SHARAF AL-ZAMĀN ŢĀHIR MARVAZĪ

ON

CHINA, THE TURKS AND INDIA

Arabic text (circa A.D. 1120)

with an English translation and commentary

BY

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INTRODUCTION

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(a) Sharaf al-Zamān Tāhir Marwāzī

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 Ṭabāʾi’ al-ḥayawān, “The Natural Properties of Animals,” by Sharaf al-Zamān Tāhir al-Marwāzī.1 His preliminary identification of the MS. (Delhi, Arabic 1949) is fully confirmed by the seven passages from Marwāzī’s work quoted by ‘Auft.2 To cite but one example, the story of the fleet-footed Arab whose prowess Sharaf al-Zamān witnessed in 448/1056 on Nahr-Raziq3 figures on fol. 28b of the India Office MS. Another means of control is afforded by Jamāl al-dīn Ibn al-Muhannā’s Kitāb ḥilāyat al-insān.4 The author (d. 828/1425) quotes the Ṭabāʾi’ 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 Śin and the Turks.”5 This important passage, with many new details, is found on ff.15b–16b of the India Office MS.

2 See Prof. M. Nizāmud-dīn’s Introduction to the Jamānī wul-hikāyat, 1929, pp. 88–9. Systematic comparison will probably reveal more borrowing from Marwāzī. At least eight of the anecdotes (Nos. 1935–44) in ‘Auft seem to be borrowed from Marwāzī’s Chap. XVI.
3 The canal of Marv which flowed to the west of the present-day G’aur-qal’a, see İstakhri, p. 260, cf. Zhukovsky, Rasmali storo go Meroa, 1894, p. 19.
4 An Arabic dictionary of the Persian, Turkish and Mongolian languages.
Very little is known of the life of Marvazi.\textsuperscript{1} As his Iranian \textit{nīsba} indicates, he was a native of Marv.\textsuperscript{2} He was employed as a physician at the court of Sultan Malik-shāh, whose name appears several times in the text,\textsuperscript{3} 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. 288) happened in 448/1056; in 478/1085 the author healed the wound of Malik-shah’s elephant in Marv (f. 70b and Niẓāmu’d-dīn, \textit{o.c.}, 89); in 483/1090 he was in Isfahan, Rieu, \textit{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-Sīnā,” 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 Jāḥīṣ and Birūnī.\textsuperscript{4} 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.

\textsuperscript{1} No references to him could be found in the usual bibliographic works such as Ḥājjī Khalīfa’s \textit{Kashf al-żinān}, or under the item “Marv” in such geographical dictionaries as Yaqūt, and the \textit{Hafi-Isfīm}. 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 Qur’ān and other such grave people. Moreover the abundance of scholars in Marv makes him say: \textit{wal-Markūza fi-him khaṭratun fa’staghayynā ‘an dhihrī-him li-shiddati-him} (f. 553b). The Egyptian “zoologist” al-Damirī, who in his extensive \textit{Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān} (773/1372) quotes over eight hundred authors, ignored Marvazi’s work, see J. de Somogyi, \textit{Index des sources de... ad-Damirī}, in \textit{J.A.}, juillet, 1928, pp. 5-128.

\textsuperscript{2} The \textit{nīsba} is formed with the Persian suffix -\textit{si}. 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?) Muhammad al-Ḥūqī, “a pupil of Avicenna.”

\textsuperscript{3} F.63a on Malik shah’s slave called \textit{gurba-khūnā}; p. 70a on the king’s elephant; f. 95b on a wild ass brought to the king. M. shah is referred to as dead.

\textsuperscript{4} Jāḥīṣ is quoted on ff. 59a and 81b. Dr. Arberry tells me that in the chapter on cunuchs Marvazi plagiarises the \textit{Kitāb al-ḥayawān} of Jāḥīṣ. See also the commentary on Chap. XIII, §3. I have not succeeded in finding a reference to Biruni in Arab. 1949.
INTRODUCTION

Speaking of the rulers of Multān (fol. 36b), he says that they read the khūṭba to the "Imām of the Muslims," meaning by that the Fāṭimid caliph, cf. H.-‘A., p. 239, and Muqaddasi, 455. Marvazi’s great admiration for the valour of the (Shi'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. 48b) 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. 1b).
      V: on hermits and sufis (f. 5a).
      VI: on ethics (f. 7a).

(b) Geographical, interspersed with anthropological considerations:
   Chapter VII: on the Persians (f. 9b).
   VIII: on the Chinese (f. 12a).
   IX: on the Turks (f. 20a).
   X: on the Byzantines (Rūm) (f. 24a)
   XI: on the Arabs (f. 26b).
   XII: on the Indians (f. 32a).
   XIII: on the Abyssinians (f. 39a).
   XIV: on the Equator (f. 41a).
   XV: on the outlying countries (aṭrāf) and islands (f. 42a).

(c) Specially anthropological:
   Chapter XVI: on monsters and other aberrations (f. 45b).
   XVII: on males and females (f. 48a).
   XVIII: on eunuchs (f. 57a).
   XIX: on the length of life (f. 59b).
   XX: on customs (f. 62a).
   XXI: on the utility of the organs of the human body (f. 64b–66b).

B. Maqāla II. A TREATISE ON ZOOLOGY giving notices of individual animals, from the elephant down to the flea (ff. 66b–217).1

1 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.
The MS. is incomplete at the end. Only after Dr. Arberry's discovery did it become clear that the British Museum MS. (Add. 21,102) represents a second copy of the ʿTabāʾiʿ. 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, DCCCXXCVI, p. 460b.

(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. 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 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;

The seal on the last page bears an indistinct inscription: ʿīḥāʾ ʾṣr ʿīḥā (?), with a date which reads like 771 (A.D. 1369). The formula ʾīḥāʾ ʾṣūḥīr ʾīḥā is used in Iraq for magic purposes (A. Dārū). The date indicates that the Ms. was incomplete as early as the middle of the 14th cent. A.D.

Quotations from a "Ṭabāʾiʿ al-ḥaywānān of ʿUstād Majd al-dīn Marvāzī" 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 'Aṣuf's uncle who acted as the court physician to the Qara-khanid Ibrāhīm b. Ḥūsayn, v.i. commentary on Chapter XIII, §6.

The chapters on the Persians (VII) and Arabs (XI) are vague and discursive. That on the Byzanites (X) belongs to a different cycle and should be edited separately.

In our Translation but not in the Text.
(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’ītan 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 Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam (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 Gardīzī) 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’ītan ambassador in A.D. 1027. Hitherto our only source of information on the great migration of tribes
which extended from Manchuria to the Black Sea was ‘Auffi (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. Qoheqar, 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. In his text there are no traces of Abū Zayd Balkhi (as available in Iṣṭakhrī and I. Ḥauqal), Masʿūdī or Muqaddasi, but he made extensive use of a source of the highest importance, namely Kitāb al-masālik wa-mamālik of the Sāmānid minister Abū ‘Abdillah Muḥammad b. Ahmad 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. 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, 1 Some of them are quoted in the text. Chapter VIII: §14, Aḥbār (?); §36, al-Masālik; §§17-20, Hippocrates and Galen. Chapter XIII: §4, Ḥamzā Iṣfahānī; §6, Taʾrīkh (?); §7, Taʾrīkh musuln al-Turk. Chapter XV: §7, Abū Saʿīd ’Ubaydallāh b. Jibrīl; §15, al-Masālik wa-mamālik; §22, Kitāb Iskandar; §23, Kitāb al-baḥr. These titles are discussed at the appropriate places of our commentary. Other authorities quoted: Aristotile, 116, 51a; Dioscorides: 60a, 209b; Dgrāṭs (?), 47b; Aṣmāʾī, 30a; ʾAbbās, 7b; Abūl-ʿAbbās, called Ḥarrāb al-daula, 459; Māshālīkh, 60b; al-qādī al-Tanūkhī 98a. Several reports are introduced impersonally: “says a Baghdadian,” 46a, “says a Bedouin,” ibid.; “says a Christian,” ibid., etc.

1 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.

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. Gardīzī 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 (ḥālib) to the king and was called in Khorasan al-shaykh al-ʿamīd. 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. Valīdī discovered in Mashhad in 1923. Its author enumerates the contents of his collectanea and says that he has added to I. Faqīh’s work

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2 Viz. the second part of I. Faqīh, two risālas of Abū Dulf Misʿar b. Muhālhib and the risāla of I. Pāḍlān.
“the two risālas which Abu Dulaf addressed to us (risālatayni kataba-humā ʻilaynā Abū Dulaf).” Consequently the author of the preface was one of the two dedicatees whom Abū Dulaf addresses in his risālas (yā man anā ‘abdulhumā).” Abū Dulaf claims to have accompanied, on its return journey, the “Chinese embassy” which visited the court of the Sīmānīd 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 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. 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. 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.

(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

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1 It is cautiously suggested (“Is it possibly Jayhānī?”) by the editor of I. Faqīh’s Putshetwe, 40.
2 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 Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam. Marquart considered the publication of the Ḥudūd and of ʿAuṣf as the necessary preliminary of further research. An analysis of the contents of ʿAuṣf was published by Prof. Nizāmud-dīn in 1929. The Ḥudūd has been available since 1937 and now the source of ʿAuṣf, unexpectedly recovered by Dr. Arberry, is presented to the public.
3 On the other hand, Muqaddasi, 271, accuses I. Faqīh of having incorporated the work of ǧāḥis, which de Goeje considers more likely.
4 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.
INTRODUCTION

Europe he uses the early ("Bulkār-Burdās") report, which is previous to I. Fadlān’s exploration (v.i. p. 111), 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 Hudūd, Gardizī and Marvazi, 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.¹

(c) Muţahhar b. Ṭāhir Maqdisi, in Vol. IV of his Kitāb al-bad‘, ed. C. Huart, 1907, has many points in common with I. Rusta, the Hudūd, Gardizī and Marvazi (see especially our Chapter XII). Muţahhar 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 Hudūd al-‘Ālam (GMS, N.S. XI, 1937) is a compilation begun in 372/982 in Gāzgān (Northern Afghanistan). For Islamic lands it utilizes chiefly the tradition of Abū Zayd Balkhi, as improved by Ištakhri, but its chief interest lies in the chapters on China, India and the Turks which closely coincide with Gardizī and Marvazi and must be based on Jayhānī.

(e) M. b. A. Muqaddasi’s Ahsan 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 Muţahhar, Gardizī and Marvazi, 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‘i is quoted) are still obscure.

(g) Birūnī knew Jayhānī, but his famous works contain only a small number of quotations from the Kitāb al-masālik (v.i. Chapter IX, §42). Birūnī’s al-Qānūn al-Mas’ūdī, written circa 421/1030

¹ The passage on the Oxus in I. Rusta, 91-2, points to Jayhānī as the source, v.i. under Bakri.
(Br. Mus. Or. 1997) gives extremely valuable parallels to Marvazi’s overland routes to China, but some of these data are subsequent to Jayhání.

(i) Gardžī’s Zayn al-akhbār (written in Ghaznī, circa 442/1050) contains two appendices, one on the Turks, published by Barthold in Otechot 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. Both chapters contain a mass of interesting details and are very useful for the explanation of our text. Gardžī’s chapter on India is particularly close to Marvazi, but gives more details. Gardžī directly refers to Jayhání.

(ii) 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. In the description of the Oxus (fragment 6) Bakrī quotes an “Aḥmad,” who in his turn refers to Jayhání as his authority. The passage is very close to I. Rusta, 91. In fragment 9, Bakrī describes the Pechenegs, Khazars, Furdās, Majghari, al-Sarīr and Burjān and, on the whole, his abridgment runs parallel to I. Rusta, Gardžī and Marvazi. The quotation in fragment 6 suggests that Bakrī used Jayhání’s data at second-hand.

(iii) Shahristānī wrote his Kitāb al-nilal wal-nilāf 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 Fīhrīt, Gardžī and Marvazi, but it is probable that instead of Jayhání he used some more technical maqālāt reproducing the statements of an ancient report (circa A.D. 800), (v.i. p. 129).

(iv) ‘Auflī, who died some time between A.D. 1232 and 1242, wrote his Jawāmī’ al-hikāyāt in India. Prof. Niẓāmu’d-dīn’s Introduction gives a detailed analysis of its contents and an excellent survey of its sources. ‘Auflī is the only author who quotes extensively from the Ṭabā’i’ al-hayawān, and to him we owe our knowledge of

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1 Sachau in his translation of Bṛhānī’s India, Preface, XLIII, and II, 359, 397, did not properly appraise Gardžī’s contribution which I hope to publish separately.

2 Izvestiya al-Bakrī, S. Petersburg, 1878.

3 Baron Rosen, p. 9, identifies him with Aḥmad b. Muḥammad I. Faqlī, but the latter’s account of the Oxus is different both in BGA, V, 324, and in the newly discovered Mashhad MS., f. 163a.
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,\(^1\) 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.\(^2\)

\((h)\) **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 *Ṭaba‘i*.

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 polyphonic 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.

\(^1\) This is the solution of the problem which embarrassed *Nizāmu’d-dīn*, o.c., 102.
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. Mullié (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 Qazvini 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.
ENGLISH TRANSLATION
CHAPTER VIII
OF THE CHINESE

(F.12a) i. 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 seashore in the south of India (Hind), then across the lands of Sind, and the island of al-Krk (until) it cuts through the sea in the direction of Arabia and the territory of Yemen with its lands, which are Zufar, 'Omán, Aden, Ḫadramūt, Ṣanā’, Jurash, Mahra, Saba’, etc. Then it cuts through the Quzum sea and stretches across the Ḥabasha lands, cuts the Egyptian Nile and stretches across a place called Jarmil, 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 Quzum Sea and runs through Upper Egypt and the territories of Maghrib, across the central part of Ifriqiya, 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
and Daylam, some of the lands of Syria and Rûm, 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 Adharbayjān, Armenia, and the lands of Rûm, 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 Abaskûn Sea, in their northern part, then cuts through the Sea of Rûm and stretches along the lands of the Saqâliba, 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 Toghuqghuz and the territory of the Turks, then across the lands of the Alân, the Sarîr, the Burjân, some of the Saqâliba, 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 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.* Hijāzī, Sha’āmī (Syrian), Rûmī, Hindī, Śînī, 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, Śîn, Qītāy², called by common people Khitāy, and Uyghur, of which the greatest is the region and kingdom of Śîn (China).

4. The people of China are the most skilful of men in handicrafts. No nation approaches them in this. The people of Rûm 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 Rûm who (however) are one-eyed, that is to say that they know only half the business.

¹ See Commentary, p. 156. ² Spelt Qutay throughout.
5. The Chinese do not mix with the Turks from whom they differ in most things because the latter wear jubbas 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.NJŪR. This is a great city having a three days' periphery. Near it is another still greater city called KWFWA, but the king resides in Y.njūr. (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 TAFGHĀJ-KHĀN, and it is he who is called FAGHFŪR.

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
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.

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 Bihāfarīdī 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 lovely1 as full moons. They are those who are specially destined2 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, genuine3 Slavonic amber which falls in drops of resin from trees in (the lands

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1. *Makbūbin*, but the text has *majbūbin* "fully castrated."
3. *Fugūṣi*, perhaps the kind "to be set in bezels (*fugūṣ*)."
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 Ṭālibīd '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 Ṭālibīds 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.
18. In ancient times all the districts of Transoxiana had belonged to the kingdom of China, with the district of Samarqand as its centre (qasaba). 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 Qitay, 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 Yārkand 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, Qitay and Yughur part:

A. He who travels to Y.njûr, 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.ksîn—in forty days—and during this (journey) he leaves on his left the lands of *Khocho (spelt Ḥkw), of which are known Sūlmin (sic) and Chinānjkath. From here he enters the kingdom of Tamghāj-khān and finally reaches Y.njûr in about 40 days.

Beyond China there is a nation known as Sh.rghôl, called by the Chinese S.nqū (*Sung-kuo), which is at a month’s distance from *Qitay, at the limit of inhabited lands, among water and thin mud. They are said to be those who are called Màjîn (*Māchîn) and the Indians call them Great China (i.e. Mahāchina).

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 Újam (sic), which is the capital of Qitay, travels eastwards and arrives at a place called

Khāṭūn-san (*Khāṭūn-sînî) in about 2 months
then to Útkîn (?) „ „ a month
then to Újam (sic) „ „ a month

The circuit of Újam 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
(lawful) business. And from it (i.e. Ujam) to the sea is a journey of seven days.

20. The traveller towards *Qītāy at half a month’s distance from Sānji (*Shā-cho?) 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 Qītāy 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 *Qītāy and Yughur became afraid of him and the lord of *Qītāy wrote to him a letter (15b) the translation of which is as follows:

"Concerning [the] welfare [of the Khan]. To the amīr of Khorasan Mahmūd Qarā-khān."

"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 (Mahmūd) 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.

1 Cf. on this title p. 56.
"And as there happened to be an alliance with Qadir-khan through a noble lady\(^1\) from the bosom of my house who became married to his son *Chaghri-tegin, 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 *zhānī
1 suit of *k.nāt
2 suits of *sh.k.rādī, (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 Sultān 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

\(^1\) *al-burra* stands undoubtedly for Turkish *khātun*, v.i. Biruni's translation of *Qātim-sīnī* by maqābrat-al ḫurra.
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.iltunkā has been sent from *Qīṭāy 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 *Qīṭāy 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Animal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>Mouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>Bull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>Leopard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth</td>
<td>Hare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth</td>
<td>Ḳūnāt (?) of the Water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixth</td>
<td>Snake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventh</td>
<td>Horse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eighth</td>
<td>Sheep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ninth</td>
<td>Monkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenth</td>
<td>Hen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eleventh</td>
<td>Dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twelfth</td>
<td>Hog</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Lūqīn (*Lūfīn, Lung-pien), then the town of
KHĀN-FŪ (Canton, spelt Ḥānquū), 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 Rûm (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
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 *khulū* (spelt *khataū*), 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 (*burūšū*) 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* (*fān-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
they were born.1 If a man has died among his people and in his house, he is kept in a wooden trough (naqṣr), 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-yumazaqua). 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

1 I.e. apparently a person born in the year of the Mouse (v.s. §25) was to be buried in the same year of the animal cycle.
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 Sänjü (read: Khan-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 Chinānjkath 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.1 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,2 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 (takhī) of textile3 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

1 V. i., this sentence repeated in §39.
2 Gardizi: "one vazir on the right and another on the left."
3 Gardizi, 93: takhī dībā.
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 Faghfūr, 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 farsaks, the extension of the coast is 3000 farsaks 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, ĖWRNYR, TULMĀN, F.RĀHNKLĪ, YĀTHĪ, ĖHNĀTHĪ, BŪBU'NĪ, B.NKūY, FŪRĪ. They make (19a) ornaments for their women out of white shells (sw'd', "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

1 The transcription of these names, which are undotted in the original, is purely conventional and cannot be relied upon. See the Commentary.
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 (mughaffât?) by temples built of
cypress wood, as are also most of their markets, and every day
several times they are levelled¹ 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.

¹ Possibly *tuknasu* "are swept."
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, 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 (20a) 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. 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

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1 Apparently *Ak̄hā. The following name is Ak̄hā-yul “the country of A.”
2 Yaltaqiqimus, “they pick up,” but the meaning must be “which they extract.”
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 *Toğuzghuz, some Üy-ghur,
and some Üch-ghur (?). Their king is called Toğuz-khaqan,
and he has numerous armies. In ancient times their king had
1000 life-guards (shahiri) 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 yurts (felt-huts, khargah); 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 Türkmäns. 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 Türkmäns 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
Qītāy, fearing the Qītā-khan. They (were) Nestorian Christians,
and had migrated from their habitat, being pressed for pastures.
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 Shārī migrated to the land of the Tūrkmāns, who in their turn shifted to the eastern parts of the Ghuẓz country. The Ghuẓz Turks then moved to the territory of the Bajānak, near the shores of the Armenian (?) sea.

4. To them (also) belong the Khīrkhīz, a numerous people dwelling between the summer east [=N.E.] and the north; the Kimāk live to the north, the Yaghmā and the Kharulkh to the west of them, while Kucha (K.jā) and Ark [with regard to them] lie between the winter west and the south. The Khīrkhīz 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 Khīrkhīz is a man, a commoner, called faghnān, 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 (21a) 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 Khīrkhīz 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 Khīrkhīz 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.
5 bis (= 5 in Chap. XV). As for the farthest parts of the territories of the Turks there are between Üj 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.¹

5 ter (= 6 in Chap. XV). On this side (dūn) of the Khirkhīz, in the direction of Chīnānjkath, 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 Khārlukh. These formerly dwelt in the mountain of Tūnis (*Tālis*), which is the Golden mountain, and were the slaves of the Toghużghuz; [later] they rebelled against them, and migrated to the land of the T.R.K.s (*Tūrgish*), which they seized and conquered and usurped the kingdom (or: subjected the king). From thence they moved on to Islamic territories. Of the Khārlukh 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, Kāk.ṛkin (*Kūdārkīn ?*) and Tukhṣī.

¹ See also Chapter XV, §2r.
7. To them also belong the Kimâk, 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 Kimâks transfer their beasts to the Ghuzz country, if there is peace between them. The Kimâk possess underground dwellings (asrâb) 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 (samûr) or the ermine (gâqum) 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 Kimâks 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-Masâlik wal-Mamâlik that there is a certain people who come in boats from a westerly direction (nâhiyat al-gharb) to the Kimâk 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 Kimâk is a people called the B.şrî (?)¹; they have an independent chieftain, they live in woods and forests winter and summer.

10. The Pechenegs (Bajanâk) 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

¹ The transcription is purely tentative!
by many peoples; to the north are the Khifjăkh, to the south-west (al-janūb fil-maghrib) the Khazar, to the east (min nāhiyat 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 (jarādāt). 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.

II. 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 Lwīr. This mountain stretches away to the land of Tiflis. Their city is called Sārīs (Sāriš-sh.n ?) and they have another city called Kh.tbaļīgh (sic) (Kh.nbalīgh, 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 (dhīrā') 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.ikār 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 (khāfīb) 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). 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

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1 On the names, see the Commentary.
2 Probably the animal called in Russian кунца.
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:\; 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 Sūvār 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 'arūdu arḍihim kahthirun), 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
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.nā, 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 (Jaybūn). The habitations of the Majghari lie between these two rivers, whose names are the Rūnā (Rūdā ?) 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 Majghari are handsome and very comely (riwā' 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 multaffa) 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 (mazānir), 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 (layṣa lahūm sa'at fil-ma'īshā). Their weapons are javelins and spears, and they have fine bucklers. Their head chieftain is called suwāt, and he has a deputy called sh.rīk. The king has [riding] beasts and on their milk he feeds. The town in which he resides is called Kh. zhrāt, 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.

1 See the Commentary.
In the winter the Majgharī raided them, and as a result of their mutual raids 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.¹ They are very numerous, and look to the sword to provide them with a livelihood and profession (al-ma'āsh wal-kassh). 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 Khwârazm, four kinsmen of their king; for they had an independent king called Vlădimir (V.lăđmăr), just as the king of the Turks is called khâqân and the king of the Bulghars b.t.lhā. Their messengers came to Khwârazm and delivered their message. The Khwârazmshâh 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 sufum) 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.² 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.

¹ Or perhaps: "and in the neighbourhood (of the woods) there is a lake" (?).
² Khâlij may apply to the Straits as well but here the reference is apparently to the Golden Horn.
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 (tıwâl al-ahlâz).

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
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 Amaz̄inas, 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.
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,¹ 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 (dombā), who have a dark complexion² 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

¹ Šāmanī, "Buddhists"?
² I. Kh., 71, also has sumr, cf. infra §47, but another possible reading is gaum samar, "entertainers."
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 (*nirang), 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, flutes, 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 (?) in the eastern part of India, in the land called Qāmūr (*Qāmrūp, Kāmarūp, Assam), who possesses more beauty than any other nation.

17. There are 99 creeds (*milāl) 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 (*rūsul)² and prophets; others again reject both a Creator and apostles and some reject everything but confirm the

1 Dābir, Dāyr, Dāhir?
² 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 = *āsvare(lu) we have rendered the term conventionally as "apostle."
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 Bāṣḍīw (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 shakra,¹ 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 are² 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.

¹ Marginal note: archad.
² Further on we drop these words recurring at the beginning of each paragraph.
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.b.l.nā (*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 impediant, 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 (34a).

23. The Rāvaniya (adepts of Rāvana) 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.
25. There are some who pretend that the attainment of Right and the attack upon (hujām) 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. Kriṇiya (*Nīgaṇṭa-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. Nkabāṭriya (*Gānāyāṭriya) 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 Rājartija (*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 Bhāḍriya. 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
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.hāḍrz, Jūn and M.rsh.

[Division C (?): Idol-worshippers]

31. The Mahākālniya (*Mahā-Kāliya), who have an idol called Mahākāl. They say he is a devil (‘ifrīl) 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 Diyatthriya (?). 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 (35a) put on these masks, but when the festivity is over all these things are returned to the treasury.

33. The B.h.Kqbiya (*Dakhāniya?). 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 protrude 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
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 (*laksh) 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 Akhnuṭriya (*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 Bhabarniya (?). 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
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 *Jırāmbaradharma (cīrāmbaradharma, "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 (*mrga-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 Qīmār 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 Sarandib (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-Fārstī, 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
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 Ṣaylamān there is a country called Ağhāb ("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. MKF (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-ṬAFIR (*Ṭaqīn). 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 JABA (?). 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 ṣāfirī, 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 ?)1 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.2 In their

1 §50 apparently refers still to Jurz (§49). The text must be restored: "there is no other king more opulent than he."

2 In a parallel passage Mas'ūdī, Murājī, I, 384, says: "(RHMV) wars only in winter because elephants have little patience of thirst and have little endurance in that state."
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"), 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.dkīrā with a market about a farsakh (long). Rhinoceroses and cows called ghīzghāw (yaks?) are found (in this kingdom), which adjoins the coast of the Sea of Aghsāb. 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.bth (?). 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 Munabbih, who pretend to be descendants of Sām b.Lu’ayy. They are kings of India and read the khutba in the name of the Imām of the Muslims. Their lands lie near Maṣūra 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.

1 Evidently to be read in Persian.
2 "Sea of Gulfs," more probably "of Lagoons"?
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 shrunken 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 T.rsül. 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-Mūsā. 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-T.rsūl, al-Mūsā 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 baldric covered with pearls.
57. In the kingdom of D.h.m there is a land called Urf.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 Rāmshīr, 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 Zābāj,² 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 dinār, 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.rāy.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’dīf) are heard in the island and (the mariners) see fires kindled and hear the voices of men. The Mahārāj’s people swear by the Fire and when two of them have a dispute before the sultan, a piece of iron weighing a ṭafīl 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,

²This 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—Lankaballūs; §11—the island of Jīmns; §13—a native does not appreciate money; §16—silent trade with islanders; §17—Rāmshīr opposite Ceylon; §18—good swimmers; §19—Bālūs; §23—Wāq-wāq.
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-Qandahar.\(^1\) 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

\(^1\) Probably *Qimār*, i.e. Khmer, Cambodia.
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 Rāmīyān 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 they¹ seek merit. The courtesans are never absent from the temple either by night or day.

65. After this town comes the town of Jālhandar 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 Sīlābūr, 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.rajūn ?) 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.

¹ Probably, the courtesans.
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
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. ʿAmr al-Ṣafārī how the latter saw huge trees in the land of the Sūdān. In the land called *Kānām* 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. jThe 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
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 *Tārīkh Mulāk 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
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. (41a) He assumed the title of Qaras-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 "Qaras-khān," in Turkish qara being "black" and khaqan "Supreme Lord." So Qaras-khān means "Black Khāqān."

CHAPTER XV

OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE REMOTE OUTLYING COUNTRIES AND OF THE ISLANDS

(42a) 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, §12bis (Bulghar).
3. " " §12ter (Isū, Yūra).
4. " " §12quater (Northerners).
5. " " §5bis (Kāshghar).
6. " " §5ter (Qūri?).

7. Abū Saīd 'Ubaidullāh ibn Ṣibrī 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.

1 Cf. the letter from the ruler of Qītā to Maḥmūd of Ghazna, Ch. VIII, §22.
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
(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.

II. 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,1 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 show1 on account of the hatred between the parties. The maritime traders travel to the island which is

1 The trade in which the parties put together the equivalents of their respective goods and do not meet personally, cf. Index, under “Dumb show.”
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-Ḥasā. 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
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 Badakhshān 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 (garada) and their bodies were covered with hair like those of apes.

23. I have read in the Kitāb al- Bahār ("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.
COMMENTARY
CHAPTER VIII

CHINA


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. Şin, Qitāy and Yughur. 4. The Chinese and Byzantines as craftsmen. 5. The Chinese do not mix with other people. 6. Māni's law.


(e) Land routes: 19. to China, Yughur and Qitāy. 20. The Shārī or Basmīl. 21. Policy of Qitāy and Yughur.


(g) Maritime routes: 26. Lūfīn, Khān-fū, curfews, goods. 27. Malik of Khān-fū; Chinese are white; registration of cargoes; the fan-chang, the monsoon.


(k) Silā (Corea): 41.

(l) Tibet: 42. Its divisions. 43. Musk.

The introductory section on the Climes is probably borrowed from al-Farābī. 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 *Akhbār (?)* and the *Masālik*, but, although
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 Akhbār Gardizi 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 Gardizi, it is probable that, in this case, Akhbār refers to some collection of reports, similar to that going under the name of Sulaymān the Merchant. 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, 69.2

The Masālik is referred to in a paragraph (§36), which is also found in Gardizi, the latter quoting Jayhānī as his source. One should imagine that the other items coinciding in Marvazi and Gardizi had also passed through Jayhānī's huge and important compilation.3 Here is the abstract of Gardizi's chapter on China with the indication of the parallel §§ in Marvazi.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gardizi</th>
<th>Marvazi's §§</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Road to Khundān ... ... ... 29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China is a vast kingdom ... ... ... 30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silk clothes with long sleeves ... ... ... 30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Streets covered ... ... ... 39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dwellings have statues ... ... ... 30 and 39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Army of 400,000 ... ... ... 30 (&quot;numerous&quot;)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese clever ... ... ... 8 (? many more details)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good textiles and vases ... ... ... 12 (?)</td>
<td>deest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abū Zayd (Balkhi?) on the Ghuzz being China's neighbours</td>
<td>deest (Sulaymān, 59: Toghuzhuz, Tibet)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Khurdādhbih says every traveller to China becomes a sage</td>
<td>deest, but cf. I. Kh., 170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Many kings under the Faghfür</td>
<td>deest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yellow brocade and white horses reserved for the Faghfur</td>
<td>deest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visible once a year when he rides to the ancestors' tombs</td>
<td>deest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great audience with musicians ... ... ... 30 (vazir and ḥājib)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only the vazīr, the sāhib (?) and the envoys admitted to the king</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reception of envoys ... ... ... 30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Astrologers in the king's gynaecceum ... ... ... 40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Compiled in 237/851 and completed by Abū Zayd Sträß c. 303/915. Cf. Chap. XV, §23, in which some Kitāb al-baḥr is referred to. It is noteworthy that I. Kh., 62, quotes some reports of Mariners (dahrara baḥriyyūn) on the pepper-plant of Southern India.

2 But the data may have passed through Jayhānī.

3 On the original source, v.i, §29.
Gardizi

Crops not irrigated
Priests responsible for rains
180 drums in the palace
Curfew
Crimes punishable with death
A red-haired people living beyond China

Marvazi's $31$ ("cereals")
$31$
$32$ ("numerous")
$32$
$32$ (more details)
$36$ (from al-Masūlik)

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 Y.nchūr (Yung-chou?), which flourished in the post-T'ang time, see §§7, 19. The data on the K'itin embassy belong to 418/1027. Different sources account for some repetitions (§26—curfew in Canton, §32—ditto in Khumdan; 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 Y.njūr probably in the beginning of the tenth century: §§7—12.1

(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 cliimes 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 concept, but even in translating Ptolemy Arab geographers introduced their additions into the original scheme, see Khwārizmi's Sūrat al-arḍ, ed. Māzik, and Barthold's Preface to the H.-r.Ā, 10.

Apart from some minor alterations, the description entirely corresponds with that found in al-Farghānī's Fil-ḥarakāt al-samāwiyā,

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1 The authority (b) calls the emperor Faghfūr, whereas the authority (c) refers to him as Tafghāj-khān.

2 The Seven Climes appear in the oldest Greek geographers, see E. Honigmann, *Die Sieben Klimata*, 1929, pp. 10-30.
ed. Golius, Amsterdam, 1669, p. 35. Practically the same text is reproduced in I. Rusta, 96–8, Muṭahhar, IV, 49–53 (Seventh Clime left out), Muṣjal al-tawārīkh, 479–81, and Yaqūt, I, 29. By some slip, Marvazi 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.” Marvazi slightly abridges the enumeration of places. The island al-Krk is spelt al-Krl in Ferghānī and Khūwārizmī, al-Kwl in I. Rusta and the Muṣjal, and al-Krk in Muṭahhar and Yaqūt. De Goeje in his note to I. Rusta, 96c, identifies it with “Kūlī or Kūlam” (Quillon). According to Nallino, Atti dei Lincei, 1896, II/1, 39, the island which Khūwārizmī calls “al-Mydh or al-Krl” is meant to represent Gujarāt, cf. also al-Battānī, ed. Nallino, II, 51, No. 239. The people Myd (*Mych?) 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-Krk plundered Jedda in 152/768. Two years later Mānsūr sent against them a naval expedition from Bāṣra, see I. Athīr, V, 455 and 466. The question of al-Myd/al-Krk is complicated by Ibn Sa’id (d. circa A.D. 1286?), as available in Ferrand’s translation, Relations, 336. Ibn Sa’id places the islands of M.nd at the end of the First Clime. The principal island was called K.īwā, and had three towns: K.īwā (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 Tadhīm, ed. Wright, 143–5, is somewhat different. Biruni begins the Sixth Clime with “Eastern Turks, such as Qāy, Qūn, etc.” Marvazi 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. Faqih, 5–7, who is more dependent on Ptolemy, etc. (through Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārizmī, quoted ibid., p. 4 ?), and whose enumeration is accompanied by some general characteristics of the Climes.

1 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, Muḥammad b. al-Kathīr, is said to have been employed under Mutawakkil (A.D. 847–861), see Brockelmann, GAL. I, 221, and Supplement, I, 392.
2 In I. Rusta’s Sixth Clime Burjān follows Constantinople and evidently corresponds to the Bulghars. In the Seventh Clime, Burja comes before the Slavs and probably also refers to the Bulgars. In the zone “beyond the Climes,” after the Alan come al-Abār “the Avars,” Burjān and the Slavs. Marvazi leaves out the Avars but keeps Burjān, which at this place may originally refer to the Burgundians, cf. I. Khurādāhkhī, 92, 119, Masʿūdī, Tānūbī, 190, Ḥudūd, 419, 447.
3 Cf. on Arabīc Climes, Honigmann, o.c., 112–83 (Ptolemaios und die Araber etc.).
§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 (akhas al-ashyād) in a man, as in every animal, is the soil (turbatuhi) 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 Mansūr 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 Marvāzī. As the “one-eyed nation” he quotes the Babylonians (ahl-Bābīl) 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.ḥaḏr (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 Marvāzī (cf. ‘Aūfī), we have to suppose that it was incorporated only in some later copies of Jayhānī’s work.

§13. The Zoroastrian reformer Bihāfarīdīh 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, Bihāfarīdīh, 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 Bihāfarīdīh is found in Marvāzī, but ‘Aūfī gives a pretty complete version of Bihāfarīdīh’s story, see Barthold, Turkestan, I, 93 (= No. 1624 in Nizām ‘ud-dīn’s list). He may have taken the details from a passage omitted in our copy of Marvāzī, but it is possible that in this particular case he made direct use of Jayhānī’s Masālīk, cf. Nizām ‘ud-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 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 Marvāzī quotes some written source which he calls al-Akhbār, and which may be identical with “some Maritime Merchants” (ba’ā al-tu‘jār al-baḥrīyyīn) and

1 Perhaps several persons?
with *Kitāb al-bahr*, quoted elsewhere (ff. 44a and 45a). 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, *Khān-fū in E.I.*

§14. The story of the eunuch and his five shirts is found in Abū Zayd Sirāfī, 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. *Auffi, No. 1965* (from Marvazi?).

§15. On importations into China see Sulaymān, 35 (minus amber) and *Auffi, No. 1905*. *Khutūt* 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 Shi’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 hayya-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-Musliymiya among the Turks of Transoxiana. Some said that he was a descendant of Imām Yahyā b. Zayd b. ‘Ali (killed in Güzgān A.D. 743), and that he “fled from the Omayyads and traversed the country of the Turks.” The first convert to Islam among Turkish rulers Satuq Boghra khan of Kāshghar (d. 344/955) professed the Shi’a. See Barthold, *Turkestan, 199*, Grenard, *La légende de Satok Boghra*, in *J.A.*, Jan. 1900, p. 1–79; Marquart, *Giwains’s Bericht über die Bekehrung der Uiguren*, 1912, 495; Blochet, *La conquête des états nestoriens de l’Asie Centrale par les schiites*, in *Revue de l’Orient Chrétien*, XXV, 1926, pp. 3-131 (very disappointing). The story of the ‘Alids is shortened in *Auffi, 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,

1 V *a p. 63
2 Muḥāhar b. Tāhir, IV, 63 (tr. IV, 60), says that there is a colony of descendants of Ḥusayn b. ‘Ali in Khotan, which according to his source (Jayhān?) is a part of Tibet.
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 Shi'a parallel to Prester John's kingdom. Three centuries later Maqrizi, ed. Wiet, I, 59, removed the 'Alid colony still further east, to Corea (al-Shīldā).

F. Grenard, *Mission scientifique de Dureuil du Rhins*, 1898, II, 308–15, and Pelliot, *Les Abdāl de Paīnāp*, 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. Both French explorers were inclined to see in the Abdāls "les descendants des chîtes . . . 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-Shi'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. Šāliḥ inflicted a decisive defeat on the Chinese. Following Barthold's indication, *Turkestân*, p. 196, I have found a parallel record on paper in Samarqand in Tha'alibī's *Lādā'if al-ma'ārif*, who quotes al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik. Consequently this is one more

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2 Tha'alibī, ed. Jong, 1867, p. 129: "the author of al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik writes that, among the prisoners taken by Ziyād b. Šāliḥ, 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-Mansūr 'Abd al-Malik Tha'alibī died *circa* 430/1038.
precious fact from Jayhānī’s lost treasure and a link between ‘A. Malik Tha’alibī and Marvazi, 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 Marvazi’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 Marvazi’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 stones1 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.2 Biruni’s short explanations of the names tally perfectly with Marvazi, 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.3

Biruni’s tables give the following co-ordinates in the Far East:4

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

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2 On his eagerness for knowledge, cf. his Saydana, 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.
3 Close relations must have existed between Marv and Ghaznī. In 510/1117 Sanjar put Bahram-shah on the throne of Ghaznī.
4 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.
Third Clime

T.ksīn (L.ksīn?) in the land of the Upper Turks... 120 15 32 50
*Khātūn-sīn, i.e. "The Tomb of the noblewoman" 129 40 31 50

Second Clime

Y.njū, residence of the Faghūr of China surnamed Taghmāj (sic)-khan 125 0 22 0
Kūfā, a city larger than the capital of Y.njū 127 0 21 0
Utkīn 136 30 26 0
Qītā, to the N.E. of China, its Lord being Qītā-khan³ 158 40 21 40

First Clime

Sh.rghūd, in Chinese S.nqū, which is Mahāchīn 155 0 15 0
Khān-fū, one of the gates (awwāb) of China, on a river 160 0 14 0
Khān-jū, one of the gates, also on a river 162 0 13 0

Beyond the First Clime

Hāmr̄a,² one of the gates of China, and the estuary of its rivers 166 0 11 0
Sīlā, 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Route</th>
<th>Miles</th>
<th>Km</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tūsamat—Kan-chou</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sha-chou—Kan-chou³</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sha-chou—T.ksīn</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>947.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sha-chou—Khatun-sīn</td>
<td>1001</td>
<td>1610.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sha-chou—Y.njū</td>
<td>1393</td>
<td>2241.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kan-chou—T.ksīn</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>764</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.ksīn—Y.njū</td>
<td>1070</td>
<td>1722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.ksīn—Kūfā</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>1931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y.njū—Kūfā</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kan-chou—Khatun-sīn</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>1528</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ In M. Nazim, Sultan Mahmud, 56: long. 113° 40’, lat. 29° 40’ (sic) is an obvious mistake.
² Possibly Ptolemy’s Ὠττοροκόφρα (long. 166°; lat. 37° 15’), in Khuwārizmi ᪃ ̄Fοττορογάρα (long. 140° 10’; lat. 37° 15’). Biruni is more faithful to Ptolemy.
³ 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 2180 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, Ḥ.ʿ-ʿA., 229.
§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 Gardizi, 94, give the stages of this stretch and Gardizi enumerates exactly 14 of them. The common source is undoubtedly Jayhāni. In the stretch Khotan-Sha-chou, K. rwyā (Keriya)¹ is mentioned at a distance of 5 stages from Khotan; in the Hudūd (§g, 21) there are only some faint traces of this portion of the road.² 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 Gardizi as the meeting place of roads from Qumul (in the Uyghur region) and the south, v.s. Biruni, under “Sānjū.” Marvazi makes three roads start from Sha-chou.

(a) Road to China. Contrary to the descriptions in the Hudūd and Gardizi, which have in mind the road to a point on the Yangtze, our source follows the road southwards, down to Kan-chou (Qām-jō) and then turns away eastwards to L. kṣīn (Biruni: T. kṣīn ?), thence to reach the later capital of Y. njūr (Biruni: Y. njūr).³ The distances Kan-chou—L- kṣīn, 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.⁴ According to Biruni, T. kṣīn was situated at approximately one-third of the way between Kan-chou and Y. njūr, there being 764 Km. between Kan-chou and T. kṣīn, and 1693 Km. between the latter and Y. njūr. If we content ourselves with this ratio and apply it to the actual distances on the modern maps, we may tentatively place L. kṣīn 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).⁵ The first part of L. k- sīn/T. k- sīn could be easily restored as

¹ In Biruni’s Cαsαn also K. rwyā (possibly assimilated to Karavya “caraway’’’).
² Dutreuil de Rhins, Mисsion, 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. Marvazi’s average stage is consequently 32 Kms.
³ The r of Y. njūr (which is also reflected in ‘Aṣfī’s H. j. r, Barthold, Turkestan, I, 98) seems to be superfluous. Marco Polo also adds r in a similar name Sukčur for Suk-chou (now Su-chou).
⁴ 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.
⁵ 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).
*Ling*, but *sin* presents a difficulty since Chinese -chou would give -ṣū 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. Kūfū/Kūfā looks like a mis-spelling of Kuf.n to be identified with K’ai-fèng, 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.¹ Our Y.njū (*Yün-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.² 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 Jayhāni flourished, and it is natural to connect the item on Y.njūr with Jayhāni’s work. Some difficulty lies in the fact that the Ḥudād and Gardiḍa, who used Jayhāni, mention Khumdān (Hsi-an-fu) as the capital of China (cf. also §29),³ but we have reasons to believe that Jayhāni 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-fèng. The distance (as the crow flies) between K’ai-fèng and Ho-nan-fu is about 145 miles (233 Km.), and between K’ai-fèng and Hsi-an-fu *circa* 320 miles (515 Kms.). The distance between Kū-fū and Y.njūr, as calculated by Dr. Thackerey 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-fèng 444,940 (though their areas were very much the same).⁴

(b) Road from Sha-chou to Yughur, i.e. to the Uyghur capital of Chinānjkath (= Khocho), is described by Gardizi, 92. The form Sulm.ₙ, which is also found in Biruni, is probably a mis-spelling for Solmi (or Sölmī), see Kāshghari, I, 103, and the Saka

¹ Prof. Mullie quotes the *T’ai p’ing huan yū-hi*. 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-fèng-fu or with Hsi-an-fu.

² Note the opening paragraph of §19, which refers to travellers “on commercial or other business.”

³ Khumdān is quoted by Qudāma, 264, who largely depends on the original text of I. Khurādhhīh.

⁴ King-chao-fu = Hsi-an-fu at the same period had 537,288 inhabitants, Sung-shih, ch. 85, p. 3 (Mullie).
transcription communicated to me by H. W. Bailey. On Kashghari’s Map it is shown to the south of Qocho (=Khocho), contrary to Biruni’s co-ordinates:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Long.</th>
<th>Lat.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chînânjkath</td>
<td>112° 20’</td>
<td>42° 0’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sûlm.ûn</td>
<td>113°</td>
<td>43° 0’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

according to which Sûlm.ûn lay to the N.E.E. of Khocho, apparently on the northern side of T’ien-shan.

(e) 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 Ghazni 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Biruni</th>
<th>Marvazi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Km.</td>
<td>Days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sha-chou—Khatun-ûnî</td>
<td>circa 1610</td>
<td>2 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thence to Ùtkîn</td>
<td>925</td>
<td>1 month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thence to Ùjam</td>
<td>2250</td>
<td>1 month</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is clearly stated in §19 that the road to Qitay branches off from Sâjû (*Sha-chou), but in §20 the initial (?) point is called Sânjû. Biruni’s MS. gives something like Miyânjû (*Sânjû), but leaves no doubt as to its identity with Sâjû (*Sha-chou). More complicated is the case of Kâshghari who, I, 349, says “Shanjû, a township on the way to Upper China, more correctly Shânjû.” It is possible that al-Šîn al-a’lā stands here for Qitay, but is the name, so carefully spelt out, distinct from Sâjû? The assimilation of the spellings Shanjû and Shânjû may be on the responsibility of the author, who, by the way, does not mention Sâjû (Sha-chou). On Kâshghari’s Map Shânjû is shown as continuing the line Kâshghar-Khotan-Cherchen, but is separated from the latter by a range of mountains (K’un-lun, Altîn-tagh?). As on the other hand this Shânjû 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 Altîn-tagh, which near Charkhliik forms a promontory screening Cherchen from Sha-chou. Pelliot, T’oung-Pao, 1936, p. 363, identifies Kâshghari’s Shânjû 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.” Kâshghari might have taken some interest in Shan-chou in connection with the
presence of the Sari-Yughurs in its neighbourhood (?), but then he must have confused Shanjū with the Sājiū (*Shājū) of the Islamic geographers.

From §20 it is clear that the encampment of Al-Shāriya\(^1\) was reached by travellers one-and-a-half months before arriving at Khatun-sīni. 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 Uyghurs 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 Bāsmīl. This name is a precious indication, for it can refer only to the Basmil (in Chinese Pa-si-mi), a Turkish tribe closely associated with the Uyghurs. According to Chinese sources, the Basmil formed the tenth division of the Uyghurs. a.d. 742 the Basmil 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 Basmil remained in the Uyghur federation and shared the fate of its survivors when 15 aymaq's 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'it'an embassy. It is also possible that the Basmil 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 Basmil 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-sīni "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'êng: (a) one on the Etsina-ghol (= Kāshghari, III, 240); (b) one in Mongolia on the Orkhon, 3000 li from the "Upper Residence" (Pelliott, J.A., April, 1920, 174, places it at the confluence

\(^1\) On another group of this name see Chap. IX, §23C.
of the Orkhon with the Kókshín-Orkhon); (c) and one near the northern bend of the Yellow river.¹ Prof. Mullie most kindly supplied me with an abstract of the sources. According to the T'ang-shu a place called Ts'ai-sai-kiun, "properly K'o-tun-ch'eng," existed in the eighth century at some distance to the west of Kueihua-chêng in the north-western part of the Uarat 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-sîn, if only "Khatun's tomb" = Khatun's chêng ("wall, walled town").

In Arabic script Ütkîn looks very much like the Turkish Ötükän (Kâşghari: Ütî.n?), but a visit to the famous Ötükän-yîsh, the residence of the Eastern Turkish qaghan, would have taken the ambassador far out of his direct road.² The authorities seem to agree in placing Ütükän somewhere in the Hangai (Khangay) range to the south of the upper Orkhon, see Thomsen, *Inscr. de l'Orkhon*, 1906, p. 152; Melioransky, *Zap. V. O.*, XII, p. 84; Thomsen, *ZDMG*, 78, 1924, p. 123; cf. Herrmann, *Atlas of China*, p. 40. Kâşghari, on his Map, is apparently wrong in placing his Ötükän somewhere near the source of the Irrits (?). Prof. Mullie tells me that, according to the Liao-shih, Ch. 41, p. 41, 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 *Ütikîn*. I gratefully place this indication on record.³ Biruni's co-ordinates suggest for Ütikîn a southerly bend of 5° 50' in comparison with Khatun-sîn.

The name of the terminal point of the itinerary is transmitted in Marvazi as Üjam, whereas Biruni refers indefinitely to the "residence of the Qîta-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-măren, in the Mongol principality of Bărin (in Mongolian Boro-khoto, "The Brown City"). The perimeter of Üjam was 2 farsakhs, i.e. 12-12 Kms., while that of

¹ Built A.D. 749 near the Ola range, south-east of the present Wu-yüan, i.e. near the ancient T'en-tê-chih (M. Polo: Tenduc). A fourth Ho-tung-ch'êng lay near the Kerulen, 1700 li from the "Upper Residence" (G. Haloma).
² Unless the three years which it took him to arrive in Ghazni are accounted for by such great detours.
³ A grim idea would be that the ambassador intentionally embroiled the facts, cf. §21. He may have mentioned Khatun-sîn as a more or less known term and Ütkîn (*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.
COMMENTARY

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

The form Ójam might be shaped into something like *Lākham (?), 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.1 In Biruni the road between Útkin 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 Òtūgān (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 Ójam as mamliha, "a kingdom" (?). The description of Ójam suggests a "royal camp" rather than a city, and here is an important quotation from the Lia-o-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'itian 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-tse-p'ou et ne prennent pas la précaution d'établir (une enceinte de) fossés et de palissades ou un camp de lances." Kung-tsz'-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 fosse 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.nqū and corresponding to Mahāchin undoubtedly refers to the Sung state *Sung-kuo (a.d. 960–1279).2 No one except a Liao

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1 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, Voyages chinois chez les Khitans, J.A., mai 1897, 377–471. The suggested restoration of Ójam as *Lākham, Lokham would acquire more importance in comparison with Lokhan.

2 Abul-Hasan Bayhaqi, Tarîkh-i Bâyhaqi (a.d. 1164), Tehran 1938, p. 18, refers to S.nqū as the great town (!) of Mahāchin.
ambassador could breathe so much contempt for the rival territory. The alternative name Sh.rghūl must be a K’ītan term, very welcome in view of the meagerness of the K’ītan vocabulary so far known. The variants offered by Biruni are Sh.rghūd, in the Qanūn, and Sh.rghūr² 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 (fawqa al-Šīn), which he takes for a branch of the Green sea, cf. H.-‘A., 179.

§§22–25. A record of an embassy from Qītā and Yughur to Sultan Maḥmūd is found in Gardīzī under the year 417/1026: “Ambassadors came from the Qītā-khan and the Yyyghur-khan to Amir 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.’ Amir 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.”¹²

Ibn al-Muhannā misses the point of Marvazi’s report, when he says that the ambassadors were sent by the lords “of China and the Turks,” see Barthold, Zwölff Vorlesungen, 89. Only the original of Marvazi’s work enables us to appreciate the importance of the event.

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

¹ For the final element compare the Mongolian plural in -d, -ūd!
² The text in Barthold, Turkestan, I, 17, and Gardīzī, ed. M. Nazım, 87. The passage has been unfortunate in its interpreters, see Raverty, Tabaqāt, 905 (where the two khanīs are mistaken for brothers of the Qara-khanīd Qadīr khan); Barthold, Turkestan, Engl. transl., 286 (*Qūd mis-read as Qayd); M. Nazım, Sultan Maḥmūd, 57 (the reading is right, but the identification of Qūd with Kuwhā 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 Mencel in 1935, under the title Zwölff Vorlesungen, Barthold says, pp. 88–9: “Nach der Erzählung des Gardīzī kamen im Jahre 1026 die Gesandten von zwei türkischen Chancen zu Maḥmūd (es werden ihre Titel angeführt deren Lesung . . . nicht ganz sicher festgestellt werden kann).” On Ibn Muhannā’s quotation from Marvazi Barthold remarks: “die neue Quelle gibt folglich keine neuen Nachrichten über die Gesandtschaft der zwei Chane und bringt nur eine chronologische Unklarheit hinein.”
³ 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 Marvazi.
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 Kālīnjār 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, Qādir khan, whom he met in person at Samarqand on 29th April, 1025, M. Nazım, o.c., 55. To seal this friendship Maḥmūd betrothed his daughter to Qādir’s son, Yaghantegin. 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. Gardži) 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-lū Apaoiki in 916, and officially proclaimed in 926, comprised Southern Manchuria1 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 Semirechyе.2 The embassy to Ghaznī 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-lū Ta-shi, founded a new empire in Semirechyе 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 send on Qul-tonga to Ghaznī is a difficult question. There were two Uyghur principalities, the northern one in Khocho and Bish-balik, 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 Sarī-Yughur (‘Yellow Uyghurs’).3 The history of these later branches is still obscure. Both kingdoms had relations with

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1 The names of the river Liao-ho, Liao-tun, etc., are traces of the dynasty, called Liao in Chinese.
2 It was repulsed by the Qara-khanid prince of Kashi, see Barthold, Turkestan, 279, and Kara-Khitay in E.I. There seems to be no record of the expedition in Chinese sources (G. Haloun).
3 See H.-‘Ā., 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 Su-lī Wey-wu-ph (Sarī Uyghur) used in 1226, see Bretschneider, I, 263. Cf. also Chap. IX, §3 (al-Shārīya).
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 Khirkhiz from the Orkhon (A.D. 924), he invited the khan of Kan-chou to re-occupy his fathers’ home, but this proposal proved unacceptable. In 1009–10 the K’itan high commissioner attacked Kan-chou and subdue 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 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. There are some other indirect arguments in favour of this hypothesis. The khans of Bishbaliq had the honourable title of idiqut, which they had inherited from the Basmil, their predecessors in the region. 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 Qadir and Chaghri, see Bretschneider, o.c., Çâferoğlu, Sözlük, 42, 123. On the contrary, in Kan-su, the name of the khan Qālin b. al-Shakhir, quoted by Mis‘ar b. Muhalhil, seems to be *Qalīn b. Châqrî (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 Birûnî and Marvazi 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, Mahmûd might give him the necessary support.

The original letters of the two khans must have been in Turkish. Says Kâshghari, I, 29: “The people of Mâchîn and Chîn 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).” 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.

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1 The fact was referred to by Ye-là 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.

2 Probably only their suzerainty, see above note.

3 See the text: “we have ordered Qadir-khan.”

4 Juwayni, I, 32; Rashîd al-dîn, ed. Berezin, VII, 163, says that the title was assumed dar in âkkâra, but he possibly means by that “since their arrival in Khocho.”

5 As against these considerations can be quoted that in §19B (as also in Birûnî’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 (Jayhânî).
In comparison with the Uyghur 'an salāmatinā, the Qitay formula can hardly be 'an salāmihi. More likely it is to be read 'an salāmati (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 ilkhan Abū-Sa'id in Barthold, *Nadpis...* *Manuche,* 1911, p. 5, and Timur's letter to Charles VI in S. de Sacy, *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Insctr.,* VI, 1822, 471, cf. Muḥammad Qazvīnī, *Bīstī-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 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 Itīq found in the Uyghur texts of Turfan in the sense of "Exalted King," see reference in Bang-Gabain, *Analytischer Index,* 1931, 21. 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 Qara-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. 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. 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, khwīdā, zhūnī, k.nāzī and sh.k.rādī, 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

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1 Compare the original formula in old Turkish which is Tāngri-dā gut bultūn, "he who has found majesty through the Heaven (God)."

2 A curious use of the title is reported in *Raudat al-Ṣafā:* Alp Arslan when appointing Nizām al-mulk to be the atabeg of his son Malik-shāh decreed that he should be called Ilk-va-Atā Khwājā, see Khwāndamīr, *Dastūr al-unzurā,* Tehran, 1317, p. 156.

3 H.-A., 10a (tr. 102): "the mir of Khorasan resides at Bukhara."

4 V. V. Grigoriev is responsible for the introduction of the term "Qara-khanids." In Ibn al-Athīr, XI, 54, "Qara-khān" seems to be a mere slip for the well-known title Boghrā (Boğrā) 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. 1200), published by Barthold in the *BSOS,* 1923, III/1, p. 153, the contemporary king is called "king of the East and China, Tafghāch Boghrā Qara-khaqān Abū 'Ali al-Hasan, son of Sulaymān Arslān Qara-khaqān." In the E.I. Barthold described the dynasty under Ilk-khan (Ilīg khan). Abū-Hasan Bayhaqī, *Tārīkh-i Bayhaqī,* ed. Tehran, 1317, p. 59, calls the conqueror of the Samanid kingdom iltāk al-khān (?). However, in the beginning of the eleventh century a.d. the titles khan and iltāk belonged to different branches of the family, see Abul-Faṣīl Bayhaqī, 844, cf. Barthold, *Turkestān,* 274–8.
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, *Toung-Pao*, 1930, 27, says that it is attested for the Tibetans at the T'ang epoch. Barthold, *Turkestân*, 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.ūnkā. No great importance can be attached to the vocalisation Qalitunkā, but the complex (*Qut-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-dīn, ed. Blochet, 7, one of Ḫōgedey’s sons was called Qāshī because he was born at the time when Chengiz khan conquered "the country (vīlāyat) 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-dīn Ibn Muhānā (d. 823/1425), in his Turkish and Mongolian lexicon,1 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 Kītāb al-ḥayawān, composed by Sharaf al-Zamān al-Ṭabīb al-Marwāzī, 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 Mahmūd 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animal</th>
<th>Turkish Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mouse</td>
<td>Sīhqan-yīlī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Ox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Leopard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or Qaplan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or (Ar)slan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1 *Hilyat al-insān*, first edited by P. M. Melioransky, *Arab-frölog*, SPb. 1900, and later (with the author’s real name) by Kiliṣi Rifāt, Istanbul 1338-40. The passage is complete in Melioransky, pp. 041-042, but truncated in the Turkish edition.
The year of the Hare
  " " " Fish          Tavīshghan-yīḥ
  " " " Snake        Yīlan     "
  " " " Horse        At        "
  " " " Sheep        Qoyīn     "
  " " " Monkey       Bichīn    "
  " " " 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 (nāqilīshā) from the histories of the Uyghurs (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 Sogdian, 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 1), in Mongolian and Persian by Rashid 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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sīchğhan</th>
<th>qulquna</th>
<th>mūsh</th>
<th>sīchqan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ud</td>
<td>hüker</td>
<td>gāv</td>
<td>ud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bars</td>
<td>pars</td>
<td>yūz</td>
<td>bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tavīşghan</td>
<td>tulay</td>
<td>khargūsh</td>
<td>tushqan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāk</td>
<td>luy</td>
<td>azhdarīhā</td>
<td>luy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yīlan</td>
<td>mogha</td>
<td>mār</td>
<td>flan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yund</td>
<td>morin</td>
<td>asp</td>
<td>yunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qoy</td>
<td>qonin</td>
<td>gūsfand</td>
<td>qoy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bijīn</td>
<td>bichīn</td>
<td>būzīna</td>
<td>pichi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taqaghu</td>
<td>daqiqu</td>
<td>murgh</td>
<td>takhaqu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it</td>
<td>noqay</td>
<td>sag</td>
<td>it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tonguz</td>
<td>qaqa</td>
<td>khūg</td>
<td>tonguz</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The fifth year often embarrassed the translators, who used for "dragon" either Indian nāga or Chinese lūy (which is the way the Turks in T'ang times pronounced the original lūng; Chavannes, Le cycle des douze animaux, in T'oung-Pao, 1900, 52). Kāshghari, I, 289, explains nāk as "a crocodile" (al-timsāḥ), and additionally, III, 116, as "a (large) snake" (al-thu'bān). Marvazi undoubtedly means some aquatic monster, though the form lbnāt 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. Riyāḥ al-Murri, Ḩamāsa, ed. Freitag, I, 187, II, 334, the clatter of lances in a battle is compared with "the clamour (ṣiyāḥ) of hungry banāt al-mā'."
Tibrizi 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. Damiri, 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 Muhannā was unable to understand Marvazi’s form for which he substituted samak = baṭiq, 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, lāy, azhdārhd) I would restore Marvazi’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. 941.

§§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. Marvazi complements Sulaymān in several instances.

§§26. The sea route to China was well known to Arab and Persian merchants from Başra and Strāf, as attested by I. Khurdaḫih’s list of ports of call, pp. 6x–9. A thorough analysis of his report has been given by J. Kuwabara, On P’u Šou-kēng, 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. Lūqin (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. Khutā, "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 visāna "horn," which in Chinese sounds p’i-sha-na. In a Chinese-Cham vocabulary edited by E. D. Edwards and C. O. Biagden, BSOS, X/I, 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.-ʿĀ., 240.

Sinologists identify ḫuṭā with the Chinese term ku-tu-si, which refers to walrus and narwhal ivory and not to rhinoceros-horn, see
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,"¹ 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 courtseans is much more developed in Abū Zayd (in Sulaymān, 69). The concluding sentence is of a general character and cannot be connected with the courtseans alone. The sense is evidently: "all these details (i.e.

¹ I.e. to open up trade, in Kuwabara's interpretation.
§§26–28 refer to "Sān-jū," the following §§29–33 giving a description of Khumdān. Sān-jū is an obvious slip for Khān-jū, 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’ūdi, Murāj, I, 307–12, mentions two Muslim travellers who from Canton visited Khumdān. One of them, the rich Quraishite Ibn al-Wahhab, travelled in a.d. 870, and much later, when he was an old man, was interrogated by Abū Zayd Sīrāfī, the editor of Sulaymān’s report and the compiler of a supplement to it, pp. 77–87, cf. H.-‘Ā., 224. Ibn al-Wahhab 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?)1 which became known to Ibn Khurdadbeh, 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 Gardizi. 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); Gardizi’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.2

§29. The distance from Chīnānjkath to Khumdān is greatly exaggerated. A part of the road is described in Gardizi, see H.-‘Ā., 229.

§30 varies only insignificantly from Gardizi. 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. Gardizi, 93, has takhtī dībā.

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

1 Sulaymān, 85: Ibn al-Wahhab 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."

2 Gardizi’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 Gardizi’s account of China.
term *lalmi*, still in use in Turkestan for crops on non-irrigated lands. (*Lalmi* 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 *kharaj* (§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 (*shāri*, instead of *shākḥ*, Russian *vat*).

§34. Cf. I. Kh., 69: "the length of China along the sea from Armābil (?) to the (other) end is 2 months," and al-Fihrist, 350: from Armāyl to Bānšwā (?) + *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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>H.-‘A.</em></th>
<th>Marvazi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ُإِمْرُسُر</td>
<td>ُإِمْرُسُر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ُخُوْرُشُ كُوْرُشُ</td>
<td>ُخُوْرُشُ كُوْرُشُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ُفِلَلِمِكِلِي</td>
<td>ُفِلَلِمِكِلِي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. ُقِثِي</td>
<td>ُقِثِي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. ُخَسَائِسِي</td>
<td>ُخَسَائِسِي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. ُسُكِوْيِي</td>
<td>ُسُكِوْيِي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. ُبُروَشِي</td>
<td>ُبُروَشِي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. ُفُوْيِي</td>
<td>ُفُوْيِي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. ُإِلْنَاسِيِي</td>
<td>ُإِلْنَاسِيِي</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

: Ya’qūbī |
|: 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 *Tālmān*, 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 (*nāhiyat*) on the coast of the Eastern sea,
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 Kār.sh?) between the Yangtze and the Yellow river and F.rāj.hū, north of the Yellow river. It is conceivable, of course, that there are some misunderstandings about the course of the two rivers.\(^1\) 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 Gardīzī. On Qūrī see Chap. IX, §5 ter. As the older Muslim tradition considered the Khirkhiz one of the north-eastermost nations, stretching down to China and the Eastern Ocean, see Ḥ-‘Ā., §9 (beginning), this view may account for the disposition of the nine nations along the coast.

(e) Marvazi, for his part, refers the nine names not to “regions,” but to various races (ajndās), 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 Marvazi (*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 Ḥudūd and Marvazi 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 Yūn-nan.\(^2\) Says Rashid al-dīn, ed. Berezin, XV, 23: “The Chinese (Khīlā’i-yān) call Qarā-jāng *Dāy-Kīw (var. Rāy-lūv, 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.n.d.r (var. K.n.dā, Q.ndā),” cf. ibid., 21, and Rashid al-dīn, ed. Blochet, 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 -lı Marvazi’s name might be restored as *Qarā-Jāng-lı (?).

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

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\(^{1}\) In the Ḥudūd, the Yellow River is taken for the continuation of the Tarim.

\(^{2}\) See Arabic text, p. 52, line 1.

\(^{-}\)u and even -lug would be better in an ancient text! Cf. Mānib.k-ū in Gardīzī.
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-kūh = 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-tszü*, “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, Kweichow and Kwangsi. Deveria’s identification has been adopted in Yule-Cordier, II, 124. *Tūlman*, 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 (*wād*) 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, 123.1

The other names of the group are still inexplicable. As the variant of *Ir.šh* indicates, the name might have sounded *Irman* or *Ayrm*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 Tirsul, Mūsa 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 (Ṣīn): “China is called the Great Country (*ard al-kabīrā*), and *al-And.l.s* is to the north of it, and therefore they are near to where the sun rises.” Says Ya′qūbī, *Historiae*, I, 208 (before a.d. 891): “on land China has three borders. The first of them is with the Turks and Toghuaghuz; with them wars were perpetual, until peace had been made and ties of marriage

1 M. Polo calls cowries “pourecelaine” (“pig-shells”). Thence the name “porecelain” which from these shells was transferred to China-ware, Yule, *ibid.*, II, 74.
established. The second is with Tibet: between China and Tibet is a mountain with a military post (masālij) 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 (‘iddai sinīn) in every direction. No one knows what is beyond it. They are neighbours (yuqāribūna) of the Chinese. . . .”

In Arabic script the identity of al-Mānsās, al-Anā.J.ś and (without al-) Anāś 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”).

Giving rein to our imagination we might suggest for No. 4: Qāy or even Qīdāy (Chap. IX, §3), and for No. 5, either Khīdāy = Qīdāy, or Khasān (< Mhashkan, in Chinese Ho-su-huan), an ancient Manchurian tribe, for whose existence Prof. Haloun is my surety. §36, coming as it does after §35, confirms the impression that with these items we have reached the farthest limits to the East. Gardizi speaks of the Fūrī after the Khirkhiz, and of the red-haired people after China.

The red-haired people possibly go back to the Alexander legend; cf. Qor’an, 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.

1 See Arabic text, p. 52, i. 2.
2 Still obscure is the term Mānisā which the Huwād applies roughly to the chains of mountains separating Tibet from China. Is this terminology due to some misunderstanding? The mis-spelling Anāś may have been separated from the original Mānisā and the latter name located where the list began?
3 The lake Khisan, near which the Russians and Japanese came to a clash in 1938, may reflect the same name.
§39 (see also §12) adds slightly to Gardizi. Cf. also Muṭahhar, IV, 61.

§40 as in Gardizi.

§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. Khurḍādhbih, 70 and 170, cf. I. Rusta, 82, 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 Ḥudūd (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 Ājā?) to bring it into harmony with the following Akhā-yul (yul, “a country” in Tibetan), on which see Ḥ.-ʾĀ., §11, 7.

The item on the “Gate of the two Tibets” (bāb al-Tubbatayn)\(^1\) corresponds to Dar-i Tubbat of the Ḥudūd, §26, 12., but contains a precious indication on its position between the mountain Shīwa and the river Kh. nāb. The latter is the Upper Oxus (Panj), see Ḥ.-ʾĀ., §6, 7, and p. 208. Sheva is the plateau with a mountain lake in the easternmost part of Badakhshān, see Burhān al-dīn Kūshkāi, 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 Ḥ.-ʾĀ., 363–5.\(^2\) After the crossing of the Oxus, see Yaʿqūbi, 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 Zardiw, where we can place the “Arab” Gate (Ḥ.-ʾĀ., §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.thīnj (?) 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 Ḥ.-ʾĀ. definitely modernises the situation while it assigns the construction of the Arab Gate to Maʾmūn (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 Ḥ.-ʾĀ., §11, 1., the second part of the

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\(^1\) Perhaps the “Inner” and the “Outer” Tibet? Biruni places Thwsm.t in the latter. It is possible that, instead of Tubbatayn, one should read *Tubbatiyīn “of the Tibetans.”

\(^2\) On the authority of Jayhānī, Marvazi refers to Khottal, Shikinān and Vakhān in the paragraph of yaks, see Arabic text, p. 51, line 20.
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, *Nuhat al-qulūb*, *GMS*, 201, quotes the story of nuggets which are found "in Rānk, in the country of Turkistān," on the authority of the *Suwar al-agālim.*

Separately from the legend of gold nuggets in Tibet, Marvazi speaks of gold in the paragraph on ants (I. 210a), see Arabic text, p. 51, l. 14), in which he states that at the farthest limit of India there is a land called *Zamin-i zar* (in Persian!), where gold grows like grass. 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 drogas which had been dug up by ants (*pipilika*) and was called *pipilika*" (L. D. Barnett). On Mongolian and Tibetan sources see Lauffer, *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, Ḥ.-ʿĀ.*, §11, 3., has *N.zvān*. Marvazi gives some new details. *Zāb* is "above," i.e. beyond Rānk-r.nk; its inhabitants resemble Turks; it has a river forming a frontier between Tibet and China. The last fact may be compared with Ḥ.-ʿĀ., §6, 2., where it is said that the river Kisaw (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 Ḥ.-ʿĀ., 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

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1 Of Abū Zayd Balkhi? The latter’s work is known to us only in the version of Ištākhri, *BGA*, I, which does not contain the passage on Rānk. In BGA, I, Ištākhri’s work bears the title of *Masāliḵ al-mamāliḵ*, but on its last page, 348, it is called *Kitāb al-azkhāl*. Biruni, *Jawāhir*, 204, 216, 246, several times refers to the *Askhāl al-agālim* (of Balkhi?).

2 It is possible that the author has in view Assam, cf. Chap. xii, §52.
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in the Fihrist, 351, where the bridge spanning it is likewise described. However, '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 'qab. 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.²

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-zībā) (ff. 84b–85a) in which Marvazi quotes a certain al-H. shā (?), who in his turn depended on "maritime merchants" (tujišar al-bahṛ), v.s. §14. In fact, the story is very close to that of Abū-Zayd Sirāfī (in Sulaymān, 121–2), who undoubtedly used the maritime lore of the Persian Gulf. A similar passage of the Murāj, 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 Nuwayri's Encyclopedia, cf. BGA, VII, 364–70. Ya'qūbī says, ibid., 364, that the best musk comes from "a place called Dhūsmt, situated at 2 months' distance from (the capital of ?) Tibet." This place is without doubt identical with Tūsumat, which the Hājiād 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 (Șīn) sees on his right a mountain on which live the musk-deer and the oxen from whose tails whiskers ("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

¹ 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 Gardet, ed. Barthold, 88; cf. also Muḥāhcīr, IV, 92. Z. Qazwīnī, I, 160.

² 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.
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 Jayhâni is the famous Tûsmat. In the commentary on the Ḥ.-ʿA., p. 259, I had to locate Tûsmat 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 Twsm.t (almost due west) was 327 miles (526 Km.), which would take us to the region of Tsaidam. On the other hand, the name Tûsmat reminds one of Tibetan 'Moś-ṣmat, "The Lower Amdo." Amdo is the plateau extending to the south of Kuku-nor.¹ 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 (Qây, Qân, Shârîf, etc.).

§§4-10: Eastern Turks: Khirkhîz, Khariukh, Kîmâk and their neighbours, Pechenegs.

§§11-16: Peoples of Eastern Europe: Khazar, B.rdîs, Bulghâr, the northerners, Majgharî, Slâvs, Rûs.

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.

¹ 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. 177 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 background of the Introduction is the Ghuz (Arab. Ghuzz) 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 Jayhāni, 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 Isf 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-Jayhāni) sources, is noticeable in Marvazi. In §12 the Burdās (Iṣṭakhri < Balkhi: Burdās) are said to raid the Būkhrā, but in §12 bis the latter nation is called Bulghār. The earlier “Būkhrā-Burdās” report may have been incorporated in I. Khurdādhbih,1 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.2

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 Gardizi are §§4, 5 ter, 6, 7, 8 (partly), 10, 12 bis (partly), 13. The points recorded only in Marvazi (and partly copied in ‘Auifi) 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 ‘Auifi), 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 ‘Auifi, see Marquart, Über das Volkstum der Komanen, p. 40, where the original afkhādh, “sub-tribes,” has been faultily transmitted.

§2. ‘Auifi (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 Toghunzghuz and Turkman.

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1 As partly suggested by Barthold, Zasp., XXI, pp. xli–iii.
2 I. Rusta omits the eastern Turks but the Hudūd, Gardizi and Marvazi describe them.
The Toghuqghuz 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. Rashid al-din, ed. Berezin, Truds Vost. Otd., VII, 159, also spells Üy-ghur. The third name, *Üch-ghur or *Üch-ghuz is a puzzle unless the name refers to the Ochüq (*/Üch-oq?) division which formed the left wing of the Oghuz (Ghuz) federation, see Rashid al-din, ibid., 35. 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,” Rashid al-din, ibid., p. 22.

The title Toghuq-khaqan (or rather, Toghuqghuz-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 shākīrī seems to be of Soghdian origin, see Vladimirtsov, Mongolica I, in Zap. Koll. Vost., I, 1925, p. 327. In Turkish and Mongolian chaqar (>tsaγar) 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 chākhar/chakir (Hisian-Tsang: Ché-kīeh) 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 (Hafiz). Niżām al-mulk in his Siyāsah-nāma, 190, refers to si piyāla-yi sharāb at an entertainment of Turkish amirs of the Sāmānid court. Cf. also Chap, XII, §4.

The term Türkmen is first recorded towards the end of the tenth century A.D.² It does not occur in Iştakhri (<Balkhi) or the Hudūd. For practical purposes Türkmen 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 Türkmen 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

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¹ Already Ibn al-Athir, XI, 54 (under the year 536/1141), mentions the two divisions of the Ghuz Ajf and Ḫr. (*/B.alaš*, i.e. *Uchq and *Boxug.

² First reference in Maqaddasi, BG A, III, 274, who in one breath mentions the Ghuz in the neighbourhood of Saurān and Sh.gl.ljān and the “Turkmans who have accepted Islam” in the neighbourhood of B.rékat and B.laj.
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 Türkman–Ghuz–Pechenegs, but with a significant difference. In §2 the Ghuz, under the pressure of the Türkmans, leave Khwārazm (!) and migrate to the territory of the Pechenegs, and the success of the Türkmans is explained by their Islam. §3 has no religious background and the (Muslim!) Türkmans 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 İṣṭakhri (circa A.D. 930), p. 10, and the Hudūd (A.D. 982). The latter (<Jayhani) 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 Türkman. The tradition of §3 seems to be entirely different.

§3. The contents of this important record had first become known through ‘Ausi’s Persian translation brought to light by Barthold, Turkestan, I, 99, and re-edited by Marquart, Komanen, 40–14, 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 XIe 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 Qītáy and (b) they were cramped for grazing grounds.1 The obvious explanation is that the expansion of the Qītáy 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‘i)” 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 itlabā‘a also indicates that the Qūn were already on the

1 Cf. Rāḥal al-sudūr, 92, on the petition which the Turcomans addressed to Sultan Mahmūd asking him to allow them to cross the Oxus, because of the insufficiency of their pastures.
move.¹ 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 tribe² 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, Khirkhzīn, Kimak and Toghuuzghuz,” etc., cf. Hūdūd, 284. Incidentally this enumeration suggests that the Qāy were considered as the easternmost tribe in the list. In al-Qāmūn 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 Ûtkin (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—Öghuz—Yamak (Kimak)—Bashghurt—Basmil—Qāy—Yabāqū—Tatār—Qirizq. 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 Māsīn (*Mahāchīn).” Another series of tribes “in the middle (zone) between south and north (si)” is as follows: Chīgil—Tukhs—Yaghmā—Ighrāq—Charuq—Jumul—Uyghur—Tangut—Khitāy, “which is al-Šīn.” On the Map accompanying Kūshghari’s text,³ Qāy is shown in the space between the Irtish and Obi: beyond the Irtish and to the north (!) of the mountains (Altai ?) is inscribed Ûtk.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 Qirizq. On the other hand, Qāy appears immediately north of Ûtk.n. If this name stands for the well-known Ûtkīn in the Selenga basin, the position of the Qāy should be moved considerably eastward to the neighbourhood of Baikal (?). However, Kūshghari’s Ûtk.n may echo the Ûtkīn of Biruni and Marvazi, on which see Chap. IX, §20c. In this case no great importance should be attached to Kūshghari’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. Kūshghari, III, 118, considers the Qāy as a Turkish tribe, and though, I, 30, he mentions them among the peoples having their own lugha (“language, or

¹ In ‘Auﬁ’s translation, the Qāy drive the Qūn away from their own pastures, i.e. from the neighbourhood of the Qāy pastures (az mara‘t-yi khud dār hardand)?
² The name Thāy of the Hūdūd, 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.
³ The Map may have been drawn by the author himself, or based on his indications, cf. A. Herrmann, Die älteste türkische Weltkarte, in Iwano mundi, 1935, p. 27, but it suggests that Kūshghari’s knowledge of Farther Asia was hazy, v.s. Chap. IX, §16.
dialect”), he admits that they speak good Turkish. Finally, III, 58, a Turkish verse is quoted whose author accuses his enemy of having stolen his Qay slave.

Next, in chronological order comes Marvazi’s paragraph describing the chain of migration of Turkish tribes (§3). ‘Auffi’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 Biruni’s Tafhim, which manual is also directly responsible for Yaqut’s description of the Climes, I, 33.

Thus Biruni, Kâshghari and Marvazi are our original authorities on the Qay. The date of the Tafhim (1029 ?) in which the Qay and Qun 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. VII, §22). The distance between the Qay and Qun 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.

Kâshghari’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 Qun in Kâshghari, he may have in view some later period when the Qay had moved still more to the west before vanishing from the stage and being forgotten by later writers.

Who were the Qay ? Some connection with the Qitay and some similarity of names make me think of the Hi (read: xi), who are often coupled with the Qitay. In the Orkhon inscription the name Tatabi presumably refers to them, 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.

1 I, 33: they pronounce y instead of j; I, 393: their word qirnag, “a slave girl”; III, 108: their word qat, “a fruit, a berry” (both words in common with several other tribes).

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

3 Marquart, Romane, 53, 187, made a mistake in confusing the Qay (Kâshghari, I, 28) with the Oghuz clan Qayy (Kâshghari, I, 50: Qayîgh). On the other hand he thought that the founders of the Qipchaq dynasty (circa 514/1120) were Hi, ibid., 117, 137.

4 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 ḡiḏi, or, in the complete form K’u-mo-hi, *K’w-mo-ha ḡiḏi < *Qumaryay.

5 Thomsen, Inscriptions, 141, and ZDMG, 1924, 174. Melioransky, Zap., XII, 100.
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. 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 Akinchi b. Qochqar (v.i. p. 100). A “very old, correct and reliable” MS. of ‘Auﬁ (Br.Mus.Or. 2676) instead of Qun gives Q.ry, which form caused me to suppose, H.-‘Ā., 285, that Qūn=Qūrī, v.i. §5 ter. This surmise is no more defendable in view of Marvazi’s clear spelling Qūn, 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. 1000. 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. 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 firqa, “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 Tū-yū-hun. “Beside the full form of the latter name, the shortened forms T’u-hun and T’u-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 γuen) are very numerous as well”.

1 See Iakıf (Bichurin), Istoriya narodov, 1/2, pp. 470–6, where the information on the Hi is grouped together.
2 The name Qūrī figures in Marvazi in Chap. VIII, §35, but unfortunately for our comparative purpose, not in Chap. IX, §5 ter.
3 Bar Hebraeus, Chron. Eccl., III, 270–80; see now this passage in A. Mingana, The early spread of Christianity in Central Asia, Manchester, 1925, p. 15.
"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.\(^1\) About A.D. 310 they occupied the country round the present Ho-chou in Kan-su and made themselves masters of the Kökenör region over which they ruled uncontested from A.D. 446.\(^2\) After a crushing defeat inflicted upon the T’u-yü-hun by the Tibetans in 663, their qay-an, 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-yu-hun of Yin-shan in 916 and dominated the territory of Yü-chou in 938. The T’u-yu-hun of Yü-chou crossed over to Chinese territory, and in 946 were almost annihilated near Lan-chou (north-west of T’ai-yuan-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.\(^3\)

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 Shâriya 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 Matthèos of Urha, in whose text “the people of Serpents” corresponds to our Qun (v.i. p. 102). The only representative of the tribe

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2. Iakinf (Bichurin), *Istoriya Tibet i Khukhunora*, I, pp. 73–99.
3. It seems less probable that the Qun might have been connected with a Tolis tribe *Hun* which becomes known circa A.D. 600 and whose later destines are closely connected with the Uyghurs. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-hiu occidentaux*, p. 87, n. 3, No. 10.
whose memory has survived is the amir Äkinchi 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 Sar-i-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 ‘Aufī as Sārī. Barthold restored this form as Turkish sart, “yellow,” and compared it with the name of the Qipchaq (Komans), whom the Russians call Polovtsi (from полосятъ, “yellowish, sallow,” see Ḥ.-ʾ-ʾ, 315) and the Western Europeans, Pallidi, etc. As is customary with nomad federations, the “Qipchaq” must have been an association of various tribes, 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.γsün-yāstā 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, Ḥ.-ʾ-ʾ, 309-10. 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

1 In his review of Marquart’s Komane, which H. H. Schaeder has translated into German in his introduction to Marquart’s Wehret und Arang, p. 34.
2 The coming-into-being of the Qipchaq forms the subject of Marquart’s book, Über das Volkstum der Komane, 1914. Cf. now Ḥ.-ʾ-ʾ, §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).
3 In Juyual, II, 102, I should now restore the names of the two rivers QYLY and QYM as Qangli and Oibjakk.
4 Or could the name of this group represent some variation of Yuga (v.i. §22 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 Irtish, see V. N. Chernetsrov, Ocherk etnogeneza Obzikh Yugrov, in Krat. Sob. Inst. Mater. Kult., IX, 1941, pp. 18-28.
Kan-chou Yughurs received their surname Sarî (“Yellow”) (v.i. p. 77), and whether some larger division of the tribe was entitled to this appellation. Should our identification of the Shâriya 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 Türkmen, the Shâriya (whether Polovtsi, or a special Uyghur tribe) must have lived in the neighbourhood of Lake Aral and the lower course of the Sir-daryâ.

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 Juvaynî, II, 3, Äkinchi b. Qochqar was Sanjar’s slave, whereas I. Athîr, X, 181, says that he was one of Bark-yaruq’s slaves and that this sultan appointed him Khwârazmshâh. Bark-yaruq began to reign in Shavval 487/14 October–11 November, 1094, and the nomination of Äkinchi 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 Jamâdi I 490/20 April, 1096, and stayed in Khorasan over seven months. Äkinchi 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 ‘Irâq. Äkinchi 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 Äkinchi enjoy his governorship, though a previous acquaintance with Khwârazm 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 Äkinchi’s own whereabouts. A man of such standing as to become Khwârazmshâh, 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-Zamân, himself a native of Marv, knew him personally. He might even have been called to attend on the dying Khwârazmshâh.

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

1 We can only put on record, as a mere parallel, that at an earlier time, the Tûrgish were divided into two groups called “Black” and “Yellow,” see H.-A., 301. A considerable stream Sarî-su flows in the neighbourhood of the Qara-qum sands.

2 Marquart, Komanen, 41, took Sârî for the capital of Mazandaran, but in his corrections, ibid., 202, has admitted that the country of Sârî must have lain to the east of the Turkmen.
years, nor could it have been surveyed in its entirety from outside. Very probably the two series of moves, "Qāy—Qūn—Shāriya" and "Türkmān—Ghuz—Pecheneg" were knitted together at some central point, such as Khwārāzam. No person was better qualified to correlate the facts than Ākinchi b. Qoĉqar.¹

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

E. The Pechenegs (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 (Tuo poçu 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 Apaokl laid the first foundations of the K'ītan 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 Ur'ha who sub anno 1050—1 says that a people of "Serpents" (avč-ic'n), having defeated the "Pallid, or Fallow ones (xartës)," 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,² but nothing else is known of its remote stimulus. In any case, it must not be

¹ The identity of Ākinchi in 'Au fi's text with the governor of Khwārāzam was discovered by Marquart, Komanen, 1914, but Barthold in his Turkestan, 1900, had already written on the said Khwārāzamshāh (see Engl. transl., p. 324).

² See the remarkable study by V. G. Vasilyevsky, Visantiya i Pechenegi v Trudi, I, 1908, 1—175, which remained unknown to Marquart, Komanen, 55.
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 Qûn. 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 Ḥudūd (<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 TÜRKMÄN. 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 Gardizi, 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. This shows how tardily Islam was finding its way into the steppes.

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 mbassy of 1027 must be responsible for the first mention of the Qay and Qûn 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 Qûn (Marvazi) also brings us down to the eleventh century.

(d) The superiority of the Muslim Türkmen 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.

1 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.

2 Barthold, Turkestan, 269, and Ocherk istorii turkmen. naroda, 20, 22, identifies this Yabghu (or Fighû) with an ancestor of the Seljuks, which gives the facts an added significance. [Parvy, Fgyu "a kind of hawk", see Le Coq, Bemerk. zur türk. Faltkurei, in Baessler-Archiv, 1912, II/5, p. 114].

3 As suggested above, p. 94, the term Türkmen in our §2 may be an anachronism introduced by Marvazi into an earlier tradition.
(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 undoubtly 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.¹

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 Chē-lien, near the mountain of An-ta-han, see Breslau, II, 72. Marquart locates this region in the province of Jehol.² 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 Qun left the Far East when the Qitāv 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 Khirkhiz. The beginning on orientation and burials is abridged in ‘Auff, 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,³ but without the latter’s record of a later change. Gardzī, ed. Barthold, p. 87, also mentions the burning of the dead and the faghīnūn. The latter term is undoubtly of Eastern–Iranian (Soghdian) origin and

¹ 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 Quy with the Ghuz clan of Qayî (<Qayyih).

² Wu-p’ing-iu is the territory of the “middle” capital of the K’itan (Ta-ting-iu under the Kin). It lies in the present territory of the Kharachin tribe, in the neighbourhood of Khanda-Chīh-ieng (G. Haloun).

³ The recent (1930) 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.
connected with the word bagh, “God” (cf. faghfūr). The description of the practices of a Turkish shaman (gam) is very accurate.

§5. The beginning of this story seems to be a vague reference to the terrible defile of Kemchik-born 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 Uriaangkhay (Tannu-Tuvin), viz. the Ulu-kem, formed of Bei-kem and Khuakem, and the Kemchik. Rashid al-dīn calls the head-waters of the Yenisei Sekiz-mören (“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 (*Ilī-baraq, “one whose dogs are hairy”). This name occurs in the story of ʿOghuz-khan’s exploits, see Rashid al-dīn, VII, 23, Abul-Ghāzī, ed. Desmaisons, r8, and ʿOghuz-name, §34. The particulars of It-baraq (Baraq) are very contradictory. Marquart, Komanen, 146, compares its people with Volga Bulghars; Pelliot, Tonγ-PMao, 1930, 337, sees in the name of its king Masar an echo of Mīṣr (Egypt); Bang and Rachmati, SBA, 1932, read the name of the country *Barqan, with reference to Kāshghar, 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 ‘Auﬁ, see Barthold, Turkestan, I, 100 = Niẓāmu’d-dīn, o.c., No. 1967; summed up in Barthold, Kirtiẕ, 1927, 24.

§5 bis. This paragraph seems to be a more sober version of Chapter XV, §21. 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 (māfāza) stretching between Kashmir, Tibet, 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, Irrish and Obi are supposed to disembogue, 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

1 In Chapter IX, §§8 and 8 bis present a similar case of parallelism.
from Chinānjkath to the Khirkhiz, Gardizi, 86, cf. Ḥ.-ʿĀ., 282. The wild people of the second part correspond to the Fūri/Qūrī, whom the Ḥ.-ʿĀ. and Gardizi place beyond and to the east of the Khirkhiz. Gardizi’s Persian translation, pp. 86–7, runs parallel with our text, the latter being fuller at the end. Muṭahhar, IV, 96, and the Ḥudūd, §14, i., 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 Ḥ.-ʿĀ. (<Jayhānī?). In it the *Qūri are similarly placed in the neighbourhood of the Khirkhiz. The Ḥudūd (§14, i.) describes the Fūri (Qūrī?) as brutal cannibals having a language of their own, whereas in Gardizi’s more detailed description the wild people seem to be the marsh-dwellers on the road to the large (or great?) tribe Fūri(?) 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 Khaingan range, and even into Manchuria. If the Fūri (Qūrī?) lived at the end of the road they must have been of Tunguz or Mongol stock. The form Qūrī is preferable to Fūri,1 because it is supported by other sources. In the Orkhon inscriptions a name Qurīqan twice occurs in the series: “Qiriqiz, Qurīqan, Otuz-Tatar, Qitay, Tatabi.” Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezin, VII, 168, refers to the peoples “Qūri, Barghūt, Tūmāt and Bāylūk, which he classes as Mongols2 and places in the region called Barqūqin-Tūkim in the neighbourhood of the Qīrīqiz. Barqūqin, ibid., 108, 112, 168, 188, 189, is said to be beyond the Selenga, apparently in Transbaikalia.3

§6. The Kharlūkh. Translated in ‘Afu, Marquart, Komanen, 40, lines 17–20. The mountain Tūnis (read: Ṭālis, as in the Ḥ.-ʿĀ., p. 283) must be Altai (or Tarbaghatai?). T.r.k.s (read: Tūrgīsh) is a welcome indication how Turkistān (?) in Gardizi’s more complete text is to be restored, cf. Ḥ.-ʿĀ., p. 287. The Ḥ.-ʿĀ. treats the Chigil and Tukhsi as separate tribes and so does Gardizi, o.c., 102. Marvazi may introduce here some later information, but the basic facts on the Tūrgīsh and Qarluq must belong to Jayhānī. Of the other tribes, Byskī (‘Afu: ʿHskiy) is otherwise unknown (in Transoxiana there was a place B.y.shkān, see Ḥ.-ʿĀ., p. 355 (I. Hauqal, 396: M.shkān). *Bulāq is certainly better than Afū’s N.ṭā: the tribe is mentioned as a Yaghma clan in the Ḥ.-ʿĀ., §33. Kw.krin (‘Afu: 1 *Fūri might be explained as a Tunguz word meaning “children, family, descendants,” cf. Manchu furi, furun, Goldi ṡuri, as quoted in Pelliot, J.Ā., avril, 1925, p. 196.

2 Also Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Blochet, §21: Qūrī, Barqī, Qurīqiz.
3 The name is reflected in Russian Bāpṛysh, as the north-eastern wind blowing on Baikal is called. Barguzin is also a small borough to the east of Baikal.
K.walān) may be connected with the title Kwd.rkān, known among the Ghuz, cf. H.-ʿĀ., p. 312.

§7. The Kīmāk. The H.-ʿĀ., §18, abridges the same source: nomads, sable-martens, migrations to the Ghuz territory. Gar dizī, l.c., 83–4, gives a very close Persian parallel (cf. also the Ākām al-maryān, 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 Ostitas. 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 al-Mamālik, i.e. undoubtedly Jayhānī’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 Ḥudūd comes to our rescue, while quitting among the Khirkhiz a tribe called K.saym, which I have tried to explain as *Kishtim, ibid., 236. Rashid al-din’s text, ed. Berezin, V, 89, VII, 112, spells the name K.st.mi, K.stymī. According to the Ḥudūd 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 Kīmāk, 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. By their origins the Kishtim must have

1 This is undoubtedly the original pronunciation of the name, the alīf of the Arabic form being only a mater lectionis.

belonged to the Samoyed stock or to the mysterious “Yenisei” group.¹

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 worshiping of waters may reflect the influence of the western neighbours of the K.saym. According to Gardizi, p. 83, the Kīmāk worshipped the Irtish 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 Ḥudūd 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 Irtish or Obi, and rather the former, because the sweep of the Obi would make the journey too long.²

Marquart attached a special importance to ‘Auff’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 Irtish 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 ‘Auff left out in his translation.

§9. The record of this undotted name apparently goes back to Jayhānī, but has survived only in Marvazi (and ‘Auff). 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 ‘Auff’s spelling M.ʿdr.ba Marquart thought of the Uralian people Meshchera (Mešhar) 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 BṢR, NṢR, YṢR, and eventually BṢRA, BṢRI, etc. An initial n is improbable in a Turkish name, and

¹ See Aristov, Etnicheski sostav turetskih plemena, in Zhivotny Starina, 1896, III, 321, 340. Of the Yenisei peoples (apparently corresponding to the people called by the Chinese Teng-liing), there remains now only a small group of Kett (improperly called “Yenisei Ostiakas”).

² Unless the Vas-Yugan portage were used.
COMMENTARY

Arabic ٰ may stand for ٰ. 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.-ʿĀ., 471. Should ʿAuffi’s form *MṣR 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.¹ None of the names of the “bushmen” tribes in Rashid al-dīn, VII, 112–7, is similar to MṣR.

§10. The Pechenegs. Entirely as in Gardizi, p. 95. The abridgment of the H.-ʿĀ., 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.-ʿĀ., §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.-ʿĀ., 453–4, I suggested that the names of the later town S. qəṣîn was nothing but a simplification of the earlier Sārīgh-shin (-ṣin ?). 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-balīgh, Kh.n-balīgh, etc. (though hardly Khahn-balīgh!)

§12. The B.rdās. As in I. Rusta, 140–1, H.-ʿĀ., §52, and Gardizi, 96. Even the name B.rdās (Bakri: F.rdās) is characteristic for the older tradition (Jayhānī <1. Kh. ?) as against the form Burdās found in Istakhri, Masʿūdi, etc. The tribe is usually identified with the Mordvans, or rather with the Moksha section of them, H.-ʿĀ., 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 mard) 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 khaftiun instead of the expected al-khaftib.

¹ The Qghus-name, Chap. XXXIV, speaks of the king (sic) Masar (?) in the land Baraga, but the characteristics of the latter are vague and contradictory, v.s. §§3.


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 ‘Aufl’s immediate source was Marvazi. ‘Aufl translates even the introductory paragraph of the *Tabā’si* 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 Gardizi, 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 *Bulḵār*, which detail seems to reflect a Persian pronunciation (cf. also *Burdās* for *Burgās*). We have to allow for the existence of earlier and later copies of Jayhāni’s work, of which the former must have contained the “Bulḵār-Burdās” report,1 and the latter made use of the new information due to I. Fadhlān.

(c) It is true that the known texts of I. Faḍīlān’s report do not contain the details of Marvazi’s chapter, but even the Mashhad MS. of I. Faḍīlān is incomplete.2 Some additional details may have survived in the private communications which I. Faḍīlān 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 Yaʿqūb’s *Irshād al-arīb*, VI, 310, it is reported3 how “an ambassador from the extreme limits of the Turks” angered Sultan Maljmūd 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 ‘Ali Bayhaqi’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

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1 The “Bulḵār-Burdās” report was possibly incorporated in I. Khurādādibh, as suggested by Barthold with regard to the description of the “Bulḵār” in I. Rusta, Bakri and Gardizi.

2 See [Krachkovsky], *Puteshestviye Ibn Fadlana*, Leningrad, 1939.

3 Possibly on the authority of the *Maqāmāt-i Ābā Naṣr Maskhānī* by Abul-Faḍīl Bayhaqi.
regions which go by the name of Bulghar (*sic*)," namely, al-amir Abû-İshaq b. İbârîm b. Muḥammad b. B.lt.vâr had a dream suggesting that he should send an offering (*mâl*) to Bayhaq, in the region of Nishapur, to be spent on alms (*nafaqa*) and the embellishment (*imârat*) of the Friday mosques of Sabzavâr and Khusravgird. 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 Maḥmûd.¹ 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 *Tafhîm* (A.D. 1029), but also in the earlier *Taḥdîd al-amâkîn* (A.D. 1025), and in the later *Canon Masûdicus* (A.D. 1030 ?), as shown below in §12 ter.² 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 *Tabâ‘î* (514/1120) is too early to allow of any contact between Marvazi and Abû Ḥâmid of Granada, who claims to have stayed in Sakhânîn (ancient Sârîgh-sûn, at the estuary of the Volga) in 525/1131 and 528/1134, and visited Bulghar in 530/1136; see Ferrand, *Le Tuhfat al-Albâb*, 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 Abû Ḥâmid has preserved some details ("Black Sea") which help to elucidate dark points in Marvazi’s condensed narration.

Provisionally only I. Faḍlân (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, Gardîzî, 97 (who exactly follows I. Rusta) and Bakri, 44–5.³ Marvazi has the following details in common with I. Faḍlân: the name Bulghâr (instead of Bûrkâr found in I. Rusta, etc.), the title of the king (absent in I.R., Ḥ.-‘.‘. and Gardîzî), the town of *Suvâr*, the existence of hazel trees in the Bulghâr land and, particularly, the short duration of the night, insufficient "for the cooking of a pot (of meat)," cf.

¹ In September, 1024, Maḥmûd was in Balkh, cf. M. Namîm, *S. Maḥmûd*, p. 53.
² According to Rieu Marvazi directly refers to Abû Rayhân Bûrûnî, v.s. p. 2.
³ The *Hudûd*, 551, is too short and combines the Jayhâni and Balkhi (*Iṣṭâkhri*) traditions. Through Balkhi he may have incorporated some of I. Faḍlân’s facts.
I. Faḍlān in the Mashhad MS. 204b, 206b, and 205b, and in Yaqt, I, 72311, 72619, 72525. 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: Bīšw, which is no doubt identical with I. Faḍlān’s Bīswār, see Puteshestviye, f. 204a and note 8. Both forms may be an ancient mis-spelling of the original *Yītavar, or Yītewer (?), cf. Ḥadīd, 46x, identical with ellā바w found in the Orkhon inscriptions. In our text the name is mutilated, the initial b standing apparently for the Arabic preposition bi.¹

In the Mashhad MS. S.wān represents *Suwār; Iṣṭ., 225, quotes Suwār on the direct authority of someone who was preaching in the local mosque (akbaranī man kāna yakhṭubu bikhā). Visitors from Suwār, especially of a non-trading class, could not be numerous in Transoxiana. It is true that I. Faḍlān, f. 204b, mentions a special kḥāṭīb (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-kḥāṭīb.² The distance between Suwār and Bulghār is not recorded in I. Faḍlān’s text, but the formula akbaranī in Iṣṭ. (<Balkhī) 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, f.l. 206a, 207b, 208a, and Yaqt, IV, 944.³

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Long.</th>
<th>Lat.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The two towns Suwār and Bulghār, on the river of the Rūs and Saqālība (or: in the direction *f nābū) of the R. and S.)</td>
<td>8° (?) 49°30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The country *Isū with which the Bulghar- ians trade</td>
<td>69° 55°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The forests of Yūra whose inhabitants are wild and trade by dumb barter (mu’s‘āya- nādān)</td>
<td>63° 47°30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ I. Faḍlān calls the king reigning in 309/921 Almush b. Shillī (later renamed Ja‘far b. ‘Abdillāh), but in the introductory paragraph the king’s name is Ḥasan b. Baitavār. On the king reigning in 415/1024 (v.a. p. 111).
² Already Barthold in his note on I. Faḍlān’s visīlā, Zap., XXI, 1913, XLI–III, suggested that Iṣṭakhrī’s reference was to I. Faḍlān. Marquart, Arktische Länder, 266, calls I. Faḍlān kḥāṭīb, and 319, “Prädiger.”
³ I.F. places them at 3 months’ distance from the Bulghar, while Marvazi (and Biruni in Taḥdīd, as translated by A. Z. Valdī, 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.
The captions present some interest, but the co-ordinates are out of order. As Biruni 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 Ḥāmid’s story.

Since FRAENKN 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.† 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. Quatremerè in Notices et Extraits, XIII, 284: Yūghra, Prof. S. V. Bakhrushin, Ostiatshiye i vogulskiye kniazhestva v xvi—xvii веках, 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 Oby. Still later Yugra, in a territorial sense, was understood to cover the basin of the rivers Osyva and Sigva.

Within our group of Muslim texts, Marvazi states that Bulghars visit Yūra by dog-sleights; Abū Ḥāmid (v.i.) does not refer to Yūra on the road Bulghar—Wisū—the sea, and Birūnī, Taḥāid, 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 Bulghar—Wisū road. Since the distance (as the crow flies) of 850 Kms. between Bulghar 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—Ziryan).

The agreement of Biruni’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 Kimák region (§§7-8 bis); but the wooden

† According to M. V. Talitsky, K ethnogenezu Komi, in Krat. soobshcheniya Inst Istor Mater. Kult., 1941, pp. 47-54, the Isu, as described by Gharantski, Anū 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.
skis of the Kimák are distinct from the thigh-bone skates (?) which the Yûra people attached to their feet, to say nothing of the dog-sleighs used by the Bulgharians. For the parallels see Marquart’s commentary on ‘Aui, 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’Avezac, p. 327, and for skis Rashid al-dîn, ed. Berezine, VIII, 115.1

§12 quater. Marvazi and his translator ‘Aui are positive about the “coast people” living “beyond Yûra,” but if the usual identification of the Wisû/Isû and Yûra is true, the road Bulghár–Wisû–Yûra could not have formed a short cut to the northern sea. Abû Ḥāmid Gharnâṭi, ed. Ferrand, 118, quotes a curious story about the Bulghârs taking to Wiswâ (sic) blades from Adharbayjân. These weapons, unpolished, but well tempered and giving a good ring, were exchanged for beaver pelts (qanduz). On their part the Wiswâ carried the blades to “a country adjacent (qarîna) to the region of Darkness (al-Zulumât) and overlooking the Black Sea” and exchanged them for sable pelts.2 The inhabitants of this maritime country “throw the blades into the sea3 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.” Abû Ḥāmid may have expanded the similar story found in I. Faḍlân, f. 208a, or may himself have picked it up in Bulghár (in 530/1136). The point which interests us is that the Wiswâ are said to be in direct communication with the coast-dwellers (Marvazi: sâhiliyûn), while the Yûra 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 Misses, Engl. transl., 1911, II, 146, says that the coast-dwellers “may have been Samoyeds (on the Pechora), Karelians, Ternînas and even Norwegians.” In view of Abû Ḥāmid’s text, the first eventuality should drop. It would be strange too if the Bulghârians intended their blades for the Norwegians, who could obtain such weapons nearer home.4 Moreover, the Norwegians made only occasional raids into the White Sea. The remaining candidates are the Finns (Karelians), or more probably

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1 A bad mutilation of the report is found in Fâkhr al-dîn Mubârak-shâh Marvârûdi (A.D. 1206), ed. E. D. Ross, 39: “In the country of the Turks (Turhištân) there is a forest called ‘the forest of Laura (read: Yûra)’. The inhabitants of it are wild and do not mix with anyone”, after which the procedure of the dumb barter is described.
2 The mention of the beavers and sables may serve as a clue for the identification of the two territories.
3 A possible reference to some harpooning operation (?)
4 Muslim geographers speak of the “Sulaymânian” swords of the Rûs, see Hudûd, 437, and the special study by A.Z. Valdî, Die Schwerter der Germanen, ZDMG, 1936, 19–37. I take sulaymânian for a hint at Qorîm, XXXIV, 10–12.
the Lappland, whose traces Prof. Vasmer has detected in the toponymy of the region stretching south of the White Sea down to Lake Onega.

The new detail of our text is the Black Land (arđ saudă) 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 Ḥāmid, which he identifies further on, p. 91, with the Sea of Darkness (al-baḥr al-aswaḍ ‘allādhī yu’raḍ bi baḥr al-‘zulmāl), i.e. with the Arctic Ocean on which the ideas of Muslim scholars were vague. Consequently the "Black Land" may be either a misunderstanding meant for the "Black Sea," 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.

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, not speculent. The anecdote, which Yaqūt 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 Taḥdīd (composed in 1025) Biruni refers to the coast-dwellers of the Sea of Varangians, 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."

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

Marquart, o.c., 324–7, was inclined to identify the quarrelsome seafarers with some Lapp tribe.


Alan S. C. Ross, The Terfinnas and Beormas of the Othere, Leeds, 1940, identifies Terfinnas with the Lapps of the Terskiy breg (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.


Marvazi’s text is clear in opposing this Black Land to the voyage by sea.

I thought at first of a hint at Spitzbergen (ancient Svalbard, which might have been misunderstood as *Svarbard), but ticial 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.

I.e. the Baltic, confused with the White Sea.

As the original is not available I am obliged to translate this passage from Prof. A. Z. Validi’s German version. Cf. Ḥudūd, 181–2.
hand, I do not see how this report could be an echo of the circum-
navigation of the North Cape by Othhere whose authentic com-
munication 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 to use the name Varang (Waring, old Russian Varegii), and to
call by it what appears to be the Baltic. But Birnut 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A summer day of 24 hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A winter night of 24 hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A summer day of 40 days and a winter night of</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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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 MA‫ي‬HARI we return to the
original Jayhāni tradition (v.s. §12). See I. Rusta, 142–3, Ḥ.-’Ā.,
§22, Gardizi, 98, and Bakri, 45 (confused), cf. Ḥ.-’Ā., 456, and my
article Une nouvelle source persane sur les Hongrois au Xe siècle, in

§14. The SLAVS. See I. Rusta, 143–5, Ḥ.-’Ā., §43, Gardizi,
99–100, Bakri, 28–9.

Apart from Masʿūdī, Murāj, III, 61–5, (cf. Marquart, Osteuropäische
Streifzüge, 85–160), and Ibrāhim b. Yaʿqūb, (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 Ḥ.-’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 Ḥ.-’Ā. speaks of a group of Slavs among
the Rūs (§44). I. Faḍlān, ff. 198a, 207b (?), calls the king of Bulhār
“king of the Slavs,” and elsewhere (Yağūt, II, 440) speaks of Slavs

1 A. Z. Validi, o.c., 46, “Bei dem Zitat aus dem Tahdīf über die Polarfahrt eines
Warāgers scheint es sich um eine Variante der Erzählung baltisch-nordischen
Händler über die kühne Reise . . . des aus dem Norden Norwegens stammenden
Ottar zu handeln.”
2 But see Ḥudād, 182.
3 According to Abū Ḥāmid, quoted in Ḍazvinī, Aḥār al-bilād, 418, the country
of Yūrā possessed this characteristic.
as subjects of the Khazars. Marvazi (§10) and Gardizi, 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’qūbî, BGA, VII, 354, calls the raiders who plundered Sevilla in 229/843: al-Majūs allādhi na yuqātu lahun 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. Gardizi 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 milk1 is a typically Turkish drink it is possible that our source refers to some dynasty of Turkish origin lording it over some Slavs.2 The Avar domination in south-eastern Europe was crushed by Charlemagne between A.D. 797–805, 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-bik, 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.rīḥ (*sh.rīj or sh.rīkh), but no better

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explanation of it has yet been found than Chwolson’s *šubānj < šu'ānec (?)*, although the available variants begin with š-, which in Arabic would more likely represent an original š or Ế. 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 (*yalwī*) 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 (*banjav, banjāk, banjwq*). 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 (*musajāh*) one.”

§25. The Rūs. For the first part see I. Rusta, 145–7, H-.‘Ā., §44. Gardīzī, 100–1, Bakrī, 34–40. The story of the conversion of the Rūs to Christianity and then to Islam was copied by ‘Aufi, whose text was edited and translated by Barthold in Žap. Vos. Otd., IX, 1895 (1896), pp. 262–7.1 ‘Aufi translates Marvazi word for word, repeating the date “300” and the name of the Bulghār king in the form B.f.lūh. 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).2

The Russians were baptised A.D. 988 or 989 (378–9 H.), but Ibn al-Athir, 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*),3 he cannot refer to any other occasion, for there was

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1 Barthold’s posthumous article, “Arab Sources on Russians” in *Sovietskoye Vostochnedeniye* (ed. by the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.), I, 1941, is inaccessible to me.

2 *The Bahjiṭ al-tawāīkh* of Shukrullāh (A.D. 1456) and the still later *fāmi’ al-tawāīkh* of Muhammad Za’īm (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.

3 In *būsādamīr*, the initial b stands for Arabic preposition bi, as in *bi-khāqān* which follows it. ‘Aufi, however, took the whole complex for the name of the prince *Būsādamīr*, possibly with a popular Persian etymology “prince of steel” (*pālādāh-mīr “Stalin”). In I. Hajar’s bibliographical dictionary *Durar al-hāmina*, Haydarabad,
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 Pereyaslav from 1097, prince of Kiev, 1113–25), the fame of whose exploits against the nomad Polovtsoi 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... away as Khwārazm, 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 (Türkish) 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 khalīṭ means both “a gulf” and “straits”. I. Khurdādhibhī, 103–4, uses it in the latter

1350, IV, 408, No. 1124, N. A. Poliak has found a curious name, Wlādmr (var. Wlāmī). The traditionalist W. lādmr b. ‘Abdillāh al-Sayfī was a client of *Bāgṭāmūr al-Sāqī al-Azīzī, and lived 644–710/1246–1310. It is likely that Wlādmr corresponds to Vladāmir. The name may have been used by the Turks on the assumption that *dāmr is *dāmūr “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, ‘Abdollāh, is a usual name among converts to Islam. It can even be a translation of “Theodore.”

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

sense while saying that at the western outlet of the *khalij* (Dardanelles) there stands a tower "in which there is a chain preventing the Muslim ships from entering the *khalij." On the other hand, he says that at the (eastern) entrance (*fiha*) to the *khalij* (Bosphorus) there is a town called *Musaannâd*. Mas'ûdi, *Murâj, II, 317, is more explicit in stating that at this place "lie cultivated lands ('amâ'ir) and the Byzantine town called *M. snât, which impedes the ships of the Rûs and others who come from the (Black) sea." Cf. also *Tanbîh, 141* (where the Rûs are called *al-Kûdhâna, read *al-Urmaniyya*). De Goeje (I. Kh., transl. 75) has surmised that the name *Musaannâd* 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 Tomasechek, *Zur hist. Topographie von Kleinasiern, 1891*, p. 3 (without any further explanation). The probability of an Arabic etymology is increased by the existence of a place *al-Musannâb in Egypt, Murâj, IV, 421, and Yâqût, IV, 533. The "town" of which Mas'ûdi 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.¹

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. 9–10.²

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 (samâwâa koyra) and closed up the city." Marvazi possibly refers to this event of which Jayhâni was a contemporary.

The raid of the Rûs 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 *Hudâd, §36, 30*, but no other source prior to Marvazi has the reports on the conversion of the Rûs to Islam, and on the great migration of Turkish tribes (v.s. §5). Both clearly reflect a Khwârazmian 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

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

²Under Manuel Connenus (A.D. 1143–80) a second chain was drawn between two towers on the European and Asiatic side, against the aggressors coming from the Marмаrna sea.
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 Σακίων κυλομένων πάλαι). On the Iranian side the Book of Kings (Khwatay-namak) similarly confused the descendants of Tūr (Turanians) with Turks, and this view was consecrated by Firdausi. I. Faqīḥ, 7, includes in Scythia (Isqūṭiyā): Armenia, Khorasan, the Turks and Khazars, and Marvazi simply substitutes "Turks" to the "Scythians" of the Greek authors.\footnote{Just as the older Russian translation of Joseph Flavius substitutes "Pechenegs" for "Scythians," Vsevolod Miller, Osetinskiye etnidi, III, 40.} §§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 ἀφωνίας τῶν τόπων, see Oeuvres complètes d'Hippocrate, ed. E. Litttré, t840, II, at the places indicated below.\footnote{In the new edition Corpus medicorum graecorum, I/1: Hippocratis opera, Vol. I/1, ed. Heilberg, 1927, pp. 56–78 (especially pp. 71–8).}


§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 séminal, 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. Faqīḥ, 6, according to whom the Turks have few children. Gardizi, 81, and the Muqīm al-tawārīkh, 105, quote legends to explain why Turks have little hair on their bodies (tang-māʾi).

§19. Cf. ibid., II, 77: on the morbid effeminacy of some Scythians called ἀναβρεῖες. Cf. Herodotus, I, 105: ἀναβρέειες. 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 αὐτοῖ φέρονται). C'est ainsi que les lois ne contribuent pas peu à créer le courage." A sublime idea, even for our own times!
§20. Cf. *ibid.*, II, 67: in Hippocrates, the passage on warlike women with one breast (*μακάν*) 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. 45a. 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 ascertainment, it is more difficult to trace the part in them which goes back to Galen. In fact the latter commented on Hippocrates's *Περὶ αἵρεσιν*, 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 Pergamenti*, 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 Ḥunayn b. Ishaq says in the Bibliography of his translations that he rendered Hippocrates's *Περὶ αἵρεσιν (kitāb al-hawā wal-mā‘ wal-masāhīn)* 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, Ḥunain b. Ishaq, in *Abh. fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XVII, No. 2, 1925, p. 25 (point 99). Ya‘qūbī, *Ta‘rīkh*, I, 119–29, sums up the contents of the works of Hippocrates: *Kitāb il-ahwiya wal-amīnīn wal-miyyāh wal-amṣūr* (p. 119–20) and *Kitāb il-ahwiya wa-l-buldān* (pp. 120–9), but leaves out the part on Sauromatae, etc. He adds that Galen composed a running commentary on the book (fašī fašī wa ma‘nā ma‘nā). Even the rendering of the title suggests that Ya‘qūbī used some translation other than that of Ḥunayn. A similar difference with regard to the *Prognostikon* has been indicated

**CHAPTER XII**

**INDIA**


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 (Panjub) (§§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 Hāḍī (Hāḍī), Dūm (*Doma*), Candala and *Buddhatau*.1 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,

1 Still unexplained. Possibly *sadhya*, “a criminal,” in Arabic *badīya* (with final ð instead of a, like in *safa > barsi*).
traces of which survive in the available abridgment of I. Kh.'s book (i.e. in BG A, VI, 71), must have been drawn up before A.D. 850. The seven castes enumerated are: kings, brahmans, kshatriya, vaisya, sudra, candala and domba. In de Goeje's opinion, BG A, 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 shn-alif in the beginning of al-shakthariya, is very different from al-kstariya, etc., kshatriya. It is possible then that the name of the king's caste is connected with the royal title chakravarti, as H. W. Bailey has suggested to me. As in I. Kh., the sudra come before the vaisya. Another strange fact is that Brahmins are given an inferior status to al-Sumaniya. The term, similarly spelt in Mu'tahhar, 19 (a quotation from Jayhani) and in the Fihrist, 345 (a quotation from Akhbâr Khordsân) refers to Buddhists. In Muslim literature the latter are regularly called shaman (from 5ramana, "anchorite, a devotee"), cf. Biruni, 184 (tr. II, 169), and suman may be simply a mis-spelling in which the damma represents the original three dots of the shn. 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/shamans) stands in its original connotation of 5ramana. The passage is apparently an interpolation based on a misunderstanding.

§§9-16. As all this section runs parallel to Gardizi, who quotes Jayhani's Tawarih (?) as his source, we must conclude that Jayhani 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., 7x-2, and apparently belongs to the aforesaid primary report (circa A.D. 800). The same data, though much more abridged, are found in Mu'tahhar, IV, 10 (tr. 9). Shahristani, 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 5hab al-fhrah wal-wahm, the latter being confused with the rishis.

§10. As a parallel to simaband, Gardizi, §3, has sh.mâl.nt. The meaning of this term is clear, but the reading is unknown. Perhaps: simâ ("face, features") + band, in the sense of "producing appearances, phantasmagoria," or simiyâ ("one of the magic arts") + band. The printed text of Mu'tahhar, IV, 10, substitutes: nayranjâl, "magic." [The reading simaband is unexpectedly confirmed by Sogdian sym'bt, see Henning, Sodica, 1940, pp. 60-6x].

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

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1 *Shahhari was a haplograph of Shâh(r)harî, 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 Shahiriyâ are the most noble of Indian races and are followed by the Brahmins who never drink wine, Alî layla, night 541. cf. E. W. Lane's translation (Dent, 1901), IV, 119. On the true shâhîrî, v.s. p. 94.
lies is Assam, for, as a parallel to Qāmūr, Gardizi, §5, gives Kāmrūṭ, i.e. *Kāmarūpa, v.i. §52. Gardizi speaks only of the "peri-like" proficiency of the inhabitants in spells. Cf. Juvayni, I, 85, on ḫarī-ḏarī.

B. Religions

In the light of Marvāzi 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. Khālid. 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 Birūnī, 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Yaḥyā b. Khalid's envoy} & \\
\text{al-Kindi's} & \text{J. Khurūḍdibih} & \text{Zurqān} \\
\text{copy} & & \\
\text{Fihrist} & & \\
\text{Jayhānī} & \text{Irānshahri} & \text{Naubakht Shahrīstānī(?)} \\
\text{Mutahhar} & \text{Gardīzī} & \text{Marvāzi} & \text{Biruni} \\
\text{Tha'labī} & & & \\
\end{align*}
\]

(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 (akhbār Khorāsān fil-qādīm wa ma alāt 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. Isḥāq al-Kindī in 249/863. The compiler (or editor?) of the work (kālibhhu) says in the beginning of the fragment that, according to some
theologians (mutakallimīn), the Barmakid Yahyā 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 hādhā al-kitāb)," 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 Yahyā'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. Muhalhil, 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 the 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 lī 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), there follows, p. 349, l. 29—p. 349, l. 12, the long and important enumeration of individual sects coinciding with that of Muṭṭahhar, Gardīzi, Marvazi and Shahristānī.

Passage (5) is particularly important as providing a clue to the origin of the traditional information on Indian religions. It is likely that Yahyā 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.

1 Is the reference to Zurqān?
2 Ferrand translates: "L'envoyé lui écrivit cette lettre." Rather: "lui écrivit le livre que voici."
3 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.
(B) The other chain of borrowers begins with I. Khurdâdhbih and Jayhâni. Speaking of the different classes of Indian religions, Gardizi (f. 199b) formally acknowledges his authority: "Thus speaks 'Abdullah (sic) Jayhâni: 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 Jayhâni. 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, Gardizi, Marvazi and partly Shahristâni. 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. Jayhâni 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 Yahyâ b. Khâlid's envoy brought to the capital some fifty years before.

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

(α) The earliest in date is Mu'tahhar b. Tahir Maqdisi in his Kitâb al-bad', ed. Huart, IV, 9–19. At the end of his chapter on India he quotes a Kitâb al-Masâlik. The editor, C. Huart, expressed the view, IV, 17, that this is likely to be the work of Jayhâni, 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 abridgment of the original I. Kh.1

(β) A large extract is found in the unpublished part of Gardizi's Zayn al-akhbâr. The specific importance of this part of Gardizi's work for comparative purposes has only now become apparent. Gardizi specifically names Jayhâni as his source, and this acknowledgment is welcome.

(γ) The next in chronological order is Marvazi. His selection is very close to that of Gardizi, but he used the Arabic original of Jayhâni independently of Gardizi. As Gardizi's text is in a notoriously bad state, Marvazi enables us to restore some of his readings.

1 The beginning of Mu'tahhar's report on India (namely, IV, 9–12) was reproduced in A. M. Husayn Tha'alibi's Ghurar al-akhdâr. Tha'alibi quotes Mu'tahhar and this detail rendered possible the identification of the latter's work. The passage is not in the part of the Ghurar edited by Zotenberg, but Reinaud, 294, gives its contents and Huart has collated the MSS.
(C) Biruni, 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-Abbâs al-Irânsbashi. 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 Zurqân; the contents of which he incorporated in his own work. That, however, which he has not taken from Zurqân, he has himself heard from common people among the Hindus and Buddhists."

The author whom Biruni unceremoniously calls Zurqân 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'udi, Tanbih, 395, mentions Zurqân among the authors who wrote controversial books to refute their opponents (kili ban min al-maqâlât wa ghayrihâ min al-radd 'alâ al-mukhâlisin), and says that he was a retainer (ghulâm) of the well-known Mu'tazilite theologian Nazzâm (see E.I.). Şam'ânî, 530b (under al-Musammi'i), and Yaqût who copies him, IV, 523 (under al-Musâmi'a),¹ say that Muhammed b. Shaddâd b. 'Isâ Abû-Ya'îf, known as Zurqân, 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 Sâmi'a ward in Basra and died in Baghdad in 298 or 299/910-2. This date is an obvious mistake, for Zurqân's patron Nazzam died circa 220-30/835-45. Yaqût drops the second figure, changing the date into 208-9/828-9, 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 Ahmad b. Yahyâ's Kitâb al-munya wal-amal, ed. T. W. Arnold, Leipzig, 1902, 44-5, S. H. Taqizadeh has found an indication that Zurqân took part in a debate in the presence of the caliph Wâthiq, who ruled 227-32/842-7. Consequently the date of Zurqân'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 Zurqân. A date like 248 or 258 would be much more probable. Zurqân, 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 Zurqân's book, but in the passage on the "Prayâga tree," Biruni, 98 (tr. I, 200)

¹ Râzi wrote two books to refute the anti-materialistic theories of al-Musammi'i al-mutakallim (Zurqân), Fihrist, 300-1, cf. Biruni, Fihrist hukûb al-Râzi, No. 58.
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)." 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, §4r, and even the books of marvels.1

As appears from Biruni's passage ("the then existing religion") Irānshahrī must have lived a considerable time before him. In fact, Nāṣīr-i Khusrau, Zād al-musāfirīn, ed. Berlin, 1923, 72, 98, 102-3, refers to him as being the "predecessor and teacher" (muqaddam-vastād) of the famous Muḥammad b. Zakariyā Rāżī.2 Nāṣīr-i Khusrau accuses Rāżī of having remoulded, in an openly materialistic spirit, the theories which Irānshahrī had developed with moderation in his Kitāb-i jālī and Kitāb-i athīr. As according to Biruni, Fihrist kutub al-Rāżī, ed. Kraus, 1936, 4-5, Rāżī was born in 251/865 and died in 313/925, we have to place Irānshahrī considerably before 300/912.

Biruni quotes from Irānshahrī 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 Irānshahrī's own contributions (v.s. Biruni).

Another author belonging to Zurqān's tradition seems to be Abū Muḥammad Hasan b. Mūsā NAUBAKHTI (d. circa 300-310/912-922).3 Of his book, Kitāb al-dārā wal-diyāndī, only some quotations have survived, and among them two passages on Indian religions,4 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.5 If so, Zurqān contained much the same stuff as found

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1 We cannot say whether Biruni knew these tales from Zurqān's book or through the intermediary of Irānshahrī. 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.

2 P. Kraus, Rāţī, in E.I., is inclined to identify Irānshahrī with the "Balkhi," who is said to have been Rāţī's teacher of philosophy, Fihrist, 299, but S. H. Taqizadeh points to the Fihrist, 300-1, where two Balkhis are mentioned: Abul-Qasim and Shuhayl, whom Rāţī criticised in his books.

3 Cf. 'Abbās Eghbāl Khānādān-i Naubakhti, Tehran, 1311/1933, p. 137.

4 See Ibn Jawzi, Tablis iblis, Cairo, 1340, pp. 69 and 74, reprinted by H. Ritter in his edition of Farq al-Shī'ā, attributed to Naubakhti, Istanbul, 1931, pp. KJ and KD.

5 Sachau in his translation of Biruni, II, 251, says that "the origin of (Shahrastānī'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 Shahrastānī "a mis plusieurs fois a contribué le Fihrist." We now know that the question must be treated as between a much larger circle of writers exploiting the same original source.
in Mu'tahhar, Gardizi, Marvazi, etc. Shahristani, 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. Mu'tahhar'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 (*sūmaniya, as in Marvazi), who deprive God of attributes (*mu'aftila), and Brahmins. The latter are of three classes (the text is disturbed!). It is said in conclusion, p. 12: “All those who do not believe in apostolate (*risāla) and the Beyond (*al-ākhira) do believe in recompense and punishment through transmigration (*intiqād) and metempsychosis (*tanāsukh).” The same basis of classification is still recognisable in Gardizi (with some misunderstandings) and in Marvazi.

Gardizi.

1. Those who recognise the Creator, apostles and Retribution and who are Brahmins.

2. Those who repudiate apostles (namely, the Shamanis = Buddhists).

3. Those who recognise the Creator and believe in the eternity of Paradise and Hell.

4. Those who believe that Retribution consists in transmigration.

Marvazi.

Those who recognise the Creator and apostles.

Those who recognise the Creator but not apostles.

Those who reject the Creator and apostles.

Those who reject everything excepting Retribution (Shamanis).

Some (?) who say that Retribution consists in rebirth.

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

1. Brahmins, namely:
   (a) Buddhists (*ašhāb *l-bidāda).
   (b) Adherents of psychical power (*al-fikra wál-wáhm), i.e. the *rishis (?)
   (c) Believers in transmigration.

¹ Such is the technical meaning of the term, but practically it denotes "atheists."
² On the translation of the term rasūl by "apostle" (v.s. p. 40.)
2. Adherents of spiritual bodies (aṣḥāb al-rūḥānīyāt).
4. Idolaters.
5. Philosophers.

Shahristani further states that the Brahmins reject “apostles” while they recognise a Builder (ṣānī’) 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., Gardizi and Marvazi. 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 Shahristani’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.” Marvazi and Gardizi are quoted in it after the §§ into which I have divided their text. The references to Muṭahhar, Shahristani 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 Indīa, 200, he says that when the earth enters upon a period of ruin, Providence (muḍābbir), in order to abate the evil, “sends” (yursīlū) 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 (Marvazi: ‘Anqā, Gardizi: Sīmurgh). His four emblems are supposed to be the lotus-flower, shell-trumpet (sānkha), mace and chakra-disc, see Barnett, 30. Only the latter has been recognised by the author whose Arabic transcription is *shahr (Muṭahhar: shakra). Both in Gardizi and Marvazi marginal notes explain “chakra” as archad (?), apparently in some Indian vernacular. The noose seems to be the arm called in Sanskrit pāsa (a special attribute of Yama, Dowson, 374). Gardizi describes Vasudeva’s twelve heads and says that he ordered his adepts to worship fire and to wear the guṇa thread (*juna; for
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<td><strong>Division E: Buddhists</strong></td>
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1 Naubakhti adds (10): those who drown themselves.
final u, cf. Biruni, baru for vata, v.i. §42), and not to cross the Ganges. These commandments are also in Shahristâni.

§§20 and 21. The two sects Mahâ-deviya and Kâbâliya worshiped the same god Śiva, under two different aspects. Śiva is directly named in §21, while in §20 he is described by his title of Mahâ-deva, mis-spelt in Muṭahhar and Shahristâni. 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-sect just as he apparently witnessed them. Gardizi has much more on the Mahâ-deviya and their elects whom he calls bhurâra (?).

The term Kâbâliya (already recognised in Haarbrucker, II, 365) corresponds to Ssk. kâpâlika, an adjective derived from kâpâla, "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 Gardizi and Marvazi spell lînd, but Gardizi explains that the pronunciation is lîng.

§§22 and 23 refer to Râma and his rival Râvana, the demon king of the island Lânkâ.

Gardizi has much more on the adepts of Râma whom he places "in d.kshây.t which is the North," in the town of Bâznây.n. Something is wrong either with the location or with the interpretation of the term which apparently is *dakshâpat (dakṣinā-patha), meaning "the southern region" (H. W. Bailey). Bâznâyin is unknown, unless it is connected with Bhadrachalam, Bhadragiri or Bhadradri in the Godavari district, where there was a cult of Râma (Dr. Barnett). Gardizi calls Râvana's island vjâh (*udvâ) smyn, which must represent a vulgar and mis-spelt form of vaḍavâ mukha, whereas Biruni, 159, who follows the learned tradition, transcribes this name regularly br. vâ-m.χ «*baravâ-mukh (r<£). Gardizi relates the story of the abduction of Râma's wife by Râvana and the latter's murder by Râma. This is the "authorized version" of Valmiki's Râmâyana cf. Biruni, 159, but Marvazi's record of Râma's tyranny and hints at the pardon of Râvana 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 Râvana was a great sage and ascetic and Sîta 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 *Râmâni and *Râvâni, and Shahristâni omits them altogether. In the Fihrist all the category A (§§19–23) is left out.
Division B

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


§26. Says Birûnî, 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. Gardižâ has a long paragraph on the rishis: “they say that by means of sensibilium (mahûsûsî) they can rise to such a state as to comprehend intelligibilium. 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 Shahristâni, 443.

§27. The variants offered by the Fihrist, Gardižâ, Marvazi and Shahristâni are quoted in the Arabic text, p. 52. The meaning of the term is “those tied with iron” (musâfandânu bil-hadid, ba-âhan bastagân). Ferrand, 127, quotes a Chinese description of one of such “iron-clads”. Holtzmann in Haarbrucker, II, 361, 440, explained *Bakrântiniyya as *Vajra-bandha, but vajra in Gardižâ’s text is rendered by bajr. Starting from Gardižâ’s transcription, I tried the form N.kr.b.nî, and H. W. Bailey has put my hint into perfect Sanskrit: nigaḍa, “iron chain” + bandha, “having bond of” (or -baddha, “bound in”). The Arabic reading will accordingly be *Nikarbantiyya, the cerebral  dropout and & being regularly rendered by v and an aspirated dh admitting of a rendering by a surd (th or th?), cf. Birûnî, duryodhana >durjûṭan.

§28. The meaning of *Gangâ-yâtiyya was recognised by Brockhaus, Fihrist, 183, as “those practising the gangayâdâ, i.e. pilgrimage to the Ganges.” The report refers to a practice, not to a particular sect.

§29. For the variants in the Fihrist, Gardižâ and Marvazi 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 râja, the whole being perhaps râja-martiya (?) . Dr. Barnett suggests râja-bartiya from râjâvritti, “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 Gardižâ, Marvazi and Shahristâni) and of the names of the three brothers (in Gardižâ and Marvazi) see Arabic text, p. 52, line 6. Instead of Žur-ghar, the Fihrist calls the mountain Žur-ghan and Gardižâ Žûn-ghan (with a possible connection of the name with that of the second brother).
Gardizi speaks of an equestrian statue of Bhadrũ(r) on Jûn-ghar, and of another temple containing the likenesses of the three brothers. Mutahhar, 17:13, 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 *Jûn-ghar, easily comparable with the modern Junâgârh in Kathiavâr (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 Girnâr, towers over Junagârh 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 Beîru Jîhap, "the leap to death," used by Jain devotees for the purpose of self-sacrifice, cf. Mutahhar, 17 (v.i. 140).

On the other hand, Kathiavâr is very closely associated with the memories of Krishna. This god's footprint is shown on the Girnâr. In Junâgârh stands a temple built by Vajranâbbh, fourth in descent from Krishna, and a smaller temple dedicated to Krishna's brother Baladevi. 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 Girnâr, etc., in J.A.S. Bengal, VII/2, 1838, 865–87; Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, VIII (Kathiavâr), 1884, 145 (the Girnârâ Brahmanas said to have been settled on Girnâr by Krishna), 268, 271 (myth of Krishna), 487–502 (Junâgâd); 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 Krishnasm. The Jainas venerate only their own tiththagars ("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-arisichen 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 Bhãdrũ with his brothers appears more of a hero than of a god. Therefore a combination of Jainism with some recognition of Krishnasm forms a tempting background for comparisons.

Making allowance for the Jain partiality for Baladeva we might interpret Bhãdrũ, etc., as *Baladev or Balarâm (another name of
Baladeva). Jūr, or Jūn,¹ might represent *Jar or Jārā 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 Jūr) 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.¹ For the Arabic forms of these restored names see Arabic text, p. 52, line 8.

The lament of the sectarians for Bhādrur 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-Krishnaithe explanation leaves some difficulties unsolved:

1. The curious cosmic traits in the legend of Bhādrū.
2. Gardizi’s remark that the two brothers Jūn and M.r.s “devised an artifice (ḥūla)” 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 Lakṣmana 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 Gardizi’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

¹ 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.
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, Bhādrā, 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). Lākṣmīna, 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 Shahristānī classifies as ʿabādat al-aṣnām or as "worshippers of Heavenly Bodies." According to Muṭahhar, 18 (29), the idol-worshippers explain their cults by the necessity of having some intermediary objects (al-mutawassijāl) in the cult rendered to him who escapes the senses (ghāʾib ʿan al-ḥawās).

§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 ʿifrit (Gardizi: dīn, "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. Gardizi, §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: Aḥh. r), to be restored Ujjayn as in Gardizi’s §6. From the name of Mahā-Kāla, Ujjain was surnamed Mahākālavana, cf. Nunda Lal De, 210.

§32. Marvazi al-Dywātriya, Gardizi Dywātri; omitted in Muṭahhar and Shahristānī. 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. Gardizi erroneously takes ʿajal, "wheels," for ʿijl, "a calf" (in Persian gūsālā). 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 (Gardizi: Dīvālī) which, according to Bīrūnī, 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 Lākṣmī, 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. Bīrūnī, 288, refers to another festival for the women, called Gaurī (*gauri-īrtiyā?), which is holy to Gaurī, i.e. Devi, 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
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, Gardīzī, Marvāzī and Shahristānī, 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 (Gardīzī) possessing four hands, one of them touching (?) a nail, one drawing a sword, the other two holding a vajra (bajrā) and a chakra-disc (chakrā). Muṭahhar says that the goddess has one thousand (Shahristānī: numerous) hands. The sacrificial animals were beheaded, not slaughtered (Shahristānī). Human sacrifices of slaves also took place in honour of the goddess (Muṭahhar, Shahristānī). The king’s particular oblation was a fair- (or red-)haired man with blue eyes (Gardīzī, Marvāzī). The goddess meant in this case is apparently Śiva’s wife Devī under her more terrible aspect of Kālī (cf. §32). As, according to Marvāzī and Shahristānī, 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 Dakṣīṇā, “right-handed,” cf. Dowson, 86–7. The form *al-Dakhīniya (as recorded in Shahristānī) would be a pretty close derivation from a vernacular form (dakhīnī ?) 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 (Gardīzī: firīsha) of the water” seems to refer to the Vedic god Apām Nāpāt, “Offspring of the Waters,” or to the various Āpa-goddesses, mothers of Agni, endowed with fertilising and purifying powers, Barnett, 19.

§35. The spelling Akhwāṭriya (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, x6, adds, “i.e. of Lu-hi” (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. Gardīzī commits an error in adding that these Fire-worshippers affirm that “he who burns himself with Fire purifies himself of every stain.” Shahristānī, 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.
§36. Marvazā 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 (§§32, 34, 37). Al-Nadim's version of the original is more complete. He calls the jewel held by the god *chandr-hant, i.e. candrahānta, a jewel formed of congealed moon-rays, and says that the chariot is drawn by four ḥuṭṭāt ("ducks"). Marvazā leaves out ḥuṭṭāt, while Gardizi understands ḫuṭt as ḫuṭ, "idol," in addition to his usual confusion of ḥuṭṭal and ḫuṭl, v.s. §32. Dr. Barnett reminds me of the goose (ḥamṣa), being the attribute of Brahmā, but says that the Moon is represented as riding in a chariot drawn by antelopes!

The phrase wa nazarī ilayhi 'alā wajhin ḥasanin is not quite clear. Gardizi translates: va māḥ ba-rū'ī nikū 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 Naurūs-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, Gardizi and Shahristāni. For the Arabic forms see Arabic text, p. 52, line 14. Gardizi's form can be easily restored as *Adīth-bhaktī, i.e. ḥātīya-bhakta, "worshippers of the Aditya," the Sun (Sūrya) being one of the Adityas, Barnett, 18. As a parallel to the candrahānta (§36), the object in the idol's hands (cf. also Fihrist) must be sūryahānta, "the Sun-crystal." According to Gardizi, pilgrims to the Sun's temple observed a fast of 24 hours (?), called īnh (Skr. 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 Maḥmūd, while the other still existed in Hindustan.

Division D

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

§39. Only Marvazā refers to "those dressed in tree leaves." H. W. Bailey suggests ēra-ambara-dhara, "wearers of bark-garments." This would give in Arabic *al-jirānbarā-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'ahālu min liḥā al-shajar), the term liḥā meaning
“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: *mraka* (“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.rniyan (?) <*muniyān <*muni, “silent ones,” *nyist (?) , “seekers of Paradise,” and *ks.kri? (?) or *sydr (?), “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 anshiyan who starve themselves to death. This latter term must be derived from *anda* “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 tirshulī who throw themselves on an iron trident (triśūla) standing by a banyan tree at the confluence of the Ganges and Jamna, 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 *muqāl*3 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).

1 Gardizī gives tābr but the regular transcription bāru (for Sak. vaṣṭa) is found in Birūnī, 284 (tr. II, 170).
2 This popular horror has found its way into L’Abrégé des Merveilles, tr. Carra de Vaux, 43.
3 Huart translates “bdellium,” i.e. balsamodendron. Muqāl is a tree growing in Kachchh, see Birūnī, *India*, 102 (tr. I, 208).
§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), Marvazā merely hints at the contents of his source with regard to Buddhists and believers in metempsychois.

In the eleventh century A.D. Buddhism in India was eclipsed by Hinduism to such an extent that Bīrūnī, 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-Irānshahri, though, to my mind, his report has no claim to scientific exactness," cf. also Sachau’s Introduction, pp. xlv–xlvi. It is possible, however, that two centuries before Bīrūnī, 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 Marvazā is his distinction between Buddha and bodhisatvas (spelt: al-būdhusifiya). Gardizi mentions Buddhists (shamani) 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. Muťahar concludes his chapter on India, p. 19, by a more definite indication: “I have read in the Kitāb al-masālikt 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 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 (‘ifrīl); some again say that this is the image (sūrat) of the sage Būdas (cf. Marvazā) 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 (magmūṣ al-dhaqan fil-fa‘qum), 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

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1 Who himself was quoting from Zūrqān. 2 With some slight stylistic variants.
other than that transcribed by al-Kindi, and which may be either Jayhāni’s Masālik or one of its sources.1

To Shahristani, 446, the Buddhists (aṣḥāb al-bidāda) are a subdivision of the Brahmans. Under Buddha there are *al-būdīstīfiya, 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 (azādiya) of the world and in karma (jazā, “retribution”). Shahristāni 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 Marwazi of Gardizī. Shahristāni, 449, treats it as one of the three subdivisions of Brahmanism (thumma anna tafarraqa asnāfan), the other two being Buddhism and “meditation” (al-fikra wal-wahm = Rishi in Gardizī and Marwazi). 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 Birūni’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 Jayhāni, but the primary source for the first part is the envoy of Yāḥyā 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. §61.

The purely geographical §§63–6, which have parallels only in the Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam and Gardizi, have been borrowed from Jayhāni. Some details betray a particular interest of the original authority

1 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, 103–114 (tr. I, 21): “In former times Khorasan, Fars, Iraq, Mosul, the country up to the frontier of Syria (!) were Buddhist, but then Zarathustra came forth from Asarbayjan and preached Magism in Balkh.”
in medicinal plants. Marvazi's §65 on Jālhandar is only an abridgment of Ḥ.-ʿ.Ā., §10, 38., where such local produce as myrobalan, terminalia bellerica and embilica officinalis are enumerated. The same details are in Gardizi, §6, with the addition that from Chitra-kūt comes shayṭara-yi hindī, Vullers: "medicamentum indicum." Under §10, 34. of Ḥ.-ʿ.Ā. are quoted tamarind, cassia fistularia, etc. If one remembers that Yaḥyā 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 (Ḥ.-ʿ.Ā., Gardizi and Marvazi). It is interesting that these botanical indications refer chiefly to the Panjab. 8

§§44–62 on Indian kings and their habits form an integral part of all the older descriptions of India: Sulaymān, 26–9; Yaʿqūbī, Historiae, I, 106; I. Khurdādhbih, 16, 66–8; I. Rusta, 133–5; Masʿūdī, Murūj, I, 178, 372–6, 382–94; Hudūd, §10 (my commentary, ibid., pp. 239–9, 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 Yaḥyā 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. gāndhārva, "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.I., "who is the king of Ceylon," 9 cf. I. Kh., 67, and Marvazi, §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 Qimār4 and whose enumeration seems to move from East to West, see I. Rusta, 133: "I saw the king of Qimār and I saw al-ʿĀbdī," etc. As the three names are already in Yaʿqūbī'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. 8

1 shayṭara evidently=chitra, i.e. Plumbago zeylanica, or Ricinus communis.
2 §30 might suggest that the traveller had landed somewhere in Kathāvar.
3 De Goeje restores *al-Mahāl "unde Maledivae nomen habent, Ibn Baṭṭāṭa, IV, 119."
4 Apparently a different man from Abū ʿAbdillāh Muhammad b. Isḥāq, v.i. 961.
5 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.
The names of the kings have several variants in the sources:

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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 ‘Abdī, 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 Mndūr-*fattan are all called al-Qāyūdī (i.e. *Fāndī*). Mandūrfattan, “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-Dybul 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 Saylamān very closely corresponds to Ceraman (“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 Kāṭuvettu, 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 Sūliyān or Shāliyān.\(^1\) The early report speaks of the Saylamān 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

\(^1\) Gharnāṭī (beginning of the twelfth century), ed. Ferrand in J.A., 1925, pp. 91 108; also Ferrand, Relations, 348, 376.
years of their domination on the Kaveri. It can be easily read as Qâruṭî (with r for ḍ), or restored as *Qâruṭwētī.

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 Marvazi 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. Khurdādźhib, 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. Khurdāḑhib, says that in bilād al-Aghbāb there is a country Ḫarbāna 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.šin is a town with a district protruding into the sea like an island. Its air is bad. That sea is called bahr al-Aghbāb. The kingship belongs to a woman called Rāyina."

All the sources, including Marvazi (§§45 and 58) connect the queen's domains with the region of the Aghbāb, which is placed in the neighbourhood of Ceylon. Abu Zayd (in Sulaymān, 123) says: "opposite Sarandib vast aghbāb are found. The meaning of ghubb is a huge river (or valley wādī) extremely long and wide which disem bogues 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 Sarandib and al-thiyāb al-ghubbīya of the 'Ajā'ib al-Hind, which the editor (van der Lith) explains as "textiles of the Coromandel coast." In §58 Marvazi 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 Urš.sin/Urš.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 Marvazi 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 Shaylamān," 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
suggestions. He compares Īrf.sīn, etc., with Uraghum/Urāgam (or possibly *Urāga-paṭṭānām), which lies to the south of Trichur (Cochin), “near the head of a lagoon which opens into the sea at Chetwal: 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 marumak-kaṭṭāyam, or law of succession through sisters’ sons.” Further the name Barāz reminds Dr. Barnett of “the name of Pollachi (in Tamil spelt Pollātī), 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 Kōngu-deśa, were under the suzerainty of the Cēras when the Cēras were the dominant power: then the Pāṇḍyas gained control of them; and finally the Cōlas under Aditya I became masters of Kōngu.”

Dr. Barnett’s hypothesis is very tempting: Īrf.sīn could be easily restored as *Urāgha-fattān (see Arabic text, p. 52, line 18) and Barāz (possibly “Burāz or Būrāz”) would suit Pollātī. The only points which remain to be elucidated are: Uraghum’s titles to distinction and the purport of the indication that Īrf.sīn lay “on the lower (nearer) side of the Śaylamān.” One might also quote the learned Sanskrit name of the Cola capital, viz. Uragapura, which the pundits tried to substitute for the native Uraiyr (Old Trichinopoly, Warriore). Later, when the true name of the Colas (Śūliyān, Shāliyān) was applied by Arabs to the Coromandel coast, they spoke of the latter as a jazīra, i.e. “a peninsula,” and in this connection we may remember the indication of the Ḥ.’Ā. 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 renascent but not fully restored Colas, for our source definitely refers to the period of the Čera supremacy.

§46. The name which Marvāzī (f. 1a) vocalises Bulhārā corresponds to the title of Vallabha-rāja belonging to the Raṣṭrakūta 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 Ḥ.’-Ā., 238.

§47. Tāqin is Takka-deśa in the region of Sialkot, Ḥ.’-Ā., 249.

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

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1 See K. N. S. Pillai, The Chronology of the Early Tamil, Madras, 1932, p. 175.

2 Gharnāṭi, 108 (v.s. p. 144, note 1).

§49. Jurz is the great king of the Gurjara-pratihāra dynasty, the raja of Kanoj. The ṭāfīr coin (Reinaūd, 236: staters¹ or tetradrachms ?) is described by Sulaymān as Ballahrā’s coin, but I. Kh., 67, attributes it to Jurz. See Ḥ.-‘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’daḥu, instead of which one must imagine wa-layṣa, “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 Ḥ.-‘Ā., 237–8. Yule’s very cautious suggestion that the variant RHM 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 Ḥ.-‘Ā., 238, I expressed the view that the traditional enumeration of Indian kings reflects the situation before §50 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 Dharmā-pāla (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 Dharmā-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 Indrārāja 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 Ḥuṣṣūṣ (§5, 9., §6, 16., §7, 5, §10, 11.) are also in keeping with the position of Dharam-pāla’s realm.² 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 Dharmā-pāla. H. C. Ray, 282, states that in their inscriptions the Pālas “never claim descent from any mythical or epic hero which is

¹ But for “stater” Gardīzī, ed. Barthold, 91, gives s.tyr.
² In view of my new hypothesis, my commentary on other points has to be reconsidered, e.g. with regard to the towns lying on the lesser Mihrān. Under §§53 and 59 I have introduced the alterations which the new interpretation has rendered inevitable.
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 RHMY look very much like the expected Muslim form of Dharma, cf. Biruni, 20, 64: DHRM; see Arabic text, p. 52, line 19. In the Ḥudūd a fāamma is seen over DHM indicating the reading Dakhum, 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 Raṣṭrakūta 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. Qāmrūn is a constant Arabic mis-spelling of the name Kāmarāba, 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 Ḥudūd, §10, 7., according to which five territories N.myās, Harkand, Ḫurshin (Orissa), S.mnd.r and Andās belonged to Dahuḥ. 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. Marvāzī has telescoped several items of the original. His Ḥ.dhira, with its long bazaar, corresponds to Ḥ.d.d.njira of the Ḥudūd, §10, 5., where it forms part of F.nṣūr, and belongs to its own king called Saṭūhā. Ṣnṣūr coming as it does before Qimār (Khmer) must correspond to Panchur, the celebrated camphor port on the western coast of Sumatra, cf. Ḥ.-ʿĀ., 240. Marvāzī seems to have committed a mistake in including Ḥ.dhira in Dahuḥ’s possessions. He also confuses the southern kingdom of Urshīn with Orissa, and in this context spreads DHM’s authority over Bahr al-aghūb on which see §§45 and 57. Under §10, 7, the Ḥudūd refers to the shell-trumpet *shank while Marvāzī speaks of cowrie shells which he calls k.bnj (?), cf. Sulaymān, 6, kbtj (?), and ʿAjāʾib al-Hind, 103, 216: dibājāt al-k.st.f (?): these spellings are obvious mutilations of a term derived from Ssk. kaparda, or kapar-dhā, Prakrit kavadda, which has given hauri in Hindi. The gizhāw also contributes to the impression of confusion, for the yak (poēphagus gruinniens) is out of place in the region producing pepper (Ḥ.-ʿĀ., §10, 12.), unless the term is intended for some kind of buffalo (bos bubalus).

§54. Marvāzī’s text is parallel to that of I. Rusta, 135–7. Both confuse the descendants of the original conqueror of Mūltān, Muhammad b. Qāsim b. Munabbih, cf. Biruni, 56, with the later Qurmāṭiyan usurpers who alone could read the khusba for the Fatimid
caliph (called simply Maghrībī, "the Western one," in the Ḥudūd, but very respectfully Imām al-muslimīn in I. Rusta and Marvazi). 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. Ḥauqal, 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, 13515–13718. The latter text invokes the authority of someone "who informed me, whom I trust and who visited the country," 13520, 13614. 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 Yahyā 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. Ḥauqal, 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-Kindi’s writing, it cannot go back to the same original source as the description of the Indian sects, ibid., 347. Possibly the source on Multan 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 Marvazi 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. Gardizī, §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.ṛṣūl 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.ṛṣūl (better: *Ṭ.ṛṣūl) 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
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 Chaghân-jâng, i.e. the White Jang to distinguish them from the Qara-jâng (Marco Polo: Carajан), 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-siê or Mosha, see Deveria, La frontière sino-annamite, 164. Rashid al-din, ed. Berezin, XV, p. 23, says that some of the Qara-jâng are white (v.s. p. 86); at another place, ed. Blochet, 374, he definitely refers to the Chaghân-jâng. Our identification is supported not only by the name and by geography, but also by the precious indication in Sulaymân, 31: “the Mûja (= Mûsâ) 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).¹

More doubtful is the identity of Mânk. As the kingdom is said to be situated beyond Mûsha, on the frontier of China, one would expect a reference to Qara-jâng, i.e. the original part of the strong kingdom of Nan-chao having its centre at Yün-nan-fu.² However, in this case the name Mânk (variants: Mâyd, Mâbû, Mânû), cannot be explained. If we start from the form Mânk, recorded both in the Hudûd and Marvâzi, 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-dandân, Rashid al-din, 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).³ M. Polo places the Zardandân at 5 days’ distance to the west of Carajan, while according to Rashid al-din their frontiers ran partly with Tibet (sic) and partly with Qara-jâng. The Kin-chih are supposed to survive in the present-day Po-jen, “White men,” or Mîn-kia-tsu, whose headquarters are now the plains of Ta-li-fu, Davies, Yün-nan, 372.

In any case, the identification of Tirchul and Mû-sha 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).

¹ The alternative spelling Mû-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, 130, which is a branch of the Black Lolo, and whose representatives are also found in the region of Ta-li.

² 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.

³ At present Mang-shih (local name Mông-Hîman) is an important Shan state of Yün-nan, Davies, o.c., 110.
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 (Urshfīn, I.R.: Õrfšīn, H.-‘Ā.: Urshfīn); 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 Urshfīn 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 Hudād I tried to obviate the confusion of the kingdom of Urshfīn, 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 Urnšhīn (‘Urīshīn?) 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 Hudād (§10, 7.) has Uršhīn, which it definitely distinguishes from Urshfīn. 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 Urshfīn. 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 Mahādevis 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 Mahādevi, 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 Mahādevi 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-pala’s successors as well.
§57 bis (which in Marvazi’s text is inserted out of place as §17 of the factitious Chap. XV) has to be considered jointly with §57. The name of Rāmshir is not recorded in other sources, unless the name of Bābbūn (I. Kh., 63, tentatively restored by Yule as Bāpattam ?) or Nūbbūn (H.-‘Ā., §10, 11., mistaken for §6, 16.), closely connected with Ceylon, is but a mis-spelling of Rāmshir in Arabic curious. The remaining part of the paragraph corresponds to I. Kh., 65, but the latter places the whistling dwarfs in the island of Rāmī.1 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 7). §58. Zābaj (Jawaga), cf. H.-‘Ā., 56, refers to the insular empire of the Śrivijaya dynasty, whose importance was fully brought to light by the late G. Ferrand, L’Empire soumatranais des Črivijaya, 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; Marvazi’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 bīrṭā’il, pl. bārāṭīl, 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 inhabitants2 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 İbrāhīm b. Wāṣīl’s Abrégé des merveilles, see Ferrand, Relations, 144. B.rṭā’il (under the disguise of Kāsil) has found its way into the story of Sindbad, Al-fayyla, 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.3 §§61-62. Əqimār 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

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1 I.e. Sumatra, see Ferrand, Relations, 25. Apparently Marvazi took Rāmshir and Rāmī for one place.
2 Our source definitely uses the comparison k-al-majām al-mufarrajāh 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, Supplement, gives farrajā, “remettre a l’enclume.”
3 Early geographers usually refer to the region of the present-day Qandahār as al-Rukhhkha (Arachosia) and place its capital at Panjwāy. The name Qandahār (Baladhuri, 424. Qandhakār) appears in I. Kh., 56, and Ya’qūbī, BGA, 281. More usually al-Qandhār stands either for the port of Gandhār in the Gulf of Bombay, cf. H.-‘Ā., 56, 16, and 510, 17, or for Gandhāra, cf. Biruni, 101. According to Rashid al-dīn, ed. Berezin, XIII, 120 (tr. 73) the country Qarat-Jang in Yūn-nan, v.s. §56, was called both by the local population and the Indians K.n.d.r, while the Tājiks
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 Śrivijaya 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.mādī 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 Fāṛṭi* (v.s. §45). *Al-Arm*n closely corresponds to *Kmeḥ*, as the kingdom of Pegu (in the delta of the Irawaddy) was called in Old Mon. 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 Tīrchul (v.s. §56). This kingdom lay on the road from Burma to China, the two kingdoms Mōsha and Māyīd (Mānk ?), forming further stages towards Yūn-nan. On the Indian side we have the kingdom DHM, whom we have identified with Dharma-pāla, and Assam, called by the Arabs Qāmṛūn (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 Masʿūdī, *Miṟūj*, I, (Iranians) called it *Q.n ṭhr*. In the volume edited by Blochet, 376–7, the forms *K.n ṭhr* and *Q.-ndā* correspond to *K.n dr*. Here *Qandahār* is only a popular etymology by which a better known name was substituted to a similar barbarian one. 1 As yet *al-r.mādīya* 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.mādī* may be merely a misspelling for *al-Qimār*. See Arabic text, p. 52, line 20.

368), whose series runs as follows: al-RHMY (*Dharma-pāla of Bengal)—al-Kāshbin (Mas‘ūdī: al-Kāmn)-al-Qir.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-Kāshbin or al-Kāmn should correspond to Assam, and to some extent this is confirmed by the detail on the beauty (? of its inhabitants, cf. Marvazi, §16. For Qir.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.* Between Qir.nj and China Sulayman mentions “many” other kingdoms (of which he names only al-Mūja). I. Rusta omits the Burma—Yūn-nan road altogether.

§§64–67 all refer to places connected with Hindu cults. In this regard, it is similar to Gardizi’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.māhr). On the other hand the arrangement of Marvazi’s list and its details entirely correspond to those of the Ḥudūd:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>H.-A.</th>
<th>Marvazi</th>
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<tr>
<td>§10, 37.</td>
<td>§64</td>
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<td>§20, 38.</td>
<td>§65</td>
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<td>§10, 39.</td>
<td>§66</td>
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<td>§10, 40.</td>
<td>§67</td>
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This points to a common source (Jayhānī), but the Ḥudūd and Marvazi complement each other. For commentary see H.-‘Ā., 247.

§64. The detail on Rām.yān lying in the region of Lūhūvar (Lahore) partly agrees with the Ḥudūd, in which the town comes immediately after Lahore, but is said to be under Mūltān. 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 Jālāndhār (sic) who lived 250 years and on the medicinal products of the place (v.s. p. 143). The two passages combined correspond with the Ḥudūd and Gardizi (f. 199a).

1 Ferrand, Relations, 14, deciphers Kāshbin as Lakshmipur.

2 Q can be easily confused with f. It was suggested to me that Tyrang might stand for Talain, 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.
§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. Cunning- ham 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 Ḥudūd gives a curious indication on the trade and the coinage of S.lābūr. Marvāzī is more interested in the system of remuneration of the courtesans.

§67. B.rājūn, B.rāhūn (?) (cf. Ḥudūd: B.rīhūn? and Muqaddasi B.rḥūrāwā) is difficult to identify. According to the Ḥudūd 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 (Ḥudūd, §10, 40.) and of the 700 “houses belonging to idols” (Ḥudūd: “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 (<Buddhagao), 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.
CHAPTER XIII
THE ḤABASHA

§1. The term Ḥabasha comprises not only the Abyssinians but also other peoples of north-eastern Africa (Ἄθιοπες). The introduction develops Marvazi’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 (Ūjām).

§2. See Chap. IX, §§17–20. In Chap. XVII (f. 47b) Marvazi returns to his favourite antithesis of Africans and Turks: “Harmony (ṣīṭāţ) 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. If a Zanjī had the characteristics (kāyfiya) of a Turk, or vice versa, this would be an anomaly. Each nation, nay, each person has a special constitution (mīzāţ) which forms their healthiness and harmony, and the harmony of Zayd differs from that of ‘Amr.”

§3. The Ḥudūd, §§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-Isbahānīs, 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 Sirāfī. The story seems to indicate that the enterprising natives of Sirāf not only traded with China (v. Chapter VIII, §26), but even penetrated far into Central Africa. The Negro kingdom of Kānām lay to the N.E. of lake Chad, see Marquart, Die Benin Sammlung, 1913, p. 82. Ya’qūbī, Historiae, I, 217, says that the Negroes Zoghāwā occupy the territory of Kānām, their king being called al-Kāкра. The gigantic tree referred to in the story must be a baobab.

§5. Jāḥīṣ in his Praise of the Negroes Fakhr al-sūţān ‘alal-bīḏān, 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 Marvazi in his defence of the colour white is aiming at the subtle sophisms of Jāḥīṣ. A reference to the black dress of police agents is

1 Cf. the characteristics of the Turks in ‘Uthbī-Manṭalī, II, 83: broad faces, small eyes, flat noses, shaven hair (or scanty hair, beards), sharp swords, black clothing, cairasses.
found in the *Laṭa’if al-ma’ārif*, 132: *tulbīs al-sawād ‘alā al-shuraṭ*, 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 (Niẓāmu’d-din, o.c., Nos. 1973 and 1974), who explains that they have been taken from his maternal uncle Majd al-din Muḥammad b. ‘Adnān al-Surkhakati’s *Taʾrīkh-i Mā-wārā al-nahr* and *Taʾrīkh-i Turkistān*. Barthold, who follows Ḥājjī Khalifa, calls the two histories “History of Khitāy” and “History of Turkestan,” see *Turkestan, GMS*, 17, while Niẓāmu’d-din seems to regard them as a single work. Majd al-din 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, Niẓāmu’d-din, 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 *Tabāʾiʾ al-ḥayawān*. As Marvāzī states that he took it from some “Histories” and a “History of Turkish kings,” we are forced to infer that Majd al-din’s was not a pioneer composition in this field. He may have taken his anecdotes from Marvāzī, 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.,2 was called Dād-beg Ḥabashi 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 Zangi b. ‘Ali.

In the second story Marvāzī definitely refers to two Turkish kings, B.k.j (K.j ?) and Jabbūya, i.e. Jabghūya. The latter is a well-known Turkish title (yaubghu, jabghu, etc.), which according to I. Kh., 16, specially distinguished the Khalukhs (Qarluk) rulers. The *Huṣaid*, §13, x, suggests that in olden times “the rulers of Kāshghar were from the Khalukh, or from the Yaghmā.” From the latter tribe rose the Qara-khanids, see *H.-ʿA.*, 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.-ʿA.*, 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

1 We must bear in mind that in Gardzī Tawārīkh refers to Jayhān’s work, see note to Chap. XII, §8. After all, *Taʾrīkh mulūk al-Turk* in §7 may refer not to a definite book but to a historical tradition.

2 He was appointed after the murder of Akinchi b. Qoḥqar (A.D. 1097) quoted by Marvāzī in Chap. IX, §3.
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 Marvazi, was apparently invented by the opponents of the Qara-khanids, but Marvazi 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 Marvazi'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'īd 'Ubaydullāh b. Jibrīl was one of the ten members of the Christian family of Bukiht-yishāh, famous in the records of medical science. Abū Sa'īd died in 450/1058, see E. G. Browne's translation of the Chahār-Maqāla, 145, and E. G. Browne, Arabian Medicine, pp. 23–4. Marvazi quotes him also in Chapter XVI, f. 47b = 'Afu, No. 1941. Both quotations are probably from 'Ubaydullāh's Kitāb al-Hayawān, which, according to Niẓāmu'd-din, 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-baḥr.

§10. I. Kh., 66, refers to Alankabālīs (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 Lankābālīs, (laŋkā, "island " + Bālīs, cf. §19), but the etymology of the name
seems to be *al-Nankabar* (or *Nakkavar>*Nicobar), "the naked." The language of the islanders is related to the Mon-Khmer family.


§§12–13 are made up of some details found in the books of wonders. The story of the rejection of a dinār by a savage is found in Biruṇī, *Kitāb al-jamāḥir*, ed. Krenkow, p. 9, who quotes *ba’du man sāfara fil-bahr*. References to *bahrīyyūn* are found also in I. Kh., 62, 65.

§14. According to the *Ḥudūd*, §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. Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, I, 231–3, calls it *al-khalīṣī al-Barbarā*. It is probable that Marvaẓā 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 Bṛṭāyil (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 Biruṇī, 159, Z. Qazvīnī, I, 111, Buzurg b. Shahriyār, *Les Merveilles de l’Inde*, ed. van der Lith, 168, etc. Biruṇī compares the word *lavang* (Ssk. *lavaṅga*), "cloves," with the name of the island Laṅkā, from which they are obtained (?). There seems to be some confusion about the name of the island. Marvaẓā calls the inhabitants of the island *jinn*. According to Biruṇī, 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 Bṛṭāyil 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. *Bālās* is Baros on the south-western coast of Sumatra, see *H.-ʿĀ.*, 187, 228, 241.

§20. Al-Aḥsā (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).


1 *Died in 104/722 or 110/728*, see Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, V, 462.
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 Pfaffi 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-bahr must be some book of marvels similar to Sulaymān (v.s. p. 82). Cf. also Ibrāhīm b. Wāṣīf-shāh’s Mukhtasār al-‘ajā‘īb (tr. by Carra de Vaux), and his larger Book of Marvels quoted by Ḥājjī Khalīfa. 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-Fath b. al-Hassāb 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 İdhaj (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” lāk; “a female camel” arūnā; a kind of long-haired camel khankli (*qangli?); f. 82b: a kind of antelope in Turkish lands sağāq (*sayghaq?).
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. 6ra) Marvazi quotes Abū ‘Ubaydullāh Muḥammad b. ‘Umrān al-Marzubānī’s Kitāb al-shabāb wal-shayb.

ad p. 30–1. The names Kujā, Ark and Uj belong to a series found also in the Ḥudūd and Gardizi. Kucha is well known, see Ḥudūd, 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 *Argī, i.e. the present-day Qarashar. Phonetically this explanation is tempting, but I still reserve the possibility of Qarashar being J.mīy-kat, cf. Ḥudūd, §12, 10, and p. 275 (different from J.mīl-kat, §12, 2). On Uj see Ḥudūd, 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-ahwīya wal-buldān by Galen (sic) is quoted on f. 1rb.

ad p. 106. The Qūrī are apparently the Khorī 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 Khorī, 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.

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كتبه نحو سنة 514ه
السبب الشامن

في صنعة الضر

[الصيف] [1] مملكة الصين واسعة الريعة كثيرة البدر والأغماء والقلي
وندخل مع ثلثة أقاليم وثلث من أقاليم الأرض، إلى بلاد العين ويرما على بلاد العين جماً إلى الجنوب فيه مدينة الملك وفيه مرضاً السفر وهو الرواة الصينوم، ثم يُمرر على سراح البحر في جنوب بلاد الهند ثم على بلاد السودان ومصر في البحر على جزيرة الكرك ويقطع البحر إلى جزيرة العرب وأرض اليمن واله والمصرود فيه وما نحوها ثم يقطع بحر الفازيم في بلاد الحبشة ويقطع نيل مصر ويمرّ على بلاد الدري يسمى جزيرة وهو دار مملكة الحبشة ومصر على دنقلة وهي مدينة النوبة ثم يمر في أرض المغرب على جنوب بلاد البربر إلى أن يترى إلى بحر النوب والإقليم الثاني ينطلق من الشتر فيصر على بلاد الصين ثم على بلاد [12] الهند ثم ببلاد السودان ويمر على HomeComponent ودبل وأقطع البحر الأخضر وبحر البحرية جزيرة العرب في أرض نهر وترامة والإيمام والهجر ويمر ويقطع بحر الفازيم ويمر في صعيد مصر ثم يمر في أرض المغرب على وسط بلاد إفريقية ثم يمر على بلاد البربر ويترى إلى بحر المغرب والإقليم الثالث ينطلق من المشرق فيصر على شمال بلاد الصين ثم على بلاد الهند وعلي شمال بلاد السودان ثم على بلاد كابيل ثم على كوران وسعيستان ثم على سواحل
بقرة البصرة وعمر بكر الأهوار ثم يمث على بلاد الأسماق ثم يقطع ماهل
ارض مصر والقرون وينتسب إلى إمر أفريقى والقائم الرابع يليه من
الشرق ويمر بلاد الثنا ثم على خراسان وهم، و습니까، نهر جيرون وشن العرب
والديم وتبعد بلاد الأسماق، وروهم في بحر الأسماق على جزيرة فيرس ودويس
وينتسب بلاد الغرب على ارض فلسطين وينتسب إلى بحر العرب
والقائم الخامس يليه من الشرقي من بلاد إيجوج وناجم وينتسب على شالي
بلاد خراسان وما وراء النهر وخوئزم ثم على أذربيجان وأورومية وبلاد
الروم ثم يمث بساحل بحر الأسماق، وما إلى الشمال ثم على بلاد الأندلس
وينتسب إلى بحر الغرب والقائم السادس يليه من الشرقي من
شمال بلاد إيجوج وينتسب على بلاد الترك ثم على ساحل بحر أسترون
ما إلى الشمال ثم يمث بحر الروم ويمر بلاد العقابية وينتسب
إلى بحر الغرب والقائم السابع يليه من الشرقي من بلاد إيجوج
وينتسب بلاد النجف وآرض الترك ثم على بلاد اللن ثم على السفري
على بحران ثم على بعض العقلة وينتسب إلى بحر الغرب
فأدر الصغير داخلة في ثلاثة من هذه الأقاليم، امتداد أطراف وكرة
بلدهما ولا كانت بلدها موضحة في مشارك النهر كانت أكروى رافيهة
ومنها باردة [1] عنيفة وقرنبها طيية، وإذا كانت البلد رقية فهي
سقية وطيرة كذلك لذا كنبرة介入 هذه الأراضى بلد الناس، نورية التي تنكر
فيها ورقبا، ينسب الأنسان إلى العرب كما ينسب إلى الولدين فنقول حاجزية و
خام وربوين وحدين ونبرة كما يقال عدوين وقطانين وإيابين
فاهل القول عندهم الدار حسنون الشعب والصورة سلموس الأخلاق وهم
الناس من مغنتة البلاد والمساكن
وينقسم أمراض ثلاثة اقسام وهي الصين وفماتي إلى
بضعة أقسام مختلفه ونفرج وأعظمهم خطة ومسكنة الصين

كذا! 16.
معتمرا حسنوا ساسوا 5.
و أهله أحتف الناس بالصنائع الجميلة لا يذينهم فيها أحد من الأم
والله الروم يعله علاً فيما أتى السأم لا يبلغون فيها مبلغ أهل الصناعة.
وهل الصنف يقومين أن الناس كلام عام في الصناعة لا أهل الروم
فأتم يبرعون بعمر واحد يعني الروم عرفوا نصف العمل
و أهل الصنف لا يبتدأون التراك وتبرعونهم في أثر الأشجار لألزم
يبرعون الصنف وعمان ولا يبتدأون الأقنية والقلاع واثناء
اهل قنات وعصر في غير الأثر والراك وبرواضهم وبروازم وبروازم
ما وراء النهر مكتنث ومواصلات واهل الصنف ضاقت ذلك ولا
يبتعدون الصنف من الدخول اليوم والعقار بين أثرهم
وذلك ستة سنين لم يأتي السنة حين غرس في قلعة منهبه
وهو منهبه الثرى خاف أن يبرعون من الغراء [أَعْتَى] فهبت لرُم
فسأك ذلك المنهد و fiyat عنه
وقد رأيت رجلًا ذا عقلية قد دخل الصنف وعمل أهله في الناحية
فكل من أهل الصنف هدد أو أجل بملك يعده ينجز و هو ملك كبير
استداره مسيرة ثلاثة أيام وقرر به ما أمر أعظم منه ويقال له كماله
الملك ينزل ينجى قال وهذا البلد يذى قرر كبير يقطع
البلد بصفة [13] فسأك الملك وحواريه وجنوده وأتباعه
في أمر الشقفي و في الفج الأثر مسكن الرعاية والإسوار وملام
يسُم يتفاج خار و هو الذي يقال له فقوس
وكل من أهل الصنف من المنهد في صناعة أشياء جيدة منها
انتقال كان لملوك في كل دولة ذكروا إلى الأثر والأعمال فيه
وبجلس النظام بين يديه جملة مبادلة كبيرة فبيعت على
باب المدخل نطاق خشب كبير ووضع عليها قدمين فأكل من يدخل
بأخد القدم و يضرب به ضربة واحدة على العشبة ثم النزى يلمه

ثلثة 25 قروًا
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي في الصورة.
عنْهَا نَعْمَهْ وَأَحَدٌ مِّنَ الْمَيْضِ

15 وَعَدَّهُمْ أَنَّهُمْ كَثِيرٌ مِّنَ الْحُجَّاجِ بِهِمْ عَنْهُمْ مِّنْ عَرْفٍ عَيْبٍ

وَجَلَّ الْيَمِّ الْعَاجِ وَالْمَشْرَعَ وَالْنَّفَاسِ عَلَى الْمَيْضِ الْصَّالِبِ الَّذِي يَقْلَعُ مَا مِنَ الْإِشْبَارِ فِي كَرِ السَّقَاطِبِ الَّذِي بِالْعَيْنِ كَيْمَا يَجْعَلُ الْبَرَاءِ يَلْقَبُهُمْ فِي الْمَيْضِ فَلا

16 يُغْرَبُونَ فِيهِ وَيَغْرَبُونَ فِي الْكَحْلِ فَإِنْ قُلُوْتُوا يَا يَا وَيَغْرَبُونَ فِيهِ وَيَغْرَبُونَ إِيَّاً فِي الْمَيْضِ الَّذِي هُوَ قَرِينُ الأَلْبَدِ

وَهُوَ أَحْمَرُ مُحَيْلٌ إِلَى الْعَيْنِ أَلْمَرْمُ عَيْنَيْطْوِهِ مِّنْهُ مَنَاطِقٌ وَتَنْبَعُ قَيْمَةُ

الْمَيْضِ مِنْهُ مُصَلِّعًا عَلَيْهِمْ

17 البَلْدَ وَكَأَنَّ الْهُمْرَ أَشْرَكُوا مَعَهُمْ وَذَلِكَ أَنَّ الْبَرَاءِ مِنَ الْيَمِّ وَأَنَّهُ مَعَهُمْ

كَأَنَّ مَا يَكْرُمُونَ مِنَ الأُدُوِّةِ وَفِي وَسَفِهِ قُزْرَةٌ كَبِيرَةٌ فِيهِ جَنَّةٌ خَيْرٌ لَّهُمْ

يُذْهِبُهَا فَتْحَةً مِّنَ السَّمَاسِرِ الطَّالِبِينَ الْعَلْوَىَّاتِ وَهُمْ شَرْفُ بَيْنَ أَهْلِهِمْ وَيُضِلُّونَ مِنْهَا الْقَرَاءَفَ وَالْبَعْرَ جِهَّاً فَيُقْتُلُونَ الْيَمَ وَيَقْعُدُونَ

بالْبَلْدَ [16] وَالْمَيْضِ وَيَجَلُّوْهُمْ إِلَى مَنْحَتِهِ وَيَأْتُونَ الْبَيْضَاءِ

إِذَا تَقَرَّرَ وَرَيَّاً دَخُلُ الْيَمِّ بَعْدَ الْبَجَالِمِ الْهُجْمِ زُبِّبَ ثَعْلِيْفَهُ فِي وَعْدِهِ

إِيَّاهَا وَإِنَا سَبِعُ سُوْارِ الْعَلْوَىِّ الْجَزَاءِ الْبَيْضَاءِ فِي الْحُجَّاجِ الْبَلَدُ دِرَّةً مِّنَ الطَّالِبِينَ وَنَعْلَوْهُمْ إِلَى خِرَاسَانِ فِي اْيَامِ بِنِيَ أَمْيَةٍ وَاسْتَوْلُونَهَا بِنَاسٍ رَأْوُا

18 جِنَّ بِنِيَ أَمْيَةٍ فِي الْمَيْضِ وَإِذَا دَخَلُوا جِنَّاً وَتَقُرُّوا غَيْرَ المَثْقِفِ وَلَمْ يُشْتَهِ لَهُمْ فَقُلُوا فِي شَيْءٍ مِّنْ دَارِ الْبَلَدِ وَالْبَغْرَاءِ وَالْمَيْضِ مِنْهَا الْبَرَاءِ فَأَعْلَوْا إِلَى

الْجَزَاءِ فَإِيَّاهَا بَلَغَ مِنْ تِلْكَ الْبَرَاءِ مَنْحَتِهِ الْبَيْضَاءِ وَرَأَوْا إِلَى الْرَّجُعِ فِي نُقْلِهَا وَرَأَوْا الصَّفِّ وَقِيَامَهَا الْبَعْرِ وَكَانَ
العين الذي في الجزيرة خلدا من اهله. لأن العين قد كثر فيه و
استنثر عليه فقال الطلوعية كابينة. هذه العين أرسل من كابينة السيف
والغرق فدخلوا العين وجعلوا يقتلون العيني ويرونهم بأمل. هكذا
طيروا العين منها في ذلك sito واستردنها وثمة عام مباح العين
أن ليس وراءها مالية وأنهم مختلفون إلى التمشك بجانبه أدرك في
ذلك الموضع وأتعشى ببعضه سخروا لرم نفسنا أن أمننا هم نحن
وتناولوا وتعاموا لسان العين ونسان غيره من يدق
عليهم وماروا سفرا لرم
ولسان العين مائل لسائر الألسنة وليكن لسان القلت واهل
العين كرم على دين واحد وهم ديني مختلف قتال ونفر فن
فيهم سائر الأديان الإثروية
وقد كان في قلوب هم جميع كثر ما وراء الهر من ملك العين و
لورية سرقمد القصة لذا فاستأثر السلامم وتحت الله تعالى ل المسلمين
كبرها أعزه أهل العين إلى مرادهم وبيهي في سرقمد كأئه العين
منسحة الكافذات المصرى إذا أقاموا إلى البلد الشرقية تقررت رم
البلد وتقصيت الصيادين فصار العين بقدر وقاتي ملك ول꺼 ملك
وبيت هذه الصيادين مسافات متارة و
والهادئ نجمة الفجر أو غيفها يمسك من كاشغر إلى ياركل في
أربع [15] أيام ومنا إلى كانت في أحد عشر يوما ومنا إلى كروا في المساء
أيام ومنا إلى ساوير في سمير يوما ومن حال تقرت الطريق إلى العين
والإيالة إلى البترى. وعليه تخريج الذي هو مستمر في خان
ملك العين إلا هوى عن استقبال الشرف مخالب الجنوب الحصولية وبلغ
قايموس ثم إلى كلبسي في اربعين يوما ينشأ فيها عنده بلاد
فيجوع التي يعرف منها شعوب وجدها فيد ومن هناك يدخل محلة
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يعتبر خان ون sóng إلى نجاح في قريب من أربعين يومًا ووراء العينين
أمامًا تعرف بشغوله. وسيأتيهم أهل العين سمح وأهمه قتالي على
مسيرة شير في نهاية العهد بين الباب والجرف. ويقال أنهم الذين
يجمعون ماجين والهند يسمونه العين الذي من تقدم فقرًا.
وهو البلد الذي كان فيه ينقسم ساجج ومن قد أوم قصبة
قينسة من على ميناء الشرق فنزل إلى موضع يقال له نجاح
في قريب من شيرين ثم إلى أولين في شيرين ثم إلى نجاح في شير وخبر
أوم ينام في فرضين ويخيط إحدى السكينة قبضان مقفاة مفروزة
الطرفة في الأرض، وهم هنا حائفة مرتفعة في كل فرضين يعوم
البر爵ير وبيقرون الآداد ويقتلون من تضرروا به إنا خير أامر
ومنا إليها الساحة مماليك
والمسلم تحرق حنان بذلك على مسيرة نصف شهر من سنجور.
إلى قوام من الشارقة يزف رفعًا اسمه كبار لام وهو سالو كرزوا اليلا
من الإسلام خوف الإختناص
وولاء تجنيه ونبر ورزة تبايعت ديارهم من ديار الإسلام وأقطعت
المستجبلا لا يأمنون جارب ملك الإسلام وجدت السمرين هي ساعل
وشايفة من نهر هذا الذين استبدلتها واقتدار أهله على جميع
أعدائه فهم يعتورن الأفام وبدلهم بسيا طبيب ورثي الحظة
ولا رأس السلطان صدر رحمة الله مابويا من الاقتدار والإستيلاء
علي بلاد الركن، وبلاد الترك استغفر منه صاحب قتائ وصاحب
يُعِرُّ كتب إليه [15] ماحب قتائ كتبه هذه تجيئهـ;
من سلمه! إلى أمير خراسان صمد قراخان ليس رعب السماء خرونا
ماكل وجه الأرض السهبة وململنا نواعي الطراط الشريرة فقط
في مقره سالون، وإراجنا مقدرون وليس في جزاء العالم أهده
من البكر مع الله وقد رحب في خيالنا والإحسان يا وأولاد
الأخذ أمراً النواحي الشفهية يموّل الرسول ﷺ وتصل الكتب والمردادة
من مير تراوح فائتة إلى الدنيا لم ترسنه ولم يوفده وخيّم نسج خريطة في
العربية والباسلة وتقلّده في الاقتصاد والإعمال والتسارع على المحرّر
بالمردادة وحياة المракب النحاسية والبيان، واستقرّ إرادة، في الوحي.
وكان من الواجب عند أمراءه الزيادة أن يكتب صحّه إلى الملك
العظيم الذي ليس تحت السماء. أجل منه وطاعته عالم. وقد ابتدعنا
خوي بذلك واقتصرنا على إحضار هذا النموذج دون ميّته في يديه
في الجملة والرجل لطول لساحة وامتلاك البيئة في قطلها.

واذن وقعت الرسلة مبتدأ من صميم البيت، يزودننا
ابن جعفر الطاهري، وأمره البيتان، بما أمره الرسول ﷺ
لسورنا اليه ورسوله اليه من ذوي العادة والعقل والراجحة للثقل
ألي ما أصننا، وناطبة باً لدنيا وقيم رسم البلاد في عينه،
وكان من بعض إبرياء هذه الرسل التوكناك احتاط طريق الرحلة
وامتدّ إلى البحر، والحملة من النذرية، إلا ثورة خوّان ورب
زنكي ونبي صهري وفرغ شكردي ذوqi قطعٍ وخسارة
دئماً ذات نقية من العصر، وفرج سبور، وسبي، ومائة سبور
والخمسين وثلاثين ثانية مسية، فوقهما مع عشر تنديبات
وكثير الناس في سيناء الأدوار

وكتب الده في سنة الربيع

وكتب الده يعرّف كابا هذه ترجمته : [56]

من سلامتكم أيّاك الليل يعرّف لكم إلى السلطان مصعود تسلم علي زيد
الحدث في نفسه نسج نسج ما فيده وسامه، وسمه
كما يتناهي الدنيا من استيلائه على النواحي السفلى إلى بلاد الهند،
وإنّه يواصل خلف العالم ويؤدي أسباب الأطراف، فتقبل دولتنا إلى
مختلفة مثله من مشاهير البازيرين ومكروري كبار الدنيا بثقيف الشجاعة

1. يافر. 2. بطيوف. 3. يننيك. 4. بياره. 5. مبروك
في النافليين وَجَبَ أن نتَأْثِرَ في كلِّ مَكَّةٍ وَالمُدَّنَةِ في البِرِّ، وَهِيَ كَانَ إِسْلَامُ النَّاسِ. وَأَنَّهُ شَجَّعُتَ الدُّبِّيَاءِ لِقَدْ تَنَافَسَتِ السَّبَعُ القُلُوبُ وَرَجَعَ أَنَّنَّا نَفَتُ في اسْتِحْيَاةِ الْهَمُّ السَّيَّةِ وَالْمَكْتَبُ لَيْبَقِيَ بِفَعْلَةِ الرَّأِيَّةِ، فَإِن رَبِّي فِي عَمَلِهِ لَكَبْرُ كَتَابُهُ وَوَجَّهَهُ إِسْلَامُ الْكَتَابِ. بِهِ وَتَتَأَوَّلَ النَّاسُ وَهِيَائَهُمُ، وَكَتَابُ كُلِّ مَكَّةِ أَنَا فِي صَبْحِ الْكَلََّةِ، كَانَ الْيَوْمُ إِلَى الْيَوْمِ كَانَ كَانَ مْسَاحَةً مَّسْحَةً. كِتَابُ الْكُتَّابِ، وَلَكِنْ نَشَاةُ الْكُتَّابِ وَسَوْفَ يَقْضِي قَاطِعُ رَسُولُ الْحَقَّ، تَحْيَةً. وَلِلْيَوْمِ، الْيَوْمُ أَنَا فِي الْحَيَاةِ. وَمَا يُدْعِي نَفْسُهُ بِأَنْ ثَلَاثَةٌ لَّهَا، وَمَا يُدْعِي فِي النَّاسِ، كَانَ إِلَيْها مَثَلُ. ولِلْيَوْمِ، الْيَوْمُ أَنَا فِي الْحَيَاةِ. وَمَا يُدْعِي N

24. فِي الْشَّهْرِ النَّاسِمِ نَفْسُهُ، إِنْ كَانَ إِنَّكَ تَحْلِي لِلْمَكَّةِ، وَمَا يُدْعِي فِي النَّاسِ، كَانَ إِلَيْهَا مَثَلُ. ولِلْيَوْمِ، الْيَوْمُ أَنَا فِي الْحَيَاةِ. وَمَا يُدْعِي

25. 30.

أَطْبَاقُ شَهْرِ الفَرَدِ "لِلْمَكَّةِ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَّرُهُ، وَكَنَّا نَمَь
فاما الطريق إلى المدينة من جانب البحر فواو مرآة من البحر إليه
أنه يقال له تونكرا ثم مدينة خانفو وهم أهتم من لوقير وهو مرآة
أعلم ويرا زناراء عنيف كبيو ينثر البلا وعليه خسرة وعلى أحد
جانبي أسوار القرن القوية وعلى جانبي الآخر أسوار أهل المدينة
والثرين ينضحوه من النجار الفرس والعرب، والفرس يكثر من البرابر
التي من سيراف والعرب من البحر، وفي هذه المدينة صاحب غشر
الملك يجمع أمتها النبار ويدخل منعزل المدينة، وأهل
وهانئ وصف له: وهذا تضبيت المعازر الصينية، والمعازر المحمة
التي يكون أحد جموعها أبيض والوجه الآخر أصفر والفرس الصيني البكر
ولباس أهلها النباتين. من رسمهم أن كل واحد منهم أهل السروق ينطلق
الآخر زارا وتشابرون وتتعاملون إذا غبت الشمس. ففي الظل
في الجانبين تتفصى كل فريق إلى مواضعهم عند زيارة بد أهل فريقين في سرق: فيه أكتِب وفرعم ومن بآت من الصناب في سرق
التغر، وجعل عليه الليل بما لبابة. عتمهم ولا يطلق للغرب أن يتخيا
رقيقا منها من غلام أو جارية على وجه الأرض إذا أن يكون الناهج قد
استولى عليه فترجحوا ولا يمنع منه، ويحلوهم عن اللامعة أياب
الفيل والخناشيل والنافذة، واللزجاء، واللمرود والرملود والغابة،
خشوب الطوار، والجز وجميع الدوائل الباسية كالمحور والزنراب
ومثلما يكرم التيارات ولا تقام على أحد منهم، نبرة ناحية، ومثل
الوجه لميس فيهم. [7] أسوأ، ولا أسرير وهم أشد بياضًا من الروم
وأصل الألوان وأربع بشرة، وملك خانفوص تحت يد ملك الصين، والبي
أهلاً جناب وقطال، ورسامين أن يأخذوه من النجار الذين يوجدون هذه
المدينة من جميع ما موجود من كل عرض نمط، لا يكون النصف منه

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6
لصاحب الجيش والنصف ينفع إلى ملك الصين وإذا وصل الكرابي
إي هن الديئة خرج إليه الأُمَّانِ والإبَّانِ من أهل البلد الدنبور عند
ما في الكرابي الرجال والنساء والعبيد ثم ينبِّأ اسم صاحب
الكرابي وأيَّاه وليُّب اسْماء الذين معه من الطيار ورَّفْه أُسْنَازم
بأن يسأَ السبل كأي على من السنين ومن أي بلد هو ومن أي
قبيصة لم ينِّبُوه وشَكَّوه جميع ما في الكرابي من انتظار على
أصنافه وأمرت في الجل اليوم فرد الكرابي السعي ختى وهم يسمعون
فينان فانا أثبنا جميع ما في الكرابي أذنا لنا بالنزول فذا سكنوا في
الرجال بأيامه النهى الأليم واجار إلى صاحب المدينة وكأن كنان
نعبة أنف واحسان كان أكسورهم ثم يسأَ السبل كأي على أحوال في
أنفسهم ومسيرهم في طريقهم لم يناثروا إلى منزل النبي الأليم و
منزله خاص المدينة فذا خلقوا عليه يوضع في كرس في들도 جلورا
ويُعملون من أحوالهم وكيرون ويفتعن من الفوائد بايذون عنهم وينقسم
الشراب ثم أكرهم بالنصير إلى رحال واثير الوكل من قبله جهش
يعرفهم ويفتقد واسم الوكل عنهم فاسم ثم ينْجَح ما في الكراب
من المعتبة ويرفع في بيت ويُ.CODE_1 علوا للجاه ويجعل البيج
والفراء سنة اشتهر إلى آخر وقت النبي فذا خلقوا فيه أكرهم قد
انتقلت وفاء وقت قد لَّى ينفع في أحد رسِوا البلاء إلى التيار بعدما
أغصان منه الامس وهو من كل عشيرة ثلاثة فيبِّيهمه كما يريدون
وايَّنا ينفع من البيج والشراء في الشور السنة لياجل جميع ما يفعل
[17] الرميل وينقول عليه فدا يقع بنفس وضفيه بالأشهر أو الشهر
لأنه رُبِّي كثر المعتبة في سنة فسُلشد وربما قليل قيصر ويلمزم
الفلس فلا يشترون جميع المعتبة

وجميع أهل الصين عليهم خيره الجزية للناس والصابان وأيَّاد
يولد النور فيهم كتب وقت مولده من ليل أو زيار ووضع الكاتب عند

خُلُقَ هَم.
والله أو قريبه كله يشتبه عليه سنته وإذا بلغ مبلغ الرجل قتله عليه البرك، ليس يدعواب عليه البلد وجميع في مستهله من الرجل وقال:
ما يلزم فإنه لا يدفن إلا في السنة والشهر والبيت والساحة التي دخل فيها فإن مات في اهله ومنزله في تغير من خشب كريمة الذهب
ويطح عليه أدوية يخفق جثته عن النهر والتعليم إنا لسنا موسرا
وإن كان مقتولاً دلج عليه الصدف الركاب بعدان يشتفى حتى
يصير كالذرور فيشتفى روظناه ولا يشتفى. وهذة النقر الذئب يوضع
فيه ميتين يعند في ارضهم إلى سنة وثالث لا يدفن عليه وإذا مات
انزل منه فإن زوجته تعبد عليه تلك السنين وكذلك على أمها وأختها
وإن ماتت المرأة تنجب الزوج عليها كما تلك سنين ويبلغ الرجل و
المرأة على مراتم في أول الزوار ووسط الزوار وأخرى ما دام الميت عند
هم وإن لم يبيك واحد منهم ومن الأقرآن أخ وشري ونقر ويدفعون ألق
فتقذه إذا لم يزدهر موتهم وإذا جاء وقت دفنهم وازدواجهم إلى قبره
إن كان موسراً وضعا عليه الطريق من منزله إلى موضع القبر الطيبه
وترك شرفت وحقطوراً بالدانية والعبر من زوج يوضع في القبر زيت تلك
الأطعمة ورحا جعل مهج إن كان داجنة فأخروهه وثوابه في رفعته
علي قبره ومن منادات من المسلمين عنههم ولا يبون معه وارث
أخيه والده ووضع في بيت مال البلد مثبتا عليه اسم صاحبه واسم
ابنه وحده وتاريخ موعده وينظر به تلك السنين [85] وثناك أقر
وقبلة أيام فإنا جاء قولنا إلى هذه النهاية يسمع اللال إليه وأهل
الدين يعرف بعضاً من أمور بعضه لا يشتبه ذلك عليه لأن كلام
كأنهم ذاك وإذا مات أحد على صبي لا كافل له شام إلى أن يأكل
في تصلة وتربيته وينفوذ عليه من بيت المال حتى إذا أدرك نصبه
عليه الجريمة وإذا بلغ الشيخ ثماني سنين أو سبعين أخرى عليه من
بيت المال وإذا أذن ذنبه يستوجب القتل أو العقوبة عليه من
عندها فإن كان بين رجلين وامرأة، خصمة كانتا إلى الرأة أو أميل وناسوءهم يغلب على الرجال في الصناعات والتجارات وناسوءهم منشأت الشمور وصدمة منهم إذا زارا فتيل الجمل كان أمر أمة ولا تبت عنده يعرف ولا يعرف. وفي أسرائهم نساء يحكمن بالزنا والسلطان علىضربة فيهم من سلسلتهم وسقاطهم.

وذلك في مدينة ساسانقرو! وهي مدينة كبيرة.

فإن الدنا البني النبيل الذي يسكنها ملك الخميني فتحي خان وقيل أن

[مِنْ] مدينة جنينة إلى خيراد مسيرة أربعة أشتر سير الكلا،

وبلاد السين واسعة، والغالب على عامتها استدامة الوجه وفطولة

الأذنة وليامض الحي والديباج، وأعمال المغربة كأسهم، ويطولون

ذيلهم حتى تجر في الأرض، وذورهم واسعة، ورقة البالي السائلك.

وجندهم كبيرة وملايين، لا يد يبذر ولا نبل إلا أحد أهل وزره أو حاجبه

ومن عهده يرثون في كل سبعة أيام مرة، وإذا ورد عليه رسول من

بعض الملك، أتخذه عليه في وقت يأخذ له ويقف وزره على عينه ويقف

الرسول بالسّر منه على حسب مرتين مرسِه ثم يبعد. ولا يرفع رأسه

حتى سنة ذاك ثم يسأل الحاج عنه فينجزه على حاله وعَرَطه له

ثم أمر الملك له ينتق أثراب وماء من ناقة مزمنة، ويصرف إلى دار

الزمان ويضع كل يوم دار الملك [عاه] ويعتقد إلى أن يباح ويعرف

والخبر زوجهم أخذاً فاأذا قللت الأطوار على أسوارهم وإذا أببنوا

بذلك السروحة الملك في بيوت اللحبان وأخذ الشمنة وقيدهم

وياضه ويزدهم بالقتل، وفالم على ما أتا بالملاء فإلا يمارسون إلى

من بات الظهر.

وفي قصر الملك كوسرام وطلبت له، كثيرة فاأذا قرب غروب الشمس

قرعت اليوسافات فاأذا صمعا ذلك بارد كواحد وتساع الذي منزله

فلا يبقى بعد غروب الشمس أحد من خارج المدينة، وتفكر أصحاب
السُلطَان في الحَال وبالسُلطَان فإنه وجدَ أَهله خارج منزِل فضَّرَ عَنقُه وطَرَح رأسه في موضع قد أُفِت لكان مكترب عليه هذا جَرَاء خُفَف أمر السُلطان وعِندما حكمَ أن من شرِق زاده على ماله فلس وعُشرة دهام يُقتل ولا يُترك الَّمئة وَحَوالى خِناية الَّذي هو مدِينة الْمَلك اللَّاتِب بِفُغُور مَائة وعشْرَون قَرْية في كل قَرْية زِهاء الفَجَل مَرْبَّة ومُدِينَة فاِمٍّة وأُبُرُوَّة وَإذَا زَرَب المَلك ركَّم مَعَهُ نَجْوَرُ الْفَارس ويقال أن لِلْمَلك الْمَرْمَصَّة وَسَرِّين مَدِينَة يُسْتَعْدَى فِي هَذِه كِل يَمِّر خَراج مَديَنَة وَكِسَامَة مَدِينة بَدْنِه وَجَلَاية بَذْدَا وَوَمِينُ نَسْطَم أن لا يُنْتِفِق أحد أَيْتِرْض بِالْبَرَّة وَالْعَلَب والماء وَاَلْمَعَجَر بِهِ يَعْتُرَفُونَ في أَسْرَائِلٍ حَيْثَ يُشْتَتُونَ منها بِقُدِيدَ الْحَاجة وَحَوالى خِناية ذِي أُحْمَرُ وَفي جَوَّارٍ وَمَدِينَة يُؤْدِي جَزَاء وَسَاحِل الصَّمَّر مَسْرِيَّة شَهِيدٍ وَالْجَوْارُ يُقُتُّرُونَ الْمَرْكَب في كل بَيْرِهِ إِنْ طَبَ الْمَهْيَّر فَرَعْنَاء فَهُذَا الْمَنِدَّر يُقُوَّد سَاحَلَتَا نَبِلْثَث أَلْفَ فَرَعْنَ دَعِيَتْهُ فَلَيْسَ الْجَزَاء الْمَهْيَّرُ وَالْمَوْفِرُ مَكْسُورُ وَيَقُولُنَّ بِهَا ثَلَاثَةٌ مَدِينَة مَدِينَة فِي أَرْضٍ وَفِي جَوارٍ وَفِي جَوارٌ فَيْسَرُّ الْجَنَّة وَفِي جَوارٌ بَلْدَ الصَّمَّر عند مَطْلع النَّاصِر الْعَرَبِيَّ خَلْفَ كَبْرٍ فيهَا بَيْرٍ الصَّمَّر وَالْمَرْكَب وَهُوَ اِجْتَنَائُ (لَا أَسْمَعُنَّ مِثلَ ارْمَرَ) حُوريَّة (تَوْلِانَ مَاهِظَة) (قَرْيَة) (صِنْدَوْقُ) (نَزَلَة) (سُكْكَا) (تَوْلِانَ) وَهُمِيَّزُونَ (طَمَّ) عَلَى نِسَاءٍ مِنْ الْبَيْرِ الْعَبْسِ يَصْفَازُونَا بَدْنَ أَذْنٍ وَذَكُّر صَاحِب كَابَ السَّلَالِك أَنْ وَأَرَّ السَّلَالِك أَنْ شَعَرُوا الْأَلْوَانُ شَحْرَة الشَّعْرَة وَبَشَّتَهَا حَرْثَ النَّاسِ فَإِذَا طُلِبَت الشَّعْرَة عَلَى الْأَرْضِ لَى أَنْ يَقْبَنَ النَّاسِضَرَبُ ذَهَبَ من يَفْخَعُونَ وَهَذَا قُرُونٌ فِي نَظْرٍ لَّا نَسْرَ أَلْوَانٍ وَحَرْثَة الشَّعْرَة كَلَّوْنَ من إِفْرَاتِ الْجَدِيَّة وَلَيْلَةٍ
العارة كما في الصالبة والروس

ومن شئتها أهل الصين أن الرجل إذا أذن ذنبًا يستوجب العقوبة

والتأدب فلذئاب الله بعد أن يجبر بذبه وبذبل حظه. بل ذلك ثم

يفرض عنه على أبناء الله وأمرلا تأديبه على جانيته وطوال أن

أذن ذنبًا استوجب به القتل فانّه لا يقتل حتى يبذل حظه. بل نصبه استوجب

القتل ثم يقرأ عليه خطيئة بحمرة البصرة حتى يقرأ به ثم يوقف ساعتين.

حتى ينظر هل يكرهون من عقله شيئًا فاذا اتفقوا على صحة عقله

حينذاً قتلوا.

ومين شئتم أن من خرج منزى إلى سفر يكتبون اسمه وما معه

من الأموال والرقيق أو إذا بلغ كل مساحة يقرأ الكتب وصاحب

البسطة بكتب إلى النعى الذي هو من السلوك مرزة بن غالب بن غالب. كتب

من شير كلامه الفاسد. وأما يفنون ذلك صيانة

للأمول الناس ومن خرج منزى إلى سفر يقرأ الكتب وهو ضروري اذ

ويقرأ ويصوبل بهما إذا اشتري الغريبة وأولها وأولها

أن يشرب معه يسغب من ذلك ويقولون لم يرحت في أرضنا ومن

أذن الله فاننا خذ عزيزك يعني الوارد وقى الأرض

وبهم ينافلون بشفاعة النبي ونجل البيت وأمارة الأوامر ودورهم

واسعة زرقحة البضائع بالنقل وله القول في كل يوم وفوق كل

من خشب الشيرين وكذلك آخر أسواقه وكسرو أو كل يوم وفوق كل

هذين وجعلون [19] عتبات دورهم مرتفعة لإتمام القامة

من دورهم.

وأذا أردت الله دخول بيت النساء والغزلة دخول مع المجم

الي سلم ذلك البيت الذي هو فيه وبربح الكلام ولاحظا لوقتنا

لبشرته بعض نسائه

وفي أقصى أرض الصين بلد قائل لا سيد لكل من ذهبتا برج

* كنسى 69 5

من كتب: 5
للقراءة من المسافين أو غيرهم استرطنوا ولم يجد منهما البكاء للهبر وكثرها خبرها وروا ذهب لغيرها وراضي السين ما بينisible وراضي التغزور والبئث واللغة الفارسية وانتهت فروى بالله موضعها بين اراض السين ورهن والأرض العربية والمغزور ومصر فارس (و) وبعضها في مكة الصين وبعضها في مكة النبرد ولم شبه بالسنين والترك والرند ولها ملك مستقل بانثة ولغتهم مختلف سائر اللغات ومن خاصة بالله عم دخل وسكنها يكون موسرًا ضاحكاً أدناه من غير أن يغفر سمائه وللا بير في همز أباه ومن الثمانة جنس يقال إن أراد يسكنون بلاد هذا وموضع يقال انا البئثة أعجاب فيها أجام ومنوع ورائع لم وهم من أهل النافانية إذا مات تبت خافاقان ولم بيف لم نسل ول الأهل النافانية أحياء اختعوا منمز رجل وجعلوا للفانين واسم الموضع الذي يقال له باب البئثة هو باب بتين بين جبل شبرو وة وادي خرباء على حاشية ضعيف بين من الشور والتراب ورها مساحة أهل البئث أخذوا الراح من كل من سكان تلك الأرتفاع وانخروا من كل أربعين وثمان ورها البئثة جنس يقال إن تلك ركاباً وهم فقراء ضعفاء ولم معاقد النهل والضصة يعمر في الجبال وبعضها في التراب فالأقصى منها في الجبال يؤخذ منه القطر الكبار من الأزهر مثل رؤوس الجبال والجبل إذا أزم لم يجوز من إنشاب مثل زيم ويزعمن إن من أخذ منها ضباً وقع في بيطه السوث فذ يزال كنّن ذانى يرزقه [20] إلى موضعهم من الجبل فيماضى يرتفع النهر عن الماء ينتظرين به من ذلك المعبد هو ما يتقطع من التراب ومنه ينذر البخاج وخرجهم على رأسهم وفرق راكب راكب جنس آخر من البئثة شبه الأذراك اصجاب راكب راكب
موارج وخيام ووى لموضع إلى حدود تثبت خلقان ممبارة عشرين
ورى وهاك لموضع يقال له زابُن! وفي هذا الموضع زربة وعين أحمد
شطبة ووا لنرى إلى الشرق حتى العين والباب الغربي حتى
النهر ونضرب الصين ومстьمة إلى شط هذا النهر ونعبور
إلى الجانب الآخر في مركب قد أخذوها من السحاب والبحم ونب购置
وباملرين اهل النهار وينصرعون في يومهم ذلك
ومؤانا السك السموى إلى النهد فإلى أجر أتباع السك وأذاها
واجهة وهو شرارة دائرية شبه ضاحية الظهار وانها تليق في وقت
معلوم من السنة يجري في شرها كرم السك يقيض الى من
سائر البيض ويغشي الورم والريح في راسها وأي الشمع
بدلاً أفتيت موضع في تلك البري قد اعتبت الساحة فيها مائية عن الحلف
والنها حتى تسقط سريراً متورمة من كثرة الدم وما قطت قزرها
أيضاً ومنها ما تكون هناك ومنها ما تبَّا ونجى إلى أري ونتجع
في تلك الساحة شرمنها وتأتي عليها السنين وقد هدالأدم ويبين
واستعمال مسأله نحن يخرج شباب النهار وقت الأمطار إلى تلك المفاوئ
فيراً وفخروا على ما زال في منا وفواج فيهم مأمونا
ورينا خاب شعيم

الباب الثامع

ف للترك

الترك أصولاً عظيمة كتبة الأجناس والأتباع كتبة القبائل و
الأنساب وممن سالدو البلد والقرى ومنهم سالدو البراء

سالمٌ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ 

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النازور

ومن قبل مقدم الخليفة الغزية وهم اثناما عشر قبيلةً يسيء بعضهم
لمتجرعه ويعصي إيداعه ويعصي أوحه (لا) وهم يسيئ غزائنه ولهم جنرال كبيراً وكان للسلاجق في القسم (1486) الفنلزك، وأهمته جارية
وكلهم الشامية يكلم الطعام عند كل يوم ثلاث مرات ويسكنون ثلاثة
نائماً بعد الطعام وقد يبرى ملتهم العافية كل في الصبح مرتين.
ورغم حرمان في السياسات ويعصرن سائر البلدان ويعصرن الدويلات
والعصاب، أصحاب اليمن والجوارات، ويرفعون خماداً بلاد ما وراء النهر
وبعضهم يذبح أرض غزازم فتاناً صنعوا بلدة للاسلام اسم بعيم
ففسروه الترقبية وصر بنهم ويبينهم أنهم يسمون مشاً وقُدُر
الساسون منهم وعشي إسلامهم وغاليهم الذفوة وطروهم فتغوا
من خارجهم إلى صالح البنانية وانشروا الترقبية في بلاد المسلمين
وأحسنوا فيها السيرة حتى مملوا أثرهم وصاروا ملوكاً وسلطنين
ومشموناً فيمن فقته يقال له نورين أ.Interval من أرض قتالهم وهم مستحنين
من قتالهم وهم نصارى نسطوريين كاروا مرزهم لهذا العري
عليهم منهم الدوالي بين عزراراً خارجهم شاهد بما يبيعهم. أما يقول له قايد
هم أكثر منهم عدوى وأشد وفوقو، وأجلوهم على تلك البرмол اتارعوا
إلى أرض الشام، وإنجي الشام إلى أرض الترقبية وانتقلت الترقبية
إلى مشترى الغزية وانقلت الغزية إلى أرض البنانية بالقرب من ساحل
جهر辀نة.  

ومنهم ذكرهم ومعنا ك لديه ومن سكانهم بين السفري الصغير
وينصיחוד، والوفاء في شامهم ويعصي وخيله في متربة ويفارك
بين الغرب الشرقي وبين البنين، ومن عادة السفاح: أن يجيبون
مماشياً، ويتسرون أن الناس نغافهم وتتنقيمهم، وكان ذلك دايمًا

بجهر الرومية مع أنببيه في فتكار، 3: الشطر، 18.
في القيم فلم يجروا المسامين سأروا يدعون الرؤية وفي خزي رجل من عاشمهم قلب يغيبون يستمعون كل سنة في يوم معلوم ويخف عليه الغدرين بإصبع الزليمة وما أشبه ذلك وأخرون في الشرب والقنف فإنما طاب مجدوم مشى على هذا الرجل وسقط بالصواب ثم تناولت في كل السنة من الأحداث ففيما أدرك من خصي وحبيب ومنطر وقطرى يخبر ذلك ويستدرون أن ذلك حرف وفي ارض خزي أربعة أوجه تجري وتنصب في وادي عين يشتر فيهما بين جبال وأعوام طبيعة ويحسن أن رجلا من خزين كسرة سفانتها وأرسلها في ذلك الوادي فسارته به ثلاثة أيام فكل يوم لم يرى في هذه الأيام إلا شمس ولا كبريت ولا ضوء ثم تلقى بعد ذلك إلى ذيلا وألم فضما فخيم من الساعة فسمع وقع حرف الدهب فأدرك إلى شهر ينتظر العالم فإذا هو بتلالة من الفرسان طوال طويل كل واحد منهم فيه شاهد ديقع طويل وافاد معهم كل بك في عالم المفرة فأسماه قررد منه ورأوه تزاح عليه وأنزله أحدهم وأخذه على دابة وسطى عن الكلام فوعادا أن ترجعوا وأترا به موقع رجلا طالما فقد ظاهر خيما وأطمعو من طعامهم وجعلوا يعتيزون منه كأنهم لم يروا مثله ثم أخذوه بعفاض وأتي به إلى قرب موقعه وأرشده الطرق حتى رجع إلى موقعه ولا يعرف أحد من كان هناك والياً جنسيهم من الناس ومنهم المرضية وكانوا يسنون جبل تونس وهو الجبل الذهب وكانوا يسلون الأذن والذن واصفروا عليهم وخرجوا إلى بلدان الترسيبية وغصبروا واستروا عليهم وقروا سلطانهم ومنه خرجوا إلى بلد الإسلام وهم تسع فرق ثلاثة جمعية وثلاث بعصيفية (6) وواحدة بليغة وواحدة غريبة وواحدة عربية ومنهم كلاك وهيم لونهم ليس لم قرى ولا بيوت وإنهم أصاب

(6) الكابكي (2) 6 توس 3 ضغط 4 أخذية
غايتي ومشاجر وسياحة وكلاً، ولم بترع عنهم كثير ولا يكون
عنهم إلٍّ إلى الليل ولا يغتنم في أرضهم أكثر من سنين ولا يكون عنهم
معه ورغم عمل الناجح اليوم في الفتح من فتى متأمر وسرير وسرير
وعناينهم في الصيف في أن البند في النهار المظلمة ونكر الناحية
وعلى نفسهم حتى تقع النافحة بقدر قامة مثلك إذا وقعت مثل ذلك فهل يا
دوليكم إلى ناحية الخيرية إذا كان بينكم ملك ولكم في أسرار [116]
قد اشترى الشتائم وهمرون فيها أيام النبر الشديد فإن الإدماع الشروج
بكراً مائدة السمر والقائم وغيره غداً على خشبة طول كل واحة منها
ثلثة أذنبو في عرض شر فدحه أحد رأسها مرتفعًا مثل صدر السفينة
ويبدوها على جناحيها مع الضف، ثم يبث على علائها فنيعته على التاريخ
شبيهة السفينة التي يشط خياب الماء
وعلى يمين هزال الكباليتين تلك أم يعودون النبار والبيعة، وم
ينبأون مع العرواء ويعاملونهم بالإشارة من غير أن يكون شرهم
منناطقية بالنساء بخيل الغريب سمعته على خشبة ونجم الكباليتين
ففيض عرض السلمامة إزاءها فإن رضي صاحب السلمامة أخذ العرض ورغم
ما على خشبة وله لم يمض قدره وأثر ما يامتسره العلماء الشريفة
والرب الشرير وهم يصومون في السنة يومًا واحدًا وعمقون مواسم ولا
يكون في المحيط ويقولون إذا تزعم بقضاء الله تعالى
ومتنسب إلى القبلة من كبار (أليس وقاص لرسوله (04) لم يئبن
على حجة ومسانده في السفاح والغياث شناء وصم وبشري
والجبيلية (14) سبارة يتنوعون مواقع القطر والطلاء، وبكل أرض
سيتغلق مسيرة ثلاثين يومًا في ثلاثين يومًا قد أحاط بهم من كل جهة
أم كثيرة ففي ناحية الشمال منهم بالثقاف، وففي ناحية الجبل
في المغرب، والأدنى من ناحية المشرق، بلاد الغزوة، وناحية
خضاف
الغزب بلاد الصالحية، و هنأ الأم يغزوون الجاهلية، والجاهلية تعزوهن، والجاهلية تبَّت ودواب وغنم ونَفاث وذيب وفَضْع وأصالة وأعلام، الفرائد، وبين الجاهلية وغزوة مسيره عصرة، ايمان في مفازة ومشارك، ولا يعمر طريق مسلكًا، لأما يٌقطرون بالكرب، والعلمات، ولا الاختفاء، فينال، فتلاهم عريضة ويكفل أحد جناباتها، إجلب ظهير، وهو الجبل الذي ينزل في أقصاء، جزءًا من الأركان. يقال بالإحساء، طوالًا والإخاء، توجه ويعتلي هذا الجبل إلى الباطنة، ومدى سارعُها، وللمدينة أخرى يقال لها إسحاق، ومدى سارعُها، ومدى سبايروها، يذهبون إلى العصر، عند أقاب الربع، يُضيرون فيها جميع وصين وفَتَّالى يركب في عشرة، آلاف فارس إذا خرج في وجه ورمهم إذا خرجوا في وجه أن يحل كل فرد من فرسان من فرسان، ويربط من الطرفين، حتى تجد، فإذا نزل الفراء في منزلة، كل واحد من فرسان، يزاله في الأرض يجالس، وسدت إليها الراسة، ويعبر، السلطات، في كل من ساعته، فلا يبدأ أحد على سعي، ورمهم، فنادى号召، من فرسان، بلاد الخراسان، بلاد الجُرَّاد، وبين الغزب، مسرية خشبة، عشروين، وهم في طاعة شاكرين الفراء، ويرفع منزهم عشرة آلاف فارس، وليس أ مر، يُبْحَر، ويحوز شامه علما، وفي كل مخلة، لم يَؤْقَم، أيها، فيما يقع بيني ورَم، وأمّ الرواية، وهم في مشاجر، هم يَخَنُ، على بكتير، على الجاهلية، ورم روا، ونَفاث، وأمّ الرواية، إذا أدرك الداربة منزهم، تُرُك، طاعة أُمّا وأختارت، لمن، يُوعِد، وفَتُّالى يركب في عشرة، آلاف، فارس إذا خرج في وجه ورمهم إذا خرجوا في وجه أن يحل كل فرد من فرسان، ويربط من الطرفين، حتى تجد، فإذا نزل الفراء في منزلة، كل واحد من فرسان، يزاله في الأرض يجالس، وسدت إليها الراسة، ويعبر، السلطات، في كل من ساعته، فلا يبدأ أحد على سعي، ورمهم، فنادى号召، من فرسان، بلاد الخراسان، بلاد الجُرَّاد، وبين الغزب، مسرية خشبة، عشروين، وهم في طاعة شاكرين الفراء، ويرفع منزهم عشرة آلاف فارس، وليس أ مر، يُبْحَر، ويحوز شامه علما، وفي كل مخلة، لم يَؤْقَم، أيها، فيما يقع بيني ورَم، وأمّ الرواية، وهم في مشاجر، هم يَخَنُ، على بكتير، على الجاهلية، ورم روا، ونَفاث، وأمّ الرواية، إذا أدرك الداربة منزهم، تُرُك، طاعة أُمّا وأختارت، لمن، يُوعِد، وفَتُّالى يركب في عشرة، آلاف، فارس إذا خرج في وجه ورمهم إذا خرجوا في وجه أن يحل كل فرد من فرسان، ويربط من الطرفين، حتى تجد، فإذا نزل الفراء في منزلة، كل واحد من فرسان، يزاله في الأرض يجالس، وسدت إليها الراسة، ويعبر، السلطات، في كل من ساعته، فلا يبدأ أحد على سعي، ورمهم، فنادى号召، من فرسان، بلاد الخراسان، بلاد الجُرَّاد، وبين الغزب، مسرية خشبة، عشروين، وهم في طاعة شاكرين الفراء، ويرفع منزهم عشرة آلاف فارس، وليس أ مر، يُبْحَر، ويحوز شامه علما، وفي كل مخلة، لم يَؤْقَم، أيها، فيما يقع بيني ورَم، وأمّ الرواية، وهم في مشاجر، هم يَخَنُ، على بكتير، على الجاهلية، ورم روا، ونَفاث، وأمّ الرواية، إذا أدرك الداربة منزهم، تُرُك، طاعة أُمّا وأختارت، لمن، يُوعِد، وفَتُّالى يركب في عشرة، آلاف، فارس إذا خرج في وجه ورمهم إذا خرجوا في وجه أن يحل كل فرد من فرسان، ويربط من الطرفين، حتى تجد، فإذا نزل الفراء في منزلة، كل واحد من فرسان، يزاله في الأرض يجالس، وسدت إليها الراسة، ويعبر، السلطات، في كل من ساعته، فلا يبدأ أحد على سعي، ورمهم، فنادى召
وأذكر أشجارهم المثمرة ولم زراع وسعة أرضهم مسيرة سعة عشريهما في منتهى وليس لم ثارا وشرام من العمل واللغويه قوم من الترك لم أرا كثرة يتسع مائة فريدة فين ورئيس يلب في مدار عشري الفارس ويسكن رسم كندها وعلي هذا اسم شعار ليلهم وهم أهل قباب يسيرون مع الخلاة والخبث وحده من بلادهم ينصل يطر الروم وبهذا نورا يجاب في ذلك الرجل أحسنها البر والجبل ومصارب الجباره بين هنين الزرني واسم الزرني روآ وآذل وبلاد المباركة ذات مشاجد ولهم [21] مزارع وهم يغلبون على من ليس من الصحابة والروس ويسعون منهم ويجعلون السيايا الى الروم فيبيعون هناك والأخيرة زوا وقليمة حرة وعشياء غضب ولام روا وآمانة عظيمة للنوراء تبادراتم وإما الصالحة فهم أمة كثيرة وبين بلادهم وبلاد البيضاء مسيرة عشرة أيام في مفازة وأرضين غير مسالك فيها أشعار ملتقية وعجينة ماء وهم نزلون في تلك المشاجر وليس لثم كروم ولهم عمل كثير وهم يدركون المناجر وهم يحرقون القوين بلألهم عنية النيران وآكله زروهم الدخن وشرام من العمل ولم ضروب من المزارع ولهم مزارع منهم وشركهم من العمل لم ليس لهم مسيرة في الصيد ولا سماع الملوى مستوية وليس لم سمعة في المجمعه ولا سلامه المزارع والرجال وسرية حسنة ورئيسهم الكبير يسيع شوبه وله خليفة يقال له شرح (؟) ونملك دواب ونلبي إماراتق كنون تعامه وتسقى المدينة التي ينزنا خزائنا (؟) ويا لى لم شوف في كل شر من شرمن عنه يشتري البر حتى لا يجدون أسرى عبية ويشوفون بالخضر تم يعذرون نجاح الرؤى والجلب و يقيصون فيرا ش strs و في الشتا فغير السغيرة عليها ولهم [20]
ربما يكون ما يغير بعضكم على بعض
واتم الروسية فم يسكنون جزيرة في البحر ومسيس الجزيرة
تلغه أيام في مثلها وفيها مشاهد وخيال وحراري بحيرة وهم لذين
العديد ويزرون المعاص والكبساء في السيف وإذا ما مثل بناء
وعيون نفخاء ماله إلى البنات وأدرعوا البنين بالسيف ويعلون إن
أباه كان يكسب المال بالسيف فافقدوا به واختنقو فيه وكان نسهم
على ذلك إلى أن تنطروا في شتى سنة ثلاثة(3) فما دخلوا في
المنصاتة لهن الدين لسومر وانثى دورهم باب ألكس وقادتهم
الضر والنهام والضاقت الشيعة عليهم متمازج في الإسلام لباث(4)
النفوذ والمهام وینتصروا [دکع] بالعود إلى بعض ما كانوا عليه
فكروا برضاء إلى ضاحية خرابز وهم اربعة فنهر مقراب(3) ملاذ(5)
فإن أن لم نكن قائنا صدى مستقلة بنفسه وناصب ملائم بولابرذ كما
يقلب ملك التتر بنفاقا وملك بلخار بطاطر فورت رسال درمر
وأدرعوا الرسالة فشذ إلى خراشمها حيث رقيقة في الإسلام فاتقذ الله
من مثالي شرائع الإسلام فاسموا وهم أناس أقوم أشنئ يساورون
رجالا إلى المواضع الناشفة للغزو ويسافرون أيضا في السفن في
بفترن ينزلو البركة ويسألون الأمواج ويسافرون إلى
oples في بحر نبط وسلاسل في جليها ولقد سافروا
مرة في بحر الخنزير واستروا على برقة زنات ويسألون ويضتتم
معوية حتى أن واحنا من مليك يئز تحبة من جميع الأم ولواك
لم دوروا وفرونا لاستعاذة بالله على الناس
قد تكررت من أنجاس الترك وأحوالهم ما اشتهر وما استفاد من
غير تسعه ولا تقول إنه أنجاسهم وأحوالهم وسيرة ورسومهم
واعادتهم أكثر من أن جال استفاءها بالذكر والوصف
قال إبراهيم أن في أمر أوروبى، فأنى من أم وأمر يليك ينفغم بعضاً ولا ينفغم خيره. وكذلك على الله ملكه ينفغم بعضاً إلا أن الله عافى الله ناشئاً في الكرة والكرش ناشئاً في الكرة. وقال جالينوس أن الناس الذين ينفغمون سعة واعدة هم المازحنون الجهل الأعظم. قال إبراهيم أن أغنية الكرة والكرش ينفغم بعضاً إلا أنه عافى الله من سائر الناس فانقل لا ينفغمون لا في سرعه ولا في عذبية مقال وأبداً من الليل مارس ينفغم غفلاً عافى الله الطيور في السماء لم تكن له قوة بما قا إبراهيم أن والد الكرش جيداً رزقته كفرة الباه والصاهرة.[23] والعاديات، وأما الكرش قذاع ليس لم أهل شاقة يشقارون بها وأما قا إبراهيم يمكن أن مع ا всюrece مغارة لا تنير إلى له الكهنة المازحات الرطبية ينفغمون لحاحاً كثيراً رضي بأيا سميت ضيوعاً فصاعاً.

ممازح الكرش أن ذلك ضعفة يشماره.

قال إبراهيم ونكروه بطوركم ضعفة جاذب وتنفغم انفراذات كثيرة وذلك أن بطوركم لا يمكن أن تفرغ وتنبئ في مثل هذه البلاد ومن مثل هذه الطبيعة والطبيعة. قال ونكروه بأدبادزم ضعفة جاذب جذاعاً اضطراب وقلق من هذه الطبيعة لا تكون كفرة الباه وذلك لا تريش شروك البلج إلى النسيان والباعضات على طرق لم زاجب وليل الدببه وقبيل وقال في موضوع آخر أن نساهم إما تقل أولاده إلى بطولزج وبرموتها لأن الأرجام لا تستطيع أن تُنفغمات الكفرة والمذنبرة ولان ينير النسيان.

الكاهن بكر في كل شيء لا يكون_ap على ما يبتغي وذاك أن طلالة ينفغم بكر كتلة بذرة طوله إما أن والأرجام مذنبرة منسدة بكفرة الباه كما أن أبادزم كفرة لسميت كذلك لا حالة تكون أنفغمات الأرجام رسمية ولا كانت الأعضاء المزمولة.
العريفة منفتحة السباق والامامة فيدخل فذلك الأفضاء السهينة تكون ضيفة الدخول فإنها العمل لا يخلو كثير وقال جالينوس إن قلة خيارية تكون من أسباب منها ضيق عنف الحال ومنها إن التواء البادية التي تكون في الرم يكون ضيقه بسبب البد والرطوبة فين فلا تختلط امكاني بفترة فينسنداً لنبي قبر وصوله إلى مستطاع الطاقة ورموته وقال جالينوس في موضوع آخر أن نساء الترك لا يحملن كافراً لفصاحته ودفنتن نامانًا الإنا والويلدات التي لم فالنام في أناس وأهيل مينثنتن أباً أنبازن ونتجز الفضل الكنية التي فيها ونحت بها أراملن فيبكيان سريعاً واكبر أولاً حنًًه وقال (24) ابفراق فإن كثيراً من الترك كما ذكرنا ما فيل أرون كمالهم لا يقدرون على النساء ولهذا الذي كره قد يدعو ويشاكل في شفاه بعض بالهم فاما الذين يسكنون البراري والعوارض وتنقلن شتاءً وعمان فهم أنشأ الناس بأمام أصبهن على القتال والصروهم فربما فرقتهم لم إماراء ومالك يطعنونهم ويعيدونهم على أرامهم وأزههم وفملة للطاعة عليهم لضيهم ولا يلزمهم أحد وهم أشترهم أمام ونحدهم وبسالة وقزاق ابفراق أن من أهل أسياهم من لا طاعة عليهم ولا يحكمنهم مثل الريثيين والبروك فإذاً أفراء يكرون أفسهم ولا يبالون عليهم حقيقيه فثعلون ويثنون لأنفسهم لا تكرههم ولا يكرههم أشد إنداهم وصوله وقتلهم من أسر الناس وأعيبهم على معاربة من تجارهم يأخذون الغنائم لأنفسهم بالسوا وقال جالينوس أن نساء هولاك محارين مثل الرجال وأنهن يفضن ينفون الأذن والفك وينفحن أباً وظنن فإن عقيرات الليل وقد كثر ابفراق هولاك النساء.
في بعض كتب وسماحين أمازونسية ومعناها دورات ذات ولود
لطفة جال التي ولا يمكنه من قطع الألوح افتتاحها إلى رفع
او رفعها واستقاء النسل وأما يقعها الواحد لنا يتغير عن
في النشأة على ظهر الفيل
وأما الفرقة التي لم سالك ورماء ورم كبير إلى وهم الذين
ذكروا قبل

ألياب للنائية
في اليمين

الند أمة عظيمة كنيرة الأجناس مثبتة الأزمنة متباينة الأدوار
و الديانات وهم سائر الربع المنوي من الأرض المسكونة وللاهم
كنيرة مثبتة الأرجا منظمة الأطراف إلى مناري الحياة حيث يتقطع
الحر والنسل وينتمى كون العيون
واجسام البشرة سبعة هم الشاكرية وهم أشراق جنسا
يسبدهن اجسام الأنين وهو لا سيفون لأحر وفبرن البحار
ومزون
الراصية وفبرن الراصية دور الالك وهم سقين الشاممة [32]
والشيامنة لا يسقون ارم ومن جسرم من لا يشرب الضر والأنب
ومزون الكشرية لا يشرون فوق ثلاثة ولا تزوجهم الراشدة
وينزوجون [مزم] ومنزون الشاهدانية وهم أصحاب الزراعة والثانية
تتزوج منزون الكشرية وينزوجهم فانبا الراشدة فينزوجون منز
ثم يرجعون الرحمونه باب العرف ويهب الرحمونه الأخرى
4 ممز
3 ممز
2 ممز
1 ممز
الشاذة
وللازورجية 6 ومنهم البيشية 5 وفي جنسهم أعمال الصناعات والنز
لا يزورهم أحد من ذرئا ولا يزورهم منزم 7 ومنهم السندادية وهم
أعمال الحرير والذهب وفي نسائم جمال وهم أيضاً من فص الراهبة 8
حتى يتكبرن ديناراً من إجيري واليسرون أحد من تلك الأجباس 9
وهم الذين قسمن شبر أصاب غلب وعازف وهم في طريق السندادية
عند الناس والسندادية للمستعلومين ولا يزورهم ولمن لا يزورهم منهم
وإذا كابرهم وعلمهم فإنهم يزورون أنهم يدركهم ما أرادوا 10
ويشفرون به السبب ويتغفرون ملي شقي ويلفونه على غيره
ومنونا الده والطأر يزورون أنهم يريدون بها العباد ويفعلون بها
في الغائم ويعلون ويعلون ويدعون ويتغفرون وينفرون 11
ومناهل النهضيات وأهده العيون وأظهر الظالمين التي يشتهر فيها الأدب و
يثيرعقل الليف ومنهم السياقات 4 وهي الطلسمات الصعبة التي
يرفعونها ويدعونها ومنها اجهاذهم حب السطر والبرد وإقراض
هناك لهم حتى يعرض صاحب ذلك العلم في كل سنة شيئاً معلوماً 12
ومنهما علم الله ودعاهم في الله الأمور الصعبة في حفظ الصبر
ومنه نصبه وزيادة في الفتح والنهج وإبراز الدور الأدريبة
المستعمة 13 ومنها علم العصب والليدسة والمجيء وجمهم فيها
ومنه علم العام ولأبو وأناذ ابنا الذي الدار وعلم القرى النينهي
لا يبلغ مفلوم فيه غزيره 14 ومنه علم العرب وضروب السعب و
انزل [355] الأسابيع والسقوف التي يرغب بها النبل في الحياة مع
ضروب الطويل والنواحي والبرقات الموضوعة على ضروب الفيل والأسد
والبر وغير ذلك من الآلات التي صرت يفرغ قلوب الرجال
وفي هذا الجنس جموع يتجاوزون جبل جبل البدران 15 في شتى الهند
في بلد يقال لها قاموهم لإهم حظ من الرجال فرق ما لبيع الأمه

27 * Mس. 1 البشية 2 مس. 4 السماوات 3 مس. 6
فانتم الله والأمراء الذين في هذه الأجناس نعم وسع وتعمر
فرقتم بحراً آخرين وأربعين مهدباً فنبعم من نبعت الصلح ويعتمبر
بالأنبياء ومنهم من بنت الخلف فنيف الزجل والأنبياء ومنهم من بني
الخلف والزجل ومنهم من بني الخلف وبيت الله وبيت الثواب والمحاصور وهم
الشاميات ومنهم من قال إن الثواب والمحاصور الناصح في السعادة والشفاء
والبناة والمارية قدر العمل بل بدؤوا
فيليب بيل الخلف البحرة ذهباً أن رسول الله يوم ملكي الملائكة
يقال له بادير أهواهم في صورة البشر بسالة من غير كتاب لم أرى أحد
في إحدى سنتين مسألة وقنا مسألة ستة السنين وفي الثالثة سلم
يقال له مكث عنه على هيئة حلاله كبير حادثة الطرف وفي الجهد الرابعة
وكتاب وصولهم ولهما عشرة رأساً كثبت نفس رأس جديد ولهم في هذه الدنيا حيط تنسروه وقالنا إنه أمره أن يشيرون
على مثلهم صدقون ويخضون حوله كل يوم ثلاث مرات بالباحز و
وQuiet النص وان يصبحوا النصر ويصبحوا لما حيث تقرها وأن
لا يجزوا ن كثير ولا يدبن إذ جاوزه من البراءة
ومثل الخلوص أخذوا أن رسول الله يوم ملكي الملائكة يقال
له ما أدرى (اذا) فلهم في صورة البشر وهو زكمة النور على رسوله إنا نتولى
مكموم بعظام الموتى مرتاكبة يقال من أجل نود [ليتو] عسدات
والأخير زواج عتومتهم [و] يستقل ببطلان من ذنب الظالمين
أمه بصدق الله وإن نذروا على مثلهم صدقون وهم سيم
إلى الخلف ولا يذعوا في شيء لكل لسان كأنهم من صنع الخلق
وإذن يقثلون الباطنة ويتغزمو منها أكاليلا و[أن] يصعر
وجمع وأحاسهم الرماه وأن ين строки من أعظمهم إلى أبلههم يوقد
لولا أهاداً على طول ما بين اللعب لأوصواهم على ضروب من

(ارجع: 10630) شكر

M5
الأولان غير مكركة ولا هضينة، بغض على بعض الله، رحمند أوسامكم
بمعنى دلالة التذكير والتكافع، وجمع الأموال ومعاشكم، من الصدقة، وهم
بمعنى تيسير الرقي.

ومن نعم الكابينة، زعموا أن رسولهم ملك من الملائكة يقال له
شب أهله في صورة إنسان، يتسمح بالرود، على رأسه فلنسوةً. وفي
أبوه عمير، ثلاثة شهادع ضبطت على صلب من شبه إنسان، قد تقلد
وانتفخ وتسور وتحصيل من أعمق الناس، أحبه الله يحبه إنسان
والآخر طبل مثل المهاودة، وأسره أن يخترعون على مثل ذكر الناس
شيئًا مثيرًا، طلبه دجلان، وفطره ذرع، واسمه شبلانة، وتفسيره ذكر
المبتعث، وأن يعبدوا ذلك الذكر لازعم أن أسبب التناشل في العالم الدار.
فوم عراه ليس لم إلا فلنسوةً على ذلك الراحل. وقد علقوه من طرف
ذكراه جمعًا عظيمًا، نقيضًا، لا يذكر معه الأنسان، لضيوع الناس، لا
يروع الله منهم، إلا مثقل الله، وحرص فعليه ذلك الامتن. علف
من ذكرهم تقدز الله، ومنهم من يثبت جسدًا ثنيًا، ويلف منه
كلت الفناس أوى الصيد أو الرصاص، ما يعلق من الأجاند ذكر
بعض الفنوف على بعض كأن عنه البرع
ومن نعم الرامية، كان رمان ملكًا جليلًا، فتعبت طوره
وأسيه الرسالة والمصر، قومه بعبده، وزعم أن ذلك يؤدح إلى رضا
الله ورحمة [34] كنية
ومن نعم الرامية، كرا أن أرم يستخلص، بارو على الخائف لقبله
زيثه والذرة التي أعطاه صعبه، نبتهم
وإذا الذي أثبتوا الخائف والتموم، والفائض والععقاب، وما أثبتوا الرسالة
فوصل أن الله قد دعا الخائف إلى عادته، ولم يوجبهم إلى أحد
البنفلاج في قلوبكم، في تمجذى، ودغض الشر أن لا يأتي

شبلانة

21

22

23

24
إلى أخر لا يُرغم عنه من غيرهم فذلك شريعة لم في عقولهم ولا
حاجة بالله إلى عادنة الناس وعزموا أن عوضوا إلى العبادة بإستعمال
العقل و علينا طباعة الأمور ومن هؤلاء من قال أنه لا يعذب
ذلك حتى يمدد جسده ويشغله طبيعته بأنزع العذاب التي لا يكون
معهم فرغ للطغيان ولا نشوف إلى جرح
ومنهم من يعم إعابة الحق والإفهام على حقيقة الأمر في
إفلاس اللباد واذابة المسا ونها إذا كانت النفس تُتَنسحب كام و هي
التي تفرر كل فائدة وتنتبه عن كل كريهة
ومنهم أهل ملة الرشيدة وهم قرمو عطلوا المرآى بطول الفرار
وشعروا أنه يجعلهم المائدة حتى استفدوا منهم ما وضعنا له أكلت
والآداب والرق خاصنة ووضع النبل يقدون النفس الأذان من
النبت والعيش [و] يأمون الشرق والعيش عامه دههم معينه
أُعيهم عاملة فاقتهم
ومنهم الكريبيته عين العادات وال겁 بلغ الأمور ولام لايشتون
من أبدال الأفجع وأوصون أوسلام إلى صورهم العالم لأن لايشتون
بطورهم من كثرة العلم وليس يعانون أحد ولا يكذبون حتى يذيل في دينهم
ومنهم أهل ملة الله باستثناءهم ممتلؤون في جميع البلاد فن
ستنما إذا أذننا نحن ذئب وفلك ونأحضر ساحة فضن تأه
حيث كان من أؤت الله ولا إله إلا هو نزور ذلك ويشتقل فيه
فأث네요 كم لفظة لندن إن مات في سقوت فقيل [ل] ذاك منه
ومنهم الراجحيتهم وهم شيعة الله في دينهم خذلا اللوك
وتأذن سلطانم بقولون ما تصنع بالمعاد لى أنفسنا لم يدفع معكم
والوجه يعفون وهم أثيوت للملأ على العربية البسيط والطري وأصبهم
عند اللقائих وأقامن جرحا وأقنعن باليسير إلى وقت الانتقاقات
كنبت تره [م] الكربنة ١٠٣* ص ٦٨ ص ٦٨
ومنهم الفادره(1) ومن شتائم تطويل الشعر وإسلامه جميع
حورت الرأس بالضراء ويتظرون من تحت شعرهم على أشبة أخرون
أيهم من أكواخا في ملتقى بين أديم وخلقيم وغزوا صدرهم و
ظروهم وشظوا أبوابهم السلال مع كل رجل منهم رجل يسأله تلك
السلسلة هل تعهده أن ينهم لما قد أته في القوة والأيد لشئ دعه فيه
هؤلاء الذين لا يذرون الضوء ويجريون إلى جليل لقى له حوبر وتجوؤون
عليهم الأمر ومعجون جهنم الذي أعده الأرض من حليبدار
وجبلان من نسلامه ودام من كهله والخير والنبات من شعور و
يغمون آلام كانوا ثلاثة إغراء بادرة وجمره ومرض
ومهمهم المقالب اللحية لم صمبه يقال لمراكب يزعمون انهم
يستيق العابد لعظم قدره ولنباذ عن أربع أبدا ولونه أسافين
كثير الشعر كأوهل الناب كأطف البطيخ على تاج جله فقل ينظر منه
الدم في أذنه ثعبانا مع ثربان آخر
ومهمهم السياجية ومن شتائم أن يمشوا سنويا يملون على جبل
قد كتب فروع قلبا رفيعا مهبنون العبادة ويطوفون به على الناس
معم الحازب وضروب اللعب ولا تبقى يوم مند زائدة في البلد الال
حشرت مع الشهوق زجاجة بين ديبور وحيى على الفيلة والضيل
عليها الطوي النفس الكثير تكل بالرحون يطوفون بها وذلك في مصل
الربيع ثم بدرت إلى موضعه وربما السهول خفائه في شجر وجوه
الناس من مضغى من المهاو ورؤساء البلد وأصحاب الملك وضروالرباع
والشعر والسباع فقيل(2) الناس في ذلك اليوم وهو وراءهم(3)
فما إذا انقضى العيد وذكى كل الاجرامه
ومهمهم الفردية ومن سننهم أن يجذبوا عنها على صوره امرأة
على رسما تناج و فيما بين أنايرة سيف مسلول وشاة آخر

(1) مئة بروتين (2) مئة بروتين (3) مئة بروتين
من الأسماح وأخرى فادها جعلت الشمس السحرا تتبعاً لنا وعهد
معهما بين يدّي الفن والشيوع من النيب وأفخان الشجر ما قدروا
عليه. وكذلك انزع الكتاب وأيوب النازرين من الفن والبقرة بسرير
ويحرون لها العارفة فادها طمطت ترسلها أطباقها بالسيرف
بين يد الفن ويتولون من أضواء الإلهيمة قرآناً، للحقّ أن
الناس بحرون من الغلبة في تلك الأيام، وادماً ملوكهم فاتهم أخرون
رحالم أشقر أثرق وسنعون بين يدّي الفن خنقرًا أو شيئًا مثله
وأخرون بسهر للفن على الغلبة وقد شديد الأسلاك في رسائلهم
السواكن ضربة على رأسه ضربة يدخل الأدبيكا في رأسه حتى يعقل
إلى حباه فينعته المها كالسوار، به ثواب الدنيا والآخرة ثم
يتعرّون وبرون سورة ظلم ولبوبة وأكلة وشربة، وهذه مدة مجهزة
عند جميع الناس.

ومنى العبادة، يعني عبادة السماء، وهو يزعم أنّ مع السما، ملكاً
والله أصلى كل نصر، فيه قرام البهجة وهو يزور البكاء، والغيرة و
الردة والمرارة، ويدخل الرجل فيه إلى مساعه وهو يقوم فيه ساهين
أو أكثر، ويدهى اتباع الخاليين من نقطه، مغارة ورين القطة، بعد
القطعة في اليوم، وهو يساع وبقاً إذا أراد الإنصرف احذى اليوم
مقطعي على رأسه، وعلى ما ظهر من وجهه ثم يسيء له وينصرف
ومنى الأندلس، وهو عبادة التاريخ ويعتبر فيها أحدها
مرتعاً، وتهزؤون علىها ويتطغون عليها ويتغرون فيها من الأطعة
والبسوتة والطبل والدموع والجمعة، ويعزروها، وهم ملوك
وعمات، ويقولون أنّ النار أشرف العناصر الأربعة، وأكبرها جهراً، و
ينبئون [556] من أخرى نفسه النار، ويقولون إنه تجسّن النار
ومنى فرقة ينبدون القهر وينبرّون أنّه ملك في الملائكة
يقطعه، ينطه، ثمّ ينبرّون
ويُتبعون له صيغة "أربيعه [نطوط] وسيدام جهر
وهم يعمرون النصف من كل شرير ولا يفترون حتى يروا الإبل و
يصفعون السفوح عند الرمل ويَحِيكون النِّبْح وظروا اليه على
وجه حكيم مينزلنا وأنطروا وصبروا وروكروا بين بقعة الصنم
وبمن ثم قمل يعبدوه لثمان وقدمًا أربيعه [نطوط] وله قلعة السيد
فؤاد ويد الدعوم جهره على لوزة النار وبيجوم أن الشيخ ملك
من الملائكة ويتقارون ببي السهور والطواب والجر بن ألف ونوع
المزاير وله ضياع وغفلة ولهم فيه ضروب من الزوايا والثمرة
وبمن ثم يراونا (4) ومن سنتهم أن الرجل من ذهم يدخل الغبار
وحل من الفرقة أقطعة كالنافذة حالان إذا لم يلحنون مواحم تدخن البلد
ويتخي الناس وناحي ويقول أيها العمامة الذين أسرم الحراش
واستمعوا الطبع حتى متي تكهنون آمرًا كم وتتقديمون إرادكم ومثل
هذا الغرب منظلم
وبمن ثم العبار الدهرية 5 يعتني الذين يلبسون ورق الأشجار وهم
فرقة يسلون الغياض وينبسو ورق شبر يقال للبحرية وأوراق الغبار
كلئب الراص وليغطروان الناس ويبقرون الرياح والusz وينقولون
إنا نعتض بهذى رفع البيت ورفع الفنر بأجر العين وملبس
الشيطان
وبمن ثم الامبركرية يعتني البشريون 6 بالوحش يشكون على
أربيعه وأطروان الجماعين بأفراحهم للجميلين ورسوم ولا يستعملون
حيلة في دفع أن ينزل عن الوحش ولم يعود ذلك فرق ومناهب شنيعة
وبمن ثم فرقة يبرقون انسرم بالنيراب وهم فرقة يغرقون
انفسهم في الماء ومنهم فرقة يتعصون من الطعام حتي يمرونا فرمًا
مابوا في عشرية ومابوا بقولي للنبي يومنا [36]
ورغم فراق يُعْمُر على وُجُوههم في البراري حتى عُي珺وا و رغم من يٌعَمَر نفوسهم من جبل شاهق عندهم، فقد نُغَن تحت الجبل شعرة من العديد لا يُساء و جُهرت صُناعة فُتَرُح نفسه عليها من الجبل حتى يَنْفَحّ قطعاً و لم يقال هُم كثيرة في البتراء والبريّة في بيتها (١) يَنْزِوون بها و اثنا مَعْقِدُون التناسخ.

ولكن ملكهم يرَون الزمان مباعًا إلا ما يُكَسَب قيمته يَحْرِم الزمان و لا يَشتر هذا ملكهم، بل يُبْقَى في الزمان، ويصلب عليه بالفترة و لا يَقع إلى الأبد. وهم يَحْرِم من الذيّن_{ كُرَّتَاهَا وَلِفْتُرَشُّها وَبُحِبِّهِمْ بَلْغ مَعْلُومًا عَلَيْهِم إِلَّا أنّ فِيلته قَلِيلَةٌ، وَهُمْ يُثَبَّتُون إن فِيلته أَجْرآً على القتال وأقره من جميع الفيلة و يُصِيب إن من الفيلة ما يَزيد سُكْنًه على عشرة أَدْخُل وِقِيل إن فِيلته لا تُزْدَى على نسماة أَدْخُل إِلَّا أنّ دوْنَه بِاذًا يُقال إن الأفْناب و عِلَّمهم كانت إِمْرأً وتَاذم وَلَا من الفيلة ما يزيد سُكْنًه على عشرة أَدْخُل إلى اثني عشر ذلًا، و بِهِم مَلَكُه يَقَلُو يَلْبِرُّوا في بَلْدَتْيّ نِفْسُه و خَبَرُه من الأُمّّا و هي مَسْلَة واسعة نَشُرَ الرجالة وَمَر حَاوْلَة من اللُّوَك يَنْتَقُدُون لِهِ وَ في هَذِه المَسْلَة مَلَكَ فِيِّنْه مَلَكُه يَقَلُو له الفاكهة و هو قليل في كلّ مَسْلَّة إِلَّا أن حُكّم أَمْلَاعُ البلاد و فَهَّل مَسْلَّتْه شَمَّر و يِبْطِيّه و يِنْيُمِهِم إِلَّا أن حُكُمهم وَهُم يَسْتَفْعَه و يَقْبِلُونَ من دؤَبهم و هو شَفِّيق فيهم و بَلَّا الأَفْناب بِهِم المَلَكُ وَيَبْنُوَّج مَنْه وَلا يَتْرُوج من غَيْرِه وَفي غِيْبَةٍ النَّحْرُ الأَفْناب.
في وسط الطريق ليجسر أحد ان يأخذ و يمضى وقال له إفراد و مطاليد و مقدمات و انتشار من بلاد العرب يقدرون في المغتال و الإحسان و السرور و مساعدات يتبع النجوم 
[60] خمسة腳مة واللمسان و الإحسان و مساعدات يتبع النجوم 
و الملاسم التي يقال لها الطاعية على مملكة الله و يرقد كل دفعة متفاقم و إذا تخرجت تجارت ملك ممضى على مغتال و سامح و سجن و سمع و بلاده 
(50) ليقول للتجار والسلاسل أخبروا حيث شهد فإن مهدهن و خشبها شنقا فيزوا ميلا و إن ضحيه ألم ولمجيس كثير و قيلة كثيرة و هو يقفل بعبر و غزوة من البرك 
(49) و سخر من ملك يقتل له مجم والجيش تعرف تزعدم على غماسة الفي و الإيجار إلا في الشتاء لملاء تقف الصياح بحاجة للرئة يكذبون نبودة الأودية و في بلاده النقيب الياز زد لا يكون في غيرها مثله و منه ينحب النايلات التي يقال لها حارة شاهي و غيرها 
(51) في النوبات التي إذا أدرجت تشعر حلقة الطائر 
وعبر ملكي يقتل له فاهمون و مسلمون تتمب بلاد الصين وهو ملك قليل البيش و في باده أراضي ينثى فيها النجب قطعا ينجل الذئب و خبره و خبره من ذهب الصين 
(52) وهؤلاء البرك كلهم عمرو بن نجاة و عاود بن نجاء و لباد العيسى دم بلاد الكثيرة فيها مدينة يقال لها هكيرية و لباد سوف يخون فيها و فيها غلانون الكبدت و التمرس قفز و و بلاده متصلة بساحل بلاد الفنادق وهو مروي خيب و على سواحله مئات كبرى و واسعة و مفعمون فيها بالنبيه والوقت ألا أن الوعد عندهم أرتج من النجيب و يسكونه الكبب (1) و فيها أذاع نصب في

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الشعر في عصر الهلال والجزر من العام فيض
و تابع به بعد ذلك فرقة يقال لها بنو النبه ويزعون اسم ونرام
ين ين وهم مراك بن زيد وخطيب اللام السلامي ونبرهم علي
المصرية وكان لهما الملوك البنات تعيينهم وامراءهم في ابي بني بنها وهم يستغرون ذلك الأموال وتغذرون
[376] على ملوك النزاه وهذا الصنم لما خانه طلبه غشوان ذلقًا و
اكثر وهراعه صمس رجل وقوته سقف عليه والند يرجون أن هذا
السمن نزل من السماء وأمره بنحاده وإن السقف بُني منذ ألف
سنة وله سكنة يقيمون عليه والإندمود يقول الغانبه وتجوز
اليه من مسيرة سنة أو مثنتين تحققون روؤم عنده بيطوفون
ببعا على اليسار وتمكرون بين يديه ويبسطون ويخفون و
والأصمع ابتداءه حيث ما داروا استقبالهم ووجهًا فإذا غافوا بهم
له عندم كان زيد وقرا من الرجل منهم مسيرًا واصحابه للكتير نتجرالله
و أربعين مال و منهم من يجلب اليه الامل من مسيرة سنة ومنهم
البتانيين الصنم فقوله أينده لى امره ثم يقتل نفسه بين يديه
وألبنته لا يأتون النساء ولا يبتون عنها ولا يليسون أنلبية
النفصة و يضبطون إذا صاروا إلى الصنم وإذا دخل إليه الداخل بالنقاء
ركنه وينبسط له وجهه ويساله أن ينظر إليه ويرهبه وينمق وينضط
و الصنم مكر به في كل يوم إنهاء من المسيرة وقبلما كانت نبسط
بين يبه ورقته موزوعة فريضة جدًا وتمزغنا عليه الأقعة
مقدار قائمه الرجل ففيصفيص حول بيت الصنم المتقني والبحر
والجصب ورنا دار حوله مائة جاريتة ونفق عند الطعام واحدًا
من السيدة وشريك موزعوا كأنه يبرد الفهم ويعمل باب البيت
من يداوي ويقول قد أكل فأنا لا أأكل بيده بيوت متزلفة البيت
قد تعالى به ولم يبقي منه شيء ثم يطعم منه كل من حضر
عليه.  

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من الناس والدروات والسبع والطير ولا يَجِئ منه أحدٌ و
يقعون إن ذلك صعوبة في كل يوم
وكلون أباً إن بوجمى البطن دباراً من آخر قدم البلاد وإن
اهل مَلَكَة هم الله تعالى أهله وآباؤه تقيتهم الصالح من صمون و
هم عهد مرازين قد فارعت أعظمهم وقيلت جلدهم من كثرة الرماية في بقرون
أنفسهم [37] بين يديه وفعليه توجيه في ذلك الموضع نسوة ضارية تعرّفت على
جيف الناس ومنهم من كان يخالطهم كذلك سنة فتنة النصارى وقطع أعينهم
اواً وهم يصرون على ذلك ثم يتظبن لهم لأن فاولاً حتى يأتي على
جلته وبروا يتوقق بطريقهم وتأكل أمعاءهم وهم يرون ذلك تعالى
وبعدها وورة هذه السلكة ملكه بقال له الترسلون وأهل مملكته ألفٌ و
مداينة كثيرة وهم بيش ولأم شعروة ولونة تسليونا ورم خيل كثيرة
ومودة وسلطة وواسعة ووراءهم ملكه يقال له الموسوس وملاكنه مبنية
بقلابة ومنهم مسك كثيرة ووراءه ملك يقال له الموسوس تقبل مملكته
ببلاد العبر وقيل إن هذه الملوك الثلاثة الترسلون والموسو ومانك(1)
يقاتب بعضهما ولا يقابلون بعض دينهم الذي ملك الصلي الغناء وأقوى
سلتماً وأواهن بلاد هذه الملك ونهاها متيملت بلاد العبر
وملوك الهند كرام يبسون الحلي والبراه والقائدة والأسورة
ووشاحين
و من سلكة دهم بلّد بقال له أورفشي عين ساحل البحر وعليها
كانت في البداية أمرت يقال لها رانكة وململتك ومبيلة وألقو من
كَلْهَا من النفردات ففيها الصيارج كثيرة وكانت مللماً ممًّرة
بعض قنالاً دهم مع كلزة جيشهم وشنة شركت وكتاب حارب
بنفسها وهب عظيمة الجيده لم يَر حاده في عالمها

2 مس. 6 حسنات 8 مس. الأصلي

مراجع: 37 مس.
فيها ماعرف من السواحل بصحر الأفاب وسقاها ثم يثلوها
بلاد الزاب والهاد الكبير بالزاب قال له المراع وهو
وبلاد جزائر ولا يعرف ملكا آخر خيرا منه ولا أقوي سهولة وحسنًا
ولا أكثر حظا وتنال إله يدخل له كل يوم من غيره الذي خسر منه
ثعباً إلى ذلك بل دفري بلاده وكل ديك غلب على فتنه للسلطان
فيفتدى صاحبه ذلك عنه يبنيه على [أو] أقدر أو أقدر ويتقال إن دخلها
يلعب كل يوم مائتي مِلقٍ (ذي) دفعاً ولمجران كثيرة ومنه جميع يقول للبراءاء
[586] واهل البر يقولون إن الدجان فيها وأهل هذه الجزيرة جسان وجهم
المكان والمطرقة يقلون شوره لمكشوف كأذاب دواب البريد ومسمع في الجزيرة أمر
المزارع بالليل ويتوارى فوق الدار ويسعون أمره الناس واهل مراح

يسمعوا بالنار فذا نحصوا أن نحن السلطان أحونون حديدة تدثر
رمل ويمنعون باللدن حتى يجاري منها الشر ثم توجد أواصر من شير
عندهم يشبه النار تبرع على كل معتم عليه منها تسوع ورقصات ثم
توجد الحديدة العصابة بالخشب ووضع على تلك الأوراق في ذلك يغصي
بها موراد داهيا وجاجا في مقعر مائة خيزة فإن احترق الأوراق
فكل جهنم كoire لدندن فإن كان يوقع القتله فإن كان النبش
ي الوقع فإن كان موسر يغير البال وإن كان معددا يصير عباد
للسلطان يبيعه كيف شاء

ومن أحكام الهند أن من ذهب بقرة يقتل بإلا
وهكذا بعض من دخل بلد الهند قال حصلت بالانضمار فذا
ما كثر جرار شديد العقوبة شديد العذرة ومن شرب الغنم من قراءة
وجيهه فعقابه أن جمع مائة حلة من جديد بالدنار ثم توضع عليه بليه
فتنا هلك فيه ومن عقرته قطع الأدم واللدن والذناب
وشفتين وإذا ظفر بها من يغليه يقطع أذنيه يشفتيه

م. س. ۵۲-۵۳ م. ۲۱-۲۲ الموضع
بطله ويرجع إليه لا يصل للملك بعد ذلك. ومن دخل بلاده و
أهدي إليه شيئاً كافياً يضاف ذلك إليه يعده الوالد بأنه.
وأمل الدعاء في الهند من قبار وقيل إن فيها مائة الف عابد وهم
الباردة (؟). أصاب تسبيه وقال خليست إلى واحد منهم فقتله على قلبيه
لأنهم لا يقرون [من] الشاميين ويرجعون أثام أداناتهم للكنام. فأموات لم
البقير ورأيت بعموم وقد جاءتهم جهال من جاهم المبار فجعل يكثر
ب 가능성 كتالام فرحته كان تفسيراً يا من ليس (38) يغلبه شيء ففيه
وقلت أتروف ما تقول؟ وقال وإعجاب! وأنتم تعبرون ما قال؟ قلت أقسم
إذا كنت تعصون الله ليس كنله شيء فقم تصدرون الأضرار من دونه?
فقلت إنها قيامنا ما إن قيامنا جماهير مبنية منضدة فانتم تصدرونها
ولبكي قدام جبل كارون في الجرد وهولا العبد كارون فيه وهو
جبل طويل عريض ولبكي قرار قضاء عندد يتغوم بين الناس فأحرد
وجد الملك سليم في خصومة أجلسوه بحب خصمه وحكم على عليه ما يحب
في دينه فغير مانعين من الحق بشي البينة وصلفة قرار ليست كثيرة
كسائر الملكاء الذين لا يملكون عظام القدير متفقة والقيلة خفية
وعليلة النصر انيب الثالثة
ويلي ملكة بلاد الأهرام وهو بقي وقبره جالس وهو يزوجون
أباههم كما يزوجون بناتهم ويزوون ذلك معيط باسم
وفي اراض لوهر مغنية بقال له راميان فيها عتم مضطغب و
حوله أصام قيام ويري صمم من صفر يوم بالذهب وهو صمم الأرض
ولله نقاط كبيرة من العمار والإرانت في السوق ولم تكن في مميزة
تبارك عليه النار من خلاهتم والناس يتمعرون به جالساً ويطلبه
به التواب ولا يبصغ مما موضعه الليل والنهار
و ولى هذه المدينة مديدة بقال لا جالبد وفيرا صمم لمغالت
فيهم 40 يطليون 40. **الدرس 8.
لله تعالى الكمال، تعالى إلهنا وربنا، وطاعته وتقهيره، فإنه يحب أن يعيه العلماء، ويغزف الناس في جهاده وتهديده، فعليه الإمامة والقائد، فليست للناس خيار إلا بشارة ومطالبة، لكي يجتهدوا في العلم والعمل، ويعملوا في سبيل الله، فليست للناس خيار إلا بشارة ومطالبة، لكي يجتهدوا في العلم والعمل، ويعملوا في سبيل الله.
ضررهم وعُصِم سراد الليل في إفراز العجز عنهم وقد ذكرنا فيما سبق
إِن احترام الشرع و هيمنة الأعضاء تابعة لاجتماع الألوية، وإعتدال
النسبة تابعة للإعتدال التربة واللهمية وإذا غرف ذلك عامًا، أُمكن البعض
بوجو عباس الشعر في البلاد التي وقعت في واسطة الصحراء، ولم يقبل
منباكمًا فاسقة والعصروب وأداني أرض الترك، فانما الذين هم في أطراف
القارة وأشيا قرأت فلم يدعوه من الإعتدال يوجد في أعيانهم التفاوض,
الذي خرفس الإعتدال، وذاك في الأعرج، مثل البيشة والزمن والمناخة.
أقامت البلدان في أرض في عين الألق وعين الألق، والإصيلة، وعند الحاضر
أفيهم وقصص أُزدغم وسُنة مناهجهم وترجح شفاهه وتصوره بحضور
شفعاء: [396] [400] [404] [408]
وترى ذلك يحسب تقاطعهم في الواسطة.
بوزرهم من المنطقة الحرة، واستبالة الجوار الفارقة على أهاليهم
والمحارثة بأosaur البين، فنبدأ نجيزه إلى فوق حتى تطول قائمهم.
بنا وإِن الجوار تبسط الأشياء وتتفصص فتسبعت أرواحهم إلى خراج
فيريدون أبا، فروح في الأعين فابادين.
وهم في الجملة، جزء الأركا، لأن الذين بحدود الأراضي
عنهم وطاع البرد البعيد والتجلد وجوع الأجراء، وعينو في أقاص بلادهم
خصومًا في بلاد ياحَرة فإنما يتفرع قائمهم ودغ أحمد، وتعت في
مناهجهم وأفرادهم وتقبض أرواحهم حتى نقال ناوح وتم رحيرار في
بوطيم لنكش الحسن السام بالبر وتفرغ لذكاء، معدمت فيبقى هدمهم
ويجد ويكسرهم ويشتبه فيهم خلاف الصيقة
فِينِئم قلما يغضبهم ويعتبرون، ولئن جزيم في أفرادهم وسائر
مناهجهم ويسوء همهم للنبي، ولئن اتت العلماء لا بالدليل، أن
العضم فإن العلم الطيف لا يعترف في معرفه، ورأى يوضع بل
يكتب سريعا لتقيد مأساتهم وشفاعة مسامهم، ولأدرك تمكنهم وتشوه
أئم الجوار تفضيلًا، وتفصح أقسامهم وتطوع قائمتهم، ليذب الجوار
يا إما و كاَ تَجَّبُ أَباَذَمَ تَجَّبُ زَروَعُمَ وَاشاَهرُمَ ُهَتِىَ أَنَّ شَهِرَةً

4

من شَيْأَمَ ُنَظَلَ عَشَرَةُ الْقُصُرَ فَأَرَسَ

وَهُكَلَةُ هَزْى أَبَنَ أَسْمَعِيْلَ بْنِ عُمرَ السَّعَرَايِيْل

5

ذَكَرَ أَنَّ رَأَى بَلَادَ السَّرَّاحِلُ ابْتَغَى عَلَيهَا وَا رَأَيَ بَلَادَ دِيَالَ لَهُ كَأَنَّهُ كَشَيْبُ

6

بُطَالَنَّ ثَلاَثَةَ الْفَيْضَاءِ وَمَكَّمً ُسِلَبَهُ عَلَى ذُرْوَةَمَ وَإِلَى مِلَّةِ السَّرَّاحِلُ

7

قَرَّ الْفُلْقَةَ الْقَرْقَةَ وَفَوَقَ الْفُجَّرِيْنَ جَمِّيُّ ُصَوْلَةً مِنَ الْشَّيْبَ وَهُذَا

8

مِنْ حَجَّةِ الْمَلَآءِ وَنَسَاءِهِ وَخَيَّمَتَهُ زَوْاهُ [٤٠٠] عَشَرَةُ الْقُصُرَ أَسْمَعِيْلَ وَيَقَالُ

9

إِنَّ تَرَتَّبَ القَلَمَ عَنْهُمْ يَصَبُّ شَيْبًا يَصَبُّ عَلَيْهَا الْجُرَّ ابْدَنِنَّ أَلْوَانَ أَصْلَايْنَ

10

فَأَنَا سَوَادُ الْأَرْبَيْنُ فِي ضَفَلِ الْمُهِيَّمَ وَلَسْبَى كَأَنَّهُ ُتَفْلَتَ الْقَلَمَ وَهُذَا

11

إِلَى الْسَوَادَ والْأَحْمَرَ وَالْبِيَاضَ لَنَأَنْ حَرَّةُ بَلَادَ الرَّحْبَةَ لَمْ يَتَّعَلَّ مِهْلَكُ الْإِحْرَافَ

12

وَكَلَّامُ حَرَّةُ بَلَادَ المَرْحَبِ فَأَنَا حَرَّةُ بَلَادَ الْبِيَشْتَةَ وَالْزَّنَّمَ فَقَدْ لَغَتْ

13

الْبَيْاَةُ الْفَلِيُّ الْإِحْرَافِ وَمُرْوُنَّ الْحُمْسَ وَالْعَمّ في سَتِّةِ الْسَوَادَ وَكِرْهُتِ الْبِيَاضُ

14

وَيَبْرُتُ أَنَّ الْأَيْضَ َّلَ أَنْ يَأْتِ مِنْ سَوَادِيْنَ سَالَا مِنْ تُمْ مِنْ أَكْلِ البَيْضَةِ مِن

15

الْنَّاسِ وَقَدْ حَبَّ طَائَلَةً مِنْ النَّاسِ إِلَى تَفْضِيْلِ الْسَوَادِ عَلَى الْبِيَاضِ وَ

16

خَذَتُهُ إِلَى ذَلِكَ مَا رَأَيْ كَثِيرًا مِنَ الْأَمْرِ وَلَعَبَ الْمَرْحَبِ لَمْ حُضَرْهُ وَأَرْوَعُ

17

مِنْ الفَضْلِ الْفَلِيُّ الْإِحْرَافِيَّةِ وَالْحُمْسِيَّةِ الْمَرْحَبِيَّةِ مُنْصِبَةُ إِلَى الْسَوَادِ وَأَرْوَعُ الْبِيَاضِ

18

إِذَا كَانَ بِمَحْرَمٍ خَلِيلَيْنِي ُسَرَّدُ كَانَ زَادَةً مِنْ جَالَّهِ وَمَلَحْنِهِ إِنَّذَا مَرَّ

19

أَرْأَى لِلْفُلْقَةِ سَوَادُ ُلُطِفُ وَأَحْضَرَ وَأُقْطِسُ إِلَى نَجِيَّ كَثِيرًا ُحَضِّرُ مُرْوُنَّ الْحُمْسَ

20

هَذِهِ مُحَضَّرَةُ مُرْوُنَّ الْحُمْسَ وَوَرَمَّ مُرْوُنَّ الْحُمْسَ لِلْبَيْاَةِ وَلَكِنْ إِنَّهُ عَلَيْهَا

بَيْاَةُ الْفَلِيُّ الْإِحْرَافِيَّةِ وَالْحُمْسِيَّةِ مُنْصِبَةُ مِنْهَا َّلَ اسْتَغْلَى إِلَى الْلَّهِ وَالْبَيْاَةِ

21

فَتَنَصُّمُهَا وَقَبْلَ كُلِّ ذَلِكَ وَالْسَوَادُ ُتَحْكَّمُ ُهَذِهِ َّلَ اسْتَغْلَى إِلَى الْلَّهِ وَالْبَيْاَةِ

22

كُنْيَةُ الْلَّهِ وَالْبَيْاَةِ مَكَانَةُ مِنْهَا َّلَ اسْتَغْلَى إِلَى الْلَّهِ وَالْبَيْاَةِ

23

وَالْسَوَادُ ُتَحْكَّمُ ُهَذِهِ َّلَ اسْتَغْلَى إِلَى الْلَّهِ وَالْبَيْاَةِ
شئا من الألوان وأصاب الطبائع يقولون أن لون البياض يتولّد من
تأثير النور في عنصر من العناصر الأربعة القابلة لوضحه السواة المستولد
من أثير الظاهرة في العنصر الذي يقبله من هؤلاء العناصر وفضل النيرعلى
الظلمة ما لا يخفى [40] على العاقل والنور صفة دائمة في الأجرام
السماويّة الشرفية التي جعلها اللهي تعالى سبباً لوجود جميع ما في هذا العالم
وإذا السواة في قوة منفعة عنها غير مشاكلة إنا والعلم في هذا أظهر
أن يحتاج فينما يطأض إقامة لهما فثبت أن سواة لون البيض والرقيق
لمس بفضيلة لم ولاده لدى اعتماد وفط الرأي والإسلام وإن
كان نقيعة فقد ينمو في بعض المواقع إنا منفعة جسمانية كما ينمو
البطراء على بشر النير ونضط ثقة السما والعلم فإن تشتهر النور وإن منفعة
سياسة ناموسية كما ينسى أصاب السلطان السراو لتتقن الرؤيا والتهويل
وقد عاش في التاريخ أن ملكاً من ملكين خرسان عبر ترك بوهر نجاحه
الترك وكان في عساكر جامحة من النور والدنيور حراً عليه من
الترك لذا أصوباهم والمنظر الوهم وتهوّموا لأريت شبايين أو جندين آخر
غير الناس وأزرقوه وولوا مدغشة من غير قتال ولا غرف ملك خرسان
ذلك منهم است أدوا من النور والعابش وكانو يقترون في قتال
الترك إلى أن تعود الترك النور إليه وقطعوا منهم واحداً وراوا كمه
أخر فقالوا أن كده كله كان الناس وأضاضهم كذلك فإن جونيره
وفي رابع ملك ترك انت واحداً منهم سمي يك (2) صافر ملكاً يقال
له جنوده فإنه ساق العدوان المريب بالزهايا القوة كان في جبلها
هزال زينت وكان أعجوبة بين البيضان فإنها ليست غريزته في الصور
وينظر بالنظر إلى هبنة ولذة وكان فيه شرامة وقوة فاهر
و بسالة وافقت له إسباب كثيرة من السعادات واستخضع اليهوك
 لنفسه ولم يزل يبرم حالة رفعه وتماثلت حتى وثب على الملك وقتنله
وجلس مكانه واستولى على آخر مالهم وناصب [41] بقرارام ولم
يَبِينُ ذَلِكَ الْعَدَدُ الْفِتْرِيُّ لِأَلْلَّهِ مُعَاصِرَةً اسْوَدَّ وَعَلَّمَهُ شَأْنَهُ وَمَا الْرُّكْبَةٌ

بِهُمْ إِذَا أُرَادَوا تَعْمَلُونَ مَكَّةَ خَطَّبُوا بِقَرَاءَتٍ قَوْلًا بِمِثْانٍ الْرُّكْبَةِ الْلَّسْوَدِ

وَالْخَاطَرَانَ الْفَلِقَ اللَّهُ الْعَظِيمَ فِي مَرْضِي وَقَرَاءَتِي الْخَايَانِ الْالْسَوْدِ

1. إنَّ أَلْلَهَ الْأَطْرَافِ مِنَ الْمَسْكُونَةِ وَأَلْلَهَ الْجُزَائِرِ الْمَعِيَّدَةِ عَنِ وَاسِعَة
   2. الْعَالَمِ كَأَنَّا بَقِيتَ مَسْكُونِينَ عَلَى الْمَعَالِمِ تَبَارَكَ بِخَالِقُهُمْ وَبَلَاءِهِمْ وَ
   3. جَبَالٌ عَلَى الْمَعَالِمِ وَخَزَائِمٌ عَلَى الْمَعَالِمِ تَكُونُ إلى إِنَادٍ الْمَيْيَاتِينِ
   4. الفَاعِلَينَ أَنَّ الْجَزَاءَ وَالْمَرْوَدَةَ فِي جَبَالِ الْشَّمَالِ وَالْجَنِّبِ
   5. فَإِنَّ قُرَيّْةَ الْشَّمَالِ فِي شَشَةِ أَرُزُعٍ بِالْبَيْتِ وَالْبَيْتِ وَالْبَيْتِ الْكَبْرِيَّةِ
   6. قَرْنَتْ بَيْنَ الشَّمَالِ وَالْبَيْنَ النَّهَرِ وَالْبَيْنَ الْبَيْنِ
   7. اِتَّحَدَّى سَلَّمُ وَالْأَخْرَى سَلَّمُ بِالْبَيْتِ وَالْبَيْنِ الْبَيْنِ
   8. عَلَى نَهَرِ نَزُورٍ فِي غَيْبِ أَشْبَهُ بَيْنَ النَّهَرِ وَالْبَيْنِ
   9. بِمَسْكُونٍ ثَلَاثةٍ أَشْرُرُ وَأَرَادَةً
   10. أَنَّا رَأَيْنَاهَا نَزُورٍ وَعَنَى أَشْبَهُ بَيْنَ النَّهَرِ وَالْبَيْنِ
   11. وَقَرَاءَتِي الْخَايَانِ الْالْسَوْدِ
   12. وَأَعِدْتُهُمْ بِالْخَطَّاتِ الْعَابِرَاتِ الْبَيْنَ الْبَيْنِ وَالْبَيْنِ
   13. وَوَقَادْتُهُمْ مَا بِيَدِهِمْ وَهُمْ قَرِيَّتٌ مَّطَحَشَةٌ فِي الْغَيْبِ لِلْعَظِيمِ
الناس ويتفرقون شرّهم وأهل بلغار يسافرون البس ويحملون من الأمعة النبات والبلح وأشياء أخرى على ألا تقتله الكلاب وتوف الخرير الترابية التي للتنفس ومسير الرجال على تلك الأماكن لا يُسَيِّر الأناشيد على أقليم عظام الدينازور في معسكر وآخرون بأيديهم [425] ويرمون بإجراء النافذة إلى وراء طالما أتى ذلك أقليم إلى قتال على وجه الحباد ويرمون مع مالهم حتى يقطع في اليوم مسافة كبيرة ويباحثون أهل يوره بالإشارة والتماسك والمشاعر وخصوصا من الإنس والطيور من عندهم السوء النافذ وفج сайта من الزمر البسيط فترى بضائع تلك العينات ويتفرقون بحرا ويلبسون جلودها.

ورواه أبوه قوم ساحليون يجرون في البحر من غريحة وغرض سوم الافتقار بلغ ذلك الوضع وما قد قرأ في غابة البحر والطوف وبين جبل ماز ركبون السفن في البحر فإذا نزعت سفينتان شاهما رجاءهما احتجاما على الأخز ويشررون سيفهم وميتارون وتركهما بينم وهم من بلج واحد وربنا كاروا من صاحب ملدوب وليس بينهم عداوة ولا منافسة إلا أن ذلك دارهم فإذا غلب أحدها ساق السفينتين بها وفي هذا البحر السكك الذي يستعملنا نذلك في نفاح السكاكين والسيوف وغيرها ووراههم أرض سوداء لا يُقَي ساكرًا فأما في البحر إذا سلك السكك غير القطع بنين حيث يطل الليل في الصيف والصحراء في الشتاء، وتدور الشمس ظاهرة عليها سنة أشهر على دائرة الأفق كدور الزهر فيكون السنة كله يومًا واحدًا ولا في أقصي بلاد الترك بئر اوح وكاشغر موج وفالر فيها إيل بُريَه واصناف الرياح وناش وحضور لياجاطر الإنس ودون خريج من جانب جنباً جنباً كبار ومغاض ملتهبة ضيقة المسالك وموضع أسامة ومياء كبرة وأودية متصلة والطير داوم.
ويستأثرون في هذه الغضب في أنه، في ناس ولا يفهمون
كل ناس كذوء ول.ID وود ناس وهم بعض بعض، ونرائم ليمجحهم على
نأتي ألم في الهواء كبير من جلود السكاك، وجلود الحش [43]
وإذا خرجوا من تلك الغضب كانوا ينزعلا السكاك إذا خرج من جلاب
وذم قد الشيب وثابب من جلود الحش ولهامهم من العيد، وهم
يعظانونه ويعانونه، وإذا أرادوا أن يغبروا على على بعضهم خرجوا
بالندالة رجل في ملء قلوبهم فازاد وقروا على مدخسه. بينهم
نيدل وبأدوهم واستصلاحهم. وما وقع في الديم وتفظوا به، استمر
أضوا في النار وأحرقوا للنرم لا يشعرون من مثيلهم السالح
والهدوء. وإذا أراد أحد من أن يوافق أمره أقامه على على غيرهم من
ورود، لا تفعل السبع والبئام وهم نسائم الهواء والروح، و
إذا ما نلمه منه شناهو إلى بقال وعقوله في بعض الأشعار وذكر
إلى أن يبتلاشي وردأ أقد وادي منازل إلى نزاعه واستطاعه فإن أظمه
العذاب وحمس النمته [31] والروض عليه وأهلته وعاده إلى الغاية.
وذكر أن يوعي عند الله بن جيزي أن كر أجاه من أهل الشرق
مصوا به في سنة اربع وثلاثين وأربعين، وكان أزرع الالح.
كان فيه أحد يقرأ ويعرف الكلام فكان يخرج من أضا على عرضه، من
إذا قال إن بُدْت بُدْت بلميث في الشمر جالس، فيه خلف حفرة شرب
الناس إذا أنهم إذ затكن الكبار تعتنق إلى رهاهم ونسامهم
على خلفة النسا، إذا أن كأنهم عواه لا يتستر بسبي، إذا بشعر
على أبدانهم، والكرفط، أود شكواتهم طول كل واحدة منها، وأتقال
فانت كله في جهية الجنوب قال، وهو عن الاستناد يكون إلى الأحراط البسطة
في الأحراط حتى تخرج طابع شكوازها على طابع الناس إلى طبيعة السباع:
قلب من سماه.
وفي أواخر الربيع من السنة، استنجد زاهد لصارخ
لم يبالا ولا مزاج ولا بذار ملأه، وحفر فقدهم، ورمى [334] أسباب
حرفوه ومضقوها فإذا بلغ الbyname انزعجوا في اسراهم ولا يحملهم البرز
ألا ببلا من الطالب لهضيل الفنر، وطعامهم السلك وتأتي اللحية، والآسياء:
أرضهم ذات مروج واعصار ملفتة، وهم مشهورون بالظلم وتوجيه السوت
فيه نزل الشفاه واستراح الأذن وانعاس العيون، والحنين، وهم
بكلوب نحو الناس من البساط إذًا ظفا برم، ومن عادتهم إذا ظفروا
بساط أن يجمروه في جريمةهم في الجبر ويوصرون عليهم العذاب ما
عندهم حتى تعشل أجساهم، وذوق لهم ثم يعذبونهم وءاضرون ما
يعتقل على ناره، إذا إن يلقي شياشك مأهلا فيهما وشتاءه:
باباه غالبه عليهم لفترة حارمهم وزامًا غرض البساط على الملك لطيار
منهم من يرث اللحية، فتقع عليه مأته على واحد منهم فاستنفسته و
أخذه من طبو لنفسه وأخذت سربا« وراوته» من نفسه فإن وجد عذابه
لم انيّ في القرة الباه ولا تزال تستعينه إلى أنه يضعه ويطرفه فذا عزم
على البائع دعاه وأطه ودؤبا وجد فضعة فانتجزها ورعب وأصب
التجارين على يمامهم وبيكن موضع للاقتباس إذا وصلت
منه فخيزين إلى مرجو وينصرون في غياضة، وعيكرون معرق التمر
وطردون منه شبع في ملعب صيان، فيتقرون ذلك ويكثيرون و
ويللونه، وفي اليوم الثاني يفرعون الرحرف في موضوع أبعد عن النجاح الأول
والاهالون. يباعدون في ذلك والبسان تتبعه حرام على العصر، فإذا
قابلوا من منزل آبائهم خرجا علىهم واختصروا، وحلوه إلى بادهم
ووجدنوا من البراءة جيدة تسمى كهابوس، وقيل أنها سعادة فرمى
في مثلا لدائم لسان أهلهم [44] وفي بحر العنب وهم لا
ما يعلمون.
ينفرو عبره وامام هم ينفرون خلف الركاب ويبيعون منهم بالإشارات
والأعيان الصديق ولا يرغبون إلا فيه
ووراح جزيرة أهلها سود مشتركون بأكملهم من من فيهم، عبره يعدون في موقعهم ويتزودونه بالماء، ثم يردوونه بما يناسب بين الناس جدًا واهمًا، خبر لم ذلك لأنهم رأوه متعلقين بأكمل الناس
الفراغ فاجترنبهم خبره وتاء عنهم وادائه متعففًا أحد جليلته في
المنطقة مراضاهم، وادائه فخرهم عبره زادهم نظرة ورثما قدمهم بعض الناس مكن يعتقد فيهم الشرارة، فاستمر نمارهم فشاروا كالأزغب
واختارهم عن الناس بل كالشياطين، واستجابوا ضروبهم وأشغالهم
فانَّ شروط الصلقة وسماحة الأفلا والحنية والإفراز في طول القامة
غير مستطبع في السودان وأهل الجزائر، ومنهم عراة لا يستنون
سواهم، بل الماء الجمع إلى المبايعات، وسائر ولي يستمر
اهمًا، وذلك في العين، بالعرف على الخسائر، لا يذكر أهل الجزائر يتاملون
العبر والعل والقوط، وقيل ما ترجع الدائرة، عندهم
وعل بعض النصارى العريفين أذروت إلى الجزيرة وخرجوا إليها، ودأبوا على ستائر
واحدة جنبان إلى احدهم، فأخذوا وشيء من دقاتمهم، و
لم يفر بم، إذ لم يفر لنفسهم فيه نصيبًا
و في جنس الجسر السفينة فقعة من البرم يصرهم التأمار في ضياعهم،
وبهؤلاء، من بعد وعل رضى ومحظة خروج، من ثم فاقت من عادتهم
أن يعترض من يضرون بم من الغوا، فلا يعانونهم عبر ذلك، ثم يعانون
المذاك، فحجزًا في بيرر للفلاح، والسباحة، بلنزروا
وذكر في كتاب المسائل، والمذد ان أخدًا من ناحية القرن (1) يبيث إلى
البابية في السفينة يلزومهم الإشارة، ونار الشعوب على خشبة
حتى يتم التراضي ويجريهم في المسار، [4] الشرفاء يعذرون

(1) السماحة (2) بالمعينة (3) إذا (4)
منها على نسائم ولا ينسَمون
ومن الإقلاع جاعة تصدّرون الجزر السافلة من أرض البند لشراح
القزنفل وقد بلشرع عند الجمران يشتري مخابئة لنفرة بين التبائعين
وكلما أن جبار العمري يصدّرون الجزيرة التي هي مصدّرة القزنفل فإذا أنتشروا
إليها لمروا الأنهر وصاروا في القوارب إلى شاطئ الجزيرة وسطوا
الأنف ووضع كل رجل فتسيه الدولة فيه الدنانير على نسطه وانصرفوا
على الجزيرة عشيا فذا أصبَحوا خادمو في القوارب إلى ذلك الرمال فبدونه
علي كل رجل شمل بدل الرمال كثينا من القزنفل فأخذهو فإن كان كل يذكر
بكل جهاد وعاد في اليوم الثاني في بلدهم باللل تحت خفته في كيسه كله
فزنفل مفرق وليس في مسابعهم حيث ونكت جزيرة ضحية ولا ينظر فيها
بالنار إنهاق ولا ي.tif في النار القزنفل وإذا كان الليل شيء فيها
ضوضاء وجلبة ولا يشير أحد على توقها ومن خلها وخلف هناك
لا يجد له إثره بعد ذلك ولا يدرى أمره
ويصلى سوفي بابان يقال له رامش وبنه وبين سندب جبال
بازرة من البحر متقاربة الوضع ووراءها أُنة يأكول الناس بعدم ينكرون
ويضَّررون ومن خاص سوفي يأمل عراة لا يُفهم غلمان وليس لم
طهير البَنَّ أشله الأضيق وهم صالحون البُنْث جال لا تزيد تأماتهن على
اربع مائة حشر وهم متخلىرون عيون من الناس وينسلكون على
الأشجار أولاً بما العَن قران يضعوا الأفام عليها
وفي البحر قوم يعقومون المراكب سباحة والراكب في سرعة
السيرة كالجية ويعلون من أقوام الفنجر في يعوونه بالعديد
ووجيزية يقال إيا بالوس أهالي يأكلون الناس
وذكر شيخ معرفى من المتقدمين كان كبير [45] بالسياحة أنه
نزل يقوم من العربي في بعض البراري التي في طرف الأحياء
ما زال يعترضون، وكانوا يشعرون لما صلحوا بِنَفْسِ ما ذَكَرُوا إذ أنهم من الطعام الذي يأكلونه ولم يحمدوا ولا تزيدهم. ولم يزداد أمرًا من هذه الاصطاد، فكنتنا رضي الله علينا، وإن كان مسمومًا. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. فكان من 좌د إلى الصلوات، فكانونا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليهم. كننا نستغفر الله، وكتبتهم ودمت عليه
كتاب العقاب وهم رجل ونساء، وهم أكثراً وียงون
على زكاءهم ويتعرفون السفن يستطعون. فإذا قصتم انسلان ببطموا
تلك الأفعى وأحترمو فيصر عشرون كالمجراي، فدلاً، يعفوُم أحدهُم.

ملحّبة

[212] ... وذكر الجراح في كتاب المسالك والممالك ان الباز من ساحولي الصين.
يرى من بينه جبل فيه دوارة السكك والثيران الذي يحمل من أذباب النبات
وروس الراتب، وكأنها تكون هناك، لا شيء ي görmek في هذه
الثيران. كثيرة فيها شرق من أرض الفيل، خار شطان وكواح، وفذ من
الكافير على مسيرة، وفيه على مفترق الطريق إلى قتائ
على استقبال الفرسان، وإلى الصين على أخرى غير الجبين وهم إلى الجنوب.
وهو غير بعيد عن صاخب النين...

[213] ... و في سفارة البند في أقيها أرض يقال لها زمين زر أرض الفيل
ثبت فيها الفيل كما يثبت الفلاح، والتباح بعدها ولا يدري أن يبخلها
إذا انزلت. لكن فيها الماء الفيض ما يبلغ عن عظيم علم الكتاب وتأمل الناس
غيره من البلدان وهي تعظم الزيادة المستمرة والضياع. وهي فرسان
الماء الفيض، ويل قريب كبار من متشتتة بشربة بقرون الدلال سودان
عطني ليلم. وذكرها تستبعد ذلك حتى قول [بعضهم] إلى حصارة السلطان
الأعظم قراً واحداً من قرونها، وكان على ما وصفنا، ووزن له فكان وزن له
دمه في نفسها من الفيل، وذلك في شهر سنتاً أربع وعشرون سنة،
و أثري ما من البلدان والقرى غلب عليها الفيل فئاته من أهلها.

أصبت حاوية على عروشها.
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ERRATA

The sign (1) indicates some unusual spellings of the original. In several places, dots, specially over final ə have not come out in the photograph. More important oversights are indicated in the following list.

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The sign (2) indicates additional errors in transcription. The sign (3) indicates a change in meaning due to a change in context.
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