN JIBRĪL related that in the year 434 (A.D. 1043) he saw a number of Orientals who had come to perform the pilgrimage, having only recently adopted the faith. Among them was one who could understand and knew how to speak, and he reported many strange things, among them that near their country, and to the north thereof, there were mountains in which were creatures having the form of men, except that the males had tails like the tails of dogs twisted up behind, but the women were of the form of human women; all went naked, being hidden by nothing but the hair on their bodies. The sea casts up for them little fish the size of three spans, and on these they subsist.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the letter from the ruler of Qitā to Maḥmūd of Ghazna, Ch. VIII, §22.

and primitive natural colour set as the (basic) element for the totality of colours, which are put on it, and then it is coloured by them and it receives them all. In this sense blackness is the opposite of white and of the other colours between them. The intermediate colours are composed of these two and, by dint of the proportion of them in a mixture, numberless colours come into being. The black colour does not receive anything of other colours. The scholars in natural sciences say that the white colour is born from the influence of light on one of the four elements which receive it. Its opposite is the black colour which is born from the influence of darkness on the elements which receive it. The superiority of Light over Darkness is a fact which is not hidden (40b) from the sage. Light is an essential quality in the noble heavenly bodies which God Almighty constituted as the causes of the existence of whatever there is in this world. (On the other hand) blackness is a quality which negates (light) and is unlike (it). The argument is so clear that it dispenses with the trouble of proofs. (So) it has been established that the blackness of complexion of the Ḥabasha and Zanj is no superiority. It is only a result of the absence of temperance and the excess of scorching in their climate. Blackness, though a defect, has its use in some instances; (such is) its physical utility, through its usefulness for sight, for it collects light and narrows the opening of the eye, and consequently does not allow light to spread; (such is) its political and moral utility, as when the government agents dress in black in order to inspire the subjects with awe and fear.

6. It is said in the *Tawārīkh* (Histories) that one of the kings of Khorasan crossed the Oxus in order to fight the Turks. In his troops there were some ZANJ. When the Turks sallied forth to meet them, they saw the Zanj, whose appearance frightened them, for they imagined that they were demons or some other kind of supernatural beings. So they were put to flight and retreated without fighting. When the kings of Khorasan were informed of this they increased the numbers of Zanj and Ḥabasha and put them forward in fighting the Turks. But finally the Turks got accustomed to seeing the Zanj, and killing one of them saw that his blood was red. So they said: "His blood is like human blood and so are his limbs," and their fear ceased.

7. In the *Ta'rikh Mulūk al-Turk* ("History of Turkish Kings") it is related that one of them called B.K.J became related by marriage to the king called JABBŪYA. Among the dowry and numerous gifts which he despatched to him was a Zanj porter who



insides because cold thickens their pores (*masāmm*) and therefore their stomachs get hot, and their digestion strengthens and becomes good. Then their flesh increases and their brutality augments, contrary to what happens to the Ḥabasha.

3. The latter seldom get angry or sad. Their eyes and mouths and other apertures widen, the digestion of food worsens, their bodies are nourished only with heavy food because light food does not stay in their intestines till it is digested, but is soon dissolved on account of the breadth of their apertures and the wideness of their pores. So their flesh and fat do not increase because heat melts them. Their bodies grow light, their stature, being attracted by heat, grows tall. And as their bodies are attracted, so are their crops and trees, and a tree of theirs shades 10,000 horse.

4. ḤAMZA B. ḤASAN AL-ISFAHĀNĪ reproduces (a report of) ḤASAN B. 'AMR AL-SĪRĀFĪ how the latter saw huge trees in the land of the SŪDĀN. In the land called \*KĀNAM he saw two trees which shaded 30,000 horse. The king of that people lives on top of them, one thousand steps leading from the ground up to the king's abode. On the two trees there are abodes made of wood. There live the king's servants, wives and retinue, (40 a) some 10,000 human beings. It is reported that in their country the cotton plant becomes a tree which a man can climb. Their bodies are in proportion to their trees.

5. Blackness of colour is their general characteristic. They are unlike the Indians, whose complexions vary between black, brown and white, for heat in India does not reach the degree of perfect scorching. The same is true of Arab countries. As for the heat in the lands of Ḥabasha and Zanj, it reaches the extreme limit in scorching. They find beauty in the intensity of blackness and abhor whiteness and hold that a white man cannot be healthy. There are some among them who eat the whites.

Some people prefer blacks to the whites. What led them to this assumption was the fact that they had seen many Arabs and Indians who possessed an abundant share of spiritual and physical gifts and whose complexion was blackish, as they also had seen that, if some whites had black moles, it added to their beauty and pleasantness. When someone looks at much blackness, his sight improves and becomes acute; but if he looks at much whiteness his sight is wearied, as someone's eyes are tired by snow. But this judgment must be rejected; it is a pronouncement which has no reality before reason. Indeed, the science of nature and the knowledge of its essence decide in favour of whiteness for this is a simple

CHAPTER XIII  
OF THE ḤABASHA

(39a) 1. The ḤABASHA ("Ethiopians") are a category under which come different classes (of people) such as the NUBIANS, ZANJ, etc. Their territories consist of extensive countries with a wide-stretching periphery the extremity of which ends where habitation ends and cultivation and procreation ceases. And as their lands are removed from temperate climes their features (too) have become different, a black colour has become prevalent among them because of the excess of heat in their region, (for) we had mentioned previously that harmony in features and in the appearance of limbs is a consequence of the balance of humours, and the latter is a consequence of temperance in soil and air. When this is borne in mind one sees that the most appropriate places in which pleasantness of features is realised are the countries situated in the middle of the oecumene or near it, such as the territories (*mamlaka*?) of the Persians, Arabs and Byzantines and the nearer parts of the country of the Turks. But as regards those who live on the periphery of the oecumene and in the more distant climes, in view of their (geographical) remoteness from temperate conditions, a disproportion, which is the opposite of harmony, is found in their limbs and in their complexion, as is the case with the Ḥabasha, and quite especially in their farther lands. In them one discovers certain repellent forms and ugly features, such as protuberance of the eyes, flatness of the nose, large nostrils, flapping of the lips and their formation in the shape of those of beasts or cattle. All this is explained by their remoteness from the middle (zones), by their nearness to the torrid zone (?) and by the predominance of excessive heat in their climate. Heat being the most powerful cause of attraction, this explains their growth upwards, so that their stature becomes very tall, and as heat expands the things and opens them, their souls are expanded outwards and they are always found to be gay, playful and laughing.

2. They belong to the group opposed to the Turks because the TURKS receded from temperance on account of the excess of cold in their country. The property of cold is to join, to make massive, to tighten and to collect the parts. This (actually) takes place in the farthest part of their country, especially in the country of Yājūj (Gog). Therefore their stature shortens, their eyes become small, their nostrils and mouths become narrow and their souls compressed, so that their joy diminishes. Heat is limited to their

holds a high rank, is victorious and possesses many elephants. His presents to the Arabs are elephants' tusks.

63. After his kingdom comes the country AL-ARH.N. The inhabitants are white and pleasant-looking. They marry their sons just as they give away their daughters [at an early age], considering this the proper thing.

64. In the territory of LŪHŪVAR there is a town called RĀMIVĀN which possesses an idol reclining on one side, with (other) idols standing upright around it. It also possesses an idol of gilt copper which is their greatest idol. To it belong many incomes from land and shops in the market. It has thirty courtesans who are paid from the same sources, and the people avail themselves of them for nothing, and thereby they<sup>1</sup> seek merit. The courtesans are never absent from the temple either by night or day.

65. After this town comes the town of JALHANDAR with an idol which has numerous sources of revenue and villages. It possesses a courtesans' house. This town lies (within?) the frontiers of the Great Rāy.

66. After it follows the town of S.LĀBŪR, which also lies within the frontiers of the Great Rāy. In it merchants live and very numerous wares are to be found. There are in it many idol temples with numerous sources of income, every one of which amounts to 100,000 dirhams, more or less. They have also courtesans' houses. The town has three markets, all of them being markets of courtesans whose fees go to the idol. Some of them are worth 1 dānaq, some 2 dānaqs, but mostly the fee is 1 dirham without any addition.

67. Another town is called B.RĀHŪN (*B.rājūn*?) which has a large market open four days in a year, at which people gather from all parts. It has 700 houses belonging to idols. (The latter) possess sources of revenue and courtesans' houses regularly organised. In each house there are 10 or 12 of them. When someone of the rich (inhabitants) dies he bequeaths some of his property to this temple. And he who is a chief among their chiefs marries from 20 to 100 women. The Rāy is among them what the Caliph, or the Supreme Sultan is with us. When he mounts, one hundred of his chiefs mount with him, each of whom has 10,000 horse. This Rāy believes that all the Earth is his kingdom, and no one dares to say in his presence that in the world other kings are obeyed besides him.

<sup>1</sup> Probably, the courtesans.

and the man must seven times walk a distance of 100 steps backwards and forwards. If the leaves and the palm of his hand are completely burnt, his crime is proved; if the latter be punishable with death, he is killed; if it is punishable with a fine, a well-to-do man is fined with (the loss of) his property, whereas a needy one becomes the sultan's slave and he may sell him as he likes.

59. Among Indian laws is one that if anybody kills a cow he is put to death for it (v.s. §19).

60. Someone who visited India said: "I reached AL-QANDAHĀR.<sup>1</sup> Its king is a mighty (ruler), strong in punishment, strong in zeal. If any of his generals or soldiers has drunk wine the penalty is as follows: one hundred rings are heated in the fire and placed on his hands and often he perishes thereby. Other punishments consist in cutting off both hands, both feet, the nose, both ears and both lips (of the culprit). If the king is victorious over one of his enemies he cuts off his ears or lips and then lets him go, saying that after this he is no longer fit for reigning. When anyone visiting his country offers him a present he rewards him richly, for he gives him a hundredfold (of his present).

61. The original devotees in India come from QIMĀR. It is said that there are 100,000 of them there and that they are the R.MĀDIYA possessing a special hymn to God. [Some traveller] said: "I sat near one of them and he drew a little aside from me for they do not approach Muslims saying that they are unclean as they eat cow's flesh. I once saw one (of the Indians) who was visited by one of the great devotees. The latter started speaking in Indian, in a tongue which I understood. The meaning was: "O, Thou (38b) like whom there is nothing." I cried to my friend: "Dost thou know what he says?" He replied: "O, wonder! And do you know what he said?" I said: "Yes. Since you have recognised that there is nothing like Him, why do you worship the idols besides Him?" He said: "Verily, (this ?) is our *qibla*, just as your *qibla* is (but) stones built and laid in tiers, and yet you worship them."

62. The king of QIMĀR has a mountain with aloes. The said devotees are there. The mountain is long and wide. The king of Qimār has several judges, who try cases between men. Were the king's son to approach them with reference to some dispute, they would seat him beside his opponent and try the case regularly in accordance with religion and with absolutely no bias. The kingdom of Qimār is not so great as the other kingdoms of India, but its king

<sup>1</sup> Probably \*Qimār, i.e. Khmer, Cambodia.



57. In the kingdom of D.H.M there is a land called ŪRF.SHĪN, which lies on the sea-coast. In the days of old its ruler was a woman called \*Rāniya (cf. §45). Her kingdom has a pestilential (climate); most of the Indians who enter it die, but there is much profit in it for merchants. The queen was an astute person, and D.H.M, in spite of the number of his troops and the magnitude of his power, could not wage war on her. She used to fight in person. She had an enormous body such as no one has (ever) seen.

57 bis (= 17 in Chap. XV). Opposite Sarandīb (Ceylon) there is a town called RĀMŠHĪR, separated from Sarandīb by mountains rising from the sea and standing close together. Beyond (the town) there is a tribe of cannibals who kill (their victims) and cut them to pieces. In the woods of Sarandīb there are naked people whose language is unintelligible. They do not possess an articulate speech but use something like whistling. They have very small bodies and their stature does not exceed 4 spans. They are wild, avoid men, and climb onto trees with their hands without using their feet.

58. This is what is known about the coast of the SEA OF AGHBĀB (v.s. §53) and its population. After it follows the country of ZĀBAJ,<sup>1</sup> whose great king is called Maharāj, which means "king of kings." This country consists of islands. We know of no king more charitable than he, more powerful in his equipment and army, or having more revenue. It is said that daily he receives 50 maunds of gold from cock-fighting, for this (sport) is common in his kingdom. The thigh of every cock which has won belongs to the government and the owner has to redeem it from the latter by paying one dīnār, more or less. It is also said that the king's daily revenue reaches 200 maunds of gold. He had numerous islands, one of which is called B.RĪĀY.L, and mariners (36 a) say that the Antichrist is there. The inhabitants of this island have beautiful faces like "hammered shields"; they plait their hair like the tails of post-horses. At night sounds of musical instruments (*ma'āzif*) are heard in the island and (the mariners) see fires kindled and hear the voices of men. The Mahārāja's people swear by the Fire and when two of them have a dispute before the sultan, a piece of iron weighing a *raṭl* is taken and heated in the fire until sparks fly from it. Then leaves of a local tree resembling the laurel are taken and placed on the palm of the defendant's hand, up to the number of nine. Then the heated iron is taken with tongs and placed on the leaves (lying) on his palm,

<sup>1</sup> This abrupt passage indicates a gap formed by the omission of a number of paragraphs on the southern seas, arbitrarily transferred into the factitious Chapter XVI. These paragraphs are: §10—Lankābālūs; §11—the island of Jinns; §13—a native does not appreciate money; §16—silent trade with islanders; §17—Rāmshīr opposite Ceylon; §18—good swimmers; §19—Bālūs; §23—Wāq-wāq.

The idol has priests who do not visit women, do not kill anything, wear only clean garments and perfume themselves when about to go before the idol. When someone appears before (the idol) he kneels down, stretches out his hands, prays the idol to look at him and to have pity on him, weeps and shows signs of humility. The idol has a kitchen in which every day various kinds of food are cooked and spiced. Then they spread before the idol a very broad banana-leaf and heap on this the prepared food to the height of a man. They circumambulate the idol-temple with cymbals, drums and flutes, and often a hundred handmaids (are seen) turning round it. One of the priests stands by the food and fans it with a banana-leaf as though to cool it. He closes the door and afterwards proclaims: "The (food) has been granted as alms and nothing of it is lacking." Then anyone of those present, whether men, cattle, wild beasts, or birds, feeds on it, and no one is prevented from doing so. And they say that this is (the idol's) daily alms.

55. They also say that in the GANGES valley there is another ancient idol-temple visited in pilgrimage by the subjects of the king D.H.M, and indeed devotees from among them repair thither and arrive there naked and attenuated with their eyes sunken and skins shrivelled from the excess of mortification. They cast themselves down before the idol where there are predatory vultures which are accustomed to eating human flesh. Some of the (pilgrims) feign death and the vultures approach them and first of all peck out their eyes which they patiently endure. Gradually they peck out their flesh until they have destroyed it. Often the vultures slit their bellies and eat the bowels while they look at them with resignation and piety.

56. Beyond this kingdom there is a king called Ṭ.RSŪL. He has numerous subjects and towns. The people are white and have long hair which they let loose. They possess many horses and cattle and their kingdom is vast.

Beyond them is a king called AL-MŪSA. His towns are built of stone and they have plenty of musk.

Beyond them there is a king called AL-MĀNK whose kingdom adjoins the country of China.

It is said that these three kings: al-Ṭ.rsūl, al-Mūsa and Mānk, fight the Chinese but cannot withstand them because the king of China has more troops and is stronger in power. Both the beginning and the end of these kingdoms adjoin the country of China.

All the kings of India wear adornments, jewels, necklaces, bracelets and double baldrics covered with pearls.

country good cotton is found, the like of which is not found elsewhere. From it kerchiefs are made which are called *shāra-yi shāhī* ("royal turbans" ?),<sup>1</sup> and other stuffs which being folded pass through the opening of a signet ring.

52. After him comes a king called QĀMRŪN (\**Qāmarūb-Kāmarūpa*—Assam), whose kingdom adjoins the country of China. He has a small army and in his country are territories producing gold in lumps like a man's palm. Their gold is better than that of China.

All these kings have pierced ears.

53. The king called D.H.M has many lands; among them is a town called H.DKĪRA with a market about a farsakh (long). Rhinoceroses and cows called *ghizghāw* (yaks ?) are found (in this kingdom), which adjoins the coast of the SEA OF ACHBĀB.<sup>2</sup> This is an unpleasant (?) sea, (but) on its coast lie many vast towns. The business is carried on by means of gold (-coins) and cowrie-shells, but the latter are more in use, and they call them *k.blh* (?). Their rivers flow to the sea in which there is an ebb and flow of fresh water.

54. After this king follows a group (dynasty ?) of people called BANŪ MUNABBĪH, who pretend to be descendants of Sām b. Lu'ayy. They are kings of India and read the *khuṭba* in the name of the Imām of the Muslims. Their lands lie near Manṣūra and the income of these kings is from the revenue of the IDOL OF MULTĀN. This idol has a large income and its property is in the hands of the Banū-Munabbih, who take advantage of it in order to dominate the kings of India. The idol, it is said, stands over 20 cubits and has the face of a man. Over it is a huge roof. The Indians pretend that [the god represented in] this idol descended from the heaven and ordered them to worship him, and also that this roof was built 2000 years ago. The idol has attendants who look after it. All Indians go on pilgrimage to it (even) from places situated at one or two years' distance. There they shave their heads and circumambulate seven times, moving towards the left. They roll on the ground before the idol, pray humbly and show signs of humility. The idol has four faces; whichever way they turn there is a face in front of them. While circumambulating they prostrate themselves before each face. When someone of them dies who is well-to-do he bequeaths to the idol a part of his property or (even) the whole of it. Some among them carry their contributions (*al-māl*) to the idol from a distance of a year's journey. Some of them solicit the idol's permission saying: "Allow me to die," and then kill themselves before it.

<sup>1</sup> Evidently to be read in Persian.

<sup>2</sup> "Sea of Gulfs," more probably "of Lagoons"?

in battle and the strongest of all elephants. It is said that the king possesses elephants 10 cubits high, though it is also said that his elephants do not exceed the height of 8 cubits. However, on the nearer side of Şaylamān there is a country called АГНВĀВ ("the gulfs") which in the days of old was ruled by a woman (cf. §57), and they have elephants taller than 10 cubits and up to 11 cubits.

46. Then comes the king called BALLAHRĀ, reigning in the country called AL-K.MKĪ (*al-Kumkam*), which is a vast kingdom abounding in men, and round it are kings who obey Ballahrā.

47. And in this kingdom (country, India?) there are kings, one of whom is called AL-ṬĀFĪR (\*Ṭāqin). His kingdom is small but rich and well cultivated. The inhabitants are dark or white, and (among them) beauty is common. Slaves from this country possess a beauty not equalled by any one else.

48. After him comes the king called JĀBA (?). They are the noblest of the lot, and Ballahrā, who is a great king, takes ladies from them and from no one else. In their forests there grows red sandal.

49. After him comes the king called \*JURZ (*Gurjara*), in whose kingdom justice and security prevail. Even if gold were thrown on the road no one would dare to pick it up. The country is vast, and merchants from Arabia visit it for commerce and deal with (the inhabitants), and it is reported (36b) that they are honest in business, kind and charitable. Business with them is done by means of pieces of gold and the dirhams called *tāṭirī*, with the king's effigy on them, each dirham weighing one mithqāl. When their bargain is finished the king sends with (the merchants) someone to protect their goods and to escort them out of the kingdom.

50. After him comes another king who is more opulent than (Jurz?)<sup>1</sup> and more justice-loving. He says to the merchants and travellers: "Go out as you like. If anything happens to you and if you have any losses, take from me, as I stand surety for you." He has a numerous army and many elephants. He wars with Ballahrā and other kings.

51. After him comes a king called D.H.M (\**Dharma-pāla*), who possesses a huge and well-equipped army, more than 300,000 strong. He starts on expeditions only in winter lest water be insufficient for their needs, for they use up their rivers to the last drop.<sup>2</sup> In their

<sup>1</sup> §50 apparently refers still to Jurz (§49). The text must be restored: "there is no other king more opulent than he."

<sup>2</sup> In a parallel passage Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I, 384, says: "(RHMV) wars only in winter because elephants have little patience of thirst and have little endurance in that state."

together with the words: "Oh, ye sinful rebels, captured by your passions and enslaved by your habits, how long will you marry your mothers and kill your fathers?" and so on.

39. The \*JĪRĀMBARADHARA (*cīrāmbarahara*, "wearers of bark garments" ?), i.e. "those who dress in tree-leaves," are a class living in woods and dressing in the leaves of a tree which is called *j.br* (*cīra* ?) and the leaves of which are as large as a loose garment. They do not mingle with other people and expose themselves to wind and rain, saying: "We undergo all this in exchange for the breeze of Paradise, for the enjoyment in it (Paradise) of the large-eyed Huris and for the garments of Paradise."

40. The AMĪRK.JARIYA (\**mṛga-cara*), i.e. "those resembling wild animals," walk on all fours and feed on herbs (which they crop) with their mouths. They do not shave their heads and use no artifices for satisfying their needs as if they were beasts.

Besides this, they have (other) nasty ways and beliefs.

41. Some of them burn themselves with fire and some drown themselves in water, some starve themselves to death so that they die after twenty days and sometimes remain alive even thirty days.

42. Some of them roam in deserts until they are dead, some precipitate themselves from a high mountain in their country under which they place a (sort of) tree made of iron with sharpened boughs and branches. The man throws himself on it from the mountain and gets cut into pieces.

[Division D: Buddhists]

43. They have many tales about Buddha and the bodhisatvas on which they meditate. Most of them believe in metempsychosis.

[THE KINGS]

44. Most of their kings consider fornication lawful but the king of Qimār forbids fornication and wine drinking and prosecutes (the culprits) with capital punishment. None of their kings indulges in wine drinking with the exception of the King of Sarandīb (Ceylon), who drinks without respite and wine is brought to him from the Arabian lands.

45. Beyond him is the kingdom R.TYLĀ, the king of which is called \*FĀNDĪN (*Pāṇḍya*), after whom comes the king called AL-FĀRĪ, after whom comes the king called AL-ṢAYLAMĀN (*Ceraman*) who is the greatest of the three and has the most numerous army. His army has huge contingents but its elephants are few. However, the Indians say that the elephants of Ṣaylamān are the most intrepid

into his head, well into the brain. Their belief is that by this procedure they will obtain a reward both in this world and the next. Then they pay homage (to the martyr), manifest great joy, have amusements (*lahw*) and games, eat and drink. This is a community despised by all the Indians.

34. The JALABHAKTIYA (*\*jala-bhakta*), i.e. "Worshippers of the Water." According to them Water has an Angel who is the origin of every growth; in him is the foundation of Life and through him are secured duration, prosperity, procreation and purity. A man enters the water up to the waist and stays in it for a couple of hours, or more, holding in his hand aromatic plants. Then he cuts them into small pieces and throws one piece after the other into the water while he praises God and recites (prayers). When he wants to go away he takes some water and pours it over his head and on the parts of his body which are out of the water. Then he prostrates himself before the water and departs.

35. The AKNHŪTRIYA (*\*agni-hotrā*) are Worshippers of Fire. They dig a square pit for the fire, gather over it and turn round it while they throw into it food, clothes, perfumes, gold, silver and jewels, whatever they have found. To them belong kings and nobles. They say that the Fire is the noblest of the four elements and the most excellent of them in its substance. (35b) They blame him who has burnt himself with fire, saying that he has polluted the Fire.

36. The sect of WORSHIPPERS OF THE MOON. According to them the Moon is an angel and (in his honour) they make an idol on wheels drawn by four (animals). In the hand of the idol there is a jewel. They fast half of each month and break their fast only on seeing the new moon. At that time they go up on the rooftops, burn perfumes and look at the moon with a pleasant mien (?). Then they come down, break their fast and play and dance before the idol.

37. The WORSHIPPERS OF THE SUN make an idol in its honour drawn by four horses. In the hand of the idol there is some object of the colour of fire. According to them the Sun is an angel, and they approach (the idol) with prostrations, circumambulations (burning) perfumes and (playing) various instruments. The idol has estates and revenues, and in connection with it they tell all sorts of terrifying and impious (stories).

38. The BHĀBARNIYA (?). One of their customs is that one of them enters the graves and brings out one of the dead being in the most horrible condition, for they do not bury their dead (properly). Then he enters the town and reproaches the people, calling them

and glorify Jūn who created the earth from B.hād.rz's skin, the mountains from his bones, the waters from his blood and the trees and plants from his hair. According to them there were three brothers—B.HĀDRZ, JŪN and M.RSH.

[Division C (?): *Idol-worshippers*]

31. The MAHĀKĀL.NKIYA (\**Mahā-Kāliya*), who have an idol called Mahākāl. They say he is a devil (*'ifrit*) worthy of worship on account of his great power. This idol has four hands, is of blue complexion, with long hair, with grinning teeth, a naked belly, and an elephant skin on his back from (which ?) blood is streaming. In both his ears are snakes. They also say other nonsensical things.

32. The DĪVATHRIYA (?). One of their customs is to make an idol and to carry it on wheels, with a high canopy over it. They pull the chariot and go round the crowds (playing) on string instruments and performing various games. And at that time there is no courtesan in the country who does not put in an appearance. Before most of them walk crowds while they are seated on elephants and horses decked with many precious jewels. And so they keep going about with the idol. This happens in the spring time. Then they put the idol back in its place. To this idol belongs a treasury in which there are likenesses (masks ?) of human faces representing ancient kings, chiefs of countries and ministers, as well as likenesses of animals, birds and ferocious beasts. On that day of festivity the men (35 a) put on these masks, but when the festivity is over all these things are returned to the treasury.

33. The BH.K.QBIYA (\**Dahkīniya*?). One of their customs is to make an idol in the shape of a woman, having a crown on her head and, before her, a bare sword, and other weapons, etc. When the Sun has entered Libra in the Zodiac they hold a great wedding ceremony and festival before that idol, gathering garments and boughs of trees as many as possible, as well as various perfumes. They bring sacrificial animals, such as sheep, cows and buffaloes, and throw hay before them. As soon as their heads are lowered they strike their necks with swords before the idol. They also treacherously kill, as a sacrifice to the idol, whomever they come across, so that on such days people beware of treachery. As to their kings they seize a fair-haired man with blue eyes and fix in front of the idol a dagger, or some such thing, and order the man whose shoulders are bound, to prostrate himself before the idol over the dagger. When his forehead has touched the dagger they deal a blow on his head so that the dagger penetrates through his forehead

25. There are some who pretend that the attainment of Right and the attack upon (*hujūm*) the True Reality consist in the destruction of the body and in liberation therefrom, for souls (abiding in it) are accessible to all kinds of sin while they embellish anything wicked and impede anything noble.

26. Those belonging to the class (*milla*) RISHIYA are the people who by long meditation have annihilated their passions. They claim that angels appear to them and that they acquire from them all that is propounded in books, morals and especially in magic. They live in the mountains where they build themselves shelters of plants and herbs. They feed on fruits (berries?) and herbs. All their lives they remain with their eyes closed revolving their meditations.

27. The N.KRĪNIYA (\**Nigāḍa-bandha*?), i.e. "those fettered in iron." They shave their heads and beards and of their bodies hide only the privy parts. They plate their waists up to the breasts with iron in order that their bellies may not burst from the abundance of learning. They do not teach or speak to anyone until he has embraced their religion.

28. The K.NKĀBĀTRIYA (\**Gāṅgāyātriya*) are scattered through all Indian lands. One of their customs is that whenever a man has committed a sin, or disobeyed one of his parents, or done anything wicked, from wheresoever he be, from the farthest or nearest ends of India, he repairs to the river Ganges and takes a bath in it. Therein consists the purification of his sin, and if he dies on the way to the Ganges his (repentance) is accepted.

29. The RĀJTARIYA (\**Rāja-martya*?) are the king's party. Their religion is to serve the kings and to strengthen their power. They say: "Wherefore should we torture our bodies, without removing any inconvenience or obtaining any profit?" They are the cleverest people in fighting with swords and bucklers and the most stubborn in fighting, the least easily wearied and the most contented with little until the time of remuneration (comes).

30. The BHĀDR.RIYA. One of their customs is to let their hair grow long and let it fall equally on all sides of their heads while they look from under it. They wear the *qabā* (long mantle), with their hands out of the sleeves which hang before and behind them. Their chests and backs are naked and they gird their waists with chains. Each of their men is accompanied by another who holds the said chain in his hand and prevents him from running amok when he is overflowing with strength and might do so on account of the violence of his religious ecstasy. They do not drink wine. They go on pilgrimage to a mountain of theirs called JÜRGHAR to lament B.hādrz



21. The KĀBĀLIYA (*Kāpālika*) pretend that their apostle is an angel called Shib (Śiva) who approached them in human form, smeared with ashes and wearing on his head a red felt cap (*qalansuwa*) three spans high with parts of human skulls sewn onto it, his necklace, belt, bracelets and ankle-rings being of human bones. In one hand he held a human skull and in the other a drum similar to that of the Mahādeva. He ordered them to make a round object in the shape of a phallus, two cubits long and a cubit in diameter, and called *sh.bl.nd* (*\*shibling*), which means "the Apostle's phallus." He told them to worship this object because they assume that the cause of procreation in the world is the phallus. So they go about naked wearing only the above mentioned cap. *Et ingentia tintinnabula suspendunt membro virili ut eius erectionem impedant, sunt enim interdictae eis mulieres.* When they pass by someone of their sect they bow to him *et tintinnabulum membro suspensum pulsant ut eum propitient.* Some of them pierce their bodies and through the holes pass rings made of copper, iron or lead, just as rings are passed through the ears, and other rings are suspended on these rings like a cuirass.

22. The RĀMĀNIYA (are the adepts of) Rāmān (Rāma) who was a tyrannous king and exceeded the measure of oppression. He pretended to be [God's ?] envoy and ordered his people to worship him, saying that it was conducive to the Creator's pleasure, and much other nonsense (34 a).

23. The RĀVANIYA (adepts of Rāvaṇa) say that by Rāvan's intermediary they seek the guidance of the Creator who accepted (Rāvan's) repentance and gave him a lance. So they made Rāvan their prophet.

[Division B]

24. As regards those who believe in the Creator and Retribution and Punishment but believe [*\*not*] in (God's) envoys, they affirm that God had invited the people to worship Him and by the fact that he put into their hearts the love of Good and the hate of Evil He rendered them independent of anybody, so that they should not do to anyone what they themselves do not accept from other people. And this is their law set in their minds. God needs only to be worshipped by men. They pretend that Paradise is to be reached by the exertion of the mind and by opposing the nature of the body. Some of them say that this is not enough for them unless they have tortured their bodies and occupied their nature with various torments during which no leisure is left for revolt and no tendency to frivolity.

truth (of) Retribution and Punishment, and these are the Shamans (Buddhists).

18. There are some who say that Retribution and Punishment consist in rebirth in happiness or in misfortune, and that Paradise and the Fire are apportioned to one's actions and are not lasting.

[Division A]

19. Among those who believe in the Creator are the Brahmans, who pretend that God's apostle unto them was an angel called BĀSDĪW (Vāsudeva). He came to them in human shape as an envoy (of God) but without a Book. He has four hands; in one of them he holds a bare sword; in another a ploughshare; in the third a weapon called *shakr*,<sup>1</sup> which has the shape of a large ring with sharp edges; in the fourth a noose. He is seated on a giant bird ('*anqā*') and has 12 heads, each resembling an animal. They give an interpretation of all this, but it would take too long to explain it. They say that (Vāsudeva) ordered them to make an idol representing him, which they worship and circumambulate three times a day, with music and the burning of incense. He also told them to worship cows (v. i. §59), and whenever they meet a cow they prostrate themselves before her. He also told them not to cross the Ganges, and a Brahman who has crossed it loses his religion.

20. Of them are<sup>2</sup> the \*MAHĀDAWIYA (adepts of Mahādeva) who pretend that God's envoy unto them was an angel called Mahādawiya (Mahādeva), who approached them in human form riding on a bull and wearing a crown surmounted by bones of the dead and a similar necklace. In one of his hands was a human skull (33b) and in another a three-pointed lance, while he was fanning himself with a fan made of peacock's feathers. He told them to worship God and to make an idol having the likeness of himself, which they worship and which is their path to the Creator. Also not to despise anything because all things are the Creator's work. Also to wear necklaces of human bones, to make caps of the same kind and to smear their faces and bodies with ashes. Also to clothe themselves from the waist to the feet with rags, two fingers broad and having the length from their ankles to their waists, dyed in various colours forming whole pieces and not sewn to each other except at the waist. It is forbidden them (to eat) killed animals, to marry and to acquire property, their sustenance being what they get as alms. They are experts at wonderful magic.

<sup>1</sup> Marginal note: *archad*.

<sup>2</sup> Further on we drop these words recurring at the beginning of each paragraph.

they remove the poison from the one who has drunk it, or subject another person to it.

10. Here belongs telepathy (*lit.* "imagination and thought"), and people (?) pretend that by this means they work wonders. By it they operate on the absent, while they bind and unbind things, both harmful and beneficial. Here also belong sorcery (\**nīrang*), suggestion and the production of phantoms (?), which bewilder the sage and baffle the mind of the expert.

11. Here too belong the *simābandāt* (?), i.e. wonderful talismans which they produce and invent, as well as their claims to stop rain and hail, and the fact (is) that those who are in India acknowledge their (proficiency) in this science by giving to the masters in it definite yearly rewards.

12. Here too belongs medicine, in which they claim wonderful achievements in preserving health, putting off senility, increasing strength and intelligence, and healing inveterate and refractory ailments.

13. Here too belong arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and the skill of the Indians in these sciences.

14. Here too belongs the science of singing and the construction of various musical instruments and the science of dancing in which no one attains to their standards.

15. Here too belong their military science, different formations (of troops), various arms and swords, the quality of which is proverbial, multifarious drums, fifes, trumpets, tuned to the voices of elephants, lions, tigers, and other instruments, the sound of which daunts the heart of men.

16. And among this race is a people living in the neighbourhood of Mount AL-DĀBIR (?)<sup>1</sup> in the eastern part of India, in the land called QĀMŪR (\*Qāmrūp, Kāmarūpa, Assam), who possesses more beauty than any other nation.

17. There are 99 creeds (*milal*) and sects found among the enumerated castes which are grouped under 42 religions. Of the latter some recognise the Creator and believe in prophets (*anbiyā*), but others, though confirming the existence of a Creator, reject (God's) apostles (*rusul*)<sup>2</sup> and prophets; others again reject both a Creator and apostles and some reject everything but confirm the

<sup>1</sup> Dānir, Dāyir, Dāhir?

<sup>2</sup> In the author's idea the gods Vishnu and Shiva are "envoys" of the invisible God. To preserve this special point of view and the etymology of *rasūl* (from *arsala* = أرسلوا) we have rendered the term conventionally as "apostle."

## CHAPTER XII

### ON INDIA

(32a) 1. The Indians are a great nation comprising numerous races (castes ?) of various kinds and of widely different views and religions. They inhabit the southern quarter of the oecumene. Their lands are numerous, with extensive areas, and the outlying parts of them are far-flung, stretching as they are down to the limit of habitation where cultivation and procreation cease and the existence of animals comes to an end.

2. Their known races (castes) are seven, namely:

The SHĀKBĪRIYA (*\*chakravartiya* ?), who in their caste are the noblest, and all the castes prostrate themselves before them, while they do not do so before anyone. The king belongs to them.

3. Then the BRAHMANS, who have the leadership under the king. They prostrate themselves before the Sumani,<sup>1</sup> but the latter do not do so before them. Some of those who belong to this caste do not drink wine or intoxicating drinks.

4. The \*KISHTARIYA (*kshatriya*), who do not drink more than thrice (at a time). The Brahmans do not give (their own women) in marriage to them but marry theirs.

5. Then the SHUDRIYA (*śūdra*), who are agriculturists and husbandmen. The Kshatriyas marry their (women) and give them theirs, while the Brahmans marry theirs but do not give them (their own).

6. Then the BAYSHIYA (*vaiśya*), in whose caste are craftsmen and tradesmen. None of the enumerated castes intermarries with them.

7. Then the SANDALIYA (*candāla*), singers and players. Their women are beautiful and sometimes Brahmans become infatuated with them so as to abandon for them their religion (but otherwise) none of the castes mentioned touches them.

8. Then the DUNBIYA (*domba*), who have a dark complexion<sup>2</sup> and are performers and musicians. People treat them as candālas, but the latter do not mix or intermarry with them.

9. Among their arts and sciences is magic. They pretend that by this means they obtain what they want, heal poisonings while

<sup>1</sup> Shamani, "Buddhists" ?

<sup>2</sup> I. Kh., 71, also has *sunr*, cf. *infra* 547, but another possible reading is *gaun samar*, "entertainers."

that they are not properly purified every month, the fact that the attractive force inherent in the wombs is weakened by the cold and dampness found (in their bodies), so that the sperm, not being caught rapidly, becomes corrupted on account of its lightness and dampness before it has reached its destination.

At another place Galen says that Turkish women do not conceive often because they are care-free and tranquil; as to their handmaidens and slaves, by dint of their movements and activities their bodies are shaken and discharge the excess of dampness contained in them. Consequently, their wombs dry up, they conceive rapidly and their children become many [24a].

19. Hippocrates says that many Turks, on account of what we have related about them, become like eunuchs, grow impotent with their women, do women's work and talk like women. Indeed, what he says is found and attested in the inhabitants of some of the Turkish lands, but those who live in deserts and steppes and lead a nomadic life in winter and summer, are the strongest of men and most enduring in battle and warfare. There are two classes of them: (1) those who possess chiefs and kings whom they obey and with whose decisions and orders they comply, and (2) those who owe allegiance to no one but themselves and over whom no one rules; these are the strongest and the most energetic and courageous.

Hippocrates says that in Asia there are people who owe allegiance to nobody and over whom no one else rules, such as the Ionians and Turks. They are free men who govern themselves and let no one else govern them. What they do and gain they do for themselves, not for anybody else. These are the most courageous, vehement and warlike and, thanks to their (common) perseverance in war against those who fight them, they take booty in equal parts (?).

20. Galen says that their women fight like men and that they cut off one of their breasts so that their entire strength should go into their arms, and their bodies grow slim (enabling them) to jump on to the backs of the horses.

Hippocrates has mentioned these women in some of his works. He calls them AMĀZŪNAS, which means "those who possess but one breast," for they cut off the other and they are only prevented from cutting off the (remaining) breast by the necessity of feeding their children for the perpetuation of their race. (The reason why) they cut off one breast is in order that it may not hamper them in shooting arrows on horseback.

21. As to the class which has kings and chiefs, there are numerous tribes of them, namely, those which we have previously mentioned.

Hippocrates says that in the country of Europe there is a tribe of Turks and that the Turks resemble one another, but do not resemble other peoples. Likewise the Egyptians resemble one another, except that they grow up in the heat, and the Turks in the cold.

Galen says that the people called SŪRMĀTA (Sauromatae) have small eyes and long eye-slits (*tīwāl al-ahāz*).

Hippocrates says that Turkish food and customs are similar (everywhere). Therefore they grew similar in their persons, and distinct from other peoples. And indeed they do not resemble them either in their features or in their habits. He adds: on this account their features have grown thick and fleshy so that their joints do not appear, and their bodies are soft and damp (lymphatic), with no strength.

Galen says: Turkish lands are cold and damp with plenty of water, steppes [23b] and mines. The Turks are care-free and have no exacting occupations. He adds: their joints do not appear, i.e. their joints are hidden and invisible on account of the abundance of flesh, for damp (lymphatic) constitutions engender much flesh which is damp, cold, fat and weak. Therefore Turkish constitutions have become damp and cold.

18. Hippocrates says: their intestines are very damp and secrete much discharge. This, because it is impossible for intestines to grow dry, as happens in such a country and in such natural and climatic conditions, as ours. He adds: their bodies are very obese and necessarily (?) hairless. He adds: such conditions are not favourable for having many children for libido does not incite men towards women and coition in view of the dampness of their constitutions and of the softness and coldness of their intestines. At another place he says that the child-bearing of their women is infrequent on account of the softness and dampness of their entrails. As regards the dampness (it is explained by the following facts); (1) their wombs cannot catch and attract the sperm; (2) the purifications which affect the women every month do not occur as they ought to because their purifications become little (and) take place after long periods; (3) the mouths of their wombs are obstructed by the abundance of fat; (4) as all their bodies grow fat, cervices uterorum earum necessarily also grow fat. Whereas thin and lank limbs have the passages open and the openings broad; fat limbs have narrow openings; therefore (Turkish women) do not conceive often.

Galen says that the fact that they conceive seldom is the result of several causes, such as the narrowness of their cervices, the fact

In the winter the Majgharī raid them, and as a result of their mutual raidings they have many slaves.

15. The Rūs live in an island in the sea, its extent being a distance of three days in either direction. It has woods and forests, and is surrounded by a lake.<sup>1</sup> They are very numerous, and look to the sword to provide them with a livelihood and profession (*al-ma'āsh wal-kasb*). When one of their menfolk dies, leaving daughters and sons, they hand his property over to the daughters, giving the sons only a sword, for they say, "Your father won his property by the sword; do you imitate him and follow him in this."

And in this way their education (*nushu'*) was effected, until they became Christians, during the year 300. When they entered [the fold of] Christianity, the faith blunted their swords, the door of their livelihood was closed to them, they returned to hardship and poverty, and their livelihood shrank. Then they desired to become Muslims, that it might be lawful for them to make raids and holy war, and so make a living by returning to some of their former practices. They therefore sent messengers to the ruler of Khwārazm, four kinsmen of their king; for they had an independent king called VLADIMIR (*V.lādmīr*), just as the king of the Turks is called *khāqān* and the king of the Bulgars *b.t.ūū*. Their messengers came to Khwārazm and delivered their message. The Khwārazm-shāh was delighted at their eagerness to become Muslims, and sent someone to them to teach them the religious laws of Islam. So they were converted.

They are strong and powerful men, and go on foot into far regions in order to raid; they also sail in boats (*fī sufun*) on the Khazar sea, seizing ships and plundering goods. They sail to Constantinople in the sea of Pontus, in spite of the chains in the gulf.<sup>2</sup> Once they sailed into the sea of Khazar and became masters of Barda'a for a time. Their valour and courage are well known, so that any one of them is equal to a number of any other nation. If they had horses and were riders, they would be a great scourge to mankind.

16. We have mentioned various kinds of Turks and their affairs so far as anything is known of them and the news has been propagated, but without going into the matter at any length because their various kinds and classes, their life, habits and customs are more than it is possible to mention or to describe.

17. HIPPOCRATES and GALEN have much to say about them (i.e. the Turks) and we desire to report some of their sayings.

<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps; "and in the neighbourhood (of the woods) there is a lake" (?).

<sup>2</sup> *Khalīj* may apply to the Straits as well but here the reference is apparently to the Golden Horn.

between them; it is merely that this is their custom. When one of the parties is victorious, they (then) steer the two ships off together. In this sea is the fish whose tooth is used in hafting knives, swords and suchlike. Beyond them is a BLACK LAND which cannot be crossed. As for the sea-route, the voyager sailing towards the Pole reaches a part where there is no night in the summer and no day in the winter; the sun rotates visibly over the land for six months, circling the horizon like the revolution of a mill-stone; the whole year thus consists of one day and one night.

13. The MAJGHARĪ are a Turkish people having wide territories reaching a distance of 100 farsakhs in either direction. Their chieftain rides at the head of about 20,000 horsemen, and is called \**k.nda*, this name being the distinction of their king. They are a tent-dwelling people, and migrate following the herbage (*kalā*) and vegetation. One border of their territory reaches the SEA OF RŪM, and there are found here (*wa hunāka*) two rivers which flow into that sea, one of them being bigger than the Oxus (*Jayhūn*). The habitations of the Majgharī lie between these two rivers, whose names are the Rūnā (*Rūtā* ?) and the Atil. Their territories abound in forests, and they also have sown fields. They overcome those of the Slavs and Rūs who are their neighbours, carrying off captives whom they sell in Rūm. The Majgharī are handsome and very comely (*rivā' wa manzar hasan*), their bodies are bulky, and they have wealth and visible property on account of their great commerce.

14. The SLAVS are a numerous people, and between their territories and the territories of the Pechenegs is a distance of 10 days, along steppes and pathless country with thick trees (*ashjār mullaḥfa*) and [abounding] in springs. They inhabit these forests. They have no vines, but possess much honey. They tend swine, and burn their dead, for they worship Fire. They grow mostly millet, and have a drink prepared from honey. They have different kinds of pipes (*mazāmīr*), including one two cubits long. Their lute is flat and has eight strings but no peg-box (*bunjuq*), while (*illā anna*) its pegs are level. They have no great wealth (*laysa lahum sa'at fil-ma'īsha*). Their weapons are javelins and spears, and they have fine bucklers. Their head chieftain is called *suwīt*,<sup>1</sup> and he has a deputy called *sh.rīh*.<sup>1</sup> The king has [riding] beasts and on their milk he feeds. The town in which he resides is called К.Н.З.Н.Р.А.Т., where they hold a market for three days in every month. Among them the cold is so severe that they dig deep underground dwellings which they cover with wood, and heat with the steam [produced by the burning] of dung and firewood. There they remain during their winter season.

<sup>1</sup> See the Commentary.



tilled lands. The extent of their land is 17 days in either direction; they have no fruits, and they make a drink from honey.

§12 *bis* (= 2 in Chap. XV). In the northern direction lies the country of BULGHĀR<sup>1</sup>; it lies between the west (?) and the north, inclining towards the Pole, and is three months distant from Khwārazm. These (people) have two cities, one called SUVĀR and the other called BULGHĀR; between the two cities is a distance of two days' journey, along the bank of a river and through very dense forests, in which they fortify themselves against their enemies. The trees are mostly *khadang*, but there are also hazels. They are Muslims, and make war on the infidel Turks, raiding them, because they are surrounded by infidels. There are in their forests fur-bearing animals, such as grey squirrels, sable, and so on. The latitude of their territory is very considerable (*wa 'arḍu arḍihim kathīrun*), so much so that in summer their day is extremely long and their night extremely short, so short in fact that the interval between twilight and dawn is not sufficient for cooking a pot (of meat).

§12 *ter* (= 3 in Chap. XV). At a distance of twenty days from them, towards the Pole, is a land called Isū, and beyond this a people called YŪRA; these are a savage people, living in forests and not mixing with other men, for they fear that they may be harmed by them. The people of Bulghār journey to them, taking wares, such as clothes, salt and other things, in contrivances (*lit.* 'utensils') drawn by dogs over the heaped snows, which (never) clear away. It is impossible for a man to go over these snows, unless he binds on to his feet the thigh-bones of oxen, and takes in his hands a pair of javelins which he thrusts backwards into the snow, so that his feet slide forwards over the surface of the ice; with a favourable wind (?) he will travel a great distance by the day. The people of Yūra trade by means of signs and dumb show, for they are wild and afraid of (other) men. From them are imported excellent sable and other fine furs; they hunt these animals, feeding on their flesh and wearing their skins.

§12 *quater* (= 4 in Chap. XV). Beyond these are a COAST-DWELLING PEOPLE who travel far over the sea, without any (definite) purpose and intention; they merely do this in order to boast of reaching (such and such a remote) locality. They are a most ignorant and stupid tribe, and their ignorance is shown by the following. They sail in ships, and whenever two (of their) boats meet, the sailors lash the two together, and then they draw their swords and fight. This is their form of greeting. They come from the same town, perhaps from the same quarter, and there is no kind of enmity or rivalry

by many peoples; to the north are the Khifjākh, to the south-west (*al-janūb fil-maghrib*) the Khazar, to the east (*min nāḥiyat al-sharq*?) the Ghuzz, and to the west the Slavs. These peoples all raid the Pechenegs, who [likewise] raid them. The Pechenegs are wealthy, having beasts, flocks, household property, gold, silver, weapons, ensigns, and lances (*tarādāt*). Between the Pechenegs and the Khazar there is a distance of ten days, the country being steppes and forest. There is no beaten track between the two territories, and they travel over (the distance) by means of the stars, landmarks or at random.

11. The territories of the KHAZAR are wide, reaching on one side to a great mountain-(range). At the furthest end of this mountain there dwell two divisions of the Turks, called the Tūlās and the Lw'r.<sup>1</sup> This mountain stretches away to the land of Tiflis. Their city is called SĀR's<sup>1</sup> (*\*Sārigh-sh.n?*) and they have another city called K.H.TBALIGH<sup>1</sup> (*sic*) (*\*Kh.nbaligh*, etc. ?); in these two cities they dwell during the winter, but with the approach of spring they go out into the deserts (*ṣahārī*), where they spend all the summer. Their king rides at the head of 10,000 horsemen wherever he goes. It is their custom, when going forth in any direction, that every horseman carries with him twenty tamarisk pegs two cubits (*dhirā'*) long. When they come to their encampment, they all plant their pegs in the ground surrounding the site, and lean their bucklers against them: in this way in less than an hour round the encampment a wall is made which cannot be pierced.

12. To them (also) belong the B.RDĀS, whose territory is part of the Khazar territory, there being a distance of 15 days between the two tribes. They obey the Khazar king, and supply 10,000 horsemen. They have no chieftain to rule and govern them, but at every place they have an elder to whom they refer their disputes as they arise. Their territory is wide, and contains forests. They raid the B.lkār and Pechenegs. They are handsome and comely and have a [fine] physique. Among them when a girl reaches puberty she leaves the authority of her father, and chooses whom she wants among the men, until finally a suitor (*khātīb*) comes for her to her father and the latter, if he wishes, gives her away [to the man]. They have swine and oxen as well as abundance of honey; their [chief] property is the fur of weasels (? *dalaq*)<sup>2</sup>. They consist of two groups, one group burning and the other burying their dead. Their land is flat, their trees are mostly the *khalanj*, and they have

<sup>1</sup> On the names, see the Commentary.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the animal called in Russian кунница.

7. To them also belong the KIMĀK, a people without villages or houses, who possess forests, woods, water, and herbage; they have cattle and sheep in plenty, but no camels, for camels will not live in their country more than a year. They also have no salt, except what may be imported by merchants, who for a maund of it obtain a fox and sable skin. In the summer they live on the milk of mares, in winter on jerked meat. Snow is plentiful there, and even falls to a depth of a spear-shaft. When the snow falls as heavily as that, the Kimāks transfer their beasts to the Ghuzz country, if there is peace between them. The Kimāk possess underground dwellings (*asrāb*) which they prepare for winter and in them they live when the cold is severe. If any of them wishes to go out to hunt the sable (*samūr*) or the ermine (*qāqum*) or suchlike, he takes two pieces of wood, each three cubits long and a span wide, with one of the ends turned up like the prow of a ship, and binds them with his boots on to his feet. In these he treads, rolling across the snow like a ship cleaving the waves.

8. To the right (South?) of these Kimāks are three peoples who worship Fire and Waters. They trade with foreigners, employing signs, without any vocal conversation passing between them. The foreigner brings his merchandise on a wooden [plank] and then a Kimak comes and puts down opposite it his equivalent. If the owner of the merchandise is satisfied, he takes the equivalent and throws the goods off the plank; if, however, he is not satisfied, he leaves the goods there. They are particularly fond of copper (*shabah*) bowls and red leather bags (*jurab*). They fast one day every year, burn their dead, and do not mourn for them, saying: "We acquiesce in God's decree."

8 bis (= 15 in Chap. XV). It is related in the book *al-Masālik wal-Mamālik* that there is a certain people who come in boats from a westerly direction (*nāhiyaṭ al-gharb*) to the Kimāk and trade with them by signs, putting their wares on a plank of wood until they come to terms. They (?) are fond of copper bowls of which they make ornaments for their womenfolk. (While bargaining) they do not speak (44a-b).

9. Towards the *qibla* of the Kimāk is a people called the B.SRĪ (?)<sup>1</sup>; they have an independent chieftain, they live in woods and forests winter and summer.

10. The PECHENEKS (Bajanāk) are a wandering people, following the rainfalls and pasturage. Their territory extends a distance of thirty days in either direction, and they are bordered on all sides

<sup>1</sup> The transcription is purely tentative!

5 *bis* (= 5 in Chap. XV). As for the farthest parts of the territories of the Turks there are between  $\bar{C}$ j and KĀSHGHAR meadows and steppes wherein are wild camels and various species of wild beasts; there are likewise wild men who have no intercourse with [other] men.<sup>1</sup>

5 *ter* (= 6 in Chap. XV). On this side (*dān*) of the Khirkhīz, in the direction of Chinānjath, there are thickets and forests, overgrown and impenetrable, tangled places, abundant water, and valleys in close succession to one another where rain is continuous. In these forests there dwells a wild people; they have no intercourse with other men, and do not understand their language; they are like wild beasts, and (only) associate with their own kind. The boats which they employ for the transport of their loads consist of the skins of fish and wild animals. (43 a) Whenever they emerge from these forests they are like fish out of water. They have wooden bows, and their clothes are of the skins of wild beasts; their food they get by hunting. They are warriors and fighters; when they intend to attack any enemy they go out with their families on foot (seeking to) compute their enemy's numbers; having ascertained this, they set upon them by night, destroying and annihilating them. Whatever falls into their hands and whatever they seize they set fire to and burn, for they do not hold it to be lawful to take the possessions of others, with the exception of weapons and iron. When they desire to have intercourse with their wives, they make them go on all fours, and then have coition after the manner of wild beasts and animals. Their wives' dowries consist of animals and wild beasts. When any one of them dies, his corpse is bound up with ropes and suspended in trees, and there left to rot. Now and then one of them visits a Khirkhīz in search of food; if his quest is granted by the Khirkhīz and he is hospitably received (all is well); otherwise he leaps upon (the Khirkhīz) and slays him, and then flees back to his meadow.

6. To them also belong the KHARLUKH. These formerly dwelt in the mountain of Tūnis (\**Tūlis*), which is the Golden mountain, and were the slaves of the Toghuzghuz; [later] they rebelled against them, and migrated to the land of the T.K.K.s (\**Türgish*), which they seized and conquered and usurped the kingdom (or: subjected the king). From thence they moved on to Islamic territories. Of the Kharlukh there are nine divisions, of which three are of the Chigil, three of the B.gh.sk.l, and one each of the B.lāq, Kūk.rkīn (*Kūdārkin*?) and Tukhsi.

<sup>1</sup> See also Chapter XV, §21.

Of their numbers [is? or was?] \*Ākinji b. \*Qochqar (?) the Khwārazmshāh. The Qūn were followed [or pursued] by a people called the QĀY, who being more numerous and stronger than they drove them out of these [new?] pasture-lands. They then moved on to the territory of the SHĀRĪ, and the Shāri migrated to the land of the TÜRKMĀNS, who in their turn shifted to the eastern parts of the GHUZZ country. The Ghuzz Turks then moved to the territory of the BAJĀNAK, near the shores of the Armenian (?) sea.

4. To them (also) belong the KHIRKHĪZ, a numerous people dwelling between the summer east [=N.E.] and the north; the Kimāk live to the north, the Yaghmā and the Kharlukh to the west of them, while Kucha (*K.jā*) and Ark [with regard to them] lie between the winter west and the south. The Khirkhiz make a practice of burning their dead, asserting that fire purified and cleansed them; that was their ancient use, but when they became neighbours with Muslims, they began burying their dead. Among the Khirkhiz is a man, a commoner, called *faghīnūn*, who is summoned on a fixed day every year; about him there gather singers and players and so forth, who begin drinking and feasting. When the company is well away, this man faints and falls as if in a fit; he is asked about all the events that are going to happen (21 a) in the coming year, and he gives information whether [crops] will be plentiful or scarce, whether there will be rain or drought, and so forth; and they believe that what he says is true.

5. In the territory of the KHIRKHĪZ there are four watercourses which flow and pour into a single great watercourse running between mountains and dark caverns. It is related that a certain man of the Khirkhiz took a boat and sailed along this watercourse for three days, in darkness, during which time he saw neither sun nor star nor light of any kind. Then he emerged into light and open air and left his boat. Hearing the sound of the hoofs of beasts, he climbed into a tree to watch; three horsemen came along, each as tall as a long spear, and with them were dogs the size of oxen. When they came up to him and saw him they took pity on him, and one of them fetched him down [from the tree] and mounted him on his beast, hiding him from the dogs for fear that they should tear him to pieces. They took him to their encampment, set him on top of a tent, and gave him their food to eat, marvelling at him, as if they had never seen his like before. Then one of them carried him and brought him near his own place, guiding him on the road until he arrived there. No one knows who these people were or to what race of mankind they belonged.

of the body increase. The animal comes to certain places in the desert where it is wont to roll and does not graze or drink until from the plentifulness of blood its swollen navel becomes detached (falls) and sometimes its horns as well. Some of the animals die there, but some survive and return to the pastures. The navels accumulate on the said rolling-grounds, and, after some years, the blood coagulates, dries up and turns to musk. At the season of the rains Tibetan youths start towards those deserts and often discover rolling-grounds with thousands of (fallen) vesicles and collect what is good of them. But often their endeavours are foiled.

## CHAPTER IX OF THE TURKS

1. The Turks are a great people and consist of many kinds and varieties, many tribes and sub-tribes. Some of them dwell in towns and villages, and some of them in wastes and deserts.

2. Of their great tribes are the GHUZZ, who comprehend twelve tribes, and of these some are called \*TOGHUZGHUZ, some UY-GHUR, and some UCH-GHUR (?). Their king is called TOGHUZ-KHAGAN, and he has numerous armies. In ancient times their king had 1000 life-guards (*shākiri*) and 400 female servants; with him (*'inda-hu*) the life-guards used to eat food three times a day, and after eating, were served with drink three times. Their king only presents himself to the people once in a season (?). They have good customs in government. Some of them live in wastes and deserts, having tents and yurtas (felt-huts, *khargāh*); their wastes march with Transoxiana and partly also with the territories of Khwārazm.

When they came into contact with Muslim countries some of them embraced Islam; these were called TÜRKMĀNS. Open war broke out between them and the others who had not accepted the faith, but in the end the Muslims became numerous, made an excellent profession, and overwhelmed the infidels and drove them out. The latter quitted Khwārazm and migrated to the regions of the Bajanāk (Pechenegs). The Türkumāns spread through the Islamic lands and there displayed an excellent character, so much so that they ruled over the greater part of these territories, becoming kings and sultans.

3. To them (also) belong the QŪN; these came from the land of Qitāy, fearing the Qitā-khan. They (were) Nestorian Christians, and had migrated from their habitat, being pressed for pastures.

Some of it lies in the kingdom of China and some in the kingdom of India. The inhabitants resemble those of China, Turkish (lands) and India. Tibet has an independent king and its language differs from other languages. A particular feature of their country is that whoever enters it and settles in it becomes ever gay and smiling without knowing the reason for it, and never a sad (face) is seen in it.

There is a tribe of Tibetans called ARĀ,<sup>1</sup> who live in a land and place called in Tibetan AKHĀY.L, which possesses thick woods, meadows and pastures. They are of the king's people. When the Tibet-khāqān dies childless and there is no one else in the khāqān's family, a man from among them is elected and made khāqān. As regards the place called BĀB AL-TUBBATAYN ("the Gate of the two Tibets"), it is a gate between the mountain SHĪWA and the river KH.RNĀB, fixed on a weak wall built of thorns and earth, and the Tibetans have there a military post where toll is levied from anyone travelling that way, to the amount of one part out of forty.

There is a tribe of Tibetans called ANK-R.NK (lower: *Rānk-R.nk*). These are a poor and weak people (but) they possess gold and silver mines, some of which are in the mountains, and some under the ground. In those which lie in the mountains large nuggets are found like heads of rams and kids, but they do not fetch any of it, saying that, if anyone takes it, death strikes his house and goes on until he (20 a) has replaced the nugget in its place in the mountains, and only then does death leave him alone. The part of these minerals from which they profit is what they get out of the ground.<sup>2</sup> With that they pay their *kharāj*, which is assessed per head.

Above Rāng-r.nk (*sic*) there is another tribe of Tibetans resembling Turks. They possess cattle and tents and from their place to the frontier (?) of the Tibet-khāqān there is a distance of 20 days. Here lies a place called ZĀB, where a huge river is found, one of whose banks, namely, the eastern one, forms the frontier of China, while the western side is the frontier of Tibet. Chinese merchants bring their goods to the bank of this river and pass over to the other bank in boats which they build of timber and skins. They trade with Tibetans and return on the same day.

43. Tibetan musk is of the best quality and of the purest scent. Musk is the navel of an animal which resembles the largest (kind of) deer. At a certain season of the year the animal becomes agitated and black blood flowing from other parts of the body gathers in its navel. The tumour swells and pains in the head and in the whole

<sup>1</sup> Apparently \**Akhā*. The following name is *Akhā-yul* "the country of A."  
<sup>2</sup> *Yaltaqīūna*, "they pick up," but the meaning must be "which they extract."

similarly, when he has committed a crime punishable by death, they do not kill him before he has signed a document saying that he has indeed merited execution. This document is read to him publicly that he may agree with it. Then (the judges) suspend the procedure during several hours in order to see whether they have any doubt about the criminal's mind. And only having agreed as to the soundness of his mind do they kill him.

38. One of their customs is that, when someone is leaving the country for a journey, they register his name and the goods and slaves he is taking with him. At every military post where he arrives the document is read and the officer in command reports to the eunuch, who is the king's clerk, that so-and-so, son of so-and-so, safely passed here on such a day and such a month, with his goods and slaves. They do it to protect people's property. He who left their country without the king's permission and was caught is arrested, imprisoned and fined. In some of their lands, when a stranger who has bought a handmaiden and begotten a child by her wants to take her away with him, he is prevented from so doing, for they say: "Why hast thou sown in our soil? Who allowed thee to do so? Now take the crop, i.e. the child, and leave the soil."

39. They take pride in elegance of dress, in the perfect state of their houses and in the number of (their) vases. Their homes are spacious and adorned with porticos, statues and painting (v.s. §30). Their avenues are overshadowed (*mughallāt*?) by temples built of cypress wood, as are also most of their markets, and every day several times they are levelled<sup>1</sup> and besprinkled. They build (19b) the thresholds of their houses high in order that no litter may fall out of their dwellings.

40. Whenever the king wants to enter his women's apartments and to remain alone with the women the astrologer goes up to the roof of the house where he is and observes the stars in order to choose the time propitious for his intercourse with some one of his women.

41. At the farthest end of the Chinese territory lies the land called SĪLĀ (Silla, Shin-lo, Corea). Whoever Muslim or other stranger enters it, settles in it and never leaves it, on account of its pleasantness and excellence. Much gold is found there.

The territories of China lie between the Ocean, the Toghuzghuz territories, Tibet and the Persian Gulf (*sic*).

42. TIBET is a country situated between China, India, the country of the Kharlukh and Toghuzghuz and the sea of Fārs.

<sup>1</sup> Possibly \**tuknasu* "are swept."



throw his head into a place specially prepared, over which there is an inscription: "This is the punishment of him who has disobeyed the order of the Government." And one of their laws is that he that has stolen (the value of) more than 100 small coins, i.e. 10 dirhams, shall be killed and shall on no account be spared.

33. In the environs of KHUMDĀN, which is the capital of the king surnamed FAḤFŪR, there are 120 villages, and in each of them some 1000 men of all ranks (*murattaba*). The city has four gates, and when the king mounts 30,000 horse mount with him. It is said that the king of China possesses 360 towns, and daily one of them send him its *kharāj*, together with garments for his personal wear and with a handmaiden to please him. One of their customs is that no one is allowed to monopolise wheat, wood, salt or iron, but these commodities are exposed in the markets and may be bought according to one's needs. In the environs of Khumdān are lakes with islands, and towns paying *kharāj*.

34. The coast of China stretches for two months and, as on a day when there is a fair wind the mariners are able to sail a distance of 50 farsakhs, the extension of the coast is 3000 farsakhs along the sea-shore.

35. To the left of China towards the summer sunrise (N.E.), between China and the Khirkhiz, there is a numerous population. They are tribes with names such as ABRMR, ḤWRNYR, TŪLMĀN, F.RĀHNKLĪ, YĀTHĪ, ḤYNĀTHĪ, BŪBŪ'NĪ, B.NKŪY, FŪRĪ.<sup>1</sup> They make (19a) ornaments for their women out of white shells (*wad'*, "cowrie"), which they use instead of pearls.

36. The author of the book *al-Masālik* says that beyond China there is a nation of white-and-pink complexion (*shuqr*) and red hair. The heat of the sun is extreme in their country and they live in underground dwellings which they have built themselves. When the sun rises they enter these dwellings until the sun is about to set and then they come out. However, this record needs (further) consideration because a white-and-pink complexion and red hair are produced by the excess of cold and deficiency of heat, as in the case of the Slavs and the Rūs.

37. One of the customs of the Chinese is that, when a man has committed a crime which deserves a fine and punishment, he cannot be prosecuted before he has confessed and signed (?) a document to this effect. Then this document is presented to the king's clerks and the king orders a punishment appropriate to his crime. And

<sup>1</sup> The transcription of these names, which are undotted in the original, is purely conventional and cannot be relied upon. See the Commentary.

who has committed adultery is killed, be it a man or a woman, but the mourning is not remitted thereby. In their markets there are women practising fornication, and the government levies a tax on them. However, these are recruited from among the low and vile.

All this in the city of Sānjū (read: *Khān-fū*, Canton ?), which is a great city.

29. The great city in which the king of China lives is called KHUMDĀN, and it is said that from the city of Chīnānjkaṭh to Khumdān there is a distance of four months through pasture lands.

30. The country of China is vast. The majority of its inhabitants have round faces and flattened noses, their clothes are of silk and brocade. All wear wide sleeves and long skirts trailing on the ground. Their homes are spacious and embellished with porticos (*majālis*) and statues.<sup>1</sup> Their army is numerous. Their king is almost invisible and only his vazir or chamberlain attends on him. The heads of his army see him once a week. If an envoy from a king visits him he is introduced into his presence at a specially appointed time. (At the audience) the vazir stands on (the king's) right,<sup>2</sup> and the envoy is kept at a distance in accordance with the rank of (him who) sent him. Then he prostrates himself and does not raise his head until ordered (to do) so. Then the chamberlain addresses him and he informs him about himself and of the object of his mission. Then the king orders him to be given presents consisting of a cut (*takht*) of textile<sup>3</sup> and of a gilt silver bowl. The envoy returns to the envoys' house and appears daily at the court (18b) and gradually approaches (the object) until the answer is given and he is dismissed.

31. Most of their crops are cereals. Whenever the rains have been scanty, prices rise, and when the inhabitants have suffered from scarcity the king sends (his men) to the idol-temples to seize the shamans, to imprison them, to put them in irons and to threaten them with death if it does not rain, and they keep using them roughly till it does rain.

32. In the king's palace there are numerous kettle-drums and drums, and when the sun is about to set the kettle-drums are beaten. When the inhabitants hear it everyone hastens and hurries towards his house. No one remains outside after sunset. The Government agents disperse themselves in the town-wards and on the highways and, if they find anyone out of his house, they behead him and

<sup>1</sup> V. i., this sentence repeated in §39.

<sup>2</sup> Gardizi: "one vazir on the right and another on the left."

<sup>3</sup> Gardizi, 93: *takhtī dibā*.

they were born.<sup>1</sup> If a man has died among his people and in his house, he is kept in a wooden trough (*naqīr*), which has the shape of a coffin. Some drugs are strewn over him which preserve his body from evil smells and decay. Thus, if he was well-off. And if he was poor, some burnt shells are strewn over him after they have been heated and reduced to powder. They absorb his humours and his remains no longer smell. This trough in which they place dead men may remain in the earth one thousand years or more, and it hardly gives off any smell.

If a man dies, a period of three years' mourning is imposed on his wife, as well as on her son and her (*sic*) brother. If a wife dies, a similar period of mourning is imposed on the husband. Men and women weep over their dead at the beginning of the day, in the middle of the day and at the end of the day, so long as the dead body remains with them. If one of them or their relatives does not weep he is punished and beaten and people will say: "Thou hast killed him if his death does not grieve thee." When the time for burying him has arrived and they are about to carry him to the grave, if he was well-off, they put food, fruit and wine on the road from his house to the cemetery, and wrap them up in brocades and silks. After he has been put in the grave these dishes are ransacked (by the crowd). And sometimes, if the deceased was a rich person, his beasts and clothes without exception are carried with him to his place of burial and there looted (*fa-yumazzaqu*). If a Muslim dies in their country and has no heir, his property is taken and placed in the king's treasury and an inscription is put up over it recording the names of the person, his father and grandfather, and the date of his death. And they wait three years and three months and three days and, if his successor comes before the expiration of the term, the property is handed over to him.

The Chinese know each other's age without mistake because all of them record (?) it in writing. Should someone die and leave a child without a tutor, the child is entrusted to the king's clerks for teaching and education and the treasury provides his sustenance. When finally he has reached maturity he is assessed to the poll-tax. When an old man has reached the age of eighty, or even seventy, the king's treasury pays him an allowance and even though he has committed a fault punishable with death or a fine, he is pardoned. If there is an enmity between a man and a woman they are more disposed towards the woman. Their women outdo men in crafts and commerce. They do not cover their hair. A married person

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* apparently a person born in the year of the Mouse (v.s. 525) was to be buried in the same year of the animal cycle.

the name of the captain is written down together with that of his father, as well as the names of the merchants who accompany him, with the age of each one of them, that is, every man is asked how old he is and whence he comes and from what tribe. Then they write down and register whatever there is on board of goods according to their classes. The most appreciated thing imported to them is the rhinoceros horn, called *khutū* (spelt *khatū*), and the Chinese call it *bishān* (*sic*). Having registered all the cargo of the ship they allow (the sailors) to land and, as soon as they are settled at an inn, they are visited by a eunuch clerk who takes them to the master of the town. Whoever has cleaner and better garments is more respected by them. Then the king enquires about their personal health and how they fared on their voyage, after which he sends them to the house of the eunuch clerk situated outside the town. When they have entered it, seats (*kursī*) are brought to them and they sit on them. Then they are asked about their health and (the eunuch) shows them signs of respect and serves them local fruit and wine. Then he tells them to adjourn to their inn and tells his representatives to look after and care for them. They call the representative *fāsām* (\**fan-chang*).

Then the goods which form the cargo are taken out and placed in (store) houses which are sealed by the clerks, and their sale or purchase is prohibited for the term of six months, till the end of the period of the monsoon (*al-rīḥ*, "wind"). When they have learned that the arrival of ships has stopped and the time has come when no one arrives, they remit the goods to the merchants after having levied the custom fee, which amounts to 30 per cent. ("three out of ten"), and they sell as they wish. The object of this prohibition of trade during six months is that all the import cargoes should have arrived (17b) and the price of them have been stabilized lest the buyer or seller should (suffer) because of low prices or sustain a loss. It often happens that the amount of goods in a year increases and the market is spoilt, or the amount dwindles and the prices rise. They purchase all with money with which they pay for all goods.

28. All the Chinese are assessed to a poll-tax, with the exception of women and children. When a child is born to them the time of his birth at night or day time is recorded and the document is placed with his father, or his relatives, so that they should not be mistaken about his age. When he has reached the age of manhood he is assessed to the poll-tax, and never do records fail to go to the king of the men who live in his kingdom and of those who have died. The dead are buried only in the year, month, day and hour in which

KHĀN-FŪ (Canton, spelt *Hānqū*), which is larger than \*Lūfin. This is a great port with a great river of fresh water which flows through the city and is spanned by bridges. On one of its banks are the markets of foreign merchants and on the other the markets of the natives. The majority of Persian and Arab merchants who travel thither sail on their ships, (the Persians) from Sirāf and the Arabs from Basra.

In this city (of Canton) the Collector of the king's tithe gathers the goods of the merchants and levies the tithe.

The people of this city are faithful, sure and truthful in speech.

Here Chinese porcelain is produced as well as excellent paper, one side of which is white and the other yellow. Chinese silk of good quality is also produced here.

The people are dressed in caftans. One of their customs is that at daytime each one of the inhabitants of the two markets mixes (freely) with the others carrying on trade and other operations, but at sunset the drum is beaten on both banks and each party retires to its own place. If after that some one of the two parties is found in the market of the other side he is punished and fined. If someone of the Chinese staying in the strangers' market is benighted he must spend the night with them.

No stranger is allowed to take out of the city slaves, either male or female, destined for servitude, but if a merchant has had children by a handmaiden he may export her, and he is not prevented from doing so.

The goods imported to them are elephant's tusks, pepper, assafoetida, glass, lapis lazuli, saffron, steel, tamarisk wood, walnuts, all kinds of dried fruit, such as dates and raisins.

27. Their king is kind to merchants and there is no oppression of anyone who enters his region.

The (Chinese) have all white faces and there are (17a) no black or dusky people among them. They are whiter than the Rūm (Byzantines), of a pure white colour and fine skin.

The king of \*Khan-fu rules on behalf of the king of China, he commands an army and (gives) the battle-orders.

Their custom is to levy from the merchants who come to this city three-tenths of whatever they have with them; of this (tax) one-half goes to the lord of the army and the other is sent to the king of China.

When a ship comes to the gate of this city it is met by the clerks and scribes from among the local population who register the number of whoever there is on board: men, women, children, slaves. Then

that a good memory thereof may remain forever. If he wishes what we wish, let him write a letter and dispatch an envoy—to prepare the policy of friendship through him and to strengthen the position by his rank.

"A messenger (slave?) whose name is Q. Itunkā has been sent from \*Qitāy and we have joined with him one of our companions, so that whenever someone is dispatched to ourselves he may be with him. The road of return of the \*Qitāy envoy lies through this region. We have not entrusted any presents to our envoy because there is no safe road, but we have sent a slave and an arrow as a symbol. Qāshī will deliver our message orally. In the fifth month."

24. When the two letters were presented to Maḥmūd and he saw what stupidity they contained, moved as he was by his strong belief in Islam, he did not find it possible to grant what was requested with regard to the establishment of sincere relations and correspondence, and he dismissed the envoys, saying to them: "Peace and truce are possible only so far as to prevent war and fighting. There is no faith uniting us that we should be in close relations. Great distance creates security for both of us against any perfidy. I have no need of close relations with you until you accept Islam. And that is all."

25. This happened in the year 418 (A.D. 1027), and as regards the expression "Year of the Mouse" mentioned as the date of the letter (it must be known that) the Chinese, the Turks, the Tibetans and the Khotanese possess a cycle of 12 years, on the completion of which they start again from the beginning. These years are called after certain animals whose names differ in the said languages (16b) and they are called:

the first	the year of the	Mouse
the second	" "	Bull
the third	" "	Leopard
the fourth	" "	Hare
the fifth	" "	<i>l.bnāt</i> (?) of the Water
the sixth	" "	Snake
the seventh	" "	Horse
the eighth	" "	Sheep
the ninth	" "	Monkey
the tenth	" "	Hen
the eleventh	" "	Dog
the twelfth	" "	Hog

and then it goes back to the Mouse.

26. As regards the road to China by sea, the first sea port on the way to it is called LŪQĪR (\**Lūfin*, Lung-pien), then the town of

"And as there happened to be an alliance with Qadir-khan through a noble lady<sup>1</sup> from the bosom of my house who became married to his son \*Chaghri-egin, and (thus) both houses became united through her, we have ordered Qadir khan to open the road to our envoy to him (i.e. to Maḥmūd) and to his envoy to ourselves, chosen from among men of sound judgment, intelligent and serious, so that we may inform him of how things stand with us, and communicate with him on what there is in the world, while establishing the custom of mutual donations, in friendship with him.

"The object in dispatching this envoy Qalitunkā (\**Qul-Tonga?*) is to open the road of union and to fasten the ties of amity."

Of souvenirs the (envoy) carried only:

- 2 suits of *khwīdh*
- 1 suit of *zhūnkī*
- 1 suit of *k.nzī*
- 2 suits of *sh.k.rdi*, (each) of 2 pieces
- 15 suits of raw silk, (each) of 2 pieces
- furs of sable-marten (for) pelisse (\**yāqū*)
- 200 sable martens
- 1000 grey squirrels
- 30 vesicles of musk
- 1 bow with 10 arrows

This letter was written in the year of the Mouse.

23. The YUGHUR-KHAN (too) wrote a letter to (Maḥmūd) and this is its translation:

"Concerning the welfare of ourself, the exalted Ilig Yughur-khan to Sulṭān Maḥmūd.

"In spite of the great distance, (we enquire) how he is in his person. We rejoice at what we hear of his welfare and we are gladdened by what we hear about his conquests over the lower countries (down) to the lands of Hind.

"As he is entertaining close relations with the kings of the world, and friendliness with the lords of the outlying regions, our happiness (kingdom?) is inclined toward the friendship of one who belongs to the number of famous champions and celebrated worthies of the world in view of the superiority and heroism (which he manifested) in the Eastern and Western spheres. We ardently desire that love and respect should be established between (us).

"Therefore the present envoy has been dispatched and, though the countries be far apart, our hearts are near to each other. We desire to devote the rest of our life to correspondence and mutual love so

<sup>1</sup> *al-ḥurra* stands undoubtedly for Turkish *khātūn*, v.i. Biruni's translation of *Qatun-sinī* by *maqbarat-al ḥurra*.

(lawful) business. And from it (i.e. Ujam) to the sea is a journey of seven days.

20. The traveller towards \*QITĀY at half a month's distance from Sānjū (\*Sha-chou?) reaches a group of SHĀRĪ who are known by the name of a chief of theirs which is BĀSMĪL (\*Basmil). They fled to this place from Islam being afraid of circumcision.

21. The kings of Qitāy and Yughur, in spite of the fact that their countries are situated far from the countries of Islam, and that the roads leading to them are cut off do not feel safe on the side bordering on the kings of Islam and Islamic armies because they have heard of, and witnessed the rise of this faith, its elevation, and the power of its adherents in punishing their enemies. Therefore they protect themselves and their country by closing the road and stationing guards.

22. When SULTĀN MAHMŪD. God's mercy on him, succeeded in achieving his might and in conquering the Indian and Turkish lands, the lords of \*Qitāy and Yughur became afraid of him and the lord of \*Qitāy wrote to him a letter (15b) the translation of which is as follows:

"Concerning [the] welfare [of the Khan]. To the amir of Khorasan Maḥmūd Qarā-khān.<sup>1</sup>

"The Lord of the Heavens has granted to us (many?) kingdoms upon the face of (this) wide earth and placed us in possession of regions occupied by numerous tribes. In our capital we enjoy security and act according to our will. Anyone in the world who can see and hear cannot help seeking friendship and close relations with us. Our nephews from among the amirs of the nearer regions constantly and without exception send their envoys, and their letters and presents follow upon one another. (Only) he (Maḥmūd) until now has sent no envoy or messenger, while we hear of his excellence in strength and courage, of his outstanding position in might and elevation, of his supremacy over the amirs by awe, of his control of the provinces by might and authority and of his peace in his homeland according to his own will. As he enjoys such a glorious position it is a duty for him to write his news to the Supreme Khan than whom there is none higher beneath the heavens, and to treat him with consideration according to his state. So we have taken the initiative, limiting ourselves to the dispatch of this lightly equipped envoy rather than someone who would exceed him in rank and equipage, in view of the greatness of the distance and the length of time (necessary) for covering it.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. on this title p. 56.



18. In ancient times all the districts of Transoxiana had belonged to the kingdom of China, with the district of Samarqand as its centre (*qaṣaba*). When Islam appeared and God delivered the said district to the Muslims, the Chinese migrated to their (original) centres, but there remained in Samarqand, as a vestige of them, the art of making good paper of high quality. And when they migrated to Eastern parts their lands became disjoined and their provinces divided and there was a king in China, and a king in Qitāy, and a king in Yughur with long stretches of territory between these kingdoms.

19. He who intends to visit these countries upon commercial or other business travels:

From Kāshghar to Yārkan	in 4 days (15a)
thence to Khotan	„ 10 „
thence to K.rwyā (Keriya)	„ 5 „
thence to Sājū (Sha-chou)	„ 50 „

There (at Sājū) the roads to China, Qitāy and Yughur part:

A. He who travels to Y.NJŪR, which is the capital of the king of China TAMGHĀJ-KHĀN turns from the easterly direction southwards, towards the right, and reaches \*Qām-jū (= Kan-chou), then L.kśin—in forty days—and during this (journey) he leaves on his left the lands of \*Khocho (spelt *Hhw*), of which are known Sūlmin (*sic*) and Chīnānjath. From here he enters the kingdom of Tamghāj-khān and finally reaches Y.njūr in about 40 days.

Beyond China there is a nation known as SH.RGHŪL, called by the Chinese S.nqū (\*Sung-kuo), which is at a month's distance from \*Qitāy, at the limit of inhabited lands, among water and thin mud. They are said to be those who are called Mājīn (\*Māchīn) and the Indians call them Great China (i.e. Mahāchīna).

B. He who intends going to \*Qocho (spelt *Fwjw*), which is the city of the Yughur-khan, turns away towards the left after Sājū (\*Sha-chou).

C. He who intends going to ŪJAM (*sic*), which is the capital of Qitāy, travels eastwards and arrives at a place called

Khātūn-san (*Khātūn-sīnī)	in about 2 months
then to Ūtkīn (?)	„ a month
then to Ūjam ( <i>sic</i> )	„ a month

The circuit of Ūjam is about 2 farsakhs and this *mamlaka* ("kingdom, territory"?) is surrounded by (a fence of) sticks bent and driven into the ground at both ends, and here, at every two farsakhs, there are stationed guards who keep going on patrol and following footprints, and they kill anyone whom they discover to have gone out without

of) the Slavonic sea. (It is imported) because in China amber is blackish and there is no demand for it, but there is a demand for the genuine one for their ornaments. They pretend that it is helpful against the evil eye. There is also a demand for \**khutū* (spelt *khatū*), which is the horn of the rhinoceros, and this is the most precious freight for China because they make of it girdles, and the price of each such girdle reaches high sums amongst them.

16. The importers to China may not enter the city and most of their business is done in the absence (of the parties). Near the city there is a river, one of the greatest in existence; in the middle of it there is a large island and on it a large castle inhabited by Ṭālibid 'Alid Muslims, who act as middlemen between the Chinese and the caravans and merchants coming to them. These Muslims come forth to meet them, examine the merchandise and goods, carry them to the Lord of China and come back with their equivalents (14b) when these latter have been established. One after the other the merchants enter the castle with their goods and often remain there for several days. The reason why the said 'Alids are found on the island is that they are a party of Ṭālibids and had come to Khorasan in the days of the Omayyads and settled there. But when they saw how intent the Omayyads were on finding and destroying them, they escaped in safety and started eastwards. They found no foothold in any Islamic country because of fear of pursuit. So they fled to China, and when they reached the banks of the river the patrol, as is the custom, prevented them from crossing, while they had no means of going back. So they said: "Behind us is the sword and before us the sea." The castle on the island was empty of inhabitants because snakes had grown numerous in it and overrun it. So the 'Alids said: "To endure snakes is easier than to endure swords or be drowned." So they entered the castle and began destroying the snakes and throwing them into the water until in a short time they had cleared the castle (of them) and settled there. When the Lord of China learnt that (for him) there was no trouble behind them and that they were forced to seek refuge with him he established them in this place and comforted them by granting them means of existence. So they lived in peace and security, begot children and multiplied. They learned Chinese and the languages of the other peoples who visit them, and became their middlemen.

17. The Chinese language is different from other languages and so is the language of Tibet. All Chinese are of one faith which is the faith of Mānī, contrary to the Qitāy and Uyghur among whom are other faiths excepting (only) Judaism.

are men who go about the city selling goods, fruits and so on, and each of them has built himself a cart in which he sits and in which he puts stuffs, goods and whatever he requires in his trade. This cart goes by itself without an animal (to draw it), and he sits in the cart stopping it and setting it in motion whenever he desires so.

11. And he said: I saw the market population eager in games of chance. There is no shop without dice or backgammon and sometimes (when) the parties (in a deal) have difficulties about something, one of them says: "Let us gamble for it," and from business they turn to trickery.

12. As regards the tailoring of cloths and draperies the Chinese possess in it an elegance and skill which is not attained by any nation.

13. We have already said (?) that the Magian BIHĀFARĪDH brought with him from China a green shirt which (14a) being folded could be held in the hand so that nothing would appear of it.

14. It is written in the *Akhbār* (or "there is some written information") that an envoy of some Muslim king set out to the kingdom of China. It is said that when he reached the capital of the king of China the (latter's) people met him with respect and welcomed his arrival. He says: I saw their king's servants who are as lovely<sup>1</sup> as full moons. They are those who are specially destined<sup>2</sup> for the king's service and they speak on his behalf as ambassadors. He says: One of them used to come to me as the king's envoy, listen to my answers and transmit them (to the king). He knew most languages and while some day he spoke to me on behalf of the king suddenly my eye fell on a black mole on his breast which was apparent under his shirt as if it were uncovered, and I was filled with wonder at the perfect whiteness of his face, at the blackness of his mole and the thinness of his shirt. He asked: "What has happened to thee that thy state is changed?" and I replied: "My wonder is great at the thinness of thy shirt and its beauty." He said: "Hast thou concluded that I am wearing but one shirt?" Then he rose and took off one shirt, then another, until he had taken off five of them. And so the mole was apparent from under five (layers) of clothing. And this is one of the kinds of (their) textiles.

15. And they possess many other kinds which are exported from their country together with (other) astonishing and strange rarities. The importations to their country are: ivory, frankincense, genuine<sup>3</sup> Slavonic amber which falls in drops of resin from trees in (the lands

<sup>1</sup> \**Mahbūbīn*, but the text has *majbūbīn* "fully castrated."

<sup>2</sup> Clearly spelt *y. Ahīaṣ.rūna*. Perhaps: \**yaḡtaṣīrūna*, cf. Text, p. \*8.

<sup>3</sup> *Fuṣūṣī*, perhaps the kind "to be set in bezels (*fūṣūṣ*)."

5. The Chinese do not mix with the Turks from whom they differ in most things because the latter wear *jubbās* and turbans and not *qabās* and hats. (On the contrary) the Qitāy and Uyghur mix with the Turks and have relations with them. They have relations and correspondence with the kings of Transoxiana, whereas the Chinese are different and do not allow strangers to enter their country and stay among them.

6. This is the law that was given to them by the false prophet MĀNĪ when he implanted his faith in their hearts, this faith being dualism. He feared lest strangers should come to them and explain to them the futility of this faith and convert them from it.

7. I met a clever man who had been to China and traded with the Chinese in their goods. He said that the city which is their capital is called Y.ŋjūr. This is a great city having a three days' periphery. Near it is another still greater city called Kwfwā, but the king resides in Y.ŋjūr. (The merchant) said: This town is crossed by a great river which divides it into two parts (13b). The king with his retinue, army and attendants resides in one part, while in the other are the dwellings of the subjects and the merchants. Their king is called TAḠGHĀJ-KHĀN, and it is he who is called FAGHFÜR.

8. He said that because of their skill in crafts the Chinese do wonderful things. For example, he said that their king during each definite period, which (the merchant) mentioned, has a day in which audience is given to the nobles and the commoners and the king listens to (their) complaints. In front of the audience-hall there is a large and spacious square at the gate of which is placed a large block of wood, and on the latter a hatchet. The first who enters takes the hatchet and with it strikes one single blow on the block. Then he who comes after him strikes a blow, and so does each one who enters. And when the audience is concluded, out of that block there appears a perfect likeness of either a horse, or a lion, or a man, and so on, (although) each one who enters strikes only one blow. And the acme of their skill is that (after) the one who entered the first and struck the first blow, he who follows him knows what likeness was intended when the beginning was made.

9. With them the art of (making) images is held for (divine) worship and approach to God because MĀNĪ had given them such orders and beguiled them with the words of philosophers. The latter say as the final conclusion of their philosophy that one is agreeable to God in proportion to (what) human power can achieve.

10. He also mentioned that among the market population there

and Daylam, some of the lands of Syria and Rūm, then it cuts through the Syrian Sea, the islands of Cyprus and Rhodes, and the lands of Maghrib, and runs through the territory of Ṭanja (Tanger) to end in the Sea of Maghrib.

The FIFTH CLIME begins in the East in the lands of Gog and Magog and runs through the northern part of Khorasan, Transoxiana and Khwārazm, then through Ādharbayjān, Armenia, and the lands of Rūm, then through the shores of the Syrian Sea in their northern part, then through the lands of Spain, to end in the Sea of Maghrib.

The SIXTH CLIME begins in the East in the North of the lands of Gog and Magog and stretches across the lands of the Turks, then across the shores of the Abaskūn Sea, in their northern part, then cuts through the Sea of Rūm and stretches along the lands of the Saqāliba, to end in the Sea of Maghrib.

The SEVENTH CLIME begins in the East of the lands of Gog and Magog and stretches across the lands of the Toghuzghuz and the territory of the Turks, then across the lands of the Alān, the Sarīr, the Burjān, some of the Saqāliba, to end in the Sea of Maghrib.

2. The territory of China belongs to three of these climes in view of the (great) extension of its frontiers and the number of its lands. Inasmuch as its lands are situated towards the Sunrise their air is pure, the waters cold and digestible and the soil good. As its lands possess such properties, its inhabitants and cultivators are of a similar quality because we have mentioned<sup>1</sup> that the most important thing for an animal is the soil on which it develops, and therefore a man is called after his home (*lit.* "soil"), as he is called after his parents, e.g. Ḥijāzī, Sha'āmī (Syrian), Rūmī, Hindī, Şīnī, as well as 'Adnānī, Qaḥṭānī, 'Alawī, 'Abbāsī. The inhabitants of China have a moderate temperament, pleasant forms and faces and mild manners. They are a people varying according to their countries and places of residence.

3. Their territories are divided into three categories, namely, ŞİN, QITĀY<sup>2</sup>, called by common people Khitāy, and UYGHUR, of which the greatest is the region and kingdom of Şin (China).

4. The people of China are the most skilful of men in handicrafts. No nation approaches them in this. The people of Rūm are highly proficient (in crafts), but they do not reach the standards of the Chinese. The latter say that all the men are blind in craftsmanship, except the people of Rūm who (however) are one-eyed, that is to say that they know only half the business.

<sup>1</sup> See Commentary, p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> Spelt *Qutay* throughout.

# ENGLISH TRANSLATION

## CHAPTER VIII OF THE CHINESE

(F.12a) 1. The kingdom of China embraces a vast area, comprises many towns, cities and villages and belongs to three climes. (The latter) are as follows.

The **FIRST CLIME** begins in the East at the farthest limit of the Chinese lands and stretches over the latter in their southern extension. In it lies the King's City and the harbour of the ships which (is called) the Chinese Harbour. Then it stretches across the sea-shore in the south of India (Hind), then across the lands of Sind, and the island of al-K.rk (until) it cuts through the sea in the direction of Arabia and the territory of Yemen with its lands, which are Zufār, 'Omān, Aden, Ḥaḍramūt, Ṣanā', Jurash, Mahra, Saba', etc. Then it cuts through the Qulzum sea and stretches across the Ḥabasha lands, cuts the Egyptian Nile and stretches across a place called Jarmī, which is the capital of Ḥabasha, across Danqala, which is the capital of Nubia, then into the territories of Maghrib, to the south of the Berber countries, until it ends in the Sea of Maghrib.

The **SECOND CLIME** begins in the East and stretches across China, Hind (12b) and Sind, passing through al-Manṣūra and Daybul. It cuts through the Green Sea, the Sea of Basra and the Arabian peninsula (across) the territories of Najd, Tihāma, Yamāma, Bahrayn and Hajar. It cuts through the Qulzum Sea and runs through Upper Egypt and the territories of Maghrib, across the central part of Ifrīqiya, then across the Berber lands, ending in the Sea of Maghrib.

The **THIRD CLIME** begins in the East and stretches across the northern part of the Chinese lands, then across the lands of Hind and the northern part of the lands of Sind, then across the lands of Kābul, Kirmān and Sijistān, then across the coast of the Sea of Basra. It passes through the districts of Ahwāz, by the lands of Syria, after which it cuts through the lower part of the Egyptian territory and of Qayruwān and ends in the Sea of Maghrib.

The **FOURTH CLIME** begins in the East and runs across the lands of Tibet, then Khorasan and Transoxiana, the territories of 'Irāq

I am grateful to the Trustees of the Forlong Fund for undertaking the publication of my work.

Above all I must thank Dr. Arberry who showed a truly Sufi spirit of disinterestedness in yielding up to me the honour of explaining a text which he had discovered. It was hoped at first that the work might have been accomplished by both of us jointly, and Dr. Arberry kindly gave me his typescript of the text and supplied the first draft of the translation of Chapter IX. Other duties prevented him from continuing his collaboration and I have had to assume the responsibility for any imperfections of the present book.

Many points in the chapters on China and India could be elucidated only by scholars fully versed in the languages and cultures of these great countries. For China, I was fortunate in having the advice of two distinguished scholars, Professors J. Mullie (Louvain) and G. Haloun (Cambridge), who have not spared their time in answering my queries and in trying to find parallels in Chinese sources. On India, my friends and colleagues Dr. L. D. Barnett, F.B.A., and Prof. H. W. Bailey have given me their advice ungrudgingly. The progress realised in the explanation of the Indian terms and names, greatly disfigured in Arabic transcription, is due to the help of the Indianists mentioned. All the suggestions coming from outside are duly acknowledged in the text.

In the explanation of the Arabic text I received much help from my learned Persian friends Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb Qazvīnī and Sayyid Ḥasan Taqizadeh. My former pupil, A.A.M. al-Marāghī patiently collated with me the text of the India Office MS., and many good suggestions in Arabic are due to this scholar brought up within the walls of al-Azhar. His colleague A. Dūrī helped me in correcting my transcript of the original text.

Prof. E. H. Minns, F.B.A., most kindly agreed to check the English of my Translation, and my pupil, J. A. Boyle, similarly obliged me with regard to my Commentary.

At a period of great strain and anxiety, my wife patiently typed my copy in its successive avatars and prepared the Index.

1937—1941.

the name of its author. It is probable that many quotations from Marvazi have been inserted by 'Aufi without acknowledgment. 'Aufi's Persian translation provides useful parallels to our text. He also refers to a *Masālik-va-Mamālik*, by which he undoubtedly means Jayhānī,<sup>1</sup> though the vagueness of his references does not enable us to decide whether he had a direct knowledge of the work of the Sāmānid minister.<sup>2</sup>

(h) *Principles of work and acknowledgments*

In view of present conditions, Marvazi's text is reproduced in photograph from my own transcript. The editing of an Arabic text from a single MS., worm-eaten and lacking diacritical dots, is a risky enterprise. However, the existence of parallel texts to some extent alleviated the difficulties of my task. Whatever the imperfections of the readings adopted I hope the text will render some services to the future editor of the entire text of the *Ṭabā'ī*.

My translation makes no claims to literary form. All the doubtful points in the text had to be respected in order to avoid creating an impression that the sense is more definite than it is. The translation follows the text as closely as possible so as to enable persons outside the circle of Islamic scholars to form their own opinion.

No Arabic type was available for quotations in my Translation and Commentary and I have used transliteration throughout. In the case of more ambiguous and polyphonous spellings, I have given the Arabic forms and variants on p. 52 of the Arabic text. In my transliteration I have deliberately adopted a latitudinarian practice with regard to the well known names (Baghdad, Biruni). In the less common but frequently quoted names I use the diacritical marks the first time, but only here and there in the following pages by way of reminder.

In my Commentary I have often had to refer to my translation of the *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, of which, in fact, the present work is a development and continuation. When a point has already been explained, the commentary is limited to a reference, but any new fact or detail in Marvazi receives as full consideration as I can give.

<sup>1</sup> This is the solution of the problem which embarrassed Nizāmu'd-din, *o.c.*, 102.

<sup>2</sup> But v.i. Chap. VIII, §13.



(Br. Mus. Or. 1997) gives extremely valuable parallels to Marvazi's overland routes to China, but some of these data are subsequent to Jayhānī.

(h) GARDĪZĪ's *Zayn al-akhbār* (written in Ghaznī, circa 442/1050) contains two appendices, one on the Turks, published by Barthold in *Otchot o poyezdke*, SPb. 1897, pp. 78-103, and another on India (Cambridge, King's College MS. 213, ff. 197b-209a), which is used in the present work for the first time.<sup>1</sup> Both chapters contain a mass of interesting details and are very useful for the explanation of our text. Gardizi's chapter on India is particularly close to Marvazi, but gives more details. Gardizi directly refers to Jayhānī.

(i) BAKRĪ wrote in Spain and died in 487/1094. From his geographical compilation *al-Masālik wal-Mamālik* Baron V. Rosen published the items referring to the peoples of Eastern Europe, etc.<sup>2</sup> In the description of the Oxus (fragment 6) Bakri quotes an "Aḥmad,"<sup>3</sup> who in his turn refers to Jayhānī as his authority. The passage is very close to I. Rusta, 91. In fragment 9, Bakri describes the Pechenegs, Khazars, Furdās, Majgharī, al-Sarīr and Burjān and, on the whole, his abridgment runs parallel to I. Rusta, Gardizi and Marvazi. The quotation in fragment 6 suggests that Bakri used Jayhānī's data at second-hand.

(j) SHAHRISTĀNĪ wrote his *Kitāb al-milal wal-niḥal* in Khorasan in 521/1127. His study is limited to the religious systems of various peoples. The source of his chapter on India, II, 444-58, at least in part, coincides with the data of Muṭahhar, the *Fihrist*, Gardizi and Marvazi, but it is probable that instead of Jayhānī he used some more technical *maqālāt* reproducing the statements of an ancient report (circa A.D. 800), (v.i. p. 129).

(k) 'AUFĪ, who died some time between A.D. 1232 and 1242, wrote his *Jawāmi' al-ḥikāyāt* in India. Prof. Nizāmu'd-dīn's *Introduction* gives a detailed analysis of its contents and an excellent survey of its sources. 'Aufi is the only author who quotes extensively from the *Ṭabā'i' al-ḥayawān*, and to him we owe our knowledge of

<sup>1</sup> Sachau in his translation of Birūnī's *India*, Preface, XLIII, and II, 359, 397, did not properly appraise Gardizi's contribution which I hope to publish separately.

<sup>2</sup> *Izvestiya al-Bekri*, S. Petersburg, 1878.

<sup>3</sup> Baron Rosen, p. 9, identifies him with Ahmad b. Muhammad I. Faqih, but the latter's account of the Oxus is different both in BGA, V, 324, and in the newly discovered Mashhad MS., f. 163a.

Europe he uses the early ("Bulkār-Burdās") report, which is previous to I. Faḍlān's exploration (v.i. p. III), and which possibly belongs to I. Kh.'s complete text. On the other hand, I. Rusta has many passages on the northern and remote lands (India) which correspond literally with the *Ḥudūd*, Gardizī and Marvazī, who undoubtedly used Jayhānī. All we can say is that I. Rusta's quotations are probably borrowed from the complete I. Kh. (which was used by Jayhānī as his ground-work), or possibly that I. Rusta used only an earlier draft of Jayhānī which did not include the later additions.<sup>1</sup>

(c) MUṬAHHAR B. ṬĀHIR MAQDISI, in Vol. IV of his *Kitāb al-bad'*, ed. C. Huart, 1907, has many points in common with I. Rusta, the *Ḥudūd*, Gardizī and Marvazī (see especially our Chapter XII). Muṭahhar quotes a *Kitāb al-Masālik*, IV, 19, and as he wrote at Bust (Central Afghanistan), A.D. 966, he could certainly have had Jayhānī's work at his disposal.

(d) The anonymous *ḤUDŪD AL-'ĀLAM* (GMS, N.S. XI, 1937) is a compilation begun in 372/982 in Gūzgān (Northern Afghanistan). For Islamic lands it utilizes chiefly the tradition of Abū Zayd Balkhī, as improved by Iṣṭakhri, but its chief interest lies in the chapters on China, India and the Turks which closely coincide with Gardizī and Marvazī and must be based on Jayhānī.

(e) M. B. A. MUQADDASI'S *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, BGA, III, was completed between 375/985-7. The author knew Jayhānī's work; but the only point of interest for our purpose is his passage on Jayhānī's methods of which he speaks rather harshly.

(f) AL-NADĪM'S *Fihrist* (377/987) contains only a short notice on Jayhānī. The chapter on Indian creeds is partly, pp. 347-9, based on the same source as Muṭahhar, Gardizī and Marvazī, but al-Nadīm utilizes it directly and not through Jayhānī, which has certain advantages for purposes of comparison. The sources of the chapters on the idols, p. 346, and on China, p. 350 (in which, among others, Abū Dulaf Yanbū'ī is quoted) are still obscure.

(g) BĪRŪNĪ knew Jayhānī, but his famous works contain only a small number of quotations from the *Kitāb al-masālik* (v.i. Chapter IX, §42). Bīrūnī's *al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī*, written circa 421/1030

<sup>1</sup> The passage on the Oxus in I. Rusta, 91-2, points to Jayhānī as the source, v.i. under Bakri.

"the two risālas which Abu Dulaf addressed to us (*risālataynī kataba-humā ilaynā Abū Dulaf*)."<sup>1</sup> Consequently the author of the preface was one of the two dedicatees whom Abū Dulaf addresses in his risālas (*yā man anā 'abdukumā*).<sup>2</sup> Abū Dulaf claims to have accompanied, on its return journey, the "Chinese embassy" which visited the court of the Sāmānid Naṣr b. Aḥmad (301-31/914-43), i.e. the king with whose reign Jayhānī's activities were closely connected. Jayhānī's interest in geography is well known and his personal position would be in keeping with the respect with which Abu Dulaf treats his dedicatees. It is tempting to identify one of them with Jayhānī. If correct, this surmise<sup>3</sup> would be valuable as giving a new later date at which Jayhānī was still alive (*circa* A.D. 943).

(g) *Parallel texts*

One of our important tasks is to trace the vestiges of Jayhānī in the available geographical works.<sup>2</sup> It will be helpful to give in this place a short survey of those works connected with Jayhānī which are constantly cited as parallels in my explanations.

(a) IBN AL-FAQĪH is accused by the author of the *Fihrist*, 154, of having "plundered" Jayhānī's work.<sup>3</sup> De Goeje, BGA, V, p. xi, doubts this statement on the grounds that no facts in I. Faqīh are later than 290/902. The text of the abridgement of I. Faqīh, published by de Goeje, does not support the accusation of *al-Fihrist*, but on the other hand some "eastern" chapters, which would be decisive in our case, are absent both in BGA, V, and in the Mashhad MS.<sup>4</sup>

(b) IBN RUSTA does not mention Jayhānī. His work is placed, *circa* 300/912, see BGA, VII, p. vi, which date is earlier than the appointment of Jayhānī to the vazirate. On the peoples of Eastern

<sup>1</sup> It is cautiously suggested ("Is it possibly Jayhānī?") by the editor of I. Faqlān's *Puteshestvie*, 40.

<sup>2</sup> Much has been achieved in this direction by Baron V. Rosen, Barthold and especially Marquart in his *Streifzüge*, p. xxx, and his later works on the Comans, Arctic lands and Siberian tribes. See in more detail my translation of the *Hudūd al-'Ālam*. Marquart considered the publication of the *Hudūd* and of 'Auff as the necessary preliminary of further research. An analysis of the contents of 'Auff was published by Prof. Nizāmud-dīn in 1929. The *Hudūd* has been available since 1937 and now the source of 'Auff, unexpectedly recovered by Dr. Arberry, is presented to the public.

<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, Muqaddasi, 271, accuses I. Faqīh of having incorporated the work of *Jāhiz*, which de Goeje considers more likely.

<sup>4</sup> If Jayhānī is originally responsible for the collectanea which has survived in the Mashhad MS., v.s. p. 7, n. 2, this would be a further indication that I. Faqīh's was independent of Jayhānī.

second version 272/885 ?). It must be borne in mind that the text of I. Kh., as published by de Goeje, BGA, VI, is only a compendium, whereas Muqaddasi's statement suggests that Jayhānī used I. Kh.'s original text.

(3) Jayhānī himself collected information actively and systematically. Gardizī says that after having become vazir in 301/913-4 he wrote letters to the courts of the Byzantine empire, China, India, etc., with enquiries about the customs existing there. Muqaddasi reports that Jayhānī assembled foreigners and questioned them on revenues, roads and other matters of political interest, which also points to a period after A.D. 913. Writing in Bukhara Jayhānī could extend the field of his investigation much deeper into Central Asia and the Far East than was possible for his Arab contemporaries. Therein consists the outstanding importance of the passages from Jayhānī which have survived in later sources.

(4) Jayhānī's system of personal enquiries must have extended over a period of years and it is to be assumed that individual chapters of his work were completed and re-written several times; this may explain why the quotations from him do not entirely coincide in different borrowers. Moreover the bulk of his work (seven volumes!) gave the epitomists considerable choice in the selection of details.

(5) We now know that in 309/921 I. Faḍlān actually met Jayhānī who still enjoyed the high position of secretary (*kātib*) to the king and was called in Khorasan *al-shaykh al-'amīd*.<sup>1</sup> I feel confident that I. Faḍlān kept in touch with his protector Jayhānī and informed him of his experiences in Bulghār (possibly by way of private communication, or even orally). Such information may have been incorporated in the later copies of Jayhānī's work, and this would account for some passages in Marvazi, etc., which sound like echoes from I. Faḍlān.

(6) Another new fact is the preface to the MS. which A. Z. Validi<sup>2</sup> discovered in Mashhad in 1923. Its author enumerates the contents of his collectanea<sup>2</sup> and says that he has added to I. Faḍlān's work

<sup>1</sup> A. P. Kovalevsky, *Novootkrytyy tekst Ibn Fadlana in Vestnik drevney istorii*, 1938 1 (2), 56-71; [Anonymous], *Puteshestviye Ibn Fadlana na Volgu*, pod redaktsiyey I. Y. Krachkovskago, published by the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., 1939, fol. 197b of the MS. found in Mashhad. The editor believes, pp. 30, 41, that I. Faḍlān returned also via Bukhara.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. the second part of I. Faḍlān, two risālas of Abū Dulaf Mis'ar b. Muhalhil and the risāla of I. Faḍlān.

which extended from Manchuria to the Black Sea was 'Aufi (*circa* 633/1236). We now know that the report already existed in Marvazi (*circa* 514/1120) and there are reasons to believe that the latter personally knew the amir Ākinchi b. Qochqar, whose name is quoted in the report (v.i. p. 30). Many more such facts will be found in the commentary on individual chapters.

(f) *Marvazi's written sources (Jayhānī)*

Apart from the reports which constitute the chief novelty of Marvazi, his compilation is based on the traditional stock of Muslim geographers. The number of the written sources which Marvazi used was apparently limited.<sup>1</sup> In his text there are no traces of Abū Zayd Balkhi (as available in Iṣṭakhri and I. Ḥauqal), Mas'ūdī or Muqaddasi, but he made extensive use of a source of the highest importance, namely *Kitāb al-masālik wal-mamālik*<sup>2</sup> of the Sāmānid minister Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Jayhānī (earlier part of the tenth century A.D.). This *opus magnum* is lost, but its traces have survived in many geographical works, especially those written in Khorasan.<sup>3</sup>

The facts concerning the composition of Jayhānī's *Masālik* can be summed up as follows:

(1) The exact date of its completion is unknown. The earliest borrowers from it are supposed to be I. Faqīh and I. Rusta, but this is doubtful. Even about these two authors our knowledge is limited to the fact that they wrote some time after A.D. 900 (v.i. p. 8).

(2) According to Muqaddasi, 271, Jayhānī incorporated in his book "the whole of the original work of I. Khurdādhbih," i.e. the latter's homonymous *Kitāb al-masālik* (first version A.D. 232/846,

<sup>1</sup> Some of them are quoted in the text. Chapter VIII: §14, *Akhbār* (?); §36, *al-Masālik*; §§17-20, Hippocrates and Galen. Chapter XIII: §4, Ḥamza Iṣfahānī; §6, *Tawārikh* (?); §7, *Tā'rikh mulūk al-Turk*. Chapter XV: §7, Abū Sa'īd 'Ubaydallāh b. Jibrīl; §15, *al-Masālik wal-Mamālik*; §22, *Kitāb Iskandar*; §23, *Kitāb al-baḥr*. These titles are discussed at the appropriate places of our commentary. Other authorities quoted: Aristotle, 11b, 51a; Dioscorides: 66a, 209b; Dīqrāṭīs (?), 47b; Aṣmā'ī, 30a; Shāfi'ī, 50a; Ibn 'Abbās, 7b; Abul-'Abbās, called Jarrāb al-daula, 45b; Māshāllāh, 60b; al-qādī al-Tanūkhī 98a. Several reports are introduced impersonally: "says a Baghdadian," 46a, "says a Bedouin," *ibid.*; "says a Christian," *ibid.*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted *expressis verbis* in the characteristic passage of f. 76a (v.i. p. 91), as well as in Chapter VIII, §36, and Chapter XV, §15, but mostly unacknowledged.

<sup>3</sup> See Marquart, *Osteurop. und Ostas. Streifzüge*, p. xxxi; Barthold's and my own Prefaces to the *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, London, 1937, and my articles, *The Khazars and the Turks in the Akām al-marjān*, in BSOS, IX/1, 1937, pp. 141-150, and *Une nouvelle source musulmane*, 1937, pp. 317-24.

(c) a running commentary on them in the order of the sections which have been introduced into the text.

(d) *The interest of the Far Eastern Chapters*

The text included in the present book is rich in novelty. The chapter on China contains a unique report on the embassy from the K'itan emperor of Northern China to the court of the conqueror of India Sultan Maḥmūd (A.D. 1027), and many new facts about Chinese customs, foreign colonies in the ports, towns of China and the roads leading thereto. The chapter on the Turks has a number of new facts on certain Siberian tribes and the chain of migrations from the Far East for which Marvazi seems to be the original authority. The abundant details on Indian creeds in Chapter XII are based on a report which was presumably drawn up, *circa* A.D. 800, i.e. more than two centuries before Biruni. It will be no exaggeration to say that there is hardly a paragraph in Marvazi without some new detail or lesson in it.

(e) *Importance of Marvazi for comparisons*

The importance of the new text for purposes of comparison must be particularly stressed. In the present state of our knowledge, the personal flags of Muslim geographers no longer cover the cargo of their works. Gradually our research tends towards the elucidation of the sources and original reports on which the compilations are based. The critical methods which have acquired rights of citizenship in classical and mediaeval studies must necessarily be introduced into the examination of Islamic writings. In my translation of the *Hudūd al-'Ālam* (1937) I have endeavoured to test the origins of this important geographical text (dated 372/982), and I now find the parallels offered by Marvazi invaluable for an analytic study of the tradition. A comparison of the available accounts of Indian creeds on the basis of Marvazi's work (and of the unpublished chapters of Gardīzi) has suggested to me an hypothesis as to the date of the composition of the original report (v.i. p. 126). An examination of the Far Eastern toponymy in Biruni and in Marvazi has brought me to the conclusion that both used the same sources, and among them, the data supplied by the K'itan ambassador in A.D. 1027. Hitherto our only source of information on the great migration of tribes

The MS. is incomplete at the end.<sup>1</sup> Only after Dr. Arberry's discovery did it become clear that the British Museum MS. (Add. 21.102) represents a second copy of the *Ṭabā'i'*. Unfortunately this "Opus ad Zoologiam pertinens" is also defective at both ends; it begins at f. 54 of the India Office MS., omitting the whole geographical part of the first Maqāla. A description of the MS. is found in Cureton-Rieu's *Catalogue*, DCCCCXCVI, p. 460b.<sup>2</sup>

(c) *The scope of the present edition*

The limited purpose of the present publication is to render accessible to the public the geographical chapters on the Far East which form a particularly welcome supplement to the available Islamic literature on this subject.

Thus the Zoological Treatise falls outside our scope, and of the Introduction only the chapters on China (VIII), the Turks (IX) and India (XII) come within our purview.<sup>3</sup> We have joined to them the chapters on Southern Lands (XIII and XV), which are useful for the understanding of the data on the Far East. In Marvazi's eyes, the Ethiopians (Negroes) are the antithesis of the Turks, and his chapters on these two races complement one another. Chapter XV of the "remote" countries and southern islands is factitious: Marvazi uses it as a kind of cemetery to bury the tails of stories which are told elsewhere. It was our business to preserve these useful appendices and even<sup>4</sup> restore them to their bodies whenever the connection was obvious. The data on the islands continue the description of India.

Consequently our work comprises:

- (a) the Arabic text of Chapters VIII, IX, XII, XIII and XV;
- (b) an English translation of these Chapters;

<sup>1</sup> The seal on the last page bears an indistinct inscription: 'hyā'īr 'hyā (?), with a date which reads like 771 (A.D. 1369). The formula \*ihyā' ibshir ihyā' is used in Iraq for magic purposes (A. Düri). The date indicates that the Ms. was incomplete as early as the middle of the 14th cent. A.D.

<sup>2</sup> Quotations from a "*Ṭabā'i' al-hayawān* of Ūstād Majd al-dīn Marvazi" are found in a MS. collection of Persian texts described in Flügel's *Catalogue* (Vienna), III, 451, No. 1963, extract 19 (comprising only two or three folios). The author cannot be our Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir. "Sharaf al-dīn Majd al-dīn" was the title of 'Aufi's uncle who acted as the court physician to the Qara-khanid Ibrāhīm b. Ḥusayn, v.i. commentary on Chapter XIII, §6.

<sup>3</sup> The chapters on the Persians (VII) and Arabs (XI) are vague and discursive. That on the Byzantines (X) belongs to a different cycle and should be edited separately.

<sup>4</sup> In our Translation but not in the Text.

Speaking of the rulers of Multān (fol. 36*b*), he says that they read the khuṭba to the "Imām of the Muslims," meaning by that the Fāṭimid caliph, cf. *H.-'Ā.*, p. 239, and Muqaddasi, 455. Marvazi's great admiration for the valour of the (Shī'a) Daylamites (Chapter VII) is also conspicuous. However, in both cases the tendency may belong to the original sources, for speaking of 'Ā'isha's exploits (p. 48*b*) Marvazi affixes to her name the usual orthodox benedictions.

(b) *Contents of the Tabā'i' al-ḥayawān*

The contents of Marvazi's work can be tabulated in the following way:

A. *Maqāla I.* INTRODUCTION of mixed contents falling into three divisions:

(a) *General*, on the lines of typical Islamic *ādāb*:

Chapters I-II: (missing in the MS.)

III: on the customs of kings (incomplete).

IV: on scholars (f. 1*b*).

V: on hermits and sufis (f. 5*a*).

VI: on ethics (f. 7*a*).

(b) *Geographical*, interspersed with anthropological considerations:

Chapter VII: on the Persians (f. 9*b*).

VIII: on the Chinese (f. 12*a*).

IX: on the Turks (f. 20*a*).

X: on the Byzantines (*Rūm*) (f. 24*a*)

XI: on the Arabs (f. 26*b*).

XII: on the Indians (f. 32*a*).

XIII: on the Abyssinians (f. 39*a*).

XIV: on the Equator (f. 41*a*).

XV: on the outlying countries (*atrāf*) and islands (f. 42*a*).

(c) *Specially anthropological*:

Chapter XVI: on monsters and other aberrations (f. 45*b*).

XVII: on males and females (f. 48*a*).

XVIII: on eunuchs (f. 57*a*).

XIX: on the length of life (f. 59*b*).

XX: on customs (f. 62*a*).

XXI: on the utility of the organs of the human body (ff. 64*b*-65*b*).

B. *Maqāla II.* A TREATISE ON ZOOLOGY giving notices of individual animals, from the elephant down to the flea (ff. 66*b*-217).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In a later hand this part is subdivided into smaller sections, viz. *Maqāla II*, containing descriptions of 49 animals, *Maqāla III*, ditto 94 birds, *Maqāla IV*, ditto 35 insects and reptiles.



Very little is known of the life of Marvazi.<sup>1</sup> As his Iranian *nisba* indicates, he was a native of Marv.<sup>2</sup> He was employed as a physician at the court of Sultan Malik-shāh, whose name appears several times in the text,<sup>3</sup> and he probably continued to serve under his successors down to Sanjar. He must have died at an advanced age for the dates occurring in his book cover a very long period; the above-mentioned episode on the Nahr-Raziq (f. 28b) happened in 448/1056; in 478/1085 the author healed the wound of Malik-shah's elephant in Marv (f. 70b and Nizāmu'd-dīn, *o.c.*, 89); in 483/1090 he was in Isfahan, Rieu, *Arabic Catalogue*, 460b; under 514/1120 he refers to an invasion of ants (f. 210b). Had he been even only ten years old in A.D. 1056, he would be seventy-four by A.D. 1120, at which time his scientific career must have been practically at an end. Sharaf al-Zamān's great admiration for the Greeks might suggest his scientific affiliation to Avicenna (d. 428/1037), whom he quotes as "the philosopher Ibn-Sinā," though he seems to possess a direct knowledge of such medical luminaries as Hippocrates and Galen (in Arabic translations!). The author of the Br. Mus. Catalogue who examined the zoological part of the book, states that Marvazi often quotes such other authorities, as Jāhiz and Birūnī.<sup>4</sup> His knowledge of medicine and natural sciences, as well as the keenness of his inquisitive mind are everywhere evident in his work. In Chapter XVI at least four examples of human anomalies are described from his personal observations.

Some small details might suggest that Marvazi had Shi'a leanings.

<sup>1</sup> No references to him could be found in the usual bibliographic works such as Hājji Khalifa's *Kashf al-zunūn*, or under the item "Marv" in such geographical dictionaries as Yāqūt, and the *Hajj-Iqlīm*. Sam'ānī, who died in 562/1166, was a younger contemporary of Marvazi and himself a native of Marv, but he took little interest in anything outside the circles of collectors of traditions, reciters, memorizers of the Qor'ān and other such grave people. Moreover the abundance of scholars in Marv makes him say: *wal-Marāwiza fi-him kathratun fa'staghmaynā 'an dhikri-him li-shiddati-him* (f. 553b). The Egyptian "zoologist" al-Damīrī, who in his extensive *Hayāt al-hayawān* (773/1372) quotes over eight hundred authors, ignored Marvazi's work, see J. de Somogyi, *Index des sources de . . . ad-Damirī*, in *J.A.*, juillet, 1928, pp. 5-128.

<sup>2</sup> The *nisba* is formed with the Persian suffix *-zi*. Dr. Arberry has recognised the incorrectness of a note in a late hand on the wrapper of the MS. which attributes the work to Sharaf al-zamān (al-dīn?) Muḥammad al-Ilāqī, "a pupil of Avicenna."

<sup>3</sup> F.63a on Malik shah's slave called *gurba-khwār*, p. 70a on the king's elephant; f. 95b on a wild ass brought to the king. M. shah is referred to as dead.

<sup>4</sup> Jāhiz is quoted on ff. 59a and 81b. Dr. Arberry tells me that in the chapter on eunuchs Marvazi plagiarises the *Kitāb al-Hayawān* of Jāhiz. See also the commentary on Chap. XIII, §5. I have not succeeded in finding a reference to Birūnī in Arab. 1949.

## INTRODUCTION

- (a) Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhīr Marvazī
- (b) Contents of the *Ṭabā'i' al-ḥayawān*
- (c) The scope of the present edition
- (d) The interest of the Far Eastern Chapters
- (e) Importance of Marvazī for comparisons
- (f) Marvazī's written sources
- (g) Parallel texts
- (h) Principles of work and acknowledgments

### (a) *Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhīr Marvazī*

In 1937 Dr. A. J. Arberry announced the discovery, which he had made in the India Office Library, of an almost complete copy of the *Ṭabā'i' al-ḥayawān*, "The Natural Properties of Animals," by Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhīr al-Marwazī.<sup>1</sup> His preliminary identification of the MS. (Delhi, Arabic 1949) is fully confirmed by the seven passages from Marvazī's work quoted by 'Aufī.<sup>2</sup> To cite but one example, the story of the fleet-footed Arab whose prowess Sharaf al-Zamān witnessed in 448/1056 on Nahr-Razīq<sup>3</sup> figures on fol. 28b of the India Office MS. Another means of control is afforded by Jamāl al-dīn Ibn al-Muhannā's *Kitāb ḥilyat al-insān*.<sup>4</sup> The author (d. 828/1425) quotes the *Ṭabā'i' al-ḥayawān* as an authority for the Turkish cycle of 12 years, in connection with an embassy sent to Sultan Maḥmūd Ghaznavī by the rulers "of Ṣīn and the Turks."<sup>5</sup> This important passage, with many new details, is found on ff. 15b-16b of the India Office MS.

<sup>1</sup> *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1937, pp. 481-3. See also my paper *Une nouvelle source musulmane sur l'Asie Centrale au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, read at the Académie des Inscriptions, *Comptes-rendus des Séances*, 1 October 1937, pp. 317-24.

<sup>2</sup> See Prof. M. Nizāmu'd-dīn's *Introduction to the 'Jawāmi' u'l-ḥikāyāt*, 1929, pp. 88-9. Systematic comparison will probably reveal more borrowing from Marvazī. At least eight of the anecdotes (Nos. 1935-44) in 'Aufī seem to be borrowed from Marvazī's Chap. XVI.

<sup>3</sup> The canal of Marv which flowed to the west of the present-day G'aur-qal'a, see Iṣṭakhri, p. 260, cf. Zhukovsky, *Razvalini starogo Merva*, 1894, p. 19.

<sup>4</sup> An Arabic dictionary of the Persian, Turkish and Mongolian languages.

<sup>5</sup> In P. Melioransky's edition of the Turkish part of the book, SPb. 1900, pp. 041-042. In the Constantinople edition of the book, A.H. 1338-40, p. 185, the passage is incomplete. Cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 286, note 2.

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SHARAF AL-ZAMĀN TĀHIR  
MARVAZĪ

ON

CHINA, THE TURKS AND INDIA

Arabic text (*circa* A.D. 1120)

with an English translation and commentary

BY

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Professor of Persian in the University of London

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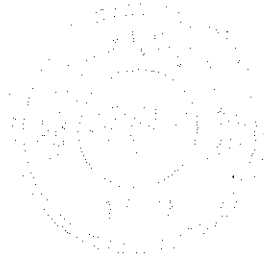
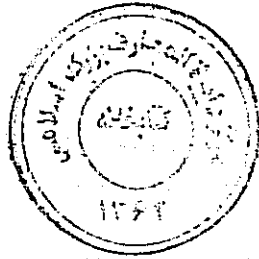
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